

UNIVERSITY OF SOKOTO

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 1983 GENERAL ELECTION

A CASE STUDY OF

THE 1983 GENERAL ELECTION IN SOKOTO STATE

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By

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APPROVAL PAGE

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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1:1 Introduction:

The study is concerned with an analysis of the 1983 election. It might not be out of place to start here by finding a way of thinking about the concept (ELECTION). Election as the name indicates, has been conceived and defined in different ways by different scholars at different historical developments to mean different things, but this depends on how a certain group or society perceives it or from the angle they look at it.

Consequently, elections might, in this respect or work be defined as a form of procedure recognised by the rules of an organization, where by all or some of the organization choose a smaller number of persons or one person to hold office of authority in the organisation.<sup>1</sup>

Since election has been defined in this perspective or angle, it does not only mean then, institutional or governmental elections i.e. where a person comes out as a candidate vying for presidency. But it also includes elections in such organizations as churches, or even vying for governorship in an election. Societies, pressure groups and not pressure groups, national assemblies, clubs, unions, political parties and all other forms of organisation one can think of. Because these organisations have in them established sets of rules which provide or are recognized in them this election in choosing their officials in the organisation to hold office of authority. Elections therefore are general attributes of modern representative democracy, which had its genesis and development from Ancient Greek city States of the western Mediterranean in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C.<sup>2</sup> Elections have since in the Ancient

Greek city states form and assume a key position in the politics of most advanced and civilized societies of the world. Long before, in the Ancient Greek, there used to be a system of direct democracy in which all male adults gathered to discuss politics and share offices. But for now because for one thing the difficulties that would be encountered it will be impossible to gather the millions of people in our societies. For the other reasons, it will be impossible to organize such a large crowd for any meaningful discussion, and to add to the difficulties, government has now become so civilized and modernized that fulltime office holders are needed.

It is in view of the difficulties indicated above that, the system of selecting a few individuals in the society has to be evolved to jettisoned some of these problems and difficulties. Therefore the process of selecting these individuals is referred to as election which is done through voting. It is in this respect that, election or voting as a core of representative government has been so deeply entrenched in the western societies that voting or selection in nation-wide election has a special significance in their democracies. It is because of the importance attached to electioneering tradition in their societies that has led to the export of balloting in elections to countries where voting procedures has not historically possessed the same social authority, as in the case of western countries.<sup>3</sup>

Due to the complexity of modern societies as already pointed out above, it makes direct participation in government by all adult male combrous or no longer possible that, modern societies had to recourse to election as the only alternative and means of selecting



some few individuals who will undertake the whole affairs of the state on behalf of the larger citizens residing in that state known as government. It is on this note that, all modern state most resort to election if they really want individuals who will take in power, office and authority in the state.

Since all societies have grown from their rudimentary or savage stage to a much more complex standard of beyond-direct-participation<sup>1</sup> then, election has to assume a central position in our modern democracy. And by this, the difficulties involved in the direct participation will be drastically minimized, if not eliminated. But for elections to actually take place there must be the following, first, the concept of recognized position or roles (offices) which confer certain powers and duties within an organisation, and secondly, the vacancy of the office to be contested and lastly, there must be candidate(s) interested in contesting for such an office before election is worth the name. Office is therefore a position designated by the same system of rules that determines the electoral procedures. The general problem is that in all social systems, persons must somehow be linked to offices; election therefore is one of many different procedures used to ensure legal succession to office in different organizations and societies.<sup>4</sup>

In conclusion, for there ~~to be~~ a hitch-free election in any form of society or organization there must be the followings and the mishandling of any one of these procedures might lead to unfair elections, these are:-

First, an electoral commission to conduct the election which is normally expected to be an independent institution beyond the influence

of any other authority.

Secondly, the Registration of voters.

Thirdly, the registration of political parties or party (to contest the elections) and their candidates.

Fourthly, the electioneering campaigns which are yet another very important aspects of election.

Fifthly, the balloting (that is the polling and the counting of votes)

Sixthly, the results.

There must be all the above for an election to be hitch-free.

Statement of the problem:-

The research project is trying to examine what election is, and what it meant precisely to politics and its significance to any modern democratic political system. After having seen the traditional meaning of election and its significance to modern governments, it will go on to take an analysis of the 1983 election in Sokoto State. Has 1983 election in Sokoto State been conducted the way it is suppose to be conducted? or was there a negetion of the principles of election and democracy? ie were there some excesses associated with the election in the state? Why also did N.P.N win? Well if there were some election malpractices, the work will indicate the hooliganism, political wranglings and other malpractices that had characterized the electioneering conduct.

The dissertation would also endcavour to look at the role played by some unscrupulous government agencies (police judiciary and Fedeco) in prepipitating and promoting the excesses associated with the 1983



elections particularly in Sokoto State. For instance we are all living witnesses to what has happened here in Sokoto State i.e. The political violence that has happened in Bunza Local Government as a result of clash between police and N.P.N supporters on the one hand, and some U.P.N supporters on the other. All these political chaos will be examined in this dissertation.

Objective of the Research:-

The objective of this project is to explore and enlighten both the students of political science and also the students from other social science disciplines like sociology, economics and management on the misnomer attached to election to mean appointment and vice-versa, by some scholars. It is on this note, I would like to make a sort of clarification on what really is meant by election on the one hand, and appointment on the other. It has been a subject of controversy as mentioned earlier of what difference(s) can there be between them. Some scholars have even ventured to define election to mean appointment. But the issue of election comes in when, for say, ten choosers voted to fill one office; but if ten choosers filled 100 offices, this is not election but appointment. It is also one of the objectives of this research to look at the hooliganism and brigandage that had characterized the 1983 electioneering campaigns in Sokoto State despite the stringent law and the subsequent draconian punishment behind it. And where there are loopholes or lacunas that have not been filled by the scholars who undertook a similar kind of work or have not satisfied the yearnings and aspirations of the students of political science and those students from other disciplines who are curious to know the political happenings

around them, the research will bridge-up the gaps thereby providing a possibly first hand informations and solutions to make their yearnings contented. The work will also endeavour to provide some suggestions that have not been offered by the previous scholars who have undertaken the same project and thereby making the field of political science more scientific and reliable.

In conclusion it will also provide suggestions on the appropriate measures to be taken to put a stop or ameliorate the future occurrence of the menace.

Methodology:-

This work is a study of 1983 election in Sokoto State, it will center on analysis of the 1983 election in Sokoto State. For the purpose of data collection, the project intends to use random sampling of the population residing in the state and employ, or embark on interviews Newspapers, Books and possibly some Journal of political science.

The researcher will intensively and extensively make use of the library for, there are some books, that could be relevant to the dissertation.

The interview will be granted to 3 categories of people - old politicians, old in the sense that they have been banned by the present Babangida's government, those who conducted the election (Electoral officers) - and thirdly, the electorate or the voters.

However, questionnaire is not going to be employed in this work, because of the difficulties involved in putting across the questionnaires to the individuals concerned.

The moment you confront them with questionnaires, they endeavour to to run away thereby showing deaf ears to your invitations to fill the



questionnaires. Because of the cumbersome nature and the non-challant attitudes of the respondents of questionnaires, the researcher chose to ~~shun~~ the questionnaire method thereby, ~~resorting~~ to interviews and documents where necessary and available. I therefore intend, to use interview as my primary source of data, and documents as my secondary data.

Hypothesis:-

There are only two hypotheses that will guide this dissertation.

- (1) The 1983 electioneering campaigns were characterized with daring act of hooliganism and political violence.
- (2) The 1983 election was characterized with rigging and other mal-practices, to further perpetuate election rigging.

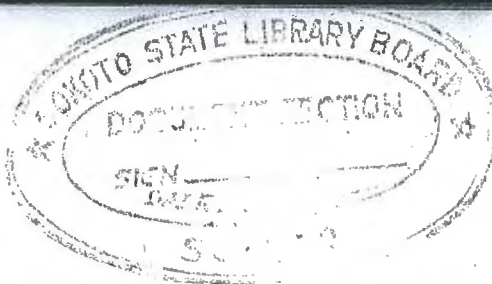
Research Scheme:-

<sup>with ducts</sup> For the purpose of easy comprehension the study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter, deals with the introduction of the election itself, what it meant to modern democracy, it also deals with the objectives of the study and problems of the study. Chapter two is concerned with literature review and deals with election developments in Nigeria; The background of the second Republic; Constitutionalism and FEDECO and lastly the 1979 Elections. Chapter Three deals with the following; Brief political background of Sokoto State: Background of the 1983 Election in the State: The conduct of the Election in the state and post Election developments. Chapter Four is data analysis and the election and political system. And lastly Chapter Five is summary, conclusion and Recommendation.

CHAPTER ONE:- FOOT NOTES

1. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vols.- 5&6 P.3
2. Leo D and Oyewole, A/Level Government Text Book of West Africa. Onibonoje Press (1981) p. ~~73~~
3. Encyclopaedia, op cit, No 1, P. 3 - 4
4. Ibid, P. 3 - 4.





CHAPTER TWO

In the last chapter I endeavoured to give the general notion of the genesis of election, its meaning, its significance to an, democratic political system e,t,c.

In this chapter, I will extensively indicate how various scholars feel about the development of election in Nigeria; background of the second republic/constitutionalism/Fedeco; and the 1979 election.

ELECTIONS DEVELOPMENT:-- (Literature review)

The history of the development of elections in Nigerian politics as viewed by many scholars is very recent, it is on this basis that elections in Nigeria have very limited use for political research, as for instance, they will have in the United State of America, Britain and or most industrialized western countries who, for donkey years back have been using elections in their politics.

