

NINE

Money Politics in the Benin Republic Electoral Processes La politique monétaire dans les processus électoraux de la République du Bénin

Atihou, Ifè Paul
l'Université D'Abomey-Calavi, Benin

Abstract

Money has become the backbone of Benin Republic electoral process. By their conduct during campaigns, political parties and candidates have come to believe that good party manifestoes or announcements and integrity of candidates seeking public office are no longer sufficient to guarantee electoral success; hence their resort to vote – purchase. Similarly, many of their electorate too has been increasingly exhibiting cynical electoral behavior by the eagerness to sell their votes to the highest bidders. Some of them even sell their electoral cards to the vulgar and narrow – minded politicians. This poisonous and destructive practice constitutes flawlessness, a blemish on public policy and the electoral process. As a result, it portends danger to the democratic process of electing public officers and also prevents good governance. Although it may be difficult to eradicate the phenomenon of money politics, its negative consequences could be decreased. This requires putting in place a serious and rigorous mechanism for implementing the legislation, setting legal limits to campaign contributions and spending, drawing a code of conduct for political parties and their candidates; and instituting appropriate political education of the electorate.

Résumé

L'argent est devenu la colonne vertébrale du processus électoral béninois. Les responsables des partis politiques et les candidats ont constaté que leurs programmes de société et leur intégrité morale ne garantissent plus leur succès auprès des électeurs. Pour pallier cela, ils ont fait recours à l'achat du vote des citoyens. De la même manière, plusieurs électeurs trouvent le grand plaisir de vendre leurs voix aux plus offrants. Certains d'entre eux vendent même leurs cartes d'électeurs aux politiciens vulgaires et bornés. Cette pratique toxique et destructrice constitue une impecabilité, une tache sur les politiques publiques et le processus électoral. Par conséquent, il laisse présager un danger pour le processus démocratique d'élection des fonctionnaires et empêche également la bonne gouvernance. Bien qu'il soit difficile d'éradiquer le phénomène de la politique de l'argent, ses conséquences négatives peuvent être atténuées. Cela nécessite de mettre en place un mécanisme sérieux et rigoureux de mise en œuvre de la législation, de fixer les limites légales aux contributions et aux dépenses de campagne, d'élaborer un code de conduite pour les partis politiques et leurs candidats ; et instituer une éducation politique appropriée de l'électorat.

Introduction

Politics is the business of obtaining public office. In addition, politics is generally regarded as the struggle for power among actors who pursue conflicting desires on public issues. The most important goal in that struggle is the authoritatively allocate values, including setting the economic, social and political agenda for the society. Furthermore, politics is a process that involves the exercise of control, constraint, and coercion or oppression symbolizing the Lasswell's saying that politics is about who gets what, when and how. In the same vein, Aristotle would define human as a political animal. In a nutshell, politics is the good management of the city.

Politics is ubiquitous, omnipresent, universal, everywhere in all relations, whether within organizations or among individuals (Worsley, 1964). Politics also involves the use or attempt by one person, to use power to influence others to behave in a manner that they would ordinary not have wanted to. That is the reason why political gladiators strive to secure political power to enable them influence the direction or the path their society or organization should go.

It is a truism, self-evident truth that human beings, because they are home politics, have tendency to want to acquire political power, not only to provide for themselves material needs, safety and security, but also to dominate others. It is not uncommon, therefore, for them to invest some or all their financial and material resources, directly or indirectly, in the struggle for political power. Some of them even borrow money from private banks or from wealthy businessmen to invest in political competitions. Power then has, to an extent, assumed the quality of a material substance (Friedrich, 1974: 16). It is now to politics what money is to economics.

Ambiguously and paradoxically, money itself has become a dominant factor not only in all economic affairs but also in deciding issues in the political and social arena. Politics is no more for poor people no matter how intellectuals they are. You may have a Ph.D. in Political Science, if you don't have big money, nobody will consider you in politics, nobody will vote for you. To be more precise, money seems to have taken the centre stage in the political process in most countries and, in Benin Republic politics, it is, sadly, now playing an overwhelmingly critical role. Money even appears to be so dominant in the electoral process to such an extent that the word "money politics" with a pejorative connotation, has crept into the country's political lexicon. Politics in Benin Republics has become a business organization/ unit. In addition, money is now a

critical variable when assessing the level of political corruption in the country.

