

**APPLICATION OF AFRICA’S HISTORY TO EXPLAIN CURRENT CAUSES OF
POLITICAL CRISES AND THE ROLES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS WITHIN THE
STATE AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES**

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ABSTRACT

The paper considers the historical line of African states most especially the causative factors responsible for their political upheavals from the colonial masters and the roles played by different actors within the state and international communities. The paper is theoretical in nature and employed secondary source of data gathering. In doing this, issues like colonialism and its effects, nationalism and its effects, Africa’s post colonial experience were well explained as those leads to reasons for military intervention, solutions /way-out/remedies were also suggested in the work such as, good leadership, accountability, honesty and transparency etc,

Introduction

Scramble for Africa, phrase used to describe the sometimes frenzied claiming of African territory by half a dozen European countries that resulted in nearly all of Africa becoming part of Europe’s colonial empires. The Scramble began slowly in the 1870s, reached its peak in the late 1880s and 1890s, and tapered off over the first decade of the 20th century. Between 1885 and 1900, European powers were, at times, racing each other to stake claims in Africa. Most Africans resisted being taken over and ruled by foreigners. Thus, much of the latter part of the Scramble involved European armies using modern weapons to crush opposition and install authority over the continent’s inhabitants. (Olawoore, 2000:6)

By the mid-19th century Europeans had only claimed selected areas of Africa, mainly along the coasts. High death rates from malaria and yellow fever kept Europeans from bringing armies and conquering large areas of Africa; nor were they inclined to do so in this period. Aware of the cost of maintaining colonies, the most powerful European nations preferred either to keep trade open to all, relying on their commercial advantage, or to reserve small, productive areas for the trade of their own citizens. Britain possessed its Cape Colony, strategically located at the southern tip of Africa. It also protected a few West African commercial enclaves and held a colony of Sierra Leone, which was populated by descendants of slaves rescued from the Atlantic slave trade. France had annexed Algeria in 1834 and protected trade along the Sénégal River and at two ports east of the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana). It also held an outpost at Gabon in west central Africa. Portugal claimed territory in Angola and Mozambique. The foreign power with the largest African territory was the weakening Ottoman Empire, which clung to lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea from Tunisia through Egypt, up the Nile, and down the west coast of the Red Sea.

Still, through the 1870s Africans controlled 90 percent of the continent. The largest African states were Muslim—the growing Mahdist state of the Sudan, the Mandinka state of Samory Touré and the Tukolor Empire along the upper Niger River, and the Sokoto caliphate east of the middle Niger. East Africa was dominated by the slave and ivory trade, with the Swahili-Arab sultanate of Zanzibar competing with African warlords well into the interior. Beyond British-controlled areas in southern Africa were several African states and two republics of the Afrikaners (descendants of 17th-century Dutch settlers) (Olatunji, 2006:10)

On the eve of the Scramble, Western Europe was a century into the Industrial Revolution and clearly the most powerful and technologically advanced portion of the globe. Firearm, transportation, and communications technologies were developing at an astonishing pace, and national pride was growing in each European country. Furthermore, advances in medicine enabled Europeans to spend longer periods in the tropics free of illness. Industrial production was reaching such high levels that Europeans worried about over-production and finding

consumers for all the goods that European industries were turning out. An economic downturn in the early 1870s brought some Europeans to look toward the nonindustrial world. They viewed these countries as both markets for their products and as suppliers of natural resources to fuel the industries. In addition, the strongest European countries began fearing what would happen to the balance of power if their rivals acquired colonies in Africa. National pride was at stake. So was Christianity: famous Scottish missionary/explorer David Livingstone had whet the public appetite for a Christian “civilizing” mission in this continent full of non-Christians and torn by slave trading. Livingstone’s death in the wilds of Africa in 1873 called attention again to the cause.

