

A simple black outline map of the African continent, including the island of Madagascar to the east. The map is centered on the page and serves as a background for the text.

PAN-AFRICANISM:  
THE ROAD TO AFRICAN UNITY

by  
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## FOREWARD

Pan-Africanism is based upon a feeling of mutual involvement, a spirit of oneness, and is thus essentially a movement of ideas and emotions. Its mainspring is the desire to secure a once-lost dignity and to create a strong Africa, with internal stability and external greatness. Within Africa there is a Revolution of Rising Expectations which has three main objectives: (1) freedom from foreign domination; (2) achievement of a full measure of human dignity; and (3) social and economic progress. The Africans believe that these three objectives can be achieved most quickly and successfully through a Pan-African unity.

...African unity is at present merely an emotion born of a history of colonialism and oppression. It has to be strengthened and expressed in economic and political forms before it can really have a positive effect on our future. The position can be compared to that of a number of brothers crossing a maelstrom on parallel and joined rope bridges, each burdened with balancing poles and weights as well as his own building equipment. A single broad structure with firm foundations would enable all to cross more easily, ...Indissoluble African unity is the stone bridge which would enable us all to walk in safety over this whirlwind of power politics, and enable us to carry more easily the economic and social loads which now threaten to overwhelm us.<sup>1</sup>

Only a union of African states can give the people the real future they deserve after centuries of economic uncertainty and social oppression. Pan-African emotions have arisen

<sup>1</sup> Julius Nyerere, "A United States of Africa," The Journal of Modern African Studies, I-1 (March, 1963) p. 1.

with efforts to seek equality with other peoples and to acquire a greater claim to power. They represent the attempt to bridge continental differences through a common sense of African identity.

African unity is a powerful idea because it arises out of a tradition and a need, offering pride in past tradition and hope for future greatness. Like all ideologies, this one is a mixture of truth and myth. However, it should be recognized that the strength of an ideology lies not in the accuracy of its assumptions about the past and present, but in its capacity to arouse people to shape the future. Throughout history faith has overcome seemingly impossible obstacles. That there exists a multitude of impediments to unity is obvious; yet, if the spirit of Pan-Africanism is as strong as the African insists, these barriers may very well be surmounted.

The fact that Pan-Africanism arises from the emotional feeling of "African-ness," that it is made up of both myth and truth, makes it highly nebulous and difficult to define. The strength of its force depends on so many conflicting factors that its future success is almost impossible to predict. One can only understand the movement to a point. First, he can study the emotional and intellectual currents which make up its basis. Then, he can discover the historical, cultural, political and economic factors which both strengthen and weaken the movement. Finally, he can

examine its past history and evaluate the recent efforts to achieve African unity, noting the causes of success or failure. These are the three areas upon which this study will concentrate.

It has been difficult to reconcile the conflicting opinions concerning the future of Pan-Africanism. In general, the non-African, looking from the outside, views the movement with condescension and doubts; the African, on the other hand, beholding it from the inside, views the movement with partiality. I hope to view the movement from a middle ground, critically yet tolerantly, aware of its weaknesses and appreciative of its strengths.



CHAPTER I

THE ESSENCE OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Pan-Africanism is less a movement that can be reduced to objective and scientific analysis than one which is felt subjectively. It is best understood by the African. There are a variety of intellectual and emotional currents which make up its basis. These currents are found over and over again in the speeches made at the Pan-African meetings and in the books and essays written by Pan-Africanists. The essence of the movement is the feeling of oneness experienced by all Africans. For the outsider to understand the essence and meaning of Pan-Africanism, it is necessary to illuminate the intellectual currents which make up the essence of the movement. Only then can the real strength of Pan-Africanism begin to be appreciated.

Pan-movements in general are political and cultural movements with the purpose of uniting groups which are bound together in some way, such as by a common language, race, or geographical proximity. Pan-Africanism attempts to unite peoples of the geographic area of Africa, the majority of whom are of the Negro race. Hans Kohn<sup>2</sup> classifies pan-movements as pan-national, pan-religious, and pan-continental.<sup>2</sup> This classification, clearly, is faulty in dealing with Pan-Africanism, for this movement is both pan-national and -continental. The author Kohn wrote at a time when Pan-Africanism was in its embryonic stage and he

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<sup>2</sup>Hans Kohn, "Pan-Movements," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, II (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933) pp. 544-553.



classified it as a "supernational movement based upon common ethnical stock but lacking the tie of linguistic identity...."<sup>3</sup> Today, Pan-Africanism is motivated by "common ethnical stock" of pan-nationalism; and it is also pan-continentalism for it is motivated by the "attempt to overcome the forces of nationalistic particularism and to arrive at a political order not segmented by the diversity of nationality or culture but consolidated by the consciousness of common interests."<sup>4</sup> The Pan-African movement has elements of both pan-nationalism and -continentalism.

Pan-Africanism has a multitude of purposes within and outside of Africa. It has the task of providing the basis for prosperity and order in the new nations of Africa, and of guiding the role of Africa in the international arena in order to strengthen the development of world peace. It aims for the prevention of political, economic and military rivalries between the nations of Africa, and for the defense of the continent from the forces of imperialism from the outside. At the meeting of the American Society of African Culture held in 1961, Anthony Enaharo, a leading Nigerian delegate, observed the purpose of Pan-Africanism:

I suggest that the purpose of Pan-Africanism may be defined as the liberation of Africa; the economic, social and cultural regeneration or develop-

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 545.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

ment of Africa; and the promotion of African unity and of African influence in world affairs.<sup>5</sup>

The movement covers a wide range of goals, but they all have the similar end of making Africa great, both internally and internationally.

There are a variety of intellectual currents within the movement which have developed from its beginning and have a great influence on its perspectives and action today. These currents are an important unifying link throughout the continent. The fact of membership in the same race brings a belief that there is a common heritage and encourages the respect of traditional African culture and the development of new symbols of pride. A distinct African voice is heard.

#### The "African Personality"

The concept of the "African Personality" is central to the Pan-African movement. It was first used by Nkrumah and has come to embody the sense of a lost past and the desire to rediscover the greatness of traditional Africa. It is not only a negative reaction to the colonial past, but also a positive reaction in its yearning for the re-creation of the cultural heritage of Africa. Being highly emotional, the term is subject to many interpretations for it is more a feeling than a defined concept. The "African Personality" is at once the desire to interpret the world through African

<sup>5</sup>Anthony Enaharo, Pan-Africanism Reconsidered (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962) p. 70.

eyes and to project Africa onto the world stage. Alex Quaison-Sackey defines this concept with great understanding:

The African Personality, therefore, is, in the largest sense, the cultural expression of what is common to all peoples whose home is on the continent of Africa. The fact that the great majority of these peoples have black skins is, to be sure, important....but of greater importance is the fact that the African Personality--by attempting to transcend its specific physical and intellectual environment, yet without pulling up the roots that nourish it--hopes to create, as a force for world peace and unity, a dynamic political creed....<sup>6</sup>

Although the "African Personality" attempts to bypass the elements of racialism, it is difficult in a continent where the great majority of people are black.

#### Négritude

The concept of négritude is linked to a black racialism to a greater extent than is the concept of the "African Personality." It expresses a quality which is common to all Negroes as distinguished from non-Negroes. It stems from a feeling of inferiority but rejects this same inferiority as a result of pride in self and color. With this color identity and a glorification of blackness, there is the threat of this now-tolerant feeling developing into a rampant, highly emotional racialism from which acute racial antagonism could evolve.

To date, the racial qualities of Pan-Africanism have remained in the background. It is important to understand

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<sup>6</sup>Alex Quaison-Sackey, Africa Unbound: Reflections of an African Statesman (New York: Praeger Press, 1963) pp. 36-37.

that Pan-Africanism is a race-conscious movement, not racialist. It has a positive attitude built on the desire to defend one's race, not a negative one which seeks to elevate the Negro race above all others. Colin Legum defines race-consciousness as "the assertion by a people with recognizable ethnical similarities of their own uniqueness; a belief in their own special qualities, distinctions and rights."<sup>7</sup> The real purpose of Pan-Africanism is to regain a racial pride and a confidence in the Negro as a person. The aim here is not to persecute and discriminate against the white race; rather, it is to promote the equality of the black race with the white.

#### "Africa for the Africans"

"Africa for the Africans" does not mean that the other races are excluded. Rather, it means that Africans, who are naturally in the majority, shall govern themselves. The desire for racial equality persists instead of racial superiority. Dr. Nkrumah, in a speech at the first All-African Peoples Organization conference in 1958, stated:

...We are not racialists or chauvinists. We welcome into our midst peoples of all other races, other nations, other communities, who desire to live among us in peace and equality.<sup>8</sup>

This desire for equality of all African peoples was named the concept of "residential Pan-Africanism" by St. Clair

<sup>7</sup> Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1962) p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

Drake, the American observer at this same conference. The essence of this concept is that all persons born or naturalized within Africa are "Africans," irrespective of race or creed, provided that they believe in absolute economic and social equality. The entrenched white settlers, nearly five million in number, have made this progress toward equality difficult. They have set up barriers for all Africans, regardless of their education or ability, and a void of bitterness has been created in some areas.<sup>9</sup> The situation becomes more volatile with the greater number of whites desperately holding on to their "superiority." Progress has been made throughout the continent with the exception of apartheid in the Union of South Africa. The Africans continue their struggle for equality and at the same time have not been carried away with the feeling of their own strength.

#### African Democracy

In Africa there is a faith in democracy over dictatorship. In an interview with Colin Legum, Leopold Senghor of Senegal insisted, "If I thought Africans could not produce a democracy I would leave politics."<sup>10</sup> The problems of establishing a democracy in these new turbulent nations are great. It would be a mistake to judge the African

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<sup>9</sup>Chester Bowles, Africa's Challenge to America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957) p. 65.

<sup>10</sup>Legum, p. 121.

democracy from the Western viewpoint, for the Africans must overcome their individual difficulties.

...the new African nations have major changes to make if they are to maintain democratic attitudes and to provide at the same time a sense of national unity to underpin political stability in what remain seriously segmented societies. They need to induce new attitudes of administrative responsibility, while attempting to maintain efficiency in a service increasingly composed of Africans. They must try to maintain personal rights at the same time that they tackle the urgent problems of economic development....<sup>11</sup>

Their brand of democracy will differ from that of the West. However, it is encouraging that the majority of the leaders are in favor of a form of democracy. There are exceptions to this feeling, but hopefully, with economic progress and political stability, the tendency toward dictatorship will decrease. A union of African states has a higher probability with democratic nations as its basis. With the membership of a few autocratic nations, a union could be unstable for there would be a continual fear of hegemony and a natural aversion to giving up sovereignty.

#### Democratic Socialism

The idea of socialism is spread throughout Africa. The African nations welcome the assistance of private enterprise and capital, but believe in government enterprise and ownership. There are different approaches among the various states but generally there is a reliance on state

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<sup>11</sup> Gwendolen M. Carter, Independence for Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1961) pp. 143-144.

planning and centralization. As early as the Pan-African Conference of 1945, the idea of socialism was expounded: "We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy."<sup>12</sup>

In the African mind there is an equation between capitalism and colonialism which instills a belief in socialism. Mamadou Dia asserts that "Since colonial power imposed the domination of foreign capitalism everywhere, there is naturally,..complete identification between capitalism and colonialism...."<sup>13</sup>

Whether socialism lends itself to separatism or union is difficult to determine. On the one hand, socialism can become identified with the separate state nationalisms:

...socialism...is not intrinsically nationalistic, but once brought down from the level of an inter-nationalist ideology and applied in the real world, it not only becomes national, but it tends itself to strengthen nationalism and to maintain separatness.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, socialism lends itself to a master development plan for the continent of Africa, an African Colombo Plan, in which the complementary economies of Africa can pool their resources for mutual development, and progress together toward economic betterment.

