POLITICAL PARTIES AND INTERNAL DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA: AN ASSESSMENT OF CONGRESS FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE (CPC) IN KATSINA STATE, 2009-2012

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DECLARATION

I Muktar Bashir declare that this research work and the data herein are to the best of my knowledge original and gotten from my research effort and they have not been submitted to any other University for examination.

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CERTIFICATION

The thesis titled "Political Parties and Internal Democracy in Nigeria: An assessment of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in Katsina State from 2009-2012" by Muktar Bashir meets the regulations governing the award of Masters of Science in the Department of Political Science of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and has been approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

With gratitude to God, I dedicate this thesis to my late supervisor, Dr Suleiman Sunday, who took me not only as his student but also as his friend and brother for patiently devoting his time to guide and instruct in the course of this research work before his death. May the good deeds you have sown blossom and live to herald you. May you find eternal rest in the bosom of your Creator. Thank you sir.

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ACRONYMS

AC	Action Congress
AG	Action Group
AD	Alliance for Democracy
ANPP	All Nigeria People Party
APP	All Peoples Party
APPN	All Peoples Party of Nigeria
BYM	Borno Youth Movement
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CFA	Conference of Fused Association
CNC	Congress for National Consensus
CPC	Congress for Progressive Change
DP	Dynamic Party
DPN	Democratic Party of Nigeria
EMU	Eastern Mandate Union
EPDU	Eastern Progressive Delta's Union
GDM	Grassroots Democratic Movement
GNPP	Great Nigeria People's Party
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
KPF	Kwara People's Forum
LGA	Local Government Area
LUF	Lagos Union Front
LUF	Lagos United Front
NADECO	National Democratic Coaliation
NAP	Nigeria Advance Party

NCNC	National Council for Nigeria and Cameroun
NCP	National Centre Party
NCPN	National Centre Party of Nigeria
NCUS	National Council for Understanding and Solidarity
NDC	Niger Delta Congress
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEPU	Northern Element Progressive Union
NERA	New Era Alliance
NLGG	National League for Good Governance
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NNDP	Nigeria New Democratic Party
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NPN	National Party of Nigeria
NPP	Nigeria People's Party
NRC	National Republican Convention
NYM	Nigerian Youth Movement
PC	People Congress
PCF	People Consultative Forum
PDM	People Democratic Movement
PDP	People Democratic Party
PNF	People National Forum
PRP	People's Redemption Party
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SLF	South Leaders Forum
SPP	Social Progressive Party

SSG	South South Group
TBO	The Buhari Organization
UDC	United Democratic Congress
UMBC	United Middle Belt Congress
UNCP	United Nigeria Congress Party
UNIP	United National Independent Party
UPN	Unity Party of Nigeria

ABSTRACT

The Study examined internal democracy in the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in Katsina State from 2009 to 2012. In the course of this study data was sourced from two major sources; the Secondary and the Primary Sources. The Secondary sources were from existing literature on Party Politics and Intra-party democracy while Interview method was adopted as the main primary source of data in this study to generate data from the selected key informants within the Party both at the National and State levels. In addition, qualitative method of analysis was adopted to present and analyze data based on the objectives of the study, within the theoretical framework of Elite theory particularly the Iron law of oligarchy developed by Roberto Michel. The Study conclude that the party in the study area did not employ democratic principles in its activities as members were not fully included in the affairs of the party especially regarding the issue of candidate selection during the primaries and agenda setting within the party. The study recommends that the current Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) must be reviewed to incorporate the deleted provision of section 87(9) of the repeal Electoral Act 2010, which provides that "where a political party fails to comply with the provision of this Act in the conduct of its primaries, its candidates for election shall not be included in the election for the particular position in issue. With such provision in place, the Electoral Commission will be able to enforce compliance with internal democratic mechanisms as provided for by the Electoral Act, and also strengthen the Commission's supervisory role under Sec 85(2) of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended).

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CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Following the global trend where military and monarchical rules are fading and liberal democracy is taking the lead, the right of the people to exercise their franchise is now the order of the day. People are now conscious about who rules and under which platform. All these would not have been achievable today without the platform of political parties. Political parties are very important in our today's polity, candidates seeking elective offices contest under the platform of a political party and every political party should have its ideology and manifesto. This determines the kind of rules or policy to be expected from the candidates of such parties. The increasing number of political parties provides and accommodates the ideologies of the electorates. This has helped to a large extent in increasing the level of political consciousness and participation even at the remotest part of the country.

Political parties are associations formally organized with the explicit and declared purpose of acquiring and or maintaining legal control, either singly or in coalition with other similar associations, over the personnel and the policy of the government of an actual or prospective state. Political parties are pre-eminent and very important institutions of modern democratic governance. The general consensus is that political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of political parties. Since political parties are essential components of a democratic machine, it is of utmost importance that they should be democratic in their internal operations. This therefore makes internal party democracy an important feature which political parties must practice in order t o be able to make fundamental input to any democratic arrangement and speed up democratic processes and consolidation.

Membership participation in political parties is very vital to the survival of the parties in particular and democracy in general. Members participate in political parties through processes such as policy formulation, leadership and candidates' selection as well as their role in party organs at all levels of the party structure. For the purpose of this research, intra-party democracy refers to the extent to which political parties decision making structures and processes provide oppotunitities for individual citizens to influence the choice that parties offer to voters and eventually to determine the type of government formed (Scarrow 2005). Intra-party democracy is essential for the creation and growth of well functioning and sustainable democratic institutions. Firstly, it encourages a culture of democratic debate and deliberation of critical issues and therefore collective ownership of decisions. Secondly, it promotes party unity through reduced factionalism and/or fragmentation. Thirdly, it creates legitimate internal conflict management systems. No universal definition exists regarding the concept of internal party democracy, although several scholars agree on some basic principles of electivity, accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, decentralization, participation and representation.

The attainment of intra-party democracy as outlined above depends on the extent to which processes of effective membership participation are formally stipulated and practically implemented in the party's organizational rules and procedures. When there is ineffective enforcement, or complete absence of such rules, the party may be faced with significant operational challenges including centralized decision making, non-inclusive leadership and candidates selection processes, undemocratic conflict management mechanisms and unconstitutional or illegitimate party conventions.

These challenges often result in undesired outcomes such as lack of cohesion, factionalism and instability leading to resignations and/or expulsions, declining membership and

electoral support as well as weak coalitions. These factors ultimately undermine political parties' effectiveness as agents of democracy. A critical examination of political parties in Nigeria since the Colonial period (1922) up to the present fouth republic (PDP, ANPP, ACN etc) reveals that they have manifested an apparent lack of internal party democracy. For Nigerian political parties to be able to make meaningful and effective contribution in the direction of genuine democratic sustenance there is the need to imbibe the principles of internal party democracy, which ultimately becomes inevitable.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

For a democratic system of government to be in place and in line with liberal democracy, there should be political parties to recruit members in order to form a government. The need to aggregate diverse interests from society to produce a common policy and the role of educating and creating a wide menu of choices at elections for voters to support their individual candidates are some of the functions of political parties. In achieving these functions, there should be internal democracy within parties devoid of ethnicity, religious bigotry and godfatherism. This study therefore, examined Internal democracy within the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in Katsina State from 2009-2012.

1.3 Research Questions

This study is therefore posed to provide answers to the following research questions.

i. Has the CPC employed democratic principles in its operation in the study area within the period under study?
ii. How has the applicability or otherwise of internal democracy affected the Performance of the party in Katsina State?

iii. Were the candidates for elections chosen according to democratic principles?

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to examine internal democracy within the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in Katsina State and the specific objectives are as follows:

i. To examine whether the party (CPC) employed democractic principles in its activities in the study area between the periods under study.

ii. To examine how the applicability or otherwise of internal democracy affected the performance of the party in the study area in 2011 general elections.

iii. To ascertain whether the candidates of the party were chosen according to democratic principles in preparation for 2011 general elections in the study area.

1.5 Assumptions of the Study

The research is based on the following hypotheses:

i. There is no internal democracy within CPC in Katsina State in the period under study.

ii. There is internal democracy within CPC in Katsina State in the period under study.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Most works on party politics tend to lay more emphasis on the establishment of political parties in Nigeria. However, attempt to capture internal democracy in Nigerian political parties in general and Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in particular in Katsina State has not been sufficiently covered. Even where studies on the issue of internal democracy in CPC have been discussed, mostly on the pages of newspapers, these issues have not sufficiently covered the

realities of the subject matter within the period under study. This research work seeks to fill the academic gap created.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this study covers the activities of CPC in Katsina State from 2009 to 2012. The study covers the issue of internal party democracy within CPC in Katsina State, the factors that shape the formation of CPC as well as the analysis of the factors that led the party through the path of crisis. The choice of the period under study was basically due to the fact that the party was registered lately in 2009 in preparation for 2011 general elections.

The limitations of the study hinges on reluctance of some party officials and some key informants in giving confidential and vital information on the subject matter. The study had hoped to interview the National Chairman Board of Trustees of CPC who was the presidential candidate of the party in the last 2011 general elections and INEC Chairman from Katsina State, but all efforts to have audience with them proved abortive. Also, the study made several efforts to interview a gubernatorial candidate of the party from the state in person of Alhaji Aminu Bello Masari but was not opportuned due to the avoidance of the researcher by the candidate.

1.8 Research Methodology

This aspect of the study covers all methological issues as affect this particular study

1.8.1 Research Design

The research design for this work is based on Case Study. Asika (1991:118) defines a Case Study as an intensive study geared towards a thorough understanding of a given social phenomenon. This is the basis of taking CPC in Katsina State as the case in point, in an effort to

examine the issue of internal democracy in the State between the period 2009-2012. Although a case study is time consuming but, nonetheless provides thorough background information on which further investigation can be built.

1.8.2 Sources of Data Collection

For the purpose of this research, data were gathered from two major sources. These are the secondary sources and primary sources.

The secondary sources were from the existing literature on party politics, Intra-Party Democracy in general, court proceedings, CPC Constitution, 1999 Constitution, Electoral Acts etc, which were documented in academic books, journals, periodicals, published articles, magazines, newspapers and internet materials. These secondary sources were derived from the Kashim Ibrahim Library, ABU Zaria, Postgraduate Library of the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences Library, INEC Office, and Constitution of the Party from the National Secretariat of the party (CPC), Abuja.

In-depth Interview is the main data collection instrument for primary source of data used in this Study. The interviews were open ended; revolving around the objectives and hypothesis of the study. The interview were recorded with the prior consent of the interviewees. Interview instrument enables an interviewer to have deeper knowledge about issues of concern through verbal responses gathered from the interviewee through face-to-face interaction or by telephone or both. It is often considered a very appropriate instrument for gathering data on people's knowledge, values, preferences, attitudes, beliefs and life experience relating to the subject matter. Interview method was adopted to generate data from the selected key informants on this

study. The method was adopted because of the following reasons as captured by Rogers and Domnick in Suleiman (2011).

- It involves small sample size of the people to be interviewed
- The method provides detailed background on the subject matter.

However, the content of the interview was tape-recorded and transcribed for analysis.

1.8.3 Selected Key Informants

Nineteen key informants were purposively selected for interview; they included The Vice-Chairman Board of Trustees of CPC, the National Secretary of the Party, the expelled State Chairman of the Party, the Caretaker Committee Chairman of the party in Katsina State, some of the gubernatorial aspirants in the state, a National Commissioner of North Western States, some of the serving and affected National Assembly members, some of the party activists in the State as well as two delegates each from the three senatorial zones in the State. See appendix (1).

1.8.4 Method of Selection of the Key Informants

The informants were selected purposively through prior studies of some vital documents that included; the CPC Constitution and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. During the studies of these vital documents, certain positions that are crucial to the effectiveness of the party were identified; as such those who had occupied those positions were selected for interview. Also, the researcher's supervisors suggested some individuals to be interviewed based on their functionality and relevance in the party's day to day activities.

1.8.5 Justification for the Selection of Respondent

All the informants selected for the interview had at one point or the other been involved in the issue of internal democracy in Katsina State Chapter of CPC between the periods under study. Starting with Alhaji Sule Yahaya Hamma and Engr. Buba Galadima who were the Vice-Chairman Board of Trustees of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and National Secretary of the party respectively, they were among those very close to General Muhammadu Buhari (Rtd) the leader of the party, since he joined politics who played active role in the process leading to the formation of the party in 2009. They were also instrumental in providing information to the researcher on some of the NEC decisions on the issue of internal democracy in CPC in Katsina State.

Dr. Yusha'u Armaya'u was the Chairman State Chapter of the party (CPC) between the period under study and by virtue of his constitutional role; he was at the centre of all the activities of the party in the State. He provided the researcher with useful information during an interview with him on the conduct of the CPC affairs between the periods under study as well as the dimension the party (CPC) took before, during and after the 2011 general elections in Katsina State.

Alhaji Faruk Adamu Aliyu was the Caretaker Committee Chairman of CPC in Katsina State after Dr. Armaya'u was expelled from the party. He was able to provide the researcher with information on the problem of internal democracy in CPC in Katsina State and the dimensions such problems took after Dr. Armaya'u was expelled.

Senator Ahmad Sani Stores, Hon. Abba Sada, Hon. Umar Adam Katsayal were among the affected National Assembly members who provided adequate information on the involvement of

the Judiciary on the problem of internal democracy in CPC in Katsina State. Also, Hon. Sani Bello Mashi was one of the serving House of Representative members from the State, who provided the researcher with counter information to that provided by the affected National Assembly members on the problem of internal democracy in Katsina State.

Alhaji Munnir Yakubu, Alh. Yakubu Lado Danmarke and Alhaji Mukhtar Lawal was among the gubernatorial aspirants and Campaign Director General of Alhaji Aminu Bello Masari another gubernatorial aspirant in Katsina State respectively. They provided the researcher with adequate information of what transpired during the primary elections and the controversy that erupted in the party after the primary elections that produced Alhaji Aminu Bello Masari as the gubernatorial aspirant in Katsina State in 2011 General elections was concluded. A National INEC Commissioner in person of Muhammad Ahmad Wali incharge of North Western States was also interviewed; he provided the researcher with information regarding the conduct of the party in the study area especially regarding the issue of primary elections in Katsina State. Two delegates each from the three Senatorial zones of Katsina, Funtua and Daura were also instrumental; they provided the researcher with adequate information on the conduct of primary elections and the issue of agenda setting within the party. An Administrative officer, CPC office in Katsina State who was also an activist was also interviewed. He was able to provide information on the activities of the party in the State between the periods under study

1.8.6 Method of Data Presentation and Analysis

Considering the nature of the research problem and the data generated by the study, qualitative method of analysis was employed to present and analyse the data based on the objectives of the study. The adoption of this method is appropriate as captured by Parker, (1994) as pointed out in

Biereenu-Nnabugwu (2004:159) that Qualitative research is characteristically more involving and the researcher needs to be more deeply involved with the study and the analysis is descriptive in nature. All the relevant issues, research questions and the research problem were listed in the form of themes and sub-themes thereafter inferences were drawn from the interviews to explain these issues in the course of the analysis.

1.9 Definition of Concepts

For easy understanding of the context of this work, a simple definition of some key words used in this work is provided.

Democracy: According to Braton and *Van de Walle* (1997:13) can be defined as a; "form of political regime in which citizens choose, in competitive elections, the occupants of the top political offices of the state". This study adopts this definition as a working definition.

Political Parties: these are group of people who come together under common ideology with a view to capture political power.

Internal Democracy: can be defined as the application of openness and integration of all stakeholders in the conduct of party affairs, especially in setting agenda and the selection of Party flag bearers for election. Some of the principles of internal democracy include inclusiveness and decentralization.

1.10 Organization of the Study

This work is structured into five chapters. Chapter one covers the general background to the study. It contains statement of the research problem, research questions, aim and objectives, research hypotheses, scope and limitations of the study, significance of the study and

organization of the study. Chapter two deals with review of related literature on the subject matter. Also in this chapter, elite theory is adopted as the theoretical framework. Chapter three is on Evolution of political parties in Nigeria and Internal democracy in Nigerian political parties. Chapter four covers historical background of the study area, formation of CPC and the issue of internal democracy in Katsina State: An assessment and Finally, Chapter five covers Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts a review of related literature and theoretical framework that is adopted for the study. Thematic reviews of the existing literature on the issues under study are analyzed. Areas such as Democracy, origin of political parties, types and critical roles of political parties, centrality of political parties are reviewed. Also, the concept of internal party democracy, internal democracy in African political parties has also been reviewed. A theoretical framework used in this study has also been analyzed in this chapter which is elite theory.

2.2 Democracy

Democracy is the most familiar concept in many political discourses. It has not only attracted more attention and fascinated considerable academic and intellectual dialogue than any other social and political concept in the past two centuries, in fact, all other politically and socially significant issues like; justice, human rights, rule of law, good governance, poverty and development are discussed within the purview of democracy. Paradoxically, democracy has generated more academic and intellectual polemics than any other social and political concepts in the recent time. This is so because the concept is grossly ideologically loaded; (Owolabi 1999:3). Today, there is hardly any country that makes a public statement that is not government by the people (Kaur, 2007:218). It is uncommon to see regimes with authoritarian character and fascist traits laying claim to democracy. According to report from the Economist Intelligent Unit (2010), 55 countries constituting about 36.5% of the world population purported to be democratic are classified as authoritarian regimes. Despite the vagueness in its meaning and ambiguities in its practice, attempts have been made by scholars to define the concept.

Democracy is neither specifically measurable nor is it definable as a form of government. This is because "it is not always clear what is democratic and what is not" (Rourke, 2005:176). The term, however, has been applied with some consistency to a form of government in which the "demos" the people rule; in which political power is held by the many rather than by the one or the few (Lively, 1975:8). It is a form of government in which citizens enjoy number of civil and political rights, and in which their most important political leaders are elected in free and fair elections and accountable under a rule of law (Almond, 2004:27).

Joseph Schumpeter defined democracy as a system; "for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the peoples vote" (Diamond, 1999:8). For Robert, democracy "refers to a cluster of rules permitting the broadest, surest, direct and indirect participation of majority of the citizens in political decisions. For example: in decisions affecting the whole community"; (Caron, 1992:424). In this context, democracy is governance that involves the widest participation, either through elections or through the administration of the accepted or adopted policies (Kaur, 2007:218).

At a minimum, democracy according to Braton and *Van de Walle* (1997:13) can be defined as a; "form of political regime in which citizens choose, in competitive elections, the occupants of the top political offices of the state".

In its classical sense, democracy is a Greek word which means 'people rule' or 'ruled by the people'. Democracy in this sense is primarily concerned with who should rule and who should decide who rules. By implication, democracy means the acceptance of the basic equality of men as humans and the basic responsibility of all adult men and women for their own destiny. Democracy cannot be divorced from equality (Toyo:1994: 9). Beyond equality, for Karl poppor (cited in Oguejifor, 2003), democracy means the ability of the people to send packing, an

unwanted government through majority vote. In a democracy, the will of the people is the basis and legitimacy of power, authority which is to advance their interest (Agyeman, 2003).

In this regards, popular sovereignty is the hallmark of democracy. It is the extension of the sovereign wills of the people to every facet and issue of socio-political importance, or the general body politics that (ibid) refers to as "true or moral democracy". However, acceptability and participatory government through the majority principle is limited in practice since not every citizen can actively participate in the decision making and running of government (Chidam Modzi, 2003:367).

On account of this, the principle of representation is very critical for modern democracy. This is because, contemporary states; "involve; large demographic and population sizes, multiculturalism, multiplicity and complexity of interest, maturity and age- related conditions for active participation" (Chidam' modzi, 2003: 367). Hence, democracy in its classical sense, that is, the principle of popular participation in the maximum sense has become practically impossible today because of the size of the contemporary polity. This is far higher than the Athenian city-state which is closer to the realization of the ideal of popular participation.

In order to overcome the challenges posed by the size, complexity and multicultural nature of the modern state, political theorists have come out with different philosophies, models and variant of democracy; all of which could not be discussed here. According to Held (2003:183), "democratic theory is in a state of flux. There are almost as many differences among thinkers within each of the major strands of political analysis, as there are, traditions themselves". Broadly, however, democracy can be seen within the prism of participatory, liberal or representative, and social democracy. Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities. Participation of citizens is at the very heart of the idea of democracy especially citizens

committed to democratic values. Mindful of their civic duties those who become involved in political activities are the lifeblood of any modern democratic system.

