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Cultural History of Political Parties in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Morocco, and Tunisia

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Abstract

As objective, Political parties refer to institutions with institutionalization policies either to better the conditions of a group of certain people or yield to glaring problems or malice so as to seek good and concrete solutions to the extent of attaining political, economic, sociocultural stabilities. This course therefore rotates on upheavals on the political domain that pushed sub-Saharan African countries to advocate for right to have a say in eternal domination of the African territories not only this but also have others. Hence the aims or objectives of political parties in sub-Saharan countries after the origin (idea) of political parties has been analyzed. Furthermore, the styled political history

cultures run or flows as the entire work prevails this philosophy, the system in some selected countries as reference shall be analyzed or discussed is and is the entire work. Lastly, we shall examine some successes and failures or difficulties faced by political parties in sub-Saharan cultures. To arrive or give this goal, our methods to be applied will dual and relay on Documentations like Internet sources and published books. Due to the above methods we turn to realism, the result that each political regime follows has in it, a political culture in sub-Saharan countries which the leading parties cultures usually dominates as it set rules for governance.

Keywords: Political, Parties, Institutions, Sub-Saharan, African, Countries, History, Cultures, Regime, Governance

1. Introduction

The evolutionary progress leading to the formative idea of political parties in sub-Saharan Africa could be viewed from the onset philosophy of all the achievements of making and the link between man and nature (environment). This hence will include nature or material civilization, institutional civilization, and spiritual civilization. Here, it should be noted that scholars of political studies have advance to date many contradictions about the chronological comings and historical foundation of civilization as there are many monstrous falsifications about it. The claims advance on Ethiopia and Egypt being the cradles of civilization has been recorded did later expanded to Greece and sub-Saharan Africa and Asia according to unanimous testimony of the created and raised to an extraordinary stage of development, all the element of civilization, while other peoples especially the Eurasians, were still deep in barbarism.¹

Africa is the source of civilization, the cradle of making, richly endowed with natural resource which inspire of all these she is the poorest continent and paradox of plenty, an example of poor governance and plagued with Authoritarian regime put in place or structured, flustered. Hence an opening to civil conflicts and human rights violation Tanta mounting to recession bites that provoked the creation of parties (political) which could usurp powers and take control of Africa of sub-Saharan zone in difficulties. It should be noted that this has still greater problems which bodies like the organization of Africa unity (OAU)

¹ Amsalu. K Addis, Zuping Zhu (2008)« the political situation, trends and Geopolitical implications of sub-Saharan and North African countries: comparative study » scientific research publishing in <http://www.scrip.org/journal/ojps>, open journal of political science, p109.

created in Addis Ababa in 1963, evolving today to African union (UA),² but what is of important here to ask is, what is our general knowledge about political parties in Africa (sub-Saharan Africa) ? To better respond to the above question posed, It will be interesting to examine the following aspects. Part one, Aims or Objectives, and Reasons and methods for the creation of political parties in sub-Saharan Africa, Part two, the influential of political parties in sub-Saharan Africa. Part three, successes and difficulties encountered by political parties in sub-Saharan Africa.

2. Aims or Objectives, Reasons for the Creation of Political Parties in Sub-Saharan Africa.

According to documentary research carried out, political parties function according to norms put in place by international and national institutions to better ease or give a smooth running of States, nations or Countries. Most of the political parties found in sub-Saharan Africa territory has as objective and reasons as follows.

2.1 Aims or Objectives

The aims or objectives is to quest for power to govern the people. Political parties have as goal the vision to assume power, rule the masses in a style model (Government Administrative Control Policies with a precise and concise constitution that will the people for their needs through peace), such that, the people could have their basic want following government control styled administration. Such countries their cultural history indicates or predict as example or reference could be seen in Ivory Coast in 1946 where Houghpouet Boigny introduced his political party, Rassemblement démocratique Africain (RDC) and That of Nelson Mandela with the African National Congress. These parties had as aim to Govern in peace and unity.³

² « On 9 July 2002, in south Africa /Durban, the organization change its brand name from the organization of African union (OAU) into the African unions (AU) ... And then two years later established the peace and security council (PSC), and the significance of forming the peace and security council of the African Union (AUPSG) is the resolution, management advanced warning and immediate response for the prevention of crisis and conflict situation. As several scholars mentioned, the AU in collaboration with the regime economic communities established the African peace and secure architecture (APSA) ... the role of APSA is to promote peace, to prevent and resolve the conflict and to assure the ability of the continent. In this case, Erastus Mwencha, the deputy chairperson of the AU commission argued that Africa has made a great progress in the promotion of peace, stability, and security in the continent.... There were many tiles that the AU recognized peace and security for Africa, as the theme of the year? The AU hopes to promote a peaceful settlement of internal conflicts and crisis in the entire African territories and create a favorable environment for economic development but the result were for below expectation. Not only the original crisis, the conflict has not been eased, it was approaching the end of an incident in 2010 In Tunisia which triggered a national riot ...» A K Addis, and Z P Shu « the political situation ... » p, 2.

³ W, Rodney, (2005), *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Panaf Publishing, Abuja, Nigeria.

To advocate for the right liberty and freedom of Africans. Giving a good standard of living of the Africans was and is one of the main goal of the Africans Government. Most Africans quest for Europeans relaxation of direct policy application towards Africa so that they too could make their voices head, what was known as African Nationalism hence their Right, liberty and freedom was given but with control and under the Europeans. France ask her colonies to send representative to the French Assembly which their problems were head and solution provided or given. Without this French colony should not have got their independences. This was to be through parties' formation.⁴

It was also to help resolve the enormous problems Africans are having in the continent. Africans were at the deep era of slave trade and tribal crises which perpetrated the wellbeing, day to day activities of the people. Africa faced a period of chaos which needed an external force to resolve the crises and the method to encourage them was to form political parties so that through this parties their problem or malice could be head and appropriate solution could follow.

It is for the intension to quest for complete independence of African countries. Africans wantonly claimed that external domination of Africa by Europeans made them a stranger to their continent as such they think they have no opinion to make as if their right has been seized. Formation of political parties help them as a means to guarantee a complete independence in future or a later date to come as their problems could be further seen and examine by external forces for some correction modalities to be followed and given that will not bring or assured much problems, but in this case no African country is fully independent as this countries parties expressed in their administrative control like the case of South Africa were Nelson Mandela was jail in the process of his struggle to prevent too much colonial domination.⁵

Furthermore, it was to give Africa a greater leap forward. Actually, Africans were greatly behind in development or they were underdeveloped as compared to other continents of the world, hence they were also confronted with the issue of Post Second World war malice which came with the East headed by Russia and the West led and headed by America. This move on to put Africans in a dilemma on which paths to follow as far as promises came from both ends. The only way to gain value and support was to form political parties to benefit the massive aids that came to support countries suffering from the war as such the West headed by America finally succeeded to give Africa a Great Leap Forward, via some political parties. Aids that were received by African countries pro West achieved their Great Leap Forward, their economy faced booms, economically, politically socially and technological wise.⁶

⁴ E A Ayandele and co, *The Growth of African Civilization the Making of Modem Africa...* p,182.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Roland Oliver & A Anthony, (1967) *Africa Since 1800*, Fourth edition, U S A, New York,. Hillary Sama Suh (2020) "The East-West Conflict and Africa: the case of Ethiopia, Somalia and Angola cold war" In *Sous la direction de Cyriaque Esseba et Rene Bidias, Comprendre Les Relations Internationales Contemporaines*, (Melanges offerts au Professeur Jean Koufan Menkene) France, Paris, L'harmattan.