<sup>12</sup>Legum, Appendix 2, p. 137. My italics.

<sup>13</sup>Mamadou Dia, The African Nations and World Solidarity (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1961) p. 55.

<sup>14</sup>American Society of African Culture, Editor, Pan-Africanism Reconsidered, p. 97.

### Self-Determination

In the international world, the African is heard from his own vantage point. The principle of self-determination plays an important role in the drive for independence. Within Africa, however, self-determination is acceptable at the nations-state level, not at the tribal level. The present state boundaries are to remain unchanged in spite of the fact that these borders often divide a tribal group. The Conference of Independent African States in 1958 demanded respect for territorial integrity, as did the Addis Ababa Conference of 1963. In disagreement with this view are nations, such as Ghana and Somalia. They use the principle of self-determination as a basis for negating the artificial colonial frontiers and insisting upon the union of ethnic groups and the alteration of borders. But, generally this doctrine has been found unacceptable in regards to the tribal divisions due to the fear of balkanization and anarchy.

### Balkanization

The fear of balkanization is found throughout Africa, and is related to the fear of neo-colonialism. Many Africans are convinced that the states of Africa will never be independent in the full sense of the word, if they remain small, opposing states. The force of balkanization encourages states to remain small, and ethnic groups to break off from their parent state in order to form an independent group.



This can only bring about greater instability and weakness.

Ghana's Nkrumah makes the following statement:

Fundamentally the reason African ethnic groups failed to maintain their independence and succumbed to colonialism was that they were too small and not economically viable. The whole history of colonial penetration of Africa was the history of the colonial powers supporting one ethnic group against the other....the masses who struggled for independence did not do so in order to put a handful of puppets into power....But we have, or should have, an effective answer to balkanization, and the answer is African unity.<sup>15</sup>

The answer to balkanization for Nkrumah and many African leaders is Pan-African union.

#### Neo-Colonialism

For the Africans neo-colonialism is a continued threat to the existence of independent Africa. The threat exists not only through military means, but also through economic penetration and ideological domination. The historical experience of the African with slavery and colonialism under the Western powers directs this present fear mainly toward the West. However, there is a growing suspicion of the Communist "imperialism" which leads to a distrust of the East, in addition to that of the West. The Africans reject any influence which is incompatible with the "African Personality."

#### Non-Alignment

This rejection of outside influence is found in the concept of non-alignment, which insists that Africa need

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<sup>15</sup> Legum, p. 121.

not inevitably fall into either the Western or Eastern camp. There is a Monroe Doctrine for Africa which states that the Cold War must stay out of Africa. This feeling was intensified by the Congo crisis. Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika states:

The people who anxiously watch to see whether we will become "Communist" or "Western democrats" will both be disconcerted. We do not have to be either...but we have the lessons of the East and West before us, and we have our own traditions to contribute to mankind's pool of knowledge.<sup>16</sup>

This neutralism is not isolationist; indeed, it demands to be involved in world affairs, on African terms not those of the great powers. Non-alignment infers non-participation in military alliances with the great powers, and allows for friendly relations with all powers. Free from involvement with one bloc or the other, the Africans are able to look towards both East and West for economic and technical aid. With the concept of non-alignment, the Africans have the chance to present their "African Personality" as a strong countervailing force in world affairs, a force which establishes itself between the East and West in the interest of peace.

The Africans are driven by the desire to make Africa independent and great as quickly as possible. There is a passionate attraction to the idea of Progress and the belief that man can shape his own destiny. The Africans believe that progress will be most rapid with cooperation

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

and a united approach to greatness. The realities of the African scene both encourage and hinder this cooperation for progress.

CHAPTER II

FACTORS FOR AND AGAINST UNITY

When determining the possible success in achieving the Pan-African goals, it is necessary to define those factors within Africa which work for and those which work against unity. Africa is a large continent filled with diversity, both natural and superimposed. There is a natural trend toward parochialism due to the different ethnic groups, languages, cultures and religions; these are both physical and psychological barriers to unity. There are economic divisions and political differences. Westernism and modernism have made an uneven impact as the result of different colonial policies and the various assimilative capacities of the traditional cultures. Within the Pan-African movement there are narrow territorial jealousies, suspicions regarding personal motives, and competing aspirations for leadership.

Along with these divisive factors, there are strong forces which give a great chance for unity. There is a sense of common identity and ethnic solidarity arising, in part, from the past oppression and discrimination under colonial rule. A feeling for the need for solidarity comes with the continual fear of a new imperialism from the old colonial areas, the United States, and the Communist world. The desire to liberate the Africans from the remaining colonial-controlled countries is identified with the Pan-African movement. All African nations face similar problems of economic development and political instability, and

all want to play an effective role in international affairs. Exclusive local nationalism in many areas is overridden by the desire to form larger state units and functional organizations. Finally, the world climate of internationalism lends itself to the development of an African unity.

#### Geography

The geography of Africa generally lends itself to disunity. With 11,500,000 square miles, Africa is larger than the combined areas of the continental United States, all of Western and Eastern Europe, and China. With the present-day lack of adequate transportation and communication this presents a major obstacle to unity. Africa's major rivers are all blocked to navigation by falls or rapids, and roads and railways are deficient. The Sahara is the most obvious natural barrier, dividing Africa into Mediterranean Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. The Sudan, a broad belt of open savannah south of the desert, is virtually the only area which has allowed relative ease of movement and the establishment of large African states in the past. However, the impenetrable coastline, the tropical character of much of the land, the great African plateau, and the relatively poor soil have all effected a diversity of history and political organization in the past.<sup>17</sup> Today, the Africans are fighting against this natural diversity, but progress is slow.

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<sup>17</sup>See James S. Coleman, The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960) pp. 247-250.

### Population

The population of Africa, estimated between 240 and 250 million, is unevenly distributed. The desert areas of the Sahara and the south-west region are virtually without inhabitants. Other areas are thinly populated with the exception of the five main concentrations of population, which are:

West Africa, north of the Gulf of Guinea (60 million people, over 35 million of them in Nigeria); the north-western coastal belt along the Mediterranean (26 million); the valley of the Nile (30 million); the eastern highlands, especially around the great lakes and the source of the Nile (30 million); the eastern half of South Africa and neighboring areas (20 million).<sup>18</sup>

European settlement has been mainly concentrated in the latter two areas and in Algeria. Population increase is rapid and the trends indicate that this increase will emphasize the present uneven distribution. This may have a negative effect upon African unity since the areas with the greatest wealth of populations may fear a lowering of their individual Gross National Products with union. A further barrier to future union may develop if the larger nations argue against the sovereign equality of member nations.

### Tribalism

The tribal basis of Africa is at once a factor for and against unity. There are approximately 800 tribes with

<sup>18</sup> Andreu Boyd and Patrick van Rensburg, *An Atlas of African Affairs* (New York: Frederick W. Praeger, Publisher, 1962) p. 10.

great diversity of life and culture. Lack of communications has hindered the progress of smoothing out local differences and enlarging language areas. With these particularist loyalties, the African governments have their hands full in holding together their own unity within the national units formed by the colonial powers, witness the Congo, Sudan, Uganda and even Nigeria. The pattern is further complicated by nationalisms aiming at reuniting peoples divided by colonial boundaries, examples being the Somalis, Ewes and Bacongo. There are many centrifugal tendencies at the state level, let alone the pan-African level.

On the other hand, elements of this tribalism encourage a unity in Africa. There are broad outlines of peoples over the surface of Africa: "Setting aside recent European and Asian settlement and the Malayan element in Madagascar, the peoples of Africa are almost entirely Negroid and Caucasoid in racial origin...."<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the very fact that there are so many tribes encourages unity, for tribalism detracts from the strength of state nationalism, which may be a major force working against Pan-Africanism.

#### Language

Associated with the tribal division is the problem

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 14.



of diversified language. Each of the hundreds of tribes has a different language, which contains several dialects. Most of these languages are without any written alphabet to date. The high percentage of illiteracy adds to the difficulty in communication. However, there are wider groups of languages which bring homogeneity to African communications: "For practical purposes--commerce, education, administration--the languages of present-day Africa are Arabic, English, French, Swahili and Afrikaans."<sup>20</sup> English and French are becoming more popular, in spite of the nationalist desire to preserve the indigenous languages. Fewer and more widely understood languages will aid the growth of African unity.

### Religion

There are a variety of religious beliefs in Africa, ranging from animism, to Islam, to Christianity.

In general, most of Africa's new societies are religiously pluralistic as a result of the intermixture of Islam, traditional African religions, and the missionary activities of the various competing Christian sects and churches.<sup>21</sup>

Exceptions to this are the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, the Coptic Church of Ethiopia, and the Catholic Church of Spanish and Portuguese Africa, and, to a certain extent, Belgian Africa. Generally, the church is not an

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<sup>20</sup>James Francis Horrabin, An Atlas of Africa (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1961) p. 109.

<sup>21</sup>Coleman, Politics, p. 314.

institutionalized interest group within a state, which would tend to back up an individual nationalism. Basically, the heterogeneity of African religion is neither a factor for nor against unity.

#### Urbanization and Interest Groups

The process of urbanization has played a large role in the development of African culture and politics. The urban centers have been the main arenas of acculturation, though the towns remain essentially African. In the towns there developed the new leadership and the easily manipulated mass following. The network of tribal and urban associations within the urban communities is the principal basis for the nationalist movements and political parties. As a result, the town associations have made contributions to the development of nationalism within the separate states:

First, they have made it possible for Africans to recover...the sense of common purpose which in traditional African society was normally enjoyed through tribal organizations. Second, they have given an important minority valuable experience of modern forms of administration....Third, in periods of political ferment and crisis these associations provide the cells around which a nationwide political organization can be constructed.<sup>22</sup>

By strengthening the individual state nationalisms, town associations have possibly detracted from the drive for unity.

The impact of urbanization and modernity has had the effect of greatly expanding the number of Africans partic-

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<sup>22</sup>Thomas Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa (New York: New York University Press, 1957) pp. 84-85.

icipating in modern institutions and has accelerated the organization of interest groups. These groups are centered around race, tribe, class, religion, and occupation. During the fight for independence, these groups often unite for the common cause; but, once that cause is achieved, they become increasingly self-assertive. These groups provide a network of communication throughout the nation and sometimes throughout the continent of Africa. In some cases these interest groups fight against unity for fear of loss of prestige:

Once a state has gained its independence, vested interests are quickly built into its economy and social structure and leadership roles....When a class or category of the population has acquired positions of prestige and political power, and constitutes the political and social elite of a state, no matter how small, any change directed toward the formation of a larger unit can constitute a threat to its status.<sup>23</sup>

In other cases interest groups work for unity within Africa. Workers, students, journalists, artists and writers have joined together to foster African unity without regard for the particular nationalisms. The trade union movement for worker unity is the most important of these non-government organizations.

