

# GOVERNMENT

FOR

## Senior Secondary School

# 2



EDUBASE

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**SS 2**

**FIRST TERM NOTES ON  
GOVERNMENT**

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## **FIRST TERM**

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## **Topic: ELECTORAL PROCESS (FRANCHISE)**

### **Meaning of Franchise:**

This is defined as a political right of qualifying adult (male and female) citizen of a given country to vote and be voted for in a political election. In politics, franchise is the right conferred on an individual to vote.

### **TYPES OF FRANCHISE**

There are two main types of franchise

1. Limited or restricted franchise
2. Unlimited or universal adult suffrage

**LIMITED OR RESTRICTED FRANCHISE:** As the name implies it is purely restrictive and only qualified voters are allowed to vote or stands to be voted for in a political system and the following are the criteria of voting:

1. Sex of the citizen: For example in some country only the males may be allowed to vote or contest during election.
2. Race or Color is another determinant for the right to vote. For example, formally in South Africa only the white had the right to vote and to be voted for.
3. Residential qualification of an individual
4. The level of education
5. Religion is also deciding factor in some countries
6. Poverty can deny citizen the right to vote and be voted for

### **ADVANTAGES OF LIMITED FRANCHISE**

1. It gives opportunity for voting a matured and informed mind

2. Contesting election demands resources for proper planning, organization and execution
3. It makes use of qualified candidates

### **DISADVANTAGES OF LIMITED FRANCHISE**

1. It may give room for the exclusion of some individuals due to limited political education
2. The Opportunity of voting is not given to adults that are qualified
3. The system is unconstitutional and undemocratic because the rights of the people are denied

**UNLIMITED FRANCHISE:** This type of franchise is the most popular and universally accepted and it is constitutional and democratic because all qualified adults (male and female) are allowed to vote and to be voted for. The following are the conditions or qualifications required to vote in this system.

1. Age is necessary for voting for example in Nigeria only 18 years and above can vote also in Britain and USA, in Germany its 20 years while in India its 21 years
2. Citizenship i.e. only the legal citizens are qualified to vote and be voted for
3. Citizens who are properly register and have been issued voters card are qualified to vote
4. A voter must have all the senses in an acceptable manner before he/she can vote ie sanity
5. Those that are bankrupt can not vote or be voted for
6. Non-citizens are not allowed to vote or be voted for.

## **MERITS OF UNLIMITED FRANCHISE**

1. Equality of voters i.e. every adult has one vote
2. There is existence of popularly elected
3. The method does not allow discrimination based on race, sex, religion or wealth
4. It is democratic and constitutional

## **DEMERITS OF UNLIMITED FRANCHISE**

1. Lack of political education
2. Illiteracy among voters
3. It encourages electoral malpractices
4. It brings about victimization, intimidation of political opponent
5. There are no true representation because the voters may be influenced

## **Exercises**

1. What is franchise?
2. State the different types of franchises and discuss their differences.
3. Highlight the merits and demerits of limited franchise.
4. Outline the disadvantages of unlimited franchise
5. What kind of franchise is practiced in Nigeria?

## **Week 10**

### **Topic: PRE-COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA II**

#### **Yoruba Traditional Political System**

##### **The Political system of Oyo Empire**

The Oyo kingdom was a vast empire divided into different provinces, is the popular and outstanding of all the empire or kingdom in the Yoruba land. The Oyo empires were able to influence issues in other areas like; Dehomey (republic of Benin), Ekiti, Ijebu, Ife etc.

##### **Political structure /Organization**

1. Political head: the Alafin was seen as the political head of the empire. He was chosen by Oyomesi (seven hereditary kingmakers of the empire). It was claimed that he can only appear three times a year in public and that was only during some historic festivals. The administration of the empire involved the Alafin, assisted by the Aremo, the Basorun (prime minister) and the Oyomesi played a very key role in the administration.
2. The Aremo: he was the eldest son of the ruling Alafin but cannot succeed his father at his demise. He can only work or assist the father (Alafin) in the administration of the empire
3. The Oyomesi: also known as the council of chiefs, the leader was Bashorun. They are responsible for installing new Alafin, if the ruling one happens to die. They also work hand-in-hand with the Alafin in the administration of the empire
4. Provincial governors: (Baale or Oba) each province was administered by Ajele or Oba. They guarantee the payment of tribute and paying of homage to Oyo

## **Igbo political system**

The igbo political system may be seen as a fragmented political system. Many institutions were in place and political authority was shared among them. For example, the Ofo title holders (council of elders), Ozo title holders, age grades

There was the absence of centralized of power and authority in Igbo political system is of direct participation (direct democracy)

### **Structure of the Igbo Political System**

- Village administration: the Igbo political system was based on village as a political unit. A village is seen as inhabited by a group of related families and each family head held the Ofo title and all of them put together formed the council of elders. The council governed the village and at the village meetings, every adult is expected to participate, among the Ofo title holders, one of them was recognized as the most senior to the others and is referred to as the Okpara. The Okpara has the right to preside over the council of elders meetings where issue affecting the people were discussed and implemented.
- The age grade: these were young men that belongs to the age group and they performed the following functions
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  4. They act as the police force, for the maintenance of law and order
  5. They also help in the implementation of policies made by council of elders.
  6. Executive: this organ is performed by family heads

7. Leadership: succession to leadership position was not hereditary
8. Types of political system: the political system was more of a republican whereby decisions were reached by consensus different institutions played different but important roles

### **Functions of Traditional Rulers in the Pre-colonial systems**

1. Law and order: they were involved in the maintenance of law and order in their domain.
2. Law making: they made laws, rules and regulations
3. Appointment: they appoint subordinate chiefs to help in the administration
4. Budget: the traditional rulers were involved in raising and spending of money
5. Symbol of unity: they served as political symbol of unity and power
6. Communal wealth: the traditional rulers were also involved in the allocation and sharing of communal wealth and resources including war booties

### **Comparison of the different Pre-colonial Administration in Nigeria (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo)**

#### **HAUSA**

This group was mostly in the north and the prominent language is Hausa. They practiced Islam, although Maguzawa, an animist religion, was also prominent in the area. They often had an emir or imam who was the main religious and political authority in the village. Because of this main authority, the British were able to rule using indirect rule. Essentially, they would have the emir rule for them. Because of this, the north had the least western influence of the three groups and even today the group is more Arab than Western in culture and traditions.

## **YORUBA**

The Yoruba were found in the Western part of Nigeria and the prominent language was Yoruba, although there were several dialects. They were considered a very religious people. They believed in reincarnation, spirits, and the power of names. Each name is said to have special meaning and power over a person, and there was a very intricate naming ceremony. Like many African ethnic groups, the tribe as a community was extremely important concept in daily lives. They had a very intricate legal system called Yoruba Law, in which the family was the first level of government, then the clan or extended family, then the village chief, who was subject to the Oba. This system of government in which everyone is sort of held responsible by everyone else meant that the system of indirect rule would not have worked in Yorubaland. The British instead used direct rule, where they sent their own governors in to enforce British law.

## **IGBO**

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## **Exercises**

1. Identify any three functions of the Oyomesi in the pre-colonial Yoruba political system.
2. Highlight any three reasons to show that the pre-colonial government in Yorubaland was democratic.

3. Why is the igbo political system seen as a fragmented political system?
4. Outline the important features of the pre-colonial Igbo Political System.
5. Enumerate the functions of Traditional Rulers in the pre-colonial systems

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## **Topic: PRE-COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA II**

### **Yoruba Traditional Political System**

#### **The Political system of Oyo Empire**

The Oyo kingdom was a vast empire divided into different provinces, is the popular and outstanding of all the empire or kingdom in the Yoruba land. The Oyo empires were able to influence issues in other areas like; Dehomey (republic of Benin), Ekiti, Ijebu, Ife etc.

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## **Week 10**

### **Topic: PRE-COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA II**

#### **Yoruba Traditional Political System**

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## Government , SS 2

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3. The method does not allow discrimination based on race, sex, religion or wealth
4. It is democratic and constitutional

## **DEMERITS OF UNLIMITED FRANCHISE**

1. Lack of political education
2. Illiteracy among voters
3. It encourages electoral malpractices
4. It brings about victimization, intimidation of political opponent
5. There are no true representation because the voters may be influenced

## **Exercises**

1. What is franchise?
2. State the different types of franchises and discuss their differences.
3. Highlight the merits and demerits of limited franchise.
4. Outline the disadvantages of unlimited franchise
5. What kind of franchise is practiced in Nigeria?

## **Week 10**

### **Topic: PRE-COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA II**

#### **Yoruba Traditional Political System**

##### **The Political system of Oyo Empire**

The Oyo kingdom was a vast empire divided into different provinces, is the popular and outstanding of all the empire or kingdom in the Yoruba land. The Oyo empires were able to influence issues in other areas like; Dehomey (republic of Benin), Ekiti, Ijebu, Ife etc.

##### **Political structure /Organization**

1. Political head: the Alafin was seen as the political head of the empire. He was chosen by Oyomesi (seven hereditary kingmakers of the empire). It was claimed that he can only appear three times a year in public and that was only during some historic festivals. The administration of the empire involved the Alafin, assisted by the Aremo, the Basorun (prime minister) and the Oyomesi played a very key role in the administration.
2. The Aremo: he was the eldest son of the ruling Alafin but cannot succeed his father at his demise. He can only work or assist the father (Alafin) in the administration of the empire
3. The Oyomesi: also known as the council of chiefs, the leader was Bashorun. They are responsible for installing new Alafin, if the ruling one happens to die. They also work hand-in-hand with the Alafin in the administration of the empire
4. Provincial governors: (Baale or Oba) each province was administered by Ajele or Oba. They guarantee the payment of tribute and paying of homage to Oyo

## **Igbo political system**

The igbo political system may be seen as a fragmented political system. Many institutions were in place and political authority was shared among them. For example, the Ofo title holders (council of elders), Ozo title holders, age grades

There was the absence of centralized of power and authority in Igbo political system is of direct participation (direct democracy)

### **Structure of the Igbo Political System**

- Village administration: the Igbo political system was based on village as a political unit. A village is seen as inhabited by a group of related families and each family head held the Ofo title and all of them put together formed the council of elders. The council governed the village and at the village meetings, every adult is expected to participate, among the Ofo title holders, one of them was recognized as the most senior to the others and is referred to as the Okpara. The Okpara has the right to preside over the council of elders meetings where issue affecting the people were discussed and implemented.
- The age grade: these were young men that belongs to the age group and they performed the following functions
  1. Administration i.e. they are involved in administrating duties in the village
  2. They are involved in the performance of public duties such as clearing of paths, construction of roads, markets etc.
  3. They equally served as the potential army for the defense of the village against external enemy
  4. They act as the police force, for the maintenance of law and order
  5. They also help in the implementation of policies made by council of elders.
  6. Executive: this organ is performed by family heads

7. Leadership: succession to leadership position was not hereditary
8. Types of political system: the political system was more of a republican whereby decisions were reached by consensus different institutions played different but important roles

### **Functions of Traditional Rulers in the Pre-colonial systems**

1. Law and order: they were involved in the maintenance of law and order in their domain.
2. Law making: they made laws, rules and regulations
3. Appointment: they appoint subordinate chiefs to help in the administration
4. Budget: the traditional rulers were involved in raising and spending of money
5. Symbol of unity: they served as political symbol of unity and power
6. Communal wealth: the traditional rulers were also involved in the allocation and sharing of communal wealth and resources including war booties

### **Comparison of the different Pre-colonial Administration in Nigeria (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo)**

#### **HAUSA**

This group was mostly in the north and the prominent language is Hausa. They practiced Islam, although Maguzawa, an animist religion, was also prominent in the area. They often had an emir or imam who was the main religious and political authority in the village. Because of this main authority, the British were able to rule using indirect rule. Essentially, they would have the emir rule for them. Because of this, the north had the least western influence of the three groups and even today the group is more Arab than Western in culture and traditions.