2.2 The Reasons and Methods for the Creation of Political Parties in Sub-Saharan Africa

Here, it should be noted that the existed some reasons and methods for the creation of political parties in sub-Saharan countries. These reasons could be unfordable and favorable factors.

2.2.1 Reasons for the creation of political parties in sub-Saharan Africa

Since Europe was able to exploit the divisions between the various African states, Africa rulers failed to exploit or did not make attempt to exploit the differences between the rival powers in Europe. The leaders like Menelik of Ethiopia did succeeded in making the European powers complete for his favor and this helped him maintain or secure the independence of his state. It should be noted that the majority of African rulers or leaders' south of the Sahara did not have the chance that march with Menelik Philosophy before Europe launched its attack. At a certain moment matter had been so programmed in other to prevent them from deriving or having any beneficial issues from European rivalry.⁷

Additionally, African use modern arms against the invaders and group led with the arms blockade of Africa not leaving out anti-slave trade campaign that's opens Europe's purses. But the situation completely changed during the nineteenth-century hence by 1900 most Africans had failed by outsiders from the first time and have fallen into possession of a number of European states. Morocco had once rules Spain, Egypt in 1798 had driven off a British trading force as late as 1807 and occupied in 1882 thus it pushed European administrators from Europe to strengthened their rule upon the people of the continent of Europe. took control of African sources of raw materials and markets which had become more serious in the different European countries than at any time hitherto. The industrial revolution speeds up textile and inland steel goods. were still the main final products, the financial condition or situation that was insatiable. became a model for smaller firms' businesses became increasingly driven into bankruptcy, eaten up by bigger firms struggling to maintain their position. The successes of the Industrialists became an anxious factor to protect themselves as they turned to their governments. Their pressure became increase on the Africans hence provoked the Africans to retaliate through several resistances and revolts⁸.

The methods followed could be examine or viewed on the stand points of nationalistic tendency, trade unions and revolutionary availability. In South Africa came the origin of the nationalist party which the Hetvolk party of the Transvaal, the orange unite party of the orange free state and the south Africa party of the cape came to a coalition as a single party for the first election after the union. This togetherness of the first parties took the name south Africa party (unique) which was led and control by veteran like Botha and smuts of the Transvaal while at the orange free state Hertzog became the undisputed leader of the party with

hostile elements. Botha and Smuts had a dominant spirit with broad views coupled with no hatred for the British and the British culture. and the empire of South Africa reconciled which permitted the South Africans to manage their own affairs or matters. The idea to unite the two white groups, liked Rhodes and Hofmeyer for a common fellowship. But antagonism or detergence's emanated with bitter memories of the war fear mounted that English language and culture might swamp their own which push them to longed for their return of the old bore republics hence anxious about or an education policy. Afrikaner children were educated in their own language and if not, it would disappear which Hertzog and his followers gained wide support especially in the rural vicinities. The party grew steadily within tension and in 1912 matters came to a limelight as Hertzog said no coalition between two. While groups and that. only true Afrikaners should be in power. During Botha's furiousness, he dismissed Hertzog from the Cabinet at the end of the year. Finally, the African long-awaited dream was provoked which Hertzog and others created a party in opposition of Botha Known as the nationalities party in opposition of Botha known as the Nationalistic party and later the first world war brook out in 1914.⁹ The nationalist line was positive and definite, the theory of apartheid which was a political creed had been worked out by Afrikaner thinkers which many of them at this time were university teachers during the War time period or era. At this juncture people thought of all white South Africans as one race, others of English and Afrikaner as separate communities which should also have their own uncontaminated cultures.¹⁰ This actually spread to other parts of sub-Saharan countries.

2.2.2 The Origins of Political Parties in Africa

The history of African political parties may appear to be a relatively "long" (Mozaffar 2005a: 395) one if we look at the origins of the first party on the continent (the True Whig Party, set up in Liberia in 1860). By 1945, however, in a region that was still largely under colonial rule, less than a dozen parties had been "established by small groups of African elites as they organized expression of their political demands for reforming the colonial system, gaining access to colonial governments and influencing colonial policy" (Mozaffar 2005a: 395). It was only with the independence of African states, and during the period that immediately preceded it, that parties began to proliferate in the Sub-Saharan context. Between 1945 and 1968, as many as 143 new political parties emerged on the continent, the essential vehicles for the mobilization of national electorates that were eventually being given the suffrage and for the formation of the first independent governments (Mozaffar 2005a: 395). Multipartism soon proved to be poorly rooted on the continent. It was not long before party pluralism was abandoned. In different ways, most African countries opted for replacing it with one-party states or military regimes. In the space of a few years, authoritarian forms of government came to prevail virtually on the entire continent. Multiparty

⁷ E.A. Ayandele, A E, Afrigbo. R. J. Gavin and J.O. Omer-cooper, (1971) *The Growth of African civilization the making of modern Africa. Volume 2, the late nineteenth century to the present day*, Longman Group, Longman House, UK, p25.

⁸ Ibid, p4.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 242-243 (the political strength of South Africa developed until after 1945) when the Second World War ended. In 1948 apartheid that means complete separateness surfaced with the emergence of united party and nationalist line).