Democracy experienced great transformation by the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was beginning to be thought of as the right of citizens, to participate in the determination of the collective will of the people through the medium of elected representative. Participatory democracy complements and strengthens representative democracy: decision-making remains first and foremost legitimized by the legislator. Participation is an indispensable complement of representative democracy.

The theory of representative democracy fundamentally shifted the terms of reference of democratic thought. The practical limits that a sizeable citizenry imposes on democracy, which had been the focus of so much critical attention, were practically eliminated; (Held 2003:20). For Held (2003), representative democracy could now be celebrated as both accountable and feasible government, potentially stable over great territories and time spans.

Modern liberal and liberal democratic theories have constantly sought to justify sovereign power of the state, while at the same time, justifying limits on that power. Liberal or representative democracy is a system of rule embracing elected officials who undertake to represent the interest or views of citizens within the framework of the rule of law. To count as liberal, democratic regimes must meet a certain standard of electoral accountability, and provide some level of constitutionally protected liberty to other citizens (Vernon, 2001:1). This is the limited sense in which many people have conceived democracy today and one which has gained wider acceptance among the countries of the world (Ogundiya, 2008). Liberal democracy therefore, is a constitutional theory which serves to justify political system that rests on a combination of certain practices, namely: the accountability and restraint of government. Since

the advent of the irresistible third wave in the early seventies in transitional democracies, scholars have paid considerable attention to three general goals; "fostering free and fair competitive elections, held among multiple parties and candidates; building civic society, with programmes designed to assist grassroots organizations, citizen advocacy groups and independent media, these are strengthening the core institutions of the state by encouraging independent judiciaries as well as effective legislation, and efficient bureaucracy" (Norris, 2005 Cited in Ogundiya, 2011:6). Despite the concerted efforts to ensure the sustenance of democracy in the developing countries and other new democracies, the wind of reversal has considerably eroded the gains of the third wave. Much of these winds of reversal are a function of undeveloped democratic structures and institutions among which political parties appear very critical.

Democracy is not only about election, it is a work in process, but there is no democracy without political parties. In fact, it cannot be entrenched or practiced without the existence of political parties. According to Diamond (1988), democracy entails an extensive competition among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) either directly or indirectly for the major positions of governmental power, in addition to participation in electoral process and respect for the civil and political rights of people.

2.3 Origins of Political Parties

The large body of knowledge, theoretical assumptions and models of interpreting political party systems has largely been developed from western experiences. Consequently, the normative conceptualization of political parties draws largely from studies based on social and political developments in western societies. Political systems are often affected by unique historical circumstances and so are political parties. For us to fully grasp the principle of political parties In

the Greek polis or city states, the people appreciated the fact that whereas democracy as a form of government involves the entire people, there was no way the whole people could be involved at the same time in running state craft. The best option to approach this problem was, therefore, a representative government where people can elect their representatives. To do this, the people formed themselves into groups according to their views on how best the state provided the platform of modern political parties. Political parties in the classical sense are a product of the industrial revolution characterized by rapid socio-economic developments and attendant social and class conflicts arising from cleavages between the ruling class and the workers. The tension provided for the development of distinct social movements with clear ideologies and interests. Political party thus emerged out of mass social organization to the challenges of the day.

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

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

In Africa, the origin of political parties can be located within the period of nationalist struggle for independence. For instance, political parties began in Nigeria with the introduction of elective principle under the Clifford Constitution of 1922.

2.3.1 Types of Political Parties

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

(i) traditional Political Parties ;

(ii) representative Political Parties;

(iii) mobilizing Political Parties; and

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

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

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

Representative and mobilizing parties are mass and highly organized parties centralized and disciplined. They have a dedicated crop of professionals and strive always to enlarge their membership. However, before the declaration of universal adult suffrage, most parties tended to have restricted membership (as typified by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union CPSU) and aims, especially when the party behaves like a pressure group because they are hamstrung by ethnic, racial, regional, language or religious tendencies to the exclusion of a larger section of

society. Examples include the Flemish and Walloon parties in Belgium and the Black Moslem League in United States of America.

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

The other variants of political parties are the Broker Parties or Non-Ideological parties. These can be found in America and Britain today. The Broker Parties are not founded on any ideology in the strict sense of the word, and in most cases aggregate conflicting interest groups. Based on the foregoing, the focus is on three distinct types of political parties, namely:-

(1) One party state

(2) Two-party state

(3) Multi-party state.

2.3.2 *One Party State*

The general practice in a one party system is to coalesce all the interest groups, ideological views and party loyalty into one mainstream. The argument for one party system has always been its capability of checking internal divisions and protecting the national interest. According to Nwankwo (1990:128) when Karl Marx defined one party system as a categorical imperative for a dictatorship of the working class, his motive was to integrate the energy and activities of the oppressed sectors of society into a self-regulatory machine capable of functioning as a counter-force to the caprices of the propertied class and as an instrument of man's liberation from the power of capitalism. Far from perceiving the integration of antagonistic social formations as the

ultimate objective of governance, he saw the conflict between classes as the moving force in all political processes.

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

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

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

2.3.3 *The Two Party System*

In democracies heavily guided by opposing ideologies, the two party systems emerge as a compromise option based on the historical and evolutionary trend in that society. In every society, there are those who favor private enterprise and ownership of property. Such people believe in the competitive free market where price is the determinant factor in satisfying wants.

These are the capitalists or rightists or conservatives. There are also those who espouse complete state ownership of the means of production and "from each according to his ability to each according to his need." These are the socialists. Strict adherence to these ideologies often creates two strong parties, one rightist and the other leftist.

Irrespective of their characteristics, the two party systems provide a choice to the electorate. Countries that have two party systems include United States of America, Britain, Germany, Austria and New Zealand. The point must be made here that two parties do not preclude the existence of other parties. But the truth is that there are two main political parties, which determine political currents in society. In Britain, for example, there are other parties outside the Conservative and Labour Parties. The same is true of America. Two-party system does not encourage despotism as the electorate shaves a choice at their disposal. The system also ensures stability of government.

2.3.4 *Multi-Party System*

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

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

2.3.5 Critical Roles of Political Parties

The foregoing conceptualization of political parties is derived from a general consensus on the utilitarian and functional view of their perceived 'usefulness' in modern democracies. According to Diamond (1997:23) the importance of political parties lies in the functions they perform in modern democracies by linking the citizens to government. These include the articulation and aggregating of diverse interests, recruitment and preparation of candidates for electoral office, crafting policy alternatives and setting the policy agenda, organizing and participating in electoral competition and forming effecting government thus integrating groups and individual into democratic process.

Consequently, political parties do not only provide the means by which citizens can participate in the governance process, but also structure the political landscape to enable competition between varying interests and policy objectives. This characterizes the classification of political regimes as advanced by Dhal (1971) along the two dimensions of political competition and political participation.

Political parties as forms of social organization continue to evolve or emerge in response to changing socio-economic and political realities. Modernization theorists such as Huntington (1968) argue that the significance of political parties goes beyond the mere utilitarian function of contesting and capturing or retaining political power. According to this theory, political parties are necessary and crucial institutions in the construction of a stable and participatory political

order as well as ensuring progressive modernization and development. Huntington sees political parties as serving the important function of interest aggregation, channeling disparate social groupings and interests into a common socio-political platform and thus providing a stabilizing effect to an otherwise fractious society (Manning 2005:717).

To function effectively, political parties must be well organized and adequately structured to meet the need of the various competing groups in the society. A functional and effective party system is the one that has a strong base in the society. Strong parties according to Michael Johnston (2005:3) "are essential to open, competitive democratic politics, particularly in emerging democracies". The essential pillar of a strong party system is the quality and stability of the parties themselves. According to Veen, the quality and stability of a party system is determined by a number of factors which include:

- the make-up of the parties;
- the strength of their internal cohesion and programmatic profile;
- the structure and efficiency of the organization;
- the vitality of their members;
- the identification of everyone with the party;
- their democratic structure from bottom to top, and from local, state level and
- their internal and external communication skills (Veen, 2006).

Also, normative approaches to party politics are particularly popular among policy makers, democracy building advocates and democracy assistance programmes in emerging or post 'Third Wave' democracies (Huntington 1968). These programmes are often carried out by surrogate institutions of established political parties or political order in western democracies. They often propagate the view that their form of political organization is the

ideal to which emerging democracies ought to emulate. Modernization theory's appeal therefore lies in the perceived ability of political parties to provide a unifying force in the face of deep rooted and pre-existing social cleavages such as ethnicity, regionalism, caste, racism, clannism or religious differences that often ignite social tensions and in some cases civil conflict. In order to fulfill these normative functions, Manning (2005) argues that political parties are expected to have a 'strong social base, offer distinctive platforms which appeal to a core set of voters and be able to attract and retain party activists and potential leaders'. This implies a certain level of organizational strength and complexity, institutionalized mass support and strong linkages to broad social organizations such as labour unions and peasant organizations (Huntington 1968).

From the foregoing, it could be seen that political parties play a vital role in the operations of modern democracies. They are an important institutional component of the liberal democratic and competitive electoral process. They are the building blocks of democratic governance.

2.3.6 Centrality of Political Parties in Modern Democracy

Political parties are often described as the bedrock of democracy. This is largely on account that election is central to democratic process, and political parties are the leading actors in electoral politics (Dalton et al, 2005). The argument for the dominance of political parties over and above other democratic institutions largely stems from the fact that parties play a leading role in structuring the political debate in most nations. They field candidates and compete for public offices and ultimately form and structure the functioning of democratic government (Lapalombara and Weiner, 1966). Parties thus facilitate the realization of core democratic values

of participation, accountability and representation. Thus political parties appear to be very critical in democratic settings.

Political parties are pre-eminent institutions of modern democratic governance. The general consensus in comparative political thought and among policy makers is that political parties play a central role in deepening and fostering democracy in both established as well as emerging democracies. This is aptly captured by the assertion that 'political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of political parties' (Schattschneider 1942, Downs 1957; Aldrich 1995; Kuenzi and Lambright 2001; Manning 2005; Lindberg 2007). The relevance of political parties in the organization of modern politics is not a recent phenomenon of contemporary societies.

The review seeks to establish a working definition of political parties as an institution of political organization. It explores the various conceptions of political parties in comparative political thought, and literature and contextualizes this within the broader debate on democracy. It pays particular attention to the historical, socio-economic and cultural determinants of the evolution and development of political parties, its functions and types of political parties were also examined.

As early as the 18th century, Edmund Burke described a political party as 'a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors, the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed' (Churchill, 1963). Modern political parties however exhibit three distinct characteristics lacking in Burke's definition. First, they have become more organized and centralized institutions with bureaucratic structures, secretariats and paid staff. Secondly, modern parties do not necessarily work towards a national interest, but any kind of interest including regional, ethnic, racial, religious or economic objectives. Parties are not organized along a

'particular principle' as many manifest a conglomeration of varying interests, ideologies, principles and objectives. Third, political parties are largely organized with the sole objective of competing for and capturing political office (Hague and Harrop, 2007). The nature, forms and functions of political parties have continued to evolve in response to socio-economic and political changes in society. Earlier conceptions of political parties have therefore demonstrably changed over time.

The element of competition and striving to govern is a central component of modern political parties. Sartori aptly describes a political party as 'any political group identified by an official label that present at election , and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office' (Sartori, 1976:63). This definition, however, still falls short of capturing the organizational as well as interest aggregation and articulation dimensions of political parties. It is thus preferable to adopt the definition by Maliyamkono and Kanyongolo (2003:41) that 'a political party is an organized association of people working together to compete for public office and to promote agreed-upon policies.'

In the words of Ward (1965) "A political Party is a group with common views on certain political means. He insists that the day-to-day concern to politics is fundamentally with means not ends". This is basically so because there is no disagreement as to the desirability of people, prosperity and justice but man tends to disagree on the means of attaining these goals. In essence, those who share a common view on how to attain these goals cohere at their levels with a view to wresting state power to create society in tune with their vision. A point worthy of note in Ward's submission is that personal loyalties are, in themselves, inadequate in forming political parties. Political parties acquire their meaning in terms of the purpose for which they are formed; the character of membership, its structure and/or functions they perform. Political Parties are those

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

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

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

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

2.4 Political Parties and Internal Democracy

As the concept connotes, internal party democracy can be seen as the capacity of a political party to engage its members in deliberations, decision making and action of party affairs and enforce the transparency and accountability of office bearers to its rules of governance (Abubakar, A and Garba, B.M 2013: 4) Put simply intra- party democracy encourages the application of openness and integration of all stakeholders in the conduct of party affairs, especially in setting-policy agenda and the selection of party flag bearers for election. Thus, internal party democracy is seen as the mechanism for ensuring that both party leadership and ordinary members of the party are engaged in serious discussion and debate concerning policies and programs of the party (ibid).

According to Dunmoye (2009) democracy is a work in progress; it does not start and end with election. It has basic principles and tenets which are universal. The leadership in every democratic setting must ensure that the collective aspirations of the people are satisfied on the basis of equity, social justice and fair play. Internal democracy is one of the basic universal tenets of democracy and a strong determinant of legitimate democratic authority.

Internal party democracy is simply the selection and or the election of both candidates and party officials on periodic basis, based on the rules and regulations of the party constitution and the constitution of the land. In other words, it is the election of candidates in the primaries and the party officials in the congress or conventions based on popular and acceptable electoral process (Dunmoye, 2009). He further explains that there should be an internal autonomous self-democratic administration or governance within the political parties and fixed tenure of office which must be contested for by the party executives.

However, internal democracy contrary to the above opinion is not only about electing or selecting of both candidates and party officials on periodic basis, rather it is far beyond that; it entails some basic principles such as ; inclusiveness, transparency and accountability. In other words, it entails the inclusion of rank and file in agenda setting, selection or election of both candidates and party officials in the primaries and congress on periodic basis based on rules and regulation of the party. i.e card carrying members of the party must be allowed to determine the affairs of the party. There is no single definition of internal party democracy but Scholars have agreed on some basic principles of internal democracy to include; electivity, inclusiveness, participation, and representation.

According to Mayer (2007:11), internal party democracy is important because it ensures "the control of leadership, its selection and participation of its members in the decision-making processes". It is the openness of the political leaders through balanced representative system that cuts across various ethnic, religious, and marginalized groups based on bottom-up system that would bring about the basic functions of political party. This would transform to the loyalties to the party leaders as the masses would be adequately represented through civic education, recruitment of more members, interests organization and articulation, mediation of local interest, and political communication. Achieving this will bring about the realization of the expectations of its members, supporters and the general public for better inclusion, transparency and accountability.

Two major schools of thought emanate from the desirability of intra-party democracy. One calls for oligarchic system, as maintained by Duverger (1954:134) where a few should have effective control of political party to ensure cohesion and avoid cumbersomeness that leads to inefficient decision making process which are at variance with the ultimate desire for well

organized, structured, and institutionalized party systems. This position further argues that internal party democracy "weakens political parties and compromises their ability to compete against their opponents and is therefore undesirable." the argument goes further to say that democratic consolidation needs participation of a few party members, preferably by the party leaders in decision making processes (Teorell, 1999:364) so as to ensure presentation of acceptable candidate before the electorates. This position further asserts that accommodation of internal party democracy tends to divert more attention towards conflict management and internal competition which would eventually bring about weak and uncoordinated institutions.

Contrary to the Pro-Duvergerian position is the pro-competitive school that calls for internal party democracy so for ensuring effective interest aggregation, safeguarding and strengthening participatory democracy in the wider society (Maiyo, 2008:4). This argument further receives some boost from Richard (1997:365) who views it as systems "which facilitates citizen-self-rule, permits the broadcast deliberation in determining public policy and constitutionally guarantees all the freedom necessary for open political competition". Direct participatory democracy is said to be a thing of the past because, the complexity of the state system is brought about as a result of increase in the level of technology, population explosion and plato's division of responsibilities.

The need to have some degree of direct participation in decision making is only through democratic internal party politics where every member should have inputs to the outputs of the political party's activities. In line with Scarrow's (2005:3) argument, which is also maintained by Maiyo (2008), political parties that practice intra-party democracy are likely to select more capable and appealing leaders, to have more responsive policies, and, as a result, to enjoy greater electoral success… (and) strengthen democratic culture generally'. It equally "encourages

political equality by creating level playing field in candidate's selection and policy development within the party; ensures popular control of government by extending democratic norms to party organizations such as transparency and accountability; it improves the quality of public debate by fostering inclusive and deliberative practices within parties (Gauja, 2006)

2.5 Internal Democracy in African Political Parties

African political parties are products of distinct historical, socio-economic and political conditions that influence their character and functioning different from those prevailing in western democracies. The only somewhat parallel historical point with the European model was the immediate pre and post-independence period when African political parties were broad-based mass liberation movements embodying a single ideology of liberation from colonial rule. Independence political parties, formulated under the single ideology of majority African rule provided a unifying force among societies that were historically antagonistic along ethnic lines.

Unlike the majority of their western counterparts almost all African nation states (with the exception of countries such as Somalia) lack in distinctive cultural or ethno-linguistic homogeneity. They are highly heterogeneous along ethnic, regional, religious or clan cleavages. Although western European polities such as the Netherlands may have had rifts encompassing Calvinists, Socialists, Catholics, western entrepreneurs, southern small farmers etc, they remained relatively stable and political competition was contained within established structures and traditions (NIMD, 2008). African societies on the other hand lack in socially entrenched and institutionalized political, social and governance structures along which political competition and opinions be expressed. They are therefore highly fractious and fragile. Political competition and organization tend to follow these pre-existing fault lines which in turn determine the structure of political parties. Manning (2005:718) characterizes African parties as not [being] organically

linked to any particular organized social group, and so have often resorted to mobilizing people along the issues that are ready to hand – ethnicity, opposition to structural economic reform – without regard for the long-term consequences.

Modernization theory to this extent therefore, falls short of capturing the essence of post third wave African political parties. Instead of providing stability and ordering the political system, reigning in divisive and potentially explosive social forces, African political parties and the elites that control them tend to play on these very social cleavages to gain power through inherently undemocratic means. This characterization seems to affirm Michels (1968) assertion that political parties have an inherent tendency towards oligarchy.

According to this approach, not only do political parties develop undemocratic characteristics in the way they control and manipulate social cleavages, but also in their internal organization and decision-making processes. According to Michels (1968) the more parties become organized institutions, the less democratic they become. This structuralist approach contends that regardless of political party's formal rules about internal checks and balances, organization leads to centralization of power, oligarchy and the decline of internal democracy (Maiyo, 2008).

The paradox of the majority of African political parties is that most of them are poorly organized and lack institutional capacity, their decision making processes are unstructured and power often lies in the hands of the party leader and a few of his cronies who are usually wealthy enough to bankroll the party (Wanjohi, 2003). The role of the party membership is reduced to a bare minimum, usually to endorse decisions already made by the elite. Political mobilization assumes the form of personality cults and loyalty is often to the party leader as opposed to the party as an institution. This encourages the politics of party hopping where leadership

disagreements may lead to one leader jumping from one party to another and carrying his supporters with him/her. This is common in Africa where democracy is yet to stabilize.

On the other extreme are the well-organized, highly centralized and structured parties that have been in power since independence such as CCM in Tanzania. Centralization then takes away decision making power from lower party organs and branches and concentrates it on a core group of party oligarchs such as the Central Committee of the CCM. Such parties are usually found in single-party regimes where the party and the state are so fused that they became indistinguishable from each other. Whatever the case may be, both categories of parties, either by default or design, are considerably lacking in internal democracy.

Other approaches advanced to explain the democratic deficit between African political parties and a truly representative democracy include developmental theory which argues that certain minimum socio-economic pre-conditions are necessary for democracy to thrive. It further argues that the low socio-economic condition of the African polity and the distinct lack of clear ideological foundations, allow for the development of clientelist and patronage based political structures through which access to, and distribution of state resources can be channeled. While describing the socio-economic basis for the lack of intra-party democracy in western societies, Kirchheimer (1966) aptly captured a picture that is as much applicable to modern African political systems. In his view, contemporary political parties are characterized by the decreasing influence of individual party members, lack of specific class appeal in favor of other pre-existing social cleavages in order to appeal to voter support base, increasing autonomy of the leadership from internal checks and balances, and the complete lack of ideology in the parties' programmes.