It is not in any way being suggested that the use of money by political parties or any person or group of persons involved in the electoral process is inherently corrupting, or that every financial investment made by political office holders to get elected should be regarded as an evidence of political corruption. On the contrary, it is an incontrovertible fact that money matters in a democracy because most of the political activities that make democracy to be a performed system of governance could not take place without it. (Walecki, 2008). Of course, money is needed, for instance, for various services and logistics such as mobilizations for political campaigns and rallies; printing of posters and manifestoes; production of political emblems and other symbols, publicity, etc.

The funds for all these normally come from the political party's members themselves and campaign contributors if there is any. The only worried is the noticeable corrupting influence of money in the electoral system and, indeed, the democratic process which is going on in Benin Republic.

It is against this background that this paper examines the concept of money politics and its perceived negative effects on the Benin Republic body politic.

Money Politics: Its Tendencies and Preference Factors

We define money politics here as that phenomenon in the Benin Republic electoral process whereby competitors use money or money is used on their behalf, as a stimulus to sway, to influence the support of the electorate from their opponents to their side, rather than relying on persuading the electorate to vote according to their wish and conviction. Many interest groups, corporate bodies, businessmen and some rich individuals who have developed

infinite capacity to invent stratagems to channel large sums of money to campaign coffers of some political parties and their candidates, often aid this phenomenon. Their spending pattern during elections sometimes becomes so disgusting that the impression is easily created that candidates are being merchandised for high public office like a breakfast cereal (Sohner, 1973: 195). This makes a mockery of simple democratic process of electing rulers and representatives of the people, paving the way for a government with questionable legitimacy to immerge.

The use of money to buy votes does not even stop at elections time. It is a common practice in Benin Republic as it is of course in many other countries, for numerous private interest groups and political action committees which seek policy goals and legislations to serve their narrow private needs, ,to continue to use all the means at their disposal , including money, to consolidate or expand their influence on the elected officials. (Wright, 1985:402). The relative ease with the elected officials show their gratitude by endorsing the legislative and policy proposals of campaign contributors seems to support the hypothesis that there is a correlation between special interest donations to political parties and candidates, and legislative votes (Shark, 1984: 159). Money has, in fact, been made to become 'the mother's milk of politics' (Sohner, 1973:190) which the political gladiators must drink to remain in business.

Money politics reared its head just after the National Conference of February 1990, that is to say, the beginning of Benin Republic Democratic Process. Since then, corruption has been rooted in Benin Democratic Process. Politics today is a synonym of money. Poor people are put aside. That is the reason why, in Benin Republic, many businessmen and retired custom officers have rushed into politics to make profits owing to to the ignorance of the large majority of the population. Without money, you cannot win

any election in Benin Republic. This is a great social disaster. For instance, during the presidential elections of 2016, the present Benin Republic Patrice Guillaume Athanase Talon was nicknamed 'Agbonnon' which means in English the 'Powerful man', just because he was said to be a billionaire. At that time, some ignorant and cynical people spread out that he owned two containers full of money which was given to him by the late Libyan President Muhammad Kaddafi. In Benin Republic, elections have become auction sales where the highest bidders are the only winners. The direct impact of this practice is that politics has become the field of some businessmen who have seized the power to prosper their enterprises. Businessmen who don't want to be involved into politics are ruined by their political partners who arte on power.

During political rallies, for instance, money, salt, rice, oil, maize, etc, are openly distributed to voters. Some vulgar and narrow-minded politicians are used to purchasing the voting cards from some voters and vote themselves at their place. As a consequence, the Parliament whose main role is to control the actions of the government has become the headquarters of high corruption where money is said to be used to pass laws. For evidence, in April 4th, 2017, member of Parliament, Mrs. Rosine Vieyra Soglo, the former Benin first lady openly stated that she was given 5 million CFAF to vote for the revision of the Constitution of December 11th, 1990. People said that some members of Parliament had received envelop of money to enact laws which deprived workers of their elementary rights. Most members of Parliament do not grasp very well laws that they vote. As a result, the Constitution of December 11th, 1990 was modified on November 11th, 2019 at midnight. The current Benin Republic Parliament is only made up of only two political parties belonging to President Patrice Guillaume Athanase Talon. In a democratic nation where money has become the backbone of the politics, this nation is in free fall and is moving

straight away to chaos. Laws are no more passed to protect the interests of the people but to safeguard the interests of the President of the Republic and his clan. Consequently, the economic development of the Benin Republic has become a nightmare. With so much resources being deployed to capture elective offices, it is not difficult to see the correlation between politics and the potential for high-level corruption. In such circumstances, the greatest losers are the ordinary people, those voters whose faith and investment in the system are hijacked, seized and subverted, pulled down because money, not their will, is made the determining factor in elections. Then, I think that it is high time we moved from politics of money and materialism to politics of ideas, issues and development.

