

**POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA; A FOCUS ON
NIGERIA**

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Abstract

This article tries to exray and attempt to evaluate the viability of present democracy as an indicator of good government in Nigeria and indeed Africa at large. The study showcase how Nigerian political life has been on the way to self-actualization as man realizes himself in history as nature plan for him is unraveled. This work bring is to light the struggle of Africa to attain a stable democracy, qualitative methodology is used in this work for the purpose of this work, the elect theory was adopted as the theoretical framework. At the end of this work, there was a number of recommendations based on the study findings, which include that there should be a new generation of leaders in Nigeria who would oversee the mantle of leadership in Nigeria.

Introduction

Africa in the last decades has been in the struggle for democratization due to lack of transparency and corruption in governance. Where democracy exists, leaders keep manipulating the constitution as well as election results in other to keep them in power for life. Head of states like Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Rober Mugabe of Zimbabwe and others are classical examples of head of States who manipulated the constitution to keep them in power.

Africa though has made little political progress in the last few years but she has notoriously emerged as where nothing works. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon is that our actions as a nation are not anchored on a sold direct consequence of the failure to work out a sustainable political ideology.

The political parties usually are formed along ethnic, cultural, geo-political and religious lines. This has not helped the democratization process since it encourages ethnicity amongst other things. In everyday activities of government, one notices the festering of primordial loyalties such as ethnic sensibility and overt projection of other selfish political tendencies. The political class has always remained benefit of visible political ideology in which the continents political future could be anchored. Thus bankruptcy in ideology and vision has reduced political parties to a bread and butter game where motivation of the political process is the bedrock of loyalty and support. This information of political parties since independence in Nigeria, had failed as instruments in the sustenance of democracy and democratic governance.

Nigeria democratization process started with her independence on 1st October 1960 when she adopted the parliamentary system of government of Britain, her colonial master. Three ethnic based parties,

the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), which was majorly dominated by the Igbos. The Northern People Congress (NPC) a Hausa/Fulani Political Party ushered Nigeria into independent. Sir Tafawa Balewa was the prime minister while Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was the ceremonial president Nigeria in her second republic adopted the American type of government “presidential system of government”. By the then military head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo who handed over the matter of leadership to the first executive president. Alhaji Shehu Usaman aliu Shagari and Dr. Alex Ekwueme as the vice. After the untimely death of the second republic which witnessed yet another military Coup headed by General Mohamadu Buhari, the military ruled from 1983 to 1999 when General Olusegun Obasanjo came to power as a civilian president.

The African experience in a democratic system of government. Since independence in 60’s and 70’s reveals a core paradox that can be said to be dominant characteristic of democracy and politics in Africa. Insatiable thirst for power, wealth and influence for personal reasons has become the order of the day, rather than a means of consolidating political and economic independence of promoting societal welfare, laying the fundamental for national security, socio-economic and technological transformation.

Political Parties and Democratization Process

Political parties like any concept in political science have no clear cut definition. This is because many political science scholars give meaning to political parties from their own perspective and understanding of the relevance of political parties to a given polity. A political party is an organized group of individual seeking to seize the power of government in order to enjoy the benefits to be derived from such control. Political parties are regular and permanent organization of a certain number of people concerned with either conquering power or keep it. Or any group of people however loosely organized seeking to elect government office holder under a given label.

In the words of W.E.F. Ward, “a political party is a group with common views on certain political means. He insists that the day to day concern to politics is fundamentally with means not ends’ this is basically so because there is no disagreement as to desirability of people, prosperity and justice but man tends to disagree on the means of attaining these goals. In essence those who share a common view on how to attain these goals come at their level with a view to resting state power to create a society in tune with their vision. A point worthy of note is that personal loyalties are in themselves inadequate in forming political parties. Political parties acquire their meaning in terms of the purpose of which they are formed; the character of membership; its structure and/or functions they perform. “In this treatise, ‘reflection of revolution in France, the English political scientist, Edmund Burke summarized that a party is a group of men who had agreed upon a principle by which the natural interest might be served. Political parties are those organizations of under whose auspices people aspire to and acquire political power in a system. This organization serves for the aggregation of interests of the various groups and strives to embrace all society. Based on the foregoing we can identify some basic criteria of a political **party as follows:**

1. There must be a group of people sharing the same view on means to achieve an end.
2. The aim of this group must be to control the apparatus of the state for purpose of achieving goals.
3. That such group must be identifiable to the people and by the people
4. Parties may be loosely organized but with a clear mission of acquisition of power.