In Africa especially, the continuing debate on the sequencing of democracy and development as well as the developmental prerequisites for democracy is more pertinent. Some

African leaders such as Kenya's former President Daniel Arap Moi have advanced similar arguments to explain their preference for single party rule (The Standard, July 22, 2008). Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni imposed a total proscription of political party activity on the grounds that political parties breed conflict in fragile nation states; they are authoritarian, urban based groupings of small elites; they are corrupt; they have no clear policies; there is a lack of a middle class to support their existence; they are manipulated by external actors to achieve neo-colonial or imperial interests by proxy; or that other systems are more democratic than multiparty systems (Okuku, 2002).

While some of these attributes may apply to some political parties in some African countries, it is certainly not the case that they are an accurate characterization of political parties across the continent (McMahon, 2004). It is arguable that political parties may not be the cause, but rather a reflection of pre-existing social cleavages and proscription or restriction of political party activity may not be the solution to these problems. Counter intuitively, effective and well-functioning political parties can serve as a pressure valve by which social tensions and frustrations can be channeled through peaceful means. The importance of well-functioning, effective and internally democratic political parties cannot therefore be overstated. Political parties that guarantee a degree of effective and transparent membership participation in deliberation of policy, leadership selection and overall decision making can instead provide avenues for social cohesion, minimize possibilities of open conflict and facilitate peaceful resolution of conflict.

In Africa, ethnic, regional or religious cleavages and patronage affect internal party democracy, as political parties become either fiefdoms of their political leaders or democratic institutions and instrument for the recruitment of democratic leaders. Internal party democracy in

terms of the selection of candidates, leadership contests, regular membership conventions, and internal rules to discipline the party leadership and hold it accountable to party members is in short supply in African political parties such as that of Ghana, Kenya, Malawi etc. (Salih, 2007). Invariably, small groups of core committee members decide party affairs and policy.

With some exceptions, party leaders use their privileged position to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses in whose name they contest elections and win parliamentary seats. According to Salih (2007), frican political parties are not democratic; they exclude ordinary, mostly uneducated people from the political process, and are elitist and non-transparent. In some cases, non-elected wealthy and powerful party members collude with the state to control the party, thus creating a situation in which the legislative or political checks and balances on the executive are muted.

From the foregoing, it is arguable that there is a crisis of legitimacy among African political parties characterized by a lack of internal democracy and poor institutional development. This may well explain the failure to further consolidate initial democratic gains in the majority of African polities. Still, political parties continue to play a central role as pillars of democracy in the wider society. The gains made after the initial wave of democratization in the early 1990s, characterized by the collapse of single party autocratic or dictatorial regimes may thus be waning (Makinda, 2003). The challenge now is whether progressive can be made in the substance as opposed to the form of democracy. Democracy in Africa has become synonymous with multiparty elections without regard to whether the institutions of democracy such as political parties offer real choices and provide truly democratic processes of citizen participation.

Intra-party democracy can be a highly subjective construct and may not be easily measurable. The operationalization of these concepts can thus be problematic in empirical

research. Variables may be assigned to indicators such as processes of institutionalization, centralization and inclusiveness, but these are purely arbitrary and highly context specific.

2.6 Gaps in the literature

Most works on party politics tend to lay more emphasis on the establishment of political parties in Nigeria. Therefore, attempt to capture internal democracy in Nigerian political parties in general and Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in particular in Katsina State has not been sufficiently covered. Even where the issue of internal democracy in CPC has been discussed mostly on the pages of newspapers, these issues have not sufficiently covered the realities of the subject matter within the period under study. This research work seeks to fill the huge academic gap created.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The study adopts Elite Theory as its theoretical framework simply because it emphasizes the view that society is devided into two groups; the minority who decides on behalf of the majority parties, where party leaders decide the affairs of the party on behalf of the party members.

2.7.1 Elite Theory

Elite Theory first started in Central and Western European Countries as a critique of democracy and socialism. The theory developed as a reaction to Marxist Theory. The Marxist dream of classless society was rejected by it as an illusion.

The theory was based on the idea that elites are necessary and inevitable and that any revolution which pretended to abolish elites would end up replacing one elite group with another. Elite theorists use two basic lines of argument. First, they argue that certain aspects of human nature

make elites inevitable. Secondly, they argue that elites are necessary for any socio-political organization to function effectively.

Every society is ruled by a small (minority) group of people who possess the attributes that made it possible for them to ascend to the top. Such people are always the best. The elites therefore consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and stratum of society. The elites wherever they are generally come from the same class-usually wealthy, intelligent, strong etc.

There are several Elites theorists; such as Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) both Italians, Roberto Michels (1876-1936), a Swiss German, Jose Ortega Y Gasset, (1883-1955), a Spaniard. For the purpose of this work Robert Michel's work on Elite Theory, particularly the Iron law of Oligarchy is adopted, simply because it focuses on organization particularly political party organization.

Oligarchy is domination by the few. The iron law of oligarchy formulated by Roberto Michels (1968), suggest that there is an inevitable tendency for political organization and by implication all organizations to be oligarchic. Participating democratic structures cannot check oligarchic tendencies; they can only disguise them. Michels advanced a number of arguments in support of his law:

Firstly as organizations grow and become more complicated voluntary labour will no longer be sufficient and it will be necessary to appoint full-time leaders with a certain level of expertise in the running of organizations. What Michels calls expert leadership becomes necessary (Michels 1968:31), i.e an organization requires a group of people who's sole duty is to run the organization. When that happens, the members have to give up the idea of themselves

conducting or even supervising the whole administration, and are compelled to hand these tasks over to trustworthy persons specially nominated for the purpose (Michels 1968:34). So without formal changes in the organization (Michels 1968:34), the members are gradually sidelined from influence and a body of professionals leaders take over.

Secondly, Michels argues that political parties are in effect fighting machines in the electoral arena and as such must 'conform to the law of tactics' (Michels 1968:41). What he means by 'law of tactics' is quite simply that wide spread consultation takes time, and in the day to day struggle of politics, swift decisions have to be made: 'democracy is utterly incompatible with strategic promptness, and the forces of democracy do not lend themselves to the rapid opening of a campaign' (Michels 1968: 42). So, for a party to be able to react with sufficient speed to events and moves by other parties 'a certain degree of caesarism' is required (Michels 1968: 42) and hence in political parties,..'democracy is not for home consumption' (ibid). In other words, to be effective fighting machines, parties have to be organized along oligarchic rather than democratic lines. So according to Michels parties that want to be successful simply cannot be internally democratic. Michels is not alone in this assertion. In discussing the problems of democratic principles and the need for effective leadership Duverger writes: Democratic principles demand that leadership at all levels be elective, that it be frequently renewed, collective in character, weak in authority. Organized in this fashion, a party is not well armed for the struggles of politics' (Duverger 1964: 134).

However, far from objecting to this state of affairs Michels argues that the membership are in fact grateful to their leaders who take on the burden of leadership, which is Michels' third cause of oligarchy: 'though it grumbles occasionally, the majority is really delighted to find persons who will take the trouble to look after its affairs' because majority are apathetic, slavish ,

indolent and incapable of self government (Michels 1968: 53, see also 60-68). Again Duverger is in agreement:

> …leaders tend to naturally retain power and to increase it, because their members scarcely hinder this tendency and on the contrary even strengthen it by hero-worshiping the leaders: on all these points the analysis of Roberto Michels continues to hold true (Duverger 1964: 134).

So, according to Michels and indeed Duverger, political parties will inevitably be run by a small group of people who have little need to take into account the opinions of the membership. They may not have total freedom of movement, but their ability to steer the party in the direction of their choosing is very significant indeed. If ordinary members are dissatisfied there is very little they can do to force the leadership to change in accordance with the wishes of the members. Indeed, they are positively disinclined to challenge the leadership.

The Iron law of oligarchy according to Michels as discussed above does not promote internal democracy in political parties, as where there is internal democracy there is a broad participation in the choice of the leaders and the selection of candidates. Also in internal democracy, there is a prominent role for conferences and conventions in policy formulation. It also dictates that policy making power is concentrated in the hands of party members who are elected and therefore publicly accountable.

Michels argues that political parties are organizations; therefore have tendencies towards oligarchy and at variance with internal democracy. According to this argument, intra-party democracy is cumbersome and leads to inefficient decision making processes which are at variance with the ultimate desire for well organized, structured and institutionalized party systems. This view is further supported by the argument that internal democracy weakens political parties and compromises their ability to compete against their rivals and therefore

undesirable (Duverger: 1954). This means in order to serve democratic ends, political parties themselves must be ruled by oligarchic principles.

The theory has been criticized on a number of grounds. The "Iron Law of Oligarchy' states that all forms of organization, regardless of how democratic they may be at the start, will eventually and inevitably develop Oligarchic tendencies, thus making true democracy practically and theoretically impossible, especially in large groups and complex organizations like political parties. The theory places much emphasis on how individuals are recruited into positions of influence, but fail to establish what would foster co-operation and unity within the political process. Also, Michels in his work failed to define some central terms such as oligarchy and democracy which is a weakness in his work which has been noticed by several scholars (Cook 1971: 786, May 1965: 417; Cassinelli 1953:773-774; Hands 1971: 156, 158). Hands also comments on the lack of hard empirical evidence and criticizes his method as proof by anecdote (Hands 1971: 157) i.e an account which support an argument, but which is not supported by scientific analysis.

Despite the weaknesses of the theory, its application to the study is appropriate, it allow us to view CPC as an organization of political party that cannot avoid oligarchy. Political parties such as CPC are controlled by the very few individuals in the party that have besieged all available post and positions in the upper hierarchy of the party, they serves as the NEC or BOT of the party. These few influential and powerful individuals who are in the minority make all the decisions of the party while majority of the party members follow, they are the Elite. It enables us to have a proper overview of how the strong oligarchic groups within CPC have dictated the affairs of the party against the wishes of the party members in the state between the periods under study.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND ON NIGERIAN POLITICAL PARTIES AND INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the background to party politics and party formations in Nigeria focusing on the major political parties from 1922 to the present Fourth Republic. Also, in this Chapter internal democracy in Nigerian political parties has also been discussed.

3.2 Development of Political Parties in Nigeria

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

3.2.1 Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP)

On June 24, 1923 Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay and his associates inaugurated the Nigerian National Democratic party (NNDP); the party had the support of non-leading nationalist which made it appear national. The objectives of the party included; the attainment of municipal status, and self-government for Lagos, the provision of facilities for higher education in Nigeria, the encouragement of non-discriminatory, private economic enterprises and the Africanization of the civil service. The NNDP being the first party in Nigeria, instead of articulating the general interest of the populace and extending its area of activity to the rural area as it incorporates the wish of the entire Nigeria tended to be concerned only with the interest of the privileged class, and at the same time its sphere of influence to a defined entity and trying to profess national

unity. As Okafor noted, though the parties claimed to be "Nigeria" and Nation, and one of its objectives was to establish branches and auxiliaries in Nigeria, it was a Lagos party. It won all the three seats allocated to Lagos in the legislative council in the elections of 1923, 1928 and 1933. The party also won elective seats in Lagos town council. NNDP dominated the politics of Lagos for about 15 years mainly because it was the only formed political party at that period, and made no efforts to extend its tentacles to Calabar which was another area the constitution allocated one seat. The party was financed mainly by its leaders (Sklar, 1963).

The political activities and campaigns of NNDP were aided by a newspaper called Lagos Daily News launched in 1925 which acted as an arm of the party.

3.2.2 The Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM)

The emergence of the NYM was mainly to challenge the NNDP in Lagos politically. The movement nonetheless, was led by self-conscious ethno-social elites of Yoruba speaking heritage prominently from Lagos. In order to propagate their ideas on educational policy, a number of young men mainly students and graduates of Nigeria's premier institution, King's College (Lagos) formed the Lagos Youth Movement in 1934 which in **1936** was renamed Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM). Most members of the movement were western educated Christians (Sklar,1963). The aim of the party was the development of a unified nation out of the conglomerate of people who inhabit Nigeria. "It shall be our endeavor to encourage the fullest play of such forces and as well serves to promote understanding and a sense of common nationalism among the different elements in the country"the party stated. The movement established branches in important Centres throughout Nigeria in a bid to achieve its objectives of promotion of national unity and national consciousness. The founding members were; Dr. J.C Vaughan, Ernest Ikoli, H.O Davies.

The movement acquired to some extent national outlook and became a strong national movement when Nnamdi Azikwe and H.O Davies returned to Nigeria in 1937 and 1938 respectively and consequently joined the movement. NYM became the first authentic Nigerian nationalist organization to be formed. Membership was open to all Nigerians especially those resident in Lagos. The movement collapsed mainly as a result of intense internal rivalry among its leaders, this time it was political and centered on leadership succession. (Sklar, 1963)

3.2.3. The National Council for Nigerians and Cameroon (NCNC)

According to Ujo (2002) the factors which gave rise to National Council for Nigerians' and the Cameroon, which later became the National Council of Nigerian Citizens, when the Cameroons broke away from Nigeria, were two; the conflict between Nnamdi Azikiwe and some members of the Nigerian Youth Movement and the Post Nationalist Awakening.

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

However, it is important to mention that the need for ethnicity in Nigerian politics was shown at this stage. Zik left the Nigerian Youth Movement with all the Ibos and eventually moved into the NCNC. The NCNC was the first Nigerian political party to be organized to seek for total independence for Nigeria. Herbert Macaulay was the first leader and president of NCNC and Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe the General Secretary. Dr. Azikwe became the president of the party after the death of Macaulay in 1946. Initially, the NCNC was some how a nationalist political

organization both in organization and philosophy. But it competitive electron developed and there was a need for the party to have a strong base, it became increasingly an Ibo dominated political party.

3.2.4 Action Group (A.G)

The Action Group was a transformation of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa (society of the Descendants of Oduduwa). The moving spirit behind the Egbe was obafemi Awolowo. The Egbe was formed in 1945 to protect the interest of Yoruba in Nigeria, to challenge the political dominance of NCNC; to co-operate and work with other nationalists towards the achievement of immediate self-government for Nigeria, to co-operate and strengthen all tribal organizations in the Western region. The initial effort at mobilizing the Yoruba under the Egbe was not successful especially in the Lagos areas, until the accession of Adeniji Adele as Oba of Lagos. The Egbe transformed into the Action Group as a Solid Yoruba front antagonistic to Zik and the entire Ibo group. Late Chief Obafemi Awolowo was the founder of AG. Other prominent members of the party were Chief Bode Thomas, S.L. Akintola, Rewane, Chief Shonibare, Yoruba traditional rulers etc.

Awolowo cogently argued that pan-tribal unity was a necessary condition for political advancement and declared that the barriers of tribalism within each ethnic unit must be totally destroyed. It was further observes that the ethnic and regional character of the Action Group breed the NCNC to increasingly assume an ethnic and regional character. With such development, the battle line was drawn, party competition became inter-ethnic since these rely heavily on their ethnic groups for support. With this ethnicity and disintegration, Nigerian politics became well institutionalized (Sklar, 1963).

With such institutionalization of ethnic conflict due to party competition for power, political parties and their affiliated bodies – tribal associations – now behooved as an avenue for

the reinforcement and propagation of regional, tribal or ethnic interest, as well as serving as an agent for disintegration rather than integration. This polarization in political parties of later time began to assume more ethnic, sectional or tribal character.

3.2.5 Northern People's Congress (NPC)

Like the Action Group, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) was founded in October 1951. NPC metamorphosed from the Northerner's cultural organization known as Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa founded in December, 1949. The party (NPC) was dominated by the Hausa-Fulanis and had its roots on Muslim religion. Its leader was late Sir Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, a powerful spiritual and traditional leader. The NPC established absolute political control in the north and had automatic Northerners' allegiance as a result of its strong tradition of obedience to Islam and support of traditional rulers.

The organizational structure of the NPC was not as clear cut as in other political parties as a result of the fact that the party revolved around Islam. The aim of NPC included; fostering the autonomy of the north, to contribute to the social, political and economic development of the north, to educate Northerners on their political and civil responsibilities, to foster co-operation and understanding amongst the Northerners, etc.

However, it is important to note that apart from the above major parties in the first republic, there are other minor parties that included; Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) formed in August 1950 and was led by Late Malam Aminu Kano, Others are United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) founded in 1955, United National Independent Party(UNIP), Dynamic Party (DP), Niger Delta Congress (NDC), Nigerian New Democratic Party (NNDP) led by S.L.Akintola, Borno Youth Movement (BYM) among others.

3.3 Parties in Second Republic

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

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

The guidelines were expected to ensure that political parties promote national unity and create a favorable climate for electoral competition. Also, the constitution stipulated the guidelines for the formation of political parties as follows:

- the names and addresses of party officers must be registered with FEDECO;
- party membership must be open to every Nigerian regardless of his place of origin, religion, ethnic group or sex;
- its name, emblem or motto must not have any ethnic or religious connotation and it must not even create the impression that its activities are confined to a part (rather than the whole of Nigeria);
- the headquarters must be situated in the Federal Capital; and
- it must have established branch offices in at least two-third of the state in the federation.

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

3.3.1 National Party of Nigeria (NPN)

The NPN was first formed as a non-political association known as the National Movement of members of the defunct constituent Assembly in Lagos. Early in the proceedings of the constitutional Assembly, a committee was formed by some of the members to press for the creation of four states. These are Wawa (Enugu), Calabar Ogoja (Qua Iboe), Kastina and Kogi Sates. The committee was known as committee II. Most members of this committee formed the Nation's Movements.

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

The NPN was officially launched in September 1978 in Lagos after the lifting of ban on party politics. The major bulk of the leaders of the NPN came from members of the defunct Nothern People's Congress (NPC) and few others from other parts of the country. The leaders included; Alhaji Aliyu Makama Bida, Ali Monguno, Shehu Shagari, Maitama Sule, Adamu Ciroma, Inua Wada, Adisa Akinloye, M.K.O Abiola, Richard Akinjide, K.O. Mbadiwe, Olusola Saraki, Joseph Tarka etc.

The objectives of the party included: to work towards making Nigeria a nation where the affairs of the government would be conducted in accordance with the provision of the constitution, to build a prosperous and self –reliant Nigeria based on a strong agricultural and

industrial sector where all Nigerians would be given equal opportunities regardless of sex, race, religion or tribe etc (Anyaele, 2003).

3.3.2 Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN)

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

When the military government lifted the ban on political activities, it was UPN that emerged as the first political association. Chief Obafemi Awolowo was the founder and leader of the party. Other prominent personalities of the party included; Chief Adekunle Ajasin, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Chief Bola Ige. Majority of the members of the UPN belonged to the first republic Action Group.

A probe at the party's programme reflect free education, full employment for all Nigerians, integrated rural development and free medical services for all Nigerians. This shows that it has the general populance as its focuss. Attainment of socialism was the main goal of the party, but socialism here means freedom.The party won gubernatorial elections in five states in 1979 and lost one of them in 1983 election, the party successfully acted as a strong opposition party that reduced the excesses of the ruling NPN, among other achievements of the party.

3.3.3 Nigerian People's Party (NPP)

The Nigeria People's Party (NPP), like most parties of the First Republic was a conglomerate of various associations of interest groups. These associations were in existence during the 13 years military rule and were undergoing transformation.

In 1978, following the political awakening, there was a fusion of the various associations; Club 19, the Progressive Front of Eastern States and Lagos, and Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri's National Council for Understanding and Solidarity (NCUS) into what later became the Nigerian People's Party (NPP).

It was Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri who led the group of Nigerians that formed the NPP. Other founding members included; Chief Adeniran Ogunsanya who later became the chairman of the party, Chief Olu Akinfosile, Chief Solomon Lar, Alhaji Ado Ibrahim, etc. Chief Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe joined the party after its formation and later became its leader and presidential candidate. While Waziri organized his groups and members of the NCUS into what later became the Great Nigerian People's Party (GNPP). It should be noted that the association of the former NCNC members with NPP was mainly due to the influence of Azikwe and his charisma in Nigerian politics. Among the objectives of the party included; to work for national integration and equal opportunity for all without regard to ethnic group, or sex, to promote and sustain national unity, territorial integrity and defend Nigerian independence and sovereignty; to work for a secular democratic state; fight against poverty, disease, ignorance, tolerance, indiscipline, feudalism, racism, neocolonialism and unjust exploitation of man and so on. These objectives cannot be differentiated from those of the GNPP (Nwajoku, 2005).

The party (NPP) won gubernatorial elections and controlled three states of Imo, Anambra and Plateau, the party played the role of opposition successfully, among other achievements.