In a nutshell, Benin Republic electoral process is now being characterized by unbridled use of money to purchase votes as well as the willingness and readiness of the politicians to channel their financial and material resources to secure electoral victory at the polls. But why has the situation degenerated to this level in Benin Republic? A number of reasons could be advanced for this, among which are:

- In Benin Republic, the great numbers of the population are not only ignorant but cynical.
- Politics in Benin Republic is the only shortest way to become very rich.
- The inability of the political parties and the contestants to put in place comprehensive and comprehensible manifestoes that would enable the electorate to make a rational political choice.
- Most political parties make meaningless slogans, demagogic and rabble-rousing speeches to abuse the population. For instance, slogans such as: “Tchoco-tchoco” from the PRD political party of Lawyer Adrien Houngbedji; “Boumba-

boumba” from Mr. Gatién Hounbedji political party; “Tabatitaba” from the political party ABT of Abdoulaye Bio Tchane; to name but a few, are hollow and meaningless. Such speeches either overestimate or underestimate the political perception of the voters, but are rarely educative and convincing. Many voters seem to be impressed by all the tricks the parties and the candidates employ, hence the need to bribe them for their votes. For evidence, during the presidential elections of 2016, candidate Patrice Guillaume Athanase Talon promised to create 500, 000 job opportunities if he won the elections. Fortunately or unfortunately, when he was elected, not only he didn’t create any job opportunity but he also suppressed the fewest job opportunities that existed. Thus, the number of unemployed people has been increased. Most Benin people are aware that all the politicians are liars.

- Political cynicism on the part of the voters who believe that political holders are incurably corrupt, self-seeking and incompetent; that politics is a dirty and dishonorable enterprise; that the whole political process is a fraud, and a betrayal of public trust (Campbell, 1962, 14). This cynical view of politics is further accentuated by unfulfilled promises made by winners of past elections. Thus, asking for money from the candidates canvassing for votes is equivalent to asking for a pay-off, another way by which the people receive their own share of the national cake. On the other hand, the candidates who give money to voters probably believe that they are investing against electoral failure. For instance, Lawyer Adrien Hounbedji, President of the political party PRD and former President of the National Assembly stated: “Electoral promises concern only those who trust them”.
- Focusing on personalities rather than on issues. By the mode of their campaign, most candidates draw the attention of the electorate away from the political parties to themselves. The

consequence of this is that the political parties and their message become less important to the electorate. The candidates then take the centre stage and would, therefore, need to spend more money than their parties could afford in order to mobilize support for themselves. This becomes inevitable because, in the Benin political scene, very wealthy people largely own the biggest political parties. They donate buildings and other infrastructure to the political parties. As well as huge sums of money to defray the running cost of party secretariat. Thus, the wealthiest politicians have a firm grip of party decision-making process and the party machine. It is probably the suffocating grip by the money bags and political godfathers that enable them to control, lock, stock and barrel, who get which office within the political party structure. Given the financial dependence of the political parties deliberately charge exceedingly huge nomination fees that shut out the candidature of the poor in party candidates during legislative and local government elections.

- The people perception, greatly reinforced by obscene display of opulence by public office holders and ostentatious living of many politicians, is that every elected or appointed public officer is amassing wealth from the public treasury. This seems to have strengthened the resolve of many voters to sell their votes to the highest bidder.
- The penchant of the politician to strive to win elections, even at the party primary levels, at all cost, makes desperate contestants to engage in all sorts of malpractice, including offering financial and material inducements to voters. Working on the poverty of the people, Benin Republic politicians have been known to distribute foodstuff and other consumable materials to voters shortly before the elections and sometimes on the eve of the Election Day, contrary to the provisions of the extant electoral law that prohibits such practice. This political

system is known as door-to-door campaign. Instance abounds too, when candidates threw some money into the air during campaign rallies, making people to scramble for it and getting injured in the process.