In Nigeria for instance, the elective principle was first introduced into the Nigerian political system by the Clifford's constitution of 1922. For example, the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) was formed under the leadership of / <sup>Herbert</sup> Macaulay to contest the 1922 Election. In 1937, Nigerian Youth Movement (N.Y.M) was formed under the leadership of H.O. Davies, a largely Yoruba organisation, which contested successfully the Lagos Municipal Elections of 1938 against the Nigeria National Democratic party, later the democratic party resumed control.<sup>1</sup> In that same year, 1922, Clifford abolished the Nigerian council together with old legislative council and replaced them

brought Richard to the political scene. When he came into power there was nothing to show for it in his constitution for, he did not extend the principles of direct election beyond the provisions of the Clifford constitution of 1922. For instance, the majority of the members of the central legislative council were not elected; in fact, only four Africans were elected on a limited franchise. The executive council still remained unchanged, with still unofficial members. And thirdly, the constitution does not provide effective link between the executive and legislative councils. Indeed, with launching of the 1946 constitution, Nigeria seemed to be almost as far from responsible government as she was in 1922.<sup>4</sup> It was at this material time that the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons (NCNC) was founded (1944) under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay and Nnadi Azikwe. The N. C. N. C went on to attack the Richard's constitution because of the constitution's failure to enlarge the electorate and extend the principle of direct elections, apart from its other defects. All these grievances about Richard's constitution were still in the air when Sir John Macpherson became Governor in April, 1948. The Macpherson's constitution was debated both at the local level, /at the level of thought, and finally at a conference held in Ibadan in January, 1950, and this led or resulted to the kind of constitution Nigeria got in 1951. It was the Macpherson's constitution which extended elective principle to other parts of the federation. Even then, majority of the regional legislative councils and the federal legislative council were elected indirectly through the complex electoral



colleges. While in the west and eastern regional legislatures the elective principle was based on universal adult suffrage, but in the north, it was on adult male suffrage. The tradition continued through the 1954 Lyttelton constitution where the first ever federal Elections were held under different arrangements prescribed in regulations made separately to each region by the Governor-General. In the northern region the N.P.C won the election with eighty-four out of ninety-two seats, in the Eastern Region the N.C.N.C thirty, the A.G in alliance with the united national independent party (UNPP) won seven and others won five seats.<sup>5</sup> In 1959 there was also the independence elections, There were 3 regions at this time namely the Northern (the biggest), the Eastern and Western Regions, with Lagos serving as the Federal capital Territory. On seeing that, the 3 regional parties (NPC, AG and NCNC) could not possibly be sufficient to cater for all the diverse ethnic and cultural groups which made up Nigeria. The years following 1951 saw the mushrooming of many local parties representing one minority interest or another. However, in 1959, 13 minority parties managed to contest the federal election for that year. They included the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), Yoruba Youth Movement (BYM) all in the Northern Region, also the Nabolaje Grand Alliance and Otu Edo in the West and the United National independence party and the Democratic party of Nigeria and Cameroons in the East, This was also said to be the most important elections in the country for,

the election preceded by the grant of political independence to the country in 1960, after the expiration of the "99 - year lease" by the British.<sup>6</sup>

Immediately Nigeria joined the comity of sovereign nations on 1st October, 1960. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the leader of independent Nigeria under the West Minister model of parliamentary democracy in which he was made the prime Minister. Not long before the young independent country soon ran into serious political crises or upheavals which threatened the corporate existence of the country. Some of the crises that brought about the end of Balewa's government includes:-

The independence elections crises of 1959/60, which has been discussed above.

The treason trial which found Awo guilty

The 1962 Action-Group crises

The 1962/63 Census Crises and

The 1964/65 (Western - Nigeria) Elections crises.

As I said earlier, elections were conducted both at the centre and regional levels in the country before independence, the major parties that contested the election were the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C) National Congress of Nigeria Council (N.C.N.C) and Action Group (A.G) with the N.P.C emerging as the party with the highest votes followed by the A.G. However, as the N.P.C did not command an overall Majority in the House of Representatives as required by the West-Minister Model, she went into coalition with the N.C.N.C. The A.G. being the runner up automatically



he came the opposition and Awo the opposition leader. Later Awo was unsatisfied with the whole scheme of things sought ways to destabilise the government by force and bring about new-elections. Later this was detected by the government in power, and this threw the country into crisis. Under it, Awo was accused of high treason (i.e. planning to overthrow the federal government by force through training of mercenaries in Ghana). Later Awo was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

The other major crisis in the country was the Action Group conflict between Awo and Akintola, the then premier of Western Region. The conflict which led to the split of the party, started in Jos during the A.G.'s annual convention in which, both were in attendance. In the course of the convention, Akintola sought permission to return to Ibadan and welcome his partner, the premier of Northern Nigeria, Ahmadu Bello, who was then touring the Western Region. Though Awo turned the request, Akintola still left and that led to his expulsion from the party. With his exit from A.G., Akintola joined the N.C.N.C and succeeded in capturing Western Nigeria from Awo (A.G.), but this was not without a crisis and bloodshed which culminated in the declaration of a State of emergency in the region. The next issue in the country was the 1962/63 Census, the first census was conducted in 1962 and was said to have been inflated by the south and had to be reconducted in 1963. But the new figures were hardly different from the previous. This time, it was the North that was alleged to have inflated its figures. The N.C.N.C as a

party rejected the figures and attempted through legal action before the supreme court to have the figures in-validated, but this was a failure.

However, in 1969 there was federal and Regional elections. These elections generated crises, it should be noted that because of its inability to have the census figures in-validated, the NCNC decided to enter into electoral alliance with A.G for the federal election of 1964 which was then fast approaching. After being joined by a third party the Nigerian Progressive Front (N.P.F) - a coalition of Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and United middle Belt Congress (U.M.B) - the three parties styled themselves the United Progressive Ground Alliance (UPGA). The N.P.C on the other hand went into Alliance with a new party formed by Akintola, The Nigerian National Democratic Party. (NNDP) and the two formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA). By going into alliance with the A.G the NCNC wanted to give the impression that the jailing of Awo was due to the machination of the N.P.C as such it succeeded in bi-polarizing political opinions in the country. The context between the NNA and (U.P.G.A) was made to take the form of a North versus south conflict. For example, the UPGA portrayed the NNA as a feudal party, and one oriented to establishing a Hausa-Fulani hagemony. The N.N.A also avanged by describing the U.P.G.A with the image of a corrupt, self seeking collectivity which was determining to monopolise status position in the society.

On the basis of the crisis that was brewing, the UPGA decided to boycott the election, however, the NNA insisted that it must be



conducted.. The members of electoral commission from the East, Mid-West and Lagos decided to resign. But the boycott of the election by the UPGA turn-out to be that in the areas where elections were held, N.N.A members were returned elected and even to win a majority in the House of Representatives. One thing that intensified the crisis was that despite the winning of a majority in the Federal House by the NNA, the president of the Federation, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe refused to appoint the deputy leader of the NNA, Sir Abubakar as the prime minister, thus creating a constitutional crisis and political impasse in the country. The president and his prime minister began to make a play for the loyalty of the armed forces, however, the Army decided to back the prime minister, the judiciary also decided to intervene to find out a formula for reconciliation.<sup>8</sup>

This was somehow found among other things in the formation of a broad-based government. Elections were also to be held in areas where there were boycott and disputed constituencies were to be re-contested. But this was not a solution to the crisis as the contestants attempted to eliminate some members of the opposing coalition such as the UPGA which tried to eliminate the NNDP, the NNA countered by an attempt to remove the A.G. as a competitor. This resulted into serious violence and the army had to intervene in the body politics of Nigeria.

From 1964 elections, we have never had any election until in 1979 after a long period of military interregnum. The constitution of the republic was later handed to the civilians. The parties that contested the 1979 elections were only five. Although when the ban was lifted many as 51 parties sprang up but only five were registered. It was

only in 1983 elections that the sixth party was created (N.A.P.).

BACKGROUND OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC/CONSTITUTIONALISM/ELDECO

Shortly, after the country has attained independence in 1960, it ran into serious political crisis which threatened the nation's corporate existence as a united entity. As the political violence continued in some parts of the country, in the early hours of the morning of January 15, 1966, a section of the Nigerian Army revolted in Lagos, Enugu, Ibadan and Kaduna. Many leading politicians including the prime minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the Premier of Northern Nigeria, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the premier of Western Nigeria, Chief S. I. Akintola and federal minister of finance, Chief Festus Okotie Ebo were killed. The officers who died were Brigadier Ademologun, Brigadier Zakariya Maimalari, Colonel Kur Mohammed, Colonel Shodeinde, Lt. Colonel Yakubu Pur, Lt. Colonel Arthur Uchegbo and Major Samuel Adegbo.

The master minds of the coup were named as major C.K. Izeogwu, major E. Ifeajuma, major D. Okafor and captain E. N. Nwobosi. Others connected with the coup were captain Oji, major C. J. Anotaro, major I. H. Chukaka, major Ademoyafa, just to mention but a few.

The coup actually did not succeed in dethroning the federal government despite the killing of the prime-minister, at 11.50p.m. On 16th Jan, 1966, the acting president of the federal republic of Nigeria, Dr. Nwafor Orizu declared that he had been advised by the council of ministers to hand over power to the military. And, the General Officer Commanding the Nigerian army, Major-General Johnson Thomas Umunakwe Aguiyi-Irosi took over the mantle of power.



