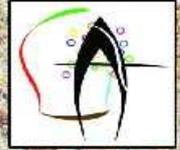




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**L'Afrique et les défis du XXIème siècle
Africa and the Challenges of the Twenty First Century
A África e os desafios do Século XXI
إفريقيا وتحديات القرن الواحد والعشرين**

**Dreams of Unity: From the United States of Africa
to the Federation of African States**

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Abstract

During the first fifteen years of the struggle for independence in Africa (1945-1960), two competing views of African cooperation and integration were promoted by two groups of African nationalist leaders. On the one hand, the gradualists (or functionalists) led by Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, advocated a gradual, step-by-step integration in the areas of transport and telecommunications, science and technology, and the economy leading up—in a distant future—to political integration. The pan-Africanists, led by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana—and including Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, and Modibo Keita of Mali—proposed (following Nkrumah's blueprint as outlined in *Africa Must Unite*) immediate political and economic integration in the form of a *United States of Africa* consisting of an African Common Market, African Monetary Union, an African Military High-Command, and a continent-wide, Union Government.

This paper first shows how the pan-Africanist leaders' dream of unity was deferred in favor of the gradualist-functionalist approach, embodied in a weak and loosely-structured Organization of African Unity (OAU) created on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia). Indeed, the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union created in 1959 as the nucleus of the United States of Africa never really took off. The paper then analyzes the reasons for the failure of the pan-Africanists leaders' dream of unity, namely: fear of tampering with the colonially-inherited borders; reluctance of newly-independent African leaders to abandon their newly-won sovereignty in favor of a broader political entity; suspicion on the part of many African leaders that Kwame Nkrumah intended to become the super-president of a united Africa; and divide and rule strategies on the part of major Western powers—led by France and the United States—meant to sabotage any attempt at African unity. It took African leaders some 40 years to realize their mistake. A project for an African Common Market, leading to an African Economic Community (*The Lagos Plan of Action/Final Act of Lagos*), was launched in 1980 within the OAU. Then, on 26 May 2001, the African Union (AU) formally replaced the OAU. One of the reasons why the project for a United States of Africa failed is that it was modeled on the United States of America. Similarly, because it is a top-down project modeled on the European Union, the AU is bound to know the same fate. As per Mueniwa Muiu and Guy Martin's book *A New Paradigm of the African State: Fundi*

waAfrika(Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), this paper concludes that the pan-Africanists leaders' dream of unity can only be realized through a model conceived by and for Africans themselves, namely the *Federation of African States* (FAS). The FAS is based on five sub-regional states in each main sub-region of the continent: Kimit (North); Mali (West); Kongo (Central); Kush (Eastern); and Zimbabwe (Southern) with a federal capital (Napata), and a rotating presidency, eventually leading to total political and economic integration.