## **YORUBA**

The Yoruba were found in the Western part of Nigeria and the prominent language was Yoruba, although there were several dialects. They were considered a very religious people. They believed in reincarnation, spirits, and the power of names. Each name is said to have special meaning and power over a person, and there was a very intricate naming ceremony. Like many African ethnic groups, the tribe as a community was extremely important concept in daily lives. They had a very intricate legal system called Yoruba Law, in which the family was the first level of government, then the clan or extended family, then the village chief, who was subject to the Oba. This system of government in which everyone is sort of held responsible by everyone else meant that the system of indirect rule would not have worked in Yorubaland. The British instead used direct rule, where they sent their own governors in to enforce British law.

## **IGBO**

They were very religious, and believed in spirits, multiple gods, and oracles. Reincarnation was widely accepted. Of the three groups, the Igbo were the most fragmented before colonization. The Igbo dialects were extremely different from each other from one town to the next, and political structures varied as well. They are the most village-oriented of the three groups, and were often ruled by a chief and/or council of elders. Because of the differences in language and political structure, the British really forced English and Western traditions on this group more than the others (to make it easier for themselves). This resulted in a lot of uprisings from the Igbo people, which were dealt with harshly.

## **Exercises**

1. Identify any three functions of the Oyomesi in the pre-colonial Yoruba political system.
2. Highlight any three reasons to show that the pre-colonial government in Yorubaland was democratic.

3. Why is the igbo political system seen as a fragmented political system?
4. Outline the important features of the pre-colonial Igbo Political System.
5. Enumerate the functions of Traditional Rulers in the pre-colonial systems

**SS 2**

**SECOND TERM NOTES ON  
GOVERNMENT**

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## **Week 1**

### **Topic: Colonial Administration**

#### **Meaning of Colonialism**

Colonialism is defined as an imposition of a more developed culture over a less developed one, backing up by expansionist and economic adventurism. European capitalist country established political, economic, military and cultural hegemony over other parts of the world which initially at a lower level and therefore could not resist domination.

#### **Historical Background**

Before the 1880s, Europe had gone ahead of the rest of the world in science and technology. Europe of 19<sup>th</sup> century became the workshop of the world with growing desire for raw materials for their industries. Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, etc were all involved in the race.

The scramble by these European countries led to the partition of Africa after the Berlin conference of 1884-85. Britain colonized Nigeria, Ghana, the Gambia and Sierra-Leone in West Africa. As from 1898, the British sought to establish and maintain a colonial state in Nigeria. To achieve this, a number of measures were to be taken, for example, removal of all visible opposition to the imposition of colonial rule, expansion and consolidation of British authority over the territory later known as Nigeria, similarly, to gradually amalgamate the three different administrative units:

1. The Lagos colony
2. The Southern protectorate
3. The Northern protectorate

Before 1898, the scramble for Africa by European countries led to the partition of Africa after the Berlin conference of 1884-85. In the year 1901, Nigeria officially became a part of the huge British Empire. In May 1906, Lagos colony and the southern protectorate were joined together and had a different name, the colony and protectorate of Southern Nigeria. In the

same atmosphere, Lord Fredrick Lugard in 1914 amalgamated the the Lagos colony and Southern Nigeria with Northern protectorate to form a single colony called protectorate of Nigeria. It was said that the wife of lord Lugard formed the name Nigeria from the river Niger that flowed through the country.

Britain therefore governed Nigeria by the means of a system popularly known as 'Indirect rule'. Britain claimed that the system involved not governing the people directly, but through their traditional rulers and chiefs. And this was one of the factors that fueled nationalism among the Nigerians.

In the later years, the whole of Nigeria later join hands together to fight for the independence of the country. Each region was granted self governance [Northern region- 1959, Western region- 1956 and Mid Western region- 1963 (post independence)] and then, all together gained independence on the 1st of October, 1960 when the Nigerian flag which was designed by Taiwo Akinkunmi (1960) replaced the British flag and was raised.

### **British Colonial Policy**

The sixty years of Britain's colonial rule in Nigeria are characterized by frequent reclassifying of different regions for administrative purposes. They are symptomatic of the problem of uniting the country as a single state.

In the early years the Niger Coast Protectorate is expanded to become Southern Nigeria, with its seat of government at Lagos. At this time the rulers in the north (the emir of Kano and the sultan of Sokoto) are very far from accepting British rule. To deal with the situation Frederick Lugard is appointed high commissioner and commander-in-chief of the protectorate of northern Nigeria. Lugard has already been much involved in the colony, commanding troops from 1894 on behalf of the Royal Niger Company to oppose French claims on Borgu (a border region, divided in 1898 between Nigeria and Dahomey). Between 1903 and 1906 he subdues Kano and Sokoto and finally puts an end to their rulers' slave-raiding expeditions.

Lugard pacifies northern Nigeria by ensuring that in each territory, however small, the throne is won and retained by a chief willing to cooperate. Lugard then allows these client rulers considerable power – in the technique, soon to be known as ‘indirect rule’, which in Africa is particularly associated with his name (though it has been a familiar aspect of British colonial policy in India).

In 1912 Lugard is appointed governor of both northern and southern Nigeria and is given the task of merging them. He does so by 1914, when the entire region becomes the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.

The First World War brings a combined British and French invasion of German Cameroon (a campaign not completed until early in 1916). In 1922 the League of Nations grants mandates to the two nations to administer the former German colony. The British mandate consists of two thin strips on the eastern border of Nigeria.

The rival claims of Nigeria’s various regions become most evident after World War II when Britain is attempting to find a structure to meet African demands for political power. By 1951 the country has been divided into Northern, Eastern and Western regions, each with its own house of assembly. In addition there is a separate house of chiefs for the Northern province, to reflect the strong tradition there of tribal authority. And there is an overall legislative council for the whole of Nigeria.

But even this is not enough to reflect the complexity of the situation. In 1954 a new constitution (the third in eight years) establishes the Federation of Nigeria and adds the Federal Territory of Lagos.

During the later 1950s an African political structure is gradually achieved. From 1957 there is a federal prime minister. In the same year the Western and Eastern regions are granted internal self-government, to be followed by the Northern region in 1959.

Full independence follows rapidly, in October 1960. The tensions between the country’s communities now become Nigeria’s own concern.

## **Indirect Rule**

Indirect rule is a system of administration in which the Britain colonial government adopted as its colonial policy in dealing with the people by using the traditional rulers, the traditional political institutions – administration, cultural and judicial structure- as intermediaries while the British officials mainly advised where necessary, enforced colonial regulations

### **Main features of Indirect rule**

1. Native police and prison were utilized in the system
2. Native courts were used for administration of justice
3. The whites made use of natural agricultural produce
4. The cost of administration was not high because those involved were paid peanuts
5. The traditional ruler were respected and were given exalted position in their administration which made it easy for the colonialist to operate and rule
6. The British officials were to guide and enforce colonial regulation e.g. resident and district official
7. The culture value of the people were respected by the British officials

### **Reasons for the adoption of Indirect Rule**

1. The system had few British personnel to control effectively
2. There was no sufficient fund from the British government to engage British officials for direct administration
3. The poor climatic conditions prevented many citizens to come down and be involved in the administration as a result of poor climate and as a result of mosquito

4. The colonialist wanted to create market for their goods and encourage raw materials to produce goods for their government
5. The the use of traditional rulers and their institutions was seen by the British bot to be destroyed and by introducing a different system will not produce a desired result
6. Indirect rule succeeded in removing the language barrier that would have posed as a problem to the British government
7. The system was cheap as the cost of administration need little amount to repay to the traditional rulers.

## **Impact of Colonial Administration in Nigeria**

### **The Impact on the Economy**

Slave labour was the prime commodity of international trade between Nigerian state-systems and Europe up to the middle of the 19th century. The trade, according to Agi(1998), disrupted and depleted population, stunted development of productive forces, and undermined the normal patterns of growth of the state-system.

Slave trade was later abolished and there was a great need for European merchants to diversify into new areas of trade. The middle of the 19th century saw various European companies struggling to have a foot-hole in West Africa and in particular the lower Niger Delta.

One of the reasons for the annexation of Lagos in 1861 by Britain was to gain monopoly over trade in the Niger Delta. Initially, Britain merely encouraged trade under protection – the establishment of political authority over Nigeria by trading companies for effective operation and as a weapon for competition against other European companies.

Important British firms merged in 1879 into United African Company (UAC), which was later chartered by the British colonial government as the Royal Niger Company. The company signed a treaty with the local chiefs which gave the company, monopoly in trade matters over the Niger Delta. By 1899 the same British Government revoked the charter partly because of the over bearing attitude of the company toward Nigerians in its area of operation and its obsession with monopolizing trade in the area. Nigeria was indeed a fertile trading ground for British and other European companies. Nigeria was not only a source of raw materials to feed the manufacturing plants abroad but also a ready market for products from European firms.

### **The Impact on Education**

The Nigerian Civil Service and Educational Institutions in the Development of Management Practices and Principles The Nigerian civil service is arguably the institution that perfectly reflects the legacy of colonialism.

It was conceptualized and designed as the British machinery for promoting, implementing and defending the administrative and economic policies of the colonialists. The civil service therefore essentially sought, in its operations to ensure: the maintenance of law and order; payment of taxes as a form of loyalty to the Queen/King of England; and, delivery of local raw materials for exportation and onward processing into finished products abroad and subsequent importation back to Nigeria for purchase and consumption.

Given this background, the colonial civil service, from the outset, was built on the bureaucratic tenets of centralization and hierarchical control, with

little emphasis on initiative, innovation and competition. The doggedness with which the principles of centralization and hierarchy were applied (and, are still applied) to the operation of the system has made experimentation with alternative ideas difficult.

In view of this, the Nigerian civil service, despite several attempts at modern reforms, has hardly provided a fertile ground for the cultivation of indigenous management principles and theory, the various reforms carried out over the years notwithstanding. Indeed, these reforms which have mostly been targeted at addressing issues of inefficiency, red-tape and lack of prudence have failed to deliver quality services as a result of obsolescence, lethargy and lack of enthusiasm on the part of operators

### **Exercises**

1. Define colonialism.
2. Discuss the British colonial policy in Nigeria.
3. Outline the meaning of indirect rule.
4. Explain the impact of colonial administration in Nigeria
5. State four (4) reasons why the British adopted indirect rule in Nigeria.

## **Week 4**

### **Topic: Nationalism In Nigeria**

#### **Factors that Led to the Growth and Rise of Nationalism in Nigeria**

1. Denial of Africans the opportunity to participate in government.
2. Monopolization of political power by the colonial masters.
3. Disenfranchisement of Africans and lack of adequate representation in both the legislative and executive councils.
4. Emergence of Pan Africanism
5. Denial of bank loans to Africans

#### **Effect of Nationalism in Nigeria**

1. Enjoying fundamental human rights and being recognized as a citizen were effects of nationalism in Nigeria.
2. It led to the end of colonialism in Africa.
3. It provided opportunities for the training of of the new African elites in politics
4. It enlightened the masses and increased their awareness about politics in new Africa
5. It led to the independence and development of the new African Sates.

#### **Key Nationalist In Nigeria And Their Contributions To Nationalism In Nigeria**

##### **Nnamdi Azikiwe**

He became the first one to have the place. He ruled from 1963 to 1966. It is also important to say, he served as the last representative of the Queen. He occupied the office during the period of the First Republic. He was held

the office for about 2.5 years. Then, there came a period of Military rule, which was provoked by the coup. It took about 30 years to finally stabilize the situation (after the period of Civil War and some other armed conflicts).

### **James Bright Davies**

He was also an editor. He was one of the founders of Nigerian Times in 1910. He was also Lagos Auxiliary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society member.

### **John Payne Jackson**

As a very influential journalist in Lagos (capital of Nigeria), he edited and published Lagos weekly Record newspaper until his death. Position of the paper was anti-colonialist and African nationalist.

