

Inter Party Crisis and The Challenges of Democracy

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Abstract- This work provides an assessment of inter party crises and the challenges of democracy with a focus on the fourth republic. The study posit that the persistent nature of intraparty crisis portent grave danger to democratization process in Nigeria. The study adopts the secondary method of data collection which entails the systematic analysis of secondary data such as textbooks, journals seminar paper, newspaper and magazines etc. The study reveals that indeed intra-party crisis is not a new phenomenon to politics in Nigeria, but noted however, that it has increased significantly in the fourth republic resulting in tension and general instability within the polity through its manifestation in the form of violence, court litigations decamping, Assassinations, etc. It however recommends, the strict adherence by party guidelines and rules plus strict adherence to the rule of laws.

I. INTRODUCTION

In present day consideration, hardly is a political system adjudge democratic without the central placement of political parties in its political process. This centrality emerges from the simple reasons, that political parties are the major vehicles for the expression of an essential features of the democratic process, the contest or struggle for political supremacy constitutes a defining characteristic of parties' politics.

According to Tyoden (1994) political parties are institutional representation of the struggle for power between aggregations of the prevalent political interest in society. They thus provide a forum for active involvement or a country's political process, as well as the articulation of demands by various interest groups in the society. He further asserted that, the quest for the capture and control of power is the basis for the existence of political parties. Thus, the functioning and organization of political parties occupy a very important place in the understanding of political process. In democracy, it is therefore not surprising when Ostrogoski (2006) posited that the internal working and organization of a political party determines and influences to a great extent, the nature and practice of actual governance in any society. In this regards, a political party system without internal democracy cannot midwife a democratic governance.

Although, intra-party crisis in politics has been argued to be parts and parcel of a democratic setting, the degree and extent or persistency of such crisis has equally be noted to constitute serious challenges to democratic governance. The history of Nigeria politics is replete with cases of intra-party conflicts. This scenario played out itself in the first republic when Chief Sammuel Ladoke Akintola, the then Action Group (AG). Deputy leader and primer of the western region dashed with the faction of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, The same scenario was witnessed in the Eastern region between Chief Michael Okpara and Chief Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe. The second republic equally signaled such features.

In the present fourth republic the phenomenon has been on the upsurge with party members going to the extent of seeking court injunctions to stop a parties National Convention (ANPP convention in 2002 for example) (Gambo 2003). Besides, the situation in the fourth republic has displayed remarkable features such as intimidation, Ntigations, violent confrontation and even outright assassination of party members, Maducke (2007: 30). These situation has inadvertently persist and by and large constitute a threat to Nigeria's fledgling democracy.

It is against this background that the research aims to examine the impact of intra-party crisis on Nigeria's democratic government within the fourth republic.

Intra-party conflicts and party politics in Nigeria generally, no doubt, constitutes a worrisome phenomenon to the entrenchment of democratic governance in Nigeria, Abati (2007), Intra-party crisis promotes feuds and wrangling and sustains enduring political crisis on the management and administration of state affairs. Yet virile political parties are very essential on cultivating strong democratic culture and providing quality leadership to a democratic nation of which Nigeria seriously desires.

Intra-party crisis has been implicated or t9ngered in the crisis of governance plays like Oyo, Kwara,

Anambra, Rivers, Kogi, Adamawa, Plateau, Enugu, Ebonyi, Abia to mention but a few. Indeed, nothing has given louder advertisement and worries to the incorrigibility of which political parties (especially the ruling party in Nigeria). In Rivers state for instance, the Supreme Court noted that it was wrong to have purported to exclude Rotimi Amaechi from the Gubernatorial elections when he was the duly elected party candidates for that event. Ahmadu All, one time chairman of the PDP was noted to have boasted that it is he, and not the Adamu Ciroma led electoral panel that is in charge. Before then, he had threatened members of the protesting G-21 faction within the party with expulsion. The absence of internal democracy led frustrated members to go to court to stop the PDP convention in 2003, Okoye (2006).

In this situation amongst others, so many questions comes to mind or the nature of party politics in Nigeria that has led to intra-party crisis. These questions includes:

- 1) What are the causes of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria?
- 2) What is the impact of intra-party conflicts on Nigeria's nascent democracy?
- 3) Can a party without internal democracy midwife a democratic government?
- 4) How/what can be done to promote intra-party democracy and by extension democratic government on Nigeria?

Nigerians ought to be deeply concerned about what is currently going on in party politics in Nigeria. The Nobel Laureate Professor Wole Sayinka once pointed out that the crisis that characterize Nigeria's fourth republic and the continuing putative nature of party politics on Nigeria's post-military season are directly linked to the lack of internal democracy and cohesion within the political parties in the country.

Against this backdrop the following will constitute the objective of study.

- 1) To examine the possible causes of intra-party conflict in Nigerian party politics.
- 2) To establish if there is relationship between intra-party crisis and zero-sum nature of politics in Nigeria.
- 3) To determine the effect of intra-party crisis on democratization process in Nigeria.

- 4) To identify and proffer solutions on ways of tackling intra party crises and by extension party politics/democracy in Nigeria.

Scope of the Study

Iyo (2007) contends that the problem of intra-party crises dates back to the first republic and through other republics to the present fourth republic. However the phenomenon has in the present republic shows some degree of sophistication and dimensions, thereby creating apprehension and doubt about the future of Democratic Party politics in Nigeria. Though, as earlier stated the phenomenon is evidence in Nigeria's political history, the study will be limited to a critical evaluation of the phenomenon in the present fourth republic.

