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Malian Historical Experiences: Pre-colonial to Independence

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Abstract: This paper looks at a brief Malian historical experience from pre-colonial period to independence. In late eighteenth century, the French had captured the whole territory and socio-political power of the West African nations. Thereafter, overpowering the indigenous structures of administration, the French introduced a French model of administrations. Despite the constitution being framed during the movement for independence, it must be noted that the spirits of constitutionalism was evident amongst the Malian movements prior to independence. This is to say that the seed of present political system and constitution were sown during the colonial era. Evidently, this is demonstrated by various constitutional experiments made by the French over many years during French West Africa administration.

Keywords: Malian independence, pre-colonial, Africa, colonial, national movement.

Introduction

The present condition of Mali was fabricated with a long history. The existing political system of Mali was established after contestation of several progressive national movements that were simultaneously countered by traditional local power centres. This means that the process was slow and it fluctuated in the context of various interest groups. Pre-colonial period of West Africa had different political structure from the present political system. The structure of politics can be discussed briefly such as the tribal politics and the colonial system within the nationalist period in African history. In Malian context, there were early political institutions which were dominated by tribal practices. However, after the French had come to power in the region, the indigenous administrative structures were replaced completely and it was geared towards the needs and interest of the colonising power. Therefore the political life of Mali was controlled and directed as per the French constitutions.

Pre-colonial Period

Many local empires had ruled in West Africa region. However, these local power structures were forced to retreat because of the arrival of the western powers in the region. External colonial powers almost seamlessly occupied the whole of West African region and took full control of the socio-economic and political structures and control over how the natural resources were to be managed. The Bambara, Dogon, Fulani, Bobo, Bozo, and Tuareg etc. are the prominent ethnic groups in Mali (Imperato 1989). According to history, they had settled down in different parts of Mali since time immemorial. Samory Toure Empire exercised power in the latter half of the nineteenth century by establishing a large but loosely knit state (Imperato 1989).

The Samory Toure Empire emerged during the nineteenth century from a large number of smaller groups in the area that is now southern Mali and adjacent areas of West Africa. His empire defended themselves against the incoming French. However, the need to protect constantly against outside military intervention both required and legitimated the growth of autocratic leadership. He was finally captured in northern Ivory Coast. Then he was sent to exile in Gabon, where he died in 1900 (Imperato 1989). After this

sad incident, his armies disbanded and his empire totally collapsed. Consequently, the empire was replaced by the colonial power.

Political system of Mali had no resemblance to democratic characters as it is understood in contemporary sense. In fact, it is one of the most rigidly stratified in West African nations. On top of this, the absence of internal contestation of power unlike other African nations within the ruling class where more astute chiefs had to seek public support made the Malian political system to retain the authoritarian state affairs. Nonetheless, a fairly developed system of law provided a basis for the agreement between rulers and ruled as to what was acceptable behaviour. These systems were practiced at the village level, and also in the very highly populated towns. This political system was however practically almost replaced by French political system. Therefore, the colonial legacy is one of the most important factors which determined the course of political and constitutional development in Mali.

Colonial Era

The French colonial occupation in Mali had started from late eighteenth century. The nature of the colonial rule was similar with other French African territories. The French colonial power introduced an entirely new framework of operation and a new political system in Mali (Foltz 1965). Their military forces entered the region through the western Atlantic coast and gradually subjugated the area that was to be integrated into the French African colonial territory (Schulz 2012). During the time of African scramble in 1880s, there was disintegration in the African region. Before the French came to West Africa, all the West African nations were independent until 1880s (Imperato 1989). After this period of year, the French had started to interfere in traditional socio-political institutions of West African countries. The external forces ruled over the people and controlled the indigenous political system. The prime objective of the French was to use Mali as a base to pursue further extension of their colonial territory and create a route to other African countries.

Nature of Colonial Policy

The nature of French colonial system had been different from others like that of Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, etc. The colonial policy of Great

Britain and France in West Africa has been widely different. In a very short period, the French colonial administration had expanded and introduced a new administration as per the French constitution. The rationale behind this was to engineer the African countries towards the needs of the metropolis rather than one which fostered integration and develop local capacities. Thus, the socio-economic and political structures were simulated in a skewed manner that fostered a relationship of dependency. Moreover, this hampered the prospects of augmenting local capacities thereby making it completely redundant. As a result, the colonial framework imposed the demands of capitalism on African social orders which had been strongly communalistic, inward-looking, and self-sufficient.