### **Mojola Agbebi**

He was Nigerian Yoruba Baptist Minister. He was advocate of indigenous leadership for African churches and started the evangelistic work in Niger Delta. He established Yoruba Baptist Association as well.

### **Exercises**

1. List the factors that led to the growth of nationalism in Nigeria.
2. Outline the effects of nationalism in Nigeria.
3. Highlight the contributions of the following to nationalism in Nigeria
  - a) Nnamdi Azikiwe
  - b) John Payne Jackson
  - c) James Bright Davies
  - d) Mojola Agbebi

## **Week 4**

### **Topic: Constitutional Development In Nigeria**

#### **-Pre-Independence Constitutions**

##### **1. Clifford Constitution of 1922**

Sir Hugh Clifford was appointed Governor of Nigeria after Lord Fredrick Lugard. In 1922, Sir Clifford introduced the first formal constitution for the country.

##### **The main features of the constitution were:**

1. Introduction of the first elective principle in Nigeria and in West Africa. Similar elective principle was introduced in Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1925 and Sierra-Leone in 1924. Following the introduction of the elective principle in Nigeria, Africans were elected into the legislative council for the first time. Three from Lagos and one from Calabar. Electorate consisted of British subjects protected person with 100 pounds or N20 per annual income. The introduction of the elective principles also led to the formation of the first political party in Nigeria. In 1923 called the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) led by Late Herbert Macaulay.
2. This constitution adopted in 1922 derived its name from the then governor of Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford who took over from Lord Lugard.
3. The constitution introduced new legislative and executive councils.
4. A legislative council was set up with 46 members out of which 27 were official members while 19 were unofficial members.
5. There was an executive council composed mainly the officials.
6. Laws for the North were made by Governor's proclamation.
7. There were no Africans in the Executive council
8. Division of the North and South into provinces

9. The Clifford constitution also established an Executive Council to advise the governor.
10. The governor retained the power to legislate for Northern Nigeria.
11. A single executive council for Nigeria was first created under this constitution. It was composed of 12 members, all of whom were Europeans

### **Merits Of 1922 Clifford Constitution**

1. Introduction of First elective principle
2. The introduction of a single legislative council for the colony Lagos and the protectorate of Southern Nigeria.
3. Laying the foundation for the introduction of the first political party in Nigeria 1923

### **Demerits of 1922 Clifford Constitution**

1. One glaring or major defects of the 1922 Clifford's Constitution was the isolation of the North from the legislative council. Northern Nigeria was not represented in the new Legislative council as it comprised members from the south alone.
2. A large percentage of Nigerians were disenfranchised by the limitation of franchise to Lagos and Calabar.
3. The introduction of the British policy of Divide and Rule which laid the foundation for the birth and development of Ethnicity and Tribalism in Nigeria
4. The exclusion of Africans from the Executive Council.
5. There were many more officials and nominated members than elected members in the legislative council.

6. It isolated the North from the other part of Nigeria. In other words, it failed to bring together in one legislative house, even after the amalgamation. This situation lasted for twenty-four years.
7. The council met very infrequently for about 8 days on the average, every year.
8. The Governor acted like a school headmaster during the proceedings of the legislative council.

### **The Richard constitution of 1946**

The Richard constitution came so as to improve the constitution that is being used with the main objective of promoting unity in Nigeria and to ensure greater participation of Nigerians in the discussion of their own affairs.

#### **Features of the Richard constitution are:**

1. The governor had the power to act if the legislative council refused.
2. Forty-four members were elected apart from the governor
3. The constitution created house of assembly in the Northern, Western and Eastern regions and only the northern region had a house of chiefs in addition.
4. The laws for the whole nation became the responsibility of governors with advice and consent of the legislative.
5. In each house of assembly the unofficial member were in the majority.
6. The regional houses had no independent legislative power.

### **MacPherson Constitution of 1951**

When compared with improved constitutions which came up after the it.

## **THE BREAKDOWN OF MACPHERSON CONSTITUTION**

MacPherson Constitution broke down due to the following reasons:

1. There was no country-wide political party commanding a majority of all the three regions. Three different political parties were in power in each region.
2. The three most important political leaders in the country were not in the central legislative council i.e. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the Action Group, and Alhaji Ibrahim Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduana of Sokoto.
3. There was no provision under the Constitution either at the centre or in the regions for the appointment of a Prime Minister or Premier.
4. There was inter-regional friction.

### **Merits of MacPherson Constitution**

1. A quasi-federalism was introduced in Nigeria
2. The constitution introduced for the time a revenue allocation formulae in Nigeria based on the principle of derivation needs and national interest.
3. The constitution reflects the minds and aspiration of the masses because of the wide range of consultation before its introduction .
4. The constitution introduced a ministerial post in Nigeria for the first time.
5. Introduction of the first legislative principles.
6. The constitution was an improvement from Richards constitution in the sense that it was established after due consultation of Nigeria.
7. It had a national outlook and it was the first constitution that governed the whole country.

## **Demerits of MacPherson Constitution**

1. The constitution did not provide for a true political leadership either at the Centre or in the region, for example, there was no provision for the post of the prime minister or premier. Consequently, the government of the federal had not effective leadership.
2. It did not provide for coalition or team spirit in the council of ministers.
3. The constitution failed to give Nigeria a full responsible government rather it gave Nigeria a full responsible government rather it gave Nigeria a semi or quasi- responsible government
4. The constitution did not provide for cohesion or team spirit in the council for Nigeria and Cameron (NCNC) in the eastern region was responsible for the collapse .
5. It contained both the elements of unitary and federal forms of government.
6. The Constitution made no provision for the appointment of a Prime Minister in the centre and on account of this the cabinet did not perform as a team. Each of the ministers received instructions from their respective regions.
7. The Constitution was undemocratic in the sense that it was the Governor that provided questions to those answers formed by the Constitution. The Constitution made no provision for the establishment of a Second Chamber in the centre and it did not provide for the House of Chiefs in the Eastern Region.

## **Exercises**

1. Trace the history of constitutional development in Nigeria before independence.
2. What are the main features of the Clifford Constitution of 1922?
3. Highlight the features of the Richardson constitution of 1946.
4. List five (5) merits of the Macpherson constitution.

5. Why was the Macpherson constitution seen as undemocratic?

## Week 5

### Topic: **Lyttleton Constitution of 1954**

#### **London Constitutional Conference of 1954**

##### **Major Decisions Taken:**

1. Self – government to be granted to the Eastern and Western Regions on August 1957 while that of the North would be in 1959. Following the decision, the Western and Eastern regions had their self- government in 1957 while the North had their own in 1959.
2. Eastern region to be given a Bicameral Legislature with the addition of a House of Chiefs which would have similar powers to that of the Western House of Chiefs.
3. Southern Cameroon to be raised to a regional status with the provision of the officer of Premier.
4. A Bicameral Legislature to be established with the second chamber to be known as the senate.
5. Membership of the House of Representatives to be increased to 320 at the end of 1959.
6. Universal/Adult Suffrage to be used in electing representatives into the new Federal Legislature and in the Western and Eastern Regions as well as in Lagos and the Southern Cameroon. Male Suffrage to be used in the Northern Region.
7. The office of the Prime Minister to be created and the Governor General to appoint as a Prime Minister the leader of the party that commands the majority support in the House of Representatives. The office of the Prime – Minister in Nigeria was created in 1957 Constitutional conference but the first Prime Minister of Nigeria was elected into office in 1960.
8. Independence to be granted to Nigeria in 1960.

A minority commission was set up in 1957 to investigate the fears of the minority group or the problem of the minorities in Nigeria. The 1957 Minority Commission was headed by Sir Henry Willink. The Commission recommended that more states should not be created but more fundamental Human Rights should be given to the citizens.

## **Lagos Constitutional Conference of 1958**

### **Major decisions taken:**

1. No more states should be created before independence, but a long list of Fundamental Human rights to protect both the majority and the minority citizens of Nigeria alike against the arbitrary abuse of power by the government should be included in the constitution.
2. Nigeria should be granted independence in 1960
3. Northern and Southern Cameroons should be decided through a plebiscite whether to stay with Nigeria after attaining her independence or not

## **Independence Constitution of 1960**

This constitution was later replaced by the Republican constitution of 1963 which replaced the Governor-General appointed by the British monarch with a President elected directly by members of the Nigerian federal legislature.

### **Features of the 1960 Independence Constitution**

- \* The independence constitution provided for a democratic parliamentary system of government whereby the office of the head of State is different from the office of the head of government.
- \* A federal system of government was retained.

\* Queen Elizabeth was still the Head of state, Nnamdi Azikwe, the Governor – General, was a ceremonial Head of State representing the Queen until October 1<sup>st</sup> 1963 when Nigeria became a republican State.

\* The prime minister was the Head of government and administration {Tafawa Balewa}.

\* The constitution provided for a bi-cameral legislature at the center, the Senate (upper house) and House of Representatives ( lower house).

\*The constitution provided a premier as the Head of the executive of each region.

\* The fundamental human rights of the citizens were entrenched in the constitution, and also did the constitution defined who a citizen is and how to acquire citizenship.

\* The Constitution laid down the procedure for creating new regions.

\* It gave the federal government the power to declare a State of emergency in any part of the country.

\* The constitution divided the legislative powers of governments into three – exclusive list (Central government), concurrent list (both central and regional government) and residual list (local government).

\* The final Court of Appeal was the Privy Council in London.

\* The constitution also stated the procedure for the amendment of a constitution.

The 1960 Independence constitution also has other features which included:

\* The powers of Parliament to make laws;

\* Powers of Public Service Commission in relation to grant of pensions;

\* Powers, practice and procedure of Federal Supreme Court;

\* Appeals to Federal Supreme Court from Sharia Court of Appeal and Court of Resolution.

## **The Main Features of Lyttleton Constitution**

1. Autonomy of regions was the most important.
2. Membership of the house of representative was increased to 184.
3. The constitution introduced a federal system of government by sharing government power between the Centre and the regions.
4. Lagos was carved out of the west and was made the federal capital territory.
5. The constitution provided for a council of ministers with the governor-general as president, 3 officials appointed by the governor-general, from each region on the advice of the regional executive council. The council of ministers was collectively responsible to the legislature, and advised the governor-general on execution of policies: it also initiated bills and formulated policies.
6. The system of allocation of revenue ceased to recognize the principles, need and national interest.
7. The house of representative was retained, but now with a speaker, 3 ex-official member, 92 members from the north, 42 from west and 42 from east.
8. The north, west and eastern region system was retained. The north and west were made bicameral while the east remained unicameral. The north retained their houses of assembly and houses of Chiefs while the East had only a house of assembly.
9. The governor general of the Centre and government at each of the regions were given discretionary powers example the powers to approve bills for amending taxes.
10. The house of representatives was now to be presided over by the speaker, instead of the governor.

11. The governor of the region ceased to be members of the federal executive council.
12. The public service, the judiciary and the marketing boards were regionalized, while the police was made a federal subject, thus giving the regional assemblies more power
13. The post of premier was created in each region for the first time, and he was to advise the governor of his region.

### **Merits of Lyttleton Constitution Of 1954**

1. For the first time, there was a clear division of powers between the two levels of Government i.e. the federal and the regional governments in which each was autonomous in its own area and jurisdiction. This marked the beginning of a true federal system of government in Nigeria.
2. The constitution marked the beginning of direct elections to both the federal and regional legislatures in Nigeria
3. Nigerians were for the first time appointed Ministers with Portfolios (i.e. Heads of Departments)
4. The constitution introduced the posts of permanent secretaries and parliamentary secretaries in Nigeria.
5. The constitution launched Nigeria into independence with the federal system of Government
6. This constitution began the idea of direct election to both the federal and regional legislature in Nigeria.
7. Nigerians were appointed ministers for the first time with portfolio.
8. The introduction of permanent secretaries and parliamentary secretaries.

