

Malaya-Nigeria Political Parties Ideologies in Comparative Study 1945 to Independence

Nasiru Haruna, Mohd Sabri Md Nor, Murni Wan Mohd Nor & Mohd Mahadee Ismail

Department of Government and Civilization Studies, Faculty of Human Ecology,
Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM), 43400 Serdang, Selangor

Corresponding Author's Email: msabri@upm.edu.my

Email: nasiruh8@gmail.com, murn@upm.edu.my, mahadee@upm.edu.my

To Link this Article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.6007/IJARBS/v13-i18/19968> DOI:10.6007/IJARBS/v13-i18/19968

Published Date: 15 December 2023

Abstract

The analogy of Malaya and Nigerian politics was invented by British colonial masters that rule in both countries during the colonial era. However, in Malaya and Nigeria, issues ethnicity, religion and races played a dominant role in political parties' formation. Therefore, this paper will identify and compare the ideologies of United Malay National Organization (UMNO), Northern People Congress (NPC), National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) and Action Group (AG), in their struggle to obtain the independence. Secondary data were use and critically analyzed with the view to came out with the reliable information. Similarities of the both parties in Malaya and Nigeria engaged in organized public opinion between the colonial government and the citizens, served as a pressure group. UMNO as political party has the national outlook express the views of all the Malay in Malaya while the Nigerian political parties lack national outlook each party fight for the independence of its autonomous Region and ethnic group, which delay the independence of the country to 1960 and Malaya in 1957. To strengthen the long-standing relationship of Malaya and Nigeria and to expose the past polities to the present generation in order to determent the future of their country's politics.

Keywords: Ideology, Political Parties, Independence, Malaya Politics, Nigerian Politics

Introduction

The political parties originated from Europe and the United States in the 18th century AD and later spread to the other part of the world. In Asia and Africa, it comes in the early 20th century alone with the election principles and parliamentary system of government. after the second world war in 1945 the political winds of electoral democracy start to blow in Asia and Africa. As a result of Indian and Pakistan political independence in 1947 under the British colonial government ten years later Malaya (Malaysia) from Southeast Asia and Gold Coast (Ghana) from Africa became independence from the same British colony in 1957, subsequently Nigeria become independence in 1960 also from the British colonial administration (Hooker, 2003;

Coleman, 1958). The period 1945 mark the end of second world war and the beginning of new political order.

Pre-independence political party activities and their ideology pave way for independence of Malaysia and Nigeria in the middle of the 20th century. Political parties in Malaysia originated in 1946 when the first political party was founded by Dato' Onn Jaafar known as United Malays National Organization (UMNO), follow by Independence Malaya Party (IMP) in 1951, Party Negara in 1954, by 1951 PAS emerge headed by Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy became president of PAS. These were parties mainly dominated by the indigenous Malay citizens other non-Malay political parties come into being as a result of the formation of Mayan Union in 1945 they are known as leftwing and rightwing they joined the movement for the independence of Malayan, one of them are Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) (Carstens, 1989) formed in 1949 whose membership were pre-dominantly the Chinese communities in Malayan. Another party that reign during the pre-independence Malaya was the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) established in 1946 the members of the party were restricted to ethnic Indian communities in Malaya the aim of the party at the initial was to gain independence from the British and later joined the movement for the independence of the Malayan

The Nigerian first generation of political parties trace their origin around the 1923 when the colonial masters allowed for the elective position in the house of representatives, the first political party was known as National Nigeria Democratic Party (NNDP) which later transform into National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon in 1944. Some of the Popular party that exited was the Northern People Congress (NPC) founded in June 1949 with restricted membership to Northern Nigeria communities. Action Group (AG) was established in march 21st 1951 at the ancient city of Ibadan western Nigeria by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the membership of the party was dominated by the Yoruba ethnic communities. Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) founded in kano northern Nigeria in 1950 it served as opposition party to the norther people congress other party that was established during the period was the Middle Belt Progressive Movement and Nigerian youth movement. The aims of this research is to identify and comper the political parties' ideology in Malaya and Nigeria in their process towards independent of their countries from the British colonial masters.

The research is significant because of the long-standing relationship of Malaya and Nigeria, the research will fill the gap on political comparison of both countries as most of the literature on Malaya and Nigeria were on trade, economic relations and foreign policies. Strengthen political relationship of both countries and to help the current generation understand the present polities with reference to past politics in determining the future of their countries.