Significance of the Study

Obi (2004) noted that the problem of intra-party crisis reflects all the contradiction in society. Governance and politics in Nigeria indicates the obsession with controlling power and the reluctance to play politics fairly because of the high stakes involved. The feeds into the party system, with centralizing and monopolistic tendencies being the fulcrum of party democracy. And since democracy intimately rest on the aggregation of interest by groups through political party, it becomes apparent that democracy will trotter under the weight of party crisis.

Flowing from the above, the significance of the study begin to emanate, in that it will give insight into now intra-party crisis affects democratic governance, causes of intra-party crisis, and generally the nature and character of intra-party crisis in Nigeria.

It is hoped further that the findings obtained from the work would aid to existing stock of knowledge while at the same showing politicians some direction on how to practice party democracy in Nigeria.

Research Methodology

This research work is essentially analytical and descriptive in nature replying heavily on the usage of secondary data. In this regards, the content analysis research methodology would be adopted. This method entails a critical but systematic analysis of secondary data extracted from sources like textbooks, journals, seminar papers, newspaper and magazines and other relevant documents/data.

Limitations of the Study

There is no endeavor without any constraints. Thus, in the course of the research work, the research was constrained by some factors such as inadequate time and finance.

The problem of finance as usual relates specificity to the daunting economic situation in the country which provides little or no incentive for income generating endeavor. And thus extends to the problem of inadequate time, as the researcher have to contend with the need to combine academic work with economic endeavours. Besides, some domestic responsibility equally exerts

Some pressures and constraints on the researcher in the course & the study.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Literature Review

Whenever they have an opportunity, analyst have often Traverse the subsisting boundary available in social theory in their search for a universal explanation for the common incidence of Conflict among actors in any given contemporary political setting. enon of political conflicts whether at the national or tve{ has over the years generated much academic anxiety.

Yet there seems to be no consensus on one or a given number of Factors, which plunged political actors to conflict and political disagreements. This theoretical inadequacy has therefore left political thinkers to speculate or several possible alternatives for explaining the occurrence of crisis between groups. These explanations (most of which have interdisciplinary basis) have often ranged from such constructs as ethnicity, ideology and economics to more degrading abstracts as religion, fame, national interest, personal interest and frustration — aggression among others.'

The Nigerian political terrain since independence has provided sufficient political forum for us to identify the structure by political organizations, relationship and the conflicts that often arises from such interactions, (Parker, 2000). Ideally, political parties are supposed to be the platform upon which party politics and democracy is supposed to be land.

Amitoses (1999), thus defined political party as an Organization that results and campaigns for candidate seeking election and selection into public office or public political office. Ball (1997) on his part is of the view that political party or parties are organized group whose major objectives is to gain control and exercise state power either solely or inn coalition with other patties.

Ikelegbe, (1995) see political parties as organizations or an organized groups which structure are in hierarchy and leadership and also has a programme which may differ from the others and also this programmes contain set goals, political strategies and methods, this mobilizations of members and also having support or supporter all over. While the major goal is to control the Government machinery solely or in a cooperation with others. He went further to say that political parties seek popular support of the citizen to achieve their goals this is most especially and importantly during elections.

Kousoula, (1975) pointed out that during the nineteenth Century political parties in Western Europe were voluntary Organization designed to provide candidates for political offices and necessary popular support for their elections on the Strength of a general statement of principles and promises. Ranney and Kanda (1956) regarded a political party as an autonomous organization of an organized groups that make nomination and contest elections on the hope of eventually gaining ud exercise control of the personal and policies of government.

Coleman (1982), in his book *Background to Nationalism* stated that political parties are association that competes with other similar association on periodic elections in order to participate in formal government institutions and thereby influence and control the personnel and policies of government.

Rodere et al (1983) noted that a political party may be described in terms of the purpose for which it was organized or formed, the character of its membership its structure or the function it performs. Samuel (1964) considers party from a behavioral view point as a social group engaging in patterned Activity within the social network and matrix when interpreted as a social organization party possesses role playing individuals within an 'identifiable social unit, perceiving and attempting to civic goals. A party

is also a polity or miniature political System with an authority structure, patterns of power distribution a representative process, an electoral and decision-making system.

Ahamba (2000), in his Paper Political Parties as Instrument for the Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria saw political party as In incorporate voluntary association with certain ideas of government or maintaining public policies of government.

Enemuo (1999) stated that in a democracy a political party is a more or less permanent on situations with the goal of aggregating interest, presenting candidates for elections with the purpose of controlling government and representing such interest in government. It is thus a major vehicle for enhancing participation on government". In his own view, Barker (1952) sees a political party as a political construct through which social thought and opinion ran into institution of government and help p to turn the wheel of those institution of government. In this regard, a political party is seen as political intermediaries between the macro politics of political institution and political system.

lampalobara, (1974) sees political party as a formal organization whose self-conscious primary purpose is to place and maintain in public office persons who will control government either alone or in coalition with other political parties. Burkes 1992) sees political parties as groups of men and women united on their joint endeavor and who have agreed upon a principle by which to serve national interest.

Ikelegbe (2005) however, concluded that political parties are the custodian of ideologies and it is always the vehicle through which a nations ideology is propagated.