## **Demerits of Lyttleton Constitution Of 1954**

1. The appointment of the ministers were based on the three major political parties which were regionally based. This rendered the central executive ineffective because the loyalty of the ministers resided in their regions.
2. There was no second or upper chamber which would act as a break to the lower house. There was no way to check the tyrannism, despotism and hasty decisions often associated with single chamber or unicameral legislature. Therefore, the introduction of unicameral legislature is seen to be a disadvantage.
3. It did not provide for the office of the Prime Minister at the Federal level. Consequently in the absence of the Governor General who is the president of the Federal Executive Council; there was no other substitute leader to lead the council in its deliberations. Thus the council remained inactive.
4. Another defect was that both the Governor-General and the Governors still retained veto and reserved powers and were still empowered to legislate in the interest of good government. The retention of official members in the Northern House of Assembly and in the Central Executive was also a great defect.
5. The Lyttleton Constitution did not provide a uniform country-wide electoral system. The Governors of the regions were empowered to make electoral regulations for their regions.
6. Ministers were appointed base on the three major political parties which were appointed base on the three major political parties which were regional based. This made the central executive ineffective due to the fact the loyalty of the ministers belongs to their respective region.
7. In the Northern Region, elections were indirect, while in both the Eastern and Western Regions there were direct elections. In addition, the Constitution failed to provide for a second chamber in the Centre and did not make provision for the House of Chiefs in the Eastern Region.

8. The constitution do not provide for the office of the prime minister at the federal level. This means that the absence of the governor general who is the president of the federal executive council: there was no other substitute leader to lead the council in its deliberation this made the council inactive.
9. There was no provision for the office of the Prime Minister in the Centre to provide the much needed leadership and this made the Central Ministers to look for directions from their respective regions.
10. There was the absence of bi-cameral legislature, the constitution did not make room for two chambers and hence there was no check and balances. The constitution created a system of divide and rule, the constitution favoured the north more than the east.

### **Exercises**

1. List four (4) major decisions that were taken at the London Constitutional Conference of 1954.
2. What was the recommendation of the Minority Commission set-up in 1957?
3. State two (two) highlights of the Lagos Constitutional Conference of 1958.
4. Explain five (5) features of the 1960 Independence Constitution.
5. Outline the merits and demerits of the Lyttleton Constitution Of 1954.

## **Week 6**

### **Topic: Post-Independence Constitutions**

#### **Republican Constitution of 1963**

##### **Features:**

1. The queen ceased to be the head of state of Nigeria.
2. The name of governor-general was changed to president
3. Emergency powers conferred on the federal government were retained
4. The Supreme court was given the power of judicial review
5. Fundamental human rights were guaranteed by the constitution

##### **Merits of Republican Constitution of 1963**

1. Nigeria became a republic and was accorded full political independence.
2. The supreme court in Nigeria became the highest court in the country.
3. Emergency powers conferred on the federal government were retained
4. Fundamental human rights were protected
5. The constitutional provided an acceptable revenue allocation formula

##### **Demerits of Republican Constitution of 1963**

1. The constitution did not provide for independence of the judiciary
2. There was no complete separation of power among the organs of government

## **Second Republic Constitution of 1979**

The first elections under the 1979 constitution were held on schedule in July and August 1979, and the FMG handed over power to a new civilian government under President Shehu Shagari on October 1, 1979. Nigeria's Second Republic was born amid great expectations. Oil prices were high and revenues were on the increase. It appeared that unlimited development was possible. Unfortunately, the euphoria was short-lived, and the Second Republic did not survive its infancy.

Five major parties competed for power in the first elections in 1979. As might be expected, there was some continuity between the old parties of the First Republic and the new parties of the Second Republic. The National Party of Nigeria (NPN), for example, inherited the mantle of the Northern People's Congress, although the NPN differed from the NPC in that it obtained significant support in the non-Igbo states of southeastern Nigeria. The United Party of Nigeria (UPN) was the successor to the Action Group, with Awolowo as its head. Its support was almost entirely in the Yoruba states.

The Nigerian People's Party (NPP), the successor to the NCNC, was predominantly Igbo and had Azikiwe as its leader. An attempt to forge an alliance with non-Hausa -Fulani northern elements collapsed in the end, and a breakaway party with strong support in parts of the north emerged from the failed alliance. This northern party was known as the Great Nigerian People's Party under the leadership of Waziri Ibrahim of Borno. Finally, the People's Redemption Party was the successor to the Northern Elements Progressive Union and had Aminu Kano as its head.

## **Feature of Second Republic Constitution of 1979**

- A. Introduction of federal structure
- B. Introduction of unicameralism into Nigeria
- C. Departure from the parliamentary to the presidential system of government

## D. Preservation and entrenchment of republicanism

### **Merits of Second Republic Constitution of 1979**

- It removed the imperial basis of the Nigerian Constitution.
- The Nigerian Federal Parliament enacted the Constitution of the Federal Act, 1963 which repealed the Nigerian Independence Act of 1960.
- It made the Supreme Court the Highest court for all cases in Nigeria.

### **Demerits of Second Republic Constitution of 1979**

- The constitution made it more difficult to create new states, thereby making one of the regions larger than the three others put together.
  - It failed to remove Nigeria totally from the strong influence of Britain by allowing Nigeria's continued membership of the British Commonwealth.

### **Differences between the 1963 and the 1979 Constitution**

It is pertinent to identify the major differences between the 1963 and the 1979 republican constitutions because of their significant influence on the Nigeria's constitutional development. These differences are highlighted below.

1. The British Parliamentary or Cabinet System or " West Minister Model " was followed in the 1963 constitution while in the 1979 constitution; the " American Presidential system " was adopted
2. Ceremonial President as the Head of State and Commander -in - Chief of the Armed Forces was provided for in the 1963 constitution While in the 1979 constitution , authorities were vested in the Executive President.
3. The President was selected by the joint meeting of both houses of Parliament as there was no provision for special election in the 1963 constitution. However, in the 1979 constitution, the President would at a general election.

4. The 1963 constitution had the executive and the legislature largely combined, while the 1979 constitution clearly separated the two.

### **Exercises**

1. List five (5) main features of the Republican Constitution of 1963 of Nigeria
2. Discuss three (3) achievements of the Second Republic Constitution of 1979 of Nigeria
3. Distinguish between the 1963 and the 1979 constitution of Nigeria.
4. Describe any 4 merits of the 1979 constitution of Nigeria.

## **Week 7**

### **Topic: 1989 and 1999 Constitution of The Federal Government of Nigeria**

#### **The 1999 Constitution**

In December 1998 Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar set up the Justice Niki Tobi led constitution debate coordinating committee.

The committee recommended the 1979 constitution with amendments as preferable to 1995 constitution

#### **Features of the 1999 constitution**

1. The presidential system was retained
2. There was 778 local governments throughout the nation
3. The judiciary became independent in operation
4. There is opportunity for dual citizenship.
5. Democratic rule was restored to Nigeria
6. Fundamental human right became more recognized

#### **1989 Constitution Constitution**

The 1989 constitution was carried out by three bodies set up by Babangida's administration.

1. The constitution review committee was to review all past constitution and make recommendations
2. The constituent assembly for almost a whole year deliberated on the draft constitution and made recommendations to the armed forces ruling council. This became part of the 1989 constitution.
3. The political bureau organized a debate on the future of Nigerian political system.

## **Features of the 1989 constitution**

1. The federal system principle still continues
2. There is fundamental right for every individual
3. The composition of the legislature, the house of senate and house of representative remains
4. Those who are qualified to be called citizens

## **Process of Law Making in the State Houses of Assembly and National Assembly**

Nigeria operates a Federal Legislative system, and therefore a law can be made at the National level, State level, and even at the Local Government level. This article will focus only on laws that are made on the National level.

Nigeria operates what is known as a 'Bicameral Legislature', this means that the National legislative responsibility is shared between the 2 separate assemblies – the Senate and the House of Representatives, both chambers make up what is known as the National Assembly, at it is the primary law making body in Nigeria.

### **STAGE 1 – ORIGINATION OF THE BILL**

Before a law can be passed, a bill must be presented before the Legislature. A bill is a draft of a proposed law that is presented before the legislature for deliberation and discussion.

A bill can technically be initiated by anybody but only a Senator or a member of the House of Representatives can introduce it on the floor of the House of Representatives or the Senate. A bill can originate either from the Executive (President) or from the members of the Legislature:

When the Executive prepares a bill, it has to be forwarded to the Speaker of the House and the Senate President with a cover letter from the President. This is known as an 'Executive Bill' and is marked with "Executive" printed on the title page of the bill.

Where a bill originates from one of the members of the House of Representatives, it is presented to the Speaker of the House and is firstly discussed in the House of Representatives and passed before it is passed to the Senate for deliberation and passage. A bill that originates from the House of Representative is marked 'HB' (House Bill). Where a bill originates from one of the Senators, it is presented to the Senate President and is firstly discussed in the Senate chamber and passed, before it is passed to the House of Representatives for deliberation and passage. A bill that originates from the Senate is marked 'SB' (Senate Bill).

## **STAGE 2 – INITIAL REVIEW OF THE BILL**

Once a bill is received in either of the chambers of the legislature, the head of the chamber (Speaker or Senate President) forwards it to the relevant committee-

'Rules and Business Committee' for the House of Representatives  
'Committee on the Rules and Procedure' for the Senate  
The Committee reviews the bill to determine if it meets all the required standards to be presented before the chamber. If the standards are not met, they are forwarded to the Legal department of the National Assembly for re-drafting and any other amendments that need to be made to bring it in line with the requirements. The Committee is also expected to determine the day and the time a bill is to be discussed in the House/ Senate.

## **STAGE 3 – GAZETTING OF BILL**

After the initial review, the Committee then sends the bill for gazetting. The reason why bills are gazetted before consideration by the legislature is to give the public notice that a new piece of legislation is being considered and to give members of the public and concerned persons the opportunity to weigh in on the process and potentially give written representations either in favour of the proposed law or against it.

## **STAGE 4 – THE FIRST READING**

The Clerk of the House/Senate usually does the reading of bills on the date and time that has been previously scheduled. The Clerk reads the short title of the bill and then proceeds to ‘table’ it before the Speaker of the House of Representatives/Senate President (whichever is applicable).

At this stage, there is no debate or discussion of the bill on the floor of the Senate or House of Representatives; this stage is simply to inform the legislators that a particular bill has been introduced.

## **STAGE 5 – SECOND READING**

This is when the bill is first debated on the floor of the relevant chamber of the legislature. For a bill to be read the second time, it must be moved by a motion. The legislator moving the motion is expected to highlight the subject matter, objectives, benefits, and general principles of the bill if it is passed into law. Other members may also signify their intention to speak on the bill.

If it is an Executive bill, the debate commences with a motion by the Senate or House Leader that the bill be read the second time. The motion must be seconded (supported) by any of the other parties’ leaders.

If the bill is one initiated by a legislator, the sponsor of the bill will move the motion that the bill be read the second time. The motion must be seconded (supported) by another legislator in the chamber where it is being read. If the motion is not seconded, the bill cannot proceed to a second reading and therefore will be rejected.

After the bill is debated, it is put to a vote on whether it move to the Committee stage, if the bill has the support of the majority, it moves to the Committee Stage; if it does not, it is ‘Negatived’, and cannot be discussed again until it is re-introduced at a later stage.

If it is referred to the Committee stage, the Senate President/Speaker of the House is empowered by the rules of both Senate and the House to determine the relevant committee(s) to which the bill is referred.

## **STAGE 6 – COMMITTEE STAGE**

At this stage, a committee is assigned to deliberate on a bill examines it more critically. The House and the Senate have two types of committees. The first one is the Committee of the Whole House and the second is the Standing Committees (there are many standing committees).

