

TOPIC

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND NIGERIAN POLITICS:
A CASE STUDY OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA (N.P.N.).

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE,
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION, IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE B.Sc DEGREE IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE.

BY

IBRAHIM ABDULLAHI BAKURA

ADM. NO. 6327

JULY 1989

APPROVAL SHEET

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN CAREFULLY SUPERVISED, READ AND APPROVED AS HAVING SATISFIED ONE OF THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE USMAN DAN FODIO UNIVERSITY SOKOTO.

.....
PROJECT SUPERVISOR

.....
DATE

.....
EXTERNAL EXAMINER

.....
DATE

.....
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

.....
DATE



APPROVAL SHEET

THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN CAREFULLY SUPERVISED, READ AND APPROVED AS HAVING SATISFIED ONE OF THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE USMAN DAN FODIO UNIVERSITY SOKOTO.

.....
PROJECT SUPERVISOR

.....
DATE

.....
EXTERNAL EXAMINER

.....
DATE

.....
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

.....
DATE



DEDICATION

THIS THESIS IS SPECIALLY DEDICATED TO MY BELOVED MOTHER,
HAJEYA FATIMA INNO BAKURA, AND MY FATHER ALHAJI ABDULLAHI
BAKURA FOR THEIR PATIENCE, ENDURANCE AND MORAL ADVICE TOWARDS
THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THIS PART OF ACADEMIC STRUGGLE.
ALSO THEIR FINANCIAL SUPPORT WAS IN NO SMALL MEASURE WITHOUT
WHICH THIS SUCCESS WOULDNOT HAVE BEEN SO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Among the many people who have helped in the successful completion of this thesis, I wish to thank the following:

Firstly, my sincere thanks go to my able supervisor, Dr J.E. Okolo, for sparing time out of his busy schedules to read through the work and offering valuable suggestions.

Special thanks and appreciation go to my mother, Hajiya Farima Inno Abdullahi Bakura and of course my father, Alhaji Abdullahi Bakura for their forbearance, devotion, financial and moral inspirational support necessary for my studies.

Also my sincere appreciation goes to the higher Library Officer, Mallam Muhammadu Yahya and of course his Assistant Mallam Shehu Ahmed Faru of Sokoto State History Bureau for furnishing me with necessary data for the success of this work. Their assistance is in no small measure. My profound gratitude and appreciation go also to my sister and of course her husband, Alhaji Sarki Abubakar Tambawal of Nigerian Television Authority Sokoto for their financial and moral support, and whose help me gave shape to this thesis; and I must not forget to mention Abudu Yusuf of Nigerian Television Authority for his commitment to my studies and help me in typing this thesis.

Thanks. A lot of thanks go to my brothers Aminu Abdullahi, Basiru Abdullahi, and my friends Bello Musa, Amiru Aliyu Gulmare, Shuaibu Mohammed, Alhassan Abdullahi, Hassan Mohammed Zooma, Nasiru Bello, Muazu, Abu, Sula Yaro, Sambo Dogo Isa

V

Bajim, Hassan Usman Abubakar Ibrahim, Abdulkadir Umar, and
of course, I must not forget the prayers of Safiya Ahmad Marafa
and Aishatu Yahaya Bawa and those whose names do not appear on
this thesis, I pray ALLAH to spare our lives and leave us
together to continue our mutual help and understanding. Ameen.
I offer lots of thanks.

ALUTA CONTINUA.

CHAPTER ONEINTRODUCTION

Nigeria have been talking of Nigerian politics since 1966, which they did under the flood light, the most notable was the absence of national discussion and active participation in the government of the country. Then came the establishment of the Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC) by General Murtala Mohammed, the Military Head of State at the time in 1976, This Drafting Committee was charged with the responsibility of drawing up a draft constitution for Nigeria, and was the first forum for discourse of national politics and the destiny of Nigeria. These (CDC) members that were appointed was to be turned over to elected men of the Constituent Assembly of Nigeria 1977 - 1978. This was actual forum for political animal on a dialogue on national politics; it was at the floor of this assembly that men and matters met to crystallised the transition to party politics.

The MCAs took interesting position sifting here together, there against, usually due to differing religious, political, cultural and sometimes ethnic considerations. But by 1978, the MCAs had made up their minds on affiliation, organisation of political party and the running of Nigeria by 1979. There was Club 19, the abortive national union council of a non-MCA who tried to lobby MCAs into a Union, etc. along with Club 19. There was the giant Committee of 111 MCA who were said to be

the major springboard of the National Party of Nigeria, united by their agreement to create four more states. Right inside the Parliamentary building they not only discuss on the mechanism for the creation of new states, they also agreed to constitute into a political party, they thought, and mighty too that, if they can't create states on the floor of the C.A., then they should mobilised for power at state and the federal levels, that was in October, 1979.

Naturally, the members of the Constituent Assembly were in regular contact with their respective peoples, they had been talking to themselves and had made up their minds to work together within one political framework namely, National Party of Nigeria. The Constituent Assembly was the house of the second republic and the maternity of the National Party of Nigeria.

1.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

National Party of Nigeria being created and developed by the members of 101 MCAs, who were later, after battling or agitating for political control along with the other four political parties, namely, the Unity Party of Nigeria, Great Nigeria Peoples Party, the Nigeria Peoples Party and the Peoples Redemption Party and was, had occupied very strategic position both at the local, state, and the national levels of the federation. This study tends to focus on how the party developed and the various methods the party embarked upon in winning popular support of the people, also in this work I intend to

look briefly into the way and manner in which National Party of Nigeria carried out economic, political and social functions of the country, in other words, the achievements and failures of the above national spheres. Also the work tends to engulf some of the reasons or the causative of the military intervention in the politics of NPN.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

In order to have broader understanding of the National Party of Nigeria and its politics to the country, certain questions are to be asked. These questions are fundamentally reflecting the politics and activities of the National Party of Nigeria in the national life. These are:

- 1) What specific role does the National Party of Nigeria play in the political system of this country?
- 2) What was the specific role effects of the system of the National Party of Nigeria on political, social and economic life of Nigeria?
- 3) Was the NPN really the only party formed out of the nationwide consultation and concensus by Nigeria?
- 4) What make National Party of Nigeria Tick?

1.4 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY:

From the introduction to the prople, the main concern is to see the various process of developments, its political activities that was ripped to the establishment of government in Nigeria, by the National Party of Nigeria, then to the function of the party in the economic, political and social spheres, and also

to respond to the questions of military intervention as a result of the demise of the party. Therefore this study will only restrict itself to the birth of the National Party of Nigeria, to its development, activities in government, up to the demise of the Party and subsequently the military intervention into the politics of NPN on December 31, 1983.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of literature on this research project is based on some Newspapers and Magazines, written on the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) most especially on how the Party ran the government in 1979-83.

Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bida in the text of Maiden address of the first protem National Chairman of the National Party of Nigeria, who until his death in March 26, 1980 was the Grand Patron of the NPN has said in the New Nigerian Newspaper on October 16, 1979, that National Party of Nigeria represents a unique and unprecedented and a truly credible hope for the future of this country was because the events we witnessed according to him has no parallel. In the political history, the NPN are one of the truly spontaneous creation of the communities from 19 states and was the only Party that started with question ~~mark~~ where do we go from here? The answer which has emerged was the NPN. According to him NPN did not just sit down and create this answer. The NPN asked communities of all 19 states in the country to tell what they want. Each state was free to send ~~the~~ answers through representatives.

which they, themselves have chosen from all the different sectors, interests and opinion groups in their states. Also according to Alhaji Makaman Bida, the National Party have learnt the good lessons and are committed to use those lessons to give our country a new and truly credible hope. Equally from the first press conference of the President-elect, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, held at Eko Hotel on Friday, August 17, 1979 as duly reported in all major Nigerian newspapers on Saturday, August 18, 1979, reads that "come and join me in building a united, peaceful and stable nation, we need an atmosphere of friendship amongst all Nigerians. I believe that if this nation is to be truly great, we must come together as a family to solve our common problem." This statement shows that the National Party of Nigeria was seeking for the cooperation of other loosing parties in building a united and progressive Nigeria which he felt could not be achieved without cooperation.

Also New African Magazine, May 12, 1979 reported that collective leadership, as practiced in the NPN was ideal for Nigeria, that Nigerians are not used to dictatorship or a one-man show and they will not accept it. It is ideal in the circumstances to ensure that while NPN have one person at the apex as the leader and symbol of the Unity of the nation, there enough safe-guards, both within the government and the party to check any excesses without that, the Presidency as an Institution would be in danger. Again, in a marathon interview lasting over three hours by a Panel of Daily Times Journalists

On Thursday, June 21, 1979 the President Shehu Shagari spoke inter alia, on national unity and stability, that our main pre-occupation after the struggle for liberation and independence is to build a truly united Nigeria. It is not easy to build a nation out of a conglomeration of nations, because that is actually what Nigeria is. With all the various differences in Nigeria - linguistic, ethnic, cultural, the problem of unifying and knitting together all these various groups into a single nation is not an easy task. A lot has been done, but we think there is still much more to be done in building a truly united Nigeria. The NPN had ensured stability in this country by involving all parts of the country in the affairs of the nation such that no group felt left out, also addressing the joint session of the National Assembly on October 16, 1979 the President said, "since our ultimate objective is to provide for the welfare of all Nigerians, we must subjugate our political and other differences to the unrelenting pursuit of peace, unity and progress of our mother land." So far NPN administration was characterised by its produce and spirit of statemanship. It was a government that was bright with promise demonstrating exquisite sensibility and humane sympathies in its services of charity.

CHAPTER TWO2.1 THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND EMERGENCE OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA (N.P.N.)

It is probably true that the present is only a temporary station between past and future, a still photograph from a much longer, ongoing film. Nevertheless, there are moments in a nation's history when "quantity is transformed into quality", that is, when a longer gradual development culminates in a series of profound changes and the historical process unfolds rapidly and irrevocably.

October 1, 1979 was about to become such an historical pivotal point for present and future generation of Nigerians. On that date national political power was handed over voluntarily by the Federal Military Government to a democratically elected civilian government after some thirteen years of military rule, including two and half debilitating years of civil war, a number of false starts, many dashed hopes and not a few national controversies.

The road to 1979 has been neither smooth nor continuous, it may be said of the post-colonial Nigeria which gained its independence on October 1, 1960. That it was little more than a geographical expression a pot pourri of some 380 tribal, ethnic and linguistic groups of varying sizes and cohesiveness, whose only common element was that they inhabited

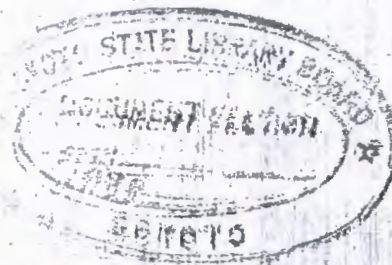
a contiguous (and immense) "land area which had been under British Colonial Administration." The colonial rulers and Nigerian leaders after them, were never able to resolve the country's acute ethnic and cultural fragmentation. The government or nation was divided into 3 later to four regional blocks which were linked only by a tenuous system of federalism within a nebulous nation state called Nigeria.

But structure of the first Republic was hardly conducive to national unity. The governmental system with its parliamentary executive and procedures evolved in Great Britain, was hardly suited to the very different context of tropical Africa. In socially homogenous Britain, national political parties could readily develop over a period of several centuries. But in socially and ethnically heterogenous Nigerian political parties were virtually bound to represent tribal and regional interests in parliament as against any vague interests.

When in 1966 a group of military officers led by Major Nzeogwo finally executed a coup many Nigerians were indifferent to or indeed relieved at the demise of a regime hopelessly encumbered by corruption, election rigging, vote buying indifference to the plight of its citizens and through ineffectiveness.