#### Trade Unionism

Trade unions play an influential role in African political affairs for they represent almost the only grass-

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<sup>23</sup>James S. Coleman and David E. Apter, "Pan-Africanism or Nationalism in Africa," Pan-Africanism Reconsidered, p. 103.

roots organizations aside from the political parties. The African labor movement developed from the desire for union independence from any outside influence. The Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (UGTAN) was formed in 1957 under the leadership of Sékou Touré with the aim of uniting all trade unions of the continent. Several member nations resented Guinea's attempt to gain control of the union, and withdrew or stopped effective participation. The All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) was inspired by the All-African Peoples Conference of 1958 and officially formed in May, 1961. Ghana played the prominent role. When Casablanca domination was attempted, a counter-movement was initiated in the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC). This organization was formed by the labor unions of 27 states and territories in January, 1962. The formation of rival groups reflects two trends: first, the increasing struggle for ascendancy between the different political capitals of Africa; and second, the differing approaches by Pan-African leaders on methods of cooperation rather than matters of principle.<sup>24</sup> These trade unions clash, but they all insist upon African unity. They foster Pan-Africanism by emphasizing the need for worker unity and economic growth within Africa:

...they counteract the nationalist tendency to present political independence, or liberation

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<sup>24</sup>Legum, p. 83.

from European control, as an end in itself; and draw continual attention to the facts of poverty, hunger, disease, slums, insecurity and social waste which will not be altered simply by the transfer of political power from Europeans to Africans.<sup>25</sup>

The trade unions and the other supra-national organizations strengthen the drive for African unity by joining the peoples of various states and by pointing out the similar problems with which the nations are faced.

### Education

During the process of urbanization, there have been wide variations in the impact of Western education not only among the several territories but also within them. The disparities between groups have tended to engender tribal nationalisms, thus weakening the growth of territorial nationalisms.<sup>26</sup> This factor could work for Pan-African unity by decreasing the force of nationalism at the level of the nation-state. On the other hand, it could work against unity by increasing the impact of various tribal nationalisms and encouraging "balkanization." It cannot be determined whether this particular aspect of education is good or bad in the light of unity; but, it is obvious that the illiteracy rate (estimated at 70 percent) is a major obstacle to the stability and growth essential for a great Africa. Not only are the facilities for mass educa-

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<sup>25</sup>Hodgkin, p. 138.

<sup>26</sup>Coleman, Politics, p. 282.

tion limited, but also the progress is impeded by the multiplicity of languages. At the Addis Ababa Conference of 1963, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia emphasized the need for educational advances:

Africa has come to freedom under the most difficult and trying of circumstances. In no small measure, the handicaps under which we labour derive from the low educational level attained by our peoples and from their lack of knowledge of their fellow Africans . . . . A massive effort must be launched in the educational and cultural field which will not only raise the level of literacy and provide the cadres of skilled and trained technicians requisite to our growth and development but, as well, acquaint us with one another.<sup>27</sup>

Educational advances must be made immediately throughout Africa, and may very well lead to an increased sense of oneness.

#### Economic Development

The great need for economic development within Africa is one of the most pressing problems today. It is generally agreed that progress would come most quickly with cooperation and union, but there are many real and potential economic rivalries within Africa.

W. W. Rostow has developed a theory of "take-off"<sup>28</sup> in which economic societies are divided into five categories: the traditional societies; the transitional societies, which are lacking the preconditions for growth; societies involved

<sup>27</sup> Haile Selassie, "Towards African Unity," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 1-3 (September, 1963) p. 286.

<sup>28</sup> See W. W. Rostow, "Some Lessons of History for Africa," Pan-Africanism Reconsidered, pp. 155-168.

in the process of "take-off"; those involved with the drive for technological maturity; and finally, those in the stage of high mass-consumption. The preconditions for take-off are the existence of a trained laboring force, increased agricultural output, social overhead capital, including systems of communications and power sources, and foreign trade. Rostow lists all the new African states below the Sudan and above the Union of South Africa in the "transitional" category since they are working on the preconditions for take-off:

The new African nations differ in resource endowments, degree of literacy, and land-tenure arrangements and level of income--as well as in history, culture, language, and colonial heritage. Nevertheless, they all fall in what I would call the transitional category where their central economic task is to create the preconditions for take-off. None of the African states is wholly without certain modern skills and modern economic activities. But none has yet moved into self-sustained economic growth.<sup>29</sup>

In spite of the differences between these nations, they are united through their similar economic "age." However, modernization is of such great importance that the national strength should be channelled into this one task rather than waiting for unity to initiate the process of growth. There is great danger in the view that the execution of the difficult tasks of modernization must await the emergence of larger governmental units.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

### Economic Integration

Union would be beneficial to economic growth, but many obstacles will have to be crossed before this will be a possibility. The differential affiliations with monetary zones and trading areas, and the marked variation in the national directions of trade, are considerations of no little consequence. Agricultural and mineral commodities compete for the limited markets. For example, Ghanaian and Nigerian cocoa compete with the expanding production of the Ivory Coast and Cameroun. The desire to industrialize has led to the establishment of tariff walls for the protection and encouragement of young industries, and this has brought further alienation among the African states. There is also an intense competition for foreign aid. In addition, wealthier areas, such as Ivory Coast, Gabon, Nigeria, and Katanga province, are reluctant to join political unions which would force their subsidization of the poorer nations, and result in a dilution of their wealth and a lowering of the standard of living of their people. They prefer a short-term goal of national wealth rather than a long-term goal of Pan-African prosperity.

The lack of transportation and communication facilities is a barrier to African interdependence, although progress is being made in this area. The want of railways and roads hinders speedy transport. Colonial rule left differing gauges in the rail system, and routes which con-



form to the artificial boundaries rather than to economic reality. The dependence on foreign trade and the low level of trade between the African nations is evident in the number of railways connecting the hinterland with the sea-ports. The chief navigable waterways are broken by rapids, obstructing navigation and increasing the cost of transport. New facilities are being constructed, but progress is slow due to the difficult terrain, tropical conditions and the lack of skill and materials. Some new railways are being built and roads are being constructed on routes where there are no other means of transport.<sup>31</sup> The Monrovia Conference in 1961 set up a commission of experts to make plans for increased communications and transportation. At the Lagos Conference in 1962, preparations were made for the standardization of highway regulations, the freedom of navigation on the African rivers, and the creation of a pan-African postal and telephone network. Plans have also been made for an immense system of all-weather roads linking most of West Africa. Furthermore, international air routes connect most of the large cities of Africa today. With vastly improved possibilities of communications, colonial frontiers no longer act as barriers to the spread of ideas, and Africans can speak to and meet with one another and the outside world.

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<sup>31</sup>Boyd and van Rensburg, p. 44.

Union on a regional or continental scale would greatly benefit the economic progress of Africa as a whole, although the goal of union must not be placed above that of growth. The working out of national plans to unite all elements of the economy would make possible coordination, and would prevent wasteful competition. Industrial growth would be more successful with the availability of larger markets. Labor migration, as well as the movement of crops and cattle by the cheapest routes to markets, could be facilitated. Smuggling would be discouraged by uniformity in duties on commodities. Nkrumah has also pointed out that a greater attraction of outside capital would come with a pooling of resources.<sup>32</sup>

The economic benefits of union are a constant focal point in the important conferences and in the minds of the African leaders. The African is constantly aware that economic growth is one path to the realization of the "African Personality":

If the destiny of Africa as a whole is the common concern of each individual state within it...then we have achieved the requisite understanding and respect to enable us to make common cause against the vast economic and social problems confronting the whole continent. If it is possible, for instance, to make collective use of the iron-ore deposits in Gabon, Liberia, and Guinea, the manganese in Ghana, and the coal in Nigeria and the Congo, then several industrial plants can be planned and built throughout Africa. Such cooperation among in-

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<sup>32</sup>Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1963) p. 157.

dividual states will help to consolidate African independence and unity... [through which] the African Personality will be realized.<sup>33</sup>

The United Nations has played an important role in fostering pan-African economic planning and coordination, mainly through the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa which was inaugurated in 1958. In 1962 the Monrovia powers met in Lagos and set up a commission to study finance and economic affairs. The purpose of this standing committee is to study trade among the African states, consider the creation of regional customs unions as a prelude to a common market, regulate currency, stabilize commodity prices, harmonize economic development plans, and consider the creation of an African development bank and private investment guarantee fund.<sup>34</sup> Progress in the field of economic cooperation is being made, although many obstacles remain. If economic integration is achieved, a major step will have been taken toward the goal of political integration.

#### Political History

In order to judge the potential of the Pan-African movement, it is essential to have some knowledge of the past history and the present political scene. Of particular importance is an understanding of the forces of nationalism which are existent at many levels within Africa today.

<sup>33</sup>Quaison-Sackey, p. 34.

<sup>34</sup>Thomas Hovet, Jr., Africa in the United Nations (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963) p. 68.

Pan-African unity exists as an idea, projected into the future, not as an historic fact. Africa contains a multiplicity of peoples, at very different levels of social development. Only within the present century have the Africans begun to think of themselves as "Africans," with a certain community of interests and claims. That the Africans are increasingly thinking of themselves in this way is of great importance for they have set about to find unifying beliefs which will do justice to the common elements in the African experience: the sense of community derived from traditional society; the fact of subjection to European power, first through the slave trade and later through the partition of Africa; the struggle for independence and economic growth.

There are no surviving indigenous African civilizations today upon which the present nationalist movements can rest. The past political societies were generally fragmented and relatively small in size. Of importance to this study is the fact of Arab rule beginning in the seventh century. The first wave of Arab conquest remained north of the Sahara. Later the Arabs penetrated the desert, but the Sudan, especially the western part, was never theirs. The religion and culture that the Arabs brought diffused from the firm base in North Africa into the entire Sudan which eventually became part of the Islamic world. Today Islam remains a dominant religion in the Sudan; and in the Maghreb, the Arabs left their print in culture and language. North

Africa contrasts so vividly with sub-Saharan Africa that there is question of this area culturally and politically belonging to the rest of Africa. This factor acts as a potential barrier to continental unity.

Another point of significance is the existence of large, well-organized Negro states in the Niger region in the western Sudan before European exploration and control. The most outstanding of these were the Ghana, Mali, and Songhai kingdoms. The fact that a larger unity was achieved in this area might influence the success of regionalism in West Africa today.

#### Traditional Political Systems

Modern political phenomena in Africa have been influenced by the traditional political systems.<sup>35</sup> When conquest states and centralized chiefdoms were used as units for local administration by the colonialists, they have tended to become focal points for tribal nationalisms. On the other hand, when dispersed tribal societies were grouped with others in a territorial system, the inclination has been toward a pan-tribal sentiment. The small autonomous local communities have been incorporated with the culturally dominant groups in the modern territorial societies. Yet, in several cases, the most effective nationalist leaders are from the smaller tribal societies, for they do not challenge the other large

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<sup>35</sup>For an enlightening study, see Coleman, Politics, pp. 258-260.

groups. This can be seen in the rise of Ghana's Nkrumah, Tanganyika's Nyerere, and Northern Rhodesia's Nkumbula, and in the handicap of Nigeria's Azikiwe and Uganda's Kiwanuka. Knowledge of the traditional political systems sheds light on the contemporary African political scene.

### The Colonial Period

The colonial experience added new dimension to the traditionally balkanized continent. The artificial boundaries created in the scramble for Africa remain with independence. However, the colonial powers worked against the force of particularism by cutting across the traditional tribal boundaries and establishing states of sensible size. The separate existence of these artificial administrative entities were preserved, even emphasized, by the policy and action of the European powers during the colonial period. The different political, governmental and cultural traditions, the disparity of language, economic ties with the separate colonial powers, all tend to emphasize the divergence rather than the unity of the African nations.