Literature Review

Academic writings on political ideology of Malaysia and Nigeria were partially limited in number as most of the published studies are in different perspectives. the studies theme can be of three broad title. The Malaysia-Nigeria foreign policy, Malaysia-Nigeria trade relation and Malaysia-Nigeria economic relation. The journal paper title "Malaysia and Nigeria foreign policy in comparative perspective", was published by (Aleyom and Abu Bakar, 2015). Is one of the articles that express the relationship of Nigeria and Malaysia in terms of their foreign policy, they emphases that the study explores the nexus between Malaysian and Nigerian Foreign Policy by examining the personality traits of Mahathir, 1981-2003 and Obasanjo, 1999-2007 respectively. The development must be genuinely experienced and sustained in Nigeria. Territorial defense, and security of live and property are the hallmarks for national survival cum development of any nation. In the circumstance, we consider periodic evaluation

of national interests and specific bilateral security treaty in all ramifications as a highly useful and pivotal (Michael & Abu Bakar, 2015) and in another writings by Yusuf Hamimed and Irwan Shah Zainal title 'Empirical Determinants of Malaysia's Trade Relation with Nigeria' he argue that the economy of Malaysia is fast growing among other Asian countries as it spreads her trade tentacles with many countries, even Nigeria inclusive has been a member of Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) countries. Notwithstanding this trend, there exists little the real and official exchange rate of Nigeria, and FDI inflows to Malaysia were the positive determinants of Malaysia's trade with Nigeria. On the other hand, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of Malaysia, per capita GDP of Nigeria, and the real exchange rate of Malaysia negatively determined her trade flow with Nigeria (Agboola et al., 2018)

Bello (2019) in his paper title the 'appraisal of Malaysia-Nigeria foreign economic relation' stated that the Relations between Malaysia and Nigeria is dated back to 1960 when the then prime minister of Nigeria Abubakar Tafawa Balewa extended friendly relations with Malaysia Prime-Minster Tunku Abdul Rahman since then both countries have enjoyed political and economic ties. Economic relations between both countries have flourished putting the total trade in 2016 at over \$4 billion. Recently studies abound have shown raising China-Nigeria relations due to increase in global south partnership for trade and development. However, limited studies abound on the nature and benefit of economic relations between other Asian countries (Bello et al., 2019)

Ye (2012) in his paper 'Political Parties and Election in Malaysia and a Comparison with Britain' he stressed that Political parties have been existent in Malaysia since the 1940s, and elections were introduced in Malaysia in the early 1950s. For 55 years Malaysia has been governed by the same ruling coalition. The election in Malaysia is using a Single Member District Plurality (SMDP) and First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) system, which is supposed to produce a two-party system but having a dominant party system in reality. The paper aim to, this study sought to study on the political parties and the electoral system in Malaysia, and also to compare the situation with in Britain (Khor, 2012).

Sani, (2014) in the paper they elaborate the theory of deliberate democracy of Malaysian and Indonesian political perspective in order to compare how the approaches of both countries in dealing with this theory vis-à-vis their political circumstances. Malaysia and Indonesia have different approaches toward implementing deliberative democracy. This happens due to political circumstances surrounding both countries where political leaders have given mix responses on critical views urging both countries to implement liberal democracy. Malaysia rejects liberal democracy and embraces elite deliberation which believes that democracy.

The gap between the research papers is wide as most of the relevant paper on comparative studies with Malaysia were on different perspectives which make the paper more important, less had been written on political party comparison, which create the need to fill the gap in the research.

Methodology

The paper adopted qualitative method of research and content analysis that is suitable for historical findings were materials or data were sourced through library materials such as official document, books, journal articles, newspapers, and internets materials. The eligibility and inclusion criteria were adopted in order to integrate the qualitative approach in the study. The use of qualitative data gathering method is more open to changes and refinement of research ideas as the study progresses. This implies that qualitative data gathering tools is highly flexible and analytical. the theme was developed through literature review to became familiar with the theme as a process in qualitative data analysis, research question was

developed, and the content were being categories for coding and analysis and finally the result was analyzed.

Political Parties in Malaya 1945 to 1957

The period between 1945 and 1957 is important in Malaysian history. It was the last 12 years of British rule, marking the end of western colonialism and the beginning of decolonization of the Malay states, the process of decolonization took place. The year 1945 as a benchmark was significant in political history of Malaya which mark the end of Japanese dormition of Malaya and the return of British forces. It also marks the establishment of UMNO which introduced the internal politics in Malaya, in fact the period marks the beginning of New World Order.