In the chequered history of this nation there had been a

number of constitutions like Clifford Constitution (1922 - 1945). The Richards Constitution (1946 - 1950). The McPherson Constitution (1951 - 1954). The Lyttleton Constitution (1954 - 1960) all named after Colonial Governors. More symbolic were the 1960 dominion Constitution by which Nigeria gained independence, and the 1963 Republican Constitution, which for the first time gave the country a Nigerian Head of State. But only with the 1979 Charter have Nigerians produced their first antochtonous (home grown) Constitution made by Nigerian for specifically Nigerian condition. Every Military Government since the fall of the first Republic has promised a rapid return to constitution in accordance with the wishes of the people once the post-January 1966 situation had returned to normal he even set up a commission on constitutional reform to report to a future Constituent Assembly but Ironsi was dead long before any semblance of normalcy was restored. In April 1967 Lt. General Gowon in turn pledged the creation of a constitution, including a new balance of federalism, within two years but the civil war intervened before any steps could be taken beyond the establishment of 12 states. Again on independence Day 1970, Gowon renewed his promise, even producing a nine-point programme leading to constitutional government and civilianization by 1976. But four



years later he reneged, and this breach of promise contributed to his overthrow in 1975.

Murtala Mohammed in his 1975 independence speech prescribed five stages:

- (1) appointment of a Constitution Drafting Committee to prepare the first draft of a new Constitution by September, 1976;
- (2) establishment of new states and re-organisation of the local government system, on the basis of which a partially elected and partially appointed constituent assembly could be called into existence;
- (3) Deliberations and amendments on the draft constitution by a constituent assembly before October 1978; subsequent dissolution of the body;
- (4) acceptance by the Federal Military Government of the completed constitution and its enactment, by decree, into law;
- (5) and coming into force of the new constitution; dissolution of the military government; assumption of office by elected civilians on 1 October, 1979.

And there was essentially the ways in which the process has unfolded.⁸

From 1966 to 1978 there was no political party in Nigeria.

Political parties were unilaterally proscribed by the Military since January 1966 when the ban on political parties was lifted. In September, 1978, there had to be new parties for the second Republic the old ones had been ruled out of existence as well as direct resurrection..

Nature abhors a vacuum, in spite of the military interregnum Nigerians had been talking of Nigerian politics since 1966. They did so in clusters, clubs, drinking parlour, offices, homes, committees circles, academic forums etc. But it was all hush-hush never under the flood light. The most notable factor in this process was the absence of national discussion within national formats of the facts of democracy and active civilian participation in the government of this country.

Then came the good news which was the establishment of the Constitution Drafting Committee (C.D.C) by the General Murtala Mohammed, Military Administration in 1976. The Constitution Drafting Committee consisted of 49 appointed men who were charged with the responsibility of drawing up a Draft Constitution for Nigeria. It was the first national forum for discourse of national politics and the destiny of Nigeria.

IN turn, the Constitution Drafting Committee Draft, made by appointed men, was to be turned over to elected men of the

constituent assembly of Nigeria 1977 - 1978. This latter was the actual forum of political animals in dialogue on national politics from the severe atmosphere of the C.D.C. on politics. Nigeria graduated to the open dialogue at the Constituent assembly. It was at the floor of this Assembly that men and matters met to crystalize the transition to party politics. For the first time since 1966, elected Nigerians from all parts of the Federation and of divergent political and religious persuasions the members of Constituent Assembly (C.N.A) started again to talk politics openly and face to face.

Of themselves, they made acquaintance, their friends later, some talked in cross-sectional fashions, some as groups, some as age mates, others as ideological comrades, some as professional colleagues, later as clusters of state, the issue on the floor of the Constituent Assembly often served as bases for different types of dialogue and even verbalized political confrontation. The issue included such critical items as the cases for or against the presidential system of government, the establishment of a federal Sharia Court of Appeal, qualifying ages for elections into legislative and executive offices, code of conduct for public officers and elected persons, the composition and organisation of the Armed Forces, coup, ~~of state~~ ~~of state~~ ~~of state~~, the logistics for

election of president of governor, revenue allocation, disqualification clauses for elections; freedom of the press etc. The member of the Constituent Assembly took interesting position, sifting here together, these against, usually due to differing religious, political, cultural and sometimes ethnics consideration. But by May, 1978 it seemed that (CMA) had made up their minds on affiliations and organisation of political parties and the running of Nigeria by 1979.

There was Club 19 - a loose combination to protect elements with the ambitious pretension to coverage of the 19 states but there was abortive national union council of a non-(MCA) who tried to lobby members of the Constituent Assembly into a union but which later merged with the other formation into a political party along with Club 19. There was the giant committee of 111 members of the C.A. who insisted that the C.A. has the power to create new states by writing such states straight into the new constitution.

The committee of one hundred and one members of the Constituent Assembly (111 MCAs) can be said to be the major spring board of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) united by their agreement to create four more states namely, Wawa (or Enugu) state, Calabar/Ogoja (or Qua Iboe) State, Katsina State and Kogi State i.e. two in the Northern States and two

in the southern states of Nigeria. They vigorously fought against the refusal of the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Justice Udo Udoma, to write these States into the new Constitution. Right inside the Parliament Buildings, they not only discussed the mechanism for the creation of new states, they also agreed to constitute themselves into a political party. They fought, they rightly too, that if they cannot create states at the floor of the Constituent Assembly, they should mobilise for power at the state and federal levels that is, at both legislative and executive levels of government by October 1979.

It should be borne in mind that the creation of states is not only basis for the formation of National Party of Nigeria (NPN) what is being said here is that this issue turned out to be the catalyst, the take off point for a union of men and women with the same general orientation as to the future and the methodology of the government of Nigeria. Naturally, the members of the Constituent Assembly (CMAs) in question were in regular political contact with their respective peoples, they had been talking to themselves and had been making up their minds to work together collectively within one political framework, namely, a political party. The issue of state was the formal basis for political action among themselves and by themselves. The assertion that the C.A. the House of the founding fathers of the second Republic, is the

maternity of the National Party of Nigeria, should not be questioned, there is nothing wrong with deciding to form a political party and to work together for the good of a new Nigeria right at the floor of the Constituent Assembly which will initiate the fundamental law of the second Republic, there was also nothing wrong with the decision of several (MCAs) to bring together the various association to which they belonged before coming to the Constituent Assembly upon termination of their work. After all, this Assembly was the first open forum for national dialogue on the national politics of Nigeria, since a ban on political parties was imposed in 1966. They seized the time to build confidence in themselves and to proceed from there to erect a strong political party which would take over power by October 1979 through ballot box;

Many of the members of the Constituent Assembly turned out to be leading members of the party and of federal and state governments by and after October 1, 1979, of these, and the most important is Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. He appointed many of them into his cabinet. Some became special advisers to the President and others were appointed into Chairmanship and dictatorship of councils, Boards, and Commissions. Among those appointed by President Shehu

Shagari are the following:-

- 1) Mallam Adamu Ciroma, former National Secretary then, now as Federal Minister of Industries.
- 2) Dr the Hon. Chuba Okadigbo, former Deputy National Secretary later National Secretary of the Party and was special Adviser to the President on Political Affairs.
- 3) Professor Iya Abubakar, former National Vice Chairman of the NPN, Gongola State, later Federal Minister of Defence again was Federal Minister of Internal Affairs.
- 4) Dr the Hon. Sylvester Ugoh, ex-NPN Deputy gubernatorial candidate for Imo State and then Federal Minister of Science and Technology;
- 5) Alhaji Ummaru Dikko former NPN National Administrative Secretary and was Federal Minister of Transport.
- 6) Alhaji Belle Maitama Yusuf, former National Financial Secretary, former Federal Minister of Internal Affairs and was then Federal Minister of Commerce; later
- 7) Late Dr Abubakar Usman, former Assistant National Secretary and later Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs.
- 8) Dr Emmanuel Y. Atanu, former Member of the Federal House of Representatives and later Minister of State in the Federal Ministry of Water Resources.

- (9) Chief Richard O. Akinjide, former Legal Adviser to the Party and later was Federal Attorney-General and Minister of Justice.
- 10) Alhaji Asheik Jarra, then Minister of State in the Federal Ministry of Works.
- 11) Alhaji I.A. Dan Musa then Minister of State in the Federal Ministry of Finance and
- 12) Dr K.O. Mbadiwe, was the Special Adviser to the President on National Assembly liaison.

Some became State Chief Executives or members of the Cabinet or State Assembly men in their states of origin.

Among these are the following:

- 1) Alhaji Tatari Ali, Governor of Bauchi State.
- 2) Chief Melford Okilo, Governor of Rivers State.
- 3) Alhaji Adamu Attah, Governor of Kwara State.

Dr Nwakama Okoro, Mr C.C. Onoh and Alhaji Kam Salem former gubernatorial candidates for Imo, Anambra and Borno states respectively; Alhaji Suleiman Audu, former Deputy gubernatorial candidate for Borno. Mr Mwendega Jibo, former deputy National Publicity Secretary and later Commissioner for Education, Benue State.

The impact of some of the MCA's in the legislature was certainly worthy of meritorious notice. To wit: Dr Olusola

has loko

araki, NPN State Chairman, Kwara State who was the leader of the Nigerian Senate; Hon. Ronald Etiebet of the Cross River State, Assistant National Financial Secretary, was Chairman of the Public Services Committee to the Senate; Alhaji M. Abdulkarim, a distinguished senator from Sokoto State. NPN also have Alhaji AbdulMashi, Assistant National Publicity Secretary, Chief Whip of the Kaduna State House of Assembly; Hon. Mike Ugwu Assistant National Secretary was a member of the Federal House of Representatives and Chairman of its Communications Committee Chairman and Alhaji Musa Ahmed are all senators from Bauchi State while Alhaji Y. Paiko and Alhaji Abubakar Tugar are leading members of the House of Representatives, with the latter as Chairman of its all important Committee on the creation of states.

Among those appointed to other important functions within the system are the following: Alhaji Shehu Malami, Chairman, Union Bank, Mr Ferdinand Eke, Chairman, Anambra-Imo River Basin Development Authority; Alhaji Shettima Ali Munguno, Chairman, Governing Council University of Nigeria Nsukka; Chief Jerome Udoji, Chairman Governing Council Federal University of Technology Bauchi; Alhaji Magaji Mu'azu, former Chairman of the National Party of Nigeria(NPN) Bauchi State, was special assistant to the President for Gongola; Alhaji Lawal

aita, former NPN gubernatorial candidate for Kaduna state, as special assistant to the President for Kano state; Mr. S.A. Mintade, former assistant to the President for Ondo state; Mr M.N. Elechi, State Secretary NPN Anambra State; Professor Ben Nwabueze, now Director/Secretary, United Bank for Africa; Alhaji Kaloma Ali, Assistant National Secretary; Col. Hilary Njoku and Barrister Ozoemena Onyali, Chairman, Nigerian Cocoa Research Board.

Some of the MCAs stuck to their professional guns where they were pillars in their respective rights. They include the following: Alhaji Aminu Dantata, Alhaji Nuhu Bamali, Dr Suleiman Kumo, Alhaji Turi Muhammadu, Alhaji N. Itayattuddini, Chief H.C. Ogboloruku. Most important of all was the fact that the MCAs left their imprint on the Party. It was to their eternal credit that today, Alhaji Shetima Ali Monguno had become the deputy national chairman of the party, while the amiable Alhaji Alhaji Suleiman Takuma, former National Publicity Secretary was the first generally elected National Secretary of the NPN. Also Alhaji Bashir Othman Tofa was the National Financial Secretary while the energetic Alhaji Abdullahi Adamu was the State Secretary NPN Plateau State.

National Party of Nigeria, no wonder, it has been formidable. It consisted of men who have known themselves and

had established confidence in themselves, having lived together, eaten together, played together, worked together, fought together and united themselves and their people in a mighty stream of irresistible and indefatigable togetherness.

When the constituent Assembly of Nigeria was dissolved on June 5, 1978 the members of Constituent Assembly set into motion the mechanism for the establishment of a political party, they went home and consulted with their people, they set up committee for mobilisation within their respective states and for galvanisation of all these states into one political formation, they criss-crossed the length and breadth of Nigeria, holding their contact together, with Drl Ibrahim Tahir of Bauchi State, a member of the dissolved Constituent Assembly as a cor co-ordinating protem General Secretary. Thereafter they established steering committee on their various states. The next step was to put these 19 steering committees together, individually and collectively, they met at several points in Nigeria, prominently at Lagos, Enugu, Kano and Kaduna. Finally they resolved that each steering committee of each of the nineteen states of the federation would elect five men who would represent them at meetings where a political party would be born. To do this successfully, it was necessary to establish some fundamental principles of agreement and operation i.e. modus vivendi and modus operandi. This they did not and

upon that act, they constituted what was known as the National Movement of Nigeria which later gave birth to the National Party of Nigeria on September 24, 1978.

