A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ETHNICITY
ON THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NIGERIA

by

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B.A. (Hons.) St. Mary's College of California, 1972

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of

Political Science

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1973
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This study will examine political party systems, with particular emphasis on the impact of ethnicity on party formation in both Nigeria (1951-1961) and Sierra Leone (1950-1967).

Particularly in terms of this study, the hypothesis will be advanced that in countries as ethnically divided as Nigeria and Sierra Leone, political parties formed from a nucleus of members from one or another subsystem, such as an ethnic group, which engage in competitive elections will create sectional and ethnic tensions. The major finding of the study, is that a country or countries with sharp ethnic-cleavages, will tend to produce a multi-party system unless there are intervening factors to mitigate against such party-formation.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Background and Historical Development</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Divisions</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Political Systems</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Framework of Social Change</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Effects of Colonialism on Traditional Systems</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III The Emergence of Political Parties</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Nationalism</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Evolution based around Personalities</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Effect of Ethnicity on Political Party Formation</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-War Political Party Formation</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOOTNOTES</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Ethnic Composition by Population and Area of Concentration of Sierra Leone</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Ethnic Composition by Population and Area of Concentration of Nigeria</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>Number of Children Enrolled in Schools in Sierra Leone by Province (1938 and 1948)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Total Regional Average Attendance in Nigeria by Region (1937 and 1947)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Nigerian Election Trends by Region, 1951-1961</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Results of the 1959 Federal Elections, Nigerian House of Representative</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>Relative Strength of Nigeria's Political Parties in the Regional Legislatures, 1961</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>Relative Strength of Nigeria's Political Parties in the Federal Elections of 1959</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>Results of the 1957 and 1962 General Elections in Sierra Leone</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

| I          | Ethnic Groups in Nigeria                 | 66 |
| II         | Ethnic Groups in Sierra Leone            | 67 |
INTRODUCTION

This study will examine the formation of political party systems, with particular emphasis on the impact of ethnicity on party formation in two former British West African States with similar systems of Colonial rule (indirect rule), Nigeria and Sierra Leone, each of which have different patterns of ethnic diversity.

More particularly, in terms of the study, the hypothesis will be advanced that, in ethnically diversified states such as Nigeria and Sierra Leone, political parties formed around a nucleus of members from one or another subsystem, such as an ethnic group, which engage in competitive elections tend to accentuate sectional and ethnic differences. In both Nigeria and Sierra Leone, political parties do not operate in an integrated political system with a pluralistic social infrastructure and do not possess an ethnically overlapping membership. In elections in both these countries, the political campaign for votes is fought bitterly, and its outcome is not accepted as the legitimate decision of all the people. Party competition evokes the most hostile inter-community sentiments during and immediately after elections. Campaign tactics are inordinately "dirty" and overtly appeal to ethnic sentiments.

Contrast this with the general pattern in a political system such as Tanzania, where, when elections are over, the tendency is for the participants in the contest to minimize whatever ill will have been evoked during the campaign so that life can return to normal and the 'State Welfare' can be taken care of. In countries with ethnically diversified political systems, as with both Nigeria and Sierra Leone, regional and ethnic predispositions
which have been stimulated during heated political campaigns are not readily suppressed or forgotten. Each succeeding election campaign raises the level of intergroup distrust and fear to a new high point until, after several elections, intercommunity differences become so intolerable that continued mutual coexistence among the subgroups in the society is close to impossible. Promoting political integration and stability in states that are socially pluralistic seems a real dilemma as noted by La Palombara and Weiner: "... where the Central values concerning the political process are not adequately shared, we often find unstable political systems in which the continuation of competitive parties is somewhat problematic."³

It is believed that a sharp, ethnic cleavage-ridden country tends to produce a multi-party system on the bases found there unless other intervening factors that would mitigate against such are present. Here are few of the intervening factors that would mitigate against parties formed on strict ethnic lines:

(a) The existence of a common 'foe' (Internal or External) against which the different ethnic groups unite; e.g. (In Sierra Leone, Internal - Creoles, External British; in Nigeria - External - British).

(b) The presence of a major ethnic group with a consequent alliance of minority groups through their representative parties with the major parties to form the opposition party. e.g. Nigeria Regional House of Representatives).

(c) The presence of intra-ethnic group rivalry, which produces amalgamation of different minority ethnic groups to form parties; e.g. (Sierra Leone People's National Party (PNP) formation in 1958; in Nigeria
the Calabar - Ogoja - River States Movement (C.O.R.S.M.).

(d) The presence of a major national ethnic group which has historically because of early contact with the 'Colonial Master' dominated a centralized political and economic system. E.g. Creoles in Sierra Leone and Ibo in Nigeria.

If one or more of these intervening factors develop, a party system based on ethnic divisions will definitely collapse, and new alliances will be formed around new symbols.

Structurally, this study has been divided into four chapters: Background and Historical Development; the Framework of Social Change; and Emergence of Political Parties. Only the pertinent details of these factors will be discussed, and the remainder of the paper will concentrate on the correlation between ethnicity and the formation of political party systems.

There is no pretence that there will be a complete analysis of such a study, but it seems important to raise the question of whether certain types of political party systems lead to a stable government. By looking at the gradual disintegrative effects of ethnicity on party systems in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone, I hope that the operation of party-system in relationship may be illustrated.
Many of the problems, such as ethnicity and nepotism, confronting most independent African States have been present in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In many cases, these problems have led to the collapse of the political process in these countries, but to avoid duplication, I shall pay no heed to any formal introduction but to start off with my examination of Nigeria.

Nigeria is a vast and varied country and to describe its features with justice would take a considerable amount of time with very little done. This vast country encompasses an area of 356,669 square miles with a population well over 55,000,000.*

Geographically the country is divided into three parts by the Niger and the Benue rivers, the former enters Nigeria from the north-west and the latter from the north-east and then meet at the confluence of Lokoja just about the center of the country; both these rivers then flow southward to the coast as the Niger River. The Niger River has a total length of 2600 miles but because of seasonal variations of water levels and shifting sandbars, it has not been an important waterway for either internal or external trade. Also, the more populated areas of western and northern Nigeria are far removed from the Niger River by many impediments. "The river system therefore has not facilitated indeed, in some respect it has

positively hampered economic intercourse among the major ethnic groups in Nigeria." 4

The vastness and physical location of Nigeria did aid her isolation from outside contact more than her sister colonies (Sierra Leone, Ghana and the Gambia).

Her location at the corner of the Gulf of Guinea, the dense coastal swamp and the vast desert on the North are all attributes to her isolation. The early route for internal travel and external contact was the "Niger-Nile traverse via Lake Chad."

Until the modern development of roads, railroads, air travel, and ports and harbors, however, neither the land-borne impact from the Middle East nor the sea-borne impact from Europe was of any great significance in bringing Nigeria into the general stream of World events and forces. 5

Like Nigeria, Sierra Leone contains diverse physical geographic features; the country is situated on the bulge of the West Coast of Africa, from 7° to 10° north latitude and 10° to 13° west longitude. She encompasses an area of about 28,000 square miles and, in 1963, had a population of about two and a half million people.

Her coastal features deserve special mention on account of their unusual nature compared with the remainder of the West Coast of Africa. The greater part of the coast of Sierra Leone is noted for her open drowned estuaries free from impeding sandbars. The harbour of Freetown is by far the best natural anchorage in West Africa. The coast is mainly one of low, sandy beaches, with river outlets frequently deflected by long-shore drift from south-east to north-west. The Freetown peninsula rises abruptly to peaks of over 2,000 feet, thus forming a protective
barrier sheltering the harbour from the south-west winds and swells making (Freetown) Sierra Leone vulnerable to early explorers and slave merchants before any of the other coastal ports.

She became a convoy station for ships making the Atlantic crossing to Europe and the New World, and was also chosen for the settlement of repatriated slaves as it seemed the most advantageous place in West Africa for the experiment. 6

The coastal range from which the country derives its name is hardly typical of the generally flat and monotonous nature of the interior plain. It is only the occasional highland and the rougher plateau lands to the north and east that deviate from the low, level surface of the land. Well over half the area lies below 500 feet, and only a few peaks exceed 3,000 feet with the highest being the Bintimani (6,376 feet).

Two major rivers, the Little and Great Scarcies just about run the entire length of the north-west coast. The Little Scarcies and its tributary the Rokel, are navigable by steamship for many miles inland. River transportation facilitated north-south contact, and a common social life along the rivers provided a ready, if not a very rough, transport system oriented in the general direction of trade between the coastal people and those living along the waterways. Transportation across Sierra Leone was almost impossible due to rough terrain and dense forests.

British interest in the hinterland, except where it influences the activities of the trading firms, was one of relative indifference. Even as late as 1865, Parliament considered dropping all British
"obligations" in West Africa with the exception of the small Sierra Leone colony. Included also was Freetown because its dominant administrative and trade role became increasingly prominent, and later it became the seat of political authority.

The natural impediments tended to restrict contact between the Colony and the Protectorate. The Protectorate peoples had no direct contact with the British until 1896 when the hinterland which came under British protection was described at the time, as "foreign countries adjoining the Colony", and "territories lying on the British side of the French and Liberian frontiers."