Political parties in Malaysia before 1945 took the forms of ethnic organization or an Islamic association whose ideology was based on Islamic principles and injunction one of these association was the composed of religious reformists who sprang from the urban Muslim countries of the Straits Settlements and were of Arab and South Indian stock rather than Melayu-jati (pure Malay) in the 1930s. The second group is known as the radical Malay intelligentsia. Some of these had had Middle Eastern education. In 1938, the Kesatuan Melayu Muda (union of young Malays) was founded by Ibrahim Yaacob the first leftist in the British Malay, was among the first nationalist movement, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism. The movement was later succeeded by Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (Malay Nationalist Party) (Amasoro, D, 1998). The third group was composed of the English-schooled sons of Malay ruling families; they enjoyed the advantages of traditional , the Malay College at Kuala Kangsar—and were represented in the State governments, in the Malay Administrative Service (M.A.S.) and, to a lesser extent, in the more rarified Malayan Civil Service (M.C.S.).the continuing growth of communal, ethnic and national feelings among the peninsular Malay led to emergence of nationalism and the evolution of political parties (Kheng, 1988). Although the motion for the establishment of the Malayan Union was presented and passed by the British War Cabinet long before 1945.

Moreover, by 1st march of 1946 it was estimated that over two thousand (2000) Malay from different part of Malaya and about 41 various political associations and social clubs including Malay Nationalist Party converge at the Sultan Suleiman Club, *Kampung Baru*, Kuala Lumpur), where the Sultan of Selangor set up a four-day historical Pan-Malayan Malay Congress, which resulted in naming the movement as United Malay National Organization (*Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu*). A members committee was set up to came out with party constitution. The result of the which gave birth to United Malay National Organization, U.M.N.O on May 12nd 1946, the party consist of all indigenus Malay citizens of Malayan peninsula. Dato' Onn Jaafar became the President of the party and Dato' Panglima Bukit Gantang of Perak served as Secretary General. Immediately after the inauguration of the party its leaders embark on a massive campaign against the introduction of Malaya Union by the British government which the Malayan perceived as re-colonization of the peninsular Malayan. At the later end the result of the campaign lead to the formation of Federation of all Malayan state *Persatuan Tanah Melayu* in early 1948, except Singapore which remain British colony (Rizal, 2010).

The establishment of UMNO indicated a remarkable change in the struggle for political changes. For the first time in the history a mass and pan-peninsula Malayan party had emerged to confront the British colonial policies in Malaya. The leaders of the party stand toll in protecting the interest, ethnicity and to obtain independence of the country remain the major objective of the party. The ideology was to uphold the aspiration of Malayan nationalism and it succeeded in uniting Malayan into sole administrative ambarella and

achieved tremendously in building modern Malaysia of the present day, its rule the country for over six decade (Arifin, 2014).

Malayan Nationalist Party, the party was formed by prominent Malayan nationalist leaders in October, 1945. The ideology was to fight British colonial policies on education, civil services, economic policy on mining and plantation. The policies were subject to the exploitations of the local Malayan peasant. The formation of the party marks the beginning of radical Malay nationalist, the leaders of the party were Ishak Haji Muhammad, Ahmad Boestamam and Dr. Burhanuddin who are one time or the other been detained by the colonial government as a result of their anti-colonial activities. The leaders were in constant contact with Indonesian nationalist for the alliance of Malay within the Malaysia territories and Indonesia. The party portray the socialist ideals and it succeeded in rising its membership of the party to that of UMNO and in alliance with UMNO to against the introduction of Union of Malayan, the party contributed greatly towards agitation for self-government (Means, 1981). Independence of Malayan Party was founded as a result of faction among the leadership of UMNO who refused to accommodate non-Malay into the party. Therefore by 1951 Dato' Onn formed the (IMP) the objectives were to accommodate all the various ethnic communities that were denied membership in UMNO. The party was not successful, the party achieved less in its objectives. Other party that reigned during the post-war period was the Persatuan Islam SeTanah Melayu (PAS) the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party the ideology the party advocate for total Islamization of Malayan and Party Negara (PN) (Mohd Rizal 2010). Came into being in 1954 the membership of the party was dominantly Malay. Then the Malayan communist party (MCP) the party exist since 1930 it represents radical nationalists that involved the socialists, conservative Malay nationalists, communal interest groups that include Chinese and Indian and specifically Muslim groups. The party succeeded in winning the majority seat in the federal election of 1955.

Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) before the establishment of MCA 1949 the Chinese community in Malaysia were classified into three major socio-political groups, firstly were the group who maintained a strong relationship with the People's Republic of China, secondly and the largest group were those that engaged in business and retained the Chinese culture and tradition and finally were those that were born and raised in Malaysia, they care for Malaysia and feel Malaysia as their permanent home (Carstens, 1989). They assembled themselves into two namely the Chinese business chamber and Chinese assembly chamber. In another dimension the early days of mass immigration in the middle of the nineteenth century up to the World War II, Chinese in Malaya were given considerable independence by the colonial authorities in running their internal affairs (Purcell, 1967). Consequently, they developed strong habits of autonomous political, economic, and cultural behavior. Chinese social organizations were based on prototypes which had developed in China. The three principal institutions that were transplanted to Malaya were the lineage group (clan) association, the voluntary association based on affiliations of common locality, common dialect and/or common craft and the secret society. The objective of the assemblies was to cater for the welfare of the Chinese people in Malaysia and their development. By 1949 the two assemblies turned into political organizations known as Malayan Chinese Association with its leader Tom Chang Lock as the first president, initially the party objective was to assist the Chinese and look after their welfare (Lid, 2014). The party formation was influenced by the post-World War II British colonial administration in order to allow the Malaysia Chinese to have a representation in the affairs of the state. In 1952, the party was registered and recognized as a political party in Malaya that would contest for a political position and the party became the second mass political party and a second partner in an alliance by 1954 the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) was included into the alliance (Kim, 1984).

Malayan India Congress (MIC) in the pre-world war II era Malayan Indian organized themselves into a socio-political association name Malayan Indian Association (MIA) formed by G. V. Thaver in 1932, with the aim of promote and safeguard the right, interest and welfare of the Indian in Malaya against the British policies in the plantation (Raja, 2014). The post-emergency period was one of the factors that conduce the formation of new political organization called Malayan Indian Congress established in August 1945 and John A. Thivy become the first leader of the party the ideology was to safeguard the right, interest, and welfare of the minority society of Indian in the changing political climate of the post-world war era in Malaya. The MIC was more concerned with all Indian Malay in their representation talk less of acquiring the citizenship or not, the excess was to be an Indian Malaya, unlike other Indian political organization like MIA and Federation of Indian Organization that restricted their membership to only Indian that were born and growth in Malaya. Some of these leaders included those who had been detained by the British colonial government in 1945 for collaborating with the Japanese in Malaya during the war through their participation in the Indian Independence League (IIL) and the Indian National Army (INA) (Lebra, 1971: 202–209). The introduction of the Malayan Union scheme by the British colonial administration in April 1946 and the formation of the Malay communal party, UMNO, also accelerated the formation of the MIC in August 1946 (Stockwell, 1954). MIC was recognized and accepted as a third political party in the alliance and second after MCA as a non-Malay political party in Malaya (Ampalavanar, 1981).

Alliance Party (*Parti Perikatan*) was a political coalition of three major political organization in Malaya which originated between UMNO and MCA in order to contest for a Kuala Lumpur municipal election in 1952 and MIC joined in 1954. The alliance marks a symbol of races alliance and unification of the Malay, Chinese and Indian in the Malaya some of the agreement reach or the political arrangement in the alliance constitution were (a) the constitution of Malay “special rights” (b) Malay is the national language (c) Islam is the official religion (d) the Malay Sultans are the heads of the state (e) a qualified form of citizenship for the majority of non-Malays. (Lid, 2014)

The alliance resonates in Malaya political parties, and they emerged more stronger to battle for the political independence of Malaya. The party politics takes a new dimension first time in the political history of Malaya. The objective and the ideology of the alliance party was to obtain independence from the British colonial administration, to establish a conducive democratic government in Malaya and the participation of all the three races in the governing affairs of the country by the members. Few years after the coalition of the political party a general election was held in 1955 and the alliance emerged victorious and vigorous. The victory of the alliance party by the majority seat in the federal legislative rise a move towards negotiation for the independence of the Malaya. In early 1956 a delegation to London was formed it consisted of four representatives from Alliance party, four representatives from the Malay ruling class and the representatives of the British colonial officers in Malaya. The objective was to negotiate for the independence of federation of Malaya. The result of the successful negotiation led to the signed of London agreement in 1956. In 31st day of August 1957 Malaya was officially declared an independence federation of Malaya (Zhariff, 2015).