In his maiden broadcast to the nation he announced a decree suspending the offices of president, prime minister and parliament. He suspended the offices of premier and executive councils in the region. In places of these, governors will be appointed who would be responsible to the federal military government. He also announced the banning of about 81 political parties in existence. On Jan, 13th 1966, Ironsi announced the appointment of military-governors for the various regions. They were Lt. Colonel C. Odumegu Ojukwu for Eastern Region, Lt. Colonel Francis Adekunle Fajuyi for Western Region, Colonel David A. Ejoor for Mid-West and Lt. Colonel Hassan Usman Katsina for Northern region.

The January coup was actually given different interpretations by the various sections of the country. For example, the North saw the coup on ethnic grounds since the killings of politicians was selective. They demanded that if the coup was aimed at bringing national unity, the leaders of the January 15th coup should be <sup>tried</sup> and possibly dealt with in military way.

As a counter - claim the Ibos interpreted it as a nationalist movement to end the domination of the country by the North and thereby supporting the coup. On 28th July, 1966, Ironsi was summoned to open a conference of traditional rulers in Ibadan. He was a guest to the military governor of western region, Lt. Colonel Adekunle Fajuyi. On that day it was reported that Ironsi and Adekunle were kidnapped at government lodge by dissident soldiers and there was no confirmation of their whereabouts. They were later reported dead.<sup>9</sup>

On August 1st, Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon at 11.20 am. in a nationwide broadcast said he had brought to the position of "having to shoulder the responsibilities of ruling this country-----". He regretted the killing of the Head of State on 29th July and the January coup which many leading politicians and army officers were killed. He promised to do something in order to stop the hostilities which might lead to the break-up of the country.

The then military governor of Eastern Region that same day in Enugu said that "the brutal and planned annihilation of officers of Eastern Nigeria origin had cast a serious doubt as to whether the people of Nigeria could ever lived together as members of a nation".<sup>10</sup> He even thought Brigadier Ogundipe then Chief of Staff - Supreme Headquarters could have become the next head of state and not Lt. Colonel Yakubu Gowon who was Chief of Staff, Nigerian Army. Therefore Ojukwu invited Ibos from all parts of the country to return home and refused to recognise Gowon as the supreme commander. The crisis reached its climax on 30th May, 1967 Ojukwu in a broad-cast from Enugu proclaimed the formation of a new sovereign state in Africa with the name, the Republic of Biafra - Gowon declared Ojukwu's action as rebellion and illegal and therefore promised to crush it. He quickly divided the country into <sup>ended</sup> 12 - states and so the country fought the civil war which/in 1970. After the war, Gowon announced that "no victor and no vanguard", Nigeria became united again, and he went on to grant clemency to all war criminals. Ibos were free to take back their jobs. Gowon disappointed our foreign ~~enemies~~ <sup>enemies</sup> who felt that the Ibos would be completely



wiped out as a tribe after they have surrendered. After the war, Gowon drew up a nine-point programme for his administration. And this include the followings:-

1. The re-organisation of the Armed forces.
2. The implementation of the second National development plan.
3. The eradication of corruption in our National life.
4. The settlement of the question of the creating of more states.
5. The preparation and adoption of the a new constitution.
6. The introduction of a new revenue allocation formula.
7. Conducting a national census.
8. The organisation of genuinely national political parties.
9. The organisation of election, installation of popularly elected government in the states and at the centre.

One would see that not all of the above programmes mentioned have been achieved successfully. There are a number of them that have been a failure. For instance, in the case of the reorganisation of the army. This has been a perfect failure, for, they were allowed to live with civilians as such therewere constant clashes. And the issue of corruption eradication has not also been very successful. Both Army Officers and Civilians alike were abusing their offices to enrich themselves. And on the question of Revenue allocation the Head of State promised to set up a panel to review Dina's report on Revenue allocation in the country of 1969. But this was never done. The Gowon Regime has not been without its own achievements for instance, the question of creation of states. He was able to create about 12 more states after the civil war, which in no small measure has / contributed in the unity of the country.

Gowon had already promised to set-up a constitution Drafting committee to draw up a new constitution for the return of Civil rule and a constituent Assembly to consider the draft constitution. However, in October, 1974 the Head of State halted speculations on the return to civil rule stating that Nigerian politicians had "learnt nothing and forgotten nothing" and that it would amount to betrayal of faith in his regime to adhere rigidly to the target date of 1976. Most Nigerians were highly flabber-gasted with the news and thought that Gowon wanted to stay in power indefinitely and might possibly do "an Eyadema or a Mobutu"!!!

Other problems of Gowon included his failure to change his governors and commissioners some of whom were corrupt. There were several riots and demonstrations here and there against his government led by doctors, dock-workers, students, University lecturers etc.

To bribe the different elite groups in the country he granted them salary arrears (Ucoji award), which only help to precipitate the country's problems through inflation and this automatically what led to the moribund of his hegemony.

As the discontentment against the inept regime of Gowon kept flowing, on July, 29th 1975 Colonel Joseph Naven Garba, Commandant of the federal Brigade of Guards announced, the ousting of Gowon who was then attending an O. A. U meeting in Kampala. Brigadier Murtala Mohammed, the federal commissioner of communication become the new head of state.

In his broadcast Murtala said that " the nation had been groping in the dark and the situation would inevitably result in chaos and



bloodshed if not arrested.<sup>12</sup> That Gowon's regime was characterised by lack of consultation, shilly-shalliness, indiscipline and even neglect. Hence the army decided to effect change. He retired all governors, service chiefs. He discarded the controversial 1973 census figures and the festival of Arts and culture (FESTAC) that was then fast approaching.

Swearing in his governors, he said he was sending them on military postings. He purged corrupt officials in the federal civil and public services and ordered his governors<sup>to</sup> do so in their respective states. He set a public complain commission to hear cases from aggrieved Nigerian. A panel for the drafting of a new constitution for the return of the country to civil role in 1979 was set up under the chairmanship of Rotimi Williams. On Feb. 3, he announced the creation of 7 more states thus reducing the general tension that had characterized Gowon's regime.

On the international scene, he succeeded in injecting some dynamism into our foreign policy by recognizing Angola and calling on other African states to do the same. He told America in clear terms that Africa has come of age and will no longer take orders from any foreign power.

It was at this material time in the morning of Feb. 13, 1976 that the euphoria over Murtala's dynamism was shattered, when the Head of State and the Governor of Kwara State Colonel Ibrahim Taiwo were assassinated in an abortive coup led by one Lt. Colonel Bukar Suka Dimka.

Lt. General Olusegun Obasanjo, then chief of staff supreme headquarters became the next head of state. In a broadcast to the nation that evening he said that "we are once again passing through a critical period

in the history of the country, for me personally this has been one of the saddest moments in my life. He went on to say that he had been compelled against his personal wish and desire to serve as the new Head of State. But I have accepted this honour in the interest of the nation and in memory of the late Head of State. He promised that there would be no change in policies of the federal military government and also assured the nation that the coup plotters would be rounded up and dealt with in a military way.

With Obasanjo now in command, in September 1976, He received two drafts of the constitution from the C.D.C headed by Rotimi Williams. The two drafts were the majority and minority views on how the country should be governed after the military handed over power in 1979. The draft constitution made a retreat from the British West-Minister System and created an American type model, that is the presidential system of government.

#### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

This was the next stage in the return to civil rule, the membership of the Assembly was by means of elections held on August 31, 1977, through the new local governments performing the role of electoral colleges.

The 203 member Assembly was headed by Justice Udo Udoma charged with the responsibility of receiving and collecting comments from the public on the draft constitution and on the basis of this produce a final constitution for the country.



The issue that generated the most controversy in the Assembly was over the Sharia Court System. However, despite this, the new constitution was submitted to the government. After amending some sections of the constitution on 21st September, 1978, the Head of State signed Decree 25 which promulgated the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria into law with effect from 1st October, 1979. After the submission of this new constitution, General Obasanjo announced that the 12 year old ban on political parties had been lifted. He declared in a sporting metaphor that:-

Let the game of politics begin.

Let all players be good sportmen.

No matter the result of the competition,

Let all players remain friendly and without bitterness look forward to another competition.

Let the players, the spectators and the umpires all resolve to make the competition a successful one, and let the umpires be fair and firm and just----

I wish all of you peaceful excitement in the weeks ahead.<sup>14</sup>

FEDECO:

The federal Military Government through Decree No. 73 of 1977 had established an electoral Commission with the name Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO). It is charged with the responsibilities of conducting elections, accepting nomination papers from candidates and political par-

ties, registration of parties and organizing actual balloting.

The decree gave wider powers and legal backing, to the commission.

For instance, the commission's decision on the registration of po-

litical parties was final as no court of law could bear or determine

any question pertaining to it. With the lifting of the ban on politics,

many political groups and associations sprang up. However, those that

came to be registered to contest the 1979 elections were the National

Party of Nigeria (NPN), the Great Nigerian People's Party (G.N.P.P) -

a break away faction of the (N.P.P), the Unity Party of Nigeria (U.P.N),

The Nigerian People's Party (N.P.P), and finally the People's Redemption

Party (P.R.P).

#### CANDIDATES AND POLICIES

1. National Party of Nigeria (NPN) It was first headed by Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bida and later by Chief Adisa Akinloye and it has as its presidential candidate Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Shagari. It has in the manifesto policies like:-

- a. Social justice and social welfare
- b. Equality of opportunity for all the citizens.
- c. Personal liberty and fundamental rights and freedom of the citizens.
- d. supremacy of the will of the people democratically expressed.
- e. Self-respect and self-reliance.
- f. And lastly, Unity of Nigeria.

#### Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP)

It has its Chairman and presidential aspirant Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim

And the following policies in its manifesto:-



republic of Nigeria has made certain provisions for a periodic transfer of political power or periodic election just to stop a leader from transforming himself into a tyrant. Therefore, when a president and his henchmen are elected into political office, of their tenure is too weak mandate from the electorate who voted them as their tenure in the office only last for a period of four (4) years into power for a period to findy Samba Darma, the majority leader of the during which they are expected to relinquish or forfeit their G.N. When P. this 4 years provisions by the constitution by the expiration, hegemony and prepare themselves fully for a fresh election, if on 1993 had already started to show, it head, that is to say when another the one hand are lucky to be re-elected they take another 4 years fresh election would be, conducted campaigns were so violent to the extent in office, and if on the other hand are not lucky other persons take that they had been set (in missing or the 1983 election but, in in the helm of power.

Lagos and other there was an additional party to the political

It is because of this constitutional provisions that, many parties had had contested the 1979, election to bring to the number parties sprang up at the Federal military government's announcement of its / of parties that, would contest the 1983 election to get a party that to handover power to a civilian government in 1979. Out of these was added to the already existing parties as well as individuals, political parties that sprang up, only few were met registered i.e. candidates Tunji Braithwaite and had the credit that N.B. Quites they were the only parties that met the modalities and qualifications and cockroaches in the country as its cardinal programme and the needed by the commission (FEDECO) and these parties were, N.P.N., U.P.N., the it has been argued that the campaign for the 1983 elections N.P.P., G.N.P.P. and P.P.P. These were the 5 parties that contested started immediately the 1979 elections were announced. Political the 1979 election and it was N.P.N. that emerged the victorious with opponents of the opposing parties tried through their various actions U.P.N. following at the back, so the result in some states. But as the to sell their programme to the electorates in the states not controlled

The results of all the parties in 1979 can be seen below by them. Also incumbent governors manipulated governmental machinery Party candidate on 31st Dec. Total votes percent for that purpose, so that they can remain in power. On the contrary

Party	Candidate	Total votes	percent
N.P.N.	In the Alhaji Shehu Shagari	5,688,857	37.77
U.P.N.	Chief Olu Awelowo	1,916,651	29.18
N.P.P.	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	2,822,523	16.75

For instance, the country had witnessed the highest rate of corruption, insecurity, inflation, unemployment and non-payment of salaries to workers between 1979 and 1993. Hence opposing parties

So much has been said about the 1983 election in the country in general in the preceding part of this work, in which attempt was made to highlight the populace on the conduct of the 1983 election in the

country and so I deliberated briefly on excesses associated with the

- a. The party adopted the phrase of "politics without bitterness" as its slogan and promised to promote national unity.
- b. Build a dynamic economy
- c. To ensure better living standards for all Nigerians
- d. To pursue a dynamic foreign policy.

#### Unity Party of Nigeria (U.P.N)

It was headed by the veteran politician late Chief Obafemi Awolowo who was also its presidential aspirant. Its manifesto contained the following:-

- a. Free education at all levels for all with effects from October 1st, 1979.
- b. Integrated rural development which is aimed at boosting food production and feeding 60 million hungry citizens of the country.
- c. The provision of free health facilities for all citizens of Nigeria
- d. Full employment.

#### The Nigerian People's Party (N.P.P)

The chairman of the NPP was Chief Adeniran Ogunsanya while its presidential candidate was Dr. Nnandi Azikiwe the NPP promised among other things to:

- a. To fight against poverty, disease, ignorance, intolerance, indiscipline, feudalism, racism, neo-colonialism and exploitation of man by man.
- b. Achieve full employment of the country's manpower and natural resource in order to build a self reliant economy.
- c. Mobilize the rural population for effective participation in the development process and the incorporation of the million working class more and more in the management process.



d. Enshrine democracy, freedom and equality, and respect for human dignity.

#### The People's Redemption Party (PRP)

The P.R.P had late Mallam Aminu Kano as its presidential candidate.

The party saw itself as the vanguard of the Nigerian Masses and had the following principles:-

a. The need for a proletarian state in Nigeria free from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

b. The existence of private enterprises as a temporary necessity to be phased out after a reasonable transitional period.

c. The liberation and Unity of Africa; an anti-colonial, anti-apartheid and anti-zionist foreign policy.

#### THE 1979 ELECTIONS:

2:3 The five political parties after being registered by the Federal electoral commissions started campaigning for the elections. A lot of promises were made to the electorate and some of the parties went to the extent of canvassing for votes from the electorate by bribing them to vote for them.

The constitution has provided that there were five elections to be contested for viz - senate, House of Representatives, Houses of Assembly in the various states, Gubernatorial and presidential elections respectively. One would see therefore the elections were held for all offices created by the new constitution and the legislative organs established by the same constitution. But since the drafted constitution itself would come into operation only on 1st October, the elections could not be held under the

can vassing for votes from the electorate by bribing them to vote for them.

The constitution has provided that there were five elections to be contested for viz - senate, House of Representatives, Houses of Assembly in the various states, Gubernitorial and Presidential elections respectively. One would see therefore the elections were held for all offices created by the new constitution and the legislative organs established by the same constitution. But since the drafted constitution itself would come into operation only on 1st October, the elections could not be held under the constitution. After this, two laws of 1975, promulgated in anticipation of a new constitution and elections, took care of this problem.

The first law was the Decree establishing the federal Electoral Commission with power to organize and supervise all matters pertaining to elections provided for in the constitution. The registration of parties was another function. Once these functions were performed the electoral commission so established would cease to exist.

The second was the Electoral Decree which unlike the fedeco Decree was a general law relating to elections and not limited by time. The Electoral Decree could not but help taking into cognizance in its provisions the nature of the constitution which it was obvious the country was going to have, e.g, an Executive presidency. With these laws, elections in the country started. The first two results at the federal elections showed that the following:

- Senate - NPN 36 seats, UPN 28, NPP 16, GNPP 8, and PRP 7.
- House of Reps - NPN 168 seats, UPN 111, NPP 78, GNPP 43 and PRP 49.



Generally, the results from the senate and House of Representative's elections showed that no party had an absolute majority and also indicated that the presidential election would be inconclusive and could possibly result in an electoral collage. Being that N.P.N. was stronger than any party, the other parties decided to enter into an electoral alliance the "Progressive alliance". With Awo and Waziri Ibrahim as the Chief architects. The parties held a press conference where they declared that the N.P.N. had violently rigged the first two elections in collaboration with FEDECO, officials. Hence it was their desire to resolve their differences and present a united front against the N.P.N.

In particular, that Awo should be their presidential candidate. However, the P.R.P and N.P.P presidential aspirants never stepped down for Awo because of his earlier support to FEDECO that they should be disqualified. In short the alliance never worked and the N.P.N. still emerged winner in the subsequent elections of Governors and President. However this was not without protest from the other parties. The most important protest came from the presidential election.

It should also be noted that the general expectation prior to the presidential election in the country was that no party would be able to satisfy section 126 (a) and (b) of the constitution which reads thus:-

A candidate for an election to the office of president shall be deemed to have been elected were there being more than 2 - candidates for the election (if)

- a. He has the highest number of votes cast at the election, and
- b. He has not less than one-quarter of the votes cast at the election in each of at least two-thirds of all the states of the federation.

The other presidential aspirants argued that while Shagari satisfied the first requirement by scoring the largest number of votes cast, he failed to fulfil the second. Despite the series of protest made verbally and legally, the presidential candidate of the N.P.N. - Alhaji Shehu Shagari was later sworn in as the chief executive of the second Republic on 1st October, 1979. Immediately, the constitution was handed to the president, he enjoined his partners to join in the formation of a <sup>broad</sup>~~board~~ base government. Moreover, his party did not have an absolute majority in the senate and House of Representatives as such he needed the co-operation of the other parties so as to get his bills passed through the National Assembly without much politics. At the end of the day, it was only N.P.N. <sup>that</sup> honoured the invitation and did so mainly to secure key appointments at the Federal level for its members and money for developing the 3 states controlled by her. However greed and personality clashes were later to lead the abrogation of the N.P.N. - N.P.P. accord.

Later on the constitution of the Federal Rep. was given to him by the then Head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo and that was the end of the 1979 elections.

The 1983 election campaign started immediately, the 1979 elections were announced. Opposing parties ~~tried~~ through various actions to sell their programme to the electorates in the state not controlled by them. Also incumbent governors manipulated governmental Machinery for that purpose, so that they can remain in power.

The country had witnessed the highest rate of corruption, scarcity, inflation, unemployment and non-payment of salaries to workers between 1979 and 1983. Hence opposing parties wanted to manipulated the non-performance of the parties in power to their advantage.



This is how 1983 elections started, although it is not the main concern of this research work to take in this chapter a detail state level in the chapter a head.

It is vital at this point to remind the readers that, it was in the 1983 elections that the sixth party was created. It was Nigeria Advance party (NAP) and its presidential candidate was Tunji Braithwaite and had the eradication of mosquitos and cockroaches in the country as its cardinal programme.

#### CHAPTER TWO FOOT - NOTES

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CHAPTER THREE3:1 BRIEF POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF SOKOTO STATE:

Sokoto state was among the 32 provinces that the British created in Nigeria and it was known as Sokoto province during the colonial period and even during the first Republic and also during the Gowon's administration in Nigeria. During this period there was resident who was appointed by the Northern Nigeria government to act on behalf of the governor, by governing the province, while receiving order from either the governor or the premier at Kaduna.<sup>1</sup> Under the resident there were three divisions, Gwandu, Zuru and Sokoto divisions. These divisions were assisted by Assistant divisional officer, A.D.O.