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 249-251.

politics was only retained in Botswana, Gambia and Mauritius, while it was introduced in Senegal and Zimbabwe during the 1970s and 1980s, but this was most often under the auspices of hardly challenged dominant parties.¹¹ It was only with the emergence of an African version of the global “third wave” of democratisation processes, between the late 1980s and the early 1990s that the situation began to change. During the early 1990s, virtually all Sub-Saharan countries shifted from army-dominated or single-party-dominated regimes to formally democratic systems. Unsurprisingly, structural limitations (such as widespread and extreme poverty, low literacy levels, or state weakness), established political practices (notably, authoritarian rule and corruption) and the freshness of political reforms in these countries raised legitimate doubts about the depth of ‘democratic’ change. The latter, in many cases, was in fact limited to make up exercises. Overall, however, reforms undoubtedly brought about a significant return of multipartism in sub-Saharan Africa.¹²

3. The Influential force (Members) and the Evolutionary Development of Political Parties in Sub-Saharan Countries

As at moment there was serious attempt to impose apartheid in South Africa nationalist uprising that came with full force in other areas south and sub-Saharan territories. Economic interest groups that started with European influence on West Africa, South Africa, east Africa and North Africa became breaking into the interior. The traders feared in the port that trade would be disrupted for example, the French influence of Cotonou might take Abeokuta and divert all the trade of Igboland away from Lagos, the French in Ivory coast feared a British movement moving across from the Gold coast. Traders and Merchants, commercialist in West Africa became anxious with ambition and brought the ports under the government. Other areas like Egypt Zambia, Cape colony in Zimbabwe, Belgians under king Leopold, Lagos, Senegal, Arabia Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Madagascar, Rwanda, Mozambique, Congo, Nigeria, Gabon, Togo, Benin, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Ivory Coast, Angola and other countries south of the Sahara or sub-Saharan countries. They pushed forth or enhance the knowledge as nursing factor to form political parties in sub-Saharan region of Africa.

3.1 The influential forces, members and powers

Unionism was highly felt after the First World War in 1945. This became an offshoot of colonial policies to trade militant. Nationalist feelings became instrumental for expression as trade unions demanded high prices for formers, higher wages, salaries, development on industries and the distribution of land. Still in sub-Saharan region like Nigeria, the Nigeria trade union congress started strike or revolt for a period of one month two weeks hence six weeks in 1945, while in Ghana the Ghana trade union congress called on a general strike that erupted in January 1950 in assistant and supportive motive of the positive Kwame

Nkrumah action, some violent attacks on trade unions were thus enhanced highly in larger scale nationalist struggle. The Ivory Coast Rassemblement democratique Africain (RDA) founded in French West Africa in 1946 gained most of its supports from trade unionists who were greatly discontented, an act leaving out producers. The national council of Nigerian citizens (NCNC) of Nnandi Azikewe found in 1944 survived, thanks to the Nigeria trade union backing. Furthermore, the united Gold coast convention (UGCC) and the conventional people’s party (CPP) of Nkrumah and Daquanh drew its base from cocoa farmers at the Ashanti and traders and trade unionist dotted within the territory.¹³

Another force was ex-service men who return gallantly from war and their role was highly felt. Not forgetting the Africans in order of lure during war thus most of these promises of political economic and social reforms were made by Europeans to the people of British and French Africa in the sub-Saharan region. The Brazzaville conference of 1944 known as the free French conference, de Gaulle, the French president at the time had a deal « new deal » promised the subject specifically and significantly helping the French subject of French African territories. France gave or grants political rights to her colonies. « indigénat » As slave labour or force labour was abolished. Powers of the lieutenant governor in General be reduced, and an assembly in each territory or colony elect a candidate to assist the lieutenant governor. Representatives of each colony will be sent to the constituent assembly which would draw up a new constitution for France after the high commissioner at Dakar. Additionally, the colonies were given the right at the local level more concessions to elect deputies to represent them in the French national assembly and the senate as well as in the assembly of the French union. It was later unveiled that the reforms were inadequate as the French ministry of colonies continued to legislate for French west Africa which he was not forbidden to be advice by the deputies’ reforms on the social domain was not practically carried out; as presumed. The French Colonies Citizen were declared officially French citizens but a separation or distinction was made known between « French citizens of French status » and « French citizens of local status » the first were those whom were first remained subject to their indigenous law as such « superior and inferior » respectively. Furthermore, an introduction of democracy practices focuses toward France on equality of social and political rights with Frenchmen. Self-government was not given and they had to pay all allegiance to their counterpart with no option like those of the British West Africa.¹⁴ More so, she France later abandon all political development in her west African territories for nearly a decade. Another right was granted by the French known as “ loi cadre” in 1956 which Felix Houphouet-Boigny an Ivory Coast deputy to the national assembly had a cabinet post, help France to framed the “loi cadre” known as “ enabling law” hence extensive power to the French

¹¹ Carbone, (2007) Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa, Published by The Berkeley Electronic Press.

¹² World Political Science Review, Volume 3, Issue 3, 2007 Article 1, Political Parties and Party Systems in Africa: Themes and Research Perspectives, Giovanni M. Carbone * p.1and 2.

¹³ Fonge Henry, (2005) *Africa Yesterday and Today: Analytic Review of the Historical Developments in Africa from 1800 to Present Day*, AGWECAMS, Bamenda, September, p.204 (A).

¹⁴ EA Ayandele and co, *The Growth of African Civilization the Making of Modem Africa...* p,182.

government to carry out political reforms in French West Africa.¹⁵

During this period, each territorial assembly was granted the power to elect from among its members, a council of ministers which under the presidency of the governor (lieutenant governor) constituted the executive for the territory. The minister that had the highest or largest vote in the assembly became the vice-president, resignation came or surfaced when the council of ministers was defeated in the assembly. Laws were passed in each territorial assembly for its area of authority. Such areas involved agriculture, health, primary and secondary education, internal trade and civil service and each came under a minister. Other areas like defense, foreign affairs, currency and economic development remained in the hands of the metropolitan government; and laws passed on them were carried out under the direction of the high commissioner. Some African countries like Togo and Cameroon, an exception was registered, as the former became an autonomous republic within the French union in 1956. The prime minister of the assembly had the same powers as those of other French West Africa territories and Cameroon attained the same status as Togo in 1957.¹⁶ Some were happy but some requested full independence. De Gaulle's French constitution of July 1958 transformed the French union into the French community but all was under the effective control of France and De Gaulle as head. Out of this technical and economic aid but Guinea voted "no" to become independent overnight.¹⁷

The Mali republic with Senegal and Sudan obtained their independence but Guinea became an exception. They all remain subject under the French through agreement on such subject or the following aspects: technical assistance, defense, currency and economic aid. Also, Togo and Cameroon also attained independent status about the same time as the other countries under French government. The termination of United Nations Trusteeship of Togo and Cameroon ended and they obtained independence in 1960 in the case of Togo and southern Cameroon that followed in 1961 uniting or reunifying with Cameroon republic; while Northern Cameroon voted to remain with the federation of Nigeria. "Chances for the creation of political parties emerged which earlier this date with France, which the British creation of party system of government started as far back as 1910 in South Africa."¹⁸

3.2 Some Political Parties in some Sub-Saharan countries as case studies

Africa and their countries' evolutionary changes before and after the Second World War; some political parties developed in the continent and the sub-Saharan region. This could be seen most especially with post-war nationalist movements in