Political Parties in Nigeria 1945 to 1960

The year 1945 was import in the history of Nigerian politics which mark the beginning of Nigerian self-determination and movement for Nationalism, the period marks the end of second world war II. Nigerian political organization in the pre-World War II era were nothing but an ethnic union and association with the sole aim of protecting the views and interest of their respective ethnicity against the colonial policy and mal administration. In 1923, the first

political party came into being known as Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) founded by Herbert Macaulay the early educated elite (Udofia, 1981). The party engaged in Lagos politics and the British colonial masters were not impressed with the activities of the party therefore the party did not last long but nevertheless it introduced nationalistic consciousness among the Nigerians. The decline of the party gave rise to other political organizations such as Union of Young Nigerians headed by J.C. Vaughan and Ayo Williams and in 1934 Lagos Youth Movement (LYM) was founded which later transformed to Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), the party was formed to protect the interests of the Nigerian youth in jobs and social welfare in their localities and equal treatment in the appointment of senior civil service (Coleman, 1958).

The membership of the party was largely working class, Lagosian and immigrant from different parts of Nigeria the party reigned within the Lagos vicinity. Before 1945, the ideology of the political parties was Nigerianisation of civil service by appointing more Nigerians in the senior cadre and promotion of national consciousness. This class of political party has been characterized as the first generation of political parties in Nigeria (Richard, 1963). The significance of political parties goes beyond the mere utilitarian function of contesting and capturing or retaining political power. Political parties are necessary and crucial institutions in the construction of a stable and participatory political order as well as serving as an instrument for interest aggregation and channeling disparate social groupings into a common socio-political platform.

The three major political parties in Nigeria came into active politics and radicalism in their activities in the post-World War II, the parties were known as the second generation of political parties. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) was formed in 1944 as a result of ethnic and sectional differences among the members of the Nigeria Youth Movement (NYM) (Ayoade, 1985). The former emerged as Nigeria Council when the Cameroonian association in Lagos desired to join the council it gave birth to the Nigeria Council of Nigeria and Cameroon and later known as the National Convention of the Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), when the Cameroonian decided to part out of the council in 1960. Herbert Macaulay was the first president and Nnamdi Azikiwe as the secretary and later Nnamdi Azikiwe became the president of the party after the death of the former president in 1946. The NCNC membership was mass-based it came with a nationalistic approach it opens to all trade unions, social organizations, tribal unions, student unions and the general public (Omotola, 2014).

By 1945, the party embarked on a tremendous campaign against colonial rule, agitation for self-government and this gave birth to a general strike that crippled the government activities and economic activities of the colonial government. The party also engaged in public enlightenment on the freedom charter of 1948 and political consciousness, the popular newspaper then was the West African Pilot and Lagos Daily in which the party reached out for its members and the government. The party toured round the country to enlist the support of Nigerian people from different angles of the country to support the movement against foreign domination. The outcome of the tour led to the delegation of prominent members to London in 1947 to meet the Secretary of State for the Colonies in order to change the provisions of the 1946 constitution therefore between 1948 and 1954, changes in constitutional provisions took place in Nigeria. In order to meet these political changes, there was a need for more political parties. The emergence of new parties reduced the influence of NCNC to a regionally based political party in the 1950s (Omotola, 2014).

Northern People's Congress (NPC) *Jam'iyya Mutanen Arewa*, (Association of Northern People) conservatives but progressive in their ideologies the slogans were One North One People, regardless of religion, tribe, and rank. The party came into being as a result of political changes introduced by the Richards Constitution of 1946 which allowed for regional assemblies,

that integrated the whole of northern Nigeria into one administration with house of assembly and house of chief (Sklar, 1965). The NPC started as socio-cultural association preserving the traditions and norms of the northerners who are predominantly Hausa and Fulani tribes. By 1951, the party delve into active politics known as northern people congress NPC founded by Dr R. A Dikko and Mallam Yahaya Gusau in 1949, Ahmadu Bello became the leader and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as deputy leader of party (Yahaya, 2018). The party struggle for the regional autonomy within the Nigeria by promulgate Northernization policy a policy that united the northern Nigeria (north for northerner) the party struggle for the political independence of the country not augur well because the party go with the gradual process of the independence, these delay the independence of the country up to October 1960 inset of 1957 together with Ghana. Finally, the party succeeded in producing first prime minister in 1959 general election (Olumide & Ekanade, 2011).