Origin of Political Parties

Political systems are often affected by unique historical circumstances and so are political parties. For us to fully grasp the principles of political parties we should look at the ancient Greek city states. In Greek city states, the people appreciated the fact that whereas democracy as a form of government involves their entire people, there was no way the whole people could be involved at the same time in running the state craft. The best solution to approach this problem was therefore a representative. To do this, the people formed themselves into groups according to their view on how best the state provided the platform of modern political parties.

Rodes et al (1983), note that the historical note o the party is hinged upon the struggle of the legislature, especially in Europe, to limit the powers of the monarchy and expand the electoral base of the people in recognition of their interest. But is worthy to not that every nation has a peculiar history of party tradition. For instance, the constitutional struggle between the monarchy and parliament, especially in 17th and 18th century England and the indigenous political experience of the colonialist was said to be the origin of political parties in the United State of America. In Africa, the origin of political parties can be located within the period of nationalist struggle for independence. For instance political parties began in Nigeria with the introduction of the elective principle under the Clifford constitutions of 1922. Thus, with the instruction of the elective principle, in 1922, Herbert MacAulay founded the Nigerian national Democratic Party which contest the 1922 general election and won three sits allocated to Lagos. Other political parities like action group (AG), the Northern people congress (NPC), and the national convention for Nigerian citizens and others were born at the dawn of elective principles of the Clifford constitution.

Functions of Political Parties

Political parties can be seen as both the expression and management of conflict with a political system. Political parties therefore, are to be seen not only as product of their environment but also as instrument or institutions organized to affect the environment. Political parties function as:

1. Political parties perform the major function of mobilization of the electorates to not only vote during elections but also participate in the whole activities of the political process in almost all democratic polity.
2. Political parties help to educate and/or enlighten the people (electorates).

As specialized political structure, parities play deliberate and important role in political socialization. They educate people about the happening in the political system and by this, perform a very fundamental functions.

3. Political parites act as an agent of interest aggregation. They transform a multitude of specific demands into more manageable packages of proposals. Parties select, reduce and combine interest. They act as a filter between society and state, deciding which demands to allow through their net. (Hague et al 1998:131).
4. Political parities serve as means of recruitment and socializing political leaders. Through political parties, new and prospective leaders are identified, recruited and or sponsored into active public life.
5. Political parties serve as a channel of control within a government structure. Through political party activities and internal mechanisms, they control the people and the activities of the government and its structures.

Characteristic of Political Parties

The major characteristics of political parties are:

- 1) Political party must have a leadership structure and succession pattern to avoid internal crisis.
- 2) The party must have an articulation of it programmes of action for the country. This is usually in the form of its manifesto.
- 3) The political party must have registered members and /or supporters
- 4) The party must have a written constitution which spells out the basic rules and regulation for members and stipulating punishment for a breach of the party constitution
- 5) The aims and objectives of the party must be clearly states
- 6) It must show a high desire of resourcefulness in terms of resourcing of funds, identifying talents, nominating credible candidates for elections and ensuring nationals speed.
- 7) It is equally necessary that the party have a clear-cut philosophy or vision for the country. This type of vision and mission represents the party's ideology.

Types of Political Parties

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

- i. Traditional political parties

- ii. Representative political parties
- iii. Mobilizing political parties.

The traditional parties reflect the social and economic control or oligarchical elite. The representative political parties tend to put across the views of its members. The British conservative and labour parties each stated as traditional and mobilizing parties before changing to representative parties. Virtually, all the parties in Western democratic are representative in character.

