

Theoretical Postulations on Peoples' Democratic Party's 2015 Electoral Crash: Implications for Political Development

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Abstract

Since the return to civilian rule in 1999 in Nigeria, Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) was one of the prominent party as a result of it being in the helm of affair from 1999 to 2015 before All Progressives Congress (APC) broke the sixteen years jinx, where the later won the hotly contested general elections at the Presidential level, got many seats at both federal houses and Governors at state levels. The paper identified and described some factors which lead to the demise of PDP in the just concluded elections to include: the inability of the party to improve the nation's economy; insecurity; lack of internal democracy; desire of the people for positive political changes. These among many other factors obviously affected the chances of PDP to win the elections and establish her political hegemony in the country; recommendations were given for political development.

Keywords: *PDP, APC, Election, Democracy, Party Members and Executives.*

Background to the Study

Nigeria is a country in Sub-Saharan Africa with an estimated population of 160 million inhabitants. It is a heterogeneous society with large arable farm land full of economic opportunities. The country got her independence in 1960, became a republic in 1963 and unfortunately experienced a major coup d'état that claimed the lives of the first generation politicians on 15 January, 1966. The military grip the political powers; control the socio-economic and political activities of the country for several decades. For instance, the military divided the country's three regions into twelve, later to nineteen, twenty one, and to thirty six states respectively. The

military also organized elections to return the country to democratic rule and obstructed or truncated some electoral processes as well. In 1979-84 and 1993-1994 respectively, there were elements of democracy and democratization that were unfortunately followed by some military incursion in 1984-1999.

Following the collapse of the eastern bloc, democracy and democratization became the order of the day which all sovereign nation states worked towards. For Nigeria to be respected and accepted in the comity of nations, she succumbed to international pressure and embraced multi-party democracy. The military government under General Abdulsalami Abubakar became committed to the democratic process and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) was among the registered political parties to contest political positions in the 1999 elections. Eventually, PDP became the winner at the Presidential and National Assembly elections, that is, Senate and House of Representatives. At the state level, PDP also had many state governors to her credits.

In the 2003 elections, PDP still maintains her political hegemony by clinging to power at Federal and State levels; in 2007, and 2011 also, PDP still won the elections overwhelmingly. By these victories, PDP has proven to be a formidable party with lot of structures and members across Nigerian civil society, ethno-religious segments and geo-political divide; it was even described as the largest party in Africa. In view of the aforementioned advantages or factors in favour of the party, its leaders and members believe that they could continue to rule Nigeria for the next sixty years.

Paradoxically however, this dream was abruptly aborted and halted following the party's humiliating defeats in the 2015 general elections in the country, that were held on March 28th, and April 11th, 2015 respectively. A newly formed coalition of political parties, called All Progressives Congress (APC) won the Presidential elections; had more Senators and House of Representatives members and more elected governors than the famous and well established PDP. Political experts, public analysts, including the local population express surprises over the demise of the party that ruled Nigeria for over sixteen years to a new All Progressives Congress (APC). What could be the prepositional factors that caused this dismal crash?

Objective of the study

The objective of this study is to examine and highlight the effects of:

lack of congruence in political party; non adherence to party constitution by party executive and members and non issue based campaign by PDP in 2015 general election.

Methodology

Secondary and primary sources of data were used to ascertain the rationale for PDP crash. The researcher explored many literatures, especially newspapers, listened to radio commentators and interacted with many politicians some of which are members of the party while others are from the opposition parties.

Review of Literature

Based on the literatures examined, the causes and rationale for the failure of PDP in the 2015 general elections are multifarious. It was discovered during the study that there were individual, party and national issues which affected the PDP as summarized thus:

Individual factors: There were personal deeds or actions by some individual in PDP that affected the party in the 2015 general election:

Personal trait of the candidate: Goodluck Jonathan has ruled Nigeria for six years. During these years, the electorate have seen and noticed his shortcomings, reactions to both national and international issues like corruption, security, plights of the masses affected by one challenge or the others, lack of proactive and disciplinary measures on erring ministers and other public office holders. Speaking about Jonathan's government and his personality trait, Jim Disu states:

Jonathan seems not to have a concrete plan and he could not control his environment, both domestic and official. He didn't have control over the security agencies; remember what happened with the Chibok girls and so on. All these things he could have taken care of. His government was not well run. He was giving out appointments like candy in appreciation for loyalty and was unduly loyal to his associates. His campaign strategy was wrong from beginning to the end; it made Buhari the issue... (Ebirim, 2015).