- The noticeable weakness in party whip, characteristic of party politics in the presidential system, when elected members exercise considerable degree of freedom when voting on legislators to be more susceptible to receiving gratifications from private interest groups. The interest groups employ what Shart (1984:135) calls 'legalize bribery'. They make large donations to some spurious, false, and artificial private or community programs in which the target legislators are interested; and give expensive gifts to the legislators or sponsor their overseas travels, etc., all in the name of public relations to secure members of the legislature.
- The absence of an effective legislation that puts any ceiling on financial contributions to political parties and candidates by groups or individuals. The so-called law that exists to limit the expenses of the politicians during elections has never been complied with by any of them. In addition, there is no strict way to control the politicians who exceed the ceiling. Besides, the members of the so-called Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) are not even allowed to control the expenses of the candidates. Let us point out that "INEC" (Independent National Electoral Commission) is the political organ in charge of the organization of elections in Benin Republic. But most of its members are highly corrupted. It is often said that some of its members receive bribes from some candidates so as to modify the issues of the ballot. Until the passage of the Electoral Act 2013, no law existed in Benin Republic that put any limit to the amount candidate could spend on elections; while the National Assembly is yet to issue guidelines to regulate the activities of lobbyists and other

political action groups that operate, formally or informally, buying the votes of legislators for their causes in the legislature. Furthermore, the Constitution of Benin Republic is silent on that issue. That is to say, there is no provision in the Constitution which prevents the candidates from spending too much money during elections.

Myth and reality of money politics in the Benin electoral process.

The logical question to ask when assessing the influence of money in the electoral process is: To what extent can one say that the electoral victory of a candidate is a function of the amount of money that has been invested in the election? This may not be easy to establish. Admittedly, money, as it has been said, is required for logistics, T-shirts, caps and badges with party emblems, foodstuff, sundry, etc. However, good party organization, clear manifesto as well as fielding credible candidates with integrity or record/expectation of good performance while in office are also important determinants of success at the polls. In addition, candidates who are identified with political parties that had good programs stand a better chance to win elections, barring religious and ethnic considerations (Vanguard, Friday, October 14th, 2005).

But can the politician who ignores these factors and bribes voters directly or indirectly attribute his success to the amount of money he gave the voters? No one can say with any certainty. Even if the politician beats his chest in the euphoria of victory, that his money has done the electoral magic, the claim is still presumptuous. The truth is that there is yet no statistical or material evidence of a causal link between the victory at the polls and the monetary or material inducement offered to the voters because:

- The Benin Republic electoral system is characterized by secret ballot. That being the case, there is no way by which the

politician who has bribed the electorate would know those who did not vote for him. Some politicians, especially those that have little funds to spend during campaigns, share this view. That is why financially hard-pressed politicians and civil society organizations with keen interest in free and fair elections, usually advise the voters to collect the money and materials doled out by the big spenders but still cast their vote secretly according to their conscience.

- The monetary bait, lure, inducement would only have direct impact if all the voters or majority of them could be identified, as it would have been in an electoral college, in order to facilitate the bribery transaction. What the unscrupulous politicians who are aware of this limitation probably do to overcome this problem is to first identify the most influential persons in the party machine within communities, grease their palms and direct them to use their influence to get the required votes from the target electoral wards and areas. How much electoral success can be attributed to this practice is unclear.
- Where there are thousands of voters in the constituency, there is the additional problem of how to bribe a large number of voters to change their predetermined electoral preference. How much is the politician going to spend to do this? Certainly the candidates contemplating using money to buy votes would have to mobilize a substantial sum of money to an impression. Some candidates may succeed in raising funds to cover their election expenses but since success cannot be guaranteed, many of the politicians who invest their money in this kind of venture later go into penury after failure at the polls. Most candidates even engage in despicable conduct to have a financial lifetime. For instance, some of them start selling drugs.
- The absence of any legitimate sanction on voters who collect money but refuse to vote as expected makes the buyers of

votes(politician) helpless, while it encourages the seller of votes.

- Despite the absence of empirical evidence of the actual link between success at the polls and the amount of money spent during campaigns, the way candidates in Benin Republic go about spending money to reach their goal, target audience and supporters confirms the view that money, not integrity and service, has become the dominant influence and variable in the political process. Furthermore, the high level of corruption and fraud among elected public officers (legislators) has lent credence to a groundswell of opinion that most elected public officers are looting the treasury and collecting bribes as much as they can in order to recoup what they spent to get elected. For evidence, a present member of parliament, Honorable Augustin Ahouanvoebla, stated publically a few month ago that he was given 400, 000, 000CFAF by the present President of Benin Republic, Patrice Talon in 2015 for the legislative campaign.

Consequences of Money Politics in the Benin Republic Electoral Process.

There are many drawbacks which money politics brings to the polity. Among them are:

Spending money beyond what is ordinarily required to defray legitimate campaign expenses by directly or indirectly bribing voters is definitely an electoral malpractice and the 'favorable electoral results' emanating from that would not represent the true wishes of voters, that is to say, their actual political preference minus the intervention of money.