However during the Gowon's administration, the idea of resident was repealed and cancelled, but there was the name Sokoto province and divisional secretaries were established in place of divisional officers. Furthermore, when Gowon created twelve states, Sokoto province was merged with Niger, Argungu, Gwandu Provinces to form North-Western state.

However, in 1976, when general Murtala Muhammad came into power he created seven more states, Sokoto province was among the new seven state created under the leadership of late Colonel Umar Muhammad as first executive of the state. At present Sokoto state <sup>is</sup> able to witness almost Seven (7) governors within the period of almost thirteen (13) years of its inception as a truly sovereign state.

On October 1, 1979, Sokoto state witnessed first democratically elected government under the leadership of late Alhaji Shuhu Muhammad Kangiwa as the governor.



Sokoto state is situated in the extreme North-West of the Federal republic of Nigeria and it shares Common borders with Niger republic in the extreme north, Katsina State in the north-east, Kaduna state in the east, Niger state in the south and, kwara state in the south-west.

The main occupation of the people in the state is farming because businessmen can only be found here and there. The farmers produces a lot of millet, guinea corn, rice, cotton, sorgham, Tobacco. Other crops of some importance include : Maize, Potato, pepper, Tomatoes, cocoyam and Sugar cane, to mention but few. This has indeed necessitated for the construction of major roads by the state government to link the state with the rest of the states in the country. And this has also made it easier the transportation of these items to these states that share common borders with the state.

Sokoto state has the population of about 1, 362,006 as the 1963 Census figures showed but, recent estimate has <sup>showed</sup> that, Sokoto state population has reached 4 to 5 million but, this figure is not absolutely correct because for years people have been striving for p population figures but the figures 5 million is the one people have been using wrongly and I intended using it also. <sup>2</sup>

(EKS) P.S.

### 3:2 BACKGROUND OF THE 1983 ELECTION IN SOKOTO STATE:-

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria which came into being in 1979, right from the time immemorial, has made it conspicuously plain that, on no account should there be president for life or a dictator. Moreso, Nigeria being a heterogeneous country consisting of different ethnic groups. It is because of the heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian society that, the constitution of the Federal

Republic of Nigeria has made certain provisions for a periodic transfer of political power or periodic election just to stop a leader from transforming himself into a tyrant. Therefore, when a president and his henchmen are elected into political office, their tenure in the office only last for a period of four (4) years during which they are expected to relinquish or forfeit their hegemony and prepare themselves fully for a fresh election, if on the one hand are lucky to be re-elected they take another 4 years in office, and if on the other hand are not lucky other persons takes in the helm of power.

It is because of this constitutional provisions that, many parties sprang up at the Federal military government's announcement of its readiness to handover power to a civilian government in 1979. Out of these political parties that sprang up, only few were met registered ie. they were the only parties that met the modalities and qualifications needed by the commission (FEDECO) and these parties were, N.P.N., U.P.N, N.P.P. , G.N.P.P. and P.R.P. These were the 5 parties that contested the 1979 election and it was N.P.N. that emerged the victorious with U.P.N, following at the back.

The results of all the parties in 1979 can be seen below:-

Party	Candidate	Total votes	percent
N.P.N.	Alhaji Shehu Shagari	5,688,857	33.77
U.P.N.	Chief O. Awolowo	4,916,651	29.18
N.P.P.	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	2,822,523	16.75
G.N.P.P.	Ibrahim Waziri	1,686,489	10.01
P.R.P.	Malam Aminu Kano (late)	1,723,113	10.28. <sup>3</sup>



one would see that, it was N. P. M. that won the 1979 election ← 8.1

and eventually took the political office for a 4 year term, with the feeling and anticipation that, they are coming back at the expiration of their tenure to seek mandate from their electorate who voted them into power for a period of 4 years.

When the 4 years as provided by the constitution were expiring, 1983 had already started to show its head, that is to say when another fresh election would be conducted.

Every thing had been set in motion for the 1983 election but, <sup>this</sup> time around there was an additional party to the five political parties that had contested the 1979 election to bring to the number of parties that would contest the 1983 election to 6. The party that was added to these already five parties, was N. A. P. which had its candidate as Tunji Braithwaite and had the eradication of mosquitoes and cockroaches in the country as its cardinal programme.

It has been argued that the campaigns for the 1983 elections started immediately the 1979 elections were announced. Political opponents or the opposing parties tried through their various actions to sell their programme to the electorates in the states not controlled by them. Also incumbent governors manipulated governmental machinery for that purpose, so that they can remain in power. On the contrary political opponents also started building their campaign strategies from the loopholes and promises that could not be accomplished by the ruling party. For instance, the country, had witnessed the highest rate of corruption, scarcity, inflation, unemployment and non-payment of salaries to workers between 1979 and 1983. Hence opposing parties wanted to manipulate the non-performance of the parties in power to their advantage.

In some <sup>states</sup> like Kaduna, Bendel etc. attempts were made to remove officials of opposing parties from power through manipulation of constitutional provisions. For example Balarabe Musa was impeached as Governor in Kaduna state and Shugaba Darma, the majority leader of the G.N. P. P. in Borno House of Assembly, was deported by the N.P.N. controlled Federal Government.

Whatever the case, the campaigns were so violent ~~to~~ the extent that the leaders of the six (6) existing parties decided to meet in Lagos to find ways through which the campaigns and elections could be conducted in a free atmosphere.

Therefore, N. P. N. not only won again, <sup>but</sup> ~~it~~ got a land slide <sup>victory</sup> at the polls, its performance was widely condemned by individuals, groups and organisations. It was common knowledge that N.P.N. had rigged the election through manipulation of FEDECO officials and the use of the Nigerian Police force to intimidate voters of other parties. However, the announcement of the election result was greeted with violence in some state like Ondo, Ogun and Oyo. The judiciary deemed it necessary to reverse the result in some states. But as the protests and violence over the 1983 election were still on, the military decided to step in on 31st December, 1983.

In the subsequent part of this work, I would extensively elaborate on the conduct of the 1983 election in Sokoto state.

### 3:3 THE CONDUCT OF THE 1983 ELECTION IN SOKOTO STATE:

So much has been said about the 1983 election in the country in general in the preceding part of this work, in which attempt was made to highlight the populace on the conduct of the 1983 election in the country and also I delibrated briefly on <sup>the</sup> excesses associated with the 1983 election.



Sokoto

37

31

Here in // the story was not different, since it is also believed that 1983 election campaign were started since 1979. In 1979, there were political parties that contested for the election, in which N. P. N. emerged the victorious with the total number of votes cast at 898,994 then followed by P.R.P. with 44,977.

In 1983, there was an additional party to bring the number of parties that will contest the 1983 election in Sokoto state to 6. This party was N.A.P. it had not contested the 1979 election. Therefore it was a newly created party in the state. The six political parties were N.P.N., U.P.N. P.R.P., G.N.P.P./and last but not the least was N.A.P. N.P.P.

As it has been the custom, there were five elections to be contested for viz - senate, House of Representatives, House of Assembly in the various state, Gubernatorial and presidential elections respectively. As we shall see these various elections as conducted here in Sokoto.

The first election that was conducted in the country at large, was also the first kind of election that was started with here in Sokoto state ie the senatorial election.

As far as senatorial election is concerned, there were five seats that were contested for in Sokoto state, that is to say, Sokoto state was divided into five zones for / senatorial election and were Sokoto East, Sokoto West, Sokoto Central, Sokoto North and finally Sokoto South. For Sokoto East, Senator Mouktar Abdulkarim contested under the umbrella of N.P.N., while P.R.P. had it senatorial candidate as Alhaji Baba Abdu, and N.P.P. Candidate was Alhaji Abdul Agip, and for U.P.N. Alhaji Mch'd Tukur Bakurdo was the senatorial candidate. The N.A.P. and G. N. P. P. at this election did not field any candidate.

Consequently, when the election result was out, N.P.N. was declared to have won for that Senatorial district. The candidate of the party, senator Mouktar Abdulkarim was re-elected in Sokoto East Senatorial district with 707,013 votes. He was trailed by Alhaji Baba Abdu of the P.R.P. with 7,855 votes and N.P.P. candidate, Alhaji Abdul Agip who polled 7,708 votes, while Moh'd Tukur Bakurde of U.P.N. got 3,804 votes.

The N.A.P. and G.N.P.P. as already said, did not field any candidate but were able to <sup>o</sup>polled 3,325 and 5,728 votes respectively.

The N.P.N. candidate for Sokoto West, Alhaji Abubakar Kigo was returned Unopposed. But this was not unconnected with certain malpractices which will be seen in the later part of the work.

And from Sokoto Central Alhaji Aliyu Abubakar Malsango of the N.P.N. polled 670,063 votes to win the Sokoto Central Senatorial seat. Alhaji mUhammadu Barde (UPN) scored 7,636 votes, while Alhaji Ahmadu Mode Bodinga (G.N.P.P.) polled 1,819 and Alhaji Malami Arzika Bodinga (PRP) scored 4,934 votes.

While from Sokoto North Seat Alhaji A. Bakwai of the NPN won the Sokoto North Seat by polling 634,154 votes. Alhaji Moh'd Aliyu Gigane (NPP) scored 5,619 votes retire Major Garba Moh'd (UPN) polled 4,034 votes. The GNPP, PRP and NAP did not field candidates.