Committees examine all aspects of the bill, and they also organise public hearings, where any member of the public or expert(s) having an interest in the bill may be allowed to attend the public hearing and make contributions to the public debate of the bill.

A member of the public can make suggestion(s) on any aspect of the bill, but only a Member of the Committee can propose an amendment to the bill. All amendments that are made must be in line with the principle and the subject matter of the bill as agreed to at the second reading stage.

Where a bill has to do with multiple subjects spanning different Standing Committees, the committee that has the dominant issue will take the bill while others will form subcommittees to consider the areas that concern them and report to the main committee. It will then be the responsibility of the main committee to collate and aggregate all suggestions and amendments of the “sub-committees” and make a full report to the House/Senate.

## **STAGE 7 – COMMITTEE REPORT**

After the committee has concluded its work, it will report back to the Whole House/Senate in plenary with or without amendments. The chairperson of the Committee is expected via a motion to report progress on the bill.

After the report of the Committee and the deliberation of the Committee of the Whole House, a motion may be moved that the bill be read the third time either immediately or at a later date.

## **STAGE 8 – THIRD READING**

Generally, once the bill has passed the third reading stage, no amendment can be made to it. However, in certain circumstances if a legislator wishes to suggest an amendment, s/he must move a motion that the bill be 're-committed' to the Committee stage for the amendment to be included. If the motion is agreed upon, the House/Senate will dissolve to discuss the amendments. After all necessary amendments, the House/Senate will then proceed on the third reading and pass the bill.

## **STAGE 9 – CLEAN COPY OF THE BILL**

After a bill has scaled the third reading stage and been passed, a clean printed copy of it, incorporating all amendments will be produced, signed by the Clerk and endorsed by the Speaker/Senate President.

The copy will then be forwarded to the Clerk of the House or Senate as the case may be. The copy will be accompanied with a message requiring the concurrence of the receiving chamber.

## **STAGE 10 – CONCURRENCE**

When a bill is sent to either chamber for concurrence, there are three potential outcomes:

The receiving chamber may agree with the provisions of the bill and therefore pass it and the bill is sent to the Clerk of the National Assembly. The receiving chamber may not agree with the bill at all and therefore reject it in its entirety.

The chamber may not agree to some parts of the bill and therefore make amendments. When this happens, the originating chamber may agree to the amendments. If the amendments are not agreeable to it, then a Conference Committee of the two chambers will be constituted to work out any disagreement. The joint conference committee is convened with a distinct mandate – to harmonise the positions of both chambers on the disputed recommendations/amendments. The outcome is a report of the Joint Conference Committee, which is presented in both chambers for

consideration. If both chambers adopt the report, the bill is sent to the Clerk of the originating chamber, and a clean copy of the bill is sent to the Clerk of the National Assembly.

## **STAGE 11 – THE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA**

Once there is concurrence of the bill in both chambers, the Clerk of the National Assembly will ‘enrol’ the bill for the President’s signature. Enrolment is when the Clerk of the National Assembly produces a clean copy of the bill, certifies it, and forwards it to the President for his/her assent. The President has thirty (30) days to sign a bill sent to him/her by the National Assembly. A bill does not become law until the President signs it.

### **Exercises**

1. List five (5) features of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as recommended by the Justice Niki Tobi led constitution debate coordinating committee.
2. State and explain three (3) characteristics of the 1989 constitution.
3. Describe Nigeria’s Federal Legislative system.
4. Explain the process of law making in the Nigerian state houses of assembly and national assembly.

## **Week 8**

### **Topic: Federation In Nigeria**

#### **Origin of Federalism in Nigeria**

Federalism is also a political concept in which a group of member is bound together by covenant with a governing representative head.

Federalism has been present in Nigeria since the former British colony was reorganized into a federation of three regions in 1946. Regionalism was introduced to the Nigeria system by the Richards Constitution.

Federalism is a system of government in which power is shared between the central and regional governments. It is a political system of government where there is division of power among the three tiers of government (federal, State and the local government).

#### **Reason for the Adoption of Federalism in Nigeria.**

1. To protect and preserve the the local independence of every ethnic group in the country.
2. For the purpose of developing all part of the country.
3. Federalism was adopted to form to form a common and stronger government so as to secure the sovereignty of the country.
4. Federalism is adopted in Nigeria because of her multi- ethnicity; therefore only federal system can bring about peaceful co-existence among the different ethnic group.
5. It was also adopted to protect the interest of the minority

#### **Structure of Nigeria Federalism**

##### **1960-1966**

Declared itself a republic and replaced the post of Governor-General with the post of President, a national bicameral parliament was established and the country was considered a federation of the three regions. The Mid-

Western Region was formed from the Western Region in 1966, and Lagos, the capital, was effectively governed as an unofficial fourth region outside the bounds of the Western Region.

## **1967 -1975**

After the first coup and under the short-lived military government of Aguiyi-Ironsi, the country was reorganized under a central government. Following the counter-coup which resulted in Aguiyi-Ironsi's deposition and assassination, Nigeria was reorganized as a federal country, with three of the regions being divided into newer entities and all first-level subdivisions being renamed as states:

Eastern Region was divided into East-Central (Enugu), Rivers (Port Harcourt), and South-Eastern (Calabar) states; Northern Region was divided into Benue-Plateau (Jos), Kano (Kano), Kwara (Ilorin), North-Central (Kaduna), North-Eastern (Maiduguri), and North-Western (Sokoto) states; Western Region was divided into Lagos (Lagos) and Western (Ibadan) states.

Mid-Western and the states of former Eastern Region made a bid to secede from Nigeria as the states of Biafra and Republic of Benin, resulting in the Nigerian Civil War.

## **1976-Till Date**

In 1976, six years after the end of the civil war, the states were further reorganized:

Benue-Plateau state divided into Benue (Makurdi) and Plateau states;  
East-Central state divided into Anambra and Imo (Owerri) states;  
Federal Capital Territory (Abuja) formed from parts of Niger and Plateau states;  
North-Eastern state divided into Bauchi (Bauchi), Borno, and Gongola (Yola) states;  
Niger (Minna) state split from Sokoto;

Western state divided into Ogun (Abeokuta), Ondo (Akure), and Oyo states

State boundaries and names were also reorganized.

Akwa Ibom state split from Cross River;

Katsina state split from Kaduna

Abia State split from Imo;

Bendel State divided into Delta and Edo;

Enugu State split from Anambra;

Gongola State divided into Adamawa and Taraba;

Jigawa State split from Kano;

Kebbi State split from Sokoto;

Kogi State formed from parts of Benue and Kwara;

Osun State split from Oyo;

Yobe State split from Borno.

Bayelsa State was split from Rivers;

Ebonyi State was formed from parts of Abia and Enugu;

Ekiti State was split from Ondo;

Gombe State was split from Bauchi;

Nasarawa State was split from Plateau;

Zamfara State was split from Sokoto.

## **Features of Nigeria Federation**

1. There is constitutional division of powers between the levels of government. In Nigeria, the constitutional powers are divided into exclusive, concurrent and residual list. Only the federal government can legislate on the exclusive list which includes defense, police affairs, fiscal and monetary policies. Both the federal and state government could legislate on concurrent list which include education, etc. it is only the state that is competent to legislate on the residual list which contains such items like land, chieftaincy titles, etc.
2. A federal state has a bicameral legislature, i.e. two houses of legislature.
3. The constitution of a federal state is supreme, i.e. sovereignty can only be located in the constitution.

4. The constitution of a federal state is often written and rigid.
5. A federal state is heterogeneous and geographically large.
6. Dual loyalty is entertained in a federal state. For instance, a Nigerian can at the same time be a Lagosian.
7. There is a body charged with fostering good relations among different levels of government.

### **Exercises**

1. Trace the origin of the federalism in Nigeria.
2. State the reasons for the adoption of federalism in Nigeria.
3. What was the structure of Nigeria federalism from 1960 – 1966?
4. What major changes were made to Nigeria's federalism between 1967 – 1975?
5. Discuss five (5) features of the Nigerian federation at present.

## **Week 9**

### **Topic: Problems of Nigeria Federalism**

#### **Minority Issues and Creation of State**

Continuous agitation for the creation of new state by ethnic groups is another major problem of federalism.

As a result of the nature of the multi-ethnicity of Nigeria, it has brought about the issue of minorities which has constituted to one of the major problems militating against the development of the nation.

#### **Inter-ethnic Rivalry and Issues of Succession**

Nigeria, we all know is made up of diverse group of people with different ethnic groups, and the rivalry among hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and igbo has become a serious issue overtime. In Nigeria, We see different set of people from different geo-political regions agitating for power which sometimes lead to disagreements and ethnic conflicts among the parties involved.

The major reason for ethnic rivalry in Nigeria is lack of cohesion and the inability of the parties involved to concede the defeat in order to promote national peace and unity.

A good example of a leader and a patriotic Nigerian was former president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan who conceded defeat by congratulating the president elect Mohammadu Buhari via a phone call after election results were announced. This I believe he did in order to promote unity, harmony, and peaceful co-existence among Nigerians.

#### **Exercises**

1. State two major problems of the Nigerian federation.
2. What is the major reason for ethnic rivalry in Nigeria?

3. Why is the Nigerian federation having the problem of inter-ethnic rivalry?

## **Week 9**

### **Topic: Development of Political Parties**

#### **Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP)**

Formed in 1923 by Herbert Macaulay to take advantage of the new Clifford Constitution, the NNDP successfully organized various Lagos interest groups into a single group that was able to compete politically. The (NNDP) ran many candidates for seats in the 1922 elections for the Lagos Legislative council, winning three seats. The party continued to dominate politics in Lagos until 1938, when the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) overtook it in elections.

The party's name was adopted in 1964 by Samuel Akintola (Born July 6, 1910 – 15 January 1966. He Was a Nigerian politician, lawyer, aristocrat and orator. He is also one of the founding fathers of modern Nigeria, he was also elevated to the position of Oloye Aare Ona Kakanfo XIII of the Yoruba) for his party as part of a process of unseating the left-leaning Action Group led by Obafemi Awolowo from power in the Western Region.

Party member Augustus Akinloye (Born August 19, 1916 – September 18, 2007. Popularly known as A.M.A, was a Nigerian lawyer, politician and the Seriki of Ibandan land, thus making him a Yoruba tribal aristocrat. He read law at the London School of Economics between 1946 and 1968, upon his return to Nigeria he briefly worked as a lawyer before venturing into politics) later became chairman of the National Party of Nigeria in 1978.

From just one political party NNDP which was formed in 1923, the country Nigeria now have a number of 28 political parties strongly opposing each other, battling for the right to showcase what their candidates or representatives could do.

#### **The Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM)**

The Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) was founded in 1935 after the introduction of the Clifford constitution of 1922 which paved way for the

formation of political parties in Nigeria. Prof. Eyo Ita Esua was known to be the founding father of NYM, and other characters like Earnest Ikoli, the first editor of the Daily Times of Nigeria (1926), Samuel Akinsanya and Dr. C. Vaughan were founding members.

NYM competed for the political control of Lagos with Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) which was founded by Herbert Macaulay. The defunct Lagos Youth Movement (LYM, 1934) was believed to have metamorphosed into NYM. Later on, Nnamdi Azikwe, Samuel Ladoke Akintola, Obafemi Awolowo and H.O. Davis joined the party. The party was the first to have a national outlook in Nigeria based on the composition of its members. Prof. Kofo Ayobami was the president of the party, while Earnest Ikoli was the vice president, and H.O. Davis served as the secretary.

The membership of the party was open to all citizens of Nigeria, especially those residing in Lagos. NYM dismissed some of their members due to some political reasons, but were later accepted back into the party with the idea of Nnamdi Azikiwe who promoted the spirit of Pan-Africanism among the members of NYM.

The aims of the Nigerian Youth Movement was to work towards the unity of Nigeria, and also to gain self-rule or independence for the nation. In 1938, NYM won the three seats in Lagos by defeating NNDP of Herbert Macaulay in the elections for the Lagos Town Council. NYM strongly oppose the system of indirect rule with support from traditional rulers.