From the above, we can presently decipher the nature, Structure and reasons for intra-party conflicts. However before we go on, some perspectives on conflicts is imperative. Conflicts has been defined variously. One view by the Oregon State University, sees party conflict as the interactions of independent opinions between party members who perceive incompatible goals (interest, aspiration, position) reaction) and interference from each other in achieving Those goal Conflicts whether in the society between individual Group is the expression of an

incompatibility between different parties Thus, on every conflict there is a conflict realm, which is the social environment in which the conflict resides, defined in both context and process.

Under this perspectives, three types of conflict are identified namely: interpersonal conflicts, in which goal interference are attributable to the nations of other individuals; interpersonal conflicts in which individual have encounters with a nonresponsive` impersonal entity (e.g. a bureaucratic organizations). In such impersonal cases, the individual may experience feelings of powerlessness and frustration.

Corporate conflicts (which include political parties) occurs within and between formal organizations. Corporate conflicts are influenced by the nature of the organization (I this case the political party) and its policies, both formal and informal, concerning change. Here the Oregon scholars identify four issues, which would normally bring people, bodies or states into conflict namely; substantive issues, which are tangible conservable definable and measurable) element parties perceive in a conflict.

By aligning with Wilmot (1991), the Oregon scholars Believes that such substantive issues centers on the questions, what to what decisions to make, where to go, how to allocate resources, or 2ther externally objectionable issues. The second type of issue in a conflict are procedural issues. These are issues in which there are perceived meompatibilities in organizational procedures between the parties. Discussion of procedural issues are generally tangible. There are also relational issues which are intangible subject materials. Relational issues involves each party important to the other, the emotional distance they wish to maintain` the influence each is working to grant the other, the Degree to which the parties are seen as a unit or the right parties decade to one another.

The fourth type of issue is that of identity, in which parties identify personal interest with group interest within the political parties Party within interpersonal relationship, people negotiate social role entities. Identities provides individuals with purpose Meaning and a sense of worth. They can be broad in scope, like nationalism to narrow broad in scope, such as identities with an Individual or even personality type. Typically intangible identify Issue can feature concern about self-seem, acknowledgement

Achievement, reputation and image or “face”, Forge, Poole and Stuntman (1995) under this premise, three major parties (entities, Individual, group, organizations, government who are capable of making decision or indirectly related to the conflict) can be Define namely primary parties, these are major players in the Conflict they perceive that their goals or aspirations are incompatible with one another and interact directly with each other in pursuit of their objectives; secondary parties these have a rested interest in or may be affected directly by the conflict and its Outcome(in this case the Nigerian Society), but for some reason (such as adequate resources, lack of access, perception of inappropriateness), are not directly involved, Secondary parties are Potential coalition members and may become primary parties at Some point peripheral parties, these have or interest in the conflict and outcome but are not affected directly. The media and general Public may be peripheral parties in a conflict Another authority the political cc prevention forum (1997),say that political parties conflicts present when different member;> perceived that their interest are incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or pursue interest through actions that negates party principles or guidelines interest in political influence and how

They should distributed; over power and control and Participation in political decision making are allocated; over identify Concerning the culture social and political communities to which people feel tied over status party members believe they are Treated with respect and dignity and whether their tradition and Social position are respected; and or over values paternally those Embodies in systems of government. Incompatibilities can arise whenever parties perceives change in objectives circumstance a lower standard of living, material capacities and relatives power within o political party hierarchy rumel (2005).

Subjective change can also generate conflict in political parties through for instances newly felt social resentment or a rising new ideology these subjectively feit change could arise whether or not objective change have occurred. The parties’ emotion states and mental outlook influences intra-party conflict time is a factor as well since a conflict subjective content gain important as its object basis is obscured. An individual or group objective circumstances within a political party do not

themselves cause conflict. Conflict only arise out of these condition or changes in them, when party members and hierarchy perceived that some other party threatens such interest; Rubin (2006).

To Pruitt(1986) intra-party conflict arises from perceived divergent of interest or a belief that that the member interest and aspiration cannot be achieved simultaneously, while Rommel (1975) sees party conflict from a realist point of view as a balancing of vector of power of capabilities to produce effects

Distich (1975) say that an intra-party conflict exist whenever incompatible activities occurs an action that is incompatible with another action prevent obstruct interferes injures in compatilities may appear in party relationship as different interest ,which detach (1978) later outline in form of three basic question that must be asked about such conflict namely: (I) what is the cause of intra0-party conflict (ii) does values and interest divergent the cause of party conflict (iii) can it be managed and kept within moderates bounds or will it escape all control and become itself the master of the fate of those involved or it? Duets his attempt to answer these question led to his classification of conflict into three phenomenal aspects namely bitters –end or point survival conflict, fundamental or accidental conflict and manageable or unmanageable conflict. In bitter –end conflict only one of the contending actor is likely to survive at the price of the destruction or practically complete elimination of the other usually on (the form of decamping/cross carpeting). In a join-survival conflict both actor are likely to survive able to quarrel or co-operate in the future (as was the case between Ahmadu Ali and Barnabas Gemmae) both ex-PDP chairman who still remain member of the PDP till date. Duush analysis can be further extended to explain the fundamental perspectives of conflict, in which it is rooted on some basic structure of one or both of the contending parties or accidental (or transitory)- in which it is based on the turtuntion and passing circumstance on which case such may not happen in future. The recent personality faceoff between president olusegun obasajo and vice president Alhaji Abubakar is fundamental. The third aspect of intra-party conflict is on the issue of the manageability or unmanageability of such conflict. Thus, he said party hierarchy will have to carefully study before addressing or imposing sanction.