The mobilizing parties are concerned with the sensitization and conversion of whole polity. Communist parties and third world populist parties' examples. Mobilizing parties are symbolized by one party state such parties are prone to extremism in their outlook. They preach a new whole way of life and in most cases are ready to destroy the existing structure and rebuild it from scratch. Representative and mobilizing parties are mass and highly organized parties centralized and disciplined. They have a dedicated crop of professionals and strive always to enlarge their membership.

There could also be religious parties. In most European countries, the church is actively involved in supporting some political parties. Religious parties are ultra conservative. In Germany, Italy and Holland, the Catholic Church is known to sponsor parties.

The other variants of political are the broker parties or ideological parties. These can be found in America and Britain today. The broker parties are not founded on any ideology in the strict sense of the word, and in most cases aggregate conflicting interest groups.

Theoretical Framework

In formulation, a theoretical framework that will guide this research tends to adopt "Elite Theory" as the guiding principle and analyzing the subject matter "POLITICAL PARTIES AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA". This is because political parties and governance is dominated and decided by the elites. This is why politics is always perceived as the MADNESS OF MANY AND THE GAME OF FEW. The concept of elitism was propounded as counter to the revolutionary theories anchored on social class analysis in Europe in the year of fascism. The classical exponents of the elite theory are two Italians, Wilfred Pareto and Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels a Swiss. According to scholars, every society is ruled by a small group of people who possess the attributes that made it possible for them to ascend to the top. Such people are always the best. The elites therefore consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and stratum of the society.

The elites wherever generally come from the same class of the wealthy and intelligent. Political parties in Nigeria, be it APC, PDP, APGA, or other are controlled by very few individuals in the party that have besieged the available post and positions in the upper hierarchy of the parties. These few influential and powerful individuals who are in minority make all the decision while others follow. They are the elites. As rightly observed by Gaetano Mosca, in his work. "Ruling class (1939) that in all societies two classes of people exist, class that rules and the class that is ruled. The political parties are dominated by the dictates of the elites while the masses being ruled follow without choice.

Robert Michels' theory of the elites as focused on organization, particularly political parties organizations. He enunciated "Iron law of oligarchy" which he described as one of the iron laws of history, form which most democratic modern societies and within those societies, the most advanced parties, have been unable to escape." He asserts that who speaks organization speaks oligarchy. Michels pontificates that imminent oligarchy tendencies exist in every kind of human organization which strives for the attainment of definite ends.

Robert Michels argues that leaders or elites usually take advantage of the fact that the majority of human beings are pathetic, indolent slavish, susceptible. To platter, service in the face of strength and force, are permanently incapable of self government. In case of Nigeria, political leaders take advantages of the harsh economy state of the country where over 70% of the people live below poverty level. The elites make promises prior to his emergence and distribute "peanuts" to the people in order to get mandate and support.

Research Hypotheses

1. Since independence, the dominant political parties have not ensure democratic governance in Nigeria.
2. Since Independence, the dominant political parties have ensured democratic government in Nigeria.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA

Party system began in Nigeria in 1922, when in response to the introduction of “Elective Principles” by the Clifford constitution, the Nigeria National Democratic party was formed by Herbert Samuel Heeles Macaulay. Even though it was the Nigerian National Democratic party so called, its activities centered around Lagos. The people’s union was also found and led by J.K. Randle.

As the nationalist struggle became more intense, other political parties began to emerge. The major ones that existed at that time were the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons renamed National Council of Nigeria citizen (NCNC), Action Group (AG), Northern People’s Congress (NPC, etc.

In most of the civilian dispensation in Nigeria, Political parties were found. The heterogeneous character of the country makes it inevitable for a multi-party system to exist. Each of these parties tends to be dominated by ethnic and primordial loyalties. Even in recent times, the emergence of political parties in Nigerian has been guided by these factors. Political parties in Nigeria do not emerge in a vacuum. They are representations of deep-seated political and ethnic traditions. Change in names symbols are mere cosmetics of the old political order.