This was not the place to hint out the modus vivendi and modus operandi of the National Movement, suffice it however to lay down right here the cardinal principles of agreement.

- Equality between individual, irrespective of age, sex, social status, class, religion or political affiliation.
- Equality among and autonomy of the various states of the federation, this being cardinal to the operation of the system.
- Joint action by individual and states for determination of acts of inequality and anywhere in the federation.
- Rejection of religious bigotry and religious confrontation of any type or description.
- National unity, peace and stability with good government as goal, where the party should serve as a basic instrument for national integration.
- The supremacy of the people democratically expressed.
- Salus populi, suprema lex, the will of the people is the supreme law.

In spite of this general agreement and the determination of some person, to work together within one political matrix, there was the necessity for expansion. Every attempt was made

to include all includable to cement all the cementables. But man is human. According to Shakespeare "to err is human and to forgive is divine" so be it.

On September 24, 1978, the National Party of Nigeria was born, soon after the ban on political party activities was lifted by the Federal Military Government on September 21, 1978. The National Party of Nigeria advanced from the National Movement of Nigeria. Place of birth was Satellite Town, Badagry Road, Lagos, the home of the Constituent Assembly members (SMA).

As the flag of National Party of Nigeria chose the colours of Green, white and blue, Green was for Rich vegetation, as visual gestation of food and agriculture, which is the mainstay of the population white for peace. For the National Party of Nigeria want to establish concord and harmony and to abolish war. Blue for love among the members, citizens of the Republic, the peoples of Africa and indeed among the people of the world.

As the emblem the NPN chose food and shelter, symbolised by maize and house. Hose and brevity, the NPN have chose to explicate this mission through two broad outlines:

- The aims and objectives of the Party.
- The Resume of the manifestoe of the NPN for a mission must have aims and objectives as well as a programme of action.

Because NPN thought that all Nigerians should own their own living houses and should wake up and rest in peace in their houses, away from the scorch of the sun and the disasters of confrontation with nature, maize, because it is the common food dominator as agricultural item grown in all parts of the country. The motto of National Party of Nigeria lastly chose One Nation One Destiny because they believe in the erection of one strong visile just dynamic and progressive nation. The development in which all Nigeria feel equal and are treated equally. A nation vast in the praxis of liberty and united by the common bonds of nationalism and patriotism. The perceptions of One Destiny for all the people within the nation.

2.2 THE STRUCTURE OF NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA

The National Movement was formed in July 1978. This movement was converted into National Party of Nigeria (NPN) on September 21, 1978 having captured power at States and Federal level more than any other political party in Nigeria, we aske what make NPN tick? There were six major items in the structure of the National Party of Nigeria. These are:

- 1) The motto of the NPN which posits the ~~spritts~~ of the party namely, One Nation, One Destiny.
 - (a) The symbol which locates our basic national priorities in terms of food and shelter.
 - (b) The flag of the party which was green, white and blue, denoting vegetation, peace and love. NPN also

provided a resume of the manifestoes of 1979, these itmes do provided resume of the manifestoes 1979, these itmes do constitute the first dimension of the structure of the NPN.

2) The second dimension concerned with the reflection of the federal character of the Party, in the composition and organisation of the Party Chapter II of the Constitution of 1979 which defines "federal character" in terms of the national integration and the NPN considered itself to be a vital instrument for national Executive Committee and electing senior Party officials the NPN decided to reflect the federal character right from the beginning. This rule was applied in the 19 states, where this character reflected in local governments terms, there were for example 19 national in vice chairmen, one for each state, by this token, the equality of every single state of Nigeria in their relation to the leadership of the NPN was affirmed. State executives which has as many state vice chairmen as there were senatorial districts as delimited by FEDEFIO. Right down to the grassroots, this principle for national integration was turned to local circumstances, such as to accommodate group interest, as sociological conditions may dictate.

3) The mixed breed party of the rich and poor men and women

young and old. The party went out to locate men of fibre integrity to blend men of "timber and calibre" and young radicals with old reliables.

- 4) There concerned all the candidates of the NPN, to all legislative and executive offices of the father land. The National Party of Nigeria was the first party to submit a master list of candidates to all state and federal offices. Again when the FEDECO called for nominees nominated papers for presidential candidates and their running mates. The NPN was the first to submit while the leadership of the four political parties, namely, Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), the Great Nigerian Peoples Party (GNPP), the Nigerian Peoples Party, NPP, and lastly Peoples Redemption Party, PRP, were formenting an alliance designated to stop the NPN, the party officials were busy filing the nomination papers of Alhaji Shehu Shagari and his deputy Dr Alex Ekweme. Accordingly, the National Party of Nigeria was the first to receive FEDECO clearance, good home work again. It is logical and fair fair that NPN was the first in success in consideration of five elections held between N July 7th and August 11, 1979.

- 5) Behind this brilliant record of hard work, good work and

exterity in the choice of candidates was a machine, the composition of those men who made up the machine was the fifth point in the documentation of the structure of NPN.

Preliminary, we note with pride, the existence of important offices all over states and federation at large and the party employ qualified and experience men for proper mining and put i into practice their talents and professionalism in order to improve the party's sophistication. The contribution of the late Senator Chief Dr J.S. Tarka the strong man of the middle belt, by his chairmanship of the Northern steering committee composed of representatives from the TEN northern states of Nigeria, t he was a prudent personality of the old north who fought against feudal politics and for the liberty of the minority elements in the old north. N.S. as he was called fondly by his friends and admirers, was a democrat in the north who simultaneously was the friend of the south the compliments paid to him at his funeral ceremonies in March/April 1980, his mourning by the entire nation, and his loss to all forces of nationalism and democracy testify positively to the creative greatness of the man.

NPN must acknowledge the contribution of Dr Joseph Wayas, Senator from Cross River State, and President of Senate, he was one of the 19 National Chairmen of the NPN. More than this,

he was critical to the formation, organisation and success of NPN.

Also, in the structure of the National Party of Nigeria, there was National Chairman of the Party in the name of Chief A.M.A. Akinloye, Augustus Akinloye was born at Ibadan on August 19, 1920. A graduate of the London School of Economics and the London University. Meredith Akinloye was a lawyer by profession, his experience in party management and politicking needs not to be emphasised.

There was also party Secretariat in an era of election. The head of this vital operation was Mallam Adamu Ciroma, the first Editor and later General Manager/Managing Director of the New Nigerian Newspaper, Adamu Ciroma was subsequently Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria. There was also the deputy National Secretary, a seasoned technocrats, versed in the management of democratic and fiscal organs. Dr Chuba Okadigbo, a former associate Professor of Philosophy at the Catholic University of America and Howard University both in Washington D.C. U.S.A. Dr Okadigbo the Assistant National Secretary was also assisted by many other competent persons, among them are Late Dr Usman a graduate of the University of Ibadan and of Williams College, Massachusetts and the University of Minnesota, U.S.A. A former Planning Officer in the Ministry of Economic

Planning Northern Nigerian Government, he was also a Senior lecturer in Economics at the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Dr Usman was also a member of Constituent Assembly and was Minister of State he was Assistant National Secretary of the Party.

For publicity, the National Party of Nigeria under its national secretariat under the leadership of its public relations specialist Alhaji Suleiman Takuma. National publicity Secretary, there was Mwendaga Jibo, former political Editor of the New Nigerian Newspapers and the Sunday Times.

There was also Research Centre or Department headed by Dr Rowland Anyamu and the Chairman of the Committee produced position papers, worked on the manifestoes and prepared for the transition committee which ushered in the Shagari administration, the Research department recruited academicians throughout the country, from Universities and industries, thereby giving strong foundation for the mission of the NPN. It studied the ideology of the party vis-a-vis the orientation of the economy and arrived at the idea of directed free enterprise with the object of working towards a self-reliant economy.

6) The sixth point was the campaign tactics of the party fundamentally the party detested the superior approach, which devolves on the personality cult, nobody was taller than

the party, the party was neither founded nor rail-roaded by
single individual in the NPN.

REFERENCES

1. A.N. BOLAJI: CONSTITUTION OF FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA
(ENACTMENT DECREE) 1979 ALSO SEE NIGERIAN
CONSTITUTION AMENDMENTS DECREE NO. 104, 1979

Ibid Pp. xxix.

Ibid Pp. xxx.

2. BILLY DURDLEY: Introduction to Nigerian Government and
Politics (Macmillan Publisher Ltd) first
edition 1982

3. CHUBA OKADIGBO: The Mission of the National Party of Nigeria
(Ejike R. Nwanko) Associates.

Ibid Pp. 89.

Ibid Pp. 41.

NEWSPAPERS

4. "Nigerian Political Development in Nigeria Ideology in
our Politics 1979-81: Sunday New Nigeria May 24, 1981
5. WILLIAMS D. GRAF: The Nigerian Citizen's Guide to Parties
Politics, Leaders and Issues. A Daily
Times Publication Election 1979
6. "Nigerian Political formation, political ideology and power
structure" Stateman November 10, 1986.
Statemen November 11, 1986

CHAPTER THREE3.1 NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA (NPN) AND 1979 ELECTION:

The elections were crucial process in the Nigerian political system, if the second Republic was to be defined as a democracy, then elections were the technical means of ensuring popular participation, if popular sovereignty was a guiding principle, then the elections were the specific method of realizing government of, by and for the people if government was to be both responsible and responsive, then again the 1979 election was the way in which people can relate to their government and the government to the people. And finally, if majority rule was to prevail in Nigeria, only election can establish what that majority was and register the wishes of the people.

Voting was the mechanism by which citizens were able to express their interest and needs to their leaders indeed, voting may well be the only act through, which most important means of establishing legitimate government and exercising popular control over the Nation's leaders. For all these reasons the Nigerian citizen would want to know what was at stake in the 1979 elections. It was worth noting that every voter was entitled to vote five times in the elections. That was to say he or she was a member of five separate constituences, as indicated by the table below. Every Nigerian citizen may

vote for his/her choice of the chief executive. The President was the only elected official who has nation-wide constituency and every Nigerian belongs to that constituency. Each state was also a single constituency for purposes of electing the state governor and every citizen registered as a voter was part of that gubernatorial constituency. The constituencies of the National Assembly were of two kinds, the House of Representatives, was based on the principle of representation by population and every Nigerian voter belongs to a constituency of roughly 100,000 people who returns a deputy to office.

NUMBER OF SEATS ALLOTTED PER STATE IN THE FEDERAL HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

| <u>STATES</u> | <u>NUMBER OF SEATS</u> |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. ANAMBRA STATE | 29 |
| 2. BAUCHI STATE | 20 |
| 3. BENDEL STATE | 20 |
| 4. BENUE STATE | 18 |
| 5. BORNO STATE | 24 |
| 6. CROSS RIVER STATE | 28 |
| 7. CONGOLA STATE | 22 |
| 8. IMO STATE | 30 |
| 9. KADUNA STATE | 33 |
| 10. KANO STATE | 46 |
| 11. KWARA STATE | 14 |

| <u>STATES</u> | <u>NUMBER OF SEATS</u> |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 12. LAGOS STATE | 12 |
| 13. NIGER STATE | 10 |
| 14. OGUN STATE | 12 |
| 15. ONDO STATE | 22 |
| 16. OYO STATE | 42 |
| 17. PLATEAU STATE | 16 |
| 18. RIVERS STATE | 14 |
| 19. SOKOTO STATE | 37 |
| 20. FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY (ABUJA) | 1 |
| TOTALLING <u>450 SEATS</u> | |

The Senates on the other hand was based on geographical representation, so that each state was divided into five constituencies, return five senators. And finally the state house of Assembly consisted of three times the number of seats as that state has seat in the federal house of Representatives, so that the individual voter belonged to a state legislative constituency was one-third $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population size of the Federal legislative constituency.