Action Group (AG) initially was a pan-Yoruba tribe socio-cultural association known as Egbe *Omo Oduduwa* (the gathering of Oduduwa descendants) was a progressive with a more radical program and educated leaders, the platform of the party was Freedom for All and Life More Abundant (Ayoade, 1985). In 1950 the association was renamed Action Group the membership attracted many prominent Yoruba people of western Nigeria that included the founder of the party Obafemi Awolowo, Samuel Akintola, Bode Thomas to mention a few. The party objectives was to create a unite Yoruba land and its people within the Nigerian vicinity, the party cooperate with other nationalist to fight for the political independence of the country, the cooperation lead to attendance of many conferences home and abroad that lead to the independence of the country at the end. The party was successful in sponsored one of the controversial motions in 1953 for self-government in the house, for the independent of Nigeria in 1956 (Obafemi, 1960). The party cover all the Yoruba land and it won election in all the western region, the party made an open declaration that Action Group AG was Yoruba party, and a Yoruba man of western region origin that failed to join the party was tagged as Demon. This statement marks the formation of ethnic party in Nigeria and intra-party conflict.

The minority parties that existed in the 1950s served as opposition or alliance to the ruling party some of them are Northern Element progressive union (NEPU) act as opposition to NPC the former was radical in their programmed, they advocate for socialist form of government. then the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) the party was formed in 1955 by J.S Tarke Some of the early leaders of the party were David Lon, Patrick Dokotri, Edward Kundu Swem, Ahmadu Angara. The ideology was to unite all the ethnic group in the middle belt of Nigeria. As time goes on the party become the third largest and opposition party in the northern Nigeria. By 1958 the party was into alliance with Action Group AG in order to gang up against the ruling Northern people congress NPC and NCNC. The UMBC succeeded in winning all the local election in middle belt during the 1959 general election. Another minority party was the United Nigerian Independence party (UNIP) the party came into existence in 1954 as a result of Eastern region political crisis of 1953, Eyo Ita and his cohort part out of NCNC to form the party the ideology was to have unite the people of eastern region. The party served as opposition party to NCNC activities in the eastern region which later alliance with the AG (Falola & Heaton, 2008).

Therefore, these parties' major preoccupation was to obtain power from the colonialist, the goal they eventually accomplished. One major intention that characterized these political parties was their formation pattern and subsequent turned into ethnic-based parties and the personalization of their operations by founders. The cultural influence in the formation of these parties certainly played a significant role in their role.

Political Parties Comparison

The nexus of political parties Ideology between Malaysia and Nigeria in the post-world war II era originated from the pattern of British colonial system of administration which was instituted in the two country. As the countries experience the same colonial domination by the British, the British defeated by the Japan in 1942 and the invasion of Malaya and Singapore by Japan were some of the factors that induce the formation of political parties in British-Southeast Asia and British-west African colonies (Roff, 1967; Mazrui, 1984). The colonies stop seeing British as Great British since it can be defeated, this perception evolve the political awareness and movement for independence in the British colony by 1947 India and Pakistan become independence from the British crown rule and subsequently Ghana in west Africa obtained it political independence. British colonial government apply the same system of divide and rule in both African and the Asian colony indirect rule and direct rule where the traditional institution were not in political control the warrant chiefs were created to manage the tax collection for the colonial government (Mazrui, 1984).

UMNO the slogan of the party was to united, loyal in service *Bersatu, Bersetia, Berkhidmat* the native Malay or to say Malaya for Malaya, the party propagate Malay nationalism and dignity of race, religion and the country it also aspires to protect Malay culture as national culture and to uphold and depend and the spread of Islam across nooks and canner of Malaysia. One of the greatest achievements of the party was the uniting the Malayan into one strong political organization that led the country into independence from British colonial power furthermore the party succeeded in upholding it ideals for a long period of sixty eighth 68th years. The party maintains and remained the dominant political party from pre-independence to the present and the membership were in the increased when most of the pre-independence party were perished since in the 1960s (Arifin, 2014). UMNO institute the politics of nationalism in the minds of the Malay despite the multi ethnic nature of the communal setting of the country the party produce Tunku Abdul Rahman as the First Prime Minister in 1957 who reign up to 1970 still on the led (Fernando, 2011) .

One of the historical significance of UMNO was that succeeded in dismantled the Malayan Union the objective in which the party was established for and it played the role of motherhood to other political party, independence party of Malaya and thereafter Party Negara 1954 both party were multi-ethnic in there ideology which were form as a result of breakaway by Dato' Onn Jaafar when he left UMNO in 1951, the parties corelated to an extant of the members share dual membership the party later grow to became the second largest Malay political party and later in 1956 UMNO led the Alliance of two major non-Malay political parties to negotiate the independence of the federation of Malaya in London (Kim, 1984; Firdaus, 1984).