However, like the first republic, apart from the major political parties, there were minor parties that included; Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP), People Redemption Party (PRP) led by Mal. Aminu Kano, Nigerian Advanced Party (NAP).

3.4 Evolution of Political Parties in the Aborted Third Republic

The entire package of the transaction to civil rule program of the Third Republic was designed by the Political Bureau, which was set up by the defunct Armed Forces Ruling Council and inaugurated by General Babangida on 13thJanuary 1986. The Bureau submitted its report to the government on the 27thof March 1987. The report of the Bureau formed the basis for the transition to civil rule programme of the aborted Third Republic. (Report of the political Bureau 1987 pp132 in Suleiman, 2012).

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

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

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

The two political parties constitutions, objectives, policies and programs were set up by the Military government through National Electoral Commission. As a result of this development, the structure and objectives of these political parties were similar if not the same. Government through the National Electoral Commission provided the parties with constitutions and manifestoes, the constitutions of the parties were the same.

3.4.1 National Republican Convention (NRC)

The political party was registered through the approval of the Armed Forces Ruling Council with Chief Tom Ikimi as its National Chairman. The party had its registered offices at the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, every state capital, local government headquarters, the Abuja Area Council and all wards in the federation.

The objectives of NRC included among other things; the pursuance of political, economic, social, educational and other objectives as well as the directive principles and policies stated in the Chapter 11 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to attain political power through democratic and constitutional means and so on.

3.4.2 Social Democratic Party (SDP)

Like the NRC, the registration of the SDP was approved by the Armed Forces Ruling Council with Chief Tony Anenih as its National Chairman. The party had its registered offices at the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, every state capital, local government headquarters, the Abuja Area Council and all wards in the federation.

The objectives of SDP included among other things; the pursuance of political, economic, social, educational and other objectives as well as the directive principles and policies stated in the Chapter 11 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to attain political power through democratic and constitutional means etc. It contested and won elections into Local

Government Councils, State Assemblies and the National Assembly where it won majority seats. It won many gubernatorial elections to its credit and its presidential hopeful, Chief M.K.O. Abiola was leading in the presidential election of june12, 1993 with majority votes from most states of the federation before the election was annulled by General Ibrahim Babangida.

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

The United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP)

The National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN)

The Congress for National Consensus (CNC)

The Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN)

The Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM)

3.5 Political Parties in the Fourth Republic in Nigeria

Abacha suddenly died on June 8, 1998. General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over the mantle of leadership of the country. His coming to power marked the beginning of the golden age of democracy in Nigeria. His achievements include:

- the repeal of all tyrannical decrees;
- the release of political prisoners from detention, including General Olusegun Obasanjo; and
- introduction of a transition program, which was to be implemented within a few months.

General Abubakar asserted that "it is clear that Nigeria want a country where fairness, justice and equity are not mere slogans but principles put into timely practice with parliamentary elections due in February, followed by voting to full presidency, a land that had gained a reputation as the sick man of Africa is finding cause for celebration at last (Nwajoku, 2005).

In the preparation of Nigeria for the fourth Republic as it advances into the twenty first century, three political parties were registered by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in 1998 among several political associations that struggled for registration as political parties. The names of the registered parties are the Alliance for Democracy (AD), All People's Party (APP), which in 2002 changed its name to All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). At its inception, the first National Chairman of AD was Ambassador Mamman Yusuf, that of the APP was Alhaji Yusuf Ali, while that of PDP was Chief Solomon Lar. These parties are organized and administered at the ward, local Government Area, State, Zonal and National levels and have registered offices at all levels. These political parties contested the 1998 and 1999 general election. (Nwajoku, 2005).

The three political parties – AD, APP and PDP serve as the outcome of the transition program of General Abdulsalami Abubakar.

3.5.1 People's Democratic Party (PDP)

It is argued that the genesis of the party was the Institute of Civil Society (ICS) established in 1997 purposely to enlighten Nigerians about their "right and obligations in a militarized political atmosphere" (Maja-Pearce, 1999:79). This was the period when military rule reached its peak in Nigeria. During this time, the administration of Nigerian state was pervaded by political assassinations, murder, kidnappings, and intimidation. The ICS later transformed into G18 (Group of 18); mostly Northern politicians and academics that vehemently opposed General Abacha's planned self-succession. The G18 wrote and circulated a letter rejecting the self-succession of Abacha. This action earned many of them arbitrary arrest and intimidation. The G18 was later enlarged to G34 to include people from other regions who were equally opposed

to Abacha military rule and particularly his self-succession political design. Thus, the association was popularly known as G34.

Following the death of Abacha in june, 1998 and the unveiling of transition programme under his successor, General Abubakar, the G34, along with other established political associations such as People's Democratic Movemeent (PDM) formed by late Shehu Musa Yar Adua and later headed by Atiku Abubakar of All Nigeria Congress (ANC), the Social Progressive Party (SPP), South-South Group (SSG), New Era Alliance (NERA), National Centre Party (NCP), National League for Good Governance (NLGG), People's National Forum (PNF), National Summit and Hope'99, came together to form the people's Democratic Party (PDP). The leaderships of these associations set up a steering committee, chaired and scribed by Alex Ekwueme and Jerry Gana respectively. This was what supported the creation of a party. Accordingly, on August 19, 1998 over 125 political associations endorsed the formation of PDP. The party was formally inaugurated on August 31, 1998 (OM interview; IG, interview; IS, interview; The Guardian, 1998; *The Umbrella*, 2000 in Ogundiya(2011).

3.5.2 Alliance for Democracy (AD)

Alliance for Democracy (AD) emerged from several civil society associations or pressure groups that radically opposed General Abacha's transition to civil rule programme especially his tazarce (self-succession) agenda. These political associations were: Afenifere, Eastern Mandate Union (EMU), People's Consultative Forum (PCF), National Democratic Coaliation (NADECO), and Southern Leaders Forum (SLF). According to Maja-Pearce (1999:75, cited in Kura2005), these associations started first as All People's Party (APP). But later, the associations discovered that there were many people in the associations considered as 'Abacha collaborators'. Consequently,

the process of establishing a mega party was broken, and Afenifere together with some associations, especially Joly Tanko Yusuf's United Democratic Congress (UDC) formed Alliance for Democracy (AD). AD, as a political party, emerged after Afenifere and its associates pulled out of the ANPP alleging bad faith in its leadership. Thus, in breaking away, leading chieftains of the AD remark that:

> It is a matter of regret, while the aim of the Southern Leader's Forum (SLF) was to give the Nigerian people a political party whose leadership comprises leaders and members of unquestionable integrity, the forum has suddenly and sadly found itself in the midst of many discredited politicians who have cornered the leadership of the proposed party through the back door (Simbine, 2002:25).

Similarly, the political associations that pulled out of the proposed ANPP further noted that they decided to break-out of the proposal because their appeal to the leadership of the Conference of Fused Associations (CFA) in the formation of AD undoubtedly signified that AD was an ethnic party. That was perhaps why INEC guidelines would have to be adjusted to accommodate the registration of AD in 1998. No wonder, therefore, AD was viewed as a direct successor to Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group (AG) and UPN in the First and Second Republics, respectively (Maja-Pearce, 1999). The party only dominated the six Yoruba-speaking states: Lagos, Ekiti, Osun, Ogun, Ondo, and Oyo in the 1999 elections. The party was ethnic and regional because of its deliberate failure to extend its leadership frontiers to other parts of the country. In fact, even Jolly Tanko Yusuf, who jettisoned ethnicity and abandoned Northern colleagues to form AD, and who subsequently became its first chairman, had to resign, alleging that:

> I cannot be a national chairman of a party that does not accept the country as its constituency. It doesn't make sense. I was accepted by my brothers in the south as chairman of the party. I was frustrated and marginalized with funds for the people and not myself, to the extent they could not even tour this part of the

> country. Your reputation would not allow that especially it would be embarrassing to continue in such a situation where you are not regarded (Kura, 2011).

Accordingly, prominent members of the AD were: Chief Ayo Adebanjo, Bassey Eturbom Bassey, Chief Olu Falae, Chief Bola Ige, Yusuf Mamman, Bola Tinubu and Dr. Udenta O. Udenta. Except for Abdulqadir Dayyabu, all these people were from South-West. AD formed an electoral alliance with the ANPP. Eventually, AD-APP's candidates' Olu Falae and Ummaru Shinkafi lost to PDP candidates in 1999: Olusegun Obasanjo and Atiku Abubakar.

3.5.3 All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP)

All People's Party (APP), as it was originally known, emerged following a meeting between the Conference of Fused Association (CFA) led by Umaru Shinkafi and the Southern Leaders' Forum (SLF) led by Chief Bola Ige. However, because of disagreement over the credibility of the leadership of APP and its alleged infiltration by "discredited politicians", who vehemently supported Abacha self-succession, the Southern Leaders' Forum (SLF) and *Afenifere* broke-out of the accord. Simbine (2002:24) argue that APP "came about, due to the unification of breakaway factions from the original PDP as a result of disagreement over some knotty issues." Arguably, it was the misunderstanding between Afenifere and SLF on one hand and CFA on the other hand over the initial attempt to "float a broad-based party" (Maja-Pearce, 1999), that led to the formation of AD and APP separately.

APP emerged from the CFA and SLF, made up of at least six political associations, namely: All Nigeria Congress (ANC) headed by Umaru Shinkafi, the United Nigeria People's Party (UNPP) of Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, the National Unity Forum (NUF), which belonged to Olusola Saraki, People's Congress (PC) of Mahmudu Waziri, the New Era (NERA) of Bode Olajumoke, and the People's Consultative Forum (PCF). The CFA included associations, such as

ANC, PC, UNPP, NUF, NERA, Democratic Vanguard, Unity 99, and Kwara People's Forum (KPF). While the Southern Leaders' Forum **(**SLF) on the other hand included People's Consultative Forum (PCF), Eastern Mandate Union (EMU), South-South Forum (SSF), AND Eastern Progress Delta's Union (EPDU) (Simbine,2002 in Kura 2005). APP was accordingly formed and launched on the 2nd and 8thSeptember, 1998 in Lagos and Abuja, respectively. On the 27thmay, 2002, the leadership of APP and UNPP met at Abuja and officially announced the birth of ANPP which was as a result of the merger. The slogan of APP was changed from 'APP justice' to 'ANPP- one Nigeria'.

The merger talks and the processes were undertaken and concluded when Bafarawa was the care-taker chairman of the party. The new look of the party (ANPP) attracted some of the most popular names in Nigeria such as Gen. Mohammadu Buhari, late Chuba Okadigbo and host of others. Buhari no doubt brought vigour and vitality to the ANPP. His popularity among the masses, particularly in the north was to be transformed into loyalty and support for the ANPP. The name of the party was changed from APP to ANPP in 2002 following the entry of Muhammadu Buhari, who was the party's Presidential Candidate in 2003 and 2007 General Election respectively.

Three issues emerged from the formation of this party;

- individual 'bigwigs' formed and funded associations exclusively to influence the formation of political party;
- the haphazard and abrupt pattern in the formation of ANPP means that the associations only came together for the purpose of wresting power from the military; and
- none of the associations has any defined ideological position. Thus, the associations were identified with their key financiers.

No wonder therefore that, none of the associations individually could have satisfied the institutional requirements for the formation of a political party. The merger itself was necessitated by the desire to satisfy the criteria and perhaps not based on any clearly defined political philosophy and ideology. For example, perhaps because of the difficulty to comply with criteria for the formation of the party, the ANPP had to enter into coalition with several other associations in order to satisfy the conditions for the registration of parties.

ANPP's major problems started after the 2007 election when Buhari challenged the victory of Yar 'Adua. Initially, Edwin Ume-Ezeoke, National Chairman of the party, who was his running mate in the presidential election endorsed the litigation. However, when the leadership of the ANPP agreed to join Yar'Adua's government of national unity, Buhari was asked to withdraw the case. His refusal to do so led to a disagreement between him and the leadership of ANPP. Buhari denounced the idea of joining Yar'Adua's government and accused the party's leadership of "just looking for jobs for themselves". When the Supreme Court in 4-3 split, judgement ruled the case in favour of Yar'Adua and Buhari felt betrayed by the ANPP leadership. In February, 2010, he dumped the ANPP and joined the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC).

3.6 Political Parties and Internal Democracy in Nigeria

One peculiar feature of the development of political parties in Nigeria is that the pre-existing tribal and cultural associations, groups, trade unions, etc. metamorphosed into political parties in the first republic. These groups have acted as spring-boards for the formation of political parties in Nigeria. Formation of political parties in Nigeria that had since the colonial era adopted multi-party system has followed the tripartite nature of Nigerian federation. Those political parties,

whose formation predated political independence of Nigeria(NNDP, NYM, NCNC AG, NPC, UMBC etc), were primarily formed in order to awaken political consciousness of the people so that they can control their own affairs by achieving self-government. So at this stage, the issue of internal democracy is not an issue, because citizens were not fully aware of their right talkless of knowing the importance attached to political parties. The majority of the people at this stage were not involved in the decision affecting them politically, rather, the powerful, influencial and charismatic leaders decide on their behalf and they accept their decision as final without questioning. This is well captured by Michels (1968) that political parties are organization that are controlled by the very few powerful, influential and charismatic individuals that have besieged all available positions in the upper hierarchy of the party, they make all the decisions of the party while majority of the party members follow.

Political parties in the first Republic were characterized by inter-ethnic struggle for power without regards to internal democracy which generated ethnic consciousness or chauvinism, the rise and fall of political parties, factions with parties and factions within factions and total disengagement of some factions from party and the re-emergence of such factions as a political party. In the early stage of party formations, tribal associations serve as one best arena for the recruitment of party members as well as for political socialization and indoctrination. Intra and inter party rivalries characterized these parties of the first republic after independence leading to their degeneration into more or less pressure groups a trend which eventually led to the collapse of the first republic(Saliu and Abdulrasheed, n.d).

These political parties (NNDP, NYM, NCNC, AG, NPC, NEPU etc) were neither formed nor funded by government. There was no guideline for the formation of these parties. These parties revolved around the personalities of individuals who were considered the best to

articulate ethnic positions either in alliance with others or alone in opposition (Saliu and Muhammad, nd). Issues of internal democracy and ideology have always been secondary considerations. The fortunes of these parties were determined by electoral success. The Northern People Congress (NPC) was a regional party that dominates the politics of the north during that time and the party was able to become the dominant political party because it controlled the Centre.

The Action Group (AG) was the dominant party in the west. The document that announced the party's birth described it frankly as a Western Regional Political Organization (Alfa, 2012:3). It's dominance of the regions was simply to protect the interest of the Yorubas' and to challenge the political dominance of NCNC which was an Igbo party. However, the three major parties at the time of independence in 1960 were each identified with a region in terms of support base. Despite pretensions, none of them was a national organization in the real sense of the term. Competition for power at the centre took the form of a contest among the regions with its gross disregard for the tenets of intra-party democracy in their modus operandi (ibid). Leadership is central to organization; this is particularly true of political parties where the orientation and behaviour of leaders determine what the party will do. In underdeveloped societies such as Nigeria, where the masses are predominantly illiterate especially during the first republic, the elites seem to have greater freedom in what they do, and are not necessarily responsive to popular feelings and aspirations.

Politics in such societies is seen more as an elite game and a luxury to the masses. In short, the generality of the population are pawns in the elite game of politics. In such societies, if the elites can unite, they can inspire their followers to do the same. If they fail to unite, they can become the centres for sectional affiliation. This was the Nigerian experience up to 1964(Alfa,

2012:5).The proceedings of the first republic were brought to an end when the military intervened in the politics of Nigeria on the 15th January, 1966.

In the period of transition, though leadership remained the same, there was constitutional change to curb the activities of political parties as well as regulate the formation and recruitment of parties, which in the first republic took ethnic dimensions. The constitution then stipulates that: "No association other than a political party shall canvass for vote for any candidate at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at any election. Ujo (2000) identified parties of the second republic, 1979-1983 and they included the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Nigerian Peoples' Party (NPP), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP), Great Nigerian Peoples' Party (GNPP) and Nigeria Advance Party (NAP). What characterized parties of this epock is that in spite of the government attempt to avoid their degeneration into regional parties as experienced in the First Republic, most of the parties turned out to be reincarnates of the first Republic parties. For instance, the NPN, UPN, NPP and PRP were adjudged to be similar both in leadership and orientation to the NPC, AG, NCNC and NEPU respectively. Also, from a plethora of analytical perceptions as highlighted above, it was generally accepted that with the exception of GNPP all other parties were to a certain extent reincarnations of political parties of the moribund first republic (Yaqub, 2002). Politics was therefore practiced not in tandem with the principles of internal democracy and universal standards but hinged principally on clientelism and prebendalism (Joseph, 1991). Consequently, the scope of electoral support par se may not necessarily bring about political stability and national integration. The experiences of the 1962 Action group crises as well as the examples in other states in the second republic are quite illuminating in this regards (Ollawa, 1989 cited in Alfa, 2012).

Apart from the break-up of the NPN - NPP accord, bitter splits occurred in the GNPP, NPP and PRP between 1980 and 1982 which seriously affected the stability of the party leadership and its support bases as well as the transactional relationships between individual legislators and their parties. Certainly much of the tension between the NPN and the alliance of the so-called progressive parties - UPN, NPP, and factions of PRP and GNPP which also spilled over into the operations of the National Assembly as evidenced by the unnecessary delays in the passage of important legislation including the revenue allocation bill, and the annual budgets, can be traced to the peculiarity of Nigerian party politics (Ollawa, 1989 cited in Alfa, 2012). The paradox of party politics in the second republic is that intuitional attempt to evolve a party system which would promote stable contest between parties presumably characterized by different programmes manifested in issue-oriented ideologies, which would work towards the integration of the people with the governing of the society, what emerged in practice was transactional politics based on opportunistic and informal networks of politicking replete with intra-party factionalism that constantly led to shifting of alliances, a situation which unavoidably supplanted the formal structures of party organization.

Preparatory to the 1983 elections, almost all the political parties circumvented internal democratic norms in nominating their flag-bearers. Even though Shagari did not exhibit readiness to re-contest early enough, ostensibly due to the zoning arrangement in NPN which fell into Zone 'B', a situation which made Chief M.K.O. Abiola to indicate interest to contest, early in 1982, Umaru Dikko, undoubtedly the most influential, confident of President Shagari, put the renomination machine of Shagari into motion. By May, it was possible for the national executive committee to favour the renomination of Shagari for a second term. In June 1982 the party planned a special convention to choose a presidential candidate. When nomination closed at

12:30pm on 5 June 1982, Shagari was the only candidate who had filed nomination papers. Umaru Dikko was the main architect of this victory. Dikko, using a Hausa proverb warned interested candidates before the convention that a rich man should be content to remain a king's friend, rather than try to become the king himself. The day he tries to do so, that day people will show him his limits (the New Nigerian 12, June 1982, p.3). To that extent therefore, Chief M.K.O Abiola was frustrated in his ambition in flagrant abuse of normal provisions for the emergence of party flag-bearers and in outright disregard for the doctrines of internal party democracy.

It is instructive to note that for the other political parties, the question of a presidential candidate was not a problem as only one candidate was in the running. On 9 December 1982, the national president of the UPN, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was unanimously nominated as the party's candidate at its fifth yearly congress in Lagos. He was also recommended to the summit of the PPA meeting later that month, for adoption as the presidential candidate of the alliance. Nnamdi Azikiwe was chosen as the NPP presidential candidate at the party's fourth national convention in Port-Harcourt on 18 December 1982.

It is imperative to state that for the NPN and more so for the UPN, serious attempts were made to seek the views of the members of the party in each state, senatorial district, and constituency on the candidate with the largest following for the various positions. This use or abuse of primaries caused serious cleavages in these parties in many areas and in particular in states where the party was in control of state administration. In some cases, the political parties were unable to heal the wound. Defection of aggrieved members to other political parties became the order of the day. For the UPN in three of the five states in which the party was in power, the deputy governors resigned not only-their position but also their membership of the party to join

the opposition party, the UPN. Suffice it is to say that the way the primaries for the 1983 elections were held created room for manipulation, particularly in the UPN States where the governor was also the chairman of the party. Even in the UPN states like Benue, Rivers, Kwara, where the governors were not the state chairmen of the party, the primaries cannot be said to have been free of manipulation by the incumbent governor and his supporters as there were no recourse to strict adherence to the tenets of intra-party democracy. The mutilation of Nigeria's body politics is undoubtedly the proximate cause of the collapse of the second republic on 31 December, 1983.