West Africa that emanated with well-organized modern political parties, they were led by a new generation of nationalist leaders who had considerable mass support. The western methods style political agitation which they bore or shadowed and directed the governing unrest of the post-war period towards achieving freedom from colonial rule. Examples of such countries in the sub-Saharan area are; Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Namibia, Angola, Togo, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Mozambique, Kenya, South Africa and others.¹⁹

3.2.1 Nigeria

The national council of Nigeria citizens (NCNC) which was initially known as the national council for Nigeria and Cameroon became the war-time party created by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe that was dynamic with considerable degrees of national awakening and raised new hopes as a new and first political party south of the sub-Saharan Africa (West Africa). On the 26th of August 1944 the advocate summoned Nigeria youths and held a meeting at Glover Memorial Hall, Lagos, the NCNC was inaugurated with Zik as president and general secretary respectively. They had as their objective to achieve national unity and the spread of political education geared toward self-government, political freedom, economic security, religious toleration and social equality for Nigerians.²⁰

The party got her support and structure from affiliated groups and societies, trade unions, social clubs and tribal unions spread all over the country which made or raised the party of the masses. Herbert Macaulay was a leading member of the national congress of British West Africa who played the glaring role and sowed the seeds of incipient nationalism in British West Africa. He championed the cause of the king and people of Lagos against oppression by the colonial government in the early years of the 20th century. He assisted in resolving the Apapa land case in 1921, leading past in the Eshubayi Eleko versus government of Nigeria. This won him support which he created the first political party in Nigeria known as the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP).

The evolution from the post-war era marked the party being a thorn to the British flesh for forty years in Nigeria. His party added his innate ability to fire the imagination of his Lagos audiences. The NNDP won all the three seats after the legislative council elections of 1938, 1943, and 1948. But under Zik's party as its first national president under the party National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons in 1944 (NCNC), in a national or nationwide tour campaign in 1946 that he was taken ill and died in Kano on May 7, 1946. As time kept passing and history kept evolving, the Richards, MacPherson and the Lyttenton constitutions were the tools of instruction and government in Nigeria.²¹ By 1950 ethnicity, regionalism and nationalist movements in Nigeria had weakened the unity of nationality within the levels thus another strong regional and ethnic affinities emerged; NPC (a northern party led by the Sardauna of Sokoto and

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid. p, 183. (Most like Senegal, Sudan in 1959 requested for the amendment of the constitution of the community so as not to lose membership to the community and De Gaulle granted their request which in 1960 some obtained their independence)

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, pp 184-185 (it should be noted that capitalism and communist leaders for capitalism, Britain, France, USA and communism for Russia, China and Cuba respectively greatly influence this course or race, world leadership) tradition.

¹⁹ K B C Onwubiko, (1985) *History of the West Africa 1800 present day, book two*, African-FEP Publisher limited, Onitsha, Nigeria, p, 340.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Fonge Henry, (2005), *Africa Yesterday and Today...pp.* 232-233.

dominated by the Fulanis), another party, Action Group Party (AG) of chief Obafemi Awolowo dominated by the Yoruba in the West). This party AG won the 1951 first ever elections in which NCNC, NPC and AG which she won massively in their respective areas or regions. The influence of or Northern People Congress (NPC) of the Fulani's reduced the NCNC party as spokesman for all Nigerians. The Ibadan constitution was realized in the 1950 as stemming down from the Mcpherson constitution that took over from the Richard constitution and gave chances and greater responsibility for taking official decisions and carrying them out.²² Furthermore, in January 1966 a coup d'état took place in Nigeria under major Chukuma Nzeogwu with it council at Kaduna. He took over Ibadan, Kaduna and Lagos but could not consolidate the coup, the army commander major General Aguiya Ironsi surrounds them. Zik was in Britain for a leave as the leaders of other political parties were killed, Lieutenant colonel Yakubu Gowon as chief of staff. of Ironsi became commander in chief and head of state but also failed due to internal military, recruitment and regionalism. In 1967 a civil war broke out in Nigeria that had a lot of repercussion to the political upheavals. The military sector took over activities such as general Yakubo Gowon, lieutenant colonel Ojukwu and from 1975, general Murtala, general Ibrahim Babangida, general Obasanjo, general Sani Abacha-after Murtala assassination by Dinka, G Gowon was requested to return to power and was replaced by Murtala's deputy Obasanjo. He pledged to implement a federal system of government, put in place a new constitution, encouraged the creation of new and genuine political parties, reorganization of local government, a moratorium on the creation of states and the transfer of the federal capital to Abuja. He was short-lived in his administration but introduced the 1978 constitution on federal basis which power was separated. He was very successful as he revamped the agricultural sector and open two new refineries in Warri and Kaduna. At this juncture Nigeria passed to the second republic of 1979 to 1983.²³

Guidelines to 1979 election was the establishment of Fedeco.²⁴ Under the second Republic national unity was guaranteed with political parties that emerged subsequently including the old once. The UNP of AWO, NPU of Alhaji Shagari, P R P Amino, Kano, N P P of Waziri and the GNPP of Ogunsanya. In 1979 elections Alhaji Shagari won 12 of the 19 states but controversy existed in his exact 2/3rd margin. Further evolution precedes as the NPN decline in the 1980s and Shagari's governments also suffered, from a shift in party alignments such as the establishment of PPA including Ziks and Awo and the split between GNPP and PRP further compounded politics in Nigeria. In 1982, increase of political split and agitation became increased, which the presidential election sparked off problems of litigation. But from 1983 to 1985 the was the return to military rule.²⁵

Major general Buhari introduced martial law and dissolved Fedeco. In a bloodless coup in December 31th 1983 Shagari

²² Ibid.

²³ The establishment of an executive president at least a 2/3 majority vote marked the end of the first and the start of the second republic.

²⁴ Federal electoral commission for monitoring all election in Nigeria.