The personal and leadership traits of the President did not appeal to many electorates as he seems to be weak, slow and apprehensive. Sometimes until the general public cry and shout before his reaction will be seen. For instance, when over 200 Chibok school girls were abducted by the dreaded Boko Haram group on April 14th 2014; the President and those in Abuja did not act promptly and decisively. Budget implementation was not too appreciative; forming committee/panels, receiving panels' reports without implementations of the recommendations seems to discredit the government and personality of Mr. President before the eyes of educated voters. Voters were meant to believe that PDP is Jonathan and Jonathan is PDP, who must be voted out. The poor and imbalanced picture of the President and the party presented to the electorates significantly

affected the party's chances in the country.

Personal; Secret Deeds and Alliances of some PDP Members: There were some traces of actions and inaction by some PDP members in favour of the opposition party. Even the PDP national chairman Dr. Ma'azu was at a time alleged not to be doing or has not done enough for PDP, this by implication means he was either directly or indirectly working for the progress of the other party at the detriment of his party (Fabiyyi, 2015). If there was no romance between some PDP members and the APC, there would not be mass and dramatic defection to APC immediately the Presidential election result was announced by people like: Tafida Mafindi, the Chairman of PDP Presidential campaign from Taraba state; Senator Ahmed Hassan Barata; Mohammed Bello Tukur and former minister of health Dr Idi Aliyu Hong all from Adamawa state among others from Ondo and Oyo states (Jackson, Yusuf & Ajayi, 2015). In some national dailies, it was reported that 'Aso Rock' that is, the Presidency expressed shock to hear and understand that some supposed party members were not wholeheartedly for PDP.

Unlike the opposition party, PDP candidates/aspirants hardly fix their pictures together with that of the Presidential candidate, Goodluck Jonathan. This some party scholars believed may not be unconnected with some level of division, absence of unity in the party and fear of the aspirants being associated with the Presidential candidate. The inability of the party members to accept, trust and market their party flag bearers at all levels seems to suggest that there were personal secret deeds, desires, dual loyalties or disloyalties within and among the PDP members.

Some of the personal, secret deals and alliances of PDP members in the 2015 elections can be attributed to the non-democratic nature the PDP selects and fielded its aspirants in the 2015 elections; the geo-political and ethno-religious background and desires of the members as some believe that power must come to the north. Northern Politicians were 'booed' or abused of being infidel for promoting PDP's Goodluck Jonathan by the masses, therefore some of them try to dodge or avoid anything to link them with the Presidential candidate. This equally affected the performance of the party in the said elections. There was no personal, public and collective congruence and cohesion to support and market PDP's Goodluck Jonathan. This was not the case in APC where everybody from top to bottom of the party structure, at all levels were for APC and Buhari in their personal, secret or public deeds, no wonder the result was massive on their part. Party factors: Party factors comprises reasons for the failure of PDP which are directly associated with the party itself.

Lack of Internal Democracy: Political parties are vital pillar of democracy; because it screen, present and support candidates for electoral posts. It is expected that each political party is to conduct internal election for all party contestants and the winner is then forwarded to the nation's electoral body for the elective post he/she desired. Thereafter, the political party campaign for its candidate for the electoral post in the general elections which other political parties also field candidates. Internal democracy is one of the political process that keep members of political parties united, stronger, feeling the sense of significance and hopeful to be fielded in subsequent elections. This was obviously lacking in PDP especially in the build up to 2015 general elections. For instance, before the PDP convention and nomination of Presidential candidate, some of the party executive made it clear that the incumbent, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan was the sole candidate; every other interested party member for the exalted seat was to bury his/her dream. This was further practically demonstrated when the party printed and sold only one Presidential nomination form, "labeled form 001" to the incumbent. At the party's convention, Jonathan was unanimously endorsed as the sole candidate for the party's Presidential race in the 2015 general elections. Other aspiring candidates were silenced and disappointed by this development.