Political history of Malaysia would not be conclusive without mentioning the role and contributions of UMNO towards the construction of modern democratic state of Malaya in instituting the principles of radical politics in the Malaya peninsular of the southeast Asia. Malays to fight for independence did not exist before 1941 Scholars writings suggest that the Malays were living comfortably under British "guardianship" until the Japanese occupation of Malaya. The first generation of Nigerian political parties of 1920s and 1930s were the Nigerian National Democratic Party NNDP and Nigerian Youth Movement NYM succeeded in creating political awareness and national consciousness among the Nigerians whose ideals was to struggle for equal opportunities in the government position with their white oppressors. These was achieved through established newspaper company called Daily Service that served as avenue for criticize colonial policies, campaign for national unity, political freedom and enlighten Nigerians to joint in the struggle (Danjibo & Ashindorbe, 2018).

The second generation of Nigerian political parties succeeded in unite their ethnic group under one political party, the Norther People Congress dominated the whole of northern Nigeria, and it prospered by established political consciousness in the north. The party thrived in established regional government in 1954 up to 1966. Introduction of Northernization policy make the party more conservative in its policies, the party achieved it gold by produced first Nigeria prime minister in 1959 who rule up to 1966. National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon NCNC was the first political party that has the national outlook and it succeeded in creating awareness for the nationalist towards struggle for the independence of the country through its newspaper name west African pilot, in 1945 the party champion the organization of nationwide strike that cripple the administration of the colonial government, the party reduce to reginal when in 1953 it failed to won election in the western region but it all the seat in the eastern region .the party produce the first nigeria president as one of the remarkable achievement of the party.

Action Group AG, the party greatest achievement was that it won all the election in the western region and established a reginal government from 1954 to 1962. The party introduced free education in western region in 1955 the policy that educate benefited the native of the region these install political agitation among the people of the region. In 1953 the party champion the controversial motion for self-government and independence of the country in 1956' furthermore, the party participated in various conferences that led to the independence of the country in 1960. The party played the role of opposition party.

The three majors' political parties of National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon, Northern people congress and Action Group Each contributed immensely in constitute political consciousness which eventually led to nationalism movement which sphere headed the independence of the country in 1960, although the parties expounded within their respective geographical region and ethnic vicinity but they played a vital role in overall development of early participatory democratic in Nigeria and Cameroon. In 1959 London conference was pioneer by NCNC, NPC and AG the conference served as negotiation between the Nigerian nationalist and the British colonial government towards the political independence of the country which at the end agreement was reach that independence should be given to Nigeria on 1st October 1960.

Conclusion

The comparative historical assessment of political parties' ideology in pre independence British colony of Asia and Africa evolve from communal movement to political organization with the sole gold of protecting the right their citizens and for the political independence of their respective countries from the colonial incursion.

However, the multi ethnicity nature of the settlement for the communities created an intra and inter parties' challenges that delays the political independence of the countries. In Malaysia differences in ideology between rightist and leftist wings towards independence created an issues that divided the Malay when the UMNO was struggle to unite the Malay under single political organization, these led to the issues of open citizenship that given to the emergence of non-Malay to gain a political recognition and eventually involved into alliance with the UMNO and later MIC jointed. Race difference amount the three categories of political parties give raised to the UMNO for Malay and the dominant party, MCA for the Chinese, and the MIC for the Indian minority.

The problems of Nigerian post-war political parties were both the parties had similar features of ethno-regional ideology, cultural identity seeking to obtained and consolidate power in their respective region. These created an obstacle in the nationalism movement that delays the independence of the country to 1960 inset of 1957 and after the independence

was achieved it led to ethnic chauvinism all the political elite wanted to rule as one Nigeria was achieved. Furthermore, political alliance between NPC and NCNC led to the clash of ideology or into what scholars called 'ideological incompatibility' as the alliance failed to meet the principle of each ideology and committeemen to served one nation but their respective region. AG played the role of opposition party with sole control of the western region these make its members to pressure and criticized the government activities at the center which subsequently led to the party crisis.

The ethno-racial, ethno-religious and ethno-regional ideologies of the political parties in post-independence era in Malaysia and Nigeria hinder the grown and development of liberal democracy as a result of ideological disposition i.e. UMNO were radical rightist, NPC were conservative elite, NCNC were pragmatics socialism and AG were socialist in their ideology, irrespective of the party's weakness they withstand the colonial policies and stand on their gold of achieving independence for their countries which at the end of the struggle yield a result that established participatory democratic order of parliamentary system.