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES

| <u>REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTION</u> | <u>NO. OF CONSTITUENCY</u> | <u>CONSTITUTIVE BASE</u> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| PRESIDENCY | 1 | NATION-WIDE |
| GOVERNORSHIP | 19 | STATE-WIDE (1 PER STATE) |
| SENATE | 95 | TERRITORIAL (5 PER STATE) |
| HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES | 450* | REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION (APPROX. SEAT PER 100,000 VOTERS). |
| STATE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY | 1,350** | REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION (WITHIN INDIVIDUAL STATE). |

*In 1979, 449, because one seat was reserved for the future Federal Capital Territory

**In 1979, 1347 because three seats was reserved for the same Federal Capital Territory.

As was commonly known, the 1979 elections were the first in nearly 13 years (apart from the 1976 local government council elections) and in that time, the population composition of Nigeria has changed greatly. Since there was yet no up-to-date census or other relevant demographic data, nor indeed a public opinion polling agency, it was difficult to predict future trends and development. However, with an eye to the recent voter registration exercise, we may at least consider a few relevant developments which add some more unknown quantities

and therefore an element of surprise to the 1979 election.

A disproportionate number of Nigerians had been to the polls for the first time that year. The Military Government era meant that anyone between the age of 18 and 35 will in fact never before have voted, in addition, there was many thousands of elders voters who, due to dubious registration practices in the first republic, have never previous by participated in the democratic elections. What might these new voters decide? On what basis had they voted?

The voting population of Nigeria was predominantly young e registered voters between 18 and 45 constituted 66% of all voters nation-wide: How does young Nigeria voted? More women than men voted. The voters lists show that of Nigeria 47.7 million registered voters no less than 24.5 million were women. Had women voted for their particular interests or had they voted according to the wishes of their husbands? Had they been to the polls in a great number as men? and lastly there were 30 million voters lined in the Northern part of the country while only about 17 million inhabits the south. Had this been a factor in political party support? Had geography played an important role in voting decision? Of these were some of the question raised in the politiss of the National Party of Nigaria (NPN) in 1979 election.

The voting rights in 1979 democratic election can only be attained under satisfactory age, citizenship, and disqualified person.

--A. Age:- This is legally only about half or less of Nigerians were entitled to vote in federal and state election and by-election namely those who were 18 years of age and over.

--B. Citizenship: A prerequisites for exercising the Franchise (right to vote) was possession of Nigerian citizenship, which may be acquired by birth, registration or naturalisation.

--C. Disqualified Persons: Certain categories of person in addition to minors and non-Nigerians were for obvious reasons not entitled to vote some were excluded for reasons "legal incapacity, i.e. person who acknowledge allegiance, obedience or adherence to any foreign power or state.

- i) who were under criminal sentence at the time of election or
- ii) who have been disqualified for past corrupt practices or others, electoral offences. Still others, who had been entrusted with administering the elections had not voted i.e. FEDECO officials, electoral officers, returning officers and presiding officers.

naturalisation.

--C. Disqualified Persons: Certain categories of person in

Despite this law that prohibited the election by those under criminal sentences there had been a provision by the National Party of Nigeria to use their registration cards by their relatives to vote on their behalf, included in the violation of this regulation were the FEDECO officials, electoral officers, returning officers and of course the presiding officers all of which has pertaken in the election of their choice and above all the members of the National Party of Nigeria, most specifically the official of the Party made special arrangement with the FEDECO officials and the Police in order to exploit their ballot papers in the various polling stations in order to ensure their success.

REGISTRATION: No one was allowed to vote in any constituency whose name has not been entered there in the registration of voters list and once registered, the citizen was entitled to vote in all local, state, and federal levels of the election. The first step of the intending voter, therefore was to get his or her name on the register of voters in the area where he/she was ordinarily resident. The process of registering voters was carried out by FEDECO, at regular intervals and after every census, in the following manners:

- A. Preliminary registration. Following a house survey, a tentative voters list was prepared and publicly displayed.

It was crucial that the intending voter ascertain that he/she has been correctly entered into the preliminary list, if not, objections or corrections was made in writing to the registration office within 15 days of publication. The claim was made to be accompanied by \$20 deposits which was refunded after the claim was upheld.

-B. Voters Card: Each registered voter was issued one of these which in fact represents his/her entitlement to participate in the various elections. This voter's card was kept safely. In case of lost of this card, it was difficult or impossible to replace it. Selling one's voter's card does a great disservice to the democratic process.

-C. Register of Voters: The corrected and amended preliminary list has then been printed, published and publically displayed within 60 days. This list was known as the registration of voters and no one whose name was not included on it was allowed to vote in the subsequent elections.

This manifestation of democracy in action and indeed the existence of the second republic itself was rendered meaningless when the entire electoral process were not seen free and fair at all the elections level. For this reason the actual conduct of the elections was utmost importance, particularly in the year of the first national election, to effect a transition from

military to civilian rule.

The administration and supervision of all federal and state elections had been entrusted to the Federal Electoral Commission which has already been alluded to several times in this work. Of its Chairman, Chief Michael Ani "His was the most difficult and probably the most important job in Nigeria today." This was probably no exaggeration. Among FEDECO more important tasks were:

- a. Registration of voters: This process alone had involved some 80,000 enumerators working for 6 weeks from house to house throughout the federation and was a crucial exercise in winning public confidence.
- b. Policing political parties activity, ensuring that they conform to constitutional norms, determining which of them may be registered and investigated the eligibility of their candidates.
- c. Informing and enlightening the general public about the significance and sequence of elections.
- d. Devising the actual procedures and norms for conducting the elections and in particular ensuring free and fair election.

This was very considerable mandate, and the scope of FEDECO's activities in correspondingly vast. For the elections in the same 125,000 polling stations in the federation was staffed by about 415,682 employees ranging from chief electoral officers

to various presiding officers, counting clerks, and polling clerks and orderlies.

Fair election begin with fair registration of voters and carefully acceptance of candidate and parties the campaign itself must be also conducted fairly and openly. Some of the penalties for intimidation, thuggery and denial of opponents right of free speech and association had been dealt with. The FEDECO regulations respecting electioneering were enhanced by a voluntary agreement among all the political party leaders.

Made on 28 December 1978 at a meeting with the Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters, Brigadier Shehu Musa Yar'Adua at the meeting, the leading politicians gave assurance:

- A. of their resolve to continue to provide responsible and effective leadership to their followers,
- B. set the highest standard of behaviour and curb any excesses in speech or action by their party members,
- C. ensure that nothing was done during and after meeting and elections to disturb the peace of the community or jeopardise the unity of the Nation,
- D. restrain their party members from engaging in political thuggery, personal abuse and interference with the meetings activities or life and property of their political opponents and accept lastly the electorates verdict in the election.

At the place of voting too, some extra-ordinary precautions were provided for. Each polling station was provided with a single special ballot box, which was opened publicly before the voting begins (to demonstrate that it was in fact empty) and was then sealed with a metal seal until it eventually reaches the counting officers. All ballot papers were supplied under sealed cover and each was provided with numbers and serial: all must be strictly accounted for, to the returning officer. Moreover, there were approximately thirteen people presents at each polling station to ensure proper conduct of the elections. These include two FEDECO officials one or more Policemen and up to two "polling agents" appointed by the parties and was represented by each of the political parties. The counting of the ballots was performed by the FEDECO, returning officers according to the metriculously proscribed procedures. Here again each political parties had appointed two counting agents to ensure that proper procedures was followed and if necessary to request a recounted upon all this systematic and logical procedures laid down by the FEDECO and their effort to intensify striot adherence to the laid down regulations and procedures for the achievement of goals to which it was therefore. But the National Party of Nigeria in its effort to establish its government in Nigeria, saw it as very necessary to dissociate itself with this laid down regulation for the fact

that it might not accomplished its aim, the party went on to violate this regulation intentionally borrowing some measures which could shield the party from penalties designed for the evaders of this regulation. It succeeded in doing this by bribing the FEDECO officials both in the offices at the Secretariat and that FEDECO officials allocated to various polling stations in the country this entangled to even the law enforcement agencies and most of them were the Police. This they bribe both in the Police station nearest to them and those allocated to various centres of election in the country, example of this was seen practically at Ibadan when the members or the officials of National Party of Nigeria, NPN, connived with the Police and very dramatically succeeded in dispersing quite reasonable number of people at a polling station by the use of tear gas following false report by the party officials of the public disturbance by some members of the public, while the people scattered they took the advantage to change the ballot box replacing another one which consisted of their ballot papers ticked in their favour. This informed the 1979 and of course 83 general elections in almost every polling station, despite the agents of the other competing parties. In other cases, the FEDECO officials used to consent to the views of the official of the National Party of Nigeria on the terms negotiated by carry out the functions favourable to the Party.

3.2 MANIFESTOS AND PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA

The National Party of Nigeria, NPN, as wea said to be the only party formed out of the nationwide consultation and concensus by Nigerians, who care the whole of the nation and the — problem there in was out to make Nigeria work to make the nation great and to give everyone a chance, the Nigeria of the NPN was::

- A. a nation where government and public life shall run in accordance with the provision of the Constitution,
- B. and a strong united nation of contented citizen in peace and harmony with one another,
- C. life and property has become guaranteed by the provision of adequate means of external defence and internal law and order plus the security of the state,
- D. a prosperous and self-reliant Nigeria based on a strong agricultural sector and rapid industrialisation with opportunities for all citizen without discrimination as to age, sex, religion, ethnic group,
- E. a nation where the welfare of every citizen will be a prime concern of the state while private enterprise and initiative are fully recognised,
- F. a country where the general awareness and patriotic commitments of the citizen was enhanced through adequate and

sound education based on high moral principles and indigenous African values,

-G. An open society based on the fullest recognition of the democratic right of every citizen,

-H. A nation where full respect and recognition was accorded to the traditional rulers and institutions, and full expression was given to African culture,

-I. A nation whose standing and respect was said to promote through a foreign policy based on the pursuit of enlightened national interest and adherence to the principles and charter of ECOWAS, OAU and UN.,

-J. The programme of the Party has also include the provision in chapter two of the constitution and the National Party of Nigeria was committed to prusue all the fundamental objectives and directives principles of the state policy.

These were the well-springs, the major preoccupation of the Party, as far as was its first term of office (1979-83) was concerned. The first item on the national agenda was perceived to be food and agriculture which formed part of the emblem of the National Party of Nigeria so that our nation could be free, NPN government thought that Nigeria must be able to feed itself. Increasing the national productions and distribution of food was the top most priority in the programme

of the NPN. Massive efforts in food production side by side with industrial development and the expansion of the social services and education, formed the major plank of the party programme. The methodology for the execution of this food and agriculture policy were given in the Party manifesto and also in the brilliant speech made by the flag bearer and the head of state of the federation, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, to the Nigerian press Organisation: "Towards Green Revolution." This speech also contained a systematic exposition of our Rural Development Policy as its relation to our food and agricultural policy.

Concerning minerals policy, the NPN had a division into broad sectors: Petroleum and other minerals. Petroleum, being the biggest single earner of our foreign exchange and national income in the last few years, the NPN minerals policy was geared to stabilisation of its effects on our community. NPN intended to optimise production, maximise income, encourage further exploitation, open new fields, combat environmental pollution, and give direct compensation to those communities directly affected in the course of environmental disfigurements. The national party of Nigeria had taken active part in OPEC in the light of the best interest of Nigerian nation. As to solid minerals, the Party realised the immediate necessity compiling an inventory of all mineral resources and their resources, their locations and the full exploitation thereof.

Housing Policy was equally critical to the programmes. In agreement with science and humanity, the Party held self-evident that shelter was one of the three basic needs of man. Of course, shelter is part of the NPN emblem. NPN planned housing in rural and urban areas, for it was the objective of NPN to tackle with vigour, the quantity of available accommodation in the country, with particular attention to the encouragement and increase in the number of owner-occupied houses.

To this extent, the Party had built new layouts serviced by trains, roads and other infrastructures, the Party had financed housing agencies and encouraged the manufacture of building materials in Nigeria.

Our education and cultural awareness policy was underlined by the quest for qualitative and functional education. They strictly adhered to the provisions of chapter two Article 18 of the Nigerian Constitution of 1979. There was an attempt to improve the standard of education at all levels. Healthy population ensures a steady supply of strong and efficient man power. This was cardinal to the NPN health programmes, to this extent, the NPN had expanded the existing training facilities, especially Pharmaceutical Industries and factories for the manufacture or assembly of medical equipments, establish dental and eye clinics in strategic centres, legislate on

industrial health hazards and injuries, scrutinises and advance legislation on vital statistics, encourage development in the fields of both preventive and curative medicine but upon all this measure taken by the Party there had been lack of medical facilities, shortage of drugs which led to serious problem of to the time in the Health Sector.