General Babangida who assumed power on August 27, 1985, imposed two political parties on Nigerians. The National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The ward elections of 26 May, 1990 provided the political associations that had been forced underground the first new opportunity to ensure that their former supporter were elected. The open-ballot system of this election did not prevent the influence of the disbanded associations in the election of the ward officials and delegates to the local government level. (Nigerian Economist, 1990).

The local government level party and delegate elections took place on 16 June, 1990 but it was not until after the state congresses of the parties - on 7 July, 1990 - that the influence of the banned politicians and disqualified political associations started coming more clearly to the fore. In Lagos State, for instance, the role of Alhaji Lateef Jakande, the former second Republic UPN governor of the state, was reported to be strong in ensuring that Alhaji Muniru Baruwa Chairman in his state became the SDP chairman. (Newswatch, 1990:23 July). In Kwara State, Olusola Saraki, the multimillionaire Senate leader for the NPN in the second republic, had broken with the party towards the end of that republic. With the beginning of the formation of associations

for the third republic, Saraki was said to have supported the LC. When the L.C. opted for the NRC as a result of Babangida's intervention, Saraki's refusal to have anything with those having NPN roots saw him offer support to the SDP. Thus, the LC chairman who was reported to be Saraki's candidate became the SDP chairman after the state party congress of the SDP (Ibid). Although reported by a number of the national dailies, the event concerned was allowed to pass without its significance being appreciated at the time. The new military heads of state, General Abubakar, had invited most of the country's most retired military generals for a special parley on his democratization programme and how best to move Nigeria forward (Adekanye, 1999).

Above other considerations, the military factor and the need to place the aggrieved South-west after June 12, 1993 presidential election annulment saga saw Obasanjo nominated as his party's flag-bearer on February 15, 1999 (Adekanye, 1999). Under the Abacha's transition programme, eighteen political associations applied for registration as political parties, out of which five were registered, viz: the Congress for National Consensus (CNC), the Democratic Party of Nigeria (DPN), the Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM), the National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN) and the United Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP). Particularly, the UNCP became the platform for actualizing Abacha's political gimmick. Along the line, the parties operated outside the confines of intra-party and democratic ethos as all of the then adopted Abacha as their presidential flag-bearer and negated the basic institutional requirement of intra-party democracy.

3.6.1 Nature of Internal Democracy in Nigerian Political Parties of the Fourth Republic

The origin and formation of Nigerian political parties of the fourth Republic can be traced to section 221-229 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. These sections give conditions for formation and registration of political parties in Nigeria. These sections therefore, give deliberate effort to ensure national character for political parties. The conditions given by the above sections were to ensure that political parties are national both in membership and organization. However, political parties were not formed and do not operate from the tradition of liberal democracy where parties derive their existence from a libertarian base-a fundamental belief in liberal democracy. In Nigeria, political parties are quasi-formal political institutions that are regulated by the constitution. They are not grass root based and do not derive from the people. In this sense, it is difficult to accept the notions that, by their origin, Nigerian parties are democratic institutions (Simbine, 2002).

'The first three political parties were' children of necessity; they were formed within the shortest transition programme in the history of Nigeria without regard to internal democracy. However, the short period of the transitions coupled with stringent and cumbersome institutional requirements have affected the formation of credible political parties. The haphazard nature of the formation of parties under the tight supervision and command of the military has led to the individual 'strange-bedfellows' coming together under one political party (Kura 2010,Cited in Ogundiya, 2011:28). This clumsy political arrangement was attributable to intra-party conflicts and squabbles that besieged all the three political parties since 1999.

Therefore, if political parties are one of the contingencies (Olson, 1998:433), the institutional designs and the circumstances under which parties were formed are part of these

contingencies that influence their behavior, activities, structure and autonomy in Nigeria. This is tantamount to saying that the major issues of 'background, composition, ideology, structure and internal party democracy' (Orlovsky, 1989: 437) were disregarded in the formation of the political parties and even the subsequent ones.

Nigeria has been having a consistent democratic rule since 1999 but one thing that seems to be lacking is the adoption of internal democracy within the political parties of the fourth republic. Let's attempt a critical analysis of the nature of internal party democracy within the major parties of the fourth republic.

3.6.2 The People Democratic Party (PDP)

In the conduct of the PDP Presidential primary election on 13th January 2011, it was alleged that there was apparent lack of openness and fairness in the primary which flagrantly violated the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended), PDP constitution and the PDP presidential primary election guidelines. The composition of the National Convention Committee, which had the overall mandate of planning and executing the primary election programme, was not made public until 72 hours before the convention. This violated paragraph 7(b) of the PDP Electoral Guidelines 2010. Similarly, the identities of members of the screening committee were also not released until 72 hours before the screening of presidential aspirants of 11 January, 2011.

The ground rules governing the primary election ought to have been agreed upon and signed by all the parties involved, and such an agreement should also have been publicized and widely advertised in the print media. This is stipulated in paragraph 8(b) of the PDP Electoral guidelines 2010. The agreement on the special convention ground rules would have been one major way to ensure that the primary election process was objective, impartial, fair and not

programmed to produce a predetermined end. But the PDP leadership refused to be guided by these basic democratic norms. Also, the list of delegates who would vote at the primary election ought to have been published and widely advertised in the print media prior to the primary as spelt out under paragraph 8(b) of the PDP Electoral Guidelines 2010, so as to forestall the list either being tampered with or its integrity being substantially compromised. But the list of delegates was sighted for the first time by the other camp while voting was in progress.

No special congresses were held anywhere in the country for the purpose of electing the 774 special delegates who voted in the primary. Names of presidential functionaries, including Ministers and Advisers as well as trusted aides of state governors were merely compiled and passed off as national delegates. This negated the provisions of Part II (A) (i) of the PDP Electoral Guidelines 2010. Names of State Working Committee Members, Local Government Chairmen, etc were changed days to the primary election and known supporters of the president were allowed to vote in place of those disenfranchised statutory delegates. On the PDP presidential primaries, the BBC of January 14, 2011 reports the primary in these words, "in the language of Nigerian negotiation, the matter of whom the ruling Peoples Democratic Party delegates chooses as their presidential candidate for April's election is "settled". Cash has been dispensed; favours and gifts have been granted; and political support given in return, thousands of smiling PDP members, their wallets swollen with booty are packing up to leave with the jamboree in the capital, Abuja that commentators call "the cash and carry primary." (BBC, 2011).

3.6.3 Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)

In selecting candidates for elective positions, the party most often either failed to adopt primaries or where the primaries were conducted, the outcome of such primaries were not strictly adhered to in choosing of candidates. In the build up to the April 2011 general elections, no primaries were conducted in the selection of ACN presidential candidates, as the party leaders just put heads together and picked former Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuhu Ribadu as its presidential candidate to the surprise of other presidential aspirants like former Sokoto State Governor, Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa.

The same scenario played itself out in the selection of candidates for various elective positions in all states where ACN fielded candidates. Perhaps the highest disregards for internal democracy took place in the Lagos State Chapter of the party during the build up to the October, 22 local government elections as there were protests of imposition of candidates by party members in almost all the 57 local government areas and the Local Council Development Areas (LCDA). Although a central primary was said to have been conducted at the party secretariat, the leadership of the party did not follow the outcome of the primaries in the selection of candidates for the election (Esan, 2011).

The ACN leaders, most especially in states where the party governs and where it appear to have high prospects of winning, collected various outrageous sums from prospective aspirants and thereafter refused to organize primaries, in most cases, for the different aspirants. One Mr. Seun Williams, an aspirant for the Lagos State House of Assembly's seat was quoted thus by the Independent of 20 January, 2011;

"I can't count how many times I meet with members and supporters of the party since 2008, I spent my money gathering information from them and equipping myself with details on how to better their lot when I get to serve them in the Assembly. I have been assurred by the ACN members that I would get their votes regardless of the party platform I contest under". He recounted that he won the 2007 primaries under the ACN platform but was asked by Tinubu to step down for Ademola Adekunle, now a lawmaker. "My feeling was that I would get back my mandate this year, but there were no primaries as far as am concerned. The party hierarchy cannot deny this fact" (Independent, 2011).

The Vanguard of January 14, 2011 also fielded this report on the ACN primaries in Lagos state. An INEC Officer on ground of anonymity spoke to the Vanguard thus:

"The candidates emerged under questionable circumstances. After you media was asked to leave the election venue, we were equally ushered out while the officers took the ballot boxes into a room. Later they came out with a paper where the results were written and asked us to sign which we refused. It took the mercy of security personnel to see us safely to our cars and the result sheet is in our office and we have officially written our reports. The absence of agents for aspirants, which the party did not allow is the first indication that all is not well with the election".(Vanguard, 2011)

3.6.4 All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP)

The ANPP has now become a shadow of what it was in 1998, at the beginning of the current civilian rule. At the moment, the party has been decimated by series of defections into the PDP and CPC - a direct political fall out of its opportunistic self-serving alliance with the PDP at the center. Despite the not too bright prospect for the ANPP in the 2011 elections, its primaries, particularly in states where in controls or was active, were characterized by the same negative features prevalent in the PDP. For instance, only the very rich or those backed by the rich and or those who held political offices have been able to secure the party tickets across the country and of course, have created massive condemnations and resentment across the country amongst the party rank-and-file.

On Friday January 28, the ANPP governorship candidate in Borno State was gunned down in his father's house in Maiduguri alongside six other persons including a brother of the former governor, Ali Modu Sheriff. The former governor was of the view that the gruesome murder was carried out by those who felt shortchanged in the party's primaries (The Punch, 5 January 2011). Harry Akande noted that he left the ANPP, a party he nurtured for 12 years and committed a lot of resources, because some people had taken over the party, using their wealth. He said;

"I trusted the ideology of the founding fathers of the party. I have known ANPP to be a sectional party long ago. But I was very optimistic that we can change the party from within. But the last two elections convinced me that I was just banging my head of the rock. There are some people who have technically taken over the party. It looks like the party is now in the hands of what I have always called a cabal and they are not more than four or five people" (The Punch, 2011).

From the foregoing, we wre made to understand that political parties since the first republic were operating outside the principle of internal democracy. For instance, parties in the first republic were regionally based and operated without regards to the issue of internal democracy. However, what characterized parties of the second republic was that in spite of the government attempt to avoid their degeneration into regional parties as experienced in the First Republic, most of the parties turned out to be reincarnates of the first Republic parties. For instance, the NPN, UPN, NPP and PRP were adjudged to be similar both in leadership and orientation to the NPC, AG, NCNC and NEPU respectively. In the aborted third republic despite the imposition of two party sytem by the government they all operated outside the principles of internal democracy. Also, during Late General Abacha's era all the five political parties (UNCP, NCPN, CNC, DPN, and GDP) all operated outside the confines of internal democracy as they all adopted Abacha as their presidential aspirant and finally, in the fourth republic polical parties operated without regard to internal democracy as we have examined above.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONGRESS FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE (CPC) AND INTERNAL DEMOCRACY IN KATSINA STATE: AN ASSESSMENT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the historical background of Katsina State as well as traces the formation of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). The Chapter also discusses and analyzed the issue of internal democracy in CPC in Katsina State and the controversy that erupted in the party resulting to the involvement of the judiciary in the matter in Katsina State between the periods under study.

4.2 Historical Background of Katsina State

Katsina was a historic kingdom and emirate in northern Nigeria. It was not certain when the city of Katsina was founded but it was believed to be a small un-walled settlement long before the movement of the Durbawa from Durbi Ta Kusheyi near present day Mani town to the present day katsina town, over 2,000yrs ago. It was equally believed that the first ruler of Katsina was Kumayau who was said to have ruled katsina along with his brothers who ruled Kano, Rano, Gobir, Zazzau, Garun Gabas and Daura. Those rulers were all believed to be Bayajida's grandchildren. Bagauda one of Kumayau's brothers was reported to have ruled Kano between 999AD and 1065AD, (Dokaji 1958).

Islam was introduced in the 1450s and Muhammad Korau was Katsina's first Muslim leader. During his reign, camel caravans crossed the Sahara from Ghadames, Tripoli, and Tunis to reach Katsina and brought such prosperity to the state that it became caught in the rivalry between the great West African empires of Songhai (which eventually conquered it in 1513) and

Bornu. In 1554, Katsina defeated the forces of Songhai and in 1570 those of Kano, its principal rival in the trans-Saharan trade. After Moroccan armies vanquished Songhai in 1591, Katsina was (until the end of the eighteenth century) a tributary state of Bornu. Katsina entered its greatest period of prosperity in the early eighteenth century: besides being the leading Hausa commercial state, it replaced Timbuktu as the chief West African Centre of Islamic studies. Later in the century, wars with Gobir (a Hausa state to its northwest) marked the beginning of Katsina's decline. Fulani herdsmen settled in Katsina around the fifteenth century and in 1804 Usman dan Fodio (the Fulani jihad leader) led a revolt beginning in Gobir against the region's Hausa overlords. Umaru Dallaji captured Katsina town in 1806 and was named the first emir of Katsina. Many of the Hausa nobility and people fled to Dankama (40 kilometres northeast) and to Tassawa and Maradi in Niger, where they proclaimed a Hausa Katsina chiefdom. Their raids throughout the nineteenth century weakened the Fulani emir and Katsina town. In 1903, Katsina's emir pledged allegiance to the British rulers of Northern Nigeria. When the British and French set the present Niger-Nigeria boundary in 1904, the Katsina emirate was reduced in size and made a part of Kano Province (Lugga, 2012).

The people of Katsina and Daura Emirates (that formed the former katsina pronvince) started clamouring for a state to be created for them in 1967 when Gen. Gowon created the first twelve states in the federation. At that time, the provinces of Katsina and Zazzau were merged to form Northern Central States with headquarters at Kaduna; in 1976, when Gen. Murtala created seven more states making Nigeria a nineteen states nation, katsina and zazzau provinces were left together under a new name, Kaduna state. The struggle for the creation of katsina state that started in 1967 did not yield any fruits until the 23rd September 1987 (about 20yrs) when the government of Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida created katsina state.

Katsina is one of the seven states that form Nigeria's North-West geopolitical zone. It is bordered by Jigawa and Kano states to the East; Kaduna to the South and Zamfara to the West. It shares an international border with the Republic of Niger to the north. The city of Katsina is its capital. The main cities of the State are; Katsina (capital city), Daura, Funtua, Bakori, Dutsi, Jibia, Bakori and Zango.

Katsina state is said to evolve out of five distinct epochs, these epochs include; the period of the autonomouse Garuruwa (towns) and Birane, (cities) before the emergence of the kingdom of Katsina. The second epoch is the period when the Sarauta system in Katsina emerged and the Kingdom was established around this system. The third epoch is the period after the overthrow of the Sarauta system, and before the Emirate system had emerged. Fourthly, there is the period of the Emirate system from about 1816. This system was destroyed and replaced in 1903 by the British conquest and what came to be established is what Usman would call the Native Authority system (Usman, 2006)

Katsina State covers an area of 24,971 square kilometres. It lies at latitude 12° 15' north and longitude 7° 30' east. Its population is approximately 5,801,584 (2006 census figures) and it accounts for 4.1% of Nigeria's total population. Katsina is mainly populated by the Hausa and Fulani people. Minority groups include the Maguzawa and a considerable number of Yoruba and Igbo people who migrated from southern Nigeria. The dominant religion in Katsina is Islam. There is, however, a Christian minority in the State.

4.2.1 Administrative Structure

There are thirty-four Local Government Areas (LGAs) – each with a chairman as its administrative head – and two emirates (Katsina and Daura) in Katsina State. The Local Governments are; Bakori, Batagarawa, Batsari, Baure, Bindawa, Charanchi, Dan Musa, Dandume, Danja, Daura, Dutsi, Dutsin-Ma, Faskari, Funtua, Ingawa, Kankara, Kankia, Katsina, Kurfi, Kusada, Mai'Adua, Malumfashi, Mani, Mashi, Matazu, Musawa, Rimi, Sabuwa, Safana, Sandamu, Jibia, Kafur, Kaita, and Zango.

4.2.2 Governors and Administrators

The following were the governors of Katsina State from its inception till date.

- Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar (Governor – Military): September 1987 – July 1988
- Lawrence Onoja (Governor – Military): July 1988 – December 1989
- John Madaki (Governor – Military): December 1989 – January 1992
- Saidu Barda (Governor – Civilian (National Republican Convention)): January 1992 – November 1993
- Emmanuel Acholonu (Administrator – Military): December 1993 – August 1996
- Samaila Bature Chamah (Administrator – Military): August 1996 – August 1998
- Joseph Akaagerger (Administrator – Military): August 1998 – May 1999
- Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (Governor – Civilian (People's Democratic Party)): May 1999 – May 2007
- Ibrahim Shehu Shema (Governor – Civilian (People's Democratic Party)): May 2007 – Present.

4.2.3 Emirs of Katsina

Also, the following were the emirs of Katsina right from its inception.

- Ibrahim dan Muhamman Bello (1870 – 1882)
- Musa Dan Umaru (1882 – 1887)
- Abubakar Dan Ibrahim (1887 – 1905)
- Yero Dan Musa (1905 – 1906)
- Muhammad Dikko Dan Gidado (1906 – 1944)
- Usman Nagogo Dan Muhammad Dikko (1944 – 1981)
- Muhammadu Kabir Usman (1981 – 2008)(1966 - 2007)
- Abdulmumin Kabir Usman (2008 – Present) (Usman, 2006).

4.2.4 Agricultural Resources, Minerals and Industries

Agriculture is the backbone of the State's economy and 75 percent of its people are farmers. A wide range of crops are grown in the State, including guinea corn, millet, maize, cow pea, cotton and groundnut. In addition, the state possesses a large livestock population mainly made up of cattle, goats and sheep. The traditional crafts of the predominantly Hausa population such as the weaving and dyeing of cotton, leather and metal workings, embroidery and pottery and calabash design also contribute to the state’s economy. The state's mineral resources include kaolin, asbestos, manganese, gold, uranium and nickel. Modern industries were introduced in the state during the 1970s, such as vegetable-oil mills and a steel-rolling plant (Lugga, 2012).

4.3 Formation of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC)

The Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) is a political party founded in Nigeria in 2009 in preparation for the April 2011, elections. It is the 63rd political party to be founded in the country and also the most recent political party to be registered in Nigeria in 2009.

4.3.1 Foundation

The Congress for Progressive Change originated in The Buhari Organization (TBO) formed in 2006 by General Muhammadu Buhari, a former military ruler of Nigeria, and his associates (Taiwo, 2011). The first National Chairman was Kano Central senator Rufai Hanga (Abbas, 2012). After the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) nominated Buhari as its 2007 presidential candidate, TBO worked with the ANPP in the election campaign, but there was friction between the two groups. Following the April 2007 elections, in which President Umaru Yar'adua was elected; Buhari instituted a court appeal against the result. The ANPP decided to join Yar'Adua in his government of national unity, and attempted to persuade Buhari to withdraw the suit, indicating lack of full support for Buhari in the ANPP. Buhari decided that he needed a new platform to support his political ambitions (Taiwo, 2011). That was what gave birth to CPC.

The Congress for Progressive Change filed an application to register with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on 26 March 2009, and received official approval and registration on 28 December 2009(Emeka, 2010). According to Article 1 of the party's constitution, the party is to be called, addressed and known as Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). The majority of its initial members were formerly members of the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP). Buhari formally left the ANPP and joined the CPC in March, 2010. He

said that he had supported the foundation of the CPC "as a solution to the debilitating, ethical and ideological conflicts in my former party the ANPP"(Emeka, 2010).

The former Head of State Gen. Muhammadu Buhari was nominated on January 6th2011 as the presidential candidate of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). In his acceptance speech after the formal ratification of his presidential candidature at the CPC national convention in Eagle Square, Abuja, Buhari advanced reasons why he left his former party, the ANPP. He said ANPP's leadership during the 2003 to 2007 elections exhibited "very unprincipled behavior in handling party issues" under the teleguidance of the ruling PDP. He said "the ANPP leadership did not adhere to party rules and that it failed to reciprocate loyalty to him as its candidate. The PDP in the course of the 2003 and 2007 elections organized its thugs to intimidate, maim, and kill our supporters and through the misuse of law enforcement agencies, PDP agents stole ballot boxes and stuffed them with illegal votes" (Daily Trust, Jan 5th 2011). Buhari futher added that in addition "yet ANPP leadership decided to join the government which perpetrated these crimes against its supporters. It is the belief that ANPP leadership was not willing to change hence we decided to leave and form a political party which would have internal democracy and be based on principle and loyalty to its members." It was not a decision taken neither lightly nor single handedly; "it was a result of nationwide consultation with members of the party and interest groups", Buhari affirmed. While reiterating his resolve to bring about change that will save Nigeria, Buhari said: "The challenge we want immediately is the quality of INEC personnel who will be employed at INEC headquarters and state capitals for the conduct of the forthcoming general elections" (Daily Trust, Jan 7th 2011).