Deutsch classification as applied to intra-party conflict also whereas with the mathematical approach of Rappaport (1960) classifying conflict simply as fight “Games” and “Debates”. Fight according to Rappaport (1974) are also known as quash-automatic types of conflict. Fight are contacts in which the self-control and mutual control of the actors decline rapidly, where the action of each actors serves as starting point for similar counter action by the other actors. Games (or rational conflict characterized strategy), are conflict which player maintain rational control over their own moves though not necessarily over the outcome of those moves; and debates (or content that permit change of image and motivation) are those in which adversaries are changing each other motives values or cognitive images of reality. Variants of the mathematics game analysis of conflict include the zero-sum game, mixed motive game and the mutual threat game, bounding (1962).

In zero-sum game, the sum of all pay offs all players equal zero so that anything anyone player wins, some game, the player not only wins, something competitively or concessionary from one another, but also collectively stand to gain or lose something from an additional (or secondary) player called the banker in mutual threat neither party wins nor can be said to have lost because each will; serve for each other. No victor no vanquished. All conflict have a sensitive nature of conflagration that resolving requires some sort of special fire-fighting skill which French foreign analysis Jacques de Bourbon-Basset (1959) describe as an internal machine except that nobody understand its mechanism. Once set in motion nobody can stop it the structure of intra-party conflict cannot be exhausted in a simple forum. Often the assumption in many quarter, collar and Hoeffer (1998) is that in plural societies, the tendency is high for intra-party conflict to be fundamentally ethnic. Proponents such as Newell (1969) located ethnic conflict in the form of reactive defensive theory and opines that intra party conflict occurs in modern state where societal resources (wealth, power and prestige) are inequitably distributed among the component group, which makes up the entire state. According to this theory, in a multicultural societies in which particular population state or region the existences of inequality in resources distribution which may be a reflection of natural endowment, can create two dialectically opposed set of ethnic groups: Even an a multi-ethnic society in which populations are

dispersed cone and peripheral groups with a party hierarchy can still emerge when ethnic groups share an occupational niche, but command different interest. In this setting, therefore unless there is a centrally devised adequate mechanism for equitable allocation (as in zoning principles adopted by the PDP), the core group which is the principal possessor of the states existing resources will use its resources advantages to exploit, dominate and even annihilate the peripheral group thereby stimulating the latter into collective actions, such action will lead to the emergence of intra-party conflicts movements aimed at redressing perceived marginalization. Thus, intra-party conflict is in fact a manifestation of dominant class conflicts, which in a way has been used to explain the occurrence of political crisis on the African continents.

Resources competition paradigm on the other hand contends that intraparty conflict based on ethnic mobilization occurs irrespective of the stratification system once culturally diverse groups are brought together under the same economy and polity whereby they compete for the same types of resources and rewards. According to Ogburn (1997), in this competitive arena, boundaries becomes fluid especially when individuals and groups interest is overshadowed by material rewards and patrimonial network. In other words, the theory maintains that intra-party conflict and competition are logical and inevitable outcomes in every multiethnic society- a concept which also provides a framework for analyzing not only internal political conflicts but also the interstate conflict situations in the wider multi-ethnic setting.

Essentially, the resources competition theory ethnics the principle of scarcity in the determination of the groups interest in the course of the interaction with the other opposing group(s). The perception of scarcity according to Holster (1983), as a central ingredient of conflicts, where a move of position by one state in a conflict case is considered a loss or threat by the other party. But recent case is considered a loss or threat by the other party. But recent theoretical evidence Aoroo (1997) shows that conflict especially domestic one are not necessarily ethnic in background but that ethnicity is only a field or expression of some other extraneous (perhaps economic political or religious) ill-feeling against another party to be a given conflict. Providing a scientific explanation to the prevalence of intra-party

conflicts in African, Eladwal and Sambaing (2000) over that contrary to popular belief" the relatively high prevalence of intra-party crisis is not due to ethnic linguistic fragmentation of tis countries but rather to high levels for poverty, failed political institution and economies dependences or natural resources . Pointing to the economic held view that high prevalence of intra party and other form of conflict is attributed to the e6hinic diversity of its country they discountenance the inference on ethnic diversity (which seems self- evidence to many). They argue that the best and fasted strategy to reduce the prevalence of conflict among various political institution is to institute democracy various political institution I to institute de4nmocracy reform in intra party relation.

Theoretical framework

Given the fact that the study is aimed at assessing group relationship as it's a as its affects the political process. The theory if the nature and character of the state would be adopted. This is because in Nigeria intra party crisis could be located in the case of capture state power and defending such power. The implication is that politics (intra party relationship) have become a zero sum game. There the question of party rule and regulation or the consent of the rules has been structure out of the arena of political competition and political organization as the of the might held sway. This was further reinforce by an economic structure in which the state had the central control of providential oil resources. Thus everyone seeks to control state power because the login is the those who controlled the state controlled the oil (wealth and resource), and indeed everything's else

These feature have generally characterized Intra –and even inter party relationship in Nigeria obi (2004). Indicating the obsession with controlling power and reluctance to play p [politics fairly because of the high stakes involved. Worse they subvert the popular will and erode confidences in the democratic process thereby contributing to the descent from the rule of law to rule of might, resulting in political instability.

Closely related to the foregoing is the complete intolerances for opposite party. In this context, all opposite was seen as enemies to be excluded punish or destrory.in this regard government has slipped into dictatorship shape by an obsessions to hold into power at all cost. It also created a network of partreimotion power structure in which loyalty to the

leader was value above all else, and has rewarded within the patrimonial framework erected upon the distribution of the petro-dollars.