Party Organization in Nigeria

The organizational structure of the political party starts from the ward level, through local government and state level to the national level. At the ward level. Party members elect their officers and delegates to present the ward at the local government congress.

Election is conducted by the party at the state level and from the delegates are elected to the national congress. Flow of information and directives follow the same pattern from national level of the ward level.

Party financing

Political Parties in Nigeria are financed from number of sources prominent among which is grants from the government. There are also donations and revenue from registration and sales of party souvenirs. External of foreign financing is unlawful and corporate organization do not publicly identify with parties. However, the commonest sources of fund for political parties in Nigeria are millionaire business men who regard politics as an investment. They have been labeled ‘money bags’ and because of their enormous financial contributions to the party they dictate what happens within the party even in trivial matters.

Political Parties and the Democratization Process

There is no nation in the world that does not strive for the attainment of full democracy. Since the first republic, the democratization process in Nigeria has been at best haphazard. The contradictions of our colonial past and our inability to evolve a workable political system stem from the opportunism and lack of vision of most of the post – colonial political elite. The collapse of the first republic was a direct consequence of the failure to work out a sustainable political philosophy or ideology. The political parties usually are formed along ethno-cultural, geo-political and parochialism, irredentist sentiments, and geo-political exclusionism. Even in our present dispensation, one notices the festering of primordial loyalties such as ethnic sensibility and overt projection of other selfish political tendencies. The political class has always remained benefit of viable political ideology on which the nation’s political future could be anchored. This bankruptcy in ideology and vision has reduced political parties to a bread and butter game, where monetization of the political process is the bedrock of loyalty and support. This erodes the aim of the democratization process.

Democratization is a process of political renewal and the affirmative acceptance of the logic elitism and parochialism. To that extend, political parties in Nigeria must of historical necessity and dialectical imperative represent on articulate and objective expression of the ideological world-outlook and beliefs of

the various groups in it. This has to be so, given the fact that parties bear the stamp and identity of the people. Democratization is basically related the mobilization and concretization of the people.

Parties in the First Republic

No proper study of political parties in Nigerian can be made without looking into the past. As observed by Dyke politics is like a drama with the world as the theatre. It is obvious, that out proper understanding of the correct political parties will depend on how they were formed in the past. But before doing this, it may be necessary to recapitulate the definition of the concept political party.’

In Nigeria, as elsewhere is emergent Africa under British and French rule, nationalist pressures quickened the pace of constitutional advance which in turn stimulate the development of political parties. The rise of nationalist movement in Nigeria, following the advent of colonialism not only generated political consciousness and awareness within the country especially among the educated elites, but also led a demands for independence as well as constitutional changes and the subsequent emergence of political parties within the nation.

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

Nigeria National Democratic Party

On June 24, 1923 Herbert Macaulay and his associate inaugurated the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) the party had the support of non leading nationalist which made it appear national. The objective of the party incised the attainment of municipal status, and self government for Lagos, the prevision of facilities for higher education in Nigeria, the encourage of non- discriminatory, private economic enterprise and the Africanization of the civil serviced. The NNDP being the first party in Nigeria, instead of articulating the general interest of the populace and extending its areas of activity to the rural areas as it incorporate the wish of the entire Nigeria tended to be concerned only with the interest of the privileged class, and at the same time is sphere at influence to a defined petro-geo-geographical entity and trying to profess national unity.

The Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM)

The emergence of the NYM was mainly to challenge the NNDP in Lagos politically. The movement nonetheless, was led by self conscious ethno social elites of Yoruba speaking heritage prominently sphere of Lagos society. Most members of the movement were stern educated Christians. The aim of the party was the development of a untied nation out of the conglomerate of people who inhabit Nigeria. It shall be our Endeavour to encourage the fullest play of such forces as well serious to promote understanding and a sense of common national among the different element in the country, in February 1941, following the resignation of K.A. Abayomi, a former President of the NYM, from the legislative council another struggle or class ensured. This time it was political and centered on leadership succession.