At the first Convention of CPC on the 6th Jan 2011, Prince Tony Momoh and Engr. Buba Galadima emerged as chairman and secretary of CPC respectively. Other executive members of the party included; Mustafa Salihu Bello-Deputy National Chairman, Okon Obla- Deputy National Secretary, Pastor Ezekiel Longe Folorunsho-National Financial Secretary, Rotimi Fashaki- National Publicity Secretary, Sadiyya Umar-National Treasurer, Captain Bala Jibril Muhammad(Rtd)-National Auditor, Musa Ibrahim-Youth Leader. Six Zonal Vice Chairmen were also elected during the party convention, they included: Ibrahim Bapetel (North East), Alh. Abu Onaji (North Central), Alex Hart Abinye (South-South), Musa Razak (South-West), Engr. Suleman Hassan Adamu (North-West), Mary Ndule (South-East).

4.3.2 Aim and Objectives of the Party (CPC)

The aims of the party shall at all times and in all spheres conform with the fundamental objectives and Directive Principles of the State Policy as enshrined in Chapter II of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and accordingly the party shall pursue the political, economic, social, educational and other objectives as well as directives Principles and policies stated in the said Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

4.3.3 The Objectives of the Party:

a. To attain political power through democratic and constitutional means for the purpose of creating socio-economic conditions in which the productive energies of individual citizens and corporate groups are enhanced and utilized for national development.

b. To promote participatory democracy at all levels of government in the belief that sovereignty belongs to the people from whom government, through the Nigerian Constitution derives all its powers and authority.
c. To sponsor candidates for election into the Local Government Councils and similar Councils in the Federal Capital Territory, Legislative Houses, and to the offices of Governor and Deputy Governor, and of the President and Vice President.
d. To undertake other activities which in opinion of the party are ancillary, incidental or conductive to the promotion of the afore-mentioned aims and objectives.

4.3.4 Membership

i. Membership of the party shall be open to every citizen of Nigeria irrespective of his/her religion, ethnic group, place of birth, sex, social or economic status, provided that;
    a. The person is not below the age of 18years and is not a member of another political party or if he was such a member, he has resigned such membership.
    b. A member accepts the aims, objectives, principles, fundamental values, policies and programmes of the party.
    c. Application of the membership shall be made on individual basis.
    d. A person shall be registered as a member of the party at the ward in which he normally resides, works or was born.
    e. Each member shall pay the prescribed annual membership fee.(CPC Constitution, 2009)

4.3.5 Party Organization

i. There shall be five levels of party organization namely.
   a. The Ward
   b. Local Government Area
   c. The State
   d. The National Level
   e. Board of Trustees

ii. Each of these levels of the party organization shall have functioning Party Secretariat (CPC Constitution, 2009).

4.3.6 Party Organs

The following shall be the organs of the party;

i. The Ward Executive Committee
ii. The Ward Congress
iii. The Local Government Area Executive Committee
iv. The Local Government Area Congress
v. The State Executive Committee
vi. The State Congress
vii. The National Executive Committee
viii. The Trustees
ix. The National Convention.

4.3.7 Ideology

The agenda of the CPC lies towards the left wing of the political spectrum, supporting individual liberty, rights and social welfare for the less privileged. The party advocates political liberalism. The party's manifesto insists on the amendment of the Nigerian constitution with the view of devolving powers, duties and responsibilities to states and local governments in order to entrench federalism and the federal spirit.

4.4 Congress for Progressive Change before 2011 General Election in Katsina Sate

Congress for progressive change as a political party that was founded in December, 2009 was very popular because of its presidential candidate, General Muhammad Buhari (Rtd). The party was very popular particularly in northern Nigeria, where the common man identified the leader and the party as the savior of common man in particular and the country in general. Katsina State was one of the strongholds of the party, by virtue of the fact that the presidential candidate is from the State, where northern people especially the common man in Katsina State holds with high esteem. Another thing that made the party to be very popular in Katsina State is the religious and ethnic based affiliation attached to the party (CPC) by many Nigerians, especially from the northern part of the country.

Electing party executives is one of the means of testing the level of internal democracy within the party. According to CPC constitution, an executive of the party has to be elected first before any other election. The election of party executives starts from the ward level in Katsina State; which is the lowest organ of the party. Here all card- carrying members of the party will come together and elect their ward Executive Committee and ward Delegates as specified in the

party's Constitution (Admin Officer, 2013). Article 7 and Article 9 of the party's constitution states very clearly that; the National Convention, the Zonal, the State, Local Government Area, and Ward Congresses shall meet to elect the officers of the party at various levels of the party structure as specified in the party's constitution (CPC Constitution, 2009). The party's Constitution talks about election and not consensus or imposition of candidates as evident in the practice of CPC in preparation for the 2011 general elections across the states in the federation (interview with a Respondent, 2013). To buttress the issue of election of party executives and party flag bearers, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria insist on election and not consensus or imposition within and among political parties. Section 223 (1) (a) states that the constitution and the rules of political party shall provide for the periodic election on a democratic basis of the principal officers and members of the Executive Committee or other governing body of the political party, and subsection 2(a) states that "the election of the officers or members of the executive committee of a political party shall be deemed to be periodical only if it is made at regular intervals and not exceeding for years"(1999 constitution).

The above provisions were strictly adhered to regarding the election of party executives within CPC in Katsina State between the periods under study as will be explained subsequently.

According to the article 7 of the party's constitution, the party (CPC) shall consist of Party Organs as follows: "the Ward Executive Committee, the Ward Congress, Local Government area Congress, the State Executive Committee, the State Congress, the National Executive Committee, the trustee and finally the National Convention"(CPC Constitution, 2009).

This study is focused on how the leadership of the party in Katsina State was elected. On 29th Dec, 2010 the incumbent party chairman Dr. Yusha'u Armaya'u and his opponent Alhaji

Kabir Murja contested the position of Chairmanship of the party together with their cabinets in Katsina State. Before the State Executives of the party are elected according to the party's constitution. "Election of the party officials starts from the ward level". Katsina State was composed of three Senatorial Zones (Katsina, Funtua and Daura), 34 Local Governments, 361 Wards and 27, 894 polling units (Interview with a Respondent, 2013), and the table below shows the names of the Local Governments and their Wards in Katsina State.

Table 4.1: Local Governments and Number of Wards in Katsina State

S/No.	Local governments	Number of wards
1	Bakori	11
2	Batagarawa	10
3	Batsari	11
4	Baure	12
5	Bindawa	11
6	Charanci	10
7	Dan musa	11
8	Dandume	11
9	Danja	10
10	Daura	12
11	Dutsen ma	11
12	Dutsi	10
13	Faskari	10
14	Funtua	11
15	Ingawa	11
16	Jibia	10
17	Kafur	10
18	Kaita	10
19	Kankara	11
20	Kankiya	10
21	Katsina	12
22	Kurfi	10
23	Kusada	10
24	Mai aduwa	10
25	Malumfashi	12
26	Mani	11
27	Mashi	11
28	Matazu	10
29	Musawa	11
30	Rimi	10
31	Sabuwa	10
32	Safana	10
33	Sandamo	11
34	Zango	10

Source: (Interview with Admin Officer, 2013).

The election of the party executives starts from the ward level as indicated above. In Katsina State the party complied with the provision of Sec 85(1) of the Electoral Act which states that "A registered political party shall give the Commission at least 21 days notice of any

convention, congress, conference or meeting convened for the purpose of electing members of its executive committees, other governing body or nominating candidates for any of the elective offices as specified under the act" (Electoral Act, 2010). The party (CPC) in the state notified INEC before the commencement of all the congresses from Ward to the state level. The election of party executives started at the Ward level throughout the state and the election was conducted and completed during the Ward congress. However during this period card carrying members of the party assembled and elected their Ward executives and Ward Delegates throughout the State. During this period the nomination of the contestant of party executives at the Ward level was open to all members of the party. This is inline with the assertion of one of the delegates during an interview he said "During the Ward Congresses throughout the state the positions of Ward executives of the party were open to all members of the party without any discrimination" (Interview with a Delegate, 2014).This is in line with the provision of the Party's Constitution which states that Membership was open to all members so also contesting so far you are a card carrying member of the party (CPC Constitution, 2009). Ward Executives and Delegates were elected democratically during the Ward Congresses throughout the state. According to a delegate from Daura zone he asserted that "During the Ward Congress the election of Ward Executives was open, transparent and democratic" (Interview with a Delegate, 2014).

However, during the Ward Congresses party executives at various Wards in the State were elected together with five delegates. They went together with their Ward Chairmen, Secretaries, Women Leaders and their Youth Leaders across the Wards throughout the State and elected the Local Government party Executives and during this period according to a delegate which was also maintained by an INEC Official "That the election of Party executives at the Local Government Levels was democratic in majority of the areas in the state while in other

areas there were cases of undemocratic practices regarding the election" (Interview with a delegate and INEC personal, 2014). "They added that on the whole the election was considered fair throughout the State" (ibid).

However, five delegates (different from those that attended the Local Government Congress) from each Ward together with their Chairmen and Secretaries across the state came together with another five delegates together with their Chairmen, Secretaries, Youth Leaders, and Women Leaders across the Local Governments in Katsina State came together and elected the State Executives of the party at polo ground in Katsina. (Interview with Admin officer and a delegate, 2013).

On 29th Dec 2010, election of the state executives of the party commenced and all the delegates from the 34 Local Governments and 361 Wards of Katsina State assembled at pologround for the election of the State Party Officials. The incumbent Chairman of the Party, Dr. Yusha'u Armaya'u with the support of Sen. Yakubu Lado Danmarke and Alhaji Kabir Murja with the support of Aminu Bello Masari contested for the post of chairmanship of the party in Katsina State. The party (CPC) in Katsina state at this stage adopted a transparent, democratic and open election during the election (Interview with Admin officer, CPC 2013). Dr. Armaya'u on his own part in an interview said "During the State congress at polo ground in Katsina, all the Delegates came together and the election was conducted.

"He added that they spent one and a half day conducting the election. That was how he emerged as the State Chairman of the party with other officials under his cabinet in Katsina State (Interview with Dr. Armaya'u, 2013).

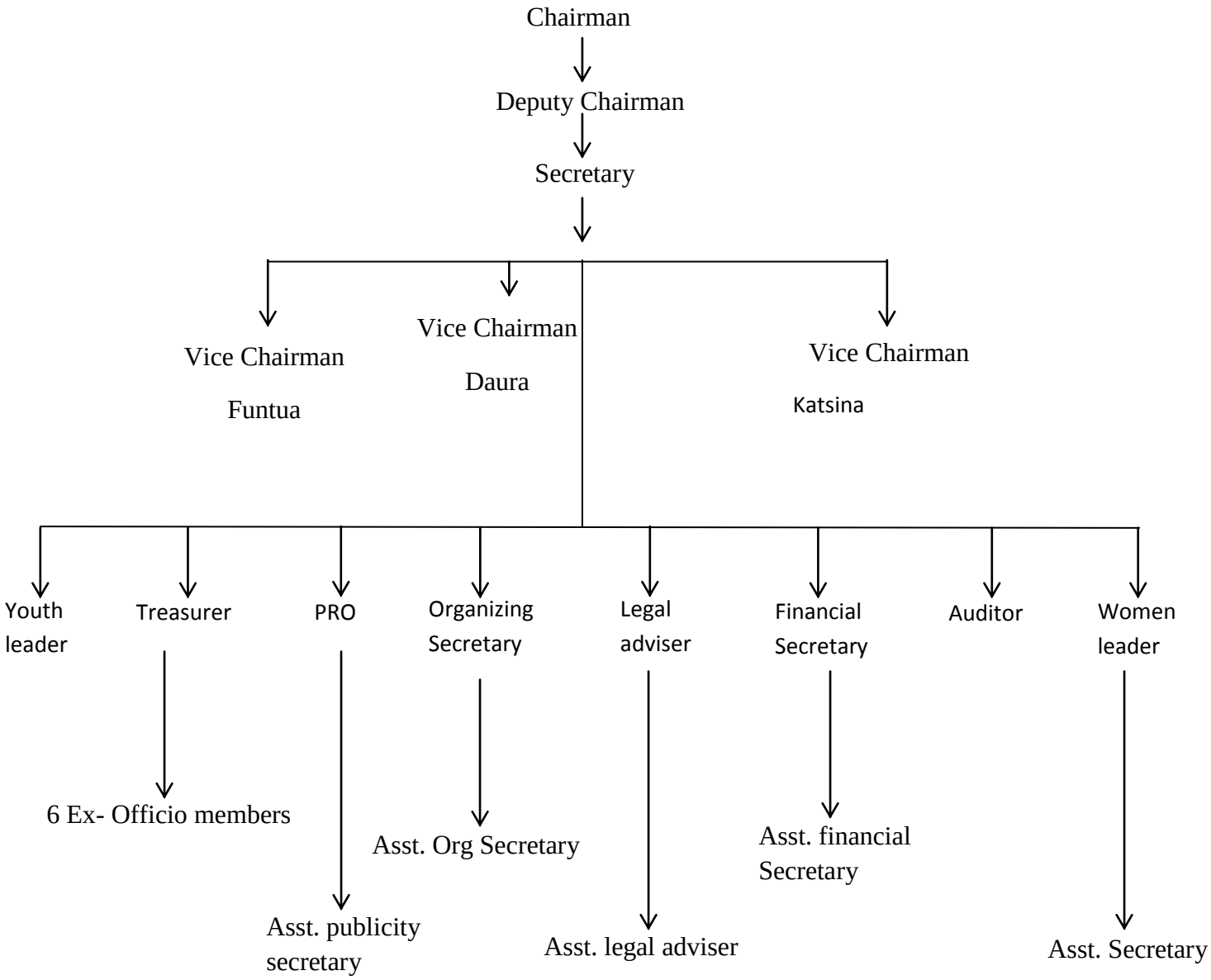
This is inline with an INEC Official who added that "During the state congress in the state INEC Officials were present and the election was considered free and fair"(INEC Official,

2013). At the end of 36 hours party Congress held at Katsina Pologround on wed 29th Dec, 2010. The incumbent State Party Chairman, Dr. Armaya'u with the support of Senator Danmarke emerged victorious retaining his seat with a total votes of 1,197 votes while the contender Alhaji Kabir Murja who had the support of Masari, got 590 votes (Daily trust, Jan 7, 2011).

According to one of the respondant, this did not come as a surprise considering Armayau's popularity, and whose reputation stemmed from his leadership of the ANPP in Katsina State for several years and his contact with and assistance to ordinary people he had helped throughout Katsina State during his career spanning over thirty years as a medical practitioner. Damarke's experience and track record also came to play by supporting the incumbent party Chairman (ibid). At this stage members of the party were fully represented during the congress that produced the leadership of the party.

However, it is important to note at this stage that the issue of participation of rank and file within the party in the state was almost all inclusive, and as such the party is said to have employed internal democracy in the conduct of its affairs regarding the selection of party executives in the state. The figure below is the structure of the party in Katsina State.

Figure 4.2: CPC Structure in Katsina State



Source: (Interview with Admin Officer, 2013)

From the above, the election of State Executives of the party was conducted in Katsina State producing their leadership at the State Chapter of the party. According to Senator Ahmad Sani Stores from Katsina Central which was also maintained by two delegates, "the party during the election of party executives in the state employed democratic principles in the conducts of the election, the reason could not be divorced from the fact that the election of the state

executives that took place at pologround was democratic, open, transparent and in line with the provision of the party's constitution" (interview with Senator Sani, 2013, Two delegate, 2013). The Figure 4.2 above is the hierarchical structure of the party executives in Katsina State after the election was conducted and completed on the 29th Dec, 2010.

4.4.1 CPC and Pre-election Controversies in Katsina State

Before the primary election was conducted in Katsina State Chapter of CPC, some controversies erupted in the party causing lack of trust between the State Executives of the party on one hand and the National body on the other hand. After CPC was formed and registered on the 29th Dec, 2009 various Chairmen of the State Chapters of the party across the federation had series of meetings in Abuja and the outcome of such meetings was to bring to their notice that "CPC was formed based on the political ideology of the leader of the party General Muhammadu Buhari (Rtd). That is honesty, integrity, transparency and so on. And that whoever joins the party will be regarded as equal to those who formed the party" (Daily Trust, 8th Oct 2011).

In line with the above, the elected CPC Chairman in Katsina State added that;

> We welcomed whoever joined the party from PDP in particular and other parties in general. The first to joined the party in Katsina State was Senator Audu 'Yan-Doma, followed by Alhaji Lado Danmarke, then former ACN Chairman, Senator Abba Ali among others, later on we were asked from the National headquarter of CPC to come to Abuja to receive former Speaker, House of Representative, Alhaji Aminu Bello Masari which we did not because that was not the practice in our constitution (interview with Dr. Armaya'u, 2013).

The Party's Constitution in Schedule 1 (i) states clearly that "prospective members of the party shall be registered through ward branches to which they have applied and subsequently accepted

and enrolled as party members, and Subsection (ii) also states that "members shall receive membership cards through their Ward branches of the party upon payment of the prescribed fees" (CPC Constitution, 2009).

The National Executives of the party wanted Masari to be warmly received and registered in Abuja by the State Executive of the Party from Katsina but the Chairman of the State Chapter of the party refused to obey such directives adding that such practice is undemocratic and out of their constitutional provision. The National Secretary of the party added that; "The State Executive of the party under the Chairmanship of Dr Yusha'u Armaya'u in Katsina State do not abide by our order, they do not respect their leaders" (interview with Buba, 2013).

Therefore, the provision of the party's constitution has to be respected and strictly adhered to in order for internal democracy to have a place within such party but giving directives by the national chapter of the party to act contrary to the provision of the party's constitution is detrimental to internal democracy in particular and the overall performance of the party in general.

Another issue worth evaluating here is the lingering clash of interest that erupted in the party during the election of party executives in the state between Senator Lado Dan Marke and former Speaker Aminu Bello Masari. Both of them sponsored their loyalists to control the structure of the party, instead of allowing internal democracy to take its cause, by allowing party members to elect their party leaders. It was gathered from Daily Trust that former Speaker Masari sponsored some candidates such as Alhaji Kabir Murja and others to replace the former structure of the party in the state while Senator Yakubu Lado insisted on returning the statues quo of the state party structure at the end of which Dr. Yusha'u Armaya'u led Executives were

returned (Daily Trust 9th, 2011). This served as the first step of pre-election controversy in Katsina State Chapter of the party.

Also, the issue of consensus candidate for the position of governorship was another pre-election matter in the state. Ideally, consensus candidacy may not be antithetical to democracy in a situation where there are many contending candidates like in CPC in Katsina State for gubernatorial election (Alh. Munir Yakubu, Aminu Bello Masari, Yakubu Lado Dan Marke and Abubakar Ismail Funtua); they should be allowed to test their popularity. In seeking for consensus, merit and ability often times gives way to money and primordial loyalties or sentiments leading more often in most cases, where it happens that way, aggrieved personalities may change their alliance to sooth their intended interest. That is what really happened in Katsina State Chapter of CPC. Prior to the primary election in the state, the party Chairman summoned Party elders in the state and set up a kind of Reconciliation Committee. That Committee was given the mandate to go and bring a single candidate out of the four people they had then. But even that one too was not sanctioned by the National Headquarters of the party because it was purely a local arrangement. And when the Committee brought its recommendation that it was Lado that emerged as gubernatorial candidate, it was not unexpected because they had collected money. (Interview with a Respondent, 2011).

According to CPC Chairman in Katsina, "A Reconciliation Committee was formed with the consent of the aspirants and the function of the committee was to advice and screens the aspirants according to their qualification. The committee comprised of; Major. Bala Adamu (Rtd) as Chairman, Engr. Sabo Sodangi as member, Engr. Kabir Abubakar as member and Salisu Buhari as member (interview with a Respondent, 2013).