One of the visible impacts of early colonial powers in Africa is that the diverse colonial forces created a system of control through which they tied the continent to the rest of the globe making it a conduit through which the rest of the world could come to Africa. The arbitrary nature of existing boundaries of nation states in the African continent has affected the ability of newly created African nations to function in a cohesive manner. Modern states have been left with pockets of disparate ethnic and religious groupings with little or no cultural cohesiveness and little shared history save their common colonial experience (Bourgault 1995). The peculiarity of the colonial legacy had imposed upon post colonial state governments a monumental task of forging national consciousness and national identity among disparate ethnic groups of African people.

This legacy of haphazard arbitrary boundaries left the new African nation-states with lots of internal conflicts based on ethnic lines. The arbitrary nature of colonial policy is evident in the general administration for the establishment of resident magistrates then operative in the Cape Colony. The general law declared had stipulated that the French law of Cape Colony would become the common law of the territory; it was the beginning for establishment of legal system and legal duality over the Malians. All these indirectly impacted the idea of constitutional process as well as development of legal norms in Mali. The basic lesson learnt by the Malian through this being that political system, societies of the nation, is organised through a body of law. Therefore, the colonial administration in a way triggered the initiation of constitutional and legal development.

Nationalism and Political Development

The political development of a nation is the reflection of society itself in terms of its history, social structure, history, cultural heritage and political power struggles. Ideally, constitutional making and political development should stem out of social consensus. However, it could even be an imposition by the elite groups as is the case many countries (Foltz 1965). After the French invasion on West Africa, the French constitutional rule had imposed a top down administration structure. The West African nations came under direct rule bound by the French constitution. The political and administrative system imposed by the French could be viewed as the primary determinant of organisation of the political power in French West Africa (Foltz 1965). During this period of French colonial rule, the French West Africa underwent through the successive stages of remarkable political revolutions. So the genesis of Malian constitution could be traced as a gradual process that took shape within the French West Africa colonial system. It must be noted here that though the colonial administration was an imposition in all sense the administration and legal system also at the same time made use of the then existing Malian traditional political institutions.

On 18 October 1904, French West Africa was created as a federation of France's West African colonies which underwent boundary and administrative modifications (Imperato 1989, 49). The new arrangement and further slight modifications remained so until 1960s. However by 1950s after the Second World War, motivated by national movements the colonies steadfastly resisted the French domination and their relationship became more confrontational in nature. On the other hand, the resolutions adopted at a conference of free French official early in 1944, at Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa altered the relation with the colonies in radical ways in favour of the colonies. Through the Constitution of the fourth French republic 1946 and constitution of the fifth French republic 1958, the colonies were finally given their independence (Foltz 1965). In order to have a more concrete understanding of the constitutional and political process from colonial period to post independent in Mali, it is prudent to analyse all the significant historical events in context of its nationalism and ideological caveats.

As mentioned earlier, the predominance of French colonial administrative structure in French West Africa had its own influence on the development of constitution in the region. In fact, the whole process of social and political changes was grinded out through a tussle between the colonial power and aspirations of indigenous West African people. Consequently, in due course nationalism became the ideological linchpin to organise this aspirations in a concerted manner. Therefore, political and constitutional development in Mali was directly related to the progress made by the nationalist movements. So in real sense, the constitutional development of Mali began with the French invasion in West Africa. Therefore the genesis of political and constitutional development could be traced back to the formation of Federation of Afrique Occidentale Fanchaise (French West Africa) on 18 October 1904, administered from Dakar, Senegal (Imperato 1989; Adloff 1964).

Growth of Nationalism

Anti French resistance movements grew in every nook and corner of West Africa in early twentieth century. The resistance to French colonial rule started especially during the first two decades. In 1908, the Dogon ambush killed a French administrator and his arm escort near Dalla on the Bandiagara plateau (Imperato 1989). This event of direct armed resistance was however tamed soon by using force. This event nonetheless indicated the growing discontent against the French colonial rule and helped in further cementing the main inspirations for rising against the French. The idea to demand a sovereign nation state among these colonised nations was less visible in earlier periods. One prime reason for this being the socio-economic weakness as main economic resources were controlled by the colonial master and the whole administration totally controlled them. To cite one more such event is the uprising in 1914, the Oulleminden Tureg, under their chief, Firhoun Ag El Insar, revolted in the eastern part of the country (Imperato 1989). Many more similar resistances occurred around the territories, specially led by the village chiefs in central and western parts of the nation.