The "indirect rule" of the British and the "direct rule" of the French (closely resembling that of the Portugues<sup>e</sup>, Spanish and Belgians) affected the political organization of their former colonies during independence and nation-building. "Indirect rule" made use of the traditional societies in administration of the territories;

consequently, political integration has been more difficult as the result of the separatist tendencies and tribal political parties, and a federal system of government has been preferred. On the other hand, "direct rule" has encouraged a unitary political system which is less obstructed by traditional elites and is aided by the formation of comprehensive nationalist parties. The French policy, with its extreme centralization of authority in metropolitan institutions during the Fourth Republic, led to the following developments:

(1) it compelled French African leaders to seek unity in order to maximize their influence upon policy-making in Paris, and (2) it precluded the emergence of the provocative 'fear of domination' which elsewhere in Africa has been the single most important causal factor engendering tribalism, communalism, sectionalism, and other fissiparous tendencies.<sup>36</sup>

The French colonial policy not only brought unity to the separate nation-states; it also encouraged supra-national cooperation among the former French colonies. The common experience was a major factor in the formation of the Brazzaville bloc which unites the French African territories with the exceptions of Guinea and Mali.

During the colonial era, almost all political activity was carried out on the national level, with the exceptions of the French federations of West and Equatorial Africa, where political parties operated on a regional level. Iso-

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

lation of African nations also developed with the time-lag of independence and with the direct transfer of colonial administrative institutions. In spite of this particularism accentuated under the colonial rule, the Pan-Africanists insist the colonial experience is one which unites the Africans:

Throughout this period the African people have been conscious of one dominating factor--namely, rule by foreign regime or a minority settler group....feeling of African oneness and solidarity...developed out of common experiences of humiliation and injustice.<sup>37</sup>

The colonial domination is one of the common elements in the African experience for the Pan-Africanist and is an important psychological factor for unity. However, the colonial powers emphasized the separateness of the African nations and made a strong state nationalism possible by creating larger entities. This nationalism at the state level may very well work against the creation of a larger African unity.

#### African Political Systems

The political systems within Africa today range from parliamentary democracy to imperial rule. Most leaders say they believe in democracy, although this need not be modeled from the Western type. Some, however, especially the Nigerians, maintain the need for a parliamentary demo-

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<sup>37</sup> Arthur Nutulti Lubinda Wina, Pan-Africanism Reconsidered, p. 68.



cracy with its essential safeguard of an organized opposition. Both Nigeria and Sierra Leone have this form of democracy. Not all the leaders, including Tom Mboya of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, and the late Sylvanus Olympio of the Togo Republic, believe that an organized opposition is essential to the working of democracy, especially in the early stages of independence. Other leaders subscribe to a national government, and some go further and patronize a democratic centralism. Cameroun, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Gabon, and Somalia have coalition or national governments but allow the existence of political parties and elections. In the Central African Republic, Guinea, Mali, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, United Arab Republic, and Upper Volta there are one-party systems. Governments in which a single party controls all, or virtually all, the seats are Ghana, Liberia, Senegal, Tanganyika, Togo, and Tunisia. To add further variety to the African political scene there is Sudan's military rule, Ethiopia's imperial rule, Libya's semi-imperial rule, and Morocco's mixture of imperial rule and political party freedom.<sup>38</sup>

The existence of these varied political systems will possibly create an obstacle in the path to Pan-African unity. The new African states are reluctant to give up their newly-won sovereignty. The political democracies

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<sup>38</sup>See Legum, p. 127.

are especially protective of their ideals which they fear might be lost in political union. Anthony Enaharo of Nigeria has stated that "...Pan-Africanism must not involve the surrender of the very principles that have inspired the nationalist struggle: individual liberty, the rule of law, and democracy."<sup>39</sup> When K. C. Wheare advances the prerequisites for an ideal federal government, he makes a relevant point for future African union:

Not only is it desirable that there should be similarity of political institutions in the majority, at any rate, of the federating units, but it is essential, I believe, that these institutions should not be autocratic or dictatorial. For autocracy or dictatorship, either in the general governments or in the regional governments, seems certain, sooner or later, to destroy that equality of status and that independence which these governments must enjoy, each in its own sphere, if federal government is to exist at all.<sup>40</sup>

Wheare feels that the enduring federations are those built on democratic principles at both the general and regional governmental level. Federations may exist without this basis, but these are often short-lived and ineffective unions. African unity will not necessarily be of a federal nature, but it will have similar characteristics; consequently, this point might be quite pertinent to the future Pan-African scene.

In the meantime, however, the existence of varied po-

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<sup>39</sup>Enaharo, p. 72.

<sup>40</sup>K. C. Wheare, Federal Government (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) p. 47.

litical systems within Africa need not be incompatible with cooperation . It is essential that the heads of state accept the political systems in other states rather than antagonize them. President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika has made this same point:

...any differences we have must be sorted out privately between ourselves. It means that we must avoid judging each other's internal policies, recognizing that each country has special problems which are its own concern, as well as problems which have inter-African repercussions. It means too that every opportunity must be taken to increase mutual understanding.<sup>41</sup>

The principle of non-interference in a state's internal affairs is advocated by all African leaders. If this is upheld, cooperation will follow more easily; and, possibly with cooperation, many of the political differences can be eliminated.

#### Leadership Rivalry

The chance for political union is diminished with the existence of leadership rivalries among the ambitious African heads of state. The strong leadership of Nkrumah, Nasser, Haile Selassie, Sékou Touré, Houphouet-Boigny, and others, does not lend itself to self-sacrifice and a reduction in power, required in union. When discussing the reasons for the break-up of the Mali Federation, a union of Senegal and Sudan set up in 1958, Mamadou Dia points to the desire for power as a main factor:

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<sup>41</sup>Nyerere, p. 5.

...we could hope that the danger of absorption of one state by the other...was finally eliminated, because of the apparatus of the federal state. This underestimated the strength of the centralizing tendency, the greed for power that secretly gnaws at many African leaders, even when they call themselves democrats.<sup>42</sup>

The new African leader is often regarded as the combination of the traditional chief who was revered as a symbol of a people's unity, and of the lawyer-politician who has knowledge of European political techniques and the ability to use them to achieve African ends.<sup>43</sup> This combination gives strength to the leadership which is necessary in uniting and developing the African countries; but, on the other hand, it can subvert the cause of unity when the leadership is unwilling to give up power for the formation of an African union.

#### Foreign Policy

In spite of the political differences and leadership rivalries, there are remarkable similarities in foreign policy objectives. The liberation of the remaining colonial-controlled areas of Africa is a high objective. The doctrine of nonalignment is professed by all African leaders, although its interpretation varies among them. All want to keep the cold war out of Africa and guard against the threat of neo-colonialism. Violence is rejected as a means to the desired ends, but recently there have been indications that

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<sup>42</sup>Dia, p. 139. My italics.

<sup>43</sup>Hodgkin, p. 14.

it would be used as a last resort. Membership in the United Nations is undertaken with great seriousness and a belief that through this organ the African nations can act as a mediating force between the two power blocs in the interest of peace. Some fear that in union the votes of the individual nations would be lost, but this apprehension is not a major stumbling block. The United Nations has tremendous value for these nations: it is the organization which protects their independence, helps to raise their standard of living, enhances their joint influence, and is the symbol of their dignity as sovereign entities. The African bloc votes as a unit on a few general issues; the elimination of the last vestiges of the Western colonialism; the increase in economic growth; and the eradication of all racial discrimination. Although these states will vote in bloc fashion for these issues, they are by no means a disciplined bloc with an unchallenged leader. Groups within this African unit exist, the main ones being the Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia blocs. However, the composition of these splinter groupings is not hard and fast as attitudes change and new issues appear. In essence, the impact of an African "bloc" is more potential than real.<sup>44</sup>

There are different "national interests" within Africa but at this time the similarities of interest are greater

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<sup>44</sup>See Hovet for a comprehensive study of the African nations in the United Nations.

than the conflicts. In the future, though, the variations in natural resources, population and modernization are certain to be emphasized, to a degree which might override the present similarities of experience and objectives. The present border disputes give an indication of conflict to come when the issues are close to home. The Addis Ababa Conference in 1963 set up a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration for the settlement of the frontier problems, but did not make plans for the collective security for mutual defense of the continent. At this time there exist different overseas defense links which are bound to continue, in view of Africa's military weakness and lack of national armies. There is a strong probability that national armies will increase and that there will be competition for military aid, rather than agreement on a continental defense.<sup>45</sup> This is, of course, difficult to predict; it may well evolve that the similar beliefs, the high cost of military technology, the reliance on peaceful settlement, and the world climate of internationalism will encourage harmony and unity among the African nations.

The "national interest" is intrinsically involved with the force of nationalism operating within the new nations of Africa. A great controversy exists: is nationalism a force working for or against African unity? The outsider

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<sup>45</sup>Coleman and Apter, pp. 108-109.

generally considers it to be a factor working against Pan-Africanism. However, the African insists that it is a complementary development working in favor of future union. In any case, the emergence of these new nation-states probably presents Pan-Africanism with its severest test. For this reason, an understanding of the nature of nationalism and a knowledge of the issues involved is essential for an appreciation of the contemporary African political scene, and the future of Pan-Africanism.

CHAPTER III

NATIONALISM VERSUS PAN-AFRICANISM



The force of nationalism is one of the strongest operating within Africa today. Its exact nature is difficult to define for the essence of modern nationalism is not found in objective factors of common descent, defined territory, political entity, or common customs, traditions, language or religion. These factors strengthen nationalism, but the primary element is the identification of self and survival with that of the nation. Nationalism exists when the supreme loyalty is with the "national community." Hans Kohn explains modern nationalism in the following way:

Although objective factors are of great importance, for the formation of nationalities, the most essential element is a living and active corporate will. It is this will which we call nationalism, a state of mind inspiring the large majority of a people and claiming to inspire all its members.<sup>46</sup>

The "corporate will" must subordinate all other human loyalties to the devotion to the "national community."

Ernst Haas and Allen Whiting use this same basis for their definition of nationalism, but expand it into one which is more useful in the study of African nationalism. They also maintain that the subjective factor of loyalty is more important than the objective factors.

Such objective factors as physical interdependence, religion, and race having failed in distinguishing the nation from other associations, there remains the subjective factor of belief in a common system of values. A national community, therefore, is a complex of individuals, groups and elites united

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<sup>46</sup>Hans Kohn, Nationalism: Its Meaning and History (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1955) p. 10.

by a body of beliefs transcending their own restricted ideologies and distinguishing them from the rest of mankind, so that their national values make up the highest doctrine to which they profess political loyalty.<sup>47</sup>

There must exist a will to live together in a society larger than the separate interest group, tribe or town. Nationalism exists because it commands the allegiance of the separate groups who identify with it. It has elements common to all the individual group beliefs in a given community, and thereby stands above the separate ideologies of the groups and unites them. Loyalty to the "national community" must be stronger than loyalty to the interest groups of which it is composed, by definition.

Within turbulent Africa, where loyalties exist at all political levels--the tribal community, the nation-state, the regional level, and the continental level--it is difficult to judge at which one the "national loyalty" is the strongest. It would be a great error to presume that nationalism exists only at the level of the nation-state. The equation of nationalism with the nation-state is anachronistic; it is a product of the times when the nation was the only sovereign political entity. The essence of modern nationalism is the loyalty to "a common system of values," which encompasses and supercedes other attachments.