Ethnic Divisions

Ethnically and linguistically, Nigeria is very diversified in nature. For easy presentation, one may divide Nigeria into three general culture-areas, although each area is in effect made up of many groups and languages. These areas are the Eastern groups, the Western groups and the Northern groups.

In the East the Ibo dominate with about 70% of that area's population. Other groups of significant numbers are the Ibibio-Efik, and Ijaw.

In the West, including the Federal capital, Lagos, the Yoruba comprise 72% of the population. Edo people comprise the other large group in the area. As in the East, there is no common language spoken by the ethnic groups.
In the North, there are the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Nupe and Tiv. The largest ethnic group, the Hausa-Fulani number about 13½ million, the Fulani originally coming from the Senegal Valley on the Guinea Coast. The next largest groups the Kanuri, Nupe and Tiv total about 13½ million. The Hausa-Fulani group makes up about 55% of the population of the Northern ethnic groups. Hausa is widely used as a trading language, but, as with the other culture areas, there is no common indigenous language of communication in the North.

Sierra Leone, like Nigeria, is made up of many diverse ethnic groups each of which generally resides in a distinct geographical area. Unlike Nigeria, however, one ethnic group dominated the early political development of Sierra Leone. The Creoles, whom after a British Protectorate was declared — over some 27,669 square miles of the Colony hinterland in 1896 — were sent to the Protectorate with similar positions and privileges as those held by Creoles in the Colony. Subsequent political change, however, worked to reverse this situation in both the Protectorate and the Colony. The Creoles reside in the area now known as the Western Area and make up approximately 2% of the population of Sierra Leone and about 22% of the Freetown population.

As illustrated in Table I, Sierra Leone consists of several smaller ethnic groups with each having an area of geographic concentration. Since the proclamation of a protectorate by the British Government in 1896, the population of Sierra Leone has been comprised of some eighteen ethnic groups. In the former Colony, and in many chiefdoms in the
TABLE I

ETHNIC COMPOSITION BY POPULATION AND AREA
OF CONCENTRATION OF SIERRA LEONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Area of Concentration</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Percentage of total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Creole</td>
<td>Western Area</td>
<td>41,783</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>66,824</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallinas</td>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gola</td>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>4,854</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissi</td>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>48,954</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kono</td>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>104,573</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koranko</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>80,732</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krim</td>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>8,733</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kru</td>
<td>Western Area</td>
<td>4,793</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limba</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>183,496</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loko</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>64,459</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandingo</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>51,024</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mende</td>
<td>Southern &amp; Eastern Province</td>
<td>672,831</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherbro</td>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>74,674</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susu</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>67,288</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temne</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>648,931</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vai</td>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>5,786</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yalunka</td>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>15,005</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Otherwise spelled Krio has been used to identify the former expatriated slaves who settled in the coastal area of Sierra Leone after Lord Mansfield decision in 1772, which had the effect of immediate freedom for any slave setting foot on English soil.
TABLE II

ETHNIC COMPOSITION BY POPULATION AND AREA
OF CONCENTRATION OF NIGERIA*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Area of Concentration</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Percentage of total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>East</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority (Ibo)</td>
<td>Eastern Region</td>
<td>7,000,000</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority (Ibibio-Efik)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>13,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority (Yoruba)</td>
<td>Western Region</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority (Edo)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal (Ibo)</td>
<td></td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>North</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>29,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority (Hausa/Fulani)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13,500,000</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority (Kanuri,Tiv, Nupe)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13,500,000</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal (Yoruba)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capitol-Lagos</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal (Yoruba)</td>
<td></td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Nigeria has about 248 ethnic groups but in each region a group is numerically preponderant, the Hausa in the North, the Ibo in the East and the Yoruba in the West.
the Provinces, one finds representatives of all the eighteen main ethnic groups in the country. In spite of this, ethnic core areas are still evident. Some ethnic groups have a nucleus (Creole, Mende, Krim, Temne, Koranko, Kono), whereas others, because of their nature as traders (Fula and Mandingo), are found almost everywhere. The spread of most of these groups from the different areas of concentration has long been in progress, but the Krim, Gola and Vai seem to be examples of stable ethnic groups - out - migration is practically non-existent.

The greatest concentration of Mende is now in an east-west direction with a gradual movement to the South into the territory of the Vai, the Gola and the Gallinas; westwards to Freetown and Sherbro; in the north, the movement of the Mende has been checked by the southward movement of the Temne (a very warlike group). Generally the Mende are found south of the Freetown-Pendembu route (see Map of Sierra Leone).

The Temne expands eastwards from the Coast, having migrated by radial movement to Freetown and the former Colony, where they are now in the majority. The distribution of the Mende and Temne are essentially discrete, except in Freetown and the mining area.

From the two northern areas of Limba concentration, these people have migrated to practically all the large towns and the diamond mining area as well. In Freetown, they now constitute the third largest ethnic group after the Temne and Creoles in that order. The Fula and the Mandingo are very diffused, but concentrations are evident in two areas;
the middle Sewa River Valley, and the Kabala-Makeni area, simply because the Mandingos are traders and the former area is the diamond mining area and the Fulas are cattle-rearers and the latter area is rich in green pasture.

Although the Loko, Koranko, Sherbro, Yalunka and Gola are as concentrated as the Krim and Vai, outward migration to the Freetown urban area and the diamond mining region is fairly evident. Of the important frontier groups, the ethnic core of the Kono is within Sierra Leone, whereas those of the Susu and the Kissi are over the Guinea and Liberia border. Migration of these latter ethnic groups resembles the escape of bees from a hive through a narrow passage. The Kono migrate little, possibly because of the presence of wealth in the form of diamonds in that part of the country.

From Table I the predominance of Mende and Temne is evident, as they account for 60.7% of the total population.

The heterogeneity of the population of the country which has resulted from all this ethnic admixture is a blessing Sierra Leone has acquired, but unless it is being used to the benefit of all by politicians, the feeling of being Sierra Leonean will invariably tend to come after that of being a member of one's own ethnic group.

**Indigenous Political Systems**

Neither Nigeria nor Sierra Leone formed a single political
unit, both countries had many traditional political systems based upon the geographical and ethnic factors summarized above.

Considering Nigeria first, we may discuss traditional political systems in relation to each 'cultural area' previously described (Western, Eastern and Northern Regions). In the West, a type of city-state system has always been predominant. The people of this area 'Yoruba' have a long history of urban-centered culture intrinsic to independent kingdoms, each controlling its surrounding territory. Large and powerful city-states controlled by the progenitor of the Yorubas – the Oduduwa – has been recorded by travellers as early as 1485 even prior to the coming of the British. "Urbanization can therefore be considered a traditional Yoruba pattern and not the outgrowth of European acculturation." During most of the eighteenth century the Yoruba were organised into a number of kingdoms; but after 1780 this broke down into the city-state pattern. The Oba who ruled most of Yoruba land was a sacred king and patrilineage was the basic element in the Yoruba political system. The second largest group in this area, the Edo, also has a city-state structure, known as the kingdom of Benin, although this only included about a fifth of the Edo speaking people. The rest accepted the rule of the Oba of Benin. In brief, then, one may call the Yoruba state an indigenous political system, a patrimonial one with no place for despotic monarchs.

Unlike the Yoruba, the Ibo in the East are dispersed into over two hundred independent territorial groups divided into villages,
each with its own government based upon patrilineal clans and lineages. The groups are autonomous with regard to governmental processes, but social and commercial bonds were strong among them. Ibo villages were ruled by a Council of Elders with the Okpara at the head of each Council. Small, autonomous political units were also common among the other ethnic groups of the East.

On the whole, then, when one looks at the traditional political pattern of the Ibos, the dominant group in the Eastern region, one finds neither a patrimonial nor a feudal system. Instead, one is faced with a strong segmentary lineage system which features a wide dispersal of ethnic authority based on pyramidal kinship groups.

Northern Nigeria has been dominated by semi-autonomous emirates led by a Fulani aristocracy with Islam being used as the instrument of domination. These emirates have traditionally recognised the religious leadership of the Sultan of Sokoto who is an ancestor of Usman dan Fodio, the greatest proclaimer of the Muslim faith in this part of West Africa. The Kanuri maintained their own Islamic state in the northeast under the Shehu of Bornu. Even Hausa-speaking 'non-Muslim' peoples have adopted many Islamic characteristics and are dominated politically by emirates within whose borders they reside.

As one moves southwards, there are smaller ethnic groups, and compact villages comprise the dominant settlement pattern. Only the Jukun developed a highly complex authority system. In the lower North,
Political authority at the local level is usually vested in a hereditary headman assisted by a council of elders....About a third of the peoples of the area lack political integration above the local level. Another third are organized under petty paramount chiefs over subtribes or small districts. The remaining third are subject directly or indirectly to Fulani Emirs.\footnote{14}

Prior to European intervention the Fulani had manage to dominate parts of Yorubaland and even succeeded in subduing the Yoruba city-state of Illorin. Other than these few military-political conquests, contact between the various traditional political systems were very rare. In short, the Hausa-Fulani Empire was a theocratic dynasty, for the Emir claimed unquestionable sanctions derived through divine delegation.