All of this resulted in the Scramble for Africa. It began with slow territorial acquisition through the early 1880s, followed by a competitive rush to claim African lands after the Berlin West Africa Conference (1884-1885). The final stage of the Scramble was characterized by slower occupation of territories and overcoming of African resistance through the first decade of the 20th century. By 1912 all of Africa was in European hands except Liberia and Ethiopia. The period of colonial rule that followed brought social, political, and economic change across the continent. The African colonies would only slowly gain their independence, most doing so between 1955 and 1965. Some did not achieve self-rule or majority rule until the 1980s or 1990s. (Olatunji, 2006:6)

FIRST STEPS (1876-1884)

European competition over African territory in the 1870s heightened once Belgian king Leopold II got involved. Merchants under French government protection had been advancing up the Sénégal River with an eye toward connecting that river with the Niger by rail. This connection would open a vast market in West Africa’s interior. At the same time, British palm oil merchants were pushing up the Niger River by steamer, and Anglo-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley was journeying down the Congo River. In his journeys, Stanley had discovered that the river’s upper reaches were open to trade. However, it took Leopold to raise the stakes. For 20 years the wealthy ruler had dreamt of creating a Belgian colonial empire. In 1876 he established the International African Association, an organization that had stated scientific and humanitarian

goals but was truly a front to further Leopold's imperial design. Then, in 1879, when Britain ignored Stanley's offer to open Central Africa and funnel its trade to the mouth of the Congo, Leopold employed Stanley to do just that. By 1880 the explorer was back in the lower Congo, building road and river access to connect the Atlantic Ocean with Stanley Falls, located about 2300 km (about 1400 mi) upstream. Across the river in the early 1880s, French explorer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza was exploring and negotiating treaties for France, forcing Stanley to obtain treaties for Leopold. Their claims appeared to overlap near the mouth of the Congo, a land area claimed by Portugal as well.

Events in North Africa raised tensions further. In 1881, France occupied Tunisia to prevent Italy from gaining land on Algeria's border. A year later Britain occupied the bankrupt Ottoman possession of Egypt to guarantee repayment of its huge foreign debt. France, which also had a significant financial stake in Egypt and had shared "dual control" of Egypt's finances with Britain since the mid-1870s, was left without influence. Neither France nor Germany approved of Britain taking over Egypt, but each expressed approval to gain British support for its own colonial actions. It was fast becoming a game of European diplomatic wrangling with African territories as pawns. (Ayanlola,1996:25)

THE SCRAMBLING BEGINS (1884-1891)

While Britain, France, and Leopold were advancing their aims in Africa, Europe's fastest-rising military and industrial power, Germany, was biding its time. Its leader, Otto von Bismarck, appeared content to allow the others to expend diplomatic energy on African initiatives while Germany concerned itself with domestic issues. However, as pressures mounted from German merchants wanting a share of any potential African market, Bismarck realized German interests might best be served by his taking control of the diplomatic struggles involving Africa. Thus, in the summer of 1884 Bismarck declared German protectorates over three African territories—Togoland (comprising present-day Togo and eastern Ghana), Cameroon, and South-West Africa (present-day Namibia). Then, he joined France in calling for a conference of colonial powers in Berlin. The stated goals of the conference were to be the settling of Congo claims between Britain, France, and Portugal, and of Anglo-French rivalries along the Niger River. In addition,

however, European powers recognized that rules and rationalizations were needed for the seizing of African territories, especially for seizures that held potential for European conflict.

The Berlin West Africa Conference (November 1884-February 1885) involved representatives of 14 European countries and the United States. The Ottoman Empire, facing the loss of territory on all sides, was not represented at the conference. Much of the conference work took place outside Berlin, as envoys moved between London, Paris, and Brussels negotiating which European power could rightfully claim lands inhabited by Africans. By the time the conference ended, Leopold had secured ownership of the Congo Free State, a state 50 times the size of Belgium; France saw acceptance of its claims to French Congo; Portugal lost most of its Congo claims; and European powers recognized Germany's new protectorates. (The day following the conference, Bismarck declared another protectorate in East Africa.) The European nations declared free trade along the Congo and free navigation on the Niger, stated lofty goals as their mission in African colonies, and set out rules for additional territorial grabs. The most significant of these rules stated that colonial powers were obligated to notify each other when they claimed African territory. Further, subsequent "effective occupation" of the claimed area was necessary for the claim to remain valid. Through it all, as Europeans negotiated their rights to African territory, not a single African was present. Once the conference was over, it was clear that a European Scramble for African territories was underway. (Adedokun,1999:23)

Southern Africa became a much more important element in the Scramble a year after the Berlin Conference. At that time, word spread of the world's largest known deposits of gold in the Afrikaner-controlled South African Republic (or Transvaal). Western miners and industrialists flocked into Southern Africa to profit. Among those involved in finance and operation of the mines was British magnate Cecil Rhodes, a leader of diamond mining in the Cape Colony. Rhodes was a believer in the "civilizing" mission of British colonialism—he dreamed of a British African empire stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, Egypt. Thus, hoping to find still more gold north of Transvaal in 1890, he led a "pioneer column" of settlers north. These prospectors overcame African opposition and carved out the new British colonies of Southern and Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia).