Led by the elite group, voluntary organisations were formed in order to channelise the movements. The *Union Soudanais* (US) was formed in 1930 (Imperato 1989). This organisation played a crucial role in context of

progress and development of Malian nationalism. Another such organisation was the *Union Soudanaise Rassemblement Democratique African* (US-RDA), a political party which was formed during the 1930s. Besides these, there were a number of voluntary organisations which became operational during this time mainly organised on grounds of social and cultural activism.

Due to strict control by the French, the development of popular front from the 1936 to 1939 was almost negligible. The Vichy government employed suppressive measures to curb the activities of voluntary associations. As a result, the Malian elite became conscious on how to further take the movement against the French. In 1943, *the Groupes d'Etudes Communistes* (GEC) was formed in several West African cities, including Bamako (Imperato 1996), generally influenced by Marxism. They discussed about the African problems.

All these mentioned events later played a crucial role in the birth of political parties in the colonies. All in all, the idea of nationalism expanded among the elite groups as well as the masses. These events gradually pressurised and challenged the colonial political administrative system and thereby paved the way for political and constitutional development in Mali. Therefore the constitution of Mali was direct by-product of lopsided French colonial system. Given this broad context of the growth of resistance movement and its ideological moorings, discussed below are the some of the specific events which led to concrete development in political and constitutional development in Mali.

Birth of Organisations

The *Union Soudanaise* (US), *Union Soudanaise Rassemblement Democratique African* (US-RDA) was formed to take the movement forward. These organisations are one of the crucial parts for Malian nationalist movement. As mentioned earlier, other voluntary organisations were also formed channelising the popular discontent amongst the mass. The social and cultural grouping used the elite's campaign extensively as a medium of mobilisation to push forward the goal of independence.

In the year 1937, Mali witnessed the birth of trade union in French Sudan (Imperato 1989, 52). The formation of the trade union was mainly

aimed to create channels for communication with each other with regard to demands for workers rights and on issue related to low wages. Even though the formation of the trade union was related to issues specific to labour rights this had wider significance in terms of growing movement against the French colonial master. Similarly, a teachers' union founded by Mamodou Konate and his associates known as the Association des Anciens Eleves du Lycee Terrasson de Fourgeres, the alumni association of the Sudan's secondary school (Imperato 1989) was formed.

One of the principal movers of this movement was Mamby Sidibe (1891-1977), a school teacher, administrator, and writer who founded the 'association des letters', which brought the educated elite of the colony together, including men such as Mamadou Konate and Modibo Keita who were to play important roles in Mali's political development (Imperato 1989). The French did not impose any restriction to such organisations; on the contrary, they even encouraged people to join a common grouping called the Maison du people (People's House) and to use a meeting house of the same name. The prime reason for the relaxation by the French was simply because these groupings were not overtly against the interest of the French.

However, eventually these civilian groups subtly spread the idea of struggle for political power and appealed to the masses. This was a deliberate strategy the Malian elites used to mobilise people so as to take the nationalist movement forward. The main goal of this was to awaken the passive mass and convert them to an assertive civil society. Subsequently, all these efforts aimed at creating a distinctive political space where the civilian groups could express their aspirations and thereby strengthen the anti-colonial current. On the eve of independence, many African nationalist movements turn up to announce themselves as political parties.

Movement toward Independence

The constitutional movement of Mali began with the agitations of the whole political nationalist movements and civil organisations. However, the nationalist movements were weak in the beginning but it slowly gained strength and gave a much needed impetus to the movement against the foreigners. Gradually, nationalist groupings and civil society organisations among the Malian elite and local people steadily moved towards political

maturity. As a result of persistent agitations, the social relations between French and African colonies had to be altered in many fundamental respects. Due to these demands and agitations, the French colonial power changed their rigid stance on the matter and provided room for negotiation, for instance, the Brazzaville conference held in 1944.