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<sup>47</sup>Ernst B. Haas and Allen S. Whiting, Dynamics of International Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956) p. 32.

Therefore, the national community is not limited to the nation-state, which is just one of several possible communities. Since the national community is distinguished from the other communities by a subjective factor of "loyalty," it is necessary to determine with which community the supreme loyalty lies.

### The Tribal Community

The force of nationalism exists at the tribal level with a particular language group or greater tribe, such as the Yoruba, Ewe, Baganda, Banyarwanda and Kikuyu. In fact, the very fear of balkanization arises from the desire of a tribal area to break away from a nation. In other words, balkanization is the tendency of the tribal loyalty to supercede the nation-state loyalty. There are a number of factors which discourage the development of a strong tribal nationalism. In the first place, during the colonial era the boundaries of the present nations were drawn without reference to tribal reality; consequently, they cut across tribal areas, preventing the tribes from remaining strong cultural and political units. For the most part, the frontiers today exist as they were drawn under colonial rule, and these tribes survive as divided entities. This discourages the feeling of tribal loyalty, although the partial tribe is often the point of reference for local political parties. The nationalist leaders have been careful to avoid antagonism of the separate tribal interests and have

put emphasis on the "blessings of union," which leads to the second point. If each tribe or language group asserted its nationalism and became a sovereign entity, Africa would become a continent of hundreds of weak, quarrelling units, in which there would be no chance for economic and social progress. The continent would again be vulnerable to outside attack and imperialistic rule. The African leaders and people are aware of this, and go to extreme lengths to prevent the assertion of tribal nationalism. Because of these two factors, the loyalty to tribe is weakened and it is doubtful that this loyalty will have the chance to supersede the other existing loyalties.

#### The Nation-State

The loyalty to nation-state is supreme within Africa today. However artificial these units may seem to be, they form the boundaries within which modern political institutions are organized. At the moment, the major concern of the African leaders is not to redraw boundaries or to establish wider alignments, but to counteract the divisive forces within their territories and to develop viable economic and political units. Sylvanus Olympio, the late President of the Togo Republic, has stated:

In their struggle against the colonial powers the new African states, arbitrary and unrealistic as their original boundaries may have been, managed at last to mobilize the will of their citizens toward the attainment of national independence. Achieved at great sacrifice, such a reward is not

to be cast away lightly; nor should the national will, once unified, be diluted by the formation of nebulous political units.<sup>48</sup>

It is important that the new nations of Africa concentrate on the present problems of instability and economic and social underdevelopment, rather than pursue a nebulous vision of African unity. The citizens naturally look to the source of political order, economic mobilization and social welfare, which is at this time the nation-state; thus, the nationalism at this level is supreme.

James Coleman and David Apter view the new national loyalties within contemporary Africa as the strongest force working against the development of Pan-Africanism:

It is indeed ironical that the territorial nationalist movements, which have been and remain the instrumentalities for the realization of Pan-Africanist objectives, should acquire a dynamism and an autonomy of their own sufficient to constitute a countervailing force, militating against the larger political unity envisaged by the founders and long-time exponents of Pan-Africanism.<sup>49</sup>

The strength of the nation-state has come with the imperative tasks of independence and nation-building. Apter and Coleman argue that since the leaders are forced to emphasize national rather than Pan-African goals and symbols, the interest in national sovereignty has increased to the detriment of Pan-African unity.

In the struggle for independence, the African leaders

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<sup>48</sup>Sylvanus E. Olympio, "African Problems and the Cold War," Foreign Affairs, 40-1 (October, 1961) p. 51.

<sup>49</sup>Coleman and Apter, p. 89.

are obliged to adapt the style and scope of their political action to the unique situation and institutions with which they are confronted, and thereby the national movements of each nation develop separate characteristics. But these movements "for all their diversity do seem to possess certain common characteristics."<sup>50</sup> Each movement fights for the same goals and is faced with the same problems. With these similarities, the tendency of these movements to remain separate and to work against the future Pan-African unity is somewhat weakened. Julius Nyerere, as so many of the African leaders, believes that the nationalism at the level of the nation-state is not incompatible with and does not work against Pan-African unity:

...the role of African nationalism is different-- or should be different--from the nationalism of the past. We must use the African national states as instruments for the reunification of Africa.... African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism.<sup>51</sup>

The majority of the African leaders oppose the view of Coleman and Apter, and argue that the development of viable national units is compatible with, is in fact necessary for, the development of a strong Pan-Africanism. The nation-state will be used as a building block in the future Pan-African union, in which loyalty to the nation will be transferred to Africa as a whole.

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<sup>50</sup>Hodgkin, p. 187.

<sup>51</sup>Nyerere, p. 6.

### The Regional Community

A third level at which nationalism may operate is the regional community within Africa. The possible groupings range from the smaller confederations of states, such as the Conseil de l'Entente,<sup>52</sup> to the larger geographical groupings of West, East and Central Africa. The foundations of these communities have no traditional basis, but are new creations or adaptations of cooperative arrangements established under colonial auspices. Consequently, the Africans are more naturally loyal to the tribe or nation-state than to the regional community. But there is the argument that "any strong regional movement or organization would be likely to impair the possibility of realizing a full Pan-Africanism."<sup>53</sup> The basis for unity within this community is the mutual expectation of economic or social gain. If it becomes evident that mutual benefits would be received through such a union, and if the obstacles for regional union are overcome, it is most likely that a regional community would come into existence. The development of these groupings could bring united economic and social progress to the African states earlier than Pan-African union since there are fewer obstacles to unity at this level. However,

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<sup>52</sup>Conseil de l'Entente is a loose grouping of Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger and Dahomey. See below for further information.

<sup>53</sup>Rupert Emerson, "Pan-Africanism," Africa and World Order (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1963) p. 16.

when continental union is feasible, and when it appears that greater gains come from a Pan-African community, the African feels that the basis for these regional groupings will be undermined and that loyalty will be transferred to the greater union of states. Consequently, the existence of regional communities does not necessarily threaten a permanent nationalism in opposition to a future Pan-African loyalty. Instead, the Pan-Africanist insists that the regional communities will exist while the nations are growing, as an aid to economic and social progress and as a reminder that there is a larger unity for which to strive. In the construction of a Pan-African union the regional units will also be useful as building blocks for continental union.

#### The Pan-African Community

The highest level of nationalism is Pan-Africa. The goal of the Pan-African movement is the achievement of a political unity which transcends and embraces existing political entities. It presupposes a prime loyalty of the individual to his "national community," whether the nation-state or the region. The Pan-Africanists aim to build their continental union with the existing national blocs. They argue that the nation-state or region is not a resting place, but a half-way house on the highway to continental union.

To us, nationalism is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. Pan-Africanism is a pro-



jection of nationalism in Africa. After the attainment of Pan-Africanism, the ultimate ambition of the world should be world peace, unity, and equality.<sup>54</sup>

The loyalty to Africa has many bases, both physical and spiritual. Generally, the African leaders step cautiously, but with confidence that the factors for unity far outweigh those against it and that Africa will one day be a political entity as well as a geographic unit. Although Nkrumah antagonizes many Africans with his proposals for immediate political union, he represents the African feeling in his following statement:

Under a major political union of Africa there could emerge a United Africa, great and powerful, in which the territorial boundaries which are the relics of colonialism will become obsolete and superfluous, working for the complete and total mobilization of the economic planning organization under a unified political direction. The forces that unite us are far greater than the difficulties that divide us at present, and our goal must be the establishment of Africa's dignity, progress and prosperity.<sup>55</sup>

The "African Personality" is the bond between all Africans and is that which will achieve greatness in unity. In the eyes of the believers the case for African unity rests on such utilitarian grounds as the need to collaborate and to establish a common defense; it rests also on the mystique of the conviction that Africans are born to share a common destiny. When considering the apparent antagonisms, it

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<sup>54</sup>Wachuku Abengowe, Pan-Africanism Reconsidered, p. 122.

<sup>55</sup>Nkrumah, p. 221.

should be remembered that not only is there a profound sentiment of brotherhood among Africans, but also the African people are conscious that their division serves foreign interests and not their own.

The major concern of Africans today is the establishment of cohesive groupings--the nation-state and the regional community--which can be used as building blocks in the formation of a Pan-African political unit. The first step is the consolidation of the tribes into a viable nation; the organization of national units into effective regional groupings may be the second step; and the final step is the formation of a continental African unit on the basis of the national and/or regional units. Each step entails a similar process:

After all, there cannot be internationalism without nationalism. The nationalism of Nigeria is, in fact, internationalism in the sense that, within our borders, Nigeria is a kind of nation of nations....In trying to weld all these people together into one nation we are trying in Nigeria to do what on the African level we would like to do continentally.<sup>56</sup>

The goal of the new African nations is to create a cohesive nation-state or region not as an end, but as a means to the end of Pan-Africanism.

#### Nationalism Versus Pan-Africanism?

The question within Africa today regarding nationalism is this: will the loyalty to the nation-state remain su-

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<sup>56</sup>Enaharo, p. 72.

preme, or will it subside in the interest of Pan-African nationalism? A race is on between the widespread desire to find organized expression for African unity and the pressure within each state to maintain separate independence. With the need for a cohesive nation as the building block for Pan-African unity, the focus becomes internal making the territory the point of interest. But, as Coleman and Apter point out,

It would be quite unfair and unrealistic to regard the nation-building efforts of the rulers of Africa's independent states as petty parochialism or anti-Pan-Africanism. Rather, one should view it as a coming to grips with an age-old problem, namely, the creation of a stable political community capable of achieving its goals....Each of these requisites--national unity, respect for authority, positive loyalty, and a sense of shared purpose--make it absolutely essential for leaders to create national symbols, national institutions, and a sense of national identity--in other words, to build a nation.<sup>57</sup>

In contemporary Africa the operation of nationalism at the state level is stronger than that at the Pan-African level. If a successful and viable Pan-African community is to be established, it is essential that the present loyalty to the nation be transferred to this larger community. Will the differences between African nations remain secondary to the similarity of problems confronting them? Will the sense of oneness and the desire for unity remain potent while the nations develop independently, so that

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<sup>57</sup>Coleman and Apter, pp. 96-97.

in the end Pan-Africanism can emerge victorious and unite the separate nationalisms? Whether the Pan-African sentiment will endure through the period of nation-building may be impossible to predict. However, a consideration of the past history of the Pan-African movement, the various approaches to union, and the recent efforts to achieve unity, is useful for an understanding of the future of Pan-Africanism.

CHAPTER IV

THE EVOLUTION OF PAN-AFRICANISM

### The Stages of Development

The evolution of Pan-Africanism began at a slow pace in the early twentieth century and picked up speed during the 1950's. There are three distinguishable stages in its history of development. The first stage involves the gathering of peoples interested in the common elements of Negro heritage and concerned with the freeing of the African continent. The second period comes with the shift of political agitation to the individual African territories and the "nationalization" of Pan-Africanism. The third phase is concerned with political action within and among independent African states and the goals of liberating all Africans from alien rule and the creation of a wider unity.<sup>58</sup>

The first signs of a Pan-African movement came at the turn of the century with the First Pan-African Congress in London in 1900. The movement began in the effort to bring peoples of African descent throughout the world closer together. It is a striking fact that the crusade originated and found its earliest support in the United States and the West Indies. The first few conferences had an air of moderation and advanced few reforms for consideration.