Most European powers were not content to let a chance at claiming further territory slip. France may have had the grandest territorial desires of any nation. Its major advances were eastward from the Sénégal River and down the Niger from its headwaters. French armies slowly overcame opposition from the powerful Tukolor Empire and advanced on the ancient city of Tombouctou (Timbuktu). Italy, too, laid claim to Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and then announced a protectorate over a large portion of Somaliland along the Indian Ocean.

FINAL STAGES (1891-1912)

AFRICAN RESISTANCE

Battle of Ādwa

In the late 19th century Italy sought to establish a colony over Ethiopia. Italian forces invaded in 1895, anticipating an easy victory. However, under the leadership of Emperor Menelik II, the Ethiopian army decisively defeated the Italian force at the Battle of Ādwa on March 1, 1896. Ethiopia was the only indigenous African state to resist European colonization.

The early years of the Scramble were accomplished with minimal bloodshed, but that would not be the case in the 1890s and afterward. Some of the most powerful African states put up strong resistance, requiring Europeans to send in well-armed forces. Massed African armies with outdated weapons defeated European forces on occasion, but more frequently modern weaponry won out, producing some of the most one-sided battles in the history of warfare.

France and Britain speeded their conquests in West Africa. France united footholds on the coast with vast holdings of interior grasslands and desert by the century's end. The major delay for the French was caused by the Mandinka hero Samory Touré. Touré united peoples around the headwaters of the Niger and Volta rivers and fought a guerrilla war until he was captured and exiled in 1898. The British overcame the Ashanti Kingdom in the Gold Coast by 1896 and established protectorates in western and eastern Nigeria. They also allowed the chartered Royal Niger Company to administer northern Nigeria until the company's forces encountered the advancing French on the middle Niger and came into conflict with the powerful northern Sokoto

caliphate. In 1900 the British government took over the control of the territory of Nigeria from the company. By 1903, Britain had conquered the Sokoto caliphate.

Across the rest of the Sudan and into East Africa, resistance was greater and tensions higher. French forces occupied the rest of the central Sudan. These forces met resistance in present-day Chad from Muslim forces of Rabih al-Zubayr until Rabih was killed in 1900. Britain had its hands full taking the upper Nile because of the large Sudanese state created by the Muslim holy leader, Muhammad Ahmad, known as the Mahdi. In 1885 the Mahdi's forces had taken Khartoum and killed British general Charles George Gordon. By the 1890s the Mahdist state was among the strongest in Africa. The British sent in troops under General Horatio Herbert Kitchener, and in 1898 they met the Mahdist forces at Omdurman, near Khartoum. Kitchener won a decisive victory, killing almost 11,000 Africans and wounding 16,000 while the British forces suffered only 430 casualties. In the battle's wake, Kitchener learned of a French force at Fashoda, about 600 km (about 400 mi) south of Khartoum, which was claiming French possession of the Upper Nile. The Upper Nile was nominally Egyptian territory, and since Britain occupied Egypt, it had been considered British. However, France claimed that Britain had failed to achieve "effective occupation" in the Upper Nile as required by the Berlin Conference. Kitchener and a contingent of British troops immediately traveled down the Nile for a standoff that brought the countries to the brink of war. However, the French government, struggling with internal political problems, backed down rather than start a war, and Britain took control of the entire Sudan. In the meantime, the Sultanate of Zanzibar, a former slave and ivory trading power, saw much of its mainland territory seized by Britain and Germany. In 1890 the sultanate submitted to a British protectorate over Zanzibar. The British declared a protectorate over Uganda in 1894, over Kenya in 1895, and completed a railroad from the Indian Ocean coast to Lake Victoria in 1901. The only resistance to European takeover that was successful over the long run occurred in Ethiopia. Here the forces of Emperor Menelik II soundly defeated an invading Italian army at the Battle of Ādwa in 1896. (Adedokun,1999:21)