Before the advent of Colonial rule, Sierra Leone was never dominated by any single group politically. Even before the fifteenth century, peoples speaking similar language inhabited the coast. On and around the peninsula as far south as Sherbro estuary were Bulom. Inland, and at the scarcies mouth and northwards were Temne, migrants originally, it is said, from the north-east. Beyond them, up the Scarcies were the Limba.

In the mountainous country northwards were Susu and Fula (as the name Fulani, Fulbe, or Peul, has been customarily rendered in Sierra Leone), two peoples whose customs were similar but speech dissimilar, South of the Small Scarcies were Loko, like Susu of Mande speech.

Each seems to have been politically independent. The coastal peoples had similar religions. None were Muslim.\footnote{15}
Although the history of Sierra Leone by the eighteenth century was largely made up of wars, between Muslim Fula from the Upper Niger and Senegal settling in Futa Jalon, the mountainous country where the Leone rivers north of Sierra rise and non-Muslim Susu and Yalunka; yet at the end there was extensive intermarriage and the non-Muslim groups were assimilated into the dominant culture. Among the peoples of the Sherbro hinterland, the Mende, a people of Mande speech, untouched by Islam, were moving westwards towards the sea. At the end of the eighteenth century they still were part of the hinterland, though coming to the coast to trade woven clothes for sale as they were very good craftsmen.

We have seen, clearly then, two ethnically diverse and plural societies up to the point of British colonial intervention. Both Nigeria and Sierra Leone are political enclaves created during the time of 'Pie-Cutting' without taking into consideration the boundaries of the different ethnic groups.

Before proceeding to an examination of the development of political parties, it would be appropriate to examine the impact of colonial rule and two world wars on politics and nationalist movements in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

The imposition of colonial governments in Nigeria and Sierra Leone brought about change which led to the transformation of traditional institutions. The traditional institutions were gradually subverted as 'Western' institutions were imposed by British administrators.
and missionary societies. We shall also see that Colonial rule according to Lugard was to "decentralize" alien peoples and thereby making it easy to rule. But what about its after effects, which according to Lord Hailey, "passed through three stages, first of a usual administrative device, then that of a political doctrine, and finally that of a religious dogma." My analogy is in the foresights of these two Colonial Administrators, Hailey being able to see the dangers that later became true in the case of what was to become known as Nigeria.
CHAPTER II

FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL CHANGE

On New Year's Day of 1914, a state, Nigeria, appeared on the World Map in the red shading of the British Empire, both the territories hitherto known as the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria were amalgamated to form this new political composite. Colonial administration was in effect long started on the Island of Lagos in 1861.\textsuperscript{17}

The Colonial situation in Sierra Leone, followed a similar pattern as that of Nigeria, a relatively long political intervention with the coastal areas and very short intervention with the Protectorate peoples. The British declared a Protectorate over the entire hinterland of Sierra Leone in 1896, just after over 100 years of rule in the Colony (Freetown). Apart from the advantageous position of Freetown and the competition between European Nations to partition West Africa, the British were concerned to obtain access to the exploitable resources; agricultural, material, and human, of the area.\textsuperscript{18}

It is important at this point to mention that the British Administrative System never did show any interest to unify Nigeria or Sierra Leone. Instead, the Colonial policy maintained and reinforced ethnic divisions by forming administrative units that paralleled these divisions. As Lugard noted:

In a country so vast, which included communities in all stages of development, and differing from each other profoundly in their customs and tradition, it was the declared policy of Governments that each should develop on its own lines;

.... In Africa we are laying foundations.\textsuperscript{19}
In seeing the effect of Colonialism on traditional societies of both Nigeria and Sierra Leone, some of the elements of social change may be isolated for examination: educational, religious, economic and political.

Educational

The introduction of a British-style educational system in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, led, from the early twenties onward, to the creation of a significant number of western educated elite who were familiar with Western political techniques and revolutionary ideas. Members of this elite group were able to acquire the concepts of self-determination, egalitarianism, liberalism, Marxism and democratic socialism, and other techniques of organizing mass-based movements. From this group came men like I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson and Lamina Sankoh (Sierra Leone), Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Oladipo Davies (Nigeria). These were men who challenged the Colonial government vigorously.

The educational system was not confined to producing elites, however. Its influence was felt in most areas of the indigenous societies by exposure at least to the primary level. Even though it was unevenly distributed between the northern and southern parts of both countries, as early Christian missionaries influence reached the south first. A final feature of the unique role of education was that, once attained, the way of life and social position of the indigenous peoples was altered.

The educational basis of social change in British West Africa was first laid in Sierra Leone as early as 1787 with the first settlement of the
expatriated slaves in Freetown, and this gave the Creoles an advantage over
the Protectorate peoples as it was not until early 1900 that Government
Provincial schools came into being. In the provinces also, another major
distinction between the Northern and Southern provinces during colonial periods
was that the Temnes were more staunchly Islamic and, therefore, Christian
missionaries tended to develop schools first among the Mendes.

Furthermore, in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone the combination of an
expanding educational system, job discrimination, and a slow rate of economic
growth led to the creation of a large mass of people who were either unemployed
or unable to find jobs compatible with their educational attainment. Most
of these peoples with primary or secondary education, no longer interested
in farming, travelled to cities and towns in large numbers, swelling the
number of unemployed who were living at a bare subsistence level. It was
this group of 'urban' depressed people which formed an important base for
nationalist movements in Nigeria and made the Creoles lose their majority
in Freetown (the Urban-centre) by 1901.

Religions

One result of the educational system was increasing ethnic distinc-
tion, and this was accomplished primarily through the different impact of
Christian missionary societies in the two countries. In both Nigeria and
Sierra Leone, the influence of early missionaries were limited largely to
the Southern areas, due partly to historical and partly to administrative
convenience.
TABLE III

NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOLS IN SIERRA LEONE BY PROVINCE (1938 AND 1948)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1948</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colony</td>
<td>10,282</td>
<td>12,311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern &amp; Eastern Provinces</td>
<td>8,628</td>
<td>11,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>1,988</td>
<td>3,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>20,894</td>
<td>27,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colony</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>1,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern and Eastern Provinces</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>565</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Sierra Leone Blue Book*, pp. 21-25.

a. These two provinces were combined as one during the 1930's.
In Northern Nigeria, the traditional leadership of the Emirs who were strong believers of the Muslim Faith, led the British to restrict the activities of Christian missionaries; as Lugard had given a solemn promise to the people when British rule was extended to the North; "Muhammadan religion would not be interfered with and that all men would be free to worship God as they chose". 

The first Christian mission school founded in the North was opened in 1902 and was requested by the local Emir in order to provide better educational opportunities. The 'protective' attitude of the British administration with regards to the North, effectively isolated them from direct contact with 'Westernizing' forces; and thereby establishing a separate administrative system in the North. Interaction within the Southern Nigerian systems was also restricted, as Major Burdon vividly puts it; "Our aim is to rule through existing chiefs, to raise them in the administrative scale, to enlist them on our side in the work of progress and good government". 

The extent to which the development of Western educational systems in Nigeria was related to the spread of Christianity is illustrated by the Table IV showing the number of children in schools in northern and southern Nigeria by 1937 and 1947.

As with Nigeria, the Colonial administration tended to maintain a traditional pattern of isolation in Sierra Leone, being a typical British colony, the System of Indirect Rule was imposed whereby the Protectorate peoples were separately administered through Native Administrative Systems, with five District Commissioners and one Circuit Court judge to govern the
TABLE IV
TOTAL REGIONAL AVERAGE ATTENDENCE IN NIGERIA BY REGION (1937 AND 1947).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1947a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Regions</td>
<td>218,500</td>
<td>538,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Regions</td>
<td>20,269</td>
<td>70,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>238,769</td>
<td>609,353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1937</th>
<th>1947b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Regions</td>
<td>4,285</td>
<td>9,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Regions</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,350</td>
<td>9,908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Data for 1947 is for enrollment
b. Does not include enrollment in unassisted voluntary schools

entire Protectorate population (around 1.2 million in 1920's) with a little help from their friends 'The Chiefs'. The Protectorate peoples were not confronted with British oriented schools or mission schools until latter 19th and early 20th century, over a century after the Creoles in the Colony. They remained largely isolated from the mainstream of Western political development.

The Creoles, liberated from the sugar and cotton plantations of the New World, were offered the greatest 'benefits' of 'colonial rule', Christianity and education; and when large numbers of them responded favorably to these opportunities the Colonial administration rewarded them with positions in business companies, minor government posts, and semi-decent jobs. The Creoles were in a highly favorable position, vis-a-vis the Protectorate peoples, under the British administration.

Economic

European economic exploitation of Nigeria and Sierra Leone preceded political domination, and after the institution of colonial rule foreign economic control was greatly expanded (not negating the fact that it had been going on since the 16th century).

Within both countries, considerable regional variations existed depending on the degree to which different parts of a country were integrated into the capitalist economy.

The British instituted a cash crop economy in each country to replace the traditional self-sufficient economies; also foreign companies later
controlled the export, import and credit facilities. The most notorious were the French concerns, Compagnie Francaise d'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO) and Societe Commerciale Ouest Africaine (SCOA) and the British controlled United African Company (UAC) a protege of the Royal Niger Co.. In order for the peoples of both Nigeria and Sierra Leone to sell their crops to earn money for imported goods and in order to raise the money necessary to produce the crops in the first place, these peoples were forced to deal with foreign firms via middlemen (Creoles, Syrians and Lebanese) on terms dictated by these same middlemen. The maintenance of these monopolies was effected through the levying of high transportation rates set by these firms, the refusal of foreign buyers and sellers to deal directly with indigenous firms and the above mentioned foreign control of credit facilities.