²⁵ Ibid, pp, 236-237

was deposed. Many opponent to the government face trial.²⁶ But Buhari government was short live and occupied with punitive matters. The supreme military council faced attacks from the nation health services. Tunde Idiabong decision command coupled with that of Buhari did not show sign of handling the problems over the civilians. Thus the (SMS) also disagreed hence spanked off unrest in Nigeria. From 1985 to 1993 Babaginda for long under military regime, which he instituted the Armed Forces Ruling council (AFRC) that replaced the (SMC). IBB Babaginda, He blamed for life all former politicians like Shagari, Ekweme from appearing publicly for any public political forum in Nigeria. Christians and Moslem fought each other. His attachment to the creation of two political parties to run for presidential elections remained enough food at the juncture for the thought of Nigerians. He wanted the sharia law, this sparked off dissension. He wanted to dissolve the 13 political parties with six endorsed by (NEC) national electoral commission in December 1989. Due to inexperience the AFRC created two new political parties among which was NRC. The alliance system emanated under professor Ransom Kuti to come back under civilian rule hence known as the campaign for democracy (CD). Through the NEC, he later prohibited Abiola and Tofa both presidential candidates and aspirants for SDP and NRC. Abiola claimed his legitimacy to the presidency after election but IBB said the election was marred by mal practices. In July 1993 he called for an interim independent national government. Abiola Moshi fled and was charged for high treason. The CD progressed and in August 1993, IBB announced his resignation due to pressure from NDSC, the national defense security council noted the defense Sani Abacha. NDSC and CD contested the installation of an interim executive council headed by Shonekan, later both IBB and Shonekan resigned and Sani Abacha assumed power and a military government put in place.²⁷ Abachas military government was marred with a lot of upheaval that Olusegun Obasanjo came back to power as a democratic regime was needed at the time to resolve Nigerians enormous problems, like that of the Bakassi peninsula conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon. Obasanjo came back with Democracy which in an organized election the incumbent Boh Jonathan Goodluck emerged Victorious and took over power, failure to resolve the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northern-Eastern region of Nigeria he lose support hence Buhari from the Moslem North won the presidency of Nigeria until 2020 as his second mandate of a military ruler, as was his initial attempt as a military officer.²⁸

3.2.2 Ghana

Ghana as gold coast experienced changes and tension because of her considerable economic and educational advance ahead. The first political party that came up from traditional groups, unionism, and trade unions. This rallied the people under the united gold coast convention (UGCC) Dr. J B Danguah in 1947 after the war founded the UGCC, the first modern political party in the country, they geared their objective towards self-government in a short run. In

²⁶ There were governors, businessmen tried abstantially.

²⁷ Ibid, p, 239, Fonge Henry, (2005), *Africa Yesterday and Today...*pp. 232-233.

²⁸ Ibid.

1948 Dr Kwame Nkrumah was invited home to become its general secretary. Due to unprecedented scale problems Dr Danguah was jailed with six other. Ghana was marred with discontent as such another political party emerged such as the convention people's party (CPP). They enjoyed popular support but Nkrumah and some CPP members were arrested. While in prison Nkrumah was elected in Accra, was released to become leader of government businesses and to form his cabinet. In March 1946, he became prime minister with a cabinet responsibility to the Assembly and not the Governor. Pace for nationalist movement was fastened and in 1946 the CPP made proposal for a new constitution which in 1946 formed the bases of an unofficial all African cabinet constitution. CPP went for election and won 79 out of 104 seats hence almost an all-internal self-government was complete. In 1946 complete independent was demanded. In July 1946; the CPP won 72 seats against 32 for the opposition parties thus the British government yielded to the nationalist quest for independence. In March 6, 1947, Gold Coast became independent and the name became Ghana. It should be noted that it was the first West African country to obtain her independence from colonial rule as credit goes to Nkrumah's genius and CPP leadership of the nationalistic struggle in Sub-Sahara countries.²⁹

As one of the major political figure in Ghana, he registered some successes but he established a personality cult and Authoritarian regime (authoritarianism) hence established a foreign policy flirtation from a pro-west to USSR, pro-East. As regard the post era years of Nkrumah a military government promised a return to democracy as soon as a new constitution was drawn or designed in 1946, a coup was carried out and dictatorship reigned. The "Khaki boys" as managers and Ankrah was short-lived. Dr Kofi Busia lasted or ended only until 1946 when he too was overthrown from the presidency. Though He encourages trade unions but was faced with hostilities, hence a strike followed accompanied with other issues like tribalism, favoritism, corruption and nepotism. Colonel Ignatius Acheampong, took over and ruled Ghana within a short period of time.

General Acheampong angered especially the middle class as he suspended the constitution and in 1946-1948, he faced food crisis. In 1949 some junior officials or officers led by Jerry Rawlings seized power on grounds that corrupt soldiers and politicians needed to be ousted before Democracy can prevailed. Later Acheampong and Akuffo were executed after secret trials. Jerry Rawling wished to return Ghana civilian rule. In 1990's he brought multi-parties to Ghana as he created the National Democratic Congress (NDC) a party that won the 1993 elections, hence

the political impasse came to an end.³⁰ In 1993 inter-ethnic rivalry became worst with clashes in northern Ghana. By 1996 Ghana lost many civilian populations with a rough estimate of about 150,000 persons displaced. Rift existed between the NCP of Ankrah, and Rawlings NDC, was not all that easy. Rawling vice president grew in a cabinet meeting, Ankrah despite of this humiliation refused to resign that his mandate has not expires. But it should be noted that, other political parties eventually developed in Ghana after Rawlings era, as successive leaders have rule like Atta miles, in the 2000s.³¹

3.2.3 Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone is a country located in West Africa, known officially as the Republic of Sierra Leone. After wars, in 1951 the Sierra Leone people's party (SLPP) was created and it merged with that of Dr. Milton Margai's (SLPP) Sierra Leone organization society and Mr. Lamina Sankoli's people's party. The two leaders came together with their parties. In that election they witnessed the SLTP, swept the polls both in the colony and in the protectorate. Here the end of final result was that the party constituted and form the government with Dr Margai, was known as the minister in chief. In 1957, SLPP returned to power after the election of 1957 as it gains 20, won 26 out of 39 seats contested. Dr Margai became in 1960 prime minister as all the political parties formed a "united national front" still under the aforementioned leadership. Sierra Leone achieved her independence on April 26, 1961 which sir Milton Margai as first prime minister of the independent country. As far as what concerns the Government of Sierra Leone; The government of Sierra Leone is the governing authority of the Republic of Sierra Leone, as established by the Sierra Leone Constitution. The Sierra Leone government is divided into three branches: the executive, legislative and the judicial. The seat of government of Sierra Leone is in the capital Freetown. The Economist Intelligence Unit rated Sierra Leone a hybrid regime in 2019. In the Administrative divisions of Sierra Leone, Sierra Leone is divided into provinces, districts, and chiefdoms. Sierra Leone has 3 rural provinces, plus a capital city administrative province. There are then 14 districts - 12 rural, 2 for the capital Freetown. Sierra Leone is further divided into 149 chiefdoms. The chiefdoms are hereditary, tribal units of local governance. The World Bank sponsored the creation of elected local councils in 2004. This country has been undergoing through a democratization process as seen below, list and Elections in Sierra Leone.

²⁹ K B C. Onwubiko, (1985) *History of West Africa 1800-Present Day...* pp, 345-346.

³⁰ Fonge Henry, (2005), *Africa Yesterday and Today...*pp, 226-227.

³¹ Ibid, p.228.