In another scenario, some of the state's party primaries were fraudulently organized. Many PDP Governors hijacked the party primaries in their respective states and imposed candidates of their wish. There were lot of uproar, dissatisfactions and complains which characterized most of the PDP primaries in most states in South-South and South-Eastern states according to Ndoma-Egba (Tsan, 2015). In Adamawa state in north-eastern Nigeria for example, twice such governorship primaries were held in Yola without congruent and later it was moved to Abuja before a candidate emerged. Other contestants claimed that they were suppressed by the party machinery at both state and federal levels. Mallam Nuhu Ribadu who emerged as the PDP's flag bearer in the state for the 2015 elections was said to be imposed from 'above'.

In Taraba, Bauchi and Plateau states among others, similar incident happened which compelled some of the contestants to defect to other political parties to pursue their dreams. Besides, there were reports of other political office aspirants in PDP that suffers the similar fate. Most of those imposed candidates were unpopular or practically unacceptable to the ordinary members of the party. This forced the party executive in Abuja to be visiting, calling the party hierarchies and members to please accept and support the candidates in question. For instance, politicians from Adamawa have often visited Abuja over one complain or the other and Mr. President visited the state more than twice for similar purposes, Bauchi state experienced similar fate according to Mudashir (2015).

The combinations of the above scenarios affected the morale, vigor and confidence of the party members to holistically campaign and support the 'undemocratic candidates'. Consequently, PDP lost the Presidential, some legislative and gubernatorial elections due to the absence of genuine internal party democracy as 'unpopular or foreign' candidates were either forcefully appointed in the name of party primaries, while the aggrieved were demoralized and possibly work against the party. Senator Jonathan Zwingina of PDP who defected to APC corroborated thus: 'following the undemocratic tendencies of the candidate imposed on Adamawa state by PDP we decided to rally around the ambition of Senator Muhammadu Umar Jibrilla of APC' (Jackson, Yusuf & Ajayi, 2015). Senator Jibrilla eventually won the April 11th 2015 governorship election in Adamawa state.

Intra-Party Squabbles: Intra-party misunderstandings and administrative lapses in the rank and file of the PDP's hierarchies both vertically and horizontally, and in the 2015 campaign organizations/structures were also contributory factors. Corroborating with the above, Chief Fadahunsi dissect the causes of PDP failure in the 2015 general elections to include nepotism, naivety, personal desires or greed of some party members and managerial problem among others for rout of the ruling party (Olarinye, 2015). There were visible financial and strategic disconnect between the party's National Working Committee (NWC) and the 2015 Presidential Campaign team led by Dr Ahmadu Ali according to Chief Olisa Metuh (Umoru, 2015). PDP Lagos state Governorship aspirant, Babatunde Gbadamosi explicitly showcased the confusion in the party by openly accusing his party leadership under Chief Bode George of colluding with APC national leaders to ensure PDP's defeat in Lagos (Akinkujotu, 2015). These affected the party's quests and efforts negatively. Little wonder therefore, some PDP's chieftains were calling for the resignation of the party's Chairman, with some of the national and state executives (Tobi, 2015 & punchng.com 19/4/2015). Consequently, on Wednesday, 20th May 2015, Muazu Adamu resigned his position as the National Chairman of the party. Religion and money were other factors that did not favour Goodluck Jonathan in the 2015 general elections if compared to previous elections in Nigeria; hence both Christians and Muslims voted for APC.

Defection of some Party Heavy Wealth to Opposition Party: PDP has founding fathers, reputable people as Board of Trustee, ex-President and Vice President, Senate President, Speakers and Governors among others as active members. Prior to the build up to the 2015 general election, some of these personalities at both ex and serving levels defected from the party and joined the APC. Among those were former President Obasanjo, former Vice President Atiku Abubakar, serving Speaker, Aminu Tambuwal, Governors of Adamawa, Rivers and others, serving

Senators and Representative members etc. among other personalities and public office holders. Each of the above mentioned personalities has supporters who obviously followed their mentor to the new party, creating a big vacuum in the ruling PDP. Leaders of PDP and the party flag bearer in particular seems to underestimate the prowess and capabilities of such defectors at all levels observed Josiah (2015).