The economic situation together with the institutions of direct taxation and a legal system to protect foreign economic interests imposed radical changes in the traditional legal and economic systems and social and living patterns. Within individual countries, considerable regional variations existed, depending on the degree to which different parts of a country were intertwined into the capitalist money economy. Thus the northern part of both countries had little to offer the colonialists, and such areas were simply ignored by the colonising power with regards to roads, schools, hospitals and other amenities.25

During the 1930's, the Nigerian and Sierra Leonean peasantry were induced through a combination of falling export prices and rising taxes, to attempt to find jobs in order to support their families and pay taxes. The
resulting migration to town and cities in the two countries merely aggravated the position of the Africans who had always been relegated to less desirable jobs even the 'fortunate' ones (Yoruba and Creole). So even under the best of conditions living standards were very low.

The situation of poverty, job-discrimination, high unemployment, and direct taxation led to mass protest demonstrations and violence in both countries during the 1920's and 1930's, and as early as 1898 in Sierra Leone (Hut Tax War). The Aba Woman's riot of 1929 in eastern Nigeria is a notable example.

The obvious prosperity of foreigners' resident in Nigeria and Sierra Leone plus the overwhelming poverty of the indigenous peoples provided nationalist leaders with an opportunity to apply neo-Marxist analysis to British Colonial rule and the existence of racial discrimination simplified the task of identifying the capitalist and proletarian classes.

Political

The introduction of an alien, British-controlled administrative system -- even when it was the imposition of Lugards 'indirect rule' as in most of Nigeria and Sierra Leone -- largely disrupted traditional patterns of authority; only among the Emirates of Northern Nigeria were traditional authority patterns retained to any great extent. A long time colonial administrator J.S. Furnivall, saw little difference between 'direct' and 'indirect rule':

British colonial administration, however, even under indirect rule, derives its inspiration from the tradition of equality before the law that took shape under direct rule in British India. European administrative officials do not .... approximate to the character of the resident in a native state, but take an active part in the judicial and revenue work, while
even the native chieftains tend to be converted into western magistrates and tax collectors. The system of indirect rule as thus interpreted differs little from direct rule, because the native officials are, in effect, subordinate to Europeans, who supervise the revenue collections and hear cases on appeal from native courts or transfer cases from native courts to their own courts.

As vividly expressed above, not only did the colonial administration shatter traditional political patterns but it also unevenly disrupted them. This was a result of the 'unto whom' attitude of the administrators and the desire to facilitate administrative convenience. Colonial administrators accepted pre-existing ethnic areas as distinct entities, and the general effect was to foster the concept of 'Divide and Rule'. Nigeria had no central legislative Council until 1947, when an all-Nigerian Legislature was established and Sierra Leone's came much earlier in 1924, at which time the Protectorate was represented by three hand-picked Chiefs (two from the Mendes and one from the Temnes) by the Governor.

It is not surprising then that the most favored groups, the northern Emirs of Nigeria and the Creoles (some instances) of Sierra Leone, attempted to prolong colonial rule; having suspected their positions would deteriorate after independence. The Emirs agreed only to independence after assurance of a dominant position in the Central Government of the country, but the Creoles had their representatives in the new legislative council table a motion as late as 1951 which was of course rejected, calling for immediate independence for the Colony. They recognized this development to be the last losing round in their fight to preserve a position of superiority in the country. They fought desperately to secure this position of 'superiority' by taking
their litigation to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, fearing discrimination by the dominant Protectorate peoples.

There were, however, some positive aspects to the imposition of Colonial administration once they were already imposed in both these countries. The introduction of 'Western' political concepts in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone provided a base for mobilization around a new set of symbols. Concepts of Western electoral systems, federalism, parliamentarism, and a political system were presented to Nigerian and Sierra Leonean political leaders. The introduction of limited franchise in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone was a primary impetus for the formation of early political parties in both countries.

The Effect of Colonialism on Traditional Systems *

For the most part, the traditional societies of Nigeria and Sierra Leone were delicately balanced systems wherein political, economic, religious, and social roles were well defined and closely inter-related. The disruption of one role or the collapse of a particular interaction pattern within a traditional system upset the delicately balanced interrelationships, although to varying degrees, on the individual system. The imposition of elements of social change just discussed began a process of disintegration which made possible the rise of new social and political forces; the introduction of new concepts of political organization, economic analysis, and self-determination provided the new social and political forces with the tools and symbols necessary to form organizations, establish goals, and plan activities in pursuit of independent statehood.

As indicated above, the impact of colonial disruption was uneven in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone; it follows that the degree of traditional systematic disintegration and of 'modernization' was also uneven. The areas of least change were, of course, Northern Nigeria and the Colony of Sierra Leone.

Colonialism had hoped to develop a complex and long-term administrative system through the use of traditional authority patterns, but it was the impact of colonialism itself that undermined the basis of these authority patterns, so that the position of the colonial government became 'topsy-turvy' in Nigeria and Sierra Leone after World War I.

World War I is used, because her impact as well as various other factors of disintegration and change were beginning to influence politics of Nigeria and Sierra Leone.
CHAPTER III

THEEmergence of Political Parties

The political orientation in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone prior to World War I, was primarily to protect traditional cultures from Western innovations.

One of the manifestations of cultural protest was the secessionist Church movement in Nigeria. In the 1890's a large number of Anglicans broke from the parent Church to form an African Church in which they would be governed by their own Bishops. Their quarrel with the Church Missionary Society was not only of a political but also of doctrinal nature, since the indigenous people felt that the rules should be designed to meet the realities of Africa. They argued for group baptism, the acceptance of marrying more than one wife, particularly on the part of first generation converts who had already contracted polygamous marriages or the use of African music and dance in services. The Church was not the only organisation of protest in Nigeria at this time, other organisations for the protection of 'Native-Rights' were also formed. One cannot do more justice about the situation in Nigeria then, but quote Sir Alan Burns who served in different capacities in Nigeria since 1912.

For reasons which are not even now clear but which were not unconnected with the imposition of taxes and the intrigues of agitators from Lagos, there was a sudden rising in June. Sections of the railway and telegraph lines were destroyed and railway stations burnt and looted.
the Alake of Abeokuta narrowly escaped with his life and a European trader was brutally murdered. A police detachment of twelve men was employed as escort on a train carrying specie: the train was derailed and for a night and a day the escort defended the van containing the money; seven men being wounded. The money was safely conveyed to...a police station...which had been hurriedly fortified and was besieged by the Egbas for some days, and was finally relieved by columns operating from Lagos and the North.

A large force was now concentrated, and there was some severe fighting until the end of July, when the resistance suddenly collapsed. Had this taken place a few months earlier, before the troops had returned from the East African Campaign, the situation would have been very grave.29

This incident happened in the summer of 1918, and is a typical example of early resistance in Nigeria.

In Sierra Leone, early protest against the inculcation of traditional society were made mostly by the Protectorate Peoples. The first uprising against Colonial administration was in 1898, only two years after the protectorate was declared. Fears among the Protectorate peoples that the Europeans were planning to take away their land, and that the "black Europeans" (Creoles) were aiding them on this enterprise, eventually erupted in the Hut Tax War.30

Throughout the post World War I period, innumerable riots and disturbances occurred in the hinterland of Sierra Leone; in the South (Moyamba, 1923-24), in the East (Kenema, 1934 and Pujehun 1931), and in the North (Kambia); the Peasant Insurrection led by Idara Contorfilli, a Muslim missionary who entered Sierra Leone from Guinea in early 1930.31
Many of these riots were due to the role of traditional rulers in Colonial change. Chiefs were becoming involved in cash-crop production and marketing. This in turn created a competitive relationship between chiefs and the peasantry that had no precedent in traditional society; Chiefs were to be responsible for raising house-tax from their subjects, with a commission of 3d. a house (Creoles and Europeans paying theirs direct). The District Commissioner going round with his Court messengers, assisted if need be by Frontier Police, to collect the taxes. These were relationships that were essentially Western and Modern to the Protectorate peoples. 32

Political Nationalism

The immediate factors that led to the rise of politically oriented nationalist movements were the effects of World War I. In both Nigeria and Sierra Leone, the main phase in the rise of the new elite coincided with the rise of anti-colonial nationalism.

The National Congress of British West Africa, founded in Accra, Ghana (then the Gold Coast) in March 1920, with branches in Sierra Leone, the Gambia and Nigeria, was the major organizational expression of the new breed of nationalists after World War I. This organisation's aim was to fight for the eventual abolition of colonial rule. It was a pan-regional organisation as it drew together many of the leading intellectuals of British West Africa into an organisation. 33

The Congress-type organisation was formed primarily to be used as pressure groups by the educated elites. Their main function was the
considering and passing of anti-colonial resolutions and the sending of delegations to London and the administrative capitals to present grievances and requests. 34

An outcome of the first conference of the Congress in Accra, was the emergence of a new impetus for the nationalist to focus their activities on the electoral process. Constitutional changes, made in 1922, established legislative Council with elected members in Nigeria (Lagos), and in 1924 the Protectorate Peoples were represented through Chiefs, (two from the Mendes and one from Temnes) who were appointed by the Governor to the Council in Freetown. Thus, while general political development was retarded in Nigeria, in Sierra Leone the administration continued to promote a policy of ethnic division, between the Creoles (the Colony) and the Indigenes (the Protectorate). The aim though of the Colonial administration in both countries was to retard the growth of centralised nationalist movement.