The implication of the forgoing is the state foster a types of politic that thrives on the centralization of power by partition network of the power that reproduce themselves by capturing state power, distribution oil largesse to members while excluding non-member as noted elsewhere, such a system offer no real incentive for the rule of law and democracy to thrive within the political parties and the country at large. It is within thus context that intra-party conflict arises especially championed by those whom have been excluded from the political system of value allocation. Thus, making it difficult for a coherent nation ruling class to emerge, and for development ethic to take root within the state.

INTRAPARTY CRISIS AND POLITICAL IN NIGERIA

Evolution of political parties in Nigeria

Party politics have been the bedrock of politics in Nigeria since the colonial periods. Political associations could be traced to the early 1920s when the nationalist movement led by Herbert Macaulay in 1923 formed the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP). As at then, nit ac.t & tne Darty were restricted to Lagos and Calabar bec2.se po4rtcs has yet to develop nationwide.

The party then, contea art non elections into the three seats of legislature council as the franchise extended beyond Lagos to other parts of the country, political parties such as the Nigerian youth movement (NYM), the National Council of Nigerian and Cameroon's (NCNC), which later became the National Council of Nigeria Citizens, the Action Group (AG) and the Northern People's Congress (NPC) were formed and sustained until the collapse of the first republic Anifowose (1999).

The Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM) which was foremed 1934 by the students and graduate of Kings college Lagos — led by Dr J.C Uanghan Davies Ernest Ikoli and Samuel Akinsaniya as it Lawyer it has Dr. Akintola, Dr. KojoAbayonic, Jubril Martians Obafemi Awolowo and revert it should be noted that the cultivities of the Nigeria youth Movement was also restricts to Lagos area became of the limited poUtical awareness and franchise on other parts of the country, Onwubako (1973).The national cound &

Nçena citizens was inaugurated on the 21st of August, 1944 with herbert Macaulay and Sir. Nnamdi Azikwe elected President and Secretary respectively. The Northern People's Congress (N' C) metamorphosed from the Northern sociocultural organization arena. The congress became a political party in 1951, among the learder of the Hausa — Fulani dominated party were the sarduana of Sokoto, Sir. Ahmadu Bello and Sir. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

The Action Group (AG) also metamorphosed from a pan Yoruba soda-cultural organization Omo Oduduwa to become a party in 1947. However, the political parties of this period were so ideologically fluid and parochially oriented that they could not exhibit all the characteristics of an eternally created party.

Moreover, ethnic and religion consideration more heavily with members and in disciple became, the order of the day as each tried hard to project its own agenda at the expense of others, petitions within the parties became a routine within and between the political parties who lost at party primness, while others defected to other parties or formed their own political parties whose objectives were mainly for the provisions of a platform where there selfish political ambition could be achieved, Juclins (2005).

Several other smaller party also emerged during the first republics. This include The Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU), the united middle Belt Congress (UMBC), the Nigerian National democracy Party (NNDP), the United National Independent Party (UNIP) among others. Some of these political parties, later formed the major parties to form alliances, particularly during the 1964 general elections. On that note, alliances such as that between the Northern People's Congress and the Nigeria National Democratic Party led to the emerged of Nigeria National Alliance (NNA).

Similarly, these also emerged the united Programme Grand Alliance (UPGA) an Alliance that comprised the NCNC, AG and the Northern Progressive Front (NPF) which was an amalgam of the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC).

In the second Republic precisely between 1919-1983, the country also experimented a multi -party system. Consequently, the five poetical associations that

fulfilled stipulated condition and requirement for part formation were ragweed as political parties on December 1978 in the then federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO). These were the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Great Nigerian Peoples party (GNPP), Peoples Redemption Party (PRP). National Party of Nigeria however dominated the politics of the second republic. Apart from its control of the federal government in the other states from 1979 till 1983 when the NPN controlled Federal Government was toppled by a military coup led by major General Mohammadu Buhari Anjourse (1999). In the botched third republic (1985-1993), there 'as a change in political activities as the babagida' military administration initiated a transition programme which witnessed the emergence of Iwo government sponsored political parties — The National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

With the collapse of the third Republic and the emergence of Abacha's military regime on November 1993 the nation was returned to a multi-party system. The following party were once again formed and registered — The united Nigeria Congress Party (UNCP), Democratic !lefla (DPtQ, National Centre Party of Nigeria (NCPN) the Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM), Congress for national consensus (CNC), Anifowose (1999).

However, the sudden death of General Sani Abacha in 1998 saw the disbanding of those parties. Thus paved way for another transition programme' midwife by General Abdulsalam Abubakars' regime, which terminated in May 1999 with the successful handing over of power to a civilian democratically elected government. The parties that were registered and whom contested the election into the present Fourth Republic were The People's Democratic Party (PDP). The Alliance for Democracy (AD) and the All Peoples Party (APP) later changed to All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP). These political parties under the tutelage of the Independence National Electoral Commission (INEC) contested the Gubernatorial State Assembly National Assembly and Presidential Elections that ushered in the Fourth Republic.