Concerning the labour, NPN had provided and believe in the ability of Nigerian labour movement to rise to the challenges of national building, they supported and encouraged labour movement that is truly and democratic, strong and virile. The trade union, independence, contributed to the development of a free and democratic labour movements, legislate for proper and meaningful collective bargaining, encourage compulsory check-off system of dues to the labour movement, broaden the area of cooperation with labour at national and international levels, NPN also ensured adequate labour representation, at all tripartite delegates and bodies regional, continental and international.

The Defence of the nation was critical of National survival, sovereignty, law and order in the nation state, thus NPN's Defence Policy represented the intention of prosecuting with vigour programmes for training, equipment and re-organisation of the Nigerian Armed Forces, that assured them a modern,

disciplined, well trained and well equipped Armed forces.

Then the Foreign Policy was guided by the fundamental consideration of protection and promotion of Nigerian interest. Towards this end, NPN pursued an independent foreign policy, maintaining cordial relations with all nations in the process, NPN improved the quality of the substance and mechanics of our foreign policy, thereby maintaining a proper balance of men and matters in international politics. The Party promoted ECOWAS and adhered to the charters of the OAU, and the UNO. The defence of our territorial integrity, maintenance of Nigerian sovereignty, defence, promotion of our democratic value and cultures, complete and unequivocal identification with and commitment to the struggle against racism, colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms were cardinal to the foreign policy stance.

Social Policy. This was three pronged, as given in the manifesto of the Party. The social policy lays stress on the necessity for active participation in the body-politic and national programmes by:

- (a) The Youths,
- (b) Women folk,
- (c) The aged, disabled and destitutes.

NPN believed that more education should be received by the youths, of the nation, in order to participate actively in

in the developmental process. Because Nigeria had adhered to this principle was evidenced by the presence of youth in important bodies and organs of the Party. More than fifty per cent of the NPN candidates of the national and state offices of the NPN were held by the youth. On the development of women folk so that they realise the innate qualities in themselves. NPN encouraged the women folk to come forward and play a full part in public life. For example, it was an organisational decision of the Party that each community, local government, state and national executive of the Party must contain at least one woman, in their administrative executions.

3.3 CAMPAIGN STRATEGY OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA

The National Party of Nigeria has a specific ways it employed in order to capture national power, as all the members of the Party were nominated on the basis of national character each and every member knows the problem its people were facing in their areas, therefore the campaign strategy of the NPN reflect the fundamental issue of food and shelter to everyone which is part of its emblem so that our nation can really be free, the national Party of Nigeria think that it must first be able to feed the nation and ourselves, increasingly the National Production and Distribution of food is the top most priority in the NPN campaign. Massive effort in food production

side by side with industrial development and the expansion of the social services and education.

The NPN was the only Party that successfully convinced its people with the formulated strategy to win the national power, they made this success in a number of ways:

1. In the course of its campaign NPN put as a strategy, the national interest first and partisan or personal interest last. This it does by its promise of food and shelter to all, improve our industrial development and expansion of our social services. Also, in Onitsha during the rally being mainly a commercial city with the urban with the urban areas as well as the suburbs dominated by traders and with strong affiliation to business, the campaign team of the NPN promised to lift the ban on importation of goods. This promise was well received.
2. The NPN also do concentrate as a strategy of campaign on palpable issues concerning the welfare of the people in general and steer clear of hammering on personalities.
3. NPN also do preserve other reputation by avoiding all unfounded allegation as they had expected of the preservation of their own reputation which they did not succeed in doing. Because the National Party of Nigeria suffered the worst casualty in this sense, their personality had been seriously attacked by their opponents. Example was the case of Hajiya

Gambo Wawaba of Borno State Women Wing of the Great Nigerian Peoples Party who publically in the course of her rally stated that she went to Sokoto and saw the hut in which Shagari relatives were living and conduced by convincing people of the Shagari's mother's and father's graves conditions in which she confirmed the in and out of the rats exploiting the dead bodies of the Shagari parents. This strategy employed by the NPN campaign proved abortive.

-4. The NPN maintain as a strategy a decorum, integrity, and exemplariness in thought in word and deeds. Example of this was when on January 22, 1983 President Shehu Shagari seeking a second term launch his campaign with a battle cry. It was the beginning of a seven month long campaign for the renewal of his mandate now, in the long arduous journey which ended shortly before the president election on August 6, took Alhaji Shehu Shagari and his top party functionaires across thousands of towns and villages by air, roads, foots. In several dozen of the street villages, the President met huge crowd of supporters who welcomed him with excitement. The President went wthrough all sorts of inconveniences to reach his people so as to assure them of his continued preparedness to serve. One significant incident during his electionairing campaign Shagari halted the motorcade in Sapele town for an unscheduled visit with the voters at water side market, in rain

he rolled up the hem of his flowing white and grey robes and gamely slogged through two lurch mud, touring a ramshackle warren of stalls where everything, from fish to nail were offered for sale. The shoppers were kept well back from the President, but they were enthusiastic, especially, when Shagari raised his fingers for One Nation and Destiny. And when the die was eventually cast on August 6 the electorate might have considered such escapades in addition to similar issue which count on his favour.

-4. The National Party of Nigeria feeds its electorate with accurate and verifiable facts express only positive and constructive ideas, like in the case of his campaign at Gboko 83 Shagari was telling the teeming population of Nigeria on the economic condition of this country and suggesting that when voted to power he promised to bring to normalcy the economy but he emphasised that a lot of sacrifices have to be made by Nigerians in that course.

-5. The National Party of Nigeria has been polite, mild, decent and correct languages these are achieved through the campaign team and the speakers, like Uba Ahmed, from Kano, the Leader of the National Campaign Team, Alhaji Umaru Dikko, who were very vocal and also Dr Ibrahim Tahir, these type of men in the fold of the NPN and many others in the states were people that

are intelligent very persuasive in their language who avoid explosive and offensive pronouncement in the cause of their campaign to the NPN.

-6. In the campaign strategy of the NPN, the Party has succeeded in avoiding violence, hooliganism and nuisance from the electorates. It is the only opponent that made violence possible in the cause of the campaign.

-7. With regards to the musician which are locally possessed by the Party they performed very well in the exposition of the NPN.

The NPN organised Rallies in the National, States and Local levels, villages and each and every corner of the levels in order to extend the message of the NPN which they did by the use of vans, like buses, motor cycles, bicycles that were distributed according to states then to local government official of the parties. Among the strategy of the NPN, were the posters that were put across it points the use of public address systems to make these messages understandable to the public.

-8. When the other septuagenarians parties busied themselves keeping all their tribes in check behind them, the NPN as strategy of it campaign went a fishing in minority areas in their attempt at extending such fishing to minority areas of Yoruba and Ibo has now carried their pride as the only

nationally accepted Party in Nigeria.

In order not to allow the sight of continuity to change, so that good things and tiding are not abbreviated by the temporary quest for power and its prerequisites, we never engaged in sterile litaries and protest against the organs mandated by the Federal Military Government to guide and conduct the elections, FEDECO inclusive nor did NPN retaliate against verbal or physical attacks of whatever description, by our opponents, because NPN know that they must carry them along with them in the course of prosecuting our programmes for One Nation One Destiny.

3.4 NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA AND ELECTION RESULTS:

Throughout the Federal Republic of Nigeria general election of 1979 for national and state officials were conducted on four succeeding Saturdays in August. A total of 48,633,782 eligible voters had been legally registered. To lead off the process, the first of the series of election contested was held on 7th July 1979, to choose the 95 members of the Senates in which each of the 19 states was entitled to the representation of five Senators. These followed on 14th July 1979 by the second of the series of elections. This one devoted to the choice by the voters of the 449 members of the National House of Representatives. Seats in the House were appointed to the respective states by the Federal Electoral Commission on the basis of population. The third of the election, held on the 21st July 1979 was for the selection by

the state electorate of their House of Assembly members. The Constitution mandated that each states House of Assembly would be comprised of three times the number of members which it was entitled to elect to the National House of Representatives. Thus a total of 134 seats were at stake.

The two final election Saturday's were reserved for the choosing of the voters in the various states, to choose their respective states governors then on the 11th August 1979, the voters asked to make what was their final pilgrimage to the polling station to elect Nigeri's first nationally elected President. By this action, the voters completed their democratic efforts and helped launch the new constitution which had taken the presidential, rather than the parliamentary system as its model.

If the result of the election is somewhat difficult to depict and summarise meaningfully, two factors accounted for much of the difficulty:

- (a) The holding of the election on different dates, and
- (b) the contesting of the election by five separate political parties most of which did not choose to enter each of the separate contests (although all fielded candidates in the presidential contest).

On the election held on the 7th July a total of 12,532,195 voters cast ballot to elect members of the Senate in this contest the National Party of Nigeria promptly established its claim as Nigerian leading (although not majority) Party

and did not relinquish its first place standing in any of the subsequent election of the series (NPN) captured 34.1% of the total senate seat in the process. NPN swept all the five seats at state in each of the four states, namely, Bauchi, Benue, Nigeri and Sokoto and won three seats each in Cross- River, Kaduna, Kwara and ⁴ River States. It also gained one seat each in Borno, Gongola, and Plateau States. NPN success in securing Senate seat in each of the 11 states marked. It was truly a national Party, at least in the sense of its demonstrated capacity to sustain substantial voter appeal outside its own geographical base in Northern Nigeria.

Members of the National House of Representatives were selected at the 14th July balloting, each Party's share of the total vote cast in this selection was remarkably close to the share received in the senate balloting of the previous Saturdays. In no case did Party's share change from the previous Saturday by more than 15% of the vote, with a total of 449 seats at stake, NPN again led the field by winning 165% of them. Its first place finish brought it at least some of the seats in the House of representative in all but three of the states of the federation. Its failures were in Lagos, Ogun, and Ondo. NPN greatest success as scored in its geographic home base in the North, where it won (31) thirty-one seats in Sokoto State, but its impressive nation-wide appeal was evident in its performance in Cross River State where it gained 21 of the 27 seats at stake, no other political Party

could match NPN geographical scope of triumph. Although it failed to gain a majority of the seats in the House of Representative NPN was in an excellent position to form a coalition with either UPN or NPP.

After two election Saturdays, devoted to national legislative representation, the next two election Saturdays were devoted to the task of choosing legislature and executive officials for the 19 states governments the task on 21st July was to choose the membership of the House of Assembly FEDECO had allocated three times the number of House of Assembly seats to each of the state as it had been awarded in the National House of Representatives, to illustrate how the formula worked. The example of Bauchi State may be used, Bauchi has been authorised twenty (20) seats in the nation House of Representatives so as entitled to elect sixty (60) members to its own constituency district was conveniently divided into three (3) house of Assembly district by FEDECO. Thus a total of 1,347 House of Assembly seats were at stake varying from 30 in Niger to 138 in Kano for these seats there were 3,300 candidates. Generally, political parties did not field candidate for all House of Assembly's contest throughout the state of the federation but tended to limits their effort to those geographical areas in which their prospect of success were greatest the NPN was the exception, with candidate in nearly every single constituency, 1,334 all fold.

UPN had 1,005, candidates entered, while NPP chose to contest only 588 seats, GNPP battled for 998 seats while PRP concentrated its efforts on 405 seats. NPN finished first in the competition to control House of Assembly by gaining 35.4% of the vote cast. This showing enabled the NPN to win 481 assembly seats throughout the federation and brought control (or majority states) in 8 (eight) Assembly in Bauchi, Benue, Cross River, Kaduna, Kwara, Niger, Rivers and Sokoto States. NPN national appeal was again displayed, as it won control of Assemblies at the opposite end of the federation.

The gubernatorial contest were again settled in balloting of 28th July in general, the party which had won majority control of the house of Assembly of a particular state was also successful in winning the governorship of the same state. In Kaduna State, the NPN controlled a majority of the Assembly seats while the successful Governorship of the state was the PRP nominee. The GNPP which was the governorship of Gongola also gained the largest number of seats in the State's House of Assembly although no political Party actually had a majority of the seats.