Those defectors were in PDP from 1999; they know what and how to make things happen against the party. It therefore became easier for them to work against PDP in all ramifications. Losing such categories of party members before a crucial election of that magnitude was definitely a big blow to the PDP. For instance, in ex-President Obasanjo's polling unit and state, APC won, in ex-Vice President Atiku's state also the APC won, which were not the case in the past. The role played by the 'second phase defectors' was also a crucial factor. The second phases of defectors were people who remain in PDP until after the Presidential election and before the governorship/state assembly elections. Some of them even contested and failed, even if they had won, they would later defect. Among the prominent second phases defectors includes people like Afeez Jimoh, member of Representatives; Folake Olunlogo- Osinowo former Reps. members; Tayo Sarumi, Dr. Azeez Adeduntan, Chief (Mrs) Ayoka Lawani etc all from Oyo state. In Ondo state, there are people like immediate past PDP legal adviser, Chief Olusola Oke and his wives; former Senator Gbenga Ogunniya; Abayomi Sheba, a former Reps. and Mrs Febi Adeyemi etc. in addition to those from Adamawa and Taraba states mentioned earlier (Jackson, Yusuf & Ajayi, 2015). These have all worked against the PDP in both the national and state elections.

PDP also lost some prominent and vibrant young men and women who left the party due to one perceived irregularities, injustices and deprivation or the other. The masses- market men and women; sugar cane sellers, akara sellers, brick layers, pupils and wards that seems to be more in number, vocally good and energetically vibrant to market the party in every nook and cranny were not with and for the PDP. Such perceived insignificant portion of the society in terms of money, social status, were however potent weapons for social and political revolution in view of their numbers, shouting, carrying posters, cheering the aspirants and defending their votes at all levels. APC secured the minds, supports and cooperation of this section of the society to defeat the PDP at the poll in the 2015 general election. The failure of PDP in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria has clearly demonstrated that politics is a game of numbers and the numbers should cut across the segment of the society. APC exploited this and recorded a sweeping victory over PDP in the said election.

Others include, the initial skepticism and apprehension by PDP on the issue of using card reader at the polls gave the electorates the signal that PDP doesn't want to go or she perhaps was planning to rig the elections, therefore, PDP must be voted out, which the people did comfortably. Besides, the use of card readers at the polling units for accreditation on the Election Day helps to minimize multiple voting and other electoral malpractices. INEC's readiness, willingness and resolved for credible election gave the electorates the confidence to come out and vote candidate of their choice and equally prevented or minimize to the barest level electoral malpractices.

Regional factors: While Nigeria is a federal state, regional affiliations and sentiments play vital influences in elections.

Regional and other Sociological Factors: The quest for power to return to the North by the northern elites was also vital booster for the APC with significant numbers of the northern Governors as APC members who worked round the clock to ensure that political change is obtained at the top. This factor was the propelling force for the change at the poll in the 2015 Presidential and National Assembly elections in the country. The perceived intimidations, arrest and denial of the APC members of rally venues, threats or arrest of its supporters, denial of access to certain public media houses by and in PDP states, further popularize the party and gave her more sympathizers which on the other hand made people to hate the ruling party. The humiliation of the nation's Honorable Speaker Aminu Tambuwal from northern Nigeria with some of the legislatures sometimes in 2014 was a good pointer; not forgetting the manner in which the former Central Bank Governor Sanusi Lamido Sanusi was treated before his final exist; the supposed negative role of the PDP led government surrounding his enthronement as the Emir of Kano; and the laxity with which Aso Rock handles Boko Haram/insurgents issue in the north was suspicious. These made people of the region to hate Jonathan's PDP.

There was also the issue of Mrs. President's unguided action, like summoning security and educational authorities of Borno state over the Chibok girls' saga to Abuja instead of her or the husband to visit the state to find out issues and empathize with the family. During the campaign for 2015 elections, she was quoted to be making some deregulatory statements over APC Presidential aspirant and people of northern region of the country which was viewed by the northerners as 'over stepping her boundary' as the President's wife. These and many other regional issues affected the President's vigor, confidence and acceptance from people of the north in the 2015 general elections, which made the north to conspired against Jonathan according to Yakasai (Baiyewu, 2015). The Opposition party uses these to campaign against the ruling party and she won.