The People's Democratic Party (PDP) emerges the dominant party in all the elections it controlled majority seats in local councils, states and National Assembly. It also non governorship election in 21 of the 36 states of the federation. Above all the PDP

presidential flag bearer, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo emerged 'victorious and therefore became the president in 1999. However, the AD and APP went into an alliance in order to improve on the electoral performance of then presidential candidate, Chief Olu Falae who ran on the platform of the All Peoples Party. This strategy however failed to improve their electoral fortunes as the PDP flag bearer won the elections. Presently however, the number of the political parties registered by INEC has increased tremendously totaling over 50 political parties. These include the followings: '

Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN); African Democratic Congress (ADC); Alliance for Democracy (AD); All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP); All Progression Grand Alliance (APGA); Democratic Alternative (DA); Democratic People's Party (DPP); National Democratic Party (NDP); New Democrats (ND); Peoples Democratic Party (PDP); Peoples Redemption Party (PRP); Peoples Salvation Party (PSP); United Nigeria Peoples Party (UNPP); Fresh Democratic Party (FDP); Communist Party of Nigeria (CPN); Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA); Peoples Progressive Party (PPP); Masses Movement of Nigeria (MMN); National Conscience Party (NCP); Democratic Socialist Movement (DSM); African Renaissance Party (ARP) plus many others. Having comprehensively analyzed the evolution of political parties in Nigeria it is important to equally analyze the nature of party relationship over the years.

Overview of Party Crisis in Nigerian Politics

Political parties as already pointed out are vehicles through which political parties propagate their ideologies. However, they are not without their problems. In this research parties or intra-party crisis can be traced to the early years of Nigeria independent. At independence, Nigeria found themselves as strange bed fellows who are made up of different ethnic nationalities. This situation brought a kind of ill feelings among the different ethnic groups, this resulted in the struggle for political power another to avoid oppression from the more powerful groups.

Consequently, political parties representing different ideologies and sometimes ethnic based were used as platforms to acquire democratic leadership, some of the political parties that existed at independence include: The Action Group (AG); the

- Northern People's Congress (NPC); The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC).

Political parties during the period in Nigeria were so ideologically third and party dualism became the order of the day. Moreover, ethnic and religious consideration weighted more with members and indiscipline became part of the various political parties. At this time also political parties tried as much as they could to project their flag bearer at the expense of others. Therefore petitions and thuggery became tools for winning electoral contest, Ikelegbe (2005).

The first republic, the squabble within the Action Group (AG) provided opportunities for both the NCNC and NPC to gain electoral victories in the West, while the struggle within the NCNC provided avenue for the AG too gain electoral victories in the NCNC controlled areas like Ogoja, Calabar and Rivers in the East. The North however was not left out of those squabbles as the separatist tendencies within the 'IPC' especially in and around the middle belt gave rise to factions and minority parties such as the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU), Ademoyega (1981). This, the Nigeria public lost confidence in the politicians and sang hosanna whenever the military struck.

From the foregoing it should be noted that political party arises as it were will remain a reoccurring phenomenon on the Nigerian Political scene in as much as the political elite remain greedy and self-assuming which eventually stall the development of party politics along ideological lines as its in advanced democracies of the world.

However, crisis within the contemporary political parties have risen to the increase in the formation of new political parties that have been registered by INEC.

Similarly in the opinion of this research, more than thirty miniature political parties now hopelessly angling for recognition ought to be forced into merger arrangement by INEC so as to create formidable parties that can challenge the existing ones especially the people's Democratic Party (PDP).

The case of the Fourth republic is not left out as the various parties have been infiltrated by the scourge, thereby leading to anti-party activities. In this various parties the People's Democratic Party (PDP), J!

Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), Alliance for Democracy (AD) this parties have them peculiar problems. The crisis within the ANPP made General Jeremiah Useni and his cohorts to defect to the Democratic People's Party (DPP). Same goes for Chief Don Etiebet who also defected to the POP from the ANPP,

From records it would be seen that those political parties were harbinger of indiscipline their predecessors. There exist official wrangling, accusation and counter accusations/washing of dirty liners in the public as in the Vice Aihaji Atiku Abubakar, there was also litigations, break away and fictionalization became the order of the day, this fourth republic shows for example that party members like Chief Solomon Lar, left the PDP with his camp because of the absolute control of Chief Oli5egun Obasanjo and became an opposition (AC) members and also in Anambra state because of the fracas between Christ Uba, Andy Uba and Governor Christ Ngige; Governor Ngige left the POP and joined the AC.

Another possible causes & intra-party crisis as noted by Jason (2006) is the process & selection of candidates, which most often do not follow the due process & party guidelines and laws. Resulting in the imposition of candidates usually preferred and Favour by the top party hierarchy. This has been a common of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) selection process in the fourth republic consequently leading aggrieved party to either decamped or filed a litigation against the party hierarchy.

At the federal level for instance the ruling POP frustrate all attempts by vice President Aihaji Atiku Abubakar to contest, the President Primaries and this led to his defection and formation of the Action Congress (AC) it equally paved the way for the imposition of Aihaji Umaru Masu Yar'adua on the party. This scenario

III. RESULT PARTY POLITICS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

Causes of Intra-Party Crisis in the Fourth Republic

In this study thus far, it has been established that intra party crisis in Nigeria is a phenomenon that has existed right from pre-independence years. This phenomenon is an ill mind that has militated against the progress and development of Nigeria's

democratic institutions. It has also remained a log in the wheel of progress towards democratization in the fourth republic.

The experience & the political parties in the present republic is similar to those in the previous republic. Whereas the menace (party crisis) for apart existing political parties in the earlier republic a good number of factor have been noted to be the major causes of intra-party crisis in the present fourth republic.