The movement's turning point came in 1945 in Manchester after World War II at the Sixth Pan-African Conference in

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<sup>58</sup> Coleman and Apter, p. 84.

which the initiative and leadership came partly from the Africans for the first time.<sup>59</sup> Among those present were Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Chief H. O. Davies, Q. C., of Nigeria, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. Others attended who had been involved with the Pan-African movement from its beginnings: Dr. William du Bois of the United States and George Padmore, C. L. R. James and Dr. Peter Milliard, all of the West Indies.<sup>60</sup> A more radical and militant approach was adopted for the first time and the major goal became the attainment of self-government for the African colonies. A number of resolutions were advanced in opposition to the colonial control: the demand to abolish racial discrimination and colonial policies with their "oppressive laws and regulations;" the denunciation of economic exploitation and social neglect.<sup>61</sup> The ideals of equal opportunity, universal franchise and "economic democracy" were supported. The objective of the movement during this stage was more nationalist than Pan-African for the major emphasis was on the fight for independence within each colony rather than on association.

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<sup>59</sup>George Padmore ignores the 1900 Conference and labels this one the fifth. Colin Legum, on the other hand, begins with the 1900 Conference, which makes the 1945 conference number six. I shall use the latter dating scheme since it appears less arbitrary.

<sup>60</sup>Legum, p. 31.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., Appendix 2, pp. 135-137.

The third phase of Pan-Africanism was initiated in 1958, with the First Conference of Independent African States held in Accra during April. With the exception of the Union of South Africa, all the independent African states attended: Ethiopia, Liberia, the United Arab Republic, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Ghana. Also included were African nationalists from all over the continent, who were representing the non-liberated areas. The major purpose of the conference was to advance the emancipation of all colonial areas and to discuss the means of solving problems common to all the nations. The members pledged to observe territorial integrity and to use peaceful means in the settlement of any differences. The desire to project an "African Personality" onto the international scene through nonalignment and unity was proclaimed. This conference marked the formal launching of Pan-Africanism within Africa and was the beginning of a series of Pan-African meetings to be held in the future.

The Second Conference of Independent African States met in June, 1960, in Addis Ababa. It made little further progress beyond what had been proclaimed at Accra. There were no concrete decisions for unity, although the need for cooperation was recognized. Some steps were made in regards to plans for future economic, technological and military cooperation, and special channels were set up for



contact. Of significance was the open opposition of views on the approach to unity:

In this exchange between Mr. Ako Adjei [of Ghana] and Mr. Sule [of Nigeria] we have the crystallized views of two sides contesting the right way towards unity: Nigeria played the role of the Fabian, arguing from the standpoint of the federalist seeking to build from the bottom upwards; Ghana, the revolutionary unafraid to impel change from the top--a spirit in consonance with ideas of centralist democracy and unitarianism.<sup>62</sup>

The next conference was to take place in Tunisia in 1962 but it never came about because of lack of unanimity among the states and the resultant formation of splinter groups.

#### All-African Peoples Organization

The All-African Peoples Organization, a non-governmental association, has held conferences in Accra, 1958, Tunis, 1960, and Cairo, 1961. It has served not only to bring Africans together but also to provide bridges for further cooperation. In the amended Constitution, the aims of the Organization were presented:

- (a) To promote understanding and unity among the peoples of Africa;
- (b) To develop a feeling of one community among the peoples of Africa;
- (c) To accelerate the liberation of Africa from imperialism and colonialism;
- (d) To mobilise world opinion in support of African liberation;
- (e) To work for the emergence of a United States of Africa;
- (f) To work for the economic, social and cultural development of Africa....<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 47. For the text of the speeches see Appendices 10 and 11, pp. 170-174.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., Appendix 22, p. 225.

It is significant that the concept of a commonwealth of free African states was endorsed by this conference, but never by the early heads-of-state conferences. The ultimate goal was the achievement of a United States of Africa. However, the amalgamation of independent African states into regional federations on the basis of geographical, economic and cultural similarities was encouraged as interim targets with the caveat that these would not obstruct the ultimate objective. Specific recommendations were made to promote cultural, athletic and agricultural exchanges; to coordinate African youth movements and unify the African trade unionism; and to suppress customs barriers and encourage joint economic enterprises, inter-African companies, and cooperatives. This organization made progress in the laying of foundations for future unity; but, because of the divisive effect of the rivalry between Nkrumah and Nasser, and the Communist influence, the conference was disbanded in 1961.<sup>64</sup>

#### The Splinter Groups

Between 1960 and 1962, there was a marked tendency toward the formation of splinter groups within the Pan-African movement. The first was the Brazzaville group made up of former French territories, established in January, 1960. The Casablanca group, a more militant association,

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<sup>64</sup>Erasmus H. Kloman, Jr., "African Unification Movements," Africa and World Order, p. 124.

was formed in the next year as a counterpoise to Brazzaville. At a later date, a much broader association was established and labeled the Monrovia group, comprising the Brazzaville bloc and a majority of the English-speaking African states. It is difficult to assess the fundamental differences between these groups for the ideological divergence lacks depth and conviction. There is a cleavage, but it is one which is not indicative of total or permanent separation.

#### The Brazzaville Group

The Brazzaville group first met in Abidjan on October 24, 1960 with the belief that the independent African states should assist in bringing the Algerian war to an end without alienating France. The French-speaking African leaders came from Cameroun, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta and Chad. They met again, together with the President of the Malagasy Republic, at Brazzaville in December of 1960. The twelve states became jointly known as the Brazzaville bloc because it was at their Brazzaville meeting that the leaders resolved common long-term objectives. They announced that they would stay in existence as a group, to cooperate on economic problems and external policy. The formation of this bloc initiated two new developments in Africa: invitations for membership were restricted and a deliberate attempt was made to create

a bloc rather than a regional grouping.<sup>65</sup>

The Brazzaville Declaration of December 19, 1960 set forth the aim of the members as the realization of "new progress on the road to their inter-African cooperation... and to work effectively towards the maintenance of peace in Africa and the world."<sup>66</sup> In Tananarive during September of 1961, the heads of state signed the charter of the African and Malagasy Union and set up a number of organizations to facilitate the discussion, coordination and implementation of their policies. Of great importance were the specific objectives set up in the African and Malagasy Organization of Economic Cooperation (OAMCE): the establishment of a joint development program and bank; the formulation of common investment codes; and the coordination of relations with the European Economic Community. The members have united not only in economic policy but also in external policy. All sought compromise solutions to both the Congo and Algerian crises; all reject any communist presence in Africa; and all share a desire to remain on the friendliest terms with France. Finally, all are united in their opposition to early political unions among the independent states, although they favor close cooperation with each other. The Brazzaville bloc is an exclusive group, but it has contacts with the other African areas,

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<sup>65</sup>Legum, p. 50.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., Appendix 13, p. 179.

and now forms the core of the Monrovia group.

#### The Casablanca Group

At the African Heads-of-State Conference held in January, 1961, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Morocco and the United Arab Republic formed what is known as the Casablanca group of powers, as a counterpoise to the Brazzaville group. With the exception of Libya which did not sign the charter and later joined the Monrovia group, these states established a rather loose type of organization. The Protocol of the African Charter states that the executive machinery is to consist of four permanent bodies--the Political Committee, Economic Committee, Cultural Committee, Joint High Command--and a Liaison Office.<sup>67</sup> In an effort to create an effective form of cooperation, these joint offices were set up; however, they are purely consultative and have no power of any kind. That the "political union" set forth in the Charter is of a weak nature is deduced from the proceedings of the conference:

...although Dr. Nkrumah argued strongly at the Casablanca Conference for political union, his proposal was not accepted. In its closing stages Dr. Nkrumah made his own position admirably clear: 'The future of Africa lies in a political union--a political union in which the economic, military, and cultural activities will be coordinated for the security of our Continent.' But he spoke for himself; Casablanca was silent on political union.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., Appendix 16, p. 193.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

The Economic Committee has issued resolutions on the establishment of a future African common market and the suppression of customs barriers for products circulating among the member states, and has considered the creation of an African monetary zone. The Casablanca group has also issued resolutions which oppose Israel, the independence of Mauritania, the French aggression in Algeria and nuclear testing, and the Union of South Africa's apartheid. The group has strongly advocated the doctrine of nonalignment. Comprised of few members of such diverse settings, and beset by internal differences over the rivalry between Nasser and Nkrumah and the conflicting claims to Saharan oil, there is little chance that this group will remain cohesive and have great influence on African politics.

#### The Monrovia Group

Africa's largest assemblage of leaders met in May, 1961 and formed the Monrovia bloc of powers. This meeting was attended by the Brazzaville states as well as by Liberia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tunisia, Ethiopia and Libya. Sudan was absent and the former Belgian Congo was not invited to avoid any dispute over the legitimacy of its representation. The Casablanca group refused to attend after failing during the planning stage to achieve its objective of African policy integration. The Conference, however, left open the door for Casablanca to join at a later meeting to be held in Lagos.

The Monrovia powers stressed a voluntary cooperation of equal sovereign states and rejected a concept of African unity based on political integration:

The unity that is aimed to be achieved at the moment is not the political integration of sovereign African States, but unity of aspiration and of action considered from the point of view of African social solidarity and political identity.<sup>69</sup>

There were five principles advanced for the promotion of better understanding and cooperation: absolute equality; non-interference in internal affairs; respect for state sovereignty; condemnation of outside subversive action; and promotion of cooperation throughout Africa based on "non-acceptance of any leadership." The conference proposed the consideration of plans for economic, educational, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation, as well as coordination in the fields of communication and transportation. In regard to external issues, the Monrovia group welcomed the use of negotiation in Algeria; opposed assassination and balkanization, and backed the United Nations, within the Congo; supported the drive for independence in Angola; denounced the racial policy of apartheid in South Africa; and encouraged disarmament and the end of nuclear testing.

In January, 1962 the Monrovia group met in Lagos. Congo (Leopoldville) and Tanganyika attended for the first

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., Appendix 17, p. 198. My italics.

time. Two former members, Libya and Tunisia, withdrew after the failure to invite the Provisional Government of Algeria. As a result, the conference has no members located north of the Sahara. The proposed charter of the Inter-African and Malagasy Organization was presented with the aims of accelerating economic and social development, increasing the standards of education and health, and improving political cooperation as far as possible. These aims were to be aided by initiating "new means of establishing relationships in which the interests of the continent of Africa and Malagasy will be better defined and served."<sup>70</sup> The members agreed to adopt the charter at a later conference in order to allow some rapprochement with Casablanca and the other African states before taking final action. Rapprochement was achieved, and on May 25, 1963 the Addis Ababa Charter was signed by the thirty African States. This important event will be considered at length after a study of the various regional associations, existent and proposed, within contemporary Africa.

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<sup>70</sup>Quoted from Article I of the proposed Lagos Charter, in Hovet, p. 67.



CHAPTER V

THE ROAD TO UNITY

It is paradoxical that the question of how to achieve unity is becoming one of the principal divisive issues between African states. There are a multitude of claims to Pan-African leadership, each claim representing a various approach. The two major approaches are political union, sometimes called organic union, and regional association or functional cooperation. The central question is whether to build downwards as in the first approach, or to build upwards with either regional or functional union as a basis.