The National Council for Nigerians and Cameron

The factors which gave rise to national council for Nigerian and Cameroon, which later became the national council of Nigerian citizens, were two, the conflict between Nnamid Azikwe and some member of the Nigeria Youth Movement and the post nationalist a wakening nationalist activities during the second world war necessitated the creation of a front of service as a Vanguard for the people on the 26th August 1944. That party organizations met and formed the national council fo Nigerian Citizens, in the stages of the formation of the NCNC, the Nigerian national Democratic Party merged with its while the Nigerian Youth Movement its independence status.

Action Group (AG)

A action group was a transformation of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa (society of the Descendents of Oduduwa). The Egbe was founded by Obafemi Awolowo. The Egbe was formed in 1945 to protect the interest of Yoruba in Nigeria. The initial effort at mobilizing the Yoruba under the Egbe was not successful especially in the Lagos, areas, until the accession of Adeniyi Adela as Oba of Lagos. The Egbe transformed into the Action Group as a solid Yoruba front antagonist to Zik and the entire Igbo group.

Awolowo argued that pan-tribal unity was necessary condition for political advance and declared that the barriers of tribalism within each ethnic unit must be totally destroyed. Nnoli further observed that the ethnic and regional development battle line was drawn. Party competition become inter-ethnic competitive since these relies heavily on their ethnic groups for support. With this ethnicity and disintegration in Nigerian politics becomes well institutionalized. With such institutionalization of ethnic conflict due to party competition for power, the political parties and their affiliated bodies tribal association now behaved as an avenue for the reinforcement and propagation of regional tribal or ethnic interest as well as serving as an agent for disintegration rather than integration. These polarizations in political parties of later time begin to assume more ethnic, sectional or tribal character.

Northern People Congress (NPC)

Like the action group, the Northern people's congress stated as an interest group to protect the political interest of the Northern region. The party is an amalgam of Jamiyya Mutala Arewa Atau (the association of Northern Nigeria today) and Yamiyya or Jama or Arewa (Northern congress). Initially, the Northern people congress operated as a culture organization until 1951 when it was transformed into a political party, following the elimination of some radical element, unlike the AG and NCNC, the NPC could be said to be a parliamentary party.

The NPC leader, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sarachuna of Sokoto was the primer of the north until his death. Between 1954 and 1960 the NPC has intensified its hold in the North and reminded the dominant and permanent coalition partner of the leader, Ahmadu Bellow to remain premier of the North.

Parties in Second Republic

The proceedings of the first republic were brought to an abrupt end when the military intervened in the politics of Nigeria on 15th January 1966. After ruling for about thirteen years they decided to hand over baton of leadership to necessary conditions for a return to democratic rule was the existence of completion party system steps were therefore taken to allow political parties to emerge.

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

The guidelines are expected to ensure that political parties promote national unity and create a favourable climate for electoral competition. Also it stipulated the guidelines for formation of political parties as follows.

- 1) The names and addresses of party officers must be registered with Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO).
- 2) Party membership must be open to every Nigerian regardless of his place of origin, religion, ethnic groups or sex.
- 3) It name, emble or motto must not even create the impression that it activities are confined to a part (rather than the whole Nigeria).
- 4) The headquarters must be situated in the Federal capital.
- 5) It must have established branch offices in at least two third

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

A Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN)

In launching the unity party of Nigeria (UPN) on the 22nd September 1978, Chief Obafemi Awolowo said that “the glorious dawn had arrived”. Apparently, he was referring to statement due made when he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in September 1963 for the role he played in the case of treasonable felony and conspiracy. After the trial, chief Awolowo predicted that, after the darkness-prison, “a glorious dawn would come”. This means that he will come out of the prison and perhaps become the leader of Nigeria. A probe at the party’s programme for the education, full employment of all Nigeria’s integrated rural development and free medical for all Nigeria. This shows that it was a breakdown and freedom of all. Attainment of socialism was the main goals of the party, but socialism here means freedom of all ramifications, this type of programme was glance not only towards winning majority role type at any election but also arousing a consciousness and to consolidate their solid support.