Dure, (2007) for instance noted that one of the key cause of intra-party conflict in the present fourth republic are greed self-interest and corruption amongst others. The greed and self-interest nature of party members have led to the manifestation of phenomenon like decamping and cross-carpeting. Statistics in this fourth republic shows for example that party members like Chief Solomon Lar, left the PDP with his camp because of the absolute control of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and became an opposition (AC) members and also in Anambra state because of the fracas between Christ Uba, Andy Uba and Governor Christ Ngige; Governor Ngige left the PDP and joined the AC.

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At the federal level for instance the ruling PDP frustrate all attempts by vice President Alhaji Atiku Abubakar to contest, the President Primaries and this led to his defection and formation of the Action Congress (AC) it equally paved the way for the imposition of Aihaji Umaru Masu Yar'adua on the party. This scenario repeated itself at the state level as it concerns the nomination & governorship and House of Assembly candidates.

On the issue of fictionalization within the PDP at the federal level before now, we have the Chief Solomon Lar's faction and the Abuja (Obasanjo faction). At the state level for example on Delta State there is the Mallam Obi faction and Chief Emmanuel Ogide's

faction, Aziken (2006). In Edo state there is he Chief Lucky Igbenedion is faction and Chief Tony Aneni's faction, Geoffrey, (2007).

Indeed, the fourth republic has been characterized by how the ruling party manipulated and aim posed candidates. The print media in the recent times is awash with protest letters from various aggrieved members over this act which is enough for aggrieved members to defect to other parties. An example is the defection of Chief Peter Okocha and Chief Charles Obule of Delta State PDP to AC in order to actualize their dreams of becoming governors.

Another corresponding causes of intra-party crisis is the style of leadership in the party. Those at the helms of affairs in these political parties run these organization like their private business, resulting on disagreement over procedures/roles tactics etc. among different party hierarchy and members, Samuel (2006). The erstwhile President of the country Chief Olusegun Obasanjo was noted as always wanting to have total control of all decisions on the PDP. This lead to the resignation of Chief Audu Ogbeh as the PDPs National Chairman, similarly in the All Nigerian Peoples party (ANPP), there as the issue of leadership struggle where the faction led by General Jeremiah Useni and Don Etibet each Claiming chairmanship of the party. The made the faction of General Jeremiah Useni to defect to the Democratic People's Party (PDP).

From the above analyses it is evident that the problem of leadership is one of the causes of inter-party crisis in Nigeria and this normally leads to mistrust disloyalty, and anti-party activities amongst others. And by extension intra-party crisis gas resulted in the sync home of political assassinations in the fourth republic. Party Chieftains like Harry Marshal, Alfred Rewane, Bola Ige, and Peter Ebuigbe amongst others have been assassinated from the fallout of party squabbles in Nigeria's fourth republic.

More so, on the fourth republic a significant factor that caused intraparty crisis was the issue of tenure elongation right from 2003, when the second term of four years of President Olusegun Obasanjo commenced several attempts were made by the ruling PDP to deliberately manipulate the political process and electoral procedures so as to iNegaHy extend the tenure of President Olusegun Obasanjo administration. Although the 1999 constitution which

President Obasanjo and his chariots promised to protect at all times was flagrantly abused with impunity, on the 19th of May 2006, lovers of democracy in the country erected in joyous mood following what appeared to be an abrupt end of the tenure elongation gambit promoted by politicians suspected to be working at the best interest of the President. The agenda had formed an essential part of over hundred constitutional issues scheduled for amendment by the government organizers National Political Reform Conference (NPRC) to adopt a tenure elongation agenda in a very surreptitious manner, Ajakaye et al (2006). This scheme, however fell flat as it was vehemently opposed by majority of the National Assembly.

Promoters of the agenda had based their actions on the need for continuity of what they considered as the administration on the political and economic sphere. However, the agenda raised a lot of furry between legislators of the ruling party and oppositions, they became divided among themselves over the agenda and this ignited crisis within the PDP and this also resulted in the emergence of pro and anti-third term bid. Consequently, with the death of the third turn tenure elongation bud the President Obasanjo was allegedly to have embarked on a vengeance mission by using the Economic and Financial Crime commission (EFCC) as his weapon to haunt identified opposition, for instance Vice President Aihaji Atiku Abubakar who was very much instrument in the failure of the third term bid was vehemently attracted from all cylinder by the President and other members and purportedly squatted his presidential ambition in the 2007 general elections, Duru, (2007).

Challenges of Party Democracy in the Fourth Republic

Party Republic

That election is at the heart of democracy and democratization process has become widely acknowledged. Elections performed indispensable roles and thereby remains central to the whole essence of democratic process. However, experience has shown that democratic process in Africa and indeed in Nigeria collapse on the altar of incoherent political parties and political ethic in the electoral process. Such failure can be easily traced to the doorstep of lack of internal party democracy which has been translated to the large democratic space.

This is because of the direct linkage that exist between of the ability of political parties to maintain etiquette discipline and the rules of the law within party hierarchy and the political environment at large, Longman (2009). Indeed it has been widely asserted that more than anything the quality and credibility of internal party politics extends to the values attached to democratic practice on a larger scale.

Looking back at the nation's history it is glaring that past efforts at democratization call-posed due to the failure of politicians and political party hierarchy to maintain internal party discipline and democracy, Saka (2009:2).