Political Evolution Based Around Personalities

The Colonial government's proposals for constitutional change and the introduction of elections influenced the formation of political parties in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone. In Nigeria, the elections for the Lagos City Council saw the birth of a political party (NNDP); and in Sierra Leone, after the Colony groups failed to alter the substance of the 1947 constitutional proposals, the National Council of the Colony of Sierra Leone (NCSL) was formed.
The Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) was founded by Herbert Macaulay, revered today by many as 'the father of Nigerian Nationalism', in 1923, although it was by no means a national party. The NNDP was formed to contest the Lagos city and legislative council elections. From 1922 to 1938 this party elected all of the Nigerian members to those two bodies; it had little contact with the uneducated masses and little or no support outside the Lagos area. Herbert Macaulay dominated the NNDP and later the NCNC until his death in 1946.

The hierarchy of the NNDP was made up of men who considered themselves "Lagosians" or who were born in other West African territories than Nigeria. As political activity was centered in Lagos until 1938, ethnic bases of political division had no opportunity to develop.

Two years after the birth of the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM), a nationalist oriented movement, the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) came into existence. Under the leadership of Nnamdi Azikiwe (an Ibo) and H. O. Davies (a Yoruba), the NYM successfully challenged the supremacy of the NNDP so that in both the elections (Local and Legislative) of 1938 it won all the seats from the NNDP which was until then the only political party represented in the Legislature. The Youth Movement had as its objectives:

the unification of the different tribes of Nigeria by adopting and encouraging means which will foster better understanding and cooperation between the tribes so that they may come to have a common ideal; complete autonomy for Nigeria within the British Empire and economic opportunities equal to those enjoyed by foreigners.
The NYM, like the NNDP was restricted in its electoral scope; but, unlike the NNDP, had much broader purposes. The NYM hoped to establish branches in every city and large towns in Nigeria, in order to engage all segments of the society in political activity, and to demand for the extension of the electoral process throughout the country.

The NYM drew its support from students, clerks, civil servants, unemployed 'Standard IV boys', ethnic and literary societies, and individual trade unions. Like the NNDP, though, the NYM, was dominated by intellectuals, men like Zik and Awo, symbols of two of the three major ethnic groups in the country, and although it was not confined to Lagos almost all of its support came from southwest Nigeria. As indicated above, the leadership of the NYM was made up of men from both Ibo and Yoruba origins. The problem of political parties based on ethnic divisions did not arise until after 1940.

In Sierra Leone, quasi-political organisations had existed in the Creole controlled colony even before 1900. In 1851 a group called the Sierra Leone Mercantile Association was formed with the motive of protecting the trading community by pressuring the Colonial government for favourable trade policies. A leading spokesman of this organization John Ezzidio, was even appointed to the Legislative Council by the Governor as early as 1863.

While quasi-political organisations had existed in the Colony as early as the nineteenth century, real political parties did not come into existence in the country until as late as 1950. And when they did
come into existence, they were formed around ethnic cleavages. The Creoles formed a political party to protect their relatively privileged position enjoyed under Colonial rule and the Protectorate peoples formed their own political party to challenge this position.

The Creole-Protectorate split was by 1950, bringing closer together the two Protectorate groups (Chiefs and intellectuals) under the same banner (equal representation for Protectorate Peoples), and a very disparate collection of Creole organisations on the opposite side. The Protectorate intellectuals who by then had formed the Sierra Leone Organisation Society (SOS),* abandoned any opposition that existed between them and the Chiefs. In July of 1950 both the Chiefs and the Protectorate intellectuals passed a resolution demanding that the 1947 Constitutional amendments be implemented.

The Protectorate amalgamation was able to produce a man who had just retired from medical practice after 22 years of service throughout the Protectorate, Dr. Milton Margai who was very antagonistic towards the Creoles because of his experience when he returned to Sierra Leone after qualifying as a doctor in 1927, and was laughed at by the Creoles as "the Mende Doctor", became the unifying element of all Protectorate peoples.

He formed the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) in 1951 as a riposte to the Creole National Council of Sierra Leone, and also as a

*The founders of the SOS were Dr. John Kerefa-Smart, Dr. S. Stevens (now President of Sierra Leone), Frank Anthony and Doyle L. Sumner, all these men have been Ministers in the Sierra Leone Government at one time or other since independence.
party to advance the interests of Protectorate peoples.

The political confrontation of the two groups continued with vehement confrontations through the decade that preceded independence.

Until after the Second World War, the ethnic composition did not play an active part in the formation of political parties in both countries. In Sierra Leone, it was Colony against Protectorate peoples, than between ethnic groups.
CHAPTER IV
EFFECTS OF ETHNICITY ON POLITICAL PARTY FORMATION

Impact of World War II

World War II was the transitional period for the development of "semi-mass" parties, in terms of Duverger's typology, in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone. The impact of wartime conditions greatly increased the pace of social and political mobilization and it was a period when more militant, direct actionist leaders gained control of the nationalist movements and began using mass-organisational techniques in order to engage all "social classes" in anti-colonial activities. As the character of political organisation moved from 'personality-oriented' to 'mass-based' the influence of sharp ethnic diversity together with a corresponding regional settlement pattern became manifest in the formation of the political party systems of Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

The impact of the war on Nigeria and Sierra Leone was less direct but the effect upon nationalist movements was more or less the same in all British territories in West Africa.

The profound social and economic changes during World War II brought forth new leadership, mobilized new forces, and created a radically different climate of opinion and a setting more congenial to the development of a positive nationalism.

During the war the colonial government actively regulated the economy of both Nigeria and Sierra Leone so that peasant producers, middlemen, exporters and importers, wage earners, and market women for the first
time felt the direct control of government. The administrators' statements that the war made these regulations necessary did not impress the Nigerians and Sierra Leoneans, who felt that they were being discriminated against; economic control was viewed as an extension of colonial authority over day-to-day activities. These economic groups became ready material for nationalist organisations and activity.

Other groups which became mobilized during the war period were trade unionists, returning servicemen, and students. Increased production to offset import shortages led to a larger labour force and greater urban population. The British Colonial Development Welfare Act of 1940 had encouraged everything likely to promote the welfare of the colonial peoples. In 1942, the Nigerian Trade Union Congress was formed and later became an important source of nationalist strength after the war.

In addition to the wartime economic effects, many thousands of Nigerians and Sierra Leoneans were directly confronted with the war effort. More than 372,000 men from Africa served in the armed forces during the Second World War as Britain drew heavily from the Royal West African Frontier Force; of these, 166,000 served outside their home territories, with more than half in Burma. The large number of African soldiers returning from service with the Forces where they had lived under different and better conditions, made for a general communicable state of unrest when their goals were frustrated after the War. In Nigeria, returned
soldiers were resentful of inadequate pensions and gratuities (an ex-serviceman with 100 per cent disability drew only £3 a month) and at discrimination in army pay scales and general treatment. Both before and after the war, indeed, the army was a stronghold of discrimination.\footnote{42}

In order to build a unified war effort the colonial administration presented the people, through mass media campaigns, with the idea that winning the war would further freedom, democracy, and the creation of a better world for all peoples. This government propaganda tended to create expectations, especially among the students, that self-government and economic betterment would be forthcoming in the immediate post-war period.

Capitalizing on the increasing number of dissatisfied, educated Nigerian youth, the Nigerian Union of Students began politicizing young Nigerians. The Ojokoro youth rally in 1943 brought together hundreds of nationalist-minded young people to hear Azikiwe and other nationalists leaders discuss goals and plans of action.\footnote{43} Subsequently, in 1944, the Nigerian Union of Students called a 'national convention' of nationalists leaders at which was formed the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). The dominant leader of the NCNC was Nnamdi Azikiwe, who became the leader of militant nationalism in Nigeria.\footnote{44}

The NCNC was a congress-type organisation and accepted only associational membership until 1951. By 1945 the NCNC was composed of about 180 affiliated organisations, including "tribal" improvement unions, local clubs, professional associations, literary societies, trade
unions, and Macaulay's NNDP. Until 1951 the NCNC was the only political organisation with a nationalist orientation in southern Nigeria. 45

Unlike Nigeria, the war did not produce the kind of nationalist to the independence movement in Sierra Leone as was evident in both Ghana and Nigeria (also member countries of the RWAFF). The unique set of circumstances in Sierra Leone as reflected in the problems of the Colony-Protectorate dilemma, ethnicity, and the role of chiefs did hamper Sierra Leoneans from developing a nationalist movement on a nation-wide scale.

Since the end of World War I, a middle class of professionals and civil servants had emerged, with an anxiety to replace the colonial government in order to occupy the positions they vacated. This group of Sierra Leoneans, because of their relative superiority both economically and educationally, soon established themselves as the new leadership class. This type of nationalism is according to Kilson "...the expanding appetite of middle-class Africans for new jobs and related perquisites which only the government could provide." 46 The colonial establishment not only included the civil service but also the expatriate commercial enterprises that collaborated with the colonial anti-African policy of employment and advancement into the higher echelon of service.