The People’s Redemption Party (PRP)

Alhaji Aminu Kano, the person who later because the ladder of the people’s redemption party was actively involved in the formation of the National Party of Nigeria. When the NPN was launched in Lagos in 24th September 1978, he was given the post of publicity secretary. In that meeting, Alhaji aminu Kano and his supporter threatened to withdraw from the over what he described as undemocratic maneuver. In keeping to this threat, Aminu Kano and his supporters later withdraw from the NPN and formed the people’s redemption party. It was launch at the Mutala Mohammed square, Kaduna on 21st October, 1978.

The motto of the party is loyalty, service and discipline. Its emblem is the golden key and victory is its slogan. The aims and objective of the party was contained in the constitution of the PRP.

National Party of Nigeria (NPN)

The NPN was first formed as non-political association known as the National Movement of members of the defunct constituent assembly in Lagos. Early in the proceeding of the constitutional assembly, a committee was formed by some of the members of press for the creation of four states. These **are Enugu, Calabar, Ogoja, kastina and Kogi States. The committee was known** as committee II most members of this committee formed the Nations Movement. The aim of the movement is to bring together leaders from all the nineteen states of the federation that has similar political view when the ban on partisan politics was lifted 1978; the movement was transformed into a political party. The National party was launched in Lagos on the 24th September 1978. At the launching, Alhaji Makana bida was elected the interim chairman, 19 states chairman were also elected.

Parties is the Third Republic

The entire package of the transition to civil rule programme of the third republic was designed by the political bureau, which was set up by defunct armed forces ruling council and inauguration by General Babangida on 13th January 1986. The Bureau submitted its report to the government on the 29th the March 1978. The report of the Bureau formed the basis for the transition to civil rule programme of the third republic. After a comprehensive review of the political parties in the political development of Nigeria and possible options of the party system that could be adopted. The Bureau recommended a two party system for Nigeria was accepted by the Nigeria government. Also before now government has taken a firm decision on the number of political parties to be registered and their mode of production. Not with standing, the government allowed politicians to form their own parties.

On the whole, thirteen political association applied for registration. None of these association according to national electoral commission fully met the requirement of the guideline. They were formed with offences such as functionalism. Disregard of the rules, rigging and falsification, attachment to old lives of cleavages and primordial loyalties, money politics, poor organization and use of practices.

Based on the verification exercise by the national electoral commission, the armed forces ruling councils refused to register any association and went ahead to form and registered two political parties social democratic party (SDP) and the national republic convention (NRC).

National Republican convention (NRC)

The party was largely on amalgamation of three major organizations, the liberal convention, the Nigeria National Congress and the Federalists. In its first presidential primary, the race was dominated by a few prominent Hausa-Fulani Leaders. Adamu Groma, a former minister and former governor of the central bank was its leading candidate; he collected about 270,000 votes. Umaru Shinkafi, came in second with about 250,000. The party was under the leadership of Tom Ikimi, an architect from Edo State.

The National Republican convention was a Nigerian political party established by the government of General Ibrahim Babangida and ultimately disbanded by the incoming military regime of General Sani Abachia in 1993.

Social Democratic Party (SDP)

The social democratic party of Nigeria, popularly known as SDP, was a political party created to encompass the ideals of a center left political organization. It was one of the products of a democracy project by former president Ibrahim Babangida to have two detribalized political parties, one a little to the left and one for the right. However, it was seen as a moderate party with a flavor of young radical intellectuals and socialists. In its manifesto, it called for concerted efforts to improve the people's welfare and fight for social justice.

This party was banned by the Abacha Administration. However, after the ban on old SDP as part of democratic process of Major General Ibrahim Babangida. A new merger party emerged in the name of SDP was formed by coalition of 13 political party. The revived party contested for various political posts in the 2015 Nigeria general elections.

Major: Among numerous political parties in the republic, the major one are single out and treated.

Parties in the fourth Republic

The fourth republic is the republican government of Nigeria since 1999 it has governed the country according to the fourth republican constitution.