The French West African colonies underwent difficult times because of suppression by the colonial master. In the 1941, the Hamallist, members of a Tijani Moslem sect whose leader, shyakh Mohammed al Tishiti Hamalla, live at Nioro du Sahel killed 6 Europeans in the main hotel in Bobo-Dioulasso (now Burkina Faso) (Imperato 1989, 50). In 1943, there was severe conflict between the Hamallist and Tijani Moslems in which 400 people were killed, mostly women and children. Some 700 Hamalilists were arrested; 33 members of the Hamallist were given death sentence. Himallah was deported to Algeria and died in the same year (Imperato 1989, 50-51). All these events happened during the time when the nationalist movements were dominated by extremist groups. From this event on, the nationalist movement continued to grow and served as a vehicle for expressing oppositions to colonial rule. However, after the death of Himallah, the resistance took less violent forms. Prominent among these was the 1947 strike of 5000 railway workers in French West Africa where the labour movement in Bomako played an important role (Imperato 1989, 51). In order to thwart the growth of this anti colonial organisation the French transferred Mamby Sidibe out of Bamako to Bandiagara.

The elite organisations continued to organise and mobilise anti colonial forces in Mali through organisations such as Amicle Sportive de Bamako, Society-Sportive Soundanaise, Art et Travail, and les Flamboyants (Imperato 1989, 51). The member of the educated African elite often belonged to several associations which generally engaged itself on cultural and social customs related activities. The fluid nature of multiple memberships and its overt purpose not being anti colonial, the French did not seriously view them as detrimental to their interest. With this advantage, these associations served to bring most of the elite from the diverse ethnic background into the regular meetings so as to communicate with each other views on how to take the movement forward. As a result divergent streams of nationalist movements came to recognise the commonality of purpose. Consequently, it helped in laying a strong

foundation for freedom movement that eventually brought about the independence of Mali (Imperato 1996). It must be noted here that interestingly some amongst the French communities had also encouraged forming of these organisation.

The Foyer du Soudan, an outgrowth of the association des letters was formed; it became a union of voluntary associations in Bamako. These voluntary associations further served as a cause for the birth of political parties. The drive for the formation of political parties came in 1945, when Africans were able to participate in elections for the first constituent assembly of fourth republic (Imperato 1989). Indicating widespread political awareness candidates without formal political party affiliation and support also contested the October election. In other words, the election brought forth the idea of political participation and underlined the importance of organised political parties among the African people. Among political parties, the short-lived Parti Democratique Soudanais (PDS), founded by two French communists in 1945, supported Modibo Keita in the runoff election. The same year saw the development of Bloc Soudanais, a political party founded by Mamadou Konate and Modibo Keita after Fily Dabo Sissoko's election (Imperato 1996).

The Rise of Modibo Keita

Modibo Keita was one of the popular leaders during the period of freedom struggle and significantly contributed in the movement of independence. His contribution was significant in view of the chaotic nature of the nationalist movement itself and also the colonial administration created its own structural hurdles amongst different countries of the French West African countries. However, Modibo Keita was a charismatic political leader and he emerged as one of the most popular nationalists during 1950s (Imperato 1989). His main contribution was in the development of political parties in Mali (Snyder 1967). Unlike other West African colonies, Mali was relatively free from divisions based on ethnic lines (Wing 2008). This attribute could be considered as one factor which helped in uniting various nationalist movements in Mali.

Though only a member of the Party National Political Bureau (B.P.N.), which to a great extent rules collectively, Modibo Keita was indeed a *prima inter pares* in the body (Snyder 1967). His contributions to anti

colonial movement were not only confined to Mali but also to the whole of West Africa. Modibo Keita was one of the most radical amongst the leaders of nationalist movements. Initially, he was a minor player in the broad spectrum of nationalist movements and competed with the likes of Fily Dabo Sissoko and Momodou Konate. The death of Momodou Konate created a void in the nationalist movement and this was aptly filled by Modibo Keita. He led the US-RDA and in due course of time his popularity grew tremendously (Snyder 1967). By 1958, Modibo Keita was the territory's leading political leader, appealing to all sections of the Malian and all its ethnic groups. He advocated militant stance against colonialism and promised of better things to come with independence (Imperato 1989).

According to Francis G. Snyder the most worthwhile contribution in the context of nationalist movement was in his efforts in uniting the Malians and spreading the notion of nationhood amongst the Malians (Snyder 1967). Any popular movement which involves collective mobilisation is not a straight forward process. In other words, besides the premise of shared interest additional factors such as agency in general is crucial in determining the success and failure of the movement. In this regard, Modibo Keita could be considered as someone who had recognised this practical concern of nationalist movement.