Two events in the early 1900s served to stifle enthusiasm for colonial takeover in Africa. One was the exposure of atrocities in Leopold's Congo Free State. Here, colonial agents and private

companies were forcing Africans to gather raw rubber without payment and killing or maiming those who failed to meet quotas. In the end, international pressure forced Leopold to cede his private colony to Belgium, and in 1908 the Congo Free State became the Belgian Congo. The other event was the Boer War (1899-1902) in Southern Africa, which pitted whites against whites. Discovery of gold in the Transvaal in the mid-1880s had brought wealth to the Afrikaner republics in southern Africa. When Afrikaner governments taxed foreigners heavily and stifled foreign profit-taking, British imperialists sought to take over the region. Cecil Rhodes's 1895 plot to stage a revolt in the Transvaal failed. Tensions between the mighty British government and the small, white-ruled republics escalated until war broke out in 1899. Following early Afrikaner success, the war settled into a brutal guerrilla struggle, putting off ultimate British victory until 1902. In 1910 the various British colonies at Africa's southern tip were joined into the Union of South Africa, a dominion of Britain.

North Africa was the scene of the Scramble's final events. After years of rivalry that sometimes verged on open hostilities, Britain and France signed the Entente Cordiale in 1904. This "friendly agreement" quietly gave France a free hand to take Morocco while it officially removed the obsolete Egyptian "dual control" system and left Egypt to Britain. France, Spain, and Germany quarreled over Morocco until 1912, when France and Spain divided the territory. The same year, Italy seized what is now Libya, the last vestige of Ottoman territory in Africa. (The Italians were opposed by Muslim groups in the interior until 1931.) The Republic of Djibouti achieved full independence on June 27, 1977. By the early 1970s the war reached a stalemate. Only after Portugal underwent a tumultuous revolution in April 1974 did the colonial regime in Mozambique begin to crumble. In July 1975 power was formally transferred to Frelimo, and Mozambique became independent. (Olatuji, :22)

EFFECTS OF THE SCRAMBLE

Africa on the eve of World War I (1914-1918) was nothing like the Africa of 40 years earlier. What had been a largely independent continent with some foreign control of its coasts was now almost entirely in European hands. *Britain and France held the lion's share.* The British had

almost fulfilled Cecil Rhodes's dream of an unbroken line of colonies from the Cape to Cairo. Their colonies held promising economic potential, with gold in South Africa and cash crops in East and West Africa. The French controlled huge amounts of territory in North and West Africa, but much was desert and only a few colonies were productive. Germany would lose its African colonies in losing World War I, as would Italy in World War II (1939-1945). Britain and France would give up most of their colonies in the 1950s and 1960s. Spain would remain longer but be a less-significant participant in the colonial picture. Portugal would entrench itself and become, in the mid-1970s, the last European power to begin to relinquish its claims.

The Scramble and its aftermath held great irony. While the conquest was going on, events in Africa were of the greatest importance throughout Europe. *European competition for African territory dominated headlines, brought down governments, and nearly drove nations to war. But once the conquest was complete, Africa was largely forgotten and not considered again until the movement for African independence of the 1950s and 1960s.* (Olawoore, 2002:13)

Effects of the European takeover on Africans were considerable. In the short term, the Scramble obviously led to Africans' loss of control of their own affairs. But it also brought enormous hardship to most Africans. In addition to the deaths caused by the conquest itself, many Africans died as a result of disrupted lifestyles and movement of people and animals among different disease environments. Africa's population did not begin to recover from the devastation caused by the Scramble and its aftermath until well into the 20th century.

POSITIVE EFFECTS

In the long term, the Scramble was part of a larger process of bringing non-Western peoples into the world economy—in most cases as exporters of agricultural products or minerals and importers of manufactured or processed goods. Colonial governments taxed their African subjects and used the revenues to improve the colony's infrastructure: building roads, bridges, and ports that connected distant locales to the outside world. Meanwhile, institutions to improve people's lives, such as hospitals and schools, appeared more slowly. Colonial rule also brought elements of Western culture—from the French and English languages and Western political

models to Coca-Cola and automobiles. It was in reaction to European rule that Africans developed a sense of nationalism that would help them gain independence in the second half of the 20th century.