Following the death of military dictator and defector ruler of Nigeria, General Sani Abacha in 1998, his successor General Abdu Salami Abukakar initiated the transition which heralded Nigerian's return to democratic rule in 1999. The ban on political activities was lifted, and political prisoners were released from detention facilities, political parties were also formed and electives were set for April 1999.

All Progressive Congress (APC)

The party was formed in February 2013, the party is the result of an alliance of Nigeria's three biggest opposition parties – the Action Congress of Nigeria (CAN), the Congress of Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria People Party (ANPP) and a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) merged to take on the people's Democratic Party.

The party received approval from the nations electoral umpire independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) on 31 July 2013 to become a political party and subsequently withdraw the operating licenses of the three predecessor parties (The CAN, CPC and ANPP).

The party contested in the 2015 elections and the APC candidate Muhammadu Buhari, won the presidential election by almost 2.6 million votes incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan conceded defeat on 31 March. This was the first time in Nigeria's political history that an opposition party unseated a governing party in a general election and one in which power will transfer peacefully from one party to another. In addition, the APC won the majority of seats in the senate and the house of representative in the 2015 elections, though it fell shy of winning a super-majority to override the ability of the opposition people's democratic party to block legislation.

All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA)

The all Progressives grand Alliance (APGA) is a political party in Nigeria. At the last legislative elections, 12 April 2003, the party won 14.% of popular votes and 2 of 360 seats in the house of representatives of

Nigeria and no seats in the senate. Its candidate at the presidential elections of 19 April 2003, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu won 3.3% of the vote.

The gubernatorial election of April 2011, Chief Rochas Okorocha (APGA), was election governor of Imo State, by polling 15% more than incumbent governor Ikedi Ohakim (PDP) making the party present in two states with Anambra State as the party's first presence.

In February 2013, a faction of the party merged with the Action Congress of Nigeria, the All Nigeria People's Party and the Congress for progressive change to form All Progressives Congress.

People's Democratic Party (PDP)

The people's Democratic Party is a major contemporary political party in Nigeria. Its policies generally lie towards the centre-right of the political spectrum. It won every presidential election between 1999 and 2011, and was until the 2015 elections, the governing party in the fourth republic although in some cases, amid a few controversial electoral circumstances.

The party has a neo liberal stance in its economic policies and maintains a conservative stance on certain social issues, such as same – sex relations.

In the 2015 elections, the incumbent president and PDP presidential dominance, Good luck Jonathan was defeated by General Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressive Congress

APC GOVERNMENT

President Buhari, in his inaugural speech, on May, 29 2016, left no one in doubt that the change Nigerians long yearned for has finally come, apart from declaring that his administration shall focus on issues of national security, the economy (with unemployment at the fore) as well as the eradication of corruption as its cardinal points, president Buhari released a momentous catch phrase – “I belong to everyone and I belong to nobody” which not only dominated newspaper headlines locally and intentionally, but also kept analysis guessing what the statement represents of Buhari's second coming to power.

In vibrant democracies, political parties are not seen as mere platform for contesting elections or political appointments, rather their functions should include providing political education for their members, informing members in government offices about public opinion on national issues as well as maintaining a strong ideological – base that would ensure its survival in future elections. None of Nigerian current political parties seem to pass any of the above qualities as close scrutiny reveals persistent intra- party squabble lack of focus, deviation from manifestoes and loss of credibility among Nigerians.

The Buhari administration is replete with instance of broken promises for example, they claim that president Muhammadu Buhari had promised during his campaign that he will openly declare his assets and ensure that all his appointees do the same as soon as he assumes office, Rather than keep to his simplest of promises Buhari, through his aides chose to embark on a flurry of denials, not only form this promise, but for many other campaign promises. The presidency through the presidential spokesman had reportedly said the promise to asset declaration was not made by Buhari but his political party.

At the legislation house, federal, state and local government level, there is extreme indiscipline of elected party officials. At the executive level, there is no clear direction being pursued, that indicates a fulfillment or ever existence of party manifestoes. For a lot of Nigerians it does not appear that there is benchmark of party manifestoes to which elected representative can be held to account.