Buhari Factor and Campaign Strategy of APC: The political and campaign strategy of the APC in the 2015 general elections encouraging the party members and electorates to vote the party in toto, in what its Presidential candidate Muhammadu Buhari in Hausa says *APC tsack*. 'APC tsack' means, from top to bottom at all levels people should vote for APC only. This gave the party's members and electorates easy and simple avenue for voting. During the Presidential and National Assembly elections; governorship and state assembly elections, party members and voters only locate where 'APC' and its broom logo was and thumb printed therein. That was why some unpopular candidates presented by the APC got elected for the post they contested for, while good candidates from the other political parties lost. In Kano state for instance, Senator Bello Hayatu Gwarzo (Kano North), Chief whip of the Senate who has been in the Senate since 1999 and did several constituency projects lost the 28th March 2015 election to APC's Jibril 'Malia' with 381, 845 against 107,845 of Gwarzo (Mudashir, 2015). Senator Abdul Ningi (Bauchi North) has been in the Senate since 2003, who initially started as member of House of Representative and became the Senate Deputy Leader, in spite of his experiences and portfolio failed with 57, 172 votes to Isa Hama Misau of APC who scored 208, 741 votes (Mohammed, 2015).

Some PDP state Governors like Isa Yuguda of Bauchi state lost his Senate ambition to APC's Ali Wakili; Gabriel Torwua Suswan of Benue state was defeated by Chief Barnabs Gemade of APC; Muazu Babangida Aliyu of Niger bowed to David Umaru of APC; Saidu Nasamu Dakingari of Kebbi state lost to Bello Argungu of APC; and host of other PDP contestants could not be voted to Senate or House of Representatives due to the twin factors mentioned (Oke, 2015). There could however, be some specific reasons for the failures by individual PDP former and aspiring Governors and other aspirants to various elective posts, but Buhari's factor and strategy cannot be underestimated (Owuamanam & Gbabo, 2015). APC has at least 214 while PDP has 125 out of 360 House of Representative members (Ameh, 2015). Voters see the APC as Buhari's and all the APC candidates as Buhari's; whatever was outside APC was viewed as anti-change and anti-progress. Many electorates voted because of Buhari as a person and not other particular aspirants in APC. Buhari factor and his campaign promises to end terrorism; stamp out corruption; improve the economy; provide job opportunities for the teeming youths etc gave him the electorates' support; which on the other hand was instrumental in the PDP 2015 crash. National factor: There were some national issues that played major roles in 2015 Nigerian elections.

State of the Economy: The Nigerian economy before the year of the elections was deteriorating or in great decline. For instance, the foreign reserve of the nation keep decreasing, petroleum marketers made the commodity scarce, unemployment was

high, corruption was evident, schools and other public and private organizations/schools especially in northern Nigeria were closed for long, lack of steady power supply, insecurity and high cost of production and social services etc. The naira has depreciated significantly when compared to the dollar. The new centenary one hundred naira note was also religiously judged and rejected by some marketers and business men/women in certain region of the country. High cost of electricity bills and non-availability of it in some quota; the reduction of one percent in the oil pump price before the election was viewed as politically motivated and not from a genuine intension for national development. Being dissatisfied with such socio-economic challenges, the common man was intimated that PDP under the President Goodluck Jonathan was the major reason for such dwindling economy. The state of the economy was critical factor in the build up to the 2015 Presidential election which obviously was used against the PDP by members of the opposition parties and it paid.

Insecurity in the Nation: This was another obvious and critical issue in the 2015 general election in north eastern states of Yobe, Borno and Adamawa. There were lots of displaced persons as a result of the Boko Haram terrorist activities; many lives were lost, homes, farm produce, livestock and other places of worship especially Churches were burnt or destroyed completely. Residents of most of the affected places left their ancestral home and became refuge in some states of the federation, while others found refuge in Cameroon, Niger and Chad Republics. Some of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) suffers so many socio-economic challenges, deprivations and were staying in dehumanizing conditions. Even though the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) did her best, because the numbers of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) were much and they were scattered all over the country and even outside the country, the support provided seems not be adequate.

Psychologically and emotionally, these displaced persons feel disenchanting with the PDP led government for not doing much to protect their lives and property all these while. Some of these IDPs were meant to belief that the only way out of their predicament was to vote against PDP in the forth coming elections. Politicians and political parties were visiting and supporting the IDPs and of course campaigning against the ruling party.