People of integrity and those who genuinely want to serve the people but have no money to buy votes may lose out in the

electoral contest, while bad candidates, gamblers, gangsters with abundant tendencies may get elected. When this happens, the immoral and condemnable use of money to buy votes is then celebrated as a good and effective weapon in electoral battles by successful contestants. (Milbrath, 1965: 24).

The winner of an election characterized by the purchase of votes and other corrupt electoral practices would, expectedly, develop investment mentality and try to recover the money he invested in the elections when he occupies a public office that gives him access to public funds. When he finds himself in a position, say that of a legislator, he becomes more prone to receive gratification to promote and support the private interest of his sponsors. To be sure, there is now a popular feeling, indeed thinking, among a coterie of politicians in Benin Republic that political contest is a high-risk investment opportunity; the higher the risk, the greater the returns. This type of thinking has been corroborated by the saying of some voters: 'It is our money, let us take our share'. The current question often asked to candidates during electoral campaigns by voters is: "What have you brought for us?" Instead of: 'what is your political program for the economic development of our nation?'

Elective offices have become mere commodities to be purchased by the highest bidder and those who literally invest merely see it as an avenue to recoup and make profits. Politics has become a business and the business of politics has become merely a tool to divert public funds from the crying needs for real development in their lives. The direct consequences of this practice are that once on power, those politicians, instead of developing the nation; they are used to developing themselves.

Elected public office holders who spent huge sums of money to secure victory at the polls would usually have a greater propensity to pursue their private business and financial interest and

sometimes those of their corporate sponsors or mentors and financiers, euphemistically referred to in Benin Republic as political godfathers. Under such a circumstance, public interest takes the back seat in their calculation, this degrading the responsibilities of the elected officials to the people.

What should be done?

If money politics cannot be totally eradicated, there should, at least, be some mechanism by which its negative consequences could be minimized. One major way to begin with is to sensitize the population on the bad risks of this shady practice.

Appropriate legislation should set limits on how much political party or candidates seeking elective offices could receive as donations and how much is to be permitted as expenses on election campaigns. Such legal limits did not exist in Benin Republic until 2013 when the agency responsible for conducting elections in Benin Republic, that is to say, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), mindful of the dangers of money politics, got the National Assembly to pass a new electoral law that contains provisions that set limits to financial contributions to, and spending on political campaigns. As a result, laws have been passed to limit the amount of money each political party and candidates should spend during electoral campaigns, but none of Benin Republic politicians comply with those laws. That is the reason why, the winners of any elections organized are only the highest bidders at an auction sales. The new electoral Act enacted by the corrupt members of parliament in September 2018, worsened the political atmosphere. That law stipulates that each list of candidates for the legislative elections should give as a caution 249 million CFAF and any candidate for the presidential election should give 50, 000, 000 CFAF. The incongruity of the regulation is that it excludes the average people from the political competitions. Any civil servant in

Benin Republic can afford that sums of money. Only the businessmen can afford it. This “Electoral Act” has come to root, to reinforce the system of electoral corruption. The proof is that none of the candidates respects the authorized amount of money.

It is conceded that even if such legal limits are fixed on the solicitation, acceptance and disbursement of funds for political campaigns, strict enforcement and compliance may still be problematic. The problem would not be different from the situation in the United States where, although legal limit has been set, such limit has been honored more in breach than in observance, and American politics has been very much oiled by money from ‘fat cat’ contributors. (Rodee et al., 1976: 159; Wright, 1985: 408)

American politics is based on money, for instance, during the Democratic Party preliminary elections of the year 2019, candidate Michael Bloomberg, the former mayor of New York City spent more than 500,000,000 dollars in two weeks for his political campaign.

In Benin Republic, cynics have questioned the capability of the Supreme Court to implement the provisions of the electoral law relating to legal limits on funding and spending. Their argument is based on the well-known facts that:

- Data on election expenses are hard to come by.
- The ingenuity of political parties and politicians to devise methods such as fund-raising dinner for would be large contributors, sale of party emblems and making of souvenirs for dignitaries, book launch, contributions through dubious foundations and philanthropic agencies established by aspirants for elective public office and secret pay-back, all of which are known to fatten campaign purse. The loopholes that could be exploited by politicians are, admittedly, legion. Nevertheless, the decision to include legal limits on elections financing in the electoral law was

indisputably sound and represented a landmark effort to tackle the menace of money politics. All that is required is for the Supreme Court to have the political will to enforce the law even-handedly by prosecuting all electoral offences in order to assure the public of its impartiality and independence.