And last but not the least, was the senatorial election in Sokoto South. Here Isah Dabai of the National party of Nigeria (NPN) was elected, He beats his opponent, all contesting under the umbrella of NPN. <sup>Late</sup> Alhaji Hassan Iya was the one who won the 1979 senatorial seat in the zone.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, the senatorial elections in Sokoto state was not without manoeuvres and manipulations, the elections has manifested violence, rigging and manipulation of election results which returned all the five senators that had contested under the banner of National Party Of Nigeria.



All the parties in one way or the other had participated in the election manipulation and riggings. For instance, in Zuru local Government and particularly in my area (Wasgu district), the people there were subjected to intimidation and at the same time compelled to vote for N.P.N. candidate for Sokoto South, Alhaji Isa Dabai. The agent of intimidation (Police) displayed and portrayed their unpatriotic behaviours harassing the voters, beating them, maltreating them, victimizing and inflicting all kinds of torture on them just to further perpetuate election riggings. In some other polling stations, polling agents were driven away from the polling booths and had not been able to witness the Voting and counting as they are allowed by the law to do.

Each party polling agent is required to sign a form <sup>ECS</sup> ~~ESG~~ in which the results at the booth are tabulated and <sup>to</sup> keep a copy. But the fact that, these ~~form~~ polling agents were driven away and could not sign these forms and FEDECO in its roles to perpetrate election rigging does not invalidate the result.

Therefore from the above <sup>one</sup> ~~we~~ could see how agent of intimidation (police) and FEDECO were used in the senatorial elections all over the state to further perpetrate the rigging.

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION

This is the second kind of election that was conducted immediately after the senatorial election.

This election was also not devoid with election malpractices and violence.

Here in Sokoto State, there were about Eighty candidates vying for the 37 seats. The NPN contested all the seats; the UPN, 19; NPP, 15;

PRP, Five and GNPP four. The NAP did not field any candidates.<sup>6</sup>

Later on NPN was declared to have won all the 37 seats declared. Nine of the candidates were returned unopposed while seven were re-elected.

But generally this is the total results of House of Reps in the Country.

Party	Constituencies won.
N.P.N,	243
N.P.P.	36
P.R.P.	38
U.P.N.	32
G.N.P.	--
N.A.P.	--

In the House of Representatives election G.N.P.P. and N.A.P. have not been able to secure any constituency. Although at this time, election in two states had not been conducted and the two states were Ondo and Oyo which had 22, 42 number of constituencies respectively. This was as a result of the crisis and violence that have engulfed and ingratiated the two states.

This election as has been said already was not without violence and manipulation of votes in different constituencies.

#### HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Immediately after the House of Rep's election in the state, State House of Assembly's followed.

Here in Sokoto there were 111 seats to be contested for, after it was declared by the FEDECO that N.P.N. had won all the 111 constituencies in the state.

In 1979 G.N.P.P. was able to get 26 out of 111 seats in the state leaving NPN with the rest of the 85 seats. But this time around N.P.N.



has made a great impact in the state to have won all the constituencies.

But this however, was not without some malpractices. Because many people held that, it was because N.P.N. was the ruling party and could use all the co-<sup>ercive</sup> instrument at its disposal to suppressed the remaining opponent. It is on this point that many people believed that there was a massive rigging and manipulation by the ruling N.P.N. party against the opponents through the use of National Police and FEDCO officers.

The cries about this election continued from all nooks and corners of the state about riggings, and also violence were even recorded in some parts of the state. For instances, there was a clash with police in Bunza Local Government which ~~culminated~~<sup>culminated</sup> in the death of three persons and 9 others were injured. This happened when N.P.N. supporters were chasing one legislator Alhaji Ahmadu Akawa. The legislator runned into Police station for protection but the angry supporters who allegedly accused him of being the brain behind the nullification of the nomination of his rival, Alhaji Sajo Bunza to context thesame seat, did not treat.

Another example can be seen in most of the constituencies in my area where each of the major 3, parties N.P.N, U.P.N. and N.P.P. accused the other of having rigged the election. Both the U.P.N, and N.P.P. rejected the House of Assembly's result.

#### GOVERNORSHIP ELECTION

This is the next election to be conducted in August, 13th 1983 in the state. All the six parties had field a candidate who will contest for the governorship election, for the G.N.P.P. Alhaji M. Maccido was the candidate for governorship, N.A.P. had it candidate as Alhaji A. Kamba, which NPN Gubernatorial Candidate was Garba Nadama and N.P.P. has it candidate as Alhaji A.D. Gari, P.R.P. also filled it candidate as Alhaji A. Musa, and

lastly U.P.N. with it candidate as Alhaji A. Bayero.<sup>7</sup>

The conduct of the gubernatorial election was believed to have been massively rigged by the major 3 parties in the state, the parties are N.P.N. UPN and NPP. The gubernatorial election was so much rigged to the extent that the remaining 5 parties ie. excluding N.P.N. made it abundantly clear that they were to boycott the remaining elections in the State until the gubernatorial election held was nullified. The five parties had also written a letter dated August 9 to the Chairman of the FEDECO Mr. Justice Ovie-Wiskey that unless the issue they raised in their petition on the conduct of the election were looked into they had withdrawn the rest of the elections. They also urged their supporters to boycott the elections.

The U.F.N, gubernatorial candidate Alhaji Bayero also said that the possibility of more malpractices could not be ruled out and that was why according to him they were boycotting all the subsequent elections. He also doubted the survival of democracy in the country if what they had seen in the last election has anything to go by.

Later on, N.P.N. candidate was declared the winner in the state. Therefore Garba Nadama was re-elected for another four years term. As we shall see in the table below the results of the gubernatorial elections in the state:-

Party	Candidate	Total votes	Percentage
G.N.P.P.	Alhaji M. Maccido	26,158	0.75%
N.A.P.	Alhaji A. Kamba	16,630	0.48%
N.P.N.	Alhaji Garba Nadama	3,320,575	95.98%
N.P.P.	Alhaji A. D/Gari	32,452	0.94%
P.R.P.	Alhaji A. Musa	21,846	0.63%
U.P.N.	Alhaji A. Bayero	41,954	39.60%



Above

~~This~~ is the breakdown of the result of the gubernatorial election which saw the re-election of Garba Nadama of N.P.N.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The last kind of election that was conducted in the series of the 1983 elections, was the presidential election. It is from here that a president is to be determined for the purpose of setting the machinery of a government in motion.

This election as said earlier is the most significant of all, because it is here that the final choice is made. But alas, it was the most highly, and and widely rigged election in the whole country and Sokoto state in particular.

Immediately the results of the presidential elections were declared all the News papers in the country started sermonizing that, not only the Presidential election was rigged but also the remaining elections were massively rigged through the activities of some government agencies like FEDECO, Police and other security organisations. The 1983 elections according them were completed in an atmosphere of conflict and violence. The manifest riggings and manipulation of election results which returned Shagari and N.P.N, to power had evoked wide spread condemnation from virtually every section of the country. It was obvious that the presidential election warfare had hurt the nation deeply and caused cleavages in the body politic.

Zik while expressing his feeling about the presidential election, was also not happy by the rigging and violence that had characterized it. This what made him write a letter titled "HISTORY WILL VINDICATE THE JUST", in this letter he intended for a genre of politicians whose inordinate ambition to exercise political power motivates them to believe that it is

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their manifest destiny to / <sup>control the</sup> levers of power at all cost, no matter the consequences.

He continued in the letter "that it is an irony of fate that these politicians have / <sup>become</sup> <sup>so</sup> / <sup>intoxicated with</sup> lust for <sup>power</sup> that they are now in league with unpatriotic lucifers in human form to distabilise Nigeria as democratic based on popular sovereignty which is conventionally determined by a free and fair election.

He concluded in an agered mood "that I am supremely confident that Almighty God will frustrate their knavery and ultimatly expose their machinations and consign / <sup>them</sup> to the scrap heap of forgotten tyrants. History will continue to vindicate the just and God shall punish the wicked.<sup>8</sup>

The above were some of few expressions to show that basically the 1983 elections were conducted in an atmosphere of violence and rigging.

Here in Sokoto state the version of the story was in no way different from what was obtained in the whole country. The presidential election was widely rigged in the state. Electorate were forced to vote for certain parties, some polling agents were beaten and driven away by the police.

Immediately after the election, Shehu Shagari was declared the man with the highest votes and was sworn in for another four year term.

The table below shows clearly the results of presidential election in the state.

Party	Candidate	Votes scored	Percentage
G.N.P.P.	Ibrahim Waziri	46,752	1.65%
N.A.P.	Tunji Braithwaite	22,152	0.78%
N.P.F.N.	Alh. Shehu Shagari	2,605,935	91.83%
P.R.P.	Hassan Yusuf	24,280	0.85%
U.P.N.	Chief O. Awolowo	75,428	2.66%
N.P.P.	Nnamdi Azikiwe	63,238	2.23%



But generally, this is how all the parties fared in the 1983 election in the country.

Party	Candidate	Votes Scored	Percentage
N.P.N.	Alhaji Shehu Shagari	12,081,471	47.3
U.P.N.	Chief O. Awolowo	7,907,207	31.0
N.P.P.	Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe	3,557,113	13.9
P.R.P.	Alhaji Hassan Yusufu	1,778,974	4.1
G.N.P.P.	Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri	652,805	2.5
N.A.P.	Mr. Tunji Braithwaite	284,509	1.2

Going by the above figures, the total number of votes cast in the country is 25,454,166 - 100 percent. <sup>9</sup>

With the announcement of the presidential election results in the state, there arose hot controvercies and disagreement from the party opponents that the elction in the state was rigged and this made the two strong parties trailing N.P.N., U.P.N. and N.P.P. to called for a fresh election in the whole 32 local government in the state for, according them the election had been rigged massively.