In a charter published by the party in 1938, a paragraph said: “We are opposed to the term “Indirect Rule” literally as well as in principle. Honest trusteeship implies direct British Rule with a view to ultimate self-government.”

### **Performance of NYM to Nigeria:**

1. It promoted national unity by composing its members from several ethnic groups in Nigeria.
2. It fought hard for the political independence of Nigeria.

3. It arouse modern nationalism among Nigerians.
4. NYM played a prominent role in the abortion of the indirect rule.
5. It led to the formation of other political parties like, NCNC (1944) , AG (1951) and NPC (1951).

The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun Citizen (NCNC)

The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons[NCNC] was formed in 1944[1] by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Herbert Macaulay. Herbert Macaulay was its first president, while Azikiwe was its first secretary.

The NCNC was made up of a rather long list of nationalist parties, cultural associations, and labor movements that joined to form NCNC. The party at the time was the second to take a concerted effort to create a true nationalist party. It embraced different sets of groups from the religious, to tribal and to trade groups with the exception of a few notable ones such as the Egbe Omo Oduduwa and early on the Nigerian Union of Teachers.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe became its 2nd president and Dr. M.I. Okpara, its 3rd president, when Dr. Azikiwe went on to become the first indegenious President of Nigeria.

The party is considered to be the third prominent political party formed in Nigeria after a Lagos-based party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party and the Nigerian Youth Movement formed by Professor Eyo Ita who became the Deputy National President of NCNC before he left the party to form his own political party called the National Independence Party.

The first test of the party came in the 1951 election. The party won majority votes in the Eastern Region of Nigeria's House of Assembly but became the opposition in the western region with Azikiwe as the opposition leader representing Lagos. Although the Action Group (AG) won a plurality of the votes in the election, its prospects were uncertain as the NCNC could have secured a majority if it had been able to persuade the third party, which was an Ibadan community party and which had been viewed by the NCNC as its ally, to support it.

This it was not able to achieve and the AG therefore formed the government amid accusations of carpet-crossing by Azikiwe and his

NCNC. This event is still viewed by some historiographers as the beginning of ethnic politics in Nigeria. Azikiwe later on became the Premier of Eastern Region, Nigeria in 1954.

### **Objectives of NCNC**

1. The extension of democratic principles and advancement of the interest of the people of Nigeria and Cameroons under British mandate.
2. The impartings of political education to the people of Nigeria in order to prepare them for self-government.
3. The provision of medium of expression for members of NCNC through which they would endeavor to secure for Nigeria and the Cameroons, political freedom, social equality, religious toleration and economic activity.

### **Exercises**

1. Discuss the role of the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) in the development of political parties in Nigeria.
2. Explain the emergence of The Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM) as a political party.
3. State four (4) performance of the NYM and its effects on Nigerian politics.
4. List some of the achievements of National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun Citizen (NCNC).
5. Outline six (6) achievements of Nnamdi Azikiwe in as a founding father of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons[NCNC].

**SS 2**

**THIRD TERM NOTES ON  
GOVERNMENT**

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## **Week 1**

### **Topic: Development of Political Parties In Nigeria/Colonial Era And First Republic**

#### **The Northern People's Congress (NPC)-Organizational Structure**

In December , 1949, a cultural organisation known as Jamiyar Mutanen Arewa was founded in the North. This cultural organization was in 1951 transformed into a political party known as Northern People's Congress (NPC).

The leadership of the of the NPC was placed on Alhaji Ahmadu Bello and he was he was assisted by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

The motto of NPC was 'One North, One People Irrespective of Religion, Rank or Tribe.'

#### **Objectives of NPC**

The main objective of NPC was to attain self-government for Nigeria and the introduction of a permanent Federal Constitution.

#### **Performance of NPC**

The NPC dominated the politics of the Northern region throughout the first region till it was dissolved by a decree in 1966, after the military take over.

#### **The Action Group (AG) –Organizational Structure**

The Action Group (AG) was a Nigerian political party established in Ibadan on March 21, 1951 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The party was founded to serve as the platform for realizing his preliminary objective of mobilising Western Nigerians to forestall the NCNC control of the Western Region and the subsequent aim of cooperating with other nationalist parties to win independence for Nigeria.

It benefitted immensely from the relationships developed in the Egbe Omo Oduduwa formed in Awolowo's days in London as a student.

### **Objectives of AG**

This was to contest and win the election held under the Macpherson Constitution in the West and thus capture the power in that region.

### **Performance**

The party dominated the activities of the Western region throughout First Republic

### **United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC)**

United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) was a political party in Nigeria during the nation's First Republic. The Party was a fusion of two major middle belt organizations, the Middle Zone League and the Middle Belt Peoples' Party. The party was formed to create a political platform for the various ethnic groups in central Nigeria covering parts of present-day Benue State, Kogi State, Plateau State, Nasarawa State, Adamawa State and Kwara State.

Some of the early leaders of the UMBC were Joseph Tarka, David Lot, Patrick Dokotri, Edward Kundu Swem, Ahmadu Angara, Isaac Shaahu (Northern Assembly Opposition Leader), Solomon Lar, D. Bulus Biliyong, D.D. Dimka, V.T. Shisha, M.D. Iyorka, Ugba Uyeh and Vincent Igbaramun Orjime. The party adopted a decentralized nomination system whereby local ethnic unions or special committees in a given area nominated and presented candidates for local elections, this was partly used to validate the ethnic diversity of the party.

### **Objectives of UMBC**

Its establishment was an act to ensure an alternative minority voice in the Northern Nigeria Assembly which was dominated by the Northern

People's Congress, a political party which the central Nigerian leaders felt had the potential to curb the middle belt's political voice.

### **Performance of UMBC**

The UMBC in due time, became the Third largest opposition party in the Northern Nigeria Assembly. In 1958, the UMBC entered into an alliance with the Southwest Nigeria dominant Action Group of Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

### **Exercises**

1. What was the main agenda of the Northern People's Congress (NPC)?
2. Explain the organizational structure of the Action Group (AG).
3. State the two major organizations that formed the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) .
4. What was the main objective of the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC)?

## **Week 2**

### **Topic: Second Republic Political Parties In Nigeria**

#### **-National Party of Nigeria(NPN)-Organizational Structure**

The party's beginning could be traced to private and sometimes secret meetings among key Northern Nigerian leaders after the proscription of political parties in 1966 by the military regimes of Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi and General Yakubu Gowon.

A few members of the proscribed parties based in the Northern section of Nigeria began to organize to form a northern party to prepare for a return to democracy, the group also approached southern Nigerians about the prospect of a truly national party.

A constitutional assembly organized in 1977 to prepare a constitution for a new democratic government, proved to be the best avenue for members of the burgeoning group to meet and discuss plans for their regions and nation. On September 20, 1978, the National Party of Nigeria was formed, composed of members of the constituent assembly and was headed by Makaman Bida, an old Northern People's Congress (NPC) member.

#### **Objectives of NPN**

1. To maintain and protect the unity and sovereignty of Nigeria.
2. To uphold federalism as a form of government in Nigeria.
3. To preserve and safeguard the Nigeria Cultural Heritage.

#### **Performance of NPN**

At formation, the party was able to draw beyond its core base of former NPC members and attracted some First Republic politicians such as Joseph Tarka, former leader of the United Middle Belt Congress, K.O. Mbadiwe, one time minister and Remi Fani-Kayode, a former NNDP member. In October 1978, the party adopted zoning to elect party officials.

The party then elected a new chairman, Augustus Akinloye, a Yoruba man and former Nigerian National Democratic Party government minister over contenders such as Fani Kayode, Adeyinka Adebayo and Adeleke Adedoyin. The election of a southern Nigerian paved the way for the presidential candidate to go to the core base of the party: the Hausa-Fulani states.

One of the campaign promise was implementation of Green Revolution as an agricultural policy.

### **Unity Party of Nigeria(UPN)-Organizational Structure**

The Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) was a Nigerian political party that was dominant in western Nigeria during the second republic (1978-1983). The party revolved around the political leadership of Obafemi Awolowo, a sometimes polemical politician but effective administrator. However, the party's main difference with its competitors was not the leader but the ideals of a social democracy it was founded on. The UPN inherited its ideology from the old Action Group and saw itself as a party for everyone.

### **Objectives of UPN**

1. To ensure free education for all.
2. Intergrated rural development which was aimed at boosting food production.
3. Provision of full employment
4. Provision of free health facilities.

### **Performance of UPN**

It was the only party to promote free education and called itself a welfarist party.

The desired goal of the military government of Olusegun Obasanjo to build national political parties led to a gradual weakening of ethnic

politics in the second republic. The UPN as well as the People's Redemption Party (PRP) presented the most coherent plan of action during the electioneering campaign of 1979. The party jettisoned building a coalition of comfort in a polarized political environment but based partnerships on the cooperation of like minded advocates of democratic socialism.

The Action Congress of Nigeria was regarded as a natural successor to the Action Group and UPN.

### **Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP)-Organizational Structure**

The Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) was one of the major political parties that contested elections in the Nigerian Second Republic. The party was made up of three major groups: the Lagos Progressives, Club 19, and the Nigerian Council of Understanding. The Lagos progressives included some Lagos based NCNC politicians such as Adeniran Ogunsanya, T.O.S. Benson and Kola Balogun. The National Council of understanding was led by Waziri while Club 19 had Matthew Mbu, Solomon Lar, Omo Omoruyi, Paul Unongo, Antonio Fernandez and others as members.

### **Objectives of NPP**

1. To promote unity in Nigeria and protect her territorial integrity
2. To work for the intergration and equality of the peoples of Nigeria
3. To provide free and high quality of education at all levels
4. To work for full employment

### **Performance of NPP**

Though the party was formed to create a national outlook, the exit of Waziri Ibrahim, led to an erosion of politics without borders. Waziri's exit was precipitated because he wanted to be the chairman and also the

presidential candidate of the party. The party later became to be seen as an eastern Nigerian party, though it had scores of support in Plateau State, Rivers State and Lagos. The party tried to promote social justice and social change as vital ingredients of its mission. In 1979, the party chose former president Nnamdi Azikiwe as its presidential candidate.

In states like Imo State, leaders such as the governor, Sam Mbakwe were elected with landslide victories (over 80%) in the Imo State Legislative, Gubernatorial and Presidential Elections in Nigeria in 1979. In Imo State, the NPP Campaign Director, Party Secretary and principal architect in electing Sam Mbakwe, was Dr. Sebastian Okechukwu Mezu.

Before the 1979 elections, the party took some political hits, about 254 of its candidates were disqualified from contesting electoral seats, the second most out of the five major parties. Nevertheless, the party won about 17% of the House of Representative seats and three gubernatorial elections.

The Great Nigeria People's Party was one of the six major political parties that fielded candidates for elections in the Nigerian Second Republic. The party was formed by a splinter group from the Nigerian People's Party, the group was led by Waziri Ibrahim, a politician and businessman from Borno. Waziri was one of the leaders of the three associations that formed the nucleus of NPP.

### **Objective of NPP**

The original intention of NPP was to transcend the politics of ethnicity and to promote the cause of both the prominent ethnic groups and ethnic minorities. However, the entry of Nnamdi Azikiwe to NPP led to a power struggle in which Waziri lost. Waziri then led a group of minorities in the north and some southerners to form the Great Nigeria Peoples Party.

## **Performance of NPP**

Though the original intentions of leaders of the party was to surpass ethnic and sectarian politics, the party's strength nevertheless lay in the northeast, among the Kanuris and some northern minorities.

In the 1979 elections, the party won a total of 8 senate seats, mostly from the Northeast and about 8.4% of total votes in the senate election. In the House of representative election, the party won about 43 seats and close to 10% of the overall votes in the election. In the presidential election, Ibrahim Waziri, the party's candidate, took home about 10% of the total votes in the election.