Table 1: Presidential elections, 2018 Sierra Leonean general election

Candidate	Party	First round		Second round	
		Votes	%	Votes	%
Julius Maada Bio	Sierra Leone People's Party	1,097,482	43.3	1,319,406	51.8
Samura Kamara	All People's Congress	1,082,748	42.7	1,227,171	48.2
Kandeh Yumkella	National Grand Coalition	174,014	6.9		
Samuel Sam-Sumana	Coalition for Change	87,720	3.5		
Mohamed Kamaraimba Mansaray	Alliance Democratic Party	26,704	1.1		
Gbandi Jemba Ngobeh	Revolutionary United Front	12,827	0.5		
Musa Tarawally	Citizens Democratic Party	11,493	0.5		
Charles Francis Margai	People's Movement for Democratic Change	9,864	0.4		
Mohamed Charnoh Bah	National Democratic Alliance	8,344	0.3		
Mohamed Sowa-Turay	United Democratic Movement	5,695	0.2		
Patrick John O'Dwyer	National Progressive Democrats	4,239	0.2		
Kandeh Baba Conteh	Peace and Liberation Party	4,233	0.2		
Femi Claudius Cole	Unity Party	3,825	0.2		
Saa Henry Kabuta	United National People's Party	3,061	0.1		
Beresford Victor Williams	Republic National Independence Party	2,555	0.1		
Jonathan Patrick Sandy	National Unity and Reconciliation Party	2,318	0.1		
Invalid/blank votes		139,427	–	31,694	–
Total		2,676,549	100	2,578,271	100
Registered voters/turnout		3,178,663	84.2	3,178,663	81.1

Source: NECSL, NECSL

Table 2: Parliamentary elections 2018 Sierra Leonean general election (party and Seats)

Party	Votes	%	Seats	+/-
Sierra Leone People's Party			49	
All People's Congress			68	
Coalition for Change			8	
Alliance Democratic Party				
Citizens Democratic Party				
National Democratic Alliance				
National Grand Coalition			4	
National Progressive Democrats				
National Unity and Reconciliation Party				
Peace and Liberation Party				
People's Democratic Party				
People's Movement for Democratic Change				
Republic National Independence Party				
Revolutionary United Front				
United Democratic Movement				
United National People's Party				
Unity Party				
Independents			3	
Elected Chiefs	–	–	14	0
Invalid/blank votes		–	–	–
Total			146	+14
Registered voters/turnout			–	–

Source: NEC and Encyclopaedia Wikipedia

According to the above table this are some samples of Political parties and Presidential elections carried out in 2018 on Sierra Leonean general election. The presidential election had presentative to about 16 candidates in which all candidates were present and voted for by the voters. In the first and second round, Julius Maada Bio won with far reaching votes of, 1,097,482, with a percentage of 43.3 in the first round, Votes in the second round was, 1,319, 406, and percentage, 51.8. While the second candidate score second position with the following statistics of votes and percentage: votes, 1,082,748, percentage: 42.7 for the first round. In the second-round votes count was 1,227,171 and the percentage was 48.2 thus giving a lead to Julius Maada Bio hence the president of Sierra Leon. It should be noted that according to the table Jonathan Patrick Sandy, scored 2,318 votes with percentage 0.1 thus featuring last in the list

with no vote and no percentage in the second round. The second table as seen above gives a detail analysis of the party, votes, percentage and seats in the parliamentary election which Sierra Leone Peoples Party won and own 49 seats and the, All Peoples Congress came up with the majority seats of 68 and the Coalition for Change scored 8, National Grand Coalition 4, Independents 3, Elected Chiefs 14 and 0 percent. The Democratic Process is well institutionalised and as credited and supported by World Bank aids to Sierra Leoneans.

3.2.4 Morocco

As national movement sprang up in Morocco when the European power with which Morocco did transaction were mostly under French protectorate, which the treaty of fez, on 30th march 1912 establish Morocco as a French protectorate.

All was entrusted into the hands of France, all return national defense, foreign affair, economic and financial affairs. Morocco maintained a continuity of resistance. Extensive colonization of Morocco came late with the pacification of the country was not achieved until 1930s.³² The first overtly nationalist party was created in 1934 with name, "comité d'action Marocaine" which was peaceful in her duties, but had failures in her returns. In 1937 no possibilities to listened to the committee due to the point that, the existed no political organization geared toward the nationalist movement idealism, until the creation of the Istiqlal (independence) party in 1943. The party demanded for full freedom for Morocco under Sultan Muhammad Ben Yussuf known as Muhamad V with a constitutional form of government and supported the nationalist movement after 1947. Two additional party were formed which were the democratic independence party (PDI) that stemmed from the Istiqlal and the communist party that had little support. The French governor was rejected in 1951 by the Moroccan sultan, due to his Centre for independence of Morocco. In 1953, Mohammed V was exiled and replaced by a weaker relative, by name Arafat but the sultan became more popular than ever before.³³

The sultan returned in 1954 which marked colonial rule in November 1954 under serious violence. Independence of Morocco was granted in 1956. Political parties was the address for the new government. The king sultan ruled with support from the trained royal Moroccan army and youths, hence King Mohammed V ruled with heterogeneous unity. In 1959, Prime Minister Abdallah Ibrahim with the youths formed a new-left wing party called the national union popular forces (UNFP). This party advocated for a new democratic constitution type monarchial and a sound social and economic changes with pure and fair election. But to the greatest dismayed, the king adopted or drifted toward head of state in Absence. In 1957 Hassan was officially designated the Crown prince hence the principle of succession became political issues from father to eldest son. In 1962 it was included in the constitution and the opposition was surprised; as he dismissed Abdallah Ibrahim and his cabinet of predominantly (UNFP) ministers but made him a prime minister to the crown prince as his deputy. Hassan was given all effective and executive powers. He set and continues monarchial power in partisan politics. In 1961 king Mohammed died and Hassan II took over in March 3. With a French educational background with law degree, He presented a new constitution in 1962 with guaranteed political freedom hence constitutional monarchy. In May 1963 he encouraged the formation of, as he drew inspiration from De Gaule Fifth French Republic. The front for the defense of constitutional institution (FDIC) and the conservative Berber party, the popular movement all loyal to him. The king Hassan party FDIC splintered from 1962-1965 with lowering political stands. The leader of UNFP Ben Barka was killed in Paris due to riot and much riots and turbulence as many Politicians were assassinated. The political movement was not smooth from 1965 to 1970s. From 1972 to 1980s conflict continued between the monarchy and the opposition, by 1979 the regime staking

rising and democracy began in good fobbing. All was loyal and the independent party Istiqlal, the army and air force increase loyalty to the regime, this boasted economic and social development to really 70% which the agricultural sector contributed 30%. From 1973 over 400.000 hectares of land was redistributed to farmers, (Henry: Sept 2005, 329-331).³⁴ The industry progressed in the 1970 and 1980 thus bringing a way for democratization in the political organization to participate in life of the country. By freeing political prisoners, change of the Makhzen; freedom of press and civil society, replacing the interior minister and regular elections free and fair like that of 2011, which allow the Islamist party (PJD) to form a coalition. From 1990 to 1996 human right was revised and improved. From 1996 to 1999 much political opening was realized which at first it was stasis.³⁵