The political parties that emerged in Sierra Leone in the post-World War II period had independence in sight and were clearly set on establishing themselves as the legitimate successors of the colonial administration. In every case, the leadership of these parties, both
in the Colony and the Protectorate, were drawn from the same elite class of Chiefs and middle-class professionals that British Colonial policy had developed. More perhaps than in any of the former British West African colonies, this elite leadership group in Sierra Leone was particularly anxious to take the place of the colonialists.

**Post-War Political Party Formation**

The post-war situations in Nigeria and Sierra Leone were quite dissimilar. After the war the colonial administrators returned to Nigeria to face a powerful and well determined nationalist organisations that were in control of the masses. Throughout the war period, the colonial administration in Sierra Leone was never threatened and the post-war position of the administrators was much stronger than in Nigeria. In addition, the Sierra Leonean nationalist movement was a mere shadow compared to the NCNC in Nigeria.

It will become increasingly obvious in the following pages of this chapter that the political party systems of Nigeria and Sierra Leone have been predominantly influenced by the precolonial ethnic division existing in these two territories.

In 1941, the fateful Ikoli-Akinsanya incident* split the National Youth Movement and introduced tribalism for the first time into Nigerian

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*A seat in the legislature council had become vacant with the resignation of Dr. K. A. Abayomi, President. Party protocol and precedent directed that this seat should be filled by Ikoli, who was their next in command, but Akinsanya (Ijebu) chose to contest for the party nomination. After his bid for candidacy was obstructed, he and his backers, the Ijebus and the Ibos under Azikiwe, left the Youth Movement, accusing the others of ethnic discrimination.
Not only was the quest for personal power involved for this was reinforced by different ethnic origin: the principle antagonists in 1941 were H. O. Davies, a Yoruba, and Nnamdi Azikiwe, an Ibo. The resignation of Azikiwe and his entourage caused the NYM to lose many of its dynamic leaders; the organisation lost its momentum and did not play an important role in Nigerian nationalism after 1941. From then until independence in 1960, Nigerian nationalism and the rise of political parties became increasingly regionalized, and in each region the dominant ethnic group provided the base for the formation of a political party.

During the period 1944 to 1951 three major political parties evolved from three cultural associations, each based in a different region. The first of these was the NCNC, discussed earlier in this chapter, which attempted to build a mass-based organisation. Although the NCNC made serious attempts to unify Nigerian Nationalists under one banner (NCNC), especially between 1946-47, it was identified by non-Ibos as an Ibo dominated organisation, and in the Ibo traditional political culture; as have been pointed out in Chapter I, there was no place for Chiefs. The Yoruba leadership pointed out that the NCNC, because of this factor, would not be expected to show respect for elders or protect the chieftaincy institution of Yorubas. Secondly, they indicated to the aggressiveness of the Ibo leadership and their drive, and then they interpreted these as indications that in terms of political and administrative recruitment as well as economic security, the future of Yorubas and the Western Region
minority groups, rested not with NCNC but with a new group (party).

The Action Group was the creation of Obafemi Awolowo, an Ijebu - Yoruba from southwest Nigeria; he had, while in London studying law, formed a pan-Yoruba cultural association called Egbe Omo Oduduwa ("Society of the Descendants of Oduduwa" - the mythical founder of the Yoruba). This association was established in southwestern Nigeria in 1948 with several branches, and it formed the basis for the Action Group which was organised to challenge the NCNC in the 1951 regional elections. The Action Group was supported by the Yoruba middle class, intellectuals, student groups, traditional leaders and professional men in the Region.

When national political awareness developed in the North, it was not out of discontent with British rule but basically against the threat of southern domination, as a lot of southerners were present in the North.*

In 1949 a northern Islamic congress was established by some of the young Western educated Muslims and a few of the perceptive traditional religious functionaries. It was known as the Jam'iiyyar Mutanen Arewa, and from this base came the inception of the Northern People's Congress (NPC), a conservative, tradition-oriented political party. Just as the NCNC and Action Group parties may be traced to the Nigerian Youth Movement

through their respective leaders, the NPC and its northern rival, the Northern Elements' Progressive Union (NEPU), may be traced to the Bauchi General Improvement Union, founded in 1943. Two of its original leaders were Aminu Kano and Tafawa Balewa who later helped organize the Northern Teachers' Association and Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa. In 1950 Aminu Kano, who felt the need for fundamental reform of the northern political system, left Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa and formed NEPU. It was largely the threat of southern Nigerian interference, through NEPU, that brought about the formation of the NPC in 1951.

Each of these three major parties, with its regional ethnic base, was able to dominate the legislature of its region during the period from 1951-1962. Under the Richards Constitution of 1946 three regions had been designated for the purpose of creating a federal governmental system, and in 1951 the first region-wide elections were held; these, of course, were the primary impetus for the sudden formation of political parties. Elections were conducted according to an indirect method in all regions until 1956 when the Western Region had an election for its House of Representatives; the Eastern Region followed with direct elections in 1957 and the Northern Region in the 1959 (federal) elections.

The results of direct elections held during the period from 1956-1962, summarized on the following page, indicate the increasing dominance of the majority party in each region. Political opposition in each region tended to come from an alliance between the major party of
another region and a party (or parties) representing ethnic minorities in the region; often these minorities were seeking the formation of separate regions and were willing to work with the major party of another region, which, of course, did not represent the dominant ethnic group in the minority's region.

The inter-regional system of alliances may be exemplified by taking a close examination at the political parties operating during 1959 federal elections in Nigeria. In addition to the three major parties, there were thirteen minor parties which presented candidates for elections in three regions.

Eleven of these minor parties were in formal alliance with one of the major parties; seven of the thirteen represented minority ethnic groups, while the remaining six were offshoots of the majority ethnic group of each region.

Minor parties operating in the Western Region in 1959 were the National Emancipation League, a Muslim party allied with the NPC; the Oshun United Party, an unaligned Yoruba party which came into existence through local rivalries; Otu Edo, a party of the Edo speaking people and allied with the NCNC, and the Mabolaje Grand Alliance, a local Yoruba party centered in Ibadan City and in alliance with the NPC.

In the East, there were three minor parties. The United National Independence Party (UNIP), which included the C.O.R. State Movement (Calabar-Ogoja - Rivers), an early offshoot of the NCNC and was
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western Region</th>
<th>1951 (Regional)</th>
<th>May 1956 (Regional)</th>
<th>Dec. 1959 (Federal)</th>
<th>Aug. 1960 (Regional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of votes</td>
<td>% of seats</td>
<td>% of votes</td>
<td>% of seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action Group</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCNC</td>
<td>30 - 35 b</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCNC</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG (+UNIP)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 (Regional)</td>
<td>December 1959 (Federal)</td>
<td>May 1961 (Regional)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of votes</td>
<td>% of seats</td>
<td>% of votes</td>
<td>% of seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>64 c</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPU-NCNC</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a - Blanks indicate that data are not available
b - Exact number not known
c - As of November 18, 1953
a representative of the Ibibio-Efik, Ogoja and Rivers peoples; it was allied with the Action Group. The Democratic Party of Nigeria and the Cameroons (DPNC) had split from the NCNC in 1958 when a few of the prominent party leaders unsuccessfully attempted to relieve Azikiwe of the NCNC party leadership; it had a loose electoral alliance with the Action Group in the 1959 campaign. The last party, the Niger Delta Congress, was an organisation of the Ijaw traditional leaders and was allied with the NPC.

Five minor parties presented candidates for election in the Northern Region. One of these, NEPU, as previously indicated, was an offshoot of the dominant Hausa-Fulani ethnic grouping. It was a party of young, well-educated, urbanized, 'radicals', and it had its base of support in a few urban centres of the Muslim north; it has long been allied with the NCNC. The United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) was a multi-ethnic party in alliance with the Action Group. The Ilorin Talaka Parapo (Commoners' Party) was a party of northern Yorubas, who lived just within the Northern Region's southern border; it was also allied with the Action Group, and together with UMBC provided the Action Group with its northern seats. The Bornu Youth Movement (BYM) was made up of young Kanuri 'radicals' who desired a change in the conservative-oriented northern government; it had been allied with NEPU during 1956-8 but later broken up and allied with the Action Group in 1959. The unaligned Middle Belt State Party (MBPP) was a splinter party in the Tiv area.

The above outlined system of alliances indicates that each of the three major parties sought to make electoral alignment with minority ethnic
group parties in other regions in order to improve the possibility of becoming a national majority party. In 1959 each major party securely controlled its regional government but had very little significant support in the other regions, except by the device of alliance with minority ethnic groups or with parties which were not in the mainstream of political power. Included in the latter category would be NEPU in the north, DPNC in the East, and the National Emancipation League in the West (along with its parent organisation the United Muslim Party of Lagos). While each of these parties sprang from the dominant ethnic group of its region, none had roots in the traditional system, and all were mere splinter groups of the major parties. In fact, given the ethnic basis of political parties in Nigeria, each of these minor parties, by aligning itself with a major party of another region, became subject to attack as a subversive influence in the region. Furthermore, by 1961, even the system of alliances was providing very little basis for building political support in other regions; the political returns on such alliances were rapidly diminishing.