After setting up the committee, "I went to Kaduna and briefed General Muhammadu Buhari about our arrangement and he endorsed it. The Committee sat for three months trying to get consensus candidate which they succeeded, especially in the Senate area, House of Representatives and House of Assembly seats, but for the governorship, they could not because none of the gubernatorial aspirants was ready to step down for his opponent. He added that one of the gubernatorial aspirants in person of Aminu Bello Masari said they where ready to accept the result of the reconciliation committee, whom ever emerged from the result of the committee among us, will be considered as the consensus candidate and at the end of which Senator Yakubu Lado emerged as the consensus candidate. But immediately when the result was announced, Masari and his people refused to accept the result, instead demanded for primary election". (Interview with Dr. Armaya'u, 2013).

However, from the foregoing it has been observed that the party in Katsina State did not employ internal democracy at this stage, because the issue of consensus candidate is undemocratic instead, the members of the party should be allowed to make the decision during the primary election. The party leaders were not giving the power under the party's constitution to choose who occupies which position; such power only lies with the card carrying members of the party who can make that decision via ballot box. A respondent added that:

> Day after, I as the Party Chairman in the State, together with Mamman Dan Musa and Tukur Makama, went to Abuja and met Alhaji Sule Yahaya Hamma. We explained to him the situation and told him that if primary election is to be conducted, Lado will win and this will crack the party, but we want you and the General Buhari to call those aspirants if possible and address them, which I believe they will comply with the advice of General Buhari (Rtd). But instead, they said that we should go and conduct primary election. That was how the issue of primary election came on board. (Respondent, 2013)

Conducting primary election is one of the basic ingredients of internal democracy this is because primaries are only effective in contributing to internal democracy and maintaining party's stability. However, the issue of concensus candidate is against the basic principle of internal democracy because citizens were denied the opportunity of exercising their right to elect the candidate of their choice. Also, the issue is against the provision of the party's constitution in particular as well as the 1999 constitution in general. At this level the state chapter of the party wanted to employed undemocratic principle by trying not to conduct the primary election which was rejected by the National Executive of the party.

According to Buba:

"It will interest you to know that the BOT and NEC of CPC, in their own wisdom decided to rightly but not expediently return the power of selection of candidate to the people of Katsina. So we decided to conduct a direct primary election; where every financial member of the party is eligible to vote for a candidate of his/her choice. I must add honestly that this good intention of the leadership of the party was abused in most cases by interested candidates and by compromised officials of the party below the ladder" (interview with Buba, 2013).

He added that, "As leaders they take responsibilities squarely on what had happened. They came to office on the 6th of January 2011 and they received INEC guidelines on their tables when they assumed office on that day, that they must generate (sic) candidate for the 2011 general elections by Jan 15 Jan, 2011. So what was then before them was to meet and decide on which type or which mode of primaries that should be adopted, either indirect; using the delegates system or direct; where all financial paid members of the party will participate in selecting the most popular candidate that they want. They settled for the latter i.e. returning power to the people. The party had to form and deploy Screening Committees to screen all aspirants; the party had to form and deploy Appeal Committees to listen to people who feel they are not fairly treated to all the states of the federation. Also, they had to form and deploy Primary Committees to all states to conduct and generate (sic) candidates for various Houses of

Assemblies, Office of the Governors and office of the President, all within nine days. They set up all these structures and deployed people and they wrote to INEC their program of events that they would do primaries on 8th, 11th and 13th of January 2011. Meaning if they failed to conduct a primary election in a particular state or constituency on the 8th, they could shift it to the 11th and if it failed, they could shift it to the 13th Jan, 2011 and in all that, INEC was put on notice because they (INEC) had the constitutional responsibility to monitor primary elections (Interview with Buba, 2011). This is inline with the provision of Sec 85(2) (b) of the Electoract Act as amended which states that "The Commission may with or without prior notice to the political party monitor and attend any convention, congress, conference or meeting which is convened by a political party for the purpose of (b) nominating candidates for an election at any level (Electoral Act, 2010).

In Katsina State, there was serious problem between the State Chapter of the Party on one hand and the National body on the other hand on the issue of primary election in preparation for 2011 general election. On the 11th of Jan, 2011 primary election took place in Katsina. According to Buba which was also maintained by Hon. Sani Bello Mashi that "the document for conducting the primaries on the 11th fell into the hand of an interested group, halfway midday they received information that there was no INEC presence to monitor the election and they quickly took decision and canceled the primary election of that day" (Interview with Sani Bello Mashi & Engr. Buba Galadima).

Contrary to the above opinion, it was gathered from an interview that "the primary election of the 11th of Jan was free and fair and there was INEC presence that monitored the election, but because interested candidate from the National body were losing the election, that was why the election was cancelled by the National body for their selfish interest (Interview with one of the

Respondent, 2013). In an interview with a top INEC Official he stated that "the INEC officials were present during the primary election conducted on the 11 Jan, 2011 and the election was on and been conducted free and fair before they received an order to cancel the election from the National Executive of the party" (Interview with Top INEC Official, 2013). This is the power of the National Chapter of the Party as assigned to it by the Electoral Act 2010 as amended and the provision of 1999 Constitution which states that it is only the National Chapter of a political party that can nominate candidate for election and not any of its state chapter unless delegated by it. Also, this is a source of contradiction in the sense that INEC even if it monitored a primary election it cannot submit the genuine candidate generated from the election as what was obtained in Katsina in preparation for 2011 general election, because the constitution empowers the political party (National Chapter) with the power to nominate and present candidate for election and not any other body. And as such even if political party decided to present the loser during the primary election as it candidate, so be it as the electoral act 2010 as amended provides.

Another date was slated for primary election which was 13th January 2011. During that primary election, the National body sent one Colonel Jibril (Rtd) to Kastina to conduct another election, together with the State executive of the party. In an interview with the Party Chairman in the State he said:

"When the retired Colonel Jibril came to Kastina, instead of reporting to me as the party Chairman, he went ahead conducting election in the State. We later heard from the people that primary election was being conducted by Colonel Jibril in Kastina State. I tried to contact him but I could not" (Interview with a Respondent, 2013).

Contrary to the above opinion, in an interview with National Secretary in his house, he asserts that:

"On the 13th of January, 2011 we were told that the materials for conducting the primaries fell into the hands of an interested group again from those that we sent, who were the Masari people

this time around. Halfway through, we closed our eyes and allowed the primary to take place so that we can sit down and take a rational decision" (Top Party Member, 2013).

The above response of the National Secretary of the party was against the basic principle of internal democracy within the party because it was obvious that the primary election conducted on the 13th, Jan, 2011 was not democratic, transparent,free and fair and all inclusive.

The State Chairman of the party affirmed that:

"When we heard of the primary election of the 13 Jan, 2011, we summoned an elders meeting". After the meeting we reported the matter to the police and SSS, because we believed there must be problems along the line. It was the director of SSS who eventually located Colonel Jibril and brought him to the office of the Police Commissioner. We met with the Commissioner, Director SSS, Colonel Jibril (Rtd) and some elders of the party in the state. We discussed and concluded that there was no primary election on that 13 Jan, 2011. The Director SSS and Police Commissioner instructed us to conduct another primary election the following day that was 14th day of January, 2011. Colonel Jibril complained about insecurity and election materials. Jibril also made a public announcement through the FRCN FM radio station in Kastina on the cancellation of the 13th January, 2011 primary election, and fresh election to be conducted the following day" (Interview with Chairman, 2013).

To the above must be clarified that the Director SSS or Police Commissioner according to 1999 Constitution, the Electoral Act 2010 as amended and the Constitution of the Party does not have the right or power to instruct party members to conduct primary election, that responsibility lies with only political party and INEC as the Constitution provides.

Some of the affected Members also corroborated that there was no primary election on the 13 Jan, 2011. They are of the opinion that Masari and his people just sat down and filled the forms with their names. The National body afterworth sent Col. Jibril (Rtd) with some people to go and conduct the election because they could not monitor the whole State; they would have to join hands with the State Executive of the party because they were the ones that the people of Katsina knew who had the structure in the state from ward to Local Government and to State level, and the people sent from the National level would then monitor the election, but that did

not happened. After the so called primary on the 13 Jan, 2011, there was uprising in the State which compelled General Buhari to call for BOT meeting where they deliberated and agreed that there was no primary election on the 13th in Katsina State and 15 Jan, 2011 was set for another primary election (interview with a Respondent, 2013).

Contarary to the above, instead of allowing the party members to decide who the candidate should be and not the leaders to single handedly impose their will against that of the majority which is against the basic principle and tenet of internal democracy (Interview with a gubernatorial aspirant, 2013). This is rightly captured by Michels (1911) that an organization of political party cannot avoid oligarchy and as the organization grows in size and complexity, its leaders will use their manipulative skills to perpetuate themselves in power and to impose their will on the majority without their consent. They will continue to dictate the affairs of the party without necessarily consulting the party members.

The Chairman further asserted that "the following morning, they found out that the Colonel had left to Abuja". So he was shocked with the development. He then informed his people about the situation and they only had three days to the election. The people charted a plane to Abuja to lodge complaint and on their way they were told that General Buhari (Rtd) had directed one Engr. Sulaiman Adamu Danburan Kazaure (National Vice-Chairman, North West of the party) to conduct fresh primary elections in Kastina, so they came back to Kastina and distributed election materials and election took place. A whole day and a half was spent collating result from the various Local Governments. When all the results came in and results were announced, eventually Yakubu Lado emerged as the gubernatorial candidate, Alhaji Audu Yandoma, Senator for Daura Senatorial District, Alhaji Habu Ibrahim for Funtua District. Alhaji Ahmed Sani Stores for Kastina Senatorial District and then the 15 House of Representative

members. That was how the election was conducted on the 15th of January, 2011" (Party Chairman in Katsina, 2013)

Also, supported his claims with the issue of not knowing who the gubernatorial candidate was because the National Headquarters kept on saying Masari was the candidate and the people of Katsina voted for Lado during the last primary election conducted in the State, thereby causing confusions, contradictions and divisions within the party in the State (interview with Party Chairman in Katsina, 2013).

Contrary to the above opinion, one of the gubernatorial aspirants in the state argued that before the election in the state, there was information that PDP was going to send its people to distablize CPC and it so happened. "Lado and co came and destroyed the party and now some of them had gone back to their PDP. During the primary election in the State, there was harassment of voters, votes buying and so on. The primary election that Lado purported to have won was not true; the whole election was completely rigged; he was not democratically elected; he was rigged into that position by the State Executives of the party in the State, and there was inducement of money and I was an eye witness of the whole thing (interview with a gubernatorial aspirant, 2013).

The National Secretary of the party observes that the National Vice-Chairman north west that was sent to Katsina became more confused when he was directed at the meeting with State stakeholders and head of security agencies in the state to conduct another primary election after that of 13 Jan. 2011 which the man objected on the ground that it may not be possible to conduct primaries, generate result, declare candidate, send them to Abuja for National secretariat to meet and endorse the candidates, submit the names of the candidates to INEC before 12mid night. He

was convinced and prevailed upon that it was possible and they conducted another primary election on the 15 Jan. 2011 and it was completed on the 16th. Some of the results were written right at the secretariat without going to the venue of the primaries. Finally the National Vice-Chairman was forced again to announce the result in which Lado emerged as the winner. However, unknown to them, he took a revenge on them which a lot of people did not understand; he puts 16th of Jan, 2011 on the result sheet, which meant he had nullified the result, because the results were supposed to be submitted to INEC by 15th twelve midnight, and it was in Katsina by 10:00am on the 16 Jan. 2011 (interview with Buba, 2013).

The Vice-Chairman BOT further stresses that "when these controversies erupted in the party in the State, the matter was brought before the BOT, and they had to make a choice between the elections of the 11th and 13th Jan. 2011 that was forwarded by NEC. Because the one conducted on the 8 Jan. 2011was essentially for Assembly seats and the BOT settled for the candidates generated (sic) from the 13th Jan, 2011 primaries on the ground that the BOT could not wait for the result of the primaries of the 15 Jan, 2011 even if it was the best primaries conducted because the result could not be submitted before twelve midnight of the 15th Jan, 2011(interview with a CPC BOT member, 2013).

From the above it is obviousthat internal democracy has no place in the conduct of CPC affairs in Katsina State because primary elections were been cancealled and some times adopted by the BOT of the party without regard to internal democracy which contradicts the provision of the party's Constitution. It is obvious that the charismatic leader of the party in person of General Muhammadu Buhari (Rtd) decided the affairs of the party without regards to internal democracy. This is well captured that many of the opposition parties in Africa, Nigeria inclusive and CPC in particular are established around individual personalities see the work of (Carrll and Carroll,

1996: 181), (Chabal and Daloz, 1999:151), (Ake, 1996:11) and Samuel,1998:297 also forwarded a similar remark that the effect of a multi -party system in Africa, Nigeria inclucive is the opening of "*Political floodgates, swamping countries with scores of political parties, mostly narrow ethnic and personal power-machines and thousands of power aspirants"* "Personalistic" opposition parties like CPC, which usually rely on "the charismatic appeal of single individual" lack structures extending beyond the national executive, and decision making is highly centralized (Adrienne, 2004:29)This is well captured by Roberto Michels when he stated that "For a political party to be able to react with sufficient speed to events and move by other parties 'a caesarism' is required i.e a democratic dictatorship is required(Michels, 1946) and hence in political parties. He added that 'parties have to be organized along oligarchic rather than democratic lines in order to progress. So according to Michels parties that want to be successful simply cannot be internally democratic' (ibid). This is what really happened because the charismatic leader and his associates could not agree on the candidates that will be nominated from the primaries of the 15th Jan, 2011, even if it would have been the most democratic primary election in the state, they decided to impose the primary election conducted on the 13th Jan, 2011 against the wishes of the majority (Interview with a Delegate, 2013). This is inline with a definition of political parties given by Remi that "Political parties are a means of organizing the people so that they can select from themselves an elite group, which will control the process of public decision-making on their behalf" (Remi, 1999). The leadership of the party uses this opportunity to impose their will on the party members without their consent.

4.4.2 Aftermath Effect of the Primary Elections in Katsina State

The primary election conducted with the intention of producing the gubernatorial candidate for the party in the state did not project the good image of the party in the state. The

outcome of the elections was controversial simply because there was no regard for internal democracy, as the rank and file were not allowed to exercise their Constitutional right of determining the destiny of the Party .There were claims and counter claims which eventually split the party into factions notably; two factions emerged namely: Aminu Bello Masari's Faction and that of Yakubu Lado Danmarke. The former has the support of National Executive of the Party while the latter has the support of State Chapter of the party there by causing confusion, contradiction and clash of interest between the two antagonizing groups in particular and the party members in the State in general.

4.4.3 The Masari Faction

The Masri faction made claims on different ground, in an interview with Campaign Director General of the former Speaker House of Representatives, Aminu Bello Masari he explaines the genesis of the problem before, during and after the primary elections.

In his view, the whole thing started immediately after they joined the party. There were people who were very open-minded in welcoming them into the party. There were people also who did not want them in the party and were in position of leadership of the party then. Those oppositions within thought that by joining the party they constituted a kind of treat to them and to their position. And because the mainstream of the party then was made up of former ANPP members, there was this kind of *espirit de corps* among them in their efforts to protect their political interest. Therefore anybody outside their group was considered a threat".

In addition, he further opins that when they joined the party they were received in a colorful occasion graced by General Muhammad Buhari (Rtd). Despite this, these people continued to call them several names including strangers. This is contrary to what the party

Chairman said in his welcome address that all members of the party were and will be treated equally and should be of the same status. In their own case according to him "they were treated with disdain and mistrust. But they kept their head cool and went ahead building the party, by calling on their supporters across the state to join the party at all levels". To even pacify those who had misgivings about their entry into the party, they insisted that nobody from their group at whatever level should hold any position of responsibility in the party (Mukhtar Lawal, 2011).

Lawal also advanced his stand with the view that:

"The gubernatorial candidate of CPC before we joined the party was Alhaji Munir Yakubu. But when they came in, Masari was pressurized by his followers to join the race. They brought him to the contest and they personally took a letter to the leadership of the party officially informing them about Masari's political mission. They took the letter to Dr. Armaya'u in his house and they were accompanied by a 15-member delegation as the CPC Constitution specified. They were received cordially by Dr. Armaya'u and he seems to be in sympathy with their cause."(ibid)

He added that "immediately we left, it became a different thing and that was when Alh. Yakubu Lado Danmarke joined the party. Lado joined the party on the eve of the party congresses and started using his fat purse to buy up people. And with this development, the leadership of the party that emerged out of the congresses decided to ditch Mannir Yakubu and shifted their allegiance to Lado simply because Mannir did not have money to give them. So when they got somebody with money they shifted their allegiances, ditched Buhari's principles, ditched Buhari himself, ditched Mannir Yakubu and went and embraced Yakubu Lado.

According to Director General of the Masari campaign which was also maintained by Hon Sani Bello Mashi (2013)

"there was only one primary election in Katsina State chapter of the Party. The one held on Jan 13 Jan, 2011. There was congress on the 15 Jan, 2011 but was not sanctioned by the National Headquarters of the Party. Therefore, because January 15th was set aside by INEC for the commencement of its registration nation wide. So there was no way a political party can hold a congress on the same day. Because of that, we issued a statement through FRCN Kaduna

telling people to avoid participating in the January 15 congress because of its illegality and because of the sanction by our national headquarters"(Mukhtar Lawal, 2011).

However, based on the provision of 1999 Constitution, a candidate can only be nominated to contest under a political party and it is only the National Chapter of the party that the law recognized can nominate such candidate even if he is not genuinely elected during the primaries, which is also contradictory because even if a candidate is genuinely elcted during the primary election and the National Chapter of the party decides to nominate another person other than the choice of the party members during the congress, the one nominated by the National Chapter stands to be the genuine candidate as against the wishes of the majority. As such the state chapter of CPC in the State does not have the right whatsoever to conduct primary election without the consent of the National Chapter of the party.

4.4.4 The Yakubu Lado Faction

The Lado faction on the other hand has a view diffently from Masari's group. The State Chairman of the party argues that the two genuine primary elections that were conducted in Katsina State (11th and 15thof Jan, 2011) produced Senator Yakubu Lado as the gubernatorial aspirant in the state, but because of the problem of internal democracy and selfish interest of the party's National Executives, they decided not to respect the voice of the common man in Katsina by imposing Aminu Bello Massari against the wishes of our people. (Interview with Armaya'u, 2013).

In line with two affected National assembly members from the state:

"that all the internal problems that they had in CPC in Katsina State was caused by the people that came from PDP in other to destabilize the party. They were sent to destroy the party in different states of the federation thereby causing divisions between and among CPC supporters" (Interview with affected Members, 2013).

This was also the stance of a gubernatorial aspirant that "the genuine primary election conducted in the state (15th Jan, 2011) was the one that produced Alh. Lado Danmarke and others as the rightful candidates of the party but because the National body openly supported Aminu Bello Masari against the wishes of the people of Katsina. They intentionally worked against the basic principles of democracy by imposing Aminu Bello Masari as the candidate of the party resulting to the failure of the party during the gubernatorial election in the state"(Lado,2014).

However, imposition of candidate is against the basic principles of internal democracy, because the party members should be the one who decides who occupies which position and not the party leaders supporting one candidate against the other as evident in the conduct of CPC affairs in Katsina State.

In line with the above, some elders in the State Chapter of the party categorically said they are not going to vote for Masari and they will not abide by what General Buhari said because it's undemocratic and against the basic principle of internal democracy, they added that, during the primary election, the people in Katsina State indicated that they want Lado Danmarke as their gubernatorial candidate as against Masari and others; therefore, there was no basis for giving instruction to vote for the unpopular candidate Masari (Interview with a respondent, 2011).

4.5 The Role of National Executives of the party on the issue of internal democracy in CPC in Katsina state

The National Executives of the party contributed in no small measure to the crisis that erupted in different states of the federation (Faruk, 2013). Armaya'u argued that:

"up till two days to the election he did not know who was the gubernatorial candidate, because their National Headquarters in Abuja kept on saying Masari was the gubernatorial candidate and the people of Katsina on the contrary elected Lado as the gubernatorial candidate. They had to go to INEC to find out who their gubernatorial candidate was" (Interview with Armaya'u, 2013).