## **Peoples Redemption Party(PRP)-Organizational Structure**

The People's Redemption Party was a political party in Nigeria. The Second Republic incarnation of the Northern Elements Progressive Union and the Fourth Republican incarnation of a similar namesake, the party was created by the supporters of Mallam Aminu Kano after his withdrawal from the National Party of Nigeria. The PRP was highly regarded as a progressive left of center political party. Some well known members of the party included Governors Abubakar Rimi, Balarabe Musa, Dr. Edward Ikem Okeke, Abdullahi Aliyu Sumaila and Chinua Achebe – who served briefly as Deputy National President in the early 1980s.

The original party was banned following the Military Coup of 1984 led by General Buhari. In the Fourth Republic, the party with the same name resurfaced under the leadership Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa; it could however not gather the same level of support as its Second Republican namesake.

## **Objective of PRP**

The main objective of this party was to ensure that Nigeria gained freedom in every capacity as well as foster unity among Nigerians.

## **Performance of PRP**

In the 1980s a coalition of politicians styling themselves 'Progressives' called for a national front against the ruling NPN and by 1981 a conference of opposition Governors in Nigeria had organized into a 'Progressive Governors Forum'. The active participation of PRP's governors and MP's in these conferences that were by 1982 calling for a mega progressive party soon led to a crisis within the party. In mid 1982 a suspension of PRP Governors by pro Aminu Kano elements and a subsequent rejection of the suspension by Micheal Imodu (then Vice President of the party) led to official fractioning. Upon formation of the PRP, an invitation was extended to Aminu Kano and other prominent leftists, and he was soon elected as the party's national president. In 1979 the party was able to capture 2 out of 12 states and came third in the national elections. Aminu Kano, died in April 1983, just before that year's presidential election. Khalifa Hassan Yusuf succeeded him as party leader and presidential candidate.

## **Nigeria Advanced Party(NAP)-Organizational Structure**

The Nigeria Advance Party was a progressive political party during the Second Nigerian Republic, registered for the 1983 elections. Headed by lawyer Tunji Braithwaite, known for his opposition and as a lawyer, the party was the only new political organization allowed to field candidates for the 1983 elections. The party was composed of southern Nigerian intellectuals favoring a reformist government. The party was launched on 13 October 1978 in Ibadan. Party leaders initially took a cautious attitude towards the idea of free education, but later advocated free university education and mandatory primary education. It positioned itself as an alternative to the old politicians of the first republic.

In its first two decades, Nigeria witnessed extensive military rule. Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo was the last military head of state prior to the 1983 elections.

Tunji Braithwaite was a prominent Lagosian who claimed that Nigeria's potential could be achieved by reform—especially through the eradication of deep-rooted corruption. Notable associates of Tunji Braithwaite include Wole Soyinka, Nobel Peace Prize Winner, and musician Fela Anikulapo Kuti, whose mother was murdered by soldiers in a raid on Fela's Kalakuta Republic under Obasanjo's Military Regime.

### **Exercises**

1. List four (4) Second Republic political parties in Nigeria.
2. Trace the origin of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN).
3. State four (4) objectives of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN).
4. Explain the performance of the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP).
5. How did the 'Progressive Governors Forum' metamorphosed into the People's Redemption Party (PRP)?

## **Week 3**

### **Topic: The Third and Fourth Republics Political Parties**

#### **Social Democratic Party (SDP)-Organisational Structure**

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 for young radical intellectuals and socialists. In its manifesto, it called for concerted efforts to improve the people's welfare and fight for social justice.

After the banning of 13 prospective parties by the administration of Ibrahim Babangida in 1989. A few of the "illegal" associations decided to re-align. The People's Front of Nigeria, People's Solidarity Party and the Nigerian Labor Party were the three main inchoate groups that emerged to form the core constituency of the new SDP. The leadership of the party was mostly dominated by Northern Nigerians, with Babagana Kingibe elected party chairman in 1990 over his rival Mohammed Arzika.

#### **Source of finance**

The party was largely financed by the Federal Government and a few individuals, such as Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, Francis Nzeribe and M.K.O. Abiola.

#### **Objective**

To ensure equal opportunities for all Nigerians at all levels.

On the other hand, the electoral strength of the party lain in the Yoruba states and Imo and Anambra states. The party won 57% of the Senate seats in the 1992 National Assembly election, and won 53% of the seats of the House of Representatives in the same election.

## **Performance**

In its primary elections, Yar'adua collated about 480,000 votes dominating his primary opponent, Olu Falae in the first round.[1] Another financier, Abiola (a former member of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons and chairman of the National Party of Nigeria) won the primary election on March 1993, after the first election was canceled. Abiola's contested the national election which was later annulled, a seemingly coherent legacy of Nigeria's swivelling and revolving door like political landscape.

## **National Republican Convention(NRP)-Organizational Structure**

The National Republican Convention established by the government of General Ibrahim Babangida and ultimately disbanded by the incoming military regime of General Sani Abacha in 1993.

## **Objectives**

The party was organized to cater to the conservative leanings of some Nigerians, it flourished in the core northern states and Eastern states of Abia and Enugu. However, many felt there was little difference between the party and its competitor, the Social Democratic Party, another government created party. Both parties were under the supervision of the military government and most of its presidential candidates favored a continuation of the Structural Adjustment Programme of the Babangida administration.

The party was largely an amalgamation of three major organizations, the Liberal Convention, the Nigeria National Congress and the Federalists.

## **Performance**

In its first presidential primary, the race was dominated by a few prominent Hausa-Fulani leaders. Adamu Ciroma, 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.

### **Peoples Democratic Party(PDP)-Organizational Structure**

The People's Democratic Party (PDP) 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. Currently, PDP controls only 12 states out of 36 states in Nigeria.

### **Objectives**

To major ensure the liberty of Nigerians as well as eradicate poverty.

### **All Nigeria Peoples Party(ANPP)-Organizational Structure**

The All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) was under the leadership of Late Chief Edwin Ume-Ezeoke, its candidate in the presidential elections of 19 April 2003, former military ruler Muhammadu Buhari, won 32.2% of the vote. Buhari was again the ANPP candidate in the 2007 presidential election, taking second place and about 18% of the vote according to official results.

The party assumed a new leadership following its September 2010 National convention in Abuja. A successful convention was held at Eagle Square in Abuja under the leadership of Yobe State Governor, Alhaji Ibrahim Gaidam FNCA,CPA where former Governor of Abia Chief Dr.Christopher ogbunnaya onu has emerged the National Chairman of the party. Other National officers are Hon. Iwan Shettima Ali s National Secretary, Mr. Wale olatunji as deputy National Secretary,chief John Oyegun deputy national chairman south, Dr.yusuf musa deputy national chairman North,Hajjia Ramatu Tijjani national women leader, Tony udoakan,

national youth leader, Emma Eneukwu national publicity secretary, Hajjia Fatima Muhammed, national financial secretary.

### **Performance**

The ANPP is the household party in the extreme north of Nigeria, primarily due to its mass appeal. It is the strongest opposition party, controlling seven of the nation's thirty-six states. The party's biggest achievement in the 2003 election was its gubernatorial victory in Kano State where it defeated the ruling People's Democratic Party to take control of one of the country's most populous states.

Following the 2007 election, the ANPP challenged the victory of Umaru Yar'Adua and his People's Democratic Party, although it was announced on June 27, 2007, following talks, that the ANPP had agreed to join Yar'Adua's government. There was reportedly disagreement within the ANPP about the talks. Buhari subsequently denounced the idea in a BBC interview and suggested that the decision was only made by part of the party, alleging that they were "just looking for jobs for themselves".

### **Congress For Progressive Change(CPC)-Organizational Structure**

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

## **Objectives**

The agenda of the CPC lies towards the left wing of the political spectrum, supporting individual liberty, rights and social welfare for the less privileged.

## **Performance**

The party advocates political liberalism, as originated by the American philosopher, John Rawls. The party's manifesto insists on the amendment of the Nigerian constitution with the view of devolving powers, duties and responsibilities to states and local governments in order to entrench federalism and the federal spirit.

The party constitution is silent on the issue of zoning, a common practice in Nigeria under which key positions are allocated in rotation to representatives from each region of the country.

## **Exercises**

1. What was the source of finance for the Social Democratic Party of Nigeria?
2. What led to the formation of the National Republican Convention?
3. Why were the SDP and NRC disbanded by the military government of Gen. Sani Abacha in 1993?
4. Explain the organizational structure of the People's Democratic Party (PDP).
5. What led to the formation of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) in 2006?

## **Week 4**

### **Topic: Military Rule In Nigeria**

#### **Historical Background**

Nigeria's first military junta began following the 1966 Nigerian coup d'état which overthrew Prime Minister Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi was made the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, but was soon overthrown and murdered in a coup in July of the same year.

#### **Reasons for Military Intervention in Nigeria**

1. Politicisation of the military
2. Tribal loyalties
3. Regional based political parties
4. Disputes over 1962 and 1963 census results
5. General election crisis of 1964
6. The Action Group crisis of 1962
7. Western Nigeria Election crisis of 1965
8. Allegation of corruption, nepotism etc among politicians
9. Mismanagement of public funds
10. Low level of honest and reliable leadership
11. Low level of economic development

#### **Characteristics of Military Rule**

1. The Military is hierarchical and centralised
2. It does not tolerate opposition

3. The form of Government is dictatorial
4. Suspension of constitution
5. Absence of rule of law
6. It monopolises the instruments of violence
7. Laws are made through issuing of decrees
8. There is fusion of the executive and legislative arms of the Government
9. Involvement of civilians in the administration
10. Discipline and obedience to higher commands

### **Achievements of the Military Rule in Nigeria**

1. Infrastructural developments e.g. roads, airports, railways etc
2. Creation of States and Local Governments
3. Encouragement of regional cooperation e.g. ECOWAS
4. Keeping the unity of the country
5. Local Government Reforms
6. Promotion of National Integration e.g. NYSC
7. Mass-oriented programme e.g. DEFRI, NDE
8. The new Federal Capital Territory
9. Introduction of new currency
10. Change of driving pattern from Left to Right
11. Growth in Education Sector
12. Introduction of new constitution

## **The Structure of Military Rule in Nigeria**

1. The Head of State/President
2. The Supreme Military Council (SMC); the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC)
3. The National Council States
4. The Council of Ministers
5. The Judiciary
6. The Civil Service

## **The Weakness or Failures of the Military Regime in Nigeria**

1. It was based on dictatorship
2. Didn't tolerate criticism
3. Was responsible for the Nigeria Civil war
4. Was corrupt
5. There was absence of independence of the Judiciary
6. Mismanagement and wastage of public funds
7. Violation of rights of man
8. Increases in crime rate
9. Was undemocratic
10. Had no press freedom
11. Had no respect for the rule of law
12. Laws were made by decrees
13. Inability to conduct reliable and acceptable census

## **Exercises**

1. Trace the origin of military rule in Nigeria.
2. State five (5) reasons for Military Intervention in Nigeria.
3. Highlight four (4) characteristics of military rule.
4. Outline some of the achievements of military rule in Nigeria.
5. Explain six (6) failures of the military regime in Nigeria

## Week 5

### Topic: Conflict Resolutions And Management, Peace Education

#### Meaning of Conflict

Conflict is the breakdown of a harmonious relationship, arising from a clash of interests. It also means disagreement, struggle and quarrel between people. Conflict is natural in every human society. It could occur due to differences in views, opinions and ambitions of the individuals with those of the group.

#### Types of Conflicts

Conflicts can be classified into two types; they are:

1. **Peaceful or non-violent conflict:** This is defined as the conflict that does not involve the use of force; it could be inform of a disagreement of workers and management over salaries, it is a trade dispute and it is non-violent conflict because the workers and the management will hold a dialogue to resolve area of disagreement.
2. **Violent Conflict:** A conflict is violent when it is not settled peacefully and it leads to war. An example is the 1967-1970 civil war in Nigeria which arose as a result of lack of co-operation among Nigerians. In a violent conflict, property is destroyed and people are displaced , injured, or killed.