#### Political Union

The leading and virtually only exponent of political or organic union is Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. He endlessly insists that the only solution to the disturbing problems in Africa--economic and social backwardness, neo-colonialism, balkanization and disunity--is political union. For Nkrumah a united Africa should seek three objectives:

Firstly, we should have an over-all economic planning on a continental basis. This would increase the industrial and economic power of Africa.... Secondly, we should aim at the establishment of a unified military and defence strategy....The third objective which we should have in Africa stems from the first two....It will be necessary for us to adopt a unified foreign policy and diplomacy to give political direction to our joint efforts for the protection and economic development of our continent.<sup>71</sup>

He insists upon total and immediate political union. With union a reality, the social and economic problems of Africa can be solved more quickly and efficiently.

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<sup>71</sup>Nkrumah, pp. 218-220.

### Regionalism and Functionalism

Regional and functional association is a livelier issue than organic union in the sphere of Pan-African politics. It not only offers many of the advantages of political union, but also is more feasible for the immediate future. At the Second Conference of Independent African States in 1960, Mr. Sule of Nigeria presented a speech which expressed much of the African sentiment towards organic union:

Pan-Africanism is the only solution to our problems....But we must not be sentimental: we must be realistic. It is for this reason that we would like to point out that at this moment the idea of forming a Union of African States is premature.... it is essential to remember that whatever ideas we may have about Pan-Africanism...will not materialize as quickly as we would like them to if we start building from the top downwards.<sup>72</sup>

The idea of regional or functional union has popular support throughout Africa. <sup>73</sup> There are a number of united regions existing in the present or proposed for the future.

#### Maghreb Federation

The idea of a Maghreb Federation has been in existence since 1945. Maghreb is the Arabic word for "west," and is applied to the whole of Africa north of the Sahara, except Egypt--that is, the western part of the Arab world. The fellow feeling of these people is especially strong between

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<sup>72</sup>Legum, Appendix II, pp. 172-173.

<sup>73</sup>For some representative approaches to regional and functional association, see Legum, pp. 65-66.

Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.<sup>74</sup> They have shared both French cultural influences and the struggle for independence from France, and as a result they feel marked off from the eastern Arabs and are disinclined to accept Egyptian leadership. At a conference in Tangier in 1958, the three proclaimed their interdependence and various plans for future federation were set up. Although independence of Algeria and political party support have encouraged progress, there exist obstacles with Egypt's opposition, Morocco's caution, and the ties with the Arab world.

#### Greater Morocco

Another possible union within North Africa is that of Greater Morocco. This would include Morocco, Mauritania, the Spanish Sahara and possibly part of Mali. This union would exist separately or become incorporated into the Maghreb Federation. However, union is quite doubtful because of the opposition of Mali, the Spanish heritage of the Spanish Sahara, and the bitter antagonism between Mauritania and Morocco resulting from Morocco's aggressive claim on the former.

#### Union of the Nile States

The Union of the Nile States involves Egypt and Sudan. These two countries are united geographically by the Nile River and a common desert, economically by dependence on

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<sup>74</sup>Boyd and van Rensburg, p. 48.

cotton as the main export crop and the Aswan Dam project, and culturally by the similar Arab ties and past common history. The idea of union was virtually destroyed in 1955 by Egypt's blatant interference in Sudan's internal policies. Today, the two states cooperate on common projects but there is no indication of union for the near future, although it remains a possibility.

#### Greater Somalia

The idea of a Greater Somalia has been encouraged by the existence of Somalia peoples throughout the Horn of Africa. "Aspirations for unity of all Somalia affect: Ethiopia, whose...areas are peopled by about 400,000 Somalis; French Somaliland (population 70,000); and eastern Kenya, where 70,000 Somalis are interspersed among Galla tribes."<sup>75</sup> There are varying degrees of enthusiasm, but the successful regrouping of the former British and Italian areas into the Somalia Republic is some help as a nucleus around which the Somalis can unite. However, difficulties arise from the Somali nomadism, which has led to numerous border disputes. The present strained relations of Somalia with Kenya and Ethiopia jeopardize future union.

#### West Africa

Today West Africa comprises Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, fourteen republics formerly under French rule, and

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

a few dependencies including Gambia, Portuguese Guinea and Rio Muni. A proposal for a United West African Federation was made as early as 1945 at the Sixth Pan-African Congress. The countries are divided by their different heritages and their attitudes towards the former colonial rulers. Furthermore, there exist regional variations in the conservative Moslem belt in the north, the more developed and liberal coastal south, and the detribalized coastal African communities, including Sierra Leone and Liberia.<sup>76</sup> In spite of these differences, union is encouraged by the fact that the boundaries are not backed up by political, geographic or cultural reality, and by the great need for cooperation. The very complexity of the tribal and linguistic pattern might assist West African union, since amidst the vast number of tribes there exists no group big enough for the rest to fear, and no culture so powerful as to jeopardize others. A number of federations have been attempted within this area, some with success, and these can possibly form a core for wider union.

#### Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union

In November, 1958 the Ghana-Guinea Joint Declaration was issued by Kwame Nkrumah and Sékou Touré, who agreed to constitute their states as "the nucleus of a Union of West African States." The Conakry Declaration of May 1,

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

1959 sealed the Ghana-Guinea Union and set down basic principles governing membership:

Each State or Federation which is a member of the Union shall preserve its own individuality and structure. The member States or Federations will decide in common what portion of sovereignty shall be surrendered to the Union in the full interest of the African community.<sup>77</sup>

This union is actually a loose political association. There are no common institutions and separate internal, economic and social policies. The existence of a Resident Minister within each cabinet does little to strengthen the union. The three presidents have consulted on wider issues, but their views have differed in some regards. The possible inclusion of Upper Volta diminished with the establishment of the Conseil de l'Entente.<sup>78</sup> The union expanded in July, 1961, when Mali joined after the break-up of the Mali Federation;<sup>79</sup> further expansion, however, is not probable. In spite of the limited membership and the weak political institutions, this union is important as an example of association of countries with differing colonial heritages, and as a pointer to future unity.

#### The Sanniquellie Declaration

In July, 1959 a joint statement was made by the govern-

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<sup>77</sup>Legum, Appendix 6, p. 160.

<sup>78</sup>See footnote 52.

<sup>79</sup>See below for a discussion of the Mali Federation and the reasons for its failure.

ments of Liberia, Ghana and Guinea which was labeled the Sanniquellie Declaration. With the motto of "Independence and Unity," it formulates principles for the achievement of the Community of Independent African States. It insists upon the freedom of each state to maintain its own national identity and constitutional structure. The Community has the purpose of achieving unity, not that of affecting international policies and state obligations. However, it then formulates a principle which seems to contradict the first ones:

The acts of States and Federations, which are members of the Community, shall be determined in relation to the essential objectives which are Freedom, Independence, Unity, the African Personality, as well as the interest of the African peoples.<sup>80</sup>

The member states are to do nothing contrary to the objectives of the Community, yet they supposedly maintain their national identity. Besides this legal difficulty, jealousy and suspicion arose among the three leaders, and the Declaration lost its force.

#### French-Speaking Africa

The French-speaking nations of Africa have many factors in favor of integration. Under colonial rule the nations acquired a French language and currency, besides the link with metropolitan France. Furthermore, the Africans were united by two French federations: Afrique Occidentale

<sup>80</sup>Legum, Appendix 7, p. 163.



Française and Afrique Equatoriale Française. These federations broke up with the leadership rivalries of independence and de Gaulle's discouragement of regional unification. In spite of the political divisions, these peoples have as principal links a French colonial past, a low standard of living, the French language and an underdeveloped economy highly dependent on France.

#### Mali Federation

The Mali Federation planned in 1958 was to embrace Senegal, Volta and Dahomey as well as the present Mali Republic (Soudan). Only Senegal and Mali (Soudan) entered the federation, the others staying out because of lack of popular support, opposition from the Ivory Coast, and economic pressure from France. In spite of the members' similar historical backgrounds and the economic reality of the union, the Mali Federation broke in two when Senegal and Mali (Soudan) quarrelled in 1960.<sup>81</sup> Mali then drew close to Guinea and joined the Ghana-Guinea Union.

#### Conseil de l'Entente

In April, 1959 an agreement between Ivory Coast and Upper Volta, later to include Niger and Dahomey, was made to form the loose Conseil de l'Entente group. Common institutions exist in the common Court of Appeal and the customs union, as well as the "Solidarity Fund" for finan-

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<sup>81</sup> For an insight into the reasons for the federation's failure, see Dia, pp. 137-145.

cial assistance. The union has provided for the coordination of development plans and policies in the fields of taxation, public administration, labor legislation, public works, transportation and communications. The association is dominated by the Ivory Coast, its wealth and leader, Félix Houphouët-Boigny. The framework has survived with certain successes, but the unity is fragile.

#### French Equatorial Africa

Limited progress has been made in the regrouping of the former members of French Equatorial Africa, a federated dependency which attained sovereignty in 1960 as four republics--Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Chad and the Central African Republic. In an attempt to counter the "balkanization" that resulted from the setting up of separate republics, the nations created a "Union of Central African Republics," but Gabon held aloof from this loose association. Gabon is the most developed and prosperous country in the region and is consequently reluctant to diffuse her wealth throughout the region. The four countries, however, maintained a customs union, which Cameroun also joined in 1961. (The present republic of Cameroun is a regrouping of the southern part of the former British Camerouns with the Cameroun Republic.) Although the inland republics are still linked to each other by ties established under French colonial rule, communications are poor, except where the rivers are navigable.

Within West Africa there is generally strong resistance to political amalgamation beyond the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union. But hope is expressed for progress toward unification through functional integration along economic, administrative and technical lines. There is some encouragement in the functional organizations, both planned and created, of the Brazzaville powers and the Addis Ababa group, in the fields of defense, transportation, communication, education and technical research.

PAFMECSA

Eastern, central and southern countries have a common organization in the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA). Delegations to the annual conferences come from Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. The Union of South Africa, South-West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Congo (Leopoldville), Rwanda, Burundi and the exile group from Mozambique, have also attended these conferences, some as associate members. This organization developed out of the All-African Peoples Conference of 1958 and changed its title to include the region of South Africa. It is a coordinating body rather than a unifying one, and its policy on continental unity puts emphasis on the avoidance of hasty proposals and the encouragement of unity through stages.<sup>82</sup> One of the major

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<sup>82</sup>Legum, p. 73.

objectives is the obliteration of colonial control from the areas in want of real freedom. The members have given support to the freedom movements within Mozambique and South Africa, and have opposed the Central African Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland on the grounds that it was an imposed constitution to consolidate the white's position of power.

### East Africa

Under British rule the East Africa High Commission was set up in 1948. With the independence of Tanganyika in December, 1961, the East African Common Services Organization came into effect comprising Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika as equals, and Zanzibar as an associate member. Responsibility lies with the three elected African ministers and the objectives are specifically the coordination of communication, finance, commerce, and social services. It is hoped that this functional cooperation can pave the way for a federation for East Africa.

Few parts of Africa seem better prepared for political unification than East Africa. Its long history of economic integration has brought Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar into a common market. A single system of railroads, airlines and ships links the area, and is run by the East African Common Services Organization. East Africans use the same money, postage stamps, and languages--Swahili and English. The Common Services Organization collects income

and corporate taxes and customs and excise duties. Federation would not only bring united progress to this area, it would also solve some of the local problems: the opposition of the Baganda and other feudalists to the formation of a national state of Uganda; the Arab irredentism on the Kenya coast; and Masai tribal objections to being divided by the Kenya-Tanganyika border.<sup>83</sup> A Federation of East Africa was planned for December of 1963 with the independence of Kenya and Zanzibar, but uncertainty, jealousy and mistrust precluded its formation. Trouble arose in such areas as unifying defense forces, merging diplomatic corps, locating the Federal capital, and finding a basis for wide economic planning.<sup>84</sup> The leaders were reluctant to give up the special benefits of their separate countries for the larger advantage of political union.