Nowhere in Nigeria in fact could the classical two-party system with the possibility of a change of government by a true 'swing of the pendulum' be found in 1959.52

A comparison of the results of the 1959 federal election with the position of the major parties in the regional legislatures as of 1962 illustrates the potency of ethnicity in the formation of Nigeria's party system. Each major party, with its regional ethnic base, was securely
### TABLE VI

RESULTS OF THE 1959 FEDERAL ELECTIONS,
NIGERIAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>NPC</th>
<th>NCNC</th>
<th>Action Group</th>
<th>Mabolaje</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>142</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in control of its regional legislature but unable to win control of the federal House of Representatives.

It seems clear that the results of local, regional, and federal elections within the period 1956-1961 in Nigeria show a definite trend towards the control of each region by a single party. These parties are unable to find any secure foothold in other regions except by supporting minority or dissident elements for whom they can do very little in the long run. Moreover this identification of each party with a region and the failure to have much impact in other regions is in itself a factor in determining political loyalties and the conduct of the parties.

By maintaining a position as governing party for more than a decade, each major regional party is able to exert influence over even the minority areas, so that it became apparent to these ethnic groups that they could receive greater political and financial benefits by supporting the ruling party. Furthermore, the ruling parties, through control of regional resources and other institutions, had access to the Coffers unavailable to opposition parties; this provides the major parties with adequate means to conduct extensive electoral campaigns. The above factors increased the security of the major party in each region, and by 1962, through defection from opposition parties and victory in by-election, the major parties added to their numerical majorities in their respective regional legislatures.

This trend was also apparent at the federal level where a coalition
TABLE VII
RELATIVE STRENGTH OF NIGERIA'S POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE REGIONAL LEGISLATURES, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats%</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats%</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>NCNC</td>
<td>86.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>NCNC</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCNC + NEPU</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>(35.5)*</td>
<td>AG + UNIP</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total for the NCNC in the Eastern Region includes "independents" who were NCNC supporters but had temporarily disassociated themselves from the party over various local grievances; and in the West, seats of the Mabolaje Grand Alliance are added to those of the NCNC on the grounds that both parties were allied.
TABLE VIII

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF NIGERIA'S POLITICAL PARTIES

IN THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS OF 1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>AG</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>NCNC + NEPU</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>NCNC + NEPU</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>NCNC + NEPU</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>AG</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>AG</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCNC + NEPU</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mabolaje</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
between the NEPU and the NCNC had been in effect since the 1959 federal election. The Northern Region, allocated 174 of the 312 federal seats, potentially could elect a majority of the federal legislators; but the NPC has been unable to win enough northern seats in 1959 to become the majority party, thus necessitating a coalition government.

By late 1962, however, with the support of some members from the Action Group joining the NPC with the fall of Awolowo, and by various by-election victories in the North, the NPC was able to control an absolute majority in the House.

Indeed, the trend toward regional one-party dominance continued until the federal election of 1964, at which time, the NPC teamed up with the faction of the Action Group under the leadership of Chief Akintola which called itself the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). The NCNC allied itself with the other faction of the Action Group which (in the absence of Chief Awolowo) was led by D. S. Adegbenro and retained the name Action Group. The Alliance between NCNC and AG was called the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and that of the NPC and the NNDP was called the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA). The latter won the 1964 elections through obstructionist means, as it was neither free nor peaceful.

Turning now to the situation in Sierra Leone; the goals of the colonial government after World War II became those of preparing Sierra Leoneans for eventual independence which means greater participation in the government by the indigenous peoples and rapid social and economic
improvements for the protectorate peoples.

The 1947 constitutional proposals was a major breakthrough toward African self-government and an apparent sight of independence at which time party politics emerged in full momentum and immediately became identified around ethnic groups. During the period when independence was a little more out of sight, the different elements in the Protectorate joined forces to help bring about independence, but soon after, ethnic group interests predominated, and the animosities became directed against an ethnic group within the country likely to emerge as the dominant group after independence (in this case, the Creoles). As soon as the common enemy is paralyzed, the temporary unity tended to break down and the former constituent ethnic groups once more pursued those objectives considered vital to their own group interests.

The beginning of a multi-party system in the 'modern' sense started in Sierra Leone in August of 1950 when the National Council for the Colony of Sierra Leone (NCSL) came into being; this party was formed to advocate and defend Creole ethnic interests, which by this time was obstructionist in nature. In response, the Protectorate Peoples closed ranks and formed the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) in April of 1951, as the party of all Protectorate Peoples. In 1951 a general elections was held for the first time in Sierra Leone at which time the strength of both the Protectorate and Colony Peoples were put to test; of the twenty-one seats to be filled by Sierra Leoneans through direct and indirect elections* THE SLPP won only two of the directly 'elected

*One from each of the 12 district Council in the Protectorate, two from the Protectorate Assembly and seven to be directly elected in the Colony.
seats in the Colony, and only four of those indirectly elected. The National Council won five of the directly contested seats in the Colony as against none in the Protectorate as it had not even tried to win support outside of the Colony. The SLPP became the majority party in the Legislative Council when all but two of the members chose the party over the NCSL. One should not be surprised, as the SLPP had promised to elevate the position of the Protectorate Peoples while the NCSL had always favoured the maintenance of Creole domination, and since a majority of the Council members came from the Protectorate, the outcome of a contest between a Protectorate and a Creole party had to be the victory of the Protectorate peoples.

The particular Protectorate - Colony pattern of ethnic interest reached a climax in the 1957 general elections, which turned out to be the last chance for the Creoles before independence. After the defeat of the NCSL in the 1951 elections, the United Progressive Party (UPP) was formed to replace the NCSL as the leading political organisation championing the interests of the Creole. Although the UPP was a bit successful in attracting some northern support, the SLPP remained unchallenged as the dominant party of the Protectorate People's interests. The SLPP overwhelmed the UPP at the polls in 1957, and established once and for all that the Creoles, operating as an ethnic group politically can be no competition for the Protectorate Peoples. And so, in the last general elections before independence, political parties were used mainly
for the rallying of ethnic group support in pursuit of ethnic groups interest.

There was a state of grace from 1958 to 1960 when the ethnic division manifested in Sierra Leone politics moved from ethnic groups to generation and ideological conflict. However, before the People's National Party (PNP) could test its strength in a general election, it was dissolved following the formation of the United National Front. All the political parties in Sierra Leone only a few months before the departure of the delegation to the Independence constitutional talks in London formed a coalition. The United Front was intact until after the Constitutional Conference, soon after, political opposition and ethnic group conflict continued. Siaka Stevens (now President), a northerner and the deputy leader of the PNP, withdrew from the United Front, and took with him into a new party, the All People's Congress (APC), non-Mende elements of the PNP, dissident members of the SLPP; a large group of the Creole intellectuals.

At this point in time (1962) in Sierra Leone politics, a new coalition of different ethnic groups was clearly taking shape. Since the Mendes, because of their dominance of the governing SLPP, were seen to be the ethnic group to overthrow, all the other ethnic groups saw their advantage to unite against the Mendes. Thus until the elections of May 1973, when the APC won all but one of the seats, the political party's organizations in confrontation in Sierra Leone were the SLPP and the APC. This also amounted to a confrontation of the
Mendes and the other ethnic groups. This analysis, of course, reflects the situation in broad and general terms. There were those in Sierra Leone who supported political parties for personal and other reasons without conforming to the general ethnic pattern. But such were few and not enough to affect the pattern to any significant extent.

A year after independence, Sierra Leone went to the polls to test the strength and support of both the SLPP and the APC. Even though the SLPP was able to keep few seats in the Creole and Temne Constituencies it was the overwhelming support it received from the Mende dominated constituencies that kept the SLPP in power. The new Colony (Creoles) and the Temnes and other northern ethnic groups coalition nearly succeeded in gaining power from the Mende-dominated SLPP in the 1962 election.

The aggravation of ethnic animosity between the Mendes and non-Mendes came to a head between the period 1962-1967. The atmosphere in which the 1967 campaign was carried out shows a clear appeal to ethnic sentiment by the leaders, especially that of the SLPP. The results and its aftermath clearly showed the extent of ethnic grudge in Sierra Leone. In both the Northern province and the Western Area (former Colony), the Temnes, Limbas and some other minority ethnic groups voted overwhelmingly for the APC, which won nearly all the seats in these areas and also some of the Kono's seats in the Eastern province.

The Mendes voted mainly with the SLPP and gave it the usual loyal support as they had always done in previous elections. Thus the
TABLE IX

RESULTS OF THE 1957 and 1962 GENERAL ELECTIONS
IN SIERRA LEONE

1957.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>SLPP</th>
<th>UPP</th>
<th>IND*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colony</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1962.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>SLPP</th>
<th>APC</th>
<th>SLPPM</th>
<th>IND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Area **</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* IND = Independent Candidates with no Party affiliation.

** The name of the Colony was later changed to the Western Area, which includes not only Freetown but also the surrounding areas.
general elections of 1967 resulted in a head on confrontation for both parties as to produce a stalemate.