Looking at the Fourth Republic the challenges of maintaining internal party democracy and by extension democratization practice can be gleaned from the nature and character of Nigeria's political process and the elite. For it is impossible to discuss the democratic project in Nigeria without considering the role of the Nigerian political elite. The nature of the political elite has thus pumped up questions like — what is the nature of the political elite, is it coherent and driven by a national vision? What is its politics and what it is in politics and what it is in politics for? Can this politics be democratic? These are rather difficult questions that cannot be fully addressed on this short study but which at the same time constitute a great challenges to Nigerians democracy on the fourth republic.

Evidently, the challenges of internal democracy among political parties in Nigeria as it extends into the larger political process cannot be discussed in isolation of the nature and character including the attitudinal disposition of the political elites towards politics on general. According to Obi (2006), the Nigerian Political elite and political party system is a product of Nigeria's tumultuous politics. It has its roots in this colonial educational and socio-political system. As such it is a cloud of history. The elite and party system has been described as a hybrid of sorts reflecting the dysfunctional logic of capturing power at all cost.

The opportunism of the political elite and the ways it has often manipulated political structures and processes to promote selfish and narrow ends is well known and still constitute one of the greatest challenges at democratization in the fourth republic. Furthermore, the deep divisions within the elite along personal, ethnic, religious and factional lines and the

lack of clear vision or common ideology for a broad social project constitute another great challenge, Decca (2006). This first suggest an incoherence of the elite leading it to engage on acrimonious internal rivalry and conflict, this equally explain way certain elements of the political elites colluded with the military on the past to subvert the democratic ethos for selfish gain and why the political elite cannot reach a consensus on how it will define a national basis for Nigeria's democratic project.

This partly explains why party politics in the fourth republic has taken on the tradition of the militarization of social life and politics and the farming of the rules of the game to Favour personal interest. This has equally manifested in the obsession with power, the use of violence in the struggle for access to resource and power and the control of public institutions and resources to consolidate control over power, and the intolerance of opposition.

Another challenges flowing from the above is that the nature of the state foster a type of politics that thrives on the centralization of power by patrimonial networks of power that reproduce themselves by capturing states (oil) power and distributing the largesse to members, while excluding non- members. And since Governance has been reduced to a hegemonic political and economic directed at sharing the spoils of oil. Thus, making it difficult for a coherent national ruling class to emerge, and for a developmental ethos to take root within the state. Thus equally provides the context for the use of violence to contest for access to power and resources, but it also leads to instability. The result of this is that instability assumes the appearance of permanence in the political system and party structure leading to the diversion of energies and resources towards stabilizing the system but not without raising fears within and outside the country that the system could collapse.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In present day considerations, hardly is a political system adjusted democratic without the central placement of political parties in its political process. This centrality emerges from the simple reasons that political parties are the major vehicles for the expression of an essential feature of the democratic process. The functioning and organizations of political parties occupy a very important place in the

understanding of political process in any democracy. It is therefore not surprising that the working and internal politics of political parties constitute a veritable lens for glancing at the larger democratic process. The implication therefore is that a political party system with the absence of internal democracy cannot midwife a democracy. Absent of internal party democracy would deprives such party legitimacy when it eventually ascends to power. The emerging government though possessing legal authority will nevertheless lacks he moral authority or legitimacy to command the respect of the people.

Secondly, persistent intra- party crisis delegitimizes the moral stand of society in the eyes of an, especially the young and impressionable. If society youth in particular realize that the political leaders role models, who speaks in high sounding language is without integrity and tight values are in fivet cheats willing to falsify documents and engage in multiple thumb printing sustaining important social values such as the truth, honesty, the triumph of good over evil, become extremely ho Now platitudes cheating and dishonesty become acceptable.

V. SUMMARY

This work examines the issues of intra-party crisis in Nigeria's political system with special focus on the fourth republic. The study however over that intra-party crisis dates back to the democratic history of Nigeria during the regime of Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa and Sir, Nnamdi Azikwe. The same was equally noticed in the Western region, in the Action Group (AG) party, between Chief Obafemi Awolowo and S. L. Akintola.

This situation continued through the second republic, but was significantly absent during the botched third republic because of the number of political was reduced to only government sponsored social democratic party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC).

The study however, revealed that in the present republic, the hindrance of intraparty crisis has remain persistent especially among the dominant political party the people democratic party (PDP), the ANPP and he AD.

The work noted amongst others that some of the table causes of intra-party crisis in the fourth republic

include inordinate ambition, corruption, greed and personality clash, tenure elongation, leadership crisis, lack of consensus etc. This consequently has led a lot of mistrust, hate rancor, violence, political assassination and all forms of anti-democratic behaviour.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is evident that democracy by all intent and purpose is very young in Nigerian political elite and the society at large are yet to fully imbibe the democratic culture. This has consequently resulted in the abuse of procedures process and arbitrariness in the polity. In this regard, the following recommendations are hereby outlined.

The political parties should ensures strict adherence to the constitutional provisions and party guidelines including the electoral act. Due process of the law should be follow as much as possible by party hierarchy in decision making to foretail any case of injustice.

In this same vein, corruption by Nigerian political elite should be discouraged as it has negative impact on the political system. The practice of corrupt act in the case of the fourth republic pose threat to the future of democracy in Nigeria.

Above all, the various organs of government should be deputized as much as possible to ensure strict separation of power and adherence to the constitution. Above all political parties which constitute the vehicle of democracy should maintain their functional and structural integrity in a way that citizen's confidence in them is cultivated and sustained. At the moment, the general beliefs is that political parties are formed financial and exclusively owned by people with questionable character, resources and personal interest. This belief promotes a sense of exclusion from meaningful participation in the democratic process.

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