It is difficult to assess the future possibilities for union. Sentiments exist in favor of a wider association, yet the national interests conflict on certain issues. If a Federation of East Africa becomes reality, there will be the possibility of adding Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and possibly Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, South-West Africa, Rwanda and Burundi to this core. Many obstacles exist in the path to unity, but in the meantime it is hoped

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<sup>83</sup>Kloman, p. 131.

<sup>84</sup>Robert Conley, "East Africa Misses Its Chance for Unity," The New York Times Western Edition, African Business Review (January 23, 1964) p. R9.

that economic cooperation will continue as a first step to political integration.

By the end of 1963 no real political unions existed with the exception of the tenuous Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union. Following independence the countries have been increasingly occupied with domestic problems of their own. Economic cooperation has been virtually the only area of functional association. The continent has experienced a split into the rival blocs of Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia. But the divisions are not necessarily permanent, for alliances and relationships are extremely fluid in contemporary Africa. Furthermore, the Addis Ababa Conference has brought a new unity to the African political scene and may become the future basis for Pan-African cooperation and united progress.

The road to Pan-African unity is wrought with detours and barriers; and there is no short cut. Nkrumah's insistence upon immediate political union is fallacious especially in the light of the failure of the Federation of East Africa. Even on this regional basis, political union miscarried as a result of disagreement on limited political issues, seemingly trivial issues as the question of placement of the political capital. If these problems arise at the regional level, what is the chance of Pan-African unity at this time? The road is a long one, and must be tread upon with caution, on a functional or regional basis.

President Nyerere of Tanganyika is especially aware of the problems involved after the disappointing failure in East Africa:

One of the hard facts we have to face on our way to African unity is that this unity means, on the part of the countries, surrender of sovereignty, and on the part of the individual leaders, surrender of high positions. We must face squarely the fact that so far there has been no such surrender in the name of African unity.<sup>85</sup>

With leadership like that of Julius Nyerere and with honest appraisal of the situation and the problems involved, the road to unity will be considerably improved.

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<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. R1.





On May 25, 1963 the heads of state of the thirty African nations signed the Charter of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa. Morocco was not present at the conference because of Mauritania's attendance, and Togo was absent because the other states were reluctant to recognize the new regime after Sylvanus Olympio's assassination; however, both signed the Addis Ababa Charter. Representatives of the nationalist parties of dependent African territories were invited as observers. Members of the Casablanca, Brazzaville and Monrovia groups were present, indicating that the split between them was not as serious as some had believed. There were two stages to the Conference: a preparatory meeting of foreign ministers held from May 15 to May 23; and a gathering of heads of state and government, following immediately and ending with the signing of the charter on May 25.

During the first stage, eight topics of concern were chosen for the agenda:

- (1) Establishment of an organization of African States;
- (2) Cooperation among African states in various fields;
- (3) Decolonialization;
- (4) Apartheid and racial discrimination;
- (5) Effect of regional economic groupings on African economic development;
- (6) Disarmament;
- (7) Establishment of a permanent conciliation commission;
- (8) Africa and the United Nations.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "The Addis Ababa Charter," International Conciliation, 546 (January, 1964) p. 9.

The most serious debate centered around the question of an organization of African states. The proposals for the possible forms of association spanned a range from Nkrumah's draft for political federation to a recommendation for the most gradual course possible. The most popular proposal was presented by Ethiopia and called for "cooperation among African states in all fields, including defense, and for the setting up of an assembly of heads of state and government with a permanent secretariat for the coordination of African affairs."<sup>87</sup> In spite of the will to compromise, the ministerial conference made few specific advances. The major achievement was the clear definition of the problems at hand; definite action was left to the conference of heads of state.

While a Special Committee of Foreign Ministers prepared the draft of the Charter, the heads of state gave speeches on their policy and position to the plenary session. The major themes were those topics of concern listed at the preparatory conference. The most popular subjects were

the cultural bases of African solidarity, African underdevelopment, and the already familiar issue of the nature of the political links to be forged among African states. In a sense these all represent facets of the same question--the oneness or separateness of the African states, ideologically and historically, economically and politically.<sup>88</sup>

The characteristics of solidarity were agreed to be pan-

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

continental cooperation, anti-isolationism from the rest of the world, the rejection of identification with the power blocs, and the belief in the United Nations as the framework for the establishment of world peace. There was general insistence upon a wide program to win the struggle against underdevelopment, involving African cooperation and outside assistance. The nature of the Pan-African political links was never agreed upon by the leaders, who again were divided into two basic groups, arguing organic political union against functional or regional association.

The primary goal of the Addis Ababa Charter is the establishment of African continental unity; yet, agreement on the method of realization of this goal has not been reached. In the Preamble, the heads of state pronounce that they are

INSPIRED by a common determination to promote understanding among our peoples and cooperation among our States...

DESIROUS that all African States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured;

RESOLVED to reinforce the links between our states by establishing and strengthening common institutions....<sup>89</sup>

The purpose of the Organization of African Unity is to promote unity and intensify cooperation. This is to be accomplished through four principal institutions: the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the General Secretariat, and the Commission of Mediation,

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., Appendix, p. 53.

Conciliation and Arbitration. Furthermore, specialized Commissions are to be set up when necessary and are to include the following: Economic and Social; Educational and Cultural; Health, Sanitation and Nutrition; Defence; and Scientific, Technical and Research Commissions. All African states are entitled to be members and have equal voting strength within every organ without regard to size, natural resources, or population. The supreme organ is the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which meets annually to "discuss matters of common concern to Africa with a view to coordinating and harmonizing the general policy of the Organization."<sup>90</sup>

The conference at Addis Ababa and the resultant Organization of African Unity is a significant step on the road to Pan-African unity. The organization allows real collaboration between the African governments by facilitating consultation and joint action throughout the continent. The Charter has been criticized for its lack of "juridical and practical value;"<sup>91</sup> it may be an ambitious undertaking, but its legal basis is similar to that of the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Organization of American States. There has also been the criticism that the Charter was unable to overcome the internal contradictions within Africa. However, the differences between the

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., Appendix, p. 56.

Monrovia and Casablanca blocs are constantly evolving, and it is more fruitful to note the attempts of the groups to find common ground than to observe their differences. The Organization of African Unity gives these groups the chance to find common ground. A further criticism is that the conference did not resolve the fundamental issue of continentalism versus regionalism. The Charter makes no mention of this delicate question and does not discourage the formation of regional associations. The feelings across the continent are contradictory, as we have seen, and there is no easy solution. It has been suggested that a provision be added to the Charter which "would have the great advantage of channeling the African federalist movement toward sound federal institutions that would not endanger the OAU because of inconsistent aims, or too great size."<sup>91</sup> The organization must recognize that it can do little to change the existing fragmentation, but its achievements can lie in its provision of a basis for united action in the present and in the future.

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

... of the ... to ... in ...  
way ... Africa ... the ...  
conflict ... areas for conflict among the ...  
areas ... are as great as ... other ...  
of the ... areas ...  
... desire to take over ...  
... areas ... the ...  
... and ...  
are only a few areas of potential ...  
... are evident in the ... of the ...  
... and ...

**CHAPTER VII**

**THE JOURNEY'S END**

... states that have ...  
Regional meetings ... the ...  
position between the ...  
states. In the larger ... there are differences  
in views between the ...  
the French Community, and the ...  
states. These divisions ...  
... those of ...  
and other ...  
... will have to be recognized ...  
the ...

... however, the ...  
one side of the ...  
Africa ...

The end of the journey to Pan-African unity is a long way off. Africa emerged from the colonial era as a divided continent. The potentialities for conflict among the separate African states are as great as those in other parts of the world. Ghana's claim for areas in Togo and Ivory Coast; Morocco's desire to take over Mauritania; the demand of Somalia for areas in Ethiopia and Kenya; the conflicting claims of Senegal and Guinea for Portuguese Guinea: these are only a few areas of potential rivalry and conflict. Divisions are evident with the formation of the Casablanca, Brazzaville and Monrovia groupings. Moreover, there are divisions within these blocs. Among the Casablanca bloc are states that have identifications with the Arab League. Regional meetings within the Brazzaville states reveal opposition between the Entente states and the Equatorial states. In the larger Monrovia group there are differences in views between the French-speaking states identified with the French Community and the English-speaking Commonwealth states. These divisions and a number of other problems, including those of language, tribalism, poor communication and great distances, conflicting personalities and political opinions, will have to be recognized and resolved before the final destination can be reached.

However, the Africa of disunity and conflict is only one side of the political picture. There exists also the

Africa of unity, the Africa of Addis Ababa. African unity, Africa and International Progress (New York: American Association of Publishers, London, 1960), p. 173.

is a powerful and realistic idea, arising out of both a tradition and a need, and offering a great hope for the future. It is an ideal for which the African strives with great seriousness and confidence. If the present pace on the road to unity continues, the African has a realistic prospect of reaching the end of his journey.

The Africa of many nations is a reality. The emergence of these new nation-states confronts Pan-Africanism with its severest test. The course of history has shown that nationalism within separate states can subvert the cause of supra-national unity. But, history has also made clear that political fragmentation can be a serious handicap for economic and social growth and political stability. The African is very aware of this; it was with this in mind that he drew up the Addis Ababa Charter. The Pan-Africanist believes that with the Organization of African Unity as a basis for supra-national cooperation, and with the realization that real development is possible only within the framework of larger associations, the African nations will move on the road from little states to large ones--from micro-nationalism to macro-nationalism. This may only be a mirage on the road ahead; but, hopefully, "to go from nationalism to internationalism is merely to take a well-marked turn on the very highway on which the world is travelling."<sup>92</sup>

The African does more than dream of the end. He is

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<sup>92</sup>Carlton Hayes, in Urban G. Whitaker Jr., Editor, Nationalism and International Progress (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1960) p. 122.



continually paving the way to his dream of unity. The nations progress at different speeds and on different paths. Some choose a loose association of states as the first step. Others establish a common market or some other form of functional union. Still others prefer a political association without real economic integration. Whatever the path, each successful attempt breaks down the national barriers with new means of communication and transportation, mutual exchanges, and increased trade and contact. All of these developments produce institutions and habits that facilitate eventual political union. Main values become more compatible and behavior, more predictable. For the Pan-Africanist, these are limited steps which bring the final goal of continental union closer. These steps increase the consciousness of interdependence and the knowledge and understanding of each other.

It is impossible to predict the amount of time that will be required or the degree of progress that will be made in reaching the destination of African union. The task of the movement at present is to mobilize popular support for African integration and to propagate ideas of tolerance and peaceful cooperation. This calls for statesmanship and mutual respect and understanding of each other's genuine interest. Only with full discussion and close cooperation can the Africa of pieces be left in the past, and the Africa of peace emerge. The past success of the African

in achieving this task is one of the most promising features on the contemporary political scene. Pan-Africanism is entering a decisive stage in the journey to the end. Throughout the continent a feeling of "community" exists and the sense of oneness grows. The political union of Africa will not come tomorrow. But to deny its possibility would be bold, indeed! There is, after all, a day after tomorrow, and on that day the end of the journey may be reached.

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