The 'true' results of the 1967 General Elections made public by the Dove-Edwin Commission of Inquiry looking into the conduct of the elections were as follows:-

(a) S.L.P.P. won 22 contested seats plus 6 declared unopposed. These seats were subject to appeal.

(b) A.P.C. won 32 contested seats, none unopposed.

(c) Independents won 6 contested seats, none unopposed.

(d) Eleven Paramount Chiefs were elected each for his own district with one declared unopposed, a total of 12 Paramount Chiefs.

The results of these elections held on the 17th and 21st of March, 1967 were never reported to the citizens of Sierra Leone in its entirety, and by the time they finally came through to the public, the tension had gone beyond control; it is of interest that the Commission of Inquiry looking into the conduct of the elections had this to say had the Army not stepped in:

There was sudden upsurge of tribal feelings when the announcement of the final results was delayed. This would have developed into a tribal war if the National Reformation had not stepped in on the 23rd of March, 1967.

The Military according to the text of Major Blake's address to the Nation "...had agreed that since the results of the elections had demonstrated clearly tribalistic attitude the country motivated and
aggravated by the propaganda campaigning of the two parties, the safest and surest solution for the benefit of our beloved country was to bring both parties to the Conference table to discuss the establishment of a national government representative of every section of the country.\textsuperscript{65}

It is quite obvious from the speech of Major Blake (Member) National Reformation Council (NRC), the then government formed by the Military and Police on the 23rd of March that the elections had once more exposed ethnic animosities in Sierra Leone.
CHAPTER V

COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS

The effects of Ethnic differences is apparent to both Nigeria and Sierra Leone, and in each country ethnic groups are concentrated in distinct geographical areas. It has been demonstrated throughout this study that ethnic differences have played a major part in the formation of political parties in both countries, but we also find distinct differences in both systems. In Nigeria there are three powerful ethnic groups, each located in a region; from this situation developed three – regionally based, ethnically – oriented parties. By the time of Nigeria's independence in 1960, each party was in solid control of its regional legislature but unable to command majority in the Federal House of Representatives. For support in the other regions each party had to depend upon dissident minority separatist state movements who was disenchanted over the unequal and unfair distribution of 'rewards' by the ruling ethnic groups. Thus, a national political party did not develop in Nigeria, although both Action Group and the NCNC attempted to develop mass-based support in the other Regions.

In Sierra Leone there has been essentially a one-party deominated system which has rested on the support of Protectorate ethnic groups against the Colony Creoles. This system was upset in 1958 for a brief period (1958-1960), primarily for ideological reasons, ethnic division manifested
in Sierra Leone politics shifted to ideological conflicts, but not for long as it shifted again to a one-party dominated system.

Ethnic separateness and suspicion had been intensified by the British administrative system, a system which eventually was reflected in the kinds of constitution adopted for the two countries. The Richards Constitution of 1946 and the Macpherson Constitution of 1951 established a federal system in Nigeria that merely imposed the pre-existing Colonial administrative system; in order not to alienate the Northern Emirs the British refused to create a Middle Belt Region, thus leaving the Northern Region with a majority of the land and population of Nigeria. In Sierra Leone the 1947 Constitutional proposals fell for short of a full application of democratic principles. For example only four of the fourteen unofficial African members of the Legislative Council were to be elected by direct franchise and these were to represent only the Colony constituencies. The other ten unofficial members were to represent Protectorate interests. Of these members, nine were to be elected by the Protectorate Assembly dominated by Chiefs and one nominated by the Governor from among the members of the same Protectorate Assembly.

There seems to be important factors which account for the different types of party systems found in both Nigeria and Sierra Leone despite the existence of ethnic differences and area concentration in both countries.

The first factor, which strikes the observer immediately, is that in Sierra Leone there is a dominant 'national' ethnic group which occupies
the politically and economically important portion of the country. South-Easter
Sierra Leone is the only area in which travel and economic inter-
course has been relatively easy.

The other, is the existence of a 'foreign foe' which led to a
degree of political integration of different ethnic groups in Sierra Leone.
It was not only the British but the Creole as well which provided the
focal point of antagonism. The status of the Protectorate peoples had
improved with the introduction of the 1947 Constitutional proposals, so
that these peoples were not as anti-British to the degree that the Creoles
were. All Protectorate Peoples had agreed by 1951, however, that the
Creoles represented an unbearable threat to national self-government. The
SLPP was the product of this unified struggle, and all protectorate ethnic
groups supported it until the split in 1958. This is not to say that the
minority ethnic groups were devoted to the SLPP or they completely trusted
the Mendes.

Similarly with the Nigerian situation the disintegrative effects
were present but of different nature; there was no dominant national ethnic
group around which a national party can be organized; Nigeria and Sierra
Leone were both artificial creation of the British Colonial system. Other
than English, which is spoken by a tiny fraction of the total population,
Nigeria has no national language. While the Ibo and Yoruba political leaders
shared a feeling of antipathy toward the British presence, this was insuf-
ficient to overcome the strong Ibo-Yoruba rivalry; and to the northern Emirs
the southern parties represented a distinct threat to the status quo, while
the British had for many years provided a buffer between the traditional-oriented north and the 'modernizing' south. Northern political leaders agreed to joining an independent federation of Nigeria only when the Northern Region was assured of electing a majority of the Seats in the Federal House of Representatives.

At the regional level a one-party-dominant system developed in Nigeria, but at the federal level the existence of three powerful regional parties supported by minority ethnic group parties in the other regions led to the necessity of coalition in 1959. By 1963, however, the potentiality of NPC domination of the House of Representatives created doubt as to the continuation of the Nigerian Federal Party System, the Federal Elections that followed - 1964, witnessed more intense disregard for laws, the elections were neither free nor peaceful; this together with the Nigerian Census crisis of 1963 and the Western Regional Crisis culminated to the Military Coup of January 1966.

It has been amply demonstrated throughout this study, that ethnicization of party politics in both countries was detrimental to national integration, although with varying intensity.

The extent to which party systems in Nigeria and Sierra Leone are based on pre-existing ethnic diversity has been the focus of this paper. The tendency to a one-party-dominant system in Sierra Leone has been projected, while Nigeria has been a regional-ethnic-based multi-party system with a trend toward one-party dominance due to the unequal regional divisions prior to the creation of the twelve states. A further question, would be, which type of party system leads to the greatest political stability?
MAP I
ETHNIC GROUPS IN NIGERIA

MAP II

ETHNIC GROUPS IN SIERRA LEONE

FOOTNOTES

1. An exception to this was the formation of the NNDP under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay, a Yoruba, but had a large support from other ethnic groups at the party inception in 1923. See: R. Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 46-48.


5. Ibid.


20. **I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson** - Leader of the Sierra Leone Youth League, a Socialist by conviction who had studied in the Soviet Union during the early 1930's and later worked with Nnamdi Azikiwe editing the anti-Colonial *African Morning Post* in Accra.

**Laminal Sankoh** - A Creole whose sympathy with protectorate aspirations was indisputable, studied for the Ministry in Britain and turned to politics after he was denied ordination for the ministry by an Anglican Bishop because he was black. After this event, he dropped his Anglo-name, E. N. Jones for an indigenous name.

**Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe** - Born in the northern Nigerian town of Zunguru in 1904 where his father served as a clerk in the Nigerian Regiment. He was later sent 'home' to the East by his parents at the age of eight to attend school. He later left for the United States and enrolled in Storer College, a two-year Junior College in West Virginia; he later went to Howard and Lincoln Universities (both all black universities then) where he completed his undergraduate education. Subsequently he entered Columbia University where he edited the *Columbia University Summer Session Times* (1930). He returned to Africa (Ghana) in 1934 to accept the position of editor of the *African Morning Post*; from then on he stayed in the limelight of politics until the Coup in 1966 in Nigeria. See: *Zik and the Freedom of Nigeria* (Port Harcourt, 1953) by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

**Oladipo Davies** - Studied under Harold Laski at the London School of Economics where he compiled a fine academic record and student leadership, served as President, of the West African Students' Union in the United Kingdom, and as representative of the University of London as the Executive Board of British Universities.

21. See speech made by the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard, on March 22, 1903, at the installation of the New Sultan of Sokoto in *Political Memoranda*.


34. For a discussion of early nationalism in Nigeria see Coleman, *op. cit.*, in Sierra Leone, see Kilson, *op. cit*.


36. Fyfe, *op. cit.*, p. 259

38. For the impact of World War II on British West Africa see Price, Ibid., Chapter I.


43. For the manifestations of the Ojokoro Youth Rally on Nigerian Nationalism, see Sklar, op. cit., p. 56, and Coleman, op. cit., p. 263.

44. Zikism and Radicalism, see Sklar, op. cit., pp. 72-83.


46. Kilson, op. cit., p. 90.

48. For the objectives of this organization at its' inception, see Coleman, op. cit., pp. 344-345.


50. The Mabolaje Party was formed in 1952, a political organization of Adelabu's design; for a history, see Sklar, op. cit., pp. 296-320.


52. For data reflecting this trend, see Mackintosh, op. cit.


57. Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 546.

58. About political groups before the Second World War in Sierra Leone, see Kilson, op. cit., pp. 219-225.


61. For more details, see op. cit., pp. 108-117.


63. Ibid., p. 17.

64. Ibid., par. 23, p. 3.

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