References

- Agboola, H., Shah, I., Abidin, Z., & Bakar, N. (2018). Empirical Determinants of Malaysia ' s Trade Relation with Nigeria ; *Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies*, 6(3), 79–87.
- Ampalavanar, R. (1981). *The Indian minority and political change in Malaya, 1945-1957 / Rajeswary Ampalavanar*. kuala lumpo: oxford university press.
- Arifin, A. (2014). Local historians and the histography of the Malay nationalism 1945–57: the British, the united Malays National Orgnization (UMNO) and the Malay left. *Kajan Malaysia*, 32(1), 1–35.
- Ayoade, J. A. A. (1985). Party and ideology in Nigeria: A case study of the action group. *Journal of Black Studies*, 16(2), 169–188. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002193478501600204>
- Bello, I., Fuad, M., Mohd, O., Khairri, D., & Shariffuddin, B. (2019). *An Appraisal of Malaysia-Nigeria Foreign Economic Relations*. (April 2017). Retrieved from www.euacademic.org
- Carstens, S. A. (1989). Chinese Politics in Malaysia: A History of the Malaysian Chinese Association. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 48(3), 677–678. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2058720>
- Coleman, J. S. (1958). *Nigeria: background to nationailsm*. london: combridge university press.
- Danjibo, N., & Ashindorbe, K. (2018). the Evolution and Pattern of Political Party Formation and the Search for National Integration in Nigeria. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Africanos*, 3(5), 85–100. <https://doi.org/10.22456/2448-3923.81932>
- Falola, T.. & Heaton, M. M. (2008). *A history of Nigeria*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Fernando, J. M. (2011). Tunku Abdul Rahman, Charisma, and the Nationalist Movement in Malaya, 1952-1957. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 11(3), 492–508. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-9469.2011.01133.x>
- Abdullah, F. (1984). *Radical Malay Politics: Its Origins and Early Development*. malaysia: Pelanduk Publications.
- Hooker, V. M. (2003). *A Short History of Malaysia* (eighth). Retrieved from <http://www.sabrizain.org/malaya/library/shorthistoryofmalaysia.pdf>
- Kheng, C. B. (1988). The Erosion of Ideological Hegemony and Royal Power and the Rise of Postwar Malay Nationalism, 1945–46. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 19(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463400000308>
- Kim, H. K. (1984). *Merdeka!, British Rule and the Struggle for Independence in Malaya, 1945-1957*. malaysia: institute of social analysis.

- Lid, K. A. T. lib @ K. (2014). The Political Parties in Malaysia. In Wolfgang Sachsenroder (Ed.), *Party Politics in southeast Asia*. U.S.A: San Bernardino.
- Mazrui, A. (1984). *Nationalism and New States in Africa : From about 1935 to the Present*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Means, G. P. (1981). Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of the United Malays National Organisation and Party Islam. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 12(2), 516–518. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0022463400010043>
- Michael, B. A., & Abu Bakar, M. Z. (2015). Malaysian and Nigerian Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(6), 125–133. <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n6s4p125>
- Yaakop, M. R. M. (2010). The British Legacy on the Development of Politics in Malaya. *International Journal for Historical Studies*, 2(1), 41–60.
- Awolowo, O. (1960). *Twinlight Of the Gods*. In *the Authoubiography of chief Obafemi Awolowo* (p. 133). uk: Cambridge University Press.
- Olumide, E., & Ekanade, T. (2011). The first republic and the interface of ethnicity and resource allocation in nigeria’s first republic. *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(2), 1–27.
- Omotola, J. S. (2014). Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 1(2009), 612–634. Retrieved from <http://www.japss.org/upload/4.sholaomotolaarticle.pdf>
- Raja, S. S. (2014). THE LOST INDIANS. *Conference Paper UM 23RD*, (August).
- Richard, L. S. (1963). *Nigerian political parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation*. New York: Princeton University Press.
- Roff, W. R. (1967). *The origins of Malay nationalism*. New Haven: yale university press.
- Sklar, R. L. (1965). Contradictions in the Nigerian Political System. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 3(2), 201–213. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00023624>
- Udofia, O. E. (1981). Nigerian Political Parties: Their Role in Modernizing the Political System, 1920-1966. *Journal of Black Studies*, 11(4), 435–447. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002193478101100404>
- Yahaya, J. U. (2018). An assessment of Ahmadu Bello Sardauna political Ideology toward stronger and united Nigeria. *Global Scientific*, 6(11), 249–261.
- Zaharin, Z. M. S. (2015). history and politics: struggle for independence of malaya. *Malaysia Studies li*, (ZHARIFF ZAHARIN M.S. (2015). history and politics: struggle for independence of malaya. Malaysia Studies li, 1–21.), 1–21.