The Golf war affected politics in Morocco as there was unrest in the major cities on 14 December 1990. In May 2003 to 2007 king Mohammad VI carried out reforms intensively, after an official dialogue in 2001. In August 2007 much implication was head as military attempts to the life of the Monarch. Women were given or reserved about 30 seats in the parliament, during the 2002 elections under the democratic Association of the women of Morocco (ADF). On march 9, 2011, the king appointed an Ad Hoc commission to draft proposals for constitutional reforms, young graduate were given jobs and political freedom and liberty was given.³⁶ Consultation was done with the political parties, pressure groups, labour unions, business associations, human right groups and others. With this the Western Sahara disputed for, and its resolution. The PJD, the justice and charity organization (JCO) recognized the king as the commander of the faithful. In the political maneuvers, he gained the name Al Jawal, hence he enforced more democratic Morocco as he gives the poor their needs and open doors for wider political participation. It should be noted that in shaping political development alongside connections between the monarch and Moroccans elites, Saloua Zerhouni explained that the monarchy became the main component comprising of the political system and the Centre around which all political actors resolve. Therefore, as the history with culture prevailed political issues circulated and is circulating around the political parties and king as head. This per say has a potential matching, mismatching attitude of democracy and Islam which has attracted scholars said; Morocco is non-qualified to be considered democratic one.³⁷

³⁴ Fonge Henry, (2005), Africa yesterday and today... p 329-331.

³⁵ Ghazali Bello Abubakar « Morocco and Transition to democracy. The Enduring struggle" In *History Research*, Vol.7, no.2, 2019 pp.58-59.

³⁶ « The 1999 marked the year when the throne of a Moroccan palace passed to Muhammad VI through the means of inheritance after his 70 years old father passed away. During his Administration and become a staunch ally of the figure in the gulf war, by mobilizing troops as part of Morocco's coalition against Saddam Husseins's invasion of Kuwait. Whereupon succeeding his father king Muhammad VI continue..., process of democratization in Morocco with attentive consideration...". p.61.

³⁷ Ibid.p,63

³² Fonge Henry, (2005) Africa yesterday and today...p 329-331

³³ Fonge Henry, (2005) Africa yesterday and today... p 329-331.

3.2.5 Tunisia

Tunisia remained relatively immune or loyal to be French colonial practices; which traditional social and political institution strength were directed towards French ideologies. The internal and external affairs to, could not be left out. This could be determined in the treaties of Bardo, May 12, 1881 and that of la Marse. They adopted a destitution similar to experience of Algeria and the Moslem population. But with the passing of time the French penetration into Tunisia was limited as compared to Morocco and Algeria, as same in the military domain. In 1920, a new party named, the liberal constitutional party was organized known as the "Destour".³⁸ In 1934 another party known as the neo-detour was formed geared toward nationalism. The party was under auspices of French educated lawyer of 31-year-old Habib Bourguiba, never an idealist or doctrinaire. Due to French much influence in Algeria and elsewhere, he knew well the French could not be forced out through violence as such he succumbed. Instead he adopted cooperation with the French in granting independence by stages. He knew at one level French skills with Algeria will one day be helpful. He modernized Islam hence refusal to be a fanatic was achieved. It was only in 1954 that actions from the Nationalist was head, which silenced French hopes and troops. Pierre Mendes as French premiere gave French autonomy fully to Tunisia in June 1955 and her independence declaration came later on 20th March 1956.³⁹ Under Habib Bourguiba's politics in Tunisia, with his charismatic personality, he dominated politics, hence the political supremacy of the Destourian socialist party (PSD). He gave national unity and political stability. Saleh Ben Youssef, secretary General of the party wanted immediate and fast independence on pan Arabism which later flee to Libya and was murdered in Frankfurt, Germany in 1961. Bourguiba restored political tranquility. After the election of 1969. In the 1970s set the government in liberalism endorsed by the national assembly. In 1970s and 1980s, he witnessed the rise of liberal spirit in politics and 7% rise in financial and economic aspects.⁴⁰ Tunisia experience a flexible political calmness for a long period of time. But crisis entered Tunisia as the youths were unable to have jobs after having got or obtain their diplomas or certificates. Actually, worst Tunisia had the original crisis in 2010, Tunisia fell into the hands or wings of revolution. A young or youths could not have job and decided and put himself on flames that sprang up a national riot. It triggered on which the Arab world could not stay dormant hence turmoil spread the entire North Africa. This make way for the Tunisian leader Ben Ali a fugitive, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak was forced to resign, and the Libyan revolutionary leader Muammar Gaddafi death fate surfaced that stem as a result of cultural ideological history influences. This bring us to the successes and failures of Political parties in sub-Saharan Africa.⁴¹

³⁸ Detour is Arabic word for constitution it founder was Al-Thaalibi.

³⁹ Fonge Henry, (2005), *Africa Yesterday and Today...* pp, 331-332

⁴⁰ Ibid, p.333.

⁴¹ Amsalu K, Addis Zuping Zhu, "The political Situation Trends and Geopolitical Implications of Sub-Saharan and North African Countries: Comparative study," In *Open Journal of Political Science* 2018,

4. Successes and Failures of political parties' formation in Sub-Saharan Africa

4.1 Successes

Any institutional legacy has a possible bearing to some extent on the formal and legal characteristics of institutions, will at least shape the system in a certain and a particular dimension here noted above in the aforementioned historical presentation of creation of some political parties in Africa. Also, party politics brought multi-parties in Africa. Moreso, party politics brought multi-parties, hence democracy, which the parliament becomes the people majority and minority representative assemblies. Parliament like in Great Britain, the Westminster model, the parliament can give a vote of no confidence to the president and ruling government. This has been a well coerced model for good governance thus the matter of leadership malpractices becomes a precautionary motive of avoidance so as to have a long stay to power. The independent struggle through nationalism, from traditionalism geared toward political party formation has led to multiparty, which later gained grounds through free and fair elections which the masses voices are heard. For example, the cautiousness of multipartism has good records in the neopatrimonialism patterns on real policy alternatives and perform certain functions necessary which is at this time at least sufficient on average demonstration of the maturity that embedded good ideas of some African leaders' inculcated for correction of past event in sub-Saharan territory.⁴²

Though there is no pure democracy as sub-Saharan countries are made known by their difficulties, it was with this process that most went through and obtained their independence, thus it takes time, but also that this time consuming, institutional step-by-step process can be rewarding.⁴³ The democratic elected, Nelson Mandela of South Africa with his party (ANC) Africa National Congress became effective with good political vision that led him to the presidency, likewise from Sedar Senghor in 1974. Till then, ONEL (l'observatoire national des elections du Senegal), it institutionalisation organization, and functions of this institutions, but once they were established there was no way back but only forward, no chance for ancient regimes modality of delayance. In Senegal, President Abdou Diouf was elected in 1983 and re-elected in 1988 and 1993, which in the three multi-candidate and increasing free elections, which practical feelings of democratic principles flows until he had to step down in 2000 without-coercion, pressure, trial like in the situation of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya respectively.