For Europeans, the Scramble for Africa helped set the stage for World War I. Competition for African territory raised nationalist feelings and kept relations tense and combative. It also gave Europeans a sense that war was good for “national character” and not so taxing on budgets and manpower. World War I would soon destroy these illusions.

BERLIN WEST AFRICA CONFERENCE

Berlin West Africa Conference, also called the Berlin Conference, meeting of representatives of 14 European countries and the United States between 1884 and 1885 to deal with matters relating to European trade and territorial claims in Africa. At the conference, which was convened in Berlin, Germany, these powers reached agreement on who would possess lands around the Congo River and established ground rules and justification for further takeover.

The conference was brought about by European rivalries in Africa and concerns over the European colonial balance of power. In the late 1870s and early 1880s King Leopold II of Belgium had been trying to further personal interests by employing Anglo-American explorer Henry Morton Stanley to stake claims for him along the lower Congo River, an area where Portugal already had claims. On the basis of treaties negotiated by French explorer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza in 1880, France claimed land along the river as well. Meanwhile, on the lower Niger River, Britain and France were potential competitors over river trade. Merchants across Europe urged their governments to protect their African trade interests from European rivals. Under such pressure, in mid-1884 German chancellor Otto von Bismarck announced German claims to three African colonies—Togoland, Cameroon, and South-West Africa. This increasingly frantic seizing of African territory, dubbed the Scramble for Africa, threatened to bring European nations to conflict. Bismarck, with France, called for a conference to settle European rivalries. Half of the countries represented, including the United States, had no colonial

stake in Africa. However, they were invited to help sort out rival claims and to put the stamp of unbiased international approval on the territorial acquisition to come.

The conference convened in Berlin in November 1884. Negotiations concerning claims to the Congo River area occurred outside the conference, in London, Paris, and Brussels, and held up matters for two months. At its conclusion in February 1885, the conference recognized Leopold's sovereignty over an area occupying most of the Congo basin that would become the massive Congo Free State. It also acknowledged French claims along the east bank of the Congo that would become French Congo. Portugal was left with only a small territory at the mouth of the Congo. The conference also recognized the German claims to Togoland, Cameroon, and South-West Africa. In a final General Act of Berlin, the representatives agreed to free trade in the Congo basin and free navigation along the Niger. In addition, they agreed to rules for further claiming of African territory: each country was to notify the others of its claims, and each claim was to be followed with "effective occupation" of the claimed area. Conference participants stated lofty goals for their African territories, which included ending the slave trade and extending civilization, commerce, and Christianity to the African people.

Many myths cloud the legacy of the Berlin Conference. Many people believe that the representatives of European nations parceled out African land among themselves as they sat around a table in Berlin. Actually, European taking of African land had been underway for some years before, and the Berlin Conference resulted only in recognition of claims along the Congo and of Germany's colonies. Further, the rules set out for claiming territory were largely meaningless and unenforceable. Yet, the Berlin Conference holds symbolic importance. Its occurrence in a European capital, thousands of miles from Africa, without a single African present, represents Europeans' unquestioned attitude of superiority, an attitude that underlay the Scramble and the early periods of colonial rule. Although most of Africa remained in African possession immediately following the conference, the Berlin West Africa Conference served as the first public indication that European countries were poised to take over the continent, which they **would accomplish over the next 25 years** (Abdallah, Nuruddeen M, 2011).

KENYA

After World War II (1939-1945), opposition increasingly took the form of nationalism, with African activists demanding self-government and independence. A colony-wide political party, the Kenya African Union (KAU), was formed in 1944 to advocate this goal. Kenyatta became the leader of the party in 1947. KAU made little headway with its demands, however, as European settlers still enjoyed far greater influence than Africans within the colonial government.

Captured Mau Mau Rebels

Mau Mau was a secret society of Africans who wanted an end to British rule in Kenya. The movement became violent in 1952. Terrorist attacks killed more than 100 Europeans. More than 13,000 Africans lost their lives before the rebellion was crushed.