He observes that some senior members from Masari and Lado factions met in his house and agreed that they should work together and win election, after winning they should then share

the positions as follows; 45 slots should go to Masari camp, 45 to Lado and the remaining 10 slots should go to whoever becomes the governor. Unfortunately, after the agreement was signed and sealed, the following morning General Buhari went to Radio Nigeria Kaduna and FM Katsina saying that people should come out and vote for Masari as the CPC gubernatorial candidate which in reverse to the people of Katsina voting against Masari, thereby causing the failure of the party at the gubernatorial polls in the state"(Interview with Armaya'u, 2013).

The National Secretary of the Party argues that INEC officials were properly compromised by interested candidates "we submitted a set of candidates arising from the 13 Jan, 2011 primaries with Masari as the gubernatorial candidate but INEC withheld the names of candidates from Katsina thereby ensuring more confusion in the State Chapter of the party. We wrote to INEC and reminded them that they have no authority or rights under the electoral law to withheld the names of candidates submitted by a political party. But on the contrary INEC insisted that they had monitored the primaries and the candidates names submitted were not the ones that won the election, but said it is not for the group to decide who the candidate of a political party was but a political party has the constitutional right of nominating and sponsoring a candidate for election (Interview with Buba, 2013). This view was also maintained by Top a INEC Official that "the names submitted by the National Chapter of CPC in Katsina were not the candidates that won primary election but because 1999 C onstitution stress that only a Political Party can nominate candidate for election and as such INEC cannot change the names which is contradictory" (Top INEC Official, 2013).

It is observes from the above interview that INEC despite their role to monitor the activities of political parties especially relating to candidate selection during primaries, they

cannot change the name of a candidate generated during a congress that is void of election irregularities because they don't have the constitutional back up.

A key CPC member from Katsina State accused the National Executive Committee of the party of undermining everything democracy stands for by wrongly advising General Buhari to endorse strategically dangerous policies of imposition, which led the voters to revolt against the party in 2011 general elections especially the Gubernatorial and House of Assembly seats (Fagge, 2012). This was a pure rape of internal democracy, it was also an indication that the system in CPC does not allow for participatory democracy because most members do not have a say in the affairs of the party as handful of individuals hand-picked and imposed candidate on other eligible candidates.

In democracy the will of the people is superior to the interest of a few party leaders who are determined to undermine voter sovereignty by imposing unpopular candidates on the people. How can an opposition party like CPC be a credible alternative when leaders within the party were not ready to respect the wishes of the voters. In this age and time when democracy is fast becoming a dominant sentiment around the world, no power or few individuals can crush the will of the people without raping a huge political cost (Fagge, 2012).

In an interview with Hon. Faruk Adamu Aliyu which was also supported by the view of Senator Sani Stores, argues that "the NEC of CPC was compromised concerning the issue of candidature in some states of the federation such as Kano, Bauchi, and Katsina among others". They added that the National body collected money resulting to the imposition of unpopular candidates across the states" (Faruk and Sani, 2013).

Contrary to the above opinion, the National Secretary of the party replied that "we were accused of collecting money from various candidates across the states of the federation including Katsina in order to impose an unpopular candidate like Masari as they said, which was not true" (interview with Buba, 2013).

How can a truly democratic party deny the people the right to elect leaders of their own choice? The CPC which perceives itself as more credible than the ruling PDP, has to demonstrate higher moral standards. It is not enough for CPC leaders to mouth democracy but taking measures or imposing undemocratic policies such as the imposition of candidates will not serve the interest of the party members in particular and the country nascent democracy in general.

According to a Respondent, the party's constitution devolves so much powers to the NEC and BOT , instead of allocating greater power to the people as Buba claimed. But because of the centralized nature of the party, the structure of the party has been hijacked and internal democracy has been destroyed for political expediency and parochial interest of those that control the structure of the party. While the country has to a large extent undergone democratic transformation and some of the institutions might have bowed down to democratic demands. Political culture is yet to follow suit and the CPC as an opposition party has tended to have highly personalized and non-inclusive decision making process, therefore not internally democratic (Fagge, 2012). As such the CPC has failed to provide democratic functions, first as an agent of democratization in contributing to the deepening and widening of democratic culture and secondly, it has failed to provide credible alternative to the electorate because those at the helm of the affairs of the party are themselves not credible not widely respected, as such could not project the image of the party to the larger public (Suleiman, 2011).

A Respondent also maintained that because of selfish interest of the National leaders, including General Buhari himself, they could not resolve the conflict arising from the various primary elections in Katsina State Chapter of the Party rather they compounded the problem because they have a vested interest to protect resulting to the failure of the party to control the state and the case has to go to court. The party was very popular in Katsina State, it was able to control the three Senatorial Zones in the State (Katsina, Funtua and Daura) as well as thirteen out of fifteen seats of House of Representatives but because of the problem of imposition during the gubernatorial primary election which is against the basic principles of internal democracy, the party could not control the governorship seat in the state (interview with Armaya'u, 2013).

4.6 CPC and the Courts Ruling in Katsina State

Following the inability of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) to manage its affair especially as regards the choice of its candidates for National Assembly election that took place in 2011, the judiciary was invited to settle the matter, as a faction of the party went to a Federal High Court in Abuja seeking to be declared the authentic candidates of the party.

Let's attempt a summary of the facts. Section 85(1) of the Electoral Act 2010 requires every registered political party to give a 21-day notice to INEC of its intention to conduct any convention, congress, conference or meeting convened for the purpose of nominating candidates for any of the elective offices specified under the Electoral Act.

In compliance with this provision, the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) National Headquarters, wrote a letter to INEC on December 24th, 2010, giving notice to the commission of its intention to conduct primary elections for April 2011 National and State Assemblies as

well as Governorship Elections in Katsina State. According to the time-table contained in that letter, all primary elections for Katsina State would conclude on January 13, 2011 and submission of the list of successful candidates to INEC to be made the following day (January 14, 2011). The CPC also notified INEC of the constitution of a committee under Col Jibril Mohammed Hassan (Rtd), saddled with the responsibility of organizing the primary elections. (Buba, 2013).

That election took place on that day (January 13, 2011) and Hon. Aminu Masari and others vying for various National and State Assembly offices emerged victorious. On January 14th 2011, the CPC National Congress Committee under Dr. Lanre Tejuosho submitted names of winners of the primary elections to INEC after ratification of the list by the NEC and Board of Trustees of the party. The result of the primaries was not challenge in any court for breach of party Constitution, Electoral Act or other guidelines. The candidates were issued with INEC Forms CF001 and INEC Forms CF002B which were returned to the Commission and duly acknowledged.

After losing in the January 13, 2011 primary, Senator Yakubu Lado Danmarke and others refused to accept the result of the election and in concert with the Katsina State Chairman of the CPC, organized another primary election on January 15th, 2011 and consequently on January 16th 2011 declared themselves candidates of the CPC in Katsina State. They sent their names to INEC but the commission declined to accept their list.

Instead of accepting the decision of the party, these aggrieved members of CPC took their case to the judiciary. Having failed to convince INEC to accept their names as candidates for the 2011 elections, Senator Yakubu Lado Danmarke and 43 others decided to take INEC, the CPC

and the National Chairman of the CPC, Prince Tony Momoh to the Federal High Court, Abuja in case No FHC/ABJ/CS/126/2011. That marked the beginning of how the judiciary was brought into the matter. Among others, they asked for the enforcement of their rights and for an order that they were the legally elected CPC candidates for Katsina.

The suit was brought under Sections 221, 222, and 223 of the Constitution and Sections 85 and 86 of the Electoral Act 2010. On February 15th 2011, the trial Judge, Justice Abdul Kafarati, granted the reliefs sought by the plaintiffs and declared that they have: "sufficiently proved that they are the candidates of the CPC in April 2011 general elections." It should be placed on record that the judgment aggravated the crisis and sow the seeds of confusion that latter followed. This is because, it was on the basis of that judgment that INEC removed the names of the candidates sent by the leadership of the party and replaced them with that of the Danmarke's group. By the time the elections would be conducted in April, the high court order subsisted and they remained on the list. The election was largely won by CPC and INEC issued them with the certificates of return. Meanwhile, CPC was dissatisfied with the judgment and filed an appeal at the Court of Appeal in Abuja alleging miscarriage of justice. The notice of appeal was filed on March 1st, 2011, with eight grounds of appeal. At the Court of Appeal, the appellants asked the court to determine whether: (a) the trial court was right in holding that the 1st to 43rd respondents have sufficiently proved that they are candidates of the CPC in Katsina State, (b) a miscarriage of justice has not been occasioned by the wrong conclusion of the trial court, (c) the trial court was right in granting all declaratory and injunctive reliefs sought by the Respondents with regard to Sec 87 of the Electoral Act and the CPC constitution, (d) the failure of the trial court to consider issues for determination raised by the appellants did not occasion a miscarriage of justice.

On April 20, 2011, the Court of Appeal sitting in Abuja upheld all the arguments of the CPC and consequently set aside the judgment of the Federal High Court. In a unanimous decision delivered by Justices Mohammed Lawal Garba, Jimi Olukayode Bada and Regina Obiageli Nwodo (Mrs), the court stated that by the provisions of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) and the 1999 Constitution (as amended) the party at the national level was the only organ empowered to organize primary elections and not any of its branches and therefore the Katsina State Chairman of the CPC: "cannot usurp the powers conferred on the National Executive committee… and any such act...without any evidence he was delegated to so act is outside statutory provisions and such act is invalid."

According to the court, the trial court was wrong in relying on the primary elections of January 15, 2011 to hold that the 1st to 43rd respondents have sufficiently proved that they are the candidates of the CPC in Katsina State for the April 2011 general election. The court held: "The decision of the trial court was not based on the overwhelming documentary evidence that the January13, 2011 primaries were sanctioned by the Board of Trustees of the appellants."Their Lordships further held that the issue of who should be candidate of a political party at an election was a party matter that should be determined by the rules of its constitution and provisions of the Electoral Act.

"The court will normally be involved where the provisions in the electoral Act or the Party's constitution has not been complied with", the Appeal Court concluded. Danmarke and others were not satisfied with the decision of the Court of Appeal and consequently filed an appeal at the Supreme Court. After examining the issues in dispute, the Supreme Court came into a conclusion that the issues in disputes were internal affairs of CPC upon which no court of law

had the jurisdiction to pronounce. The apex court said that nomination of candidates was the exclusive preserve of a political party.

In its Judgment of December 16th 2011, read by Justice Walter Nkannu Onnoghen (JSC) and unanimously agreed to by Justice Dahiru Mustapha (CJN), Justice John Afolabi Fabiyi (JSC), Justice Mary Odili (JSC) and Justice Olufunlola Oyelola Adekeye (JSC), the Supreme Court stated that the Federal High Court ought not to have assumed jurisdiction when Yakubu Lado Danmarke brought the matter to it for lack of jurisdiction. Courts, according to the apex court, did not have the right to nominate candidates for or on behalf of political parties, as that was one of the cardinal responsibilities of political parties as enshrined in the constitution, which stipulated that candidates to all elections must be members of and sponsored by a political party.

Consequently, the court held as follows: "In the instant case, the jurisdiction in question is statutory and very limited in scope. On the face of the claim it would appear that the courts have jurisdiction under section 87 (4) (b) (ii), (c) (ii) and (9) of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended). If the right is being claimed by the appellant and in dispute between the parties arose from the primaries of January 15, 2011 alone. Once there arises a dispute as to which of the two primaries a right of candidature on the parties to represent a political party in an election, the matter is taken outside the purview of Section 87(4)(b)(ii), (c)(ii)(9) of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended).

"In conclusion, the judge held the view that the courts have no jurisdiction to determine the matter in dispute. Consequently, Suit no. FHC/ABJ/CS/126/2011 and appeal nos. CA/A/133/2011, SC/157/2011 and SC/334/2011 are hereby struck out for lack of jurisdiction."This last sentence by the Supreme Court later became another source of dispute.

Interpreting the Supreme Court's decision, INEC took the view that the list of names submitted by the CPC on January 14, 2011 and duly received by INEC remained valid and legal being the list presented by the leadership of the party, which had the powers to organize primaries. The commission further took the view that the candidates foisted on it by Justice Kafarati of the Federal High Court were not the candidates. Doing the needful, and in order to give effect to the judgment of the Supreme Court, INEC withdrew the certificate of return earlier issued to two Senators and eight members of the House of Representatives who were the "others" in the Yakubu Lado Danmarke and others' case. It also promptly issued new certificates of return to the validly nominated and CPC sponsored candidates in the 2011 National Assembly Election.

That marked the beginning of another round of litigation as the group whose certificates of return were withdrawn went back to the Federal High Court in Abuja claiming that the Supreme Court did not order INEC to withdraw their certificates of return. This new case was assigned to Justice Gladys Olotu. The affected CPC members urged the court to stop INEC from issuing certificate of return to Sen. Yar'Adua, Sen. Hadi Sirika and eight others and where such certificates of return had been issued they asked for an order restraining the National Assembly from swearing in. However, certificates were issued and the new members sworn-in by the Senate President and Speaker of the House of Representatives (on the advice of their Legal teams) before the Federal High Court could sit.

Along the line, the PDP candidate for Katsina Central Senatorial district, Senator Ibrahim Ida filed a similar suit wherein he asked the court to declare that he was the rightful candidate to step into the seat of the Senatorial District after CPC had replaced Ahmed Sani Stores with Abubakar Sadik Yar'Adua as its candidate for the Senatorial District.

He said that it was wrong for INEC to issue certificate of return to Yar'Adua and instead the PDP should have been declared the proper party to take over the senatorial seat because CPC was factionalized. He also asked the court to hold that Yar'Adua should not have been inaugurated as the senator representing the Senatorial District. But such claims were not considered in the court of law (Court Proceedings, 2011. See appendix 2).

Summary of the major findings

I. The study reveals that the party did not employ democratic principles in its operation/processes as members were not fully involved in the affairs of the party relating to candidate selection and agenda setting within the study area.

II. There was also a lack of applicability of internal democracy within the party in the study area which affected the performance of the party leading to its failure to control the State, despite the fact that the party was able to control majority seats of the National assembly.

III. The structure of CPC in the study area it was also found has been hijacked by the National Executives of the party, leading to the imposition of candidate as against popular will of the majority of the party members in Katsina State during the primary election.

IV. The Party has failed to provide credible alternative to the electorates during the last 2011 gubernatorial election in the State.

V. It was also observed that the ruling party in the State connived with the aggrieved party members to work against the party resulting from the problem of lack of internal democracy in the state.

Central to the above findings is the fact that internal democracy within parties is a vital issue for the survival of the parties in particular and democracy in general. If internal party democracy is been adhered to it may bring about legitimate change of party leaders on one hand, to have more responsive policies and also to enjoy greater electoral success and on the other hand if not adhered to it may lead to poor electoral success, cross

carpeting and leadership tussles which will end up breaking the party as evident in the practice of CPC in the study area.

However, the above findings uphold the first Assumption which stated that “There is no internal democracy in CPC in the study area and trejected the second Assumption which stated that “There is internal democracy in CPC in the study area”

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

Political Parties are essential institutions for the proper functioning of a democratic society. Every political party is an organized association of people working together to compete for public office and to promote agreed upon policies. Political parties serve among other functions, the need to aggregate diverse interests of the society, serving as a link between the people and the government, the need to determine the content of political order, selecting authoritative leaders, among other functions. In order to achieve these objectives, there is the need for political parties to practice intra-party democracy devoid of ethnicity, clan cleaveges, godfatherism, money politics among others. Parties have to offer genuine avenues for effective membership participation in shaping the content, character and output of political parties. Internal democracy is therefore essential for the creation and growth of well functioning and sustainable democratic institutions hence fostering and deepening a democratic culture within the wider society.

Intra-party democracy is an element of participatory democracy which encourages a culture of democratic debate and deliberation of critical issues and therefore collective ownership of decisions; promote party unity through reduced factionalism and create legitimate internal conflict management system. The attainment of these democratic ideals can only be realized depending on the extent to which processes of effective membership participation are formally stipulated and practically implemented in the party's organizational rules and procedures. While debate continues on how much democracy is good for political party effectiveness, the general

consensus is that internal democracy is desirable for its role in increasing the level of participatory democracy in the wider society.

In the preparation of Nigeria for the fourth Republic as it advances into the twenty first century, three political parties were registered by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The names of the registered parties are the Alliance for Democracy (AD), All People's Party (APP), which in 2002 changed its name to All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP), and the People's Democratic Party (PDP). These parties were organized and administered at the ward, Local Government Area, State, Zonal and National levels and have registered offices at all levels. These political parties contested the 1998 and 1999 general election. Since then PDP serves and remains as the ruling party with so many opposition parties across the states of the federation. ANPP was the strongest opposition party in 2007 general elections but because of the problem of internal democracy, the party was factionalized leading to the formation of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC).

The Congress for Progressive Change filed an application to register with Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on 26 March, 2009, and received official approval and registration on 28 December, 2009. Katsina State was one of its strongholds which had the capacity of attracting the support of all and sundary to control the State. Despite the fact that the party in the State was able to control majority seats during the National Assembly election, but because of the problem of internal democracy, the party was not able to control the gubernatorial seat in the State as members were not fully involved in the affairs of the party.

5.2 Conclusion

The party (CPC) is structurally weak and lacks institutional capacity. Power is often personalized by the leader and few of his cronies who use their personal interests to bankroll the party for selfish reasons, because of the personality cult build around the leader of the party. There is enormous amount of sycophancy which blur realism and distracts the leader from the focal point of articulating leadership challenge. Top officials of the party were accussed of undermine ng everything democracy stands for by wrongly advising General Buhari on the problem of internal democracy in Katsina State by endorsing strategically dangerous policy of imposition, which is against the basic principles of internal democracy which led the party members and activists to revolt against the party in 2011 gubernatorial election in Katsina State. This was against the basic principles of internal democracy; it was also an indication that the system in CPC does not allow for participatory democracy because most members of the party do not have a say in the affairs of the party as individuals handpicked and imposed candidates on other eligible candidates. Also, the rank and file was not fully consulted interms of agenda setting within the party rather, the party members accept whatever policy comes from the National Headquater of the party without having the power to make any input regarding the affairs of the party.

In democracy, the voice of the majority is superior to the interest of a few leaders who are determined to undermine voter sovereignty by imposing unpopular candidates to the people or sets agenda unbehalf of the party members without their consent. How can an opposition party like CPC in Katsina State be a credible alternative when internal democracy is not respected? In this age and time when democracy is fast becoming a dominant sentiment around the world, no

group of people can crush the will of the majority within a political party without raping a huge political cost.

This research work reveals that, the structure of CPC in the state has been hijacked, internal democracy has been sacrificed for political expediency and parochial interests of those that control the structure of the party at the National Level, while the country has to a large extent undergone democratic transformation and some of the instituitions might have bowed down to democratic demands; political culture is yet to follow suit and CPC has tended to have highly personalized and non inclusive decision making process and therefore not internally democratic. This is in line with the research assumptions that "the party (CPC) in Katsina State does not employ democratic principles in its operations" because party members were not fully involved in the affairs affecting the party which resulted to the failure of the party to capture the gubernatorial seat in 2011 general election. As such the party has failed to provide democratic functions, first as an agent of democratization in contributing to the deepening and widening of democratic culture and secondly, it has failed to provide credible alternative to the electorates in the state during the 2011 elections because those at the helm of the affairs of the party at the National Level were themselves not credible, not widely respected, as such could not project well the image of the party to the larger public.

5.3 Recommendations

This research work recommends the following

The study recommends that the current Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) must be reviewed to incorporate the deleted provision of section 87(9) of the repeal Electoral Act 2010, which provides that "where a political party fails to comply with the provision of this Act in the conduct of its primaries, its candidates for election shall not be included in the election for the particular position in issue. With such provision in place, the Electoral Commission will be able to enforce compliance with internal democratic mechanisms as provided for by the Electoral Act, and also strengthen the Commission's supervisory role under Sec 85(2) of the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended).

Political parties should not have the right to tell INEC to disqualify any candidates who meet the basic qualification. The voters in that party should make that decision via the ballot box. Only the court should be able to disqualify a candidate.

Free and fair election should be the corner stone for the country's democracy. In this regard, elected officials will be more independent and responsive to the electorate when elected in a free and fair election. Best candidates will stand better chance of winning party primaries and general election than current top-down selection process prevalent in most Nigerian political parties.

Employment of democratic principles such as inclusiveness and decentralization within the party in Katsina State in particular and other political parties in general will minimize frequent internal wrangling and cross carpeting within Nigerian political parties.

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