It is glaringly clear now that the formation or creation of political parties is to advocate for or has a tendency for power struggle and also placed in the core hypothesis of modernization theory in all domains such as economic development for political democratization, is found to be economic growth which that of Senegal falls under the auspices, course largely unrelated to economic cycles. That of Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Kenya, Gambia went on the footing of quantitative and qualitative hence economic

(<http://www.scrip.org/journal/oips>)

(<http://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2018.82009>)

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Inge Amundsen, (2001) "The limits of Clientism: Multi-party Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *forum for development studies*, N° 1-200 Volume June, pp. 50-51.

and political viabilities portrayed the power occupation of political parties not only politics in its entirety; that make a difference in the entire show or political forums.⁴⁴

The historical culture of Institutionalization and consolidation of political parties was geared towards populism or populist system. This could be viewed from the stand point of arithmetic democracy which does at time may and may not yield fruits or benefits. A well institutionalized democracy is liable to substance because of its legal qualities. The judiciary, securities organs, parliament, senator and other like the civil society played glaring role in the success consolidation of multipartism.⁴⁵ The element of political stability that consolidation includes institutionalization which the authoritarianism passed through an expressed and efficient civil control of the military forces and via other services with pure motives not instead of violent dissident and intensified conflict, will preferred moderation, accommodation and restrained partisanship. We could find out such circumstances here like the case or situation in Nigeria and Ghana. Where the army played active part to reduce violent as political history culture and later democracy is returned. The monarchical styled ends with the king, could be looked upon as lack of qualify political personalities with enough sufficient skill to assume power and governed. If the president, government ruling party and top military officials are removed and replaced within months. The “tabula rasa” revolutionary and “salami tactics” are identified. All this has brought and served as eye-opener to the sub-Saharan countries hence find out successes in the creation importance of politics in sub-Saharan countries.⁴⁶

4.2 Failures

A well noted common factor had and is lowering political parties’ philosophy. Africa is the possibilities of local turbulences. This is highly felt in sub-Saharan regions countries. This often reduced the evolutionary pace for democracy. It is marked with tension, conflict, turmoil which were alarming hence a source of instability to sub-Saharan Africa countries and even other parts or areas in the continent. The degree also depends in each country. We see the case of the political, economic and social problems in north Africa, this has been some of the big malice hindering political development not to talk of its evolutions. Most countries in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are suffering from poverty, financial crisis, economic inequality, population growth, difficult attaining economic globalization which has

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 351-352 (this case has given grows for bourgeoisies, to have strength to oust the government in some countries).

⁴⁵ Dimitris K. Kioukias, *Governing: A philosophical Historical Account for Some Modern Deficits of Public Administrations (public policies)*, In *History Research ...* pp.75-79.

⁴⁶ « tabula rasa » refers to removed and replaced with months a situation that requires a relatively wholesale restructuring of politics. “Revolutionary” a situation where the regime experienced a transition in time and extent “shift”. Like the case of Tunisia and Libya. “salami tactics” refers to a democratic process where one slices a time until the system has changed without any water shed event, can be identified as point of transitions.

been transferred to life disappointment, will into political anger.⁴⁷

Civil wars have been a fragility of political parties in sub-Saharan Africa. Examples of such countries are, Uganda, Sudan, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Liberia, Somalia; Eritrea, Nigeria which lasted within a long period. Furthermore, some crisis like that of Ivory Coast known as election crisis that led to chaos. The Sudan (south) referendum on the separation from the republic of Sudan. Border demarcation crisis, nationality ownership, security issues as well as oil income distribution hence the Ethiopian 2005 election, South Sudan, Sudan cracked down the press, opposition party, democratic challenges and their election crisis are all formula to failures and difficulties faced by political parties in SSA countries.⁴⁸

The issue of searching for hegemony as seen in the West–East conflict and traditional nationalistic ideologies has brought violence’s in political parties’ maneuvers. Some government in the North like the Mehkrebria Islam worship could not be left out. South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Congo, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Algeria, Cameroon, Madagascar, Mozambique were faced with capitalist and communist ideologies. This help to crackdown the political parties in SSA countries on communist lined, (Addis, and. Zhu: 2008, p.112) ^[1]. The RDC (Rassemblement Democratique Africaine) of 1946, the UGCC (united gold coast convention), the NCNC (national council for Nigeria citizens), AG (action group), the NPC (northern people Congress in Nigeria), the SLPP (Sierra Leones Peoples Party), the UP and PPP (United Party and the Peoples Progressive Party) in Gambia. The BDS (Bloc Democratique Senegalais) 1948, the CPP (Conventional Peoples Party), the PDC (The Democratic Party of Cote D’ivoire), the SAA (Syndicat Agricole Africaine) 1944. The ANC (African National Congress), the AAPC (All African People’s Conference) in Accra 1958 of Lumumba. The MNC (Movement National Independance) of Dr. Kaunda in Zambia and the Zambia African national congress, the KCA (kikuyu central association) 1924. The TAA (Tanganyika African Association) the TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) the SWAP (South West African People Organization) Namibia. The UNITA of Jonas Savimbi, the FNLA of Holden Roberto, the MPLA of Nato.⁴⁹

5. Conclusion

Aims or Objectives, Reasons for the Creation of Political Parties in Sub-Saharan Africa, The Influential force (Members) and the Evolutionary Development of Political Parties in Sub-Saharan Countries, Successes and Failures of political parties’ formation in Sub-Saharan Africa are the focal points brought out to demarcates political history in Sub Saharan Cultures. Egypt, Ivory Coast, Rwanda, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Ethiopia, South Africa, Cape Vert, Mozambique, Liberia, Mali, Upper Volta, Sao Tome, Principe Bioko, Congo and others constituted some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa that experienced political party development in Africa. The

⁴⁷ AK. Addis, Z.P. Zhu, (2008), ‘‘Political Situation, Trends and Geopolitical Implications of Sub-Saharan and North African Countries: Comparative Study...’’ p.112.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p 112.

⁴⁹ All these parties belong in one or the others; capitalism, communism or nationalism.

political history cultural content flows from, and due to the peoples' cultures found in Sub Saharan Africa Countries but there can be modalities since civilization philosophy of political history culture keeps flowing and evolutionary solution struggle is practical. Therefore, how can this political history cultures be amalgamated and revamp in order to bring peace and order, silence war and upheavals in the years ahead?

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