Mau Mau Rebellion, uprising against British rule in Kenya that began in 1952 after a long buildup of resentment caused primarily by appropriation of land. Tired of having its grievances ignored, the African community, and especially the Kikuyu, one of Kenya's most numerous ethnic groups, gradually moved toward more radical actions. Some outbreaks of violence occurred in 1951, and the following year a secret Kikuyu society known as Mau Mau began a campaign of violence against Europeans and disloyal Africans. In October 1952 the British declared a state of emergency and deployed troops to stamp out the rebellion. Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African Union, a predominantly Kikuyu political party, was arrested and charged with organizing Mau Mau. In 1953 he was sentenced to seven years in prison. Before the rebellion was quashed three years later, 11,000 rebels had been killed, and a total of 80,000 Kikuyu—men, women, and children—were confined in detention camps; on the other side, some 100 Europeans and 2000 pro-British Africans lost their lives. Although it was a military failure, Mau Mau rebellion brought both recognition of African grievances and efforts at correction that eventually led to Kenya's independence (Anofi, Dele , 2013).

Causes of Mau Mau rebellion

According to Olawwore (2000) there were many factors that led to Mau Mau uprising in Kenya but major ones are hereby highlighted:

1. Social stratification and Racism
2. Impacts of returnee African Educated leaders
3. Illegal acquisition of land by the white settlers
4. The forced labour policy.

EGYPT

British forces occupied Egypt in 1882. Although the British government intended the military occupation to be brief, Britain became ever more involved in Egyptian affairs. Between 1883 and 1885 British troops attempted to crush a rebellion in Sudan that threatened Egypt's control of the upper Nile and the Red Sea coast. The rebels, led by Muhammad Ahmad, also known as the *Mahdi* ("the rightly guided one"), destroyed the British armies that were sent against them. Sudan remained independent until it was conquered by a combined British and Egyptian force between 1896 and 1898.

In 1922 Britain declared Egypt an independent monarchy under Hussein Kamil's successor, Ahmad Fuad, who became king as Fuad I. The British reserved the right to intervene in Egyptian affairs if their interests were threatened, thereby robbing Egypt of any real independence and allowing British control to continue unabated. Egypt's politicians agreed in 1923 to draft a constitution making the country a constitutional monarchy. The Wafd won the first parliamentary elections, which were held in January 1924. The organization's leader, Zaghlul, became prime minister and formed a cabinet. The Wafd government did not last long. In November 1924 the British commander of the Egyptian army was assassinated. The police investigation uncovered a nationwide network of terrorists with ties to the Wafd. Allenby handed Zaghlul a stern memorandum containing demands for Egypt's apology and reparations. Zaghlul accepted some of the demands but chose to resign rather than accept the others.

MALI

The nine-year-old government of President Modibo Keita and the Sudanese Union Party (US-RDA), which had ruled Mali since independence, was overthrown on November 19 by a bloodless military coup. The National Liberation Committee, headed by Lieutenant Moussa Traoré set up a 14-man government under Captain Yoro Diakhité. Except for the minister of

defense and interior and the minister of information and security, the government is composed of civilian technicians and former ministers (Jean-Marie Koné in foreign affairs, Louis Nègre in economy, Mamadou Aw in industry, Henri Corenthin in public works). The coup was a reaction against overly rapid socialization. The military government promised to abolish the youth militia, restore civil liberties, make budgetary reforms, and increase agricultural production. They also agreed to hold a referendum on a new constitution by mid-1969, followed by parliamentary and presidential elections. Over the preceding year Mali had continued its 'counter-revolutionary' purges. In November 1967 the deputy mayor of Bamako had resigned after being denounced as a 'feudal potentate.' Figures such as Salif N'Diaye, minister of energy and industry, Hamacine N'Douré, former ambassador to the European Economic Community, and Amadou Hamphaté Ba, former ambassador to Ivory Coast, had been dismissed from the US-RDA. On January 4, addressing the National Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CNDR) and the National Assembly, Keita had stressed 'the role of the US-RDA and its primacy over all government and state institutions.' After dissolution of the assembly on January 16, the CNDR had appointed 28 former assemblymen to serve as a 'legislative delegation' pending elections, leading Keita free to rule by decree.

NIGERIA

Since independence, political parties have been variously banned and allowed, according to the whims of the leaders in power. Since the death of Sani Abacha, several new political parties have emerged. The largest party in the legislature is the People's Democratic Party till 2015 general election when another largest opposition party defeated the ruling party even for the first time in Nigeria's political history. (Director, Osa ,2004)

Factors That Led To the Rise And Growth Of Nationalism In African States

Nationalism gained momentum in African states due to the following reasons:

1. ***The Atlantic Charter of 1941:*** In the course of the second world war, a meeting was held between the British Prime Minister (Winston Churchill) and the American President (Franklin Roosevelt) The outcome of the meeting was described as the Atlantic

charter, Under Article 3 of the charter, both leaders recognized the rights of all peoples to choose their own form of government. This aided the growth of nationalism in Africa.