He viewed history as a revolutionary process composed of states. He believed that at certain stages there is a need of progressive action and it could entail periods of hardship (Snyder 1967). It is clear that his ideological framework was not narrowly confined to the situation in Mali but was rather based on broad understanding of world politics. Domestically, because of this broad ideological underpinnings and inclusive nature of the party, his political party emerged as one of the forerunners in the nationalist movement in Mali. According to Modibo Keita the value of people does not lie in ethnicity but it is in loyalty to principle, and international morality as well as ideology and objectives (Imperato 1989; Snyder 1967).

The Brazzaville Conference of 1944

Prudently, the French colonial power reformed their policy with the need of the time and specific situations in the colonies. Keeping in view of the growing resistance in the colonies, the Brazzaville conference

(November, December 1944) was convened by General Charles de Gaulle. In Brazzaville conference series of meeting and discussions were held by the influential free French politician including the high ranking colonial officials. The outcome of the conference committed France to sweeping colonial reforms in all its colonies but avoided the issue of independence (Imperato 1989). This conference had adopted various resolutions; among them there was a favour of partial decentralisation of West African administration, and it nevertheless advocated the continuance of some form of federal organisation that would preserve unity (Adloff 1964).

In political sense, the Brazzaville conference and its resolutions were conservative as it ruled out the possibility of independence in near future. However, proposals concerning social and economic questions were much more forward-looking. It legislated primarily in the early months of 1946; it blazed the trail for a number of striking changes in post war period, which profoundly altered life in French West Africa (Adloff 1964). Therefore, it could be viewed that the French administration's policy, even though was solely driven by the rationale of protecting colonial interest, was at the same time not completely opposed to all aspirations of local African people.

Indicating the continued progression of formalisation of political parties and its recognition in 1946, significant political divisions in the French Sudan became apparent with the development of the *Parti Progressite Soundanais* (PPS) by Fily Dabo Sissoko's supporters. The Union Soudanaise became affiliated with the Rassemblement Democratique African (RDA), an international political party established at Bamako Congress in October 1946 which was led by Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast (Imperato 1989, 53). This ever persistent growth of political parties was recognised by the French colonial administration (Vengroff 1993). For instance, during 1946-1955 the RDA was affiliated with the French communist party. Fourth French Republic, 1946 constitution promulgated after World War II in October 1946 provided window for changes in the overseas territories (Imperato 1996, 67).

Reforms: *Loi Cadre* & Others

The decade before the independence was a crucial period in the nationalist movement in Mali as significant legal development was passed

in the French parliament. The first reforms were passed in the parliament of 1955. It created twenty-six *communes de plein* to handle the governmental policies in French West Africa. This was followed by one of the most important reform, the '*loi cadre*' of 1956 represented by Gaston Defferre, the Minister of Overseas France in the predominantly socialist government of Guy Mollet (Fuglestad 1983). It called for enormous reforms in the colonial administration of French West Africa. According to W.A.E. Skurnik,

Two important sets of measures were taken in the territories, firstly, to enlarge the scope of the authority of the territorial assemblies. A firmer basis for elected representatives was provided by the introduction of universal suffrage and of the single college for all elections. To assuage the African leaders' thirst for more responsibility, a number of public service (a fund to operate them) was transferred from the republic and federation to the territories. Additional civil services reforms enable more Africans to be recruited. The territorial assemblies, in short, were empowered to regulate nearly every aspects of domestic social economic and cultural life. (Skurnik 1967, 327)

Taking effect in 1957, the *loi cadre* greatly increased the powers of elected territorial assemblies from the French West Africa (Imperato 1989, 54)). The *loi cadre* accelerated the process of devolution of power by granting internal autonomy to the territories of the West Africa. This law permitted territorial assemblies to form their own cabinets with executive powers over affairs assigned to them. It provided a major step toward balkanisation, a direction that was furthered by the constitution of the Fifth French republic. This constitution superseded the *loi cadre* (Pascal James Imperato 1996).