National Party of Nigeria obtained 36.84% of all the votes cast in governors races and succeeded in electing seven of its nominees. Finally, Nigerians voted in the presidential election held on 11th August 1979 with the tabulation of the results of the presidency balloting, the month-long electoral

process of 1979 was completed, and the last step on the road back to civilian rule taken in as much as election series had launched Alhaji Shehu Shagari the elected President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has the total vote cast of 16,846,633 out of the registered voters number of 47,433,757 throughout the federation amounting to 35.63%. In the southern part of this country, National Party of Nigeria has the total votes cast of 8,707,676 which is 38.43% out of the registered voters of 22,652,666 and in the Northern part of the federation, Alhaji Shehu Shagari has the total vote cast of 8,138,957 which was equal to about 32.84%. In combine total of the southern and northern parts of the federation, there were total of 47,433,757 registered voters out of which 16,846,633 total votes found a National Party of Nigeria and equal to 35.63% of the total vote cast throughout the federation, these led in the instalment of Alhaji Shehu Shagari as the champion of the other party leaders and was what made him the first executive president of the federation of Nigeria in 1979.

It was interesting to note that none of the five political parties fielded a running mate from any of the minority states, but yet it was the minority states who held the balance of power. This was clearly evident by the victory of National Party of Nigeria, NPN, In all the five elections NPN scored 56.99% of all the votes cast in each of the five minority states.

FOOTNOTES

1. GELEBA OKADIGBO: The Mission of the National Party of Nigeria (Ejike R. Nwanko) Associates.
 ibid pp. 4.
 ibid pp. 10.
2. HARUNA ADAMU: Nigeria, the Making of Presidential System of government, 1979 General Election.
3. LABAIYI BOLAJI: Shagari, President by Mathematics: New Nigerian October 26, 1979.
4. LABAIYI BOLAJI: Crisis Whether Shagari 25% of vote cast in two-third ($\frac{2}{3}$) of the 19 States in the Federation. (Special Tribune October 16, 1979).
5. THE 1979 ELECTION: "Tentative Assesment of Consequencies and Implication." New Nigeria June, 13, 1980. New Nigeria June 14, 1980 New Nigeria June 20, 1980, New Nigeria June 21, 1980.
6. WILLIAMS D. GRAF: FEDECO Elections 1979, The Nigerian Citizen's guide to Parties, Political Leaders and Issues. (A Daily Times Publication).

CHAPTER FOUR4.1 POLITICS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA AND POST 1979 ELECTION

Election is a legitimate means of changing political leaders in any democratic society. In 1979 48.5 million Nigerians went to the polls as against the phenomenal increase of voters in 1983, reaching 65.3 million. The 1979 general election resulted in the NPN winning an overall cast and 25% of the voters recorded in two-third of the 19 states, of Nigeria, the constitutional requirement for Shagari to become the first Executive President of Nigeria.

Before the election commenced there were indications that defeat would hardly be well taken by any side in the 1983 contest. A long drawn out debate over the contents of electoral act focussed largely on the issue of method to be used in compiling the result. That was what 1983 gave prominence to in order to avoid the problem of rigging as was the case in the 1979 general election, where a lot of malpractices and frequent diversion of ballot boxes by political party officials, bribing the FEDECO officials who were at the service of politicians. In the course of these election exercises throughout the federation. These conceptions kept ringing in the minds of politicians who held the views that, though this practices the winning party or otherwise the National Party of Nigeria was able to secure the number of votes witnessed in the 1979 general election. Therefore this question becomes the

most controversial issue and made them to have decision to have the ballot counted at the polling booths. The Unity Party of Nigeria and its fellow opposition parties, the NPP (Nigeria Peoples Party), National Party of Nigeria, the Peoples Redemption Party Great Nigeria Peoples Party, Nigerian Advanced Party all supported this method. The NPN interestingly never did formulate a unified position of the issue. Some members of the Party were of the opinion that it would make no difference where voters counted once the voters had performed their task freely and fairly. Others felt that counting at the booth was a safe and fool proof guarantee of correct assessment of the voters, while still others were of the opinion that this method would lead to manipulation by unscrupulous officials in the light of what actually ensued during the election it seems likely that a little of everything happened is important for an understanding of how National Party of Nigeria triumphed in the election for one to realise that the NPN did not treat the election in isolation of the circumstances and situation surrounding them, while party rhetoric flowed like wine from the so-called progressive group. NPN politicians were busy organising. For example, in the Rivers State during the registration of voters while the Nigerian Peoples Party which had been the major threat to the National Party of Nigeria election of 1979 results was busy protesting and proving procedural issues to the courts the National Party of Nigeria establishment was busier getting out its members to the

registration centres. The outcome of this act was that when election ~~time came~~ the NPN had an iron grip on the active electors while the opposition parties, GNPP, PRP, NPP, UPN and NAP seem to have much vocal support but very little organised backing.

On reflection, there are certain trends which came to the surface in their election and which call for caution and discipline, among the major issue that arose in the final run-up weeks was the question of violence as an integral reaction on the part of disappointed competitors and participants. In the electoral exercises warning signs appeared most ominously in two of the states in the western region, Oyo and Ondo states, there were also smaller but nonetheless worrisome, incidents of unrest discerned in Niger, Gongola, Cross River and Benue states as well, when the election actually began it was the escalated violence in Oyo and Ondo that captured the headlines but there were terrible incidents of disorder in almost all states especially in Niger state where a number of FEDECO officials were burnt to death - the Benue State where the younger brother of the NPP gubernatorial candidate, Mr Paul Unongo, was murdered in cold blood. The most frightening aspect of the violent reactions to electoral result was the cynical calmness with which a large cross section of the populace seemed to accept the inevitability of these acts, the only conclusion that a neutral observer could draw from this attitude is that there is an entrenched sense of apathy and distrust in the Nigerian

political psyche, arising out of the traumatic nature of political development from the first republic through military interregnum, up to the present experiment with the executive presidential system. This sense of apathy and distrust lends itself to political manipulation in various manifestation, and violent reaction is only one symptoms of the lack of political faith.

4.2 THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF SHAGARI ADMINISTRATION

The politics of Nigeria in the 1979 to 1983 under the leadership of Alhaji Shehu Shagari was democratic the system of politics that emphasises on freedom, which is rooted in and grow on self discipline, self restraint, reciprocal respect and tolerance. A lot of other failings of the system stemmed from these low political culture, whether it is corruption, abuse of office, mismanagement or megalomania, it is easy to trace their root to lack of self discipline, lack of self civic sympathy, lack of social responsibility from the highest office holder to the lowest. Freedom was mistaken for licentiousness of course the discipline and intemperance of political leadership was translated, amplified and transmitted through the whole fabric of elit Nigeria.

FAILURES:

The President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed forces, Alhaji Shehu Shagari was the first Executive President under the flag of National Party of Nigeria and his leadership was

accused of political, economical and social mis-handling which the country did not expect of in the democratic set up of 1979-83 administration, to start with the political mis-handling that causes the failure of Shagari regime was the persistent confrontation between the governing and non-governing Party in the state as was the case of the reaction made by the Great Nigeria Peoples Party by mobilising the other four political parties to put a stop to the National Party of Nigeria as a result of the announced presidential and gubernatorial election of which NPN emerged victorious. There is also a political violence where the National Party of Nigeria could not have the majority in the legislature like in Kaduna. You also find a lot of cases where the state governors are at logger heads with their party officials as was the case in Gongola, Kano, Kwara, Kaduna etc., the UPN leaders addressed a press conference voicing out their grievances on the presidential candidate for lack of requirement to be the leader. Also in the Shagari Administration one had to notice the struggle between state governors and state commissioners of Police one one hand and between Police Force and the State controlled Executives which the administration could not control and later led to the impeachment of Balarabe Musa from the governor of Kaduna State, a lot of political mis-composition identifies the political mis-achievement of Shagari regime lastly political parties that compete with the Shagari's party

mostly contributed to the failures of the Administration because upto 1983 only 12 out of 19 states formalised an association which was openly with the NPN Government.

Economic failures under the Shagari administration was identified with the decrease of oil price and production despite the international favourable price of petroleum. The Nigerian position of ninth largest oil producer and the leading supplier of crude oil to the United States. Two years later from 1979 - 1981 earning from oil which accounted for over 90% of total revenue shrimped from 22.4 billion to 9.6 billion US Dollars. In-deed world wide recession, increase conservation measures in the western countries and devising entry into western market by the OPEC nations resulted in an oil glut which had a devastating effect on the Nigerian economy. For two weeks in February 1983 for example Nigeria could not sell even a drop of crude oil. In effect exporting earning fell from 14.1 billion Nigerian Naira in 1980 to ₦10.9 billion and later ₦10.00 in 1982 whereas revenue from oil fell from ₦12.4 billion in 1980 to ₦6.6 billion in 1982. External debts rose from 1.1 billion in 1980 to 5.3 billion in 1982 then 7.7 billion in 1983, debt service ration in the same year shot up from 1.1 to 9.1 and 10.1. Thus economic catastrophe devastated the Shagari administration and by extension the entire democratic effort.

Socially, the government of Shagari favoured certain class of people in the administration as Ministers took their kick-back

and bribes, contractors brazenly over invoiced, business people hoarded goods and traficked in Naira buccanears raided ships in high seas property shark and land speculators manipulated politicians into leasing them huge chunks of peasants' land in brazen abuse of the better and despite the land use decree, smugglers perforated our boarders with bribery and murderous ships turned up at our ports and loaded oil and sailed off.

Given this level of anarchy in high places, the Maitatsine riots, in Kano, Bakalori Masacre in Talata Mafara local government in Sokoto state should be seen in true sociological perspectives in terms of the follower anarchies and violence, rejection of temporal Authority and the denial of peasants' entitlements, political party needed money to operate, they manipulated their functionaires to divert funds for the purpose. But having led public along evil path.

ACHIEVEMENTS:

Despite the above mentioned failures of the Shagari Administration, the first executive president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Alhaji Shehu Shagari has achieved a lot in the political economic and social spheres of this country to start with the NPN flag bearer, Alhaji Shehu Shagari's greatest achievements was that many Nigerians believe was his ability to lead during the transition from military government and to have presided over the establishment of a complex civilian governmental machinery in a peaceful atmosphere. The President, Alhaji Shehu

Shagari was the president who successfully restored people's confidence in their capability to none a democracy who symbolises their aspiration to organise their lives through freely chosen processes of consultation and concensus.

Despite a very hostile press, Nigeria still boasts to be one of the freest press in the world, Shagari has provided the nation with a suprisingly generous governments. There are no political prisoners in Nigeria goal and when granted reprieve to the leaders of the secessionist "Biafra" he had unwittingly paved the way into the hearts of the Ibos who see in their Ikemba, a symbol of nationalism and Ibo pride. A similar reprieve for Jack Gowon no doubt would not be disadvantageous for the cause of National Party of Nigeria, rather it will help to improve its image and that of the President, Alhaji Shehu Shagari.

We can never forget the monumental success he achieved in the area of food crops production. Shagari with his popular Green Revolution programme, he created many River Basin Authorities. Shagari pumped millions of petro-Naira into agriculture and in the process gave impetus to mechanised farming.

On housing, Shagari for all programmes that was aimed at giving all Nigerians a roof over their heads, he built so many low cost houses all over the federation, in both states and local governments that by the time he left office there were enough houses to go round the needy Nigerians.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari rose up to the voice of the people riding the nation of lawlessness, disorderlines, indiscipline and crime.

4.3 THE COUP AND THE END OF NATIONAL PARTY OF NIGERIA

The second Republic like the first republic crumbled like a pack of cards when the military struck on December 31, 1983, as is usual, with most systems, the military pusch represented nothing more than the last strand on the camel back.

Which is to say that the actual trends forward the disintegration of the system was set in long before the coup was ever contemplated. Indeed, as this piece will attempt to prove the second republic, contained, right from the beginning, the very seeds of its own destruction.

This will not be the first time such an assertion is made and nor will it be the last for at different stages of our historical evolution, on several occasions at constitutional conference, political rallies, in the press, seminars and lecture halls, the debate had and will continue to rage as to what constitute the lasting solution to our socio-economic and political problems. In the course of these dialogue and processes, there has emerged various schools of thoughts whose view points regarding the issue ranges from extreme right to extreme left, from centre right to centre left etc. etc. However, as a matter of fact, all these numerous ideological strands can be reduced basically into two categories for the purpose of analysis and as a matter of convenience.