2. ***The role of the educated elites:*** Education served as the key to progress and also an effective weapon for fighting colonial rule. Many people who had acquired education enlightened the people on the need to fight for independence. They were at the vanguard in the struggle for independence. For example, people like Herbert Marculay, Nnamdi Azikwe, Obafemi Awolowo and Ahmadu Bello were in the fore front of the struggle for independence in Nigeria. Education gave the Nigerians great opportunity to know their rights and to regard everybody both white and black as equal.

3. ***The role of political parties:*** The formation of political parties also enhanced nationalist activities. Political parties such as Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG) made significant contributions to the struggle for independence in Nigeria.

4. ***The rise of nationalist newspapers:*** Many nationalist newspapers emerged. The press served as a powerful weapon against the colonial government in Africa. For instance, in 1925, Herbert Maculay, a dynamic and controversial figure of Nigerian politics founded his own Lagos Daily News which was very nationalistic and attacked the colonial government in Nigeria on almost every issue. Also the West African Pilot and the Nigerian Tribune played significant roles in the struggle for independence.

5. ***The return - of ex-service men:*** When the soldiers from British West African who fought during the war returned to their countries they were not happy to see their countries still under colonial rule. They therefore joined in the struggle for independence.

6. ***The loss of British Prestige:*** The defeat of British by Japan during the war was another factor that contributed to the rise in demand for the struggle for independence.

7. ***American and Russian Support:*** Both American and Russian condemned colonialism. They urged all countries that had colonized any territory to grant independence to such countries.

8. ***The Independence of India:*** India, which was also a colony of Britain was granted independence in 1947. This inspired the nationalists to agitate for independence for their countries too.
9. ***The West African Students Union:*** The Union was made up of students from British West African who were resident in London. They requested the British government to grant independence to their countries when the war was over.
10. ***The British Labour Party:*** The party believed in freedom for all countries under colonial rule. It urged the British government to grant independence to all its colonies. This inspired the nationalists in their struggle for independence.
11. ***The economy of the continent was monopolized by European merchants.*** For example, export and import, trade, including mining, and banking industries were controlled by Europeans. Inadequate representation of Africans in the Legislative and executive councils.
12. ***Discrimination in the civil service:*** One of the grievances against the colonial government by African educated elites was that the top civil service posts were reserved exclusively for the whites. Africans were deliberately excluded from the administrative, medical, technical and judicial sections of the civil service of the own countries.
13. ***Racial discrimination:*** Another cause of disagreement between the colonial government and educated Africans was the colour discrimination in public service and for facilities in Africa. For instance, the Europeans were provided with all amenities of modern life such as electricity, good roads, good water supply, better equipped hospitals and above all, they were quartered in separate sections of the towns while the Africans sections of the towns were filthy and with poor facilities. The European quarters with all these amenities were maintained with Africa tax payer's money.
14. ***No regard for African religion and culture:*** The Europeans had no regard for African culture. They introduced monogamy, a system of marriage with one wife and one husband and thereby destroyed part of our culture and heritage. They brought their own

religion and condemned our own system of worship, marriage, naming ceremonies, greetings, dressing and many other good customs and institutions which were dear to them. They condemned them as people without history, art, culture, and institutions.

15. ***Regarding Anything African as inferior:*** The Europeans believed in the inferiority of African culture and worthlessness of everything African. They banned many of the African gins, cloths, and many others as very inferior and they imposed anything European as superior. The ban against familiarity between the European and Africans and the difference in the facilities provided were all part of a deliberate official policy designed to preserve the whiteman's prestige and superiority against the Africans. If there is a well robust cock, they called it an European cock and so on. (Ekott, Ini, 2013)

Effects of Nationalist Movements on African States

1. ***Political Awareness:*** One effect of the nationalist movement was that it brought political awareness among the people. People realized the need and the importance to fight for their rights.