The President promised to recover the Chibok girls and the territories captured by Boko Haram before the election boosted the expectation of the IDPs. This promise was however not realistic until the election was postponed from February 28th to March 28th, 2015. The government tried to re-capture the territories within the six weeks, which she did but the Chibok girls were still not found. The success of the

military in the six weeks gave the local population a serious thought; if the military can recover many territories in the north-east and dislodge the insurgents in just weeks before the general elections, why was this measure not taken earlier than now? It therefore implied that the President being Commander In Chief of the armed forces was not serious in tackling Boko Haram. Some of the displaced persons went back to their localities, while others remained in the IDPs camps. On the day of the elections, some of the IDPs voted in the designated centres outside their local communities while others didn't due to:

1. Some of them misplaced their Permanent Voters Cards (PVC) or they were burnt;
2. Some of them were counting their loses, busy repairing their homes, therefore voting was not their priority;
3. For others, the voting centre was far from them; and
4. Other IDPs showed lack of confidence in Nigerian Politics and electoral processes in general.

These factors led to the relatively poor turnout of voters in most of the designated election centres for the IDPs. In Adamawa state for instance, in one Polling unit of Bazza under Michika LGA, that was transferred to Yola for the IDPs, only three people were screened and voted. In another development, Adamawa state that was traditionally PDP state, lost to APC for the above reasons in the Presidential, National Assembly and Governorship elections. Insecurity and the Boko Haram saga have definitely and practically affected voting pattern and behavior in the north-east and the entire nation. PDP has compromised or taken for granted this crucial aspect of government's obligations to her citizens and the state which in return seems to speak against her. This singular factor has made certain people in the north-eastern region to hate the Jonathan led administration and PDP in general with passion as demonstrated in the 2015 general elections results. Imagine only two out of nineteen states in the region are PDP states; what a monumental fiasco?

Deep Desires for Change: Another vital factor that resulted in the failure of the ruling party was the desire for total and radical socio-political change from the hitherto political status quo. People seem to be dissatisfied or tired with PDP's led administration, since 1999. The PDP has been ruling for sixteen years, having seen the laxity and lapses of the party, the electorates and Nigerians therefore became disillusioned and disenchanted with the socio-economic, security and political happening in the country under PDP. The coming of APC, corroborated by other political parties, the voters saw the need for change, hence they embraced the new political party which is believed to come with new, fresh and promising ideas and

way forward for the pyramid of the nation's problem. Besides, the personality, experience and the assumed capability of the flag bearer of the Presidential candidate of the APC gave the party an overwhelming acceptance, support and vigor. APC therefore became a strong contender to the post and other advances of the ruling party.

Implication and lesson

The implication of the above is that the electorates are politically educated and ready to express their will and desire politically. The present government, political parties, politicians and general public should know that no political condition is permanent, especially in this epoch of liberal democracy. Failure by any politician or political party to deliver based on their campaign promises and other issues will naturally attract the wrath of the voters during election as demonstrated in the 2015 general elections. Experiences from the 2015 general election shows that money and material possessions, inducement of voters and ethno-religious affinity and affiliation of candidates/aspirants made little or no effects; because Nigeria electoral body and electorates have come of age.

Summary and Conclusion

PDP has done its best, but her best seems not to be good enough to convince the electorates again. She has been the ruling party since 1999; controlling the dual Chambers and have more Governors and lot of party structures, money and supporters both within and outside the nation, but yet crash landed. PDP the acclaimed largest party in Africa is now reduced to opposition party with only few Governors; what a tragedy? Kumolu, (2015) aptly summarizes the key issues/factors that led to the failure of PDP thus:

Among the key issues were the Nigeria Governors Forum (NGF) crisis, Chibok girls' saga, alleged missing Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) funds, withdrawal of Alhaji Aminu Tambuwal's aides, fallout of PDP Primaries and poor political campaign/communication.

The crash of PDP at the pool implies the citizens are politically awake and alert; they seem to be ready to risk their lives to enforce change at all levels and the defeat of the ruling party by opposition party demonstrated the political development and sensitivity of the people and their resolve for better and meaningful politicking in the Nigerian state.

Recommendations

The crash of PDP should be an eye opener for all politicians and political parties in Nigeria and beyond. To avoid such dismal failure and crashes in the future:

1. Political parties and other political office holders should awake to their responsibilities if they must maintain their offices.
2. Parties should promote internal democracy and respect the will of its members at party primaries to get and present the best in general elections.
3. Parties, especially ruling parties should see the opposition as partners in progress and not as enemies.
4. Opposition parties should uphold it integrity, be steadfast and pursue its goals objectively in spite of pressures and intimidations from the ruling party.
5. Both the ruling and opposition parties should posses and demonstrate sportsmanship spirit and have the interest of the state and citizen at heart above personal prejudice and primordial interest as power, offices can change hand any day, anytime.

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