The first category represented the bourgeoisie school of thought which is centred on protection and promotions of private property as expressed through private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. In effort, this school of thought has always been deployed in defence of status quo and it constituted precisely in Nigeria right from independence to date. The second category represents the Marxists school of thought, which is based on the rationale behind abolition of private property at the same time advocating socialisation of means of production as a necessary pre-condition for a resolution of societal contradiction. In all their ramification in essence this school of thought propagates for change from the existing order of things as characterised by exploitation and oppression of the vast majority by an insignificant minority to a kind of society where freedom, justice and equality will reign, the struggle between these two contending ideologies predates the independence era and extended well back to the period of decolonization when the nationalist movement split basically into two camps on matters of strategy.

As it is now a common knowledge, it was the view points of the first school that triumphed as the dominant ideology which has since then continued to inform the thinking and actions of the ruling class, as well as the policies of the successive regimes we have had in this regime. As a consequence of this development, self government amounted to nothing more than a deal struck between the British imperial power and the

Nationalism under which the power conceded control over nations economic life where as in return, the later were allowed to take over political power, in effect, independence was reduced to virtually nothing more than its symbolic expressions of a national army and a national assembly all of which have very little bearing as objective material condition of vast majority of the populace who have been condemned, over the years, to stt state of abysmal squalor, ignorance and diseases.

As it turned out to be the case, the succeeding years under the first republic witnessed an increase in the tempo of inflow of foreign capital, one one hand and private investment on the other, whereas, the first was achieved through a deliberate policy on tax exemption and liberalisation, repatriation of profit and a host of other incentives, the second was promoted largely through political patronage as expressed in terms of awards of contracts import licences, bank loans, plots et-cetera-et-cetera. The accumulative effect of all these external and domestic policies was in effect to, first drive the country further into the web of international monopoly capitalism, second to promote the emergence and consolidation of a local comprador bourgeoisie and third to establish and strengthen a commity of interest between the two. As the structure and destiny of the economy was being decided to also was the political ocesses of the nation whose character was largely predetermined by the former. Thus, in an attempt

to protect and promote its economic interest, and as a matter of opportunity, the ruling class resorted to manipulations of all kinds of primordial sentiment and loyalty such as religion ethnicity, regionalism and a host of others with a reckless abandon and in an unscrupulous manner political parties were found along ethnic regional line as represented by the NPC (Northern Peoples Congress) in the North, N.C.N.C. in the East and A-G in the West all in a bid by the different factions of the ruling class, not only to capture and retain power but also, and this is more important, employ it in directly siphoning the state treasury as well as exploiting the working people, thus competition in political power became a matter of life and death as expressed in terms of politicisation of census exercises of the Judiciary, the Police, the Civil Service, the Armed Forces and worst still in terms of electoral irregularities all of which went along way to erode whatever confidence people might have had on the system. And whereas people became disenchanted with the system and were anxious of change. The political system as such that it could not make for a peaceful transfer of political power, the situation. Thus created condition for a violent change and served as the immediate cause for the military intervention in the political life of the country on January 1, 1966.

The thirteen years of military interregnum in the historical evolution of Nigeria political processes was

characterised more by its continuity and consolidation of the status quo than anything else. Virtually nothing had changed in terms of socio-economic and political structure and values except for the oil boom which not only expanded the country resources base but which led to the phenomenal growth of the public and private sectors of the economy. This development was also accompanied simultaneously by an unprecedented increase in the size of power of the local bourgeoisie that include the top brass of the bureaucracy, the military and the business community which collaborated with each other in a bid to siphon the gate treasury. It was precisely against this background that preparation for transition to civilian rule started in 1978 with the appointment of a Constitution Drafting Committee and later of a Constituent Assembly whose assignment was to produce a constitution for the country. It would be recalled that none of this bodies was democratically composed in the real sense of it, thus while members of the C.D.C. were simply nominated by the Federal Government those of the C.A. were directly elected through local government councils who were themselves not democratically constituted. Nevertheless, attempt was made to draw members from a wide spectrum of society comprising of the labour unions, students bodies as well as university dons.

Of course, no sooner had the military handed over power than the euphoria which greeted the restoration of civil rule

ethnic/regional parties of the first Republic were reincarnated in spite of the condition laid down by the Constitution that parties should reflect federal character of the country. Thus the National Party of Nigeria, NPP, and the UPN spring up as off-shoots of the erstwhile NPC, NCNC, A-G whose strong hold were in the northern, eastern and western parts of the country respectively. The only exception in the respect being the PRP that represented an offshoot of NEPU whose principle and programmes advocated radical social transformation.

The bankrupt nature of our checks and balances which represent the cardinal principles upon which presidential system especially ours, which is a carbon copy of the United States constitution, is predicated was clearly exposed for what it is. There was of course check and balance between the various organs of government more especially in the state where the legislature and executive organs were controlled by different parties. However, this merely went on to reflect the intrigues and squabbles between different factions of ruling class for share of the national cake rather than any genuine attempt to meet the legitimate interest and yearning of overwhelming majority of the people.

Corruption which took various manifestation including direct and brazen looting of the treasury assumed an unprecedented scale in the political history of the country. This led to the depletion of the treasuries as well as the bankruptcy of the government, all of which had incurred both external and internal

loans running to hundred millions of Naira. But wherever in one hand, the rank and file the comparado bourgeoisie was swelling and the class was consolidating its grips over the nation notwithstanding the factional squabbles and intrigues that afflicted it. Moreover, it made sure that it diversified and strengthen areas of collaboration between it and the international monopoly capital. This assertion was testified by the pronounced pro-west policy of the Shagari Administration which largely buttered the international image of the country. It was also evidenced by the large scale salting of public money and its deposition in foreign accounts mostly in western europe. All these coupled with the ostentatious and flamboyant life style adopted by the ruling class as well as the inability of the system to provide room for peaceful transfer of power through the electoral process, culminated in the military coup of 31 December, 1983.

A Another reason that causes the fall of the republic is to be seen in political perspectives. The politics of 1979 to 1983 could be best described as one of persistent confrontation interspersed by spasms of conciliation. Under this three levels of confrontation could be seen:-

- i) confrontation between the various chief executives and their own party hierachies,
- ii) confrontation between the governing and non-governing parties in the states, and
- iii) confrontation between all other parties combined together

in order to oppose the President and his Party officials which voiced itself out in various theatres including the states and national houses of Assemblies, the Press, the media houses especially in the areas where the Party in power did not have absolute majority in the legislature, as the case was in Kaduna, and the national Assembly and also in the state where the Governors were at logger-heads with their Party leaders as in Kano, Kwara, Baro, Gomola, Cross River, Rivers and Kaduna States.

The confrontations started from early July when FEDECO announced the victory of NPN in the senatorial election which call on their attention that NPN could be the overall winner of the forthcoming gubernatorial and presidential elections. The Great Nigeria Peoples Party, GNPP, first reacted by mobilising the UPN, NPP, PRP, and his GNPP into a formidable "stop to NPN" coalition. This coalition suffered defeat by Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the NPN.

When FEDECO announced again the victory of Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the NPN as the winner in the presidential election, the UPN leader addressed a press conference on behalf of his party, the NPP and GNPP challenging the verdict; Arguing that no presidential candidate had met the requirement of the electoral decree. Chief Awolowo signalled the Federal Military Government to arrange for an electoral college to determine who will be the president in Nigeria. Throughout his term of office, bitter

opposition from the GNPP, UPN, PRP, NPP to his regime and Party was more rule than the exception. Also president Shagari encountered other forms of confrontation such as antagonism and resentment arising from the ethnic support bases of his opponents, opposed to the federal housing programme and even destruction of houses at Ibadan by the Oyo state government. Power struggle between state governors and state commissioners of Police Force and state controlled State Executives under Governor Balarabe Musa which led to his impeachment and removal as governor, clashes between the senate with NPN President and the Federal House of Representatives with an NPP Speaker, especially after the breakdown of the NPN/NPP accord, partisan acrimony and volatile discord on the electoral act pertaining to the 1983 election. Outside the realm of government, it should be noted that from 1981 to 1983 12 out of 19 states governors formalized an association which was openly hostile to the National Party of Nigeria.

The economic condition under the presidency of Alhaji Shehu Shagari as was the case above in the political reasons of the end of the NPN which I mainly discussed briefly on the political disputes that stand as the grass root to the end of the second republic. Also here I intend to look at the economy of the second Republic, most especially how it was managed. After Shagari came into office, the organisation of Oil and Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) again hiked oil prices. Nigeria opportunities appear unlimited. The country became the world's ninth largest oil producer and the leading supplier of crude oil

to the United States thereby Nigeria almost surpassed Japan as America's largest creditors. Two years later, earning from oil which account for over 90 percent of total revenue slumped from 22.4 billion to 9.6 billion US Dollars. Indeed world wide recession, increased conservation measures in the western countries and decisive entry into western market by the OPEC nations resulted in an oil glut which had a devastating effects on the Nigerian economy. For two weeks in February 1983 for instance, Nigeria could not sell even one drop of crude oil. The National Development Plan predicted on sale of 2.1 billion barrels of crude oil per day, the 1981 price 40 Dollars a barrel suddenly found itself strapped with 1.3 million barrels per day at 30 dollars a barrel in 1983 and along with a rapidly mounting short term debts. The Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria gave a gloomy report as follow in 1981 oil production slumped from a peak of 2,56 million barrels (mb/d) per day to 1.44 (mb/d) to 1.2 million B/d in 1982 and further to 1.1 Mb/d in the first half of 1983. In effect exporting earning fell from 14.1 billion Nigerian Naira in 1980 to N10.9 billion and later N10.00 in 1982 whereas revenue from oil fell from 12.4 billion Naira in 1980 to roughly 8.6 billion Naira in 1982. External debts rose from 1.1 billion in 1980 to 5.3 billion Naira in 1982 then 7.7 billion in 1983, and the debts service ration in the same year shot up from 1.1 to 9.1 and 30.1. Thus economic catastrophe devastated the Shagari Administration, and by extension, the entire democratic effort. It also gave a fill

into the Soldiers who terminated the presidential system of the government on 31 December 1983 claiming that they could not stand idly by while seeing Nigeria degenerated into a beggar and a debtor nation.

A. The coup of December 1983 was not the result of ambition of the Soldiers but the decay of the country under the four and a quarter year of civil rule.

B. The component of this decay were staggering corruption, crippling economic waste and the vitiating of the electoral process through violence and the exposition of the fantastic corruption in 1983 alone which include the acceptance of large bribes by legislature deliberating on the renewal of a monopoly contract to a Swiss firm; the alleged mysterious exhaustion by June of 2.5 billion Dollars annual allocation for import licences, a press report from London of fraudulent import-export transactions exceeding 6.0 billion dollars and the arrest of several top officials in Abuja over an alleged 20 million dollars fraud in its accounts. The disappearance of millions of Naira worth of building materials from the ware houses of Nigeria National Supply Company, the rumoured apprehension at Customs in London of a Nigerian Governor trying to smuggle several millions of Naira cash into Britain. The most disastrous of it was the report by a Federal Minister that Nigeria was losing 50 million Naira a month to ghost workers and other forms of payroll fraud. Mysterious fire razed important public buildings that had become enmeshed in scandal, including

the headquarters of the Nigerian Telecommunications in Lagos under Ibrahim Tahir of Bauchi State, the Ministry of External Affairs, the Development Authority in Abuja, all these symbolized the rapaciousness of the ruling elit. As a result of this mysterious scandals, bribery, corruption and indiscipline in the Federation. The Brigadier Sani Abacha spoke out a bright Saturday morning and new Year Eve at that time Brigadier Sani Abacha in the radio broadcast that raised the hope of teaming population of Nigeria who lived four years despair turpitude of the second republic read on, "fellow countrymen and women, I, Brigadier Sani Abacha of the Nigerian Army address you this morning on behalf of the Nigerian Armed Forces.