There is the need for some ethical codes to be passed for all elected officials to prohibit them from exhibiting stupendous wealth which gives negatives signal to the people, that election to public office gives negatives signal to the people, that election to public office gives one the rare opportunity to amass wealth. This type of signal will unnecessarily raise the stakes, push the candidates in elections to see the contest as akin to a do-or-die affair, and consequently heat up the polity and the entire electoral process. More transparent and effective screening methods must be devised by the political parties and the Supreme Court as well as the Constitutional Court, and INEC to ensure the exclusion of politicians with overt or covert tendency to corrupt the electoral process. There is also the need for political education of the electorate to be more discerning in their electoral choices, and minimize the pressures put on their elected representatives for financial and material rewards for voting.

Finally, political parties should refrain from projecting the financial profile of the wealthy candidates and their financial importance in the political parties. This is because such candidates have the tendency to want to live up to the image so created, by injecting more money into the political campaign than is morally justified.

Conclusion

This paper aims at restating that money is an important tool needed by political parties and their candidates to participate meaningfully in electoral contest for political power. Although money may not guarantee electoral success; it is , however,

doubtful if any political party or candidate can effectively and successfully organize any political campaign and contest elections to public office in Benin Republic without some financial resources. To that extent, political parties, their supporters as well as the candidates are in order when they make their modest financial contributions towards the achievement of their goal. I think this is normal and legitimate. What is, however, abnormal, immoral and illegitimate is the pervasive corrupting tendency of some aspirants to attempt, and indeed, use money to influence the outcome of elections in their favor, directly or indirectly bribing the voters or the officials of the electoral body. Once this kind of malfeasance creeps into the electoral process, election becomes synonymous with the 'gentle art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich, by promising to protect one from the other' (Sohner, 1973: 186). This undermines the democratic process and encourages competitive corruption because almost all the candidates, particularly those who have the means, would resort to the disgusting tactics of using money to buy votes. If the situation remains like this, the Benin Republic electoral process will continue to lose the credibility and the government that emerges thereof will represent anything but the wishes of the generality of the people. For evidence, the present Benin Republic regime which came to power in 2016 by being championed in the corruption of the electoral process is trying every day to deprive the nation of all the democratic pillars and principles. As a result, Benin Republic is no more a democratic country but an authoritarian country where the freedom of the press, the freedom of the speech, etc, have totally disappeared. Members of the opposition political parties are jailed every day or forced to exile. More than 500 activists are now in jail only because of their political opinion. If you are not the government "griot", storyteller, ardent defender, then, you are a terrorist and your place is in jail or exile. Peaceful demonstrations against the government are severely repressed. The government

militia does not hesitate in using war guns to kill peaceful demonstrators and innocent people. Members of the opposition political parties are systematically excluded from all the competitive elections. The worst of all this is that gangsters are financed by some political crooks supporting the government to injure the opponent members..

In a nutshell, money politics is a real danger in politics. It is this dreadful politics which allowed Patrice Guillaume Athanase Talon, a so-called rich businessman to come on power to destroy Benin Republic democracy.

References

- Campbell, A. (1962). "The Passive Citizen". Act Sociological, Vol VI: 9-21.
- Friedrich, C. J. (1974). Limited Government: A Comparison. New Jersey : Prentice Hall. P. 254.
- Lamb, K. A. (1978). The People, Maybe. California: Duxbury Press.
- Milbrath, K. A. (1965). Political Participation. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company.
- Obasanjo, O. and Mabogunji, A. (1992). Elements of Democracy, Abeokuta; ALF Publications.
- Rodee, C.L. et al. (1976). Introduction to Political Science. London : McGraw-Hill
- Sohner, C. P. (1973). The people's Power: American Government and Politics Today. Illinois: Scott, Foreman and Company.
- Walecki, M.(2008). "Political Money and Corruption: Limiting Finance." In V. A. O.Adetula (ed.)Money and Politics in Nigeria, Abuja: IFES Nigeria Book Projects, 99.1-2.

Worsley, P. (1964). "The Distribution of Power in Industrial Societies" in P. Halmos (ed.) "The Development of Industrial Societies." Sociological Review Monograph, Vol. 8, PP. 16-31.

Wright, J.R. (1985). "PACs Contributions and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective." The American Political Science Review, Vol. 79, No. 2, PP.400-414.