Similarly, they called on the Police in the state to prosecute immediately, FEDECO duty Officers and members of the law enforcement agencies who were connected with the alleged widespread elctoral malpractices in the state. In thasame vein the N.P.P. governorship Candidate in the state, Alhaji Abubakar Dakin gari alleged that about 23,000 supporters of his party were clamped into detention on flimsy excusses.

With regard also to the presidential election, each of the 3 major parties N.P.N., U.P.N. and N.P.P. accuses the other of having rigged the elections at their post election congress held in december in the state. Both the U.P.N. and N.P.P. rejected the official result of the presidential election and of several of the gubernatorial elections.

The candidate of G.N.P.P. for his part actually went to court to challenge the election of the N.P.N. candidate, and the candidate of the Nigeria Advance Party (N.A.P) announced to the world that he was robbed of victory.<sup>10</sup>

In a similar case again, 3 parties teamed up, and this time around were (U.P.N., N.P.P. and N.A.P.) and called for a fresh election in the state. They alleged that their agents were chased away from polling booths, particularly in Wamakko constituency on the orders of a divisional police officer.<sup>11</sup>

The NAP governorship candidate for the state, Alhaji Abdullahi Kamba, alleged that FEDECO deliberately refused to invite N.A.P. agents to witness the collecting of the votes.

In other places there were cries that FEDECO had published its voters list doctored to help some parties. Moreso, National Police in the state have been used for the victimization, intimidation and subjugation of innocent voters just to perpetuate election.

And on the faithful evening of thursday, 3/12/87, Rina Radio bursted its bombshell in the programme "YOUTH FORUM". In this programme we were made to believe that, the 1983 elections in the state were widely rigged. They have also made us to believe that it was youth that have wreaked the serious havoc (violence and malpractices) as a result of the bribe they were offered by some party bulldozers in the state.<sup>12</sup>

Therefore one would have seen that election in the state was conducted in an atmosphere of violence and rigging. Elections were highly rigged especially in my area in Zuru local government, where people were being victimized and intimidated just to favour certain parties. In some places voters were being disenfranchised for fear of molestation and their names were ticked against as having voted which were also used to thumb-print in favour of some parties in connivance with the FEDECO officers and law



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enforcement agencies.

In the same area in some places balloting boxes were taken away to unknown destination but only to be seen at the end of the day's election for collecting and counting. I could also remember that, the same year I was the polling clerk of our station. A lot of atrocities were committed by the law enforcement agencies in connivance with FEDCO officers in which we were compelled to keep our mouths shut. We actually took the whole grandeur of the elections. We were being bribed - but somewhat a "compulsory bribe" - in the sense that you either accept it or you go with the hell of beating.

In Yauri local government the story was not different, immediately after the announcement of the result there were arson, killings in protest of the election rigging and other malpractices.

For outside the state, the electioneering campaigns were characterized with daring acts of hooliganism, a conspicuous example could be seen in the conduct of presidential election in the following states, Oyo, Ondo and Ogun. In these states in spite of the equanimity that greeted the presidential election there was a palpable lack of faith in the validity of some of the subsequent gubernatorial elections. Within a week violence had erupted in Oyo state, a curfew was imposed in the capital city of Ibadan. The equanimity was shortlived indeed.

In Ondo the story of violence fighting, burning killing and raids by thugs was the same there was also looting, arsons of the properties of the opponents.

When also in the same vein, Chief M.C.K. Ajuluchukwu, Director of Research and publicity of Chief Awo's UPN was interviewed that, the UPN has often charged other parties with vote-rigging - something of which they are also accused. How possible is the charge of voting-rigging?.

His answer was, the phenomenon, of rigging is something very common in the Third World which also we cant evade. 13

Therefore the phrases given above explicitly shows that 1983 elections not only were rigged in Sokoto state but we were a living witness to what has happened in all the states in the Country.

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POST ELECTIONS DEVELOPMENTS:

The 1983 elections in the state came and went. But the furore, hol-laba-loo and hurly-burly that greeted it, were in the air. There were decampings from the weaker parties to the elephant parties. Sometimes the decampings were as a result of <sup>the</sup> molestation and mocking by the tough party bulldozers against their opponents.

There were also after the elections filing of petitions by the defeated candidates sometimes with success and many a times abortive. And in some cases there were instances where some party strongmen are taken to court for redress, For instance, far outside the state, immediately after the elections Akinloye (Chairman NPN) and 4 others were taken to court, all NPN strongmen in Kwara state. The men were Akinloye, Senator Uba Ahmed, Senator Saraki, Dr. Ubezim Chukwumaje and the administrative Secretary of FEDECO in Kwara, Alh. S.A. Abdulkadir.

Another instance outside the state could be seen in the case of Gana defeated G.N.P.P. governorship candidate who threatened court action against FEDECO over the governorship election.

Also defeated governorship candidate in Niger files petition on the intimidation and molestation suffered by his supporters.



With the few instances outside the state, one would see that the situation in the state was in no way different with what had happened in the country in general. For instance, 3 parties in the state after elections, had rejected the whole election results and for a fresh election in the state.

There were also filings of petitions by the opponents against N.P.N. for instance the defeated N.P.N. governorship candidate filed petition in the state High-court against the victorious N.P.N. candidate - Nadama, but later on the judge ruled in favour of Nadama of the National party of Nigeria (N.P.N.).

In another petition filed by Alhaji Ahmadu Dan-Malikin Gabake and Alhaji Bala Ahmed on the nominations of Alhaji Bawa Dan Ali and Alhaji Shehu Abdullahi Kaura, to contest the Birnin Magaji and Kauran-Namoda state constituency election but, the Chief Judge - Umar Alto Kalgo of the state over ruled that the election was in order.

The chief judge went on to say, the courts found that the names of the first respondents were properly submitted to FEDECO as nominated candidates of the N.P.N. and the petitioners have failed to prove that the nominations did not comply with the provisions of part two of the electoral act. Therefore he declared them duly elected and were already members of the state legislature.

With also regards to decampings we can see vividly in the case of Yauri where N.P.N. supporters decamped for N.P.N. as a result of the discriminations and molestations set against them or they were subjected to. This is what made them to decamp from their party for N.P.N., because according to them N.P.N. being the ruling party had the control of all the repressive instruments and therefore took that advantage to

bring people to their fold. There were many more cases of petitions in the state but, the researcher endeavoured seriously to limit himself to only some few instances.

There were also arson and killings in the state after the elections. Example could be seen also in Yauri arson, where official cars were burnt down, houses were also gutted or were set ablaze, people were also injured which automatically led to the death of many etc.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### Foot Notes

1. Report of the House Committee on creation of New States P. 4
2. Committee for the creation of state: Case for the creation of Zamfara state - publishers, One Nigerian press Kaduna. p. 13
3. Okion Ojigbo Nigeria return to civilian administration published by Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria. 1987.
4. Habu Isiaka Sarki Comrade: The theory and practice of politics published by Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria. 1987.
5. New Nigerian Newspaper 24 August 1983: Senatorial results in the state. p. 15 ✓
6. New Nigerian Newspaper 1 September 1983: House of Reps results in the state. p. 1
7. New Nigerian Newspaper 20 August 1983: Governorship election results in the state. p. 7
8. News Watch 20 May 1985: Shagari's last days Weekly Magazine p. 15-16.
9. New Nigeria 12 August 1983: Presidential election results. p. 16.



10. LADIPO Adamolekun: The fall of the Second Republic: Published in 1985 by Spectrum Books Limited, Ibadan p. 74 - 75.
11. New Nigerian 13 August 1983: Five parties boycott election in Sokoto. p. 9
12. Rima Radio on the programme "Youth FORUM" has made us believe that there was election rigging in the state. Thursday 3 December, 1987.
13. Africa Now September 1983: Violence is abhorrent. p. 64.

## 4:1 DATA ANALYSIS:

Data analysis is a process of determining our hypotheses and would center on what the respondents said about the 1983 elections in the state.

But one cannot analyse the 1983 elections without discussing the burning issue of electoral malpractices, commonly referred to as "rigging". Hardly any one would attempt to declare unequivocally that there were no illegal or extra-legal manipulations applied during the elections, but the fact is that, as we have seen from the preceding chapter on the conduct of the elections in Sokoto state the blame cannot be effectively laid at the doorstep of any one group of party, although N.P.N. was believed to have participated more than any party because as a ruling party it had the control of repressive instruments, but all have participated in the malpractices in one way or the other. The practice of multiple-voting in areas where a party was so strong that it effectively faced little or no opposition to its actions has probably indulged in order to raise a plurality where that was valuable.<sup>1</sup> Among the more likely malpractices, and one that was constantly alleged in the courts, some times with success for plaintiffs, sometimes without enough proof to gain favourable judgement, was the practice of the adjustment of figures by officials with particular partisan interests. Therefore going by the statement above one would have seen that the elections were rigged.

To analyse the election therefore, out of the Eighty-five persons designed to be sample, their responds have varified my hypotheses.



In this section of the chapter, it is my intent to explore oral interviews with some ex-politicians (ex in the sense that they have been banned by / <sup>this</sup> administration to contest in any future politics in the country), electorates (masses) and also to use the documents available.