You are all living witnesses to the great economic predicament and uncertainty which inept and corrupt leadership has imposed on our beloved nation for the past four years. I am I am referring to harsh intolerable conditions under which we are now living. Our economy has been helpless by mismanaged, we have become a debtor and begger nation. That is inadequacy of food at reasonable prices for our people who now fed with endless announcement of importation of food stuff. Health services are in shambles as hospital are reduced to mere consulting clinic without drugs water and equipment. Our educational system is deteriorating at an alarming rate. Unemployment figures including the graduates have reached embarassing and unacceptable proportions. In some states workers are owed salary arrears of 8-12 months in others there are

threats of salary cuts. Yet our leaders level in squandering and corruption, indiscipline continues to proliferate public appointment in complete disregard of our stark economic realities. After due consultation over these deplorable condition, I and my colleagues in the Armed Forces have in the discharge of our national role as the promoter and protectives of our national interest decided to effect a change on the leadership of the government of the federal republic of Nigeria to form a federal military government. This task has just been completed. The federal military government thereby decrees the suspension of the provisions of the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria 1979 relating to all elective and appointed offices, representatives and institutions including the office of the president, president of the senate, state governors, federal and state executives councils, special advisers, special assistants, the establishment of the national assembly and house of assembly including the formation of political parties. Accordingly, Alhaji Shehu Shagari ceased forthwith to be the president and commander in chief of the armed forces of Nigeria. All the incumbents of the above named offices shall, if they have not already done so, vacate their official residences and surrender all government property in their possession and report to the nearest Police Station in their constituencies within 7 days. The clerk of the national assembly, the president of the senate and the speaker of the house of representatives shall within 2 weeks render account of all property in their possession. All political parties are

banned, the bank account of FEDECO and all the political parties are frozen with immediate effect. All foreigners living throughout the country are assured of their safety and will be adequately protected. Hence forth, workers not on essential duties are advised to keep off the streets. All categories of workers on essential duties will however report to their places of work immediately with effect from today a dusk to dawn curfew will be imposed from 7pm to 6am each day till further notice. All flights have been suspended forthwith and Airports, seaports and borders posts closed. External communication have been put, the Customs and Excise, Immigration and the Police will maintain vigilance and ensure at the boarders, Their Area Administrators or Commanders will have themselves to blame if any wanted people escape. Fellow country men and women, the change in government has been a bloodless and pains taking operation and we do not want any one to lose his or her life. People are warned in their own interest to be law abiding and give the federal military government maximum cooperation. Any one caught in disturbing public order will be summarily dealt with for avoidance of doubt, you are warned that we shall not hesitate to declare martial law in any area or state of the federation with disturbances occur. Fellow country men and women and comrades at arms, I will like to assure you that the armed forces of Nigeria is ready to lay down its life for our dear nation, but not for the present irresponsible leadership of the past civilian administration.

You are to await for further announcement, good morning."

This brought the end of National Party of Nigeria, under the political leadership of Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari.

FOOT NOTES

1. Balarabe Musa: Alhaji: Factors responsible for the conflict between the executive and legislative in Kaduna State: Written November 10, 1980.
- Chuba Okadigbo: Power and leadership in Nigeria, Quoted Edwin Madugu "The political economy of state robbery" Forth Dimension, publishers: Ltd 64A Layout New Heaven Enugu 1986.
- Edoh Tony and Mohammed Sadiq: Nigeria a Republic in ruin, printed by Gaskiya Co-op. Ltd Zaria first published 1986.
2. "Fall of Second Republic, a historical perspective" Sunday Triumph, April 29, 1984, Sunday Triumph, May 6, 1984.
5. J.Y. Magaji "The success and failures of the Presidential System of Government in Nigeria: A case study of 1979-83 Administration: August 11, 1988
6. "Fall of the Second Republic: Shagari last days." Newswatch May 27, 1985.
7. Sani Abacha Brigadier: Corruption inept government kicked out 1984 Time International Daily Publications.

CHAPTER FIVE5.1 OBSERVATION

Nigeria has spent 23 years of its independence in search of authentic and effective leadership. It is clear to anybody with even the flimsiest idea of Nigerian history and the price the country and its people have paid for the experiment has been quite enormous. One has only to remember the military coups of January 15, 1966, July 29, 1966, the civil war 1967 to 1970, the July 29, 1975 coup, the February 13, 1976 abortive coup and the December 31, 1983 coup.

Whenever each regime begins, Nigerians go wild with a usually and routinely short lived euphoric period of ecstasy heralding the new messiahs. Here in Nigeria, we tried British type of parliamentary system, prolonged military regimes running up to 13 years, and most recent American style of presidential system.

The 1979 Democratic government in Nigeria under the National Party of Nigeria headed by Alhaji Shehu Shagari as the first Executive President has fallen within the leadership trouble in its political execution which does not give any lasting satisfaction. The fundamental issue associated to the 1979 to 83 democracy which was, I suppose, it was unquestionably true that 1979 was a graft from the British system of government which professor Rustow defined as a "method which forces government to seek and then to reflect the active majority will, rather than passive consent of the

governed." Virtually all political system claim the consent of the governed. But some count on raising the cost of dissent to such a high level by repressions or other sanctions such as military government that consent consist merely in submission.

Democracy lower the cost of dissent to the minimum and creates lawful procedures for the active and explicit registering of consent, so that the opposition will always know that its views and interests can be heard and can be given effect with the given effect within the constitution if it is to achieve majority status.

The National Party of Nigeria under the 1979-83 political leadership under the shirt of democracy in Nigeria could be seen as ensuring freedom, but freedom must be rooted in and grow on self discipline, self restrain, respect, reciprocal, tolerance lastly. A lot of the other failing of the system stem from these low political culture whether it is corruption, abuse of office, mismanagement or magalamania, it is easy to trace their roots to lack of self discipline, lack of self civic sympathy, lack of social responsibility from the highest office to the lowest freedom instead was mistaken for licentiousness of course the discipline and inemperance of political leadership was translated, amplified and transmitted through the whole fabric of elite Nigeria, taking kick backs by ministers, borders was perforated with bribery, Contractors over-invoiced, hoarding by business people, buccaneers raided ships in high seas, property sharks, speculators of land manipulated politicians

into leasing them huge chunks of peasants land in brazen abuse of the later. Therefore the government of National Party of Nigeria could be seen as a great failure which was deliberated, from the emergenc of the Party up to the development, then to the execution of its government! Because National Party of Nigeria was an up shoot of the constituent Assembly members, the Committee that was set up to look into the new Constitution of this country were the same people that break and compose themselves to the National Party of Nigeria, in order to practice what they have designed. These are the same people who ruin the political, economic and social execution of this country in 1979 - 83 national politics.

5.2 SUGGESTION

My research on the political parties development and Nigeria politics with reference to the National Party of Nigeria, NPN, led me inevitably to certain recommendations on the 1979 democracy, with regard to the failing attitudes towards democratic expression of political will, and the 1979 general election, to recommend some ways to alleviate election problems in the future politics.

On the democracy with regard to the failing attitudes towards democratic expression which had been rampant in the 1979 politics. In order to control deep seated situation failing in the public attitudes it became increasingly necessary to make the security forces of the country an integral part of the electoral processes. This led to a "no win situation" in

in which the loser's cried out that the Police and security Organisation were aiding the winners while the winners complained that they would prefer to do without forces in order to illustrate the completeness of their mandate, but that the threat of disorder from their opponents has made this impossible. It will be naive to think that a reduction in the role of the Security Forces in policing elections would have led to less violence. The experience of the recently concluded election shows that when those who are determined to reject result by violence means put their minds to it. It is almost impossible for the security forces to prevent them from doing so for the immediate future security as the part of electoral processes will remain in the hands of the Police and to some extent the Army.

On the other hand, certain recommendation is to the election. The survey of the 1979 election leads inevitably to certain recommendation. The following five recommendations are leveled to the election of the future:

1. I recommend that national standard be established for the organising and administering of the elections. National, State and local. Among guidelines that should be adopted are those providing:

(A) a voter registration process that ensures that the eligible voter can be registered within a reasonable time before the election with a minimum inconvenience to himself,

(B) the use of ballot papers which provides for complete secrecy, and facilitate a fair, prompt and accurate count of the vote,

(C) opportunity for all political parties and candidates to seek office and campaign freely and

(D) full access to the entire process by observers.

2. I also recommend that an adhoc national commission on election practices be established with Authority to investigate the conduct of all elections, National, State and local levels, and to make reports and suggestions to the national Assembly such a commission should be composed of members from all political parties and geographical areas of the country. As well as from the general public. It is my view that such a Commission could serve as a national "ombudsman" to monitor the conduct of election and protect the public interest in free and fair election.

3. I also want to recommend that all laws and regulations which restrict the formation or activities of political parties be repealed, so as to permit freedom of political activities for all parties.

4. Also, I suggest that procedures be established for the fair and equitable re-apportionment and re-distributing of seats in legislative bodies, states and national, on the principles of one person one vote.

These suggestions, I suppose, would serve as probable solution to the election procedures in the future political development in Nigeria.

CONCLUSION

The 1979-83 election must be judged a successful exercise in political democracy they marked the end of military rule, and

help to usher in civilian rule. That the transition from military to civil rule could be effectuated in a peaceful and orderly fashion in a remarkable testimony to the great accomplishment of the military leadership and must have been seen throughout the world as evidence of the political maturity of the country. The elections were also the occasion for a significant amount of participation in the political affairs of the country by the large number of citizens who exercised their suffrage after 13 years of acquiescence in military dictatorship. Their participation may be viewed both as granting legitimacy to the new constitution and finishing a mandate to the newly elected officials mainly from National Party of Nigeria.

To view the 1979-83 election results following the success of the National Party of Nigeria optimistically was not to overlook the perplexing issues which confronted the country in the immediate future. Among those issues closely related to the election process are:

1. The future of political party system.
2. The impact of the constitutional system upon the electoral system and politics.
3. Implementation of the representatives, principle of one person, one vote.
4. The prospect for the proper conduct of the financing of election campaign.

The future course in the development of the political party system remains unclear many who have commented on politics have

advocated a particular type of party system, be it a one party of two party or multiparty systems with little appreciation of the manner in which a country history its traditions, its ethnic decision and its constitutional system became controlling variables in the shaping of the system, no individual or group is in the position to decree or even to know with certainty what kind of party system Nigeria will have or should have. The National Party of Nigeria was able to mount a successful nation-wide campaign, but it managed to obtain only a little more than one-third of the total vote cast.

The 1979-83 election outcome cannot be interpreted as an unchallenged victory for the ruling National Party of Nigeria even though the party has achieved a mighty mandate in both federal houses and majority of the states. In fact the election were fought bitterly, and some results challenged tenaciously, every step of the way. However, the eventual success of the NPN was indicative of a desire on the part of a majority of the voters in certain areas of the country to play safe and ensure continued peace in the country. Surprisingly, it was in those very areas that continued criticisms of the National Party of Nigeria has grown more vocal since the election and what this might indicate was that at this stage of the growth of a democratic political machinery in Nigeria there were still too many people willing to talk and too few willing to vote for their conviction. Although the NPN was returned in Niger state in the 1983 election at the executive and legislative level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abacha Sani, Brigadier: Time International Daily Times Magazine
Publication: Corruption, Inept Government Kicked Out 1984
P. 3-4.
- "Balance Sheet of 1979-83 Politics", Sunday Triumph May 6, 1985 P.8
- Bolaji A.N: Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria (Amendment
Decree) 1979. Also See Nigerian Constitutional
Amendment Decree No. 104 of 1979.
- Durdly Billy: Introduction to Nigerian government and politics,
Macmillian Publishers Ltd First Ed. 1987.
- Idiagbon Tunde, Brigadier: Movement of the truth: Time International
Daily Times Magazine Publication 1504 P36
- Madugu Edwin: Nigeria, the Economy and the People, London New
Beacon Book 1984 P. 10.
- Mohammed Saddique and Edoh Tony: Nigeria, a Republic in ruin
Printed by Gaskiya Corp. Ltd, Zaria: first
published 1986, p.23.
- Musa Balarebe Alhaji : Factors responsible for the conflict
between the executive and legislative in
Kaduna state, written 10 Nov. 1980.
- Okadigbo Chuba: Power and leadership in Nigeria Quoted Edwin
Madugu "the political economy of state robbery"
fourth Dimension Publ. Co. Ltd 64A Layout New
Heaven Enugu 1986 p. 93.
- ibid: Quoted Ekwe Ekwe "Financial Recklessness of the second Rep.
P. 93.