The overseas territories show the beginnings of self government with the passage by the French parliament of the so called *loi-cadre* (framework law). It provided for universal adult suffrage in the African territories (Adloff 1964). The first election under the universal suffrage in French West Africa was the municipal elections in late 1956 (Wolters 1966). The

territorial assembly election of the eight colonies was held on 31 March 1957. The leaders of winning parties appointed to the newly instituted positions of Vice-President of governing council French colonial governor remained as presidents.

The constitution of the Fifth French republic was promulgated in 1958. This constitution is called “De Gaulle constitution”; it has two principal provisions concerning French West Africa (Imperato 1996, 67). According to Pascal,

“The constitution made provisions, however, for states to groups as they saw fit; under this provision, over a period close to two year, Sudan and Senegal tried to put together the Mali federation. In response to British plan to grant early independence to many of its African colonies, the constitution gave French West African voters the opportunity to vote for immediate independence for internal self-government within the French union” (Pascal James Imperato 1996: 67).

Disintegration of Mali Federation

The Mali federation is a political integration among the colonial countries of French West Africa, Senegal and French Sudanese (Foltz 1965). William J. Foltz argues that political interest, desire, and expectations of the political elites of French West Africa were critical in the formation of Mali federation. This federation was supported by the leaders Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Modibo Keita of Soudan (Imperato 1996, 160). The two countries under the rule of French, West Africa Senegal and French Sudanese (formerly known as French Sudan), formed Mali federation (Foltz 1965).

During the process of political integration of these countries, Modibo Keita and the people expected that it would improve the opportunity for development of constitution. An inter-territorial party was formed with Senghor as president and Keita as secretary general (Kurtz 1970). In the meantime, Malian leaders were pressing for independence from France in July 1959. General de Gaulle, on a visit to Dakar in December, stated that France would grant the request and that she would provide economic and

technical assistance. Within a short time, differences were evident between the leaders of two federating units. By the winter and spring of 1960, these differences took a serious turn and threatened the existence of the federation. For instance, there was disagreement over the power of the federal government, the distribution of offices and issues of Africanisation of the state service, relation with France, and the command of arm forces. Senghor harboured ambition of being elected president if Senegal's security were to be guaranteed. It became evident that the leaders of Soudan attempted to turn the Muslim leaders in Senegal against Senghor. Also Keita had tried to remove Mamadou Dia from his defence post. In view of all these developments Senegal decided to withdraw from the federation and held voting which upheld the agenda of independence (Kurtz 1970). This conflict between the leaders of Senegal and Soudan led to separate the territory.

Consequently, on 20 August 1960, the French had granted independence to the federation. Modibo Keita was placed under arrest. The next day, Senghor sent all the Soudan leaders in Dakar back to Bamako in a sealed train. After this event, Senegal political leaders formally declared her independence from Mali federation. A state of siege was declared throughout the Sudanese Republic, and it was in this highly charged atmosphere that the extraordinary congress of the US-RDA took place in Bamako and declared the country's independence.

Immediately after this declaration, the territorial border with Senegal was closed. The transportation and communication services between the two countries discontinued for what would turn out to be a three-year period (Imperato 1989, 57). "During the brief era of the Sudanese republic, the basis of local administration was established in Mali. Six regions were created: Kaues, Bamako, Segou, Sikasso, Mopti, and Gao, each headed by a governor reporting to the minister of the interior. The six regions were divided into 42 *cercles* which were subdivided into 228 *arrondissements*" (Imperato 1989, 57). Such kinds of administration were headed to be recognised as independent by France.

The life span of Mali federation was short and it was terminated in 1960 just prior to independence (Kurtz 1970). Without any delay, in the coming month of September, France recognised the separate independence

of the regions – Senegal and Soudan (Kurtz 1970, 406). As result of the long struggle, Mali got independence in 1960. This year became the remarkable year in the history of Mali.

Conclusion

The development of political and constitutional processes of Mali was accompanied with other parts of West Africa. Despite the constitution and political system framed during the period of movement for independence, it must be noted that the spirits of constitutionalism was evident amongst the Malian prior to the movements of independence. The seed of constitutionalism were sown during the colonial era. Evidently, this is exemplified by various constitutional experiments made by the French over many years. It can be traced back to French West Africa administration. The Malians captured the essential driving spirit for democracy that has been experienced since nationalist movements and whatever little they have learned from their colonial masters. Therefore, political development and constitutional processes were a slow process during the national movement.

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