2. ***Increase in African Representation in the Legislative and Executive council:*** As a result of nationalist movements, many Africans were either nominated or elected into the legislative and executive councils. This gave them the opportunity to participate in their own affairs.

3. ***Formation of Political Parties:*** Many political parties were formed. Some of these parties were the Nigerian National Democratic party (NNDP) and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Kenya African National Union (KANU), National Patriotic Party (NPP) of Liberia, Alliance for Democracy in Mali, Founded in 1947, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was the first nationwide political party to call for self-government, Convention People's Party (CPP) on March 6, 1957(Both in Ghana).

4. *It promoted political communication between Nigerian indigenes and British authorities* both in Lagos and London, and between Nigerian and other British West African countries in early colonial days.

5. *Emergence of Nationalist Newspapers:* Many newspaper were founded by some of the nationalists These newspapers helped in educating the people. Some of these newspapers were the Lagos Daily News founded by Herbert Marculay, the Nigerian Tribune founded by Obafemi Awolowo.

6. *Improvement in Social Services:* The colonial government saw the need to improve social services for the Africans. Subsequently, education and health services were improved. The Africans were also given good position in the civil services.

7. *Introduction of the Elective Principle:* The elective principle that was introduced by Governor Clifford in Nigeria gave Nigerians four elective seats in the Legislative council. It was also introduced in Ghana under the Guggisberg constitution.

8. *Attainment of Independence:* By 1965, all the four British West African countries gained independence. Ghana was the first to attain independence in 1957; Nigeria in 1960; Sierra Leone in 1961 and Gambia in 1965. In French West African, Guinea was the first country to gain independence in 1958. The first Prime Minister of Nigeria was Tafawa Balewa; Ghana – Kwame Nkrumah; Sierra Leone - Milton Magai, Gambia - Dauda Jawara. Ahmed Sekou Toure was the first Prime Minister of Guinea.

AFRICA'S POST COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

Colonial experience had come and gone and most African countries gained their independence, but the aftermath experience for these countries seems to be unpalatable as they started facing internal crises, which can simply be regarded as problems facing African countries as post/neo-colonial political experience, among which are;

1. Leadership problem
2. Political Instability
3. Ethnocentrism
4. International/diplomatic relations

5. Corruption
6. Lack of National Integration
7. Electoral Malpractices
8. Military Intervention.

Some of the causes or the adduced reasons for these are:

MILITARY INVOLVEMENTS IN AFRICA

Military intervention in African countries is not a new thing. It has been a recurring phenomena and many African states have experienced it once or more. It occurred first in Egypt in 1952, Sudan in 1958, Congo in 1960, Togo in 1963, Niger in 1965, Nigeria in 1966, and others.

The constitutionally assigned functions of the military in all modern countries of the world is to defend the country against external aggression, as well as help to suppress internal crises that is beyond the control of the police. Unfortunately since 1963, when the first military coup was successfully staged in the Republic of Togo, there had been several other successful military coups in many African countries.

Reasons For Military Intervention

Some of the causes of Military Intervention are:

1. *Misappropriation and embezzlement of public funds:*
2. *Maladministration:*
3. *Economic Problem:*
4. *The Desire of Politicians to stay in Power Indefinitely*
5. *Inordinate Ambition of Military to rule*
6. *Favouritism and Nepotism*
7. *Struggle for political power and inability to maintain law and order*

Conclusively, it becomes an indisputable fact that despite the experiences of Africa with what they passed through under colonial masters, yet the post colonial problem created by their leaders, even with their attitude *prebendal* nature i.e replacing their systems of government with *prebendalism* (much of which is exhibited in form of unchecked corruption or by means of legalizing illegality viz-a-viz corrupt practices) has aggravated most Africa's countries problem be it politically, socially, economically, religiously, etc.

Recommendations

For African states to be relieved of these enormous post colonial challenges, stake holders and elites that are in position of authorities need to implement the following administrative techniques solutions /way-out/remedies

1. Avoid Misappropriation and embezzlement of public funds:
2. Employ good administration in place of Maladministration:
3. Promoting Economic development
4. Avoidance of the Desire to stay in Power Indefinitely by the Politicians
5. Accountability and Transparency
6. Shunning of Favouritism and Nepotism
7. Allow free and fair elections for masses/electorates to prevail instead of struggling for political power and inability to maintain law and order

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