#### Causes of Conflicts

The following points below are the causes of conflicts

- Conflict can arise when someone or group or a group of people neglect their roles or duties
- When the funds of the community or the people are mismanaged by leaders, there is bound to be conflict

- Conflicts can arise when people struggle to get something that other people are also interested in.
- Conflicts also occur in groups, associations and between groups as a result of difference in opinions
- Differences in in the interpretation of the aims or objectives of a group or association
- Absence of mutual trust and understanding amongst people brings about conflict
- It occurs when someone is domination other members of a group
- Rudeness/stubbornness may cause conflict.

### **Consequences of Conflicts on the society**

The following are the effects of conflicts on the society

1. Conflicts result into the break down of law and order
2. It makes it difficult for people to achieve common goals and objectives
3. Conflicts bring about disunity
4. It brings about hatred and disaffection among members of a group or association
5. It leads to confusion , insecurity, anxiety and unhappiness
6. It leads to unhealthy political rivalry
7. It leads to inefficiency and laziness
8. It leads to division and separation
9. It causes mental and emotional disturbances
- 10.It leads to a decrease in productivity and economic depression
11. It leads to loss of lives and properties
12. It brings lack of peace and harmony

## **Conflict management and Resolution**

Conflict management can be defined in two ways.

1. It can be referred to as the effort made to stop the conflict from arising
2. It is the effort made when the conflict has already started, to minimize its destructive impact

Conflict resolution refers to the deliberate efforts made at resolving disputes for peace and stability of the warring communities. It brings a conflict to a final end as it ensures that all parties to the conflict are satisfied with the settlement.

### **Definition of Peace**

Peace is the state of being calm and quite. It is a state or quality of living in friendship with somebody without argument. It is a state in which one is not involved in causing argument or violence. It is freedom from war.

Peace is also the ability to unite with other people's behaviour or better still to tolerate one another's attitude without complaining.

### **Exercises**

1. Define conflict.
2. State and describe the two types of conflict.
3. Name five (5) causes of conflicts.
4. Discuss six (6) consequences of conflict.
5. Define peace.

## **Week 6**

### **Topic: Local Government Administration In Nigeria**

#### **Structure**

Local government may be defined as a government established through an Act at the local level to deal with specific matters as it affects them. It can also be defined as the sub-organ of the central government established to provide for the needs of the people at local level. Under the 1963 republican constitution, local government authorities were created mainly to deal with matters of local concern, e.g. markets, feeder, roads, motor parks, etc. The essence of local government creation is to involve local participation in the affairs of the country.

The evolution of local government system in Nigeria could be traceable to the Great Britain municipalities' form of local government. This system which was introduced in Lagos, Port Harcourt, Enugu, etc had similar responsibilities with that obtainable in Britain.

This is a multiple system of local government that operated before the 1976 local government reforms. After the Second World War, local government councils gradually replaced indirect rule system of the native authority and law making became relatively easy even when most of the native authorities were set up.

#### **Functions of Local Government**

1. Local government maintains law and order in its locality.
2. It collects rates and levies.
3. It provides and supervises primary education.
4. It provides and maintains health centres.
5. It provides urban transportation.
6. It provides and maintains customary courts.

## **Sources of Finance for Local Governments**

1. The national assembly: They make provision for statutory allocation of public revenue.
2. House of assembly of a state: They make provision for statutory allocation of public revenue to local government councils.
3. Grants: They receive grants from both central and state governments for special projects.
4. Collection of rates: Revenues are equally generated through collection of rates on electronics and market stalls.
5. Commercial ventures: Some local government are involved in commercial ventures like transportation.
6. Payment of fines: Fines are paid by those that have offended the rules and regulations.

## **Problems of Local Government**

1. Acute shortage of funds to operate.
2. There is problem of corruption and mismanagement of fund.
3. Some officials demand bribery before performing their functions.
4. Party politics often cause friction among the elected councillors.
5. The incentive to work is low leading to poor attitude of local government staff.
6. Some officials use their positions to grant undue favour to their friends and families, e.g. award of contracts.

## **Suggested Solutions to Problems of Local Government**

1. There should be improvement on method of revenue generation.
2. Most of the workers should be given the opportunity to further their training in local administration.
3. Provision of adequate fund to the local government.
4. Auditing should be done regularly to enhance efficient financial management.
5. The activities of local government not be politically motivated.
6. There should be more avenues for revenue generation.

## **1976 Local Government Reforms In Nigeria**

The 1976 reforms of local government changed the multiple system of local government to a single tier all-purpose local government. All the local governments were made the third tier of government after the central and state government.

## **Features of 1976 Local Government reforms in Nigeria**

1. Introduction of uniform system of local government.
2. Federal government became directly involved in the local government administration.
3. Introduction of service board/ commission in all states.
4. Appointment of full time chairmen and supervisory councilors.
5. Federal and state governments were made to give grants to local governments.
6. Majority of local councilors were to be elected on a three-year basis as the term of office.
7. Traditional rulers were excluded from the local government council.

## **Role of Traditional Rulers in Local Government**

1. Ministerial appointment: Some of them were appointed as ministers without port folio.
2. Legislation: They were also appointed into the second chamber in the regional law-making body.
3. President of customary courts; Some of the traditional rulers were appointed presidents of customary courts.
4. The tyranny of the first chamber: House of chiefs acted as a check to arbitrary acts of the upper chamber.
5. Representation of the grassroots: The traditional rulers were seen as the representatives of the people at the grassroots.
6. Acted as a link: They are seen as a link between the people and the government.

## **Exercises**

1. Define Local government.
2. List six (6) functions of Local Government in Nigeria.
3. How are local governments funded in Nigeria?
4. Explain the features of the 1976 Local Government Reforms in Nigeria.
5. Highlight the roles of the traditional rulers in the local government in Nigeria.

## Week 7

### Topic: Nigeria And the World

#### Interdependence of Nations

There is interdependence and inter-relationship existing among nations of the world. No nation is an island. Nations of the world have become so closely related to one another as a result of breakthrough in communication, formation of different types of organizations, etc. Therefore, development of nations cannot be done without relating or interacting with other nations. In the process of these interactions, benefits are derived in different areas of human endeavor.

Nigeria interacts with many nations of the world, politically, economically, socially, culturally e.t.c and this is made possible through the establishment of high commissions, embassies and consulates abroad.

Nigeria also belongs to international, regional or sub-regional organizations e.g United Nation Organizations (UNO), Organization of African Unity (OAU) and economic community of West Africa states (ECOWAS). She is also a member of the oil producing exporting countries (OPEC).

#### The Need for Interaction

1. **Political reason for interaction:** States agree to interact through the formation of different organisations. E.g., United Nations Organization (U.N.O), Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U), etc.
2. **Economic reason for interaction:** Natural resources are unevenly distributed worldwide and nations can only benefit from one another through such interaction.
3. **Social/cultural reason for interaction:** This is very important because it promotes love and friendship among nations and eliminates conflicts.

## **Merits of Interaction among Nations of the World**

1. They promote peace and security worldwide.
2. Nations are drawn closer through sports, musicals, etc.
3. Interactions among nations bring about economic advancement especially in the areas of technology.
4. States benefit immensely from others especially through sports, cultural exchange, etc.
5. Political interaction removes the interference of other states trying to dominate the others.
6. The coming together of nations brings about investment opportunities.
7. The interaction among nations led to the establishment of political organizations. E.g. U.N.O, O.A.U, etc.
8. Interaction among nations of the world can help to spread civilization and modernization.

## **Demerits of Interaction Among nations of the World**

1. Cultural/social problems: Through interaction in sports, cultural concerts, etc, indecency, prostitution and immoral acts could be exported to some countries.
2. Developed nations can still interfere in the domestic affairs of the less developed nations.
3. Neocolonialism: Interaction among nations politically, economical, etc can lead to neocolonialism and this can make no sense out of the hard won independence of these developing states from their colonial masters.
4. Inferior goods: it can lead to some developed countries making some of the third world countries dumping ground for their inferior goods.
5. Control of states: Political and economic interactions associated with the membership of some of the organizations. E.g. I.M.F (International

Monetary Fund), U.N.O, etc can bring about control of sovereignty of less powerful states.

### **Definition Of Foreign Policy**

Foreign policy refers to the decisions and actions taken by a state to pursue her interests within the global system. The ability of a nation to influence the decisions and actions of other nations within the comity of nations is of great importance.

Nigeria's foreign policy can be defined as the totality of Nigeria's interaction within the international system. In defining and planning their foreign policies, government most essentially consider the enhancement of national interests at international level. National or domestic interest is a major factor in foreign policy implementation.

### **Nigeria's Foreign Policy since Independence**

Since independence, there has been a succession of a military and civil administration whose foreign policies differed greatly in terms of ideology, style, substance and even the personality of the leaders. A former foreign affairs minister of Nigeria, Major General Nwachukwu (rtd) grouped Nigeria's foreign policy since independence into different phases:

1. The Balewa era- ( 1960-66)
2. Crises and civil war period (Gowon period, 1960-70)
3. Post-war eras of the 3Rs- Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation.
4. Gowon era(1970-75)
5. The Muritala Obasanjo era (1975-79)
6. The second republic era (1979-83)
7. The Buhari/Idiagbon era (1983-85)

8. The Babangida era (1985–93)
9. The Shonekan/Abacha era (1993–June 98)
10. The Abubakar era (June 1998–May 1999)

Each of the regimes or administration operated according to the prevailing domestic or national and international environment including the goals set by each of the leaders/administrations.

**The following are the names of the external affairs minister that played crucial roles in Nigeria's foreign policy:**

- Dr Jaja Nwachukwu (1962–65)
- Alhaji Nuhu Bamali (1965–66)
- Dr Okoi Arikpo, commissioner for external affairs (July 1966–July 1975)
- Major-General Joseph Garba (1975–1979)
- Major-General Henry Adefope (January 1979–September 1979)
- Professor Ishaya Audu (1979–1983)
- Chief Emeka Anyaoku (October–December 1983)
- Professor Ibrahim Gambari (1984–1985)
- Professor Bolaji Akinyemi (1985–1987)
- 10. Major-General Ike Nwachukwu (1987–89 and 1990–92)
- 11. Alhaji Rilwan Lukman (1989–1990)

The government of Abacha was dominated by Chief Tom Ikimi as the country's foreign affairs minister. The current external affairs minister is Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru.

### **Formulation of Nigeria's Foreign Policy**

1. Formulation: The president of the country is technically responsible for Nigeria's foreign policy.

2. Consultations: Consultations are made with Nigeria's diplomats abroad, experts in the universities, the business community, leaders of thought, etc before taking decisions.
3. The minister and the ministry of external affairs: The presidency is assisted in policy formulation by the minister and officials of the ministry of external affairs as well as experts at Nigeria's Institute of International Affairs.
4. Clear and practical policies: Adoption of clear and practical policies regarding Africa with view to bringing about co-operation and progress to all African states.
5. Friendship and co-operation: The country maintains friendship and co-operation with other nations of the world that respect their territorial sovereignty.
6. Independence of African states: Helping non-independent African states to achieve total independence confirming the statement that Africa is the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy.
7. Respect for territorial integrity: Nigeria has respect for other states based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.
8. Peaceful resolution of crises: Joining other states to find peaceful resolution to crisis in ECOMOG, troops in Liberia, Sierra-Leone, etc.

### **Exercises**

1. List five (5) reasons why Nigeria need to interact with other nations.
2. State 6 advantages of interactions among nations of the world.
3. Define foreign policy.
4. Explain Nigeria's Foreign Policy since Independence.
5. Highlight six (5) different steps in the formulation of Nigeria's foreign policy.