Situations that could be considered embarrassing exist at the vocational assembly where the APC enjoys overwhelming majority, yet they were engage in a daily war of who was to be made speaker of House of Representatives and who was to be made speaker of house of senate. In the senate and house of representative, the APC controls almost two-third of the seats yet the relationship among members in the legislative on one hand and between the legislative among members in the legislative on one hand and between the legislative on the other hand has been less than cordial. The same cannot be said of the supposed main opposition party. The people Democratic Party (PDP) who though would have served as a check on APC, appear disintegrated with most of their members jumping into the APC bandwagon.

Oligarchial and Monarchial Tendencies of APC

Organization is necessary if any party has to succeed in gaining and maintain support for its policies. Increasing powers, however, lies in the hand of the party officials. In 1911, Robert Mitchell, in his political party, stated that is is organization which gives birth to the domination of the elected over the electors. Every group as he said is run by few energetic and ambitious men, while the rest just respondent to their wishes. The small active membership is comprised of “Oligarchy of the faithful” who attends meeting, hold offices and choose candidates.

Monarchy on the other hand is a state ruled by individual who has a position at the apex of an aristocratic pyramid of honour and authority is generally inherited through a family connection. Apply the concept of oligarchy to the ruling party APC, it is obvious that the controversial issues over the appointment of ministers raised many questions and caused crack in President Muhammadu Buhari government. The appointment made by president Buhari has not passed without criticisms for not meeting up with the yearnings and aspiration of the people for equity and justice which will ensure unity. Out of about 39 political appointments made by, Buhari, it is alleged that about 34 of them are from the North while only about five came to the centre South thereby raising apprehensions that president Buhari might be acting out a Northern agenda for all

The Buhari administration no doubts inherited an economy suffering from declining capacity utilization, low performance of major infrastructural facilities, large budget deficit, rising unemployment, insecurity, terrorism attach especially in the North, inflation rates, import dependence, reliance on a single commodity (Oil), weak industrial base, low level of agricultural production, weak private sector, high external debt overcharged, inefficient public utilities and how quality of social service.

Buhari also inherited a bloated bureaucracy that was largely corrupt, the intractable Northern crisis, a caution international community with a subsiting plethora of sections, a corrupt and politicalised military and valnche of ethnic interest ready to explode among others.

The legislature and impeachment

The legislature in Nigerian politics is more or less a design to make on autocratic state look like a democracy. The events are left unchecked as the judiciary and legislative lobby for attention. The floor of the house becomes a boxing ring as senators and representatives fight each other for money or materials which comes from the executives.

When the legislature needs attention, they start pressing for impeachment and as soon as they are paid off, the music tone of impeachment changes. In many occasions, leaders of the house have been nominated by the executive and can be fired by executive at will. The legislature has always deceived Nigerian with constant clamour for impeachment and nothing happens at last.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we should understand that form the days of nationalist struggle to post independence era, the practice and procedure of democracy in Nigeria has witnessed one long and often torturous political quagmire. We need not therefore; search or consult as seer to tell us that the general insecurity plaguing the country is a savage indictment of our social and political disorder, and it does not offer any message of hope to the future. Therefore let us concentrate less on the birth of democracy once again, but stat to look inwards, first to develop man, which is the first step to good governance.

Recommendation

In this respect to the study fings and conclusion the study made the following recommendings;

1. The national assembly should initiate a process that would ensure a review of the existing electoral laws so as to meet up with the current and changing times.
2. There is need for a new generation to take over the mantle of leadership in Nigeria. The names we hear in Nigerian politics are still the personalities that had ruled the country in the past. These money bag politicians are responsible for our present dilemma

3. To actually move Nigeria forward, the leaders should be ready to give selfless service as against enriching their pockets; they must show some purposefulness, pragmatism, transparency and God fearing in order to carry the people along.
4. Nigeria needs a conference where every nook and cranny of the country will send the representatives on how we should live. It is very imperative just that the elites are staying away from it.

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