These are some of the few questions asked in the course of my interviews with these categories of people:-

- What is your Name?
- How old are you?
- Which party did you belonged to then?
- What was your rank in the belonged party?
- What were some of the factors that incited and ignited people to rig the elections (1983) - Money? ego? or what?<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>
- What do you think are some of the measures to be taken to eradicate election malpractices in the state in particular, and the country in general?.

The investigator intended to mention few of these question because not only the above questions were posed on the respondents but, so many of them.

However, out of the Eighty-five (85) persons interviewed, sixty-five persons agreed with my hypothesis of which their numbers and percentage are as follows:-

The percentage of 65 respondents is 76.3, while the remaining 20 respondents which their percentage is 23.7% had different opinions and views which are not automatically in consonance with my hypotheses according them the elections were free and fair but, most of these people, I carefully noticed were drawn from the then ruling party (NPN).

The hypotheses I put before them are two:-

The first hypothesis is (1) The 1983 electioneering campaigns were characterized with daring act of hooliganism and violence in the state.

The second (2) One, is that, the 1983 electioneering campaigns were characterized with rigging and malpractices. From the figure above one would see that the hypotheses were varified. Many of the people I intervived had shared the same view with me that frankly speaking the 1983 elections were rigged in the state most especially by the ruling party (NPN). According to them, there was massive manipulation of votes by the FEDECO office in the state on the dictates of the ruling party. prominent among these people is Alh. Bayero. Former U.P.N. governorship in the state.

Many people especially from my area claimed that, to talk of the 1983 election being rigged in the state is, just a waste of saliva and a mere political gimmicks or a children's muppet show; According them, the election was the most widely rigged election ever in the history of Africa. Narated by one man who also chose to remain anonymous that, 1983 election in the state was the election in which we suffered untold hardship from the police, we were beaten up, we were being disfranchised as a result of extreme terror and fear, maltreatment and victimization we would meet at the polling stations; He went on to say, some of us who were fortunate enough to have voted, were compelled to thumbprint in favour of N.P.N. or else they get the whole "beating".

From the above expressions the hypotheses were varified. Although, some people also avered that, there was not much violence but, elections were widely rigged. They continued, this is not to say that, there was no violence, there was violence in some areas like Bunza Local government



where 3 persons were reported to have been killed as a result of clash with police. In Yauri local government there were reports \* about arson, killing, burning of public properties, vehicles etc. by political opponents.

To cap it all, there were other places in the state where violence had occurred in which <sup>we</sup> were a living witnesses, places like Gusau, Zuru and Kaura-Namoda etc.

#### 4:2 ELECTION AND POLITICAL SYSTEM:

Modern democracy cannot be practiced in line with the way democracy was practiced in the Ancient Greek. Their own democracy was such that every adult male individual was involved in the decision making affecting the whole populace. But due to modernization and rapid increased in population, modern governments cannot be governed in that manner since individuals of sound skill are needed to take the state affairs. Therefore due to the insurmountable difficulties that would be encountered in running modern democracy in line with Ancient Greek's democracy, election as a means of voting few persons to represent the whole had to be recourse to. <sup>2</sup>

Therefore, election as a means of voting, have assumed a significant role in modern democracy. It is a very necessary feature of a democracy but, if and only it is conducted according to the laid down principles. In Nigeria elections have serve the same functions as elections have served elsewhere i.e. of leadership choice. In Nigeria, that is to say, election is concerned with leadership nomination just like every where in the world.

But alas, Nigerians elections have tended to assume a new dimension different from what the policy or the rules of the election demands.

The Nigerian elections are characterized with certain excesses which actually have given Nigerian politics a unique meaning. The excesses that are mostly associated with Nigerian elections includes rigging, arson, violences which goes contrary to the rules of the game.

But these excesses that have given unique meaning to the Nigerian politics were believed to have been drawn mostly from the fundamental problems caused by the 1914 colonial amalgamation of the country.

Election like census is based on general distribution of population - winner takes it all. This in no small measure leads to tribalist sentiments. For instance, Zik, 1952 case, Regional bases of parties and fears of domination and this also led to violence and arson when election was called upon - problems of election which also stemmed right from the amalgamation of the country has led to the 1959 operation wet'e', the 1983 Ondo, Ogun, Oyo and Niger murder and arson.

Corruption is also one factor that have given Nigerian election a unique meaning corruption can be seen in election rigging and malpractices, misuse of police, the misuse also of the native Authority in 1959. The National police in 1983, bribery, embezzlement of public funds, hoarding, party patronages.

All these are what constitute to give Nigerian political system a unique meaning different from what is obtained in some countries in the world.

In conclusion one would see that elections in Nigeria have with them certain excesses which also shape the political system or give it a unique meaning.

FOOT NOTES:-

1. West Africa (part 2 ) 19/26 December 1983 p. 2927.
2. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Volumes 5 and 6, p. 3.



CHAPTER FIVESUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND  
RECOMMENDATION**SUMMARY:**

The research developed interest in studying and analysing the 1983 general election in Sokoto state.

It has not been the objective of this work or study to continue the discussion of operational definitions of election. Rather the paper attempted an analysis of the 1983 election in the state and to clearly demarcate whether or not there was election rigging and violence.

However in chapter one, which is an introductory part of the work, I endeavoured to trace the historical genesis of election - its meaning to contemporary democratic governments. All in the same chapter, I tried to show the significance of election to any modern representative democracy. Because with the ever increase in population in the whole world, election as a means of electing few individuals has to be resorted to.

I went further to indicate how election as a means of voting individuals was exported to other parts of the world where voting procedures has not historically possessed the same social authority. In conclusion for there to be a hitch - free election certain measures were enumerated.

The concern of the second chapter has to do with the discussion of the development of elections in Nigeria as viewed by different scholars right from the time of the Clifford's constitution where elective principle was first introduced into the Nigerian political system to date.

Although, the historical development of elections in Nigeria has been viewed by other scholars as very recent.

That is why elections have limited use for research, as for instance, they will have in the United States and Britain. In the same chapter also I discussed on the background of the second Republic in Nigeria; constitutionalism; and FEDECO were also part of what has been discussed. The 1979 General Election was not left out of the discussion.

Chapter three concerned with the Brief political background of Sokoto state; the background of the 1983 election in the state; the conduct of the election, in which I indicated the malpractices and hooliganism that characterised it and lastly in the chapter was the discussion of the different kind of elections that were conducted.

In chapter four effort was made to prove the hypotheses listed in chapter one. Therefore this is Data Analysis and the chapter contained the justifications and lame excuses for rigging and for making the election in the state so violent.

In other words, the hypotheses drawn were verified on the basis of information I collected from sampled populace.

The views of certain individuals also helped me in either confirming or invalidating these hypotheses. In addition I discussed on election and political system and this, I pondered on the excesses associated with it.

And finally, Chapter five is concerned with the summary and conclusion of the dissertation. In the same chapter I gave out some recommendations to which the trend of politics in the state could be re-organised.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

This dissertation is incomplete without making some suggestions through which the trend of politics in Sokoto state can be re-organised.



Here then goes the suggestion in series of positive "Dos".

- \* Do (any politician wishing to go for politics) put the national interest first and his partisan interest last.
- \* Do Concentrate on palpable issue concerning the welfare of the people in general, and steer clear hammering on personalities.
- \* Do preserve others reputation by avoiding all unfounded allegations, as he would like his own reputation to be preserved.
- \* Do maintain decorum, integrity and exemplariness in thought, word and deed.
- \* Do feed the electorate only with accurate and verifiable fact; he should also express only positive and constructive Ideas.
- \* Do always to the electorate mild, polite, decent and correct language; a politician should always avoid explosive and offensive pronouncement.
- \* Do make fulfillable promises alone.
- \* Do try to articulate the best aspirations of the people.
- \* Do have regular feedback from Cross-section of the electorate including supporters of other political parties.
- \* Do avoid any unfair or destructive criticisms of FEDECO, utter only fair, objective and constructive advice, or suggestions.
- \* Do refrain his supporters from violence, hooliganism and nuisance.
- \* Do use always mild, polite, decent or he should restrict to rallies alone the use of loudspeakers, drums other sound instruments and songs.
- \* Do encourage his campaign team to use only positive, decent and mild language.

If any person wishing to embark on politics adheres to the above series of "Dos", honestly speaking, the problems of political wranglings will diminishes if not eliminated. Therefore I advice the authority concerned to have a trial by embodying these series of "Dos" in a form

of code to be incorporated in the political agenda of this country. By incorporating these "Dos" in our political programmes, elections would continue to be conducted in this country in an atmosphere of calmness and hitchfree manner.

#### CONCLUSION

In the course of our analysis, we understood that, there was election malpractices as well as violence during the General election in the state, although election rigging was believed to be more pronounced or endemic than violence. An attempt was made to tress the historical development of election both in the Ancient Greeks time and its genesis here in the country and its significance to any modern democratic political system.

I endavoured very much to deliberate on some of the execes associated with Nigerian electioneering campaigns in general and in in the state in particular. Excesses like use of law enforcement agencies and FEDECO to further precipitate election malpractices and violence in some part of the state. For instance, the case in Bunza and Yauri Local government where cases of killings, arson and serious violence were alleggd.

We understood again how some political demagogues who though they have the gift of the gab connived with unpatriotic elements in the form of thugs to perpetuate election rigging and violence for their self - aggradize intererst. We also saw the altrocities committed by the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) the then ruling party which had the total control of the instrument of co-ercion in the country. It was able to use the resources at its disposal to manipulate votes in the state and also to bribe the law enforcement agencies (judiciary, police and FEDECO ) in order to make it (NPN) by hook or crook win the election.



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