The "United States of Africa": Clarity to a misunderstood idea.

By

Lineekela Usebiu

200704940

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Law for the Partial fulfilment of the requirements of the LLB (Honours) Degree at the University of Namibia

21 October 2011

Supervisor: Mr. F. Mundia

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this dissertation is an original piece of work; I have not used any other sources than those listed under the references.

Signed at   Windhoek, on _____ of _____ 2011

SIGNATURE

Supervisor's Certificate

I, Ferdie Mundia, hereby certify that the research and writing of this dissertation was carried out under my supervision.

Signature _____

Date: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I hereby wish to express my gratitude and to acknowledge the assistance received from all those individuals who enabled this research project to be successfully and timeously completed.

I am indebted to:

Mr. F. Mundia, my supervisor, for the professional, patient and friendly manner in which he guided me through this study.

I wish to record my appreciation to:

My Mother and friends for their endless moral support, motivation and tolerance.

And above all; I would like to extend my thanksgiving to the Almighty God. It is through Him that this study was made possible.

Abstract

The United States of Africa is the name proposed for the concept of a merger of some or all of the 53 sovereign states of Africa. It started as an idea over 80 years ago and has since remained a constant topic, the great dream cherished from the earliest days of Pan-Africanism. For such a great idea, it has taken an excessively extended period of time to materialize and Africa is not even close to the implementation stage. This sorry state of affairs is mostly due to the fact that the idea is so grossly misunderstood. Most African leaders are reluctant to push the idea forward as they believe they will have to completely part with the sovereignty of their states which they fought so hard to safeguard. It is indisputable that the benefits to be obtained from a common government are immeasurable, it is also indisputable that no integration can take part without some sort of sacrifice of sovereignty; however, depending on the type of governmental structure chosen, the African States need not totally relinquish their sovereignty but can practice shared sovereignty as is the case in the European Union. This study therefore sought to provide clarity for all stakeholders; by dealing with the issues of sovereignty and the type of governmental structure a United States of Africa can take, drawing lessons from the European Union; although imperfect, it is still at a better place than Africa is.

Table of Contents

Chapter 3: A Comparative Analysis- The European Union

Chapter 4: Discussion of Findings and Conclusions

Acronyms

AU-   African Union

EU-   European Union

OAU- Organization of African Unity

USA- United Sates of Africa

Chapter 1

_____

Introduction to the Study

1.1. Historical background

The United States of Africa is the name proposed for the concept of a union of some or all of the 53 sovereign states of Africa. It remains a constant topic, the great dream cherished from the earliest days of Pan-Africanism. In examining the origins of the concept, tribute must be paid to the likes of Marcus Garvey, William Edward Du Bois, George Padmore, Sylvester Williams, and many Black Nationalist leaders who fought tooth and nail to unite blacks across the globe for a common cause.[1] The term "United States of Africa" was coined over 80 years ago by the activist and poet, Marcus Garvey in his poem 'Hail, United States of Africa' in 1924.

The coming together of People of African descent for a common cause dates back to the colonial era, and emerged with what started as the Pan-Africanist movements, gradually influencing freedom fighters and nationalist movements. The search for African social, political and economic integration; having commenced outside Africa, went through various stages with leadership roles changing hands a number of times. This gradually led to the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 which was transformed into the African Union (AU) in 2002.

---

[1] Adjetey, S. A. 2010. *The United States of Africa Philosophy - A Historical Perspective*. Available at http://ssrn.com; last accessed 30 April 2011.

The OAU was founded largely as a result of Kwame Nkrumah's initiative; he strongly urged for the immediate setting up of a unified Africa[2], moreover he is also known as the father of Pan-Africanism. When the African delegates met in July 2007 at the African Union (AU) Summit, the main item on the agenda was the creation of the United States of Africa- an idea which has been in the pipelines since the inception of the OAU in 1963.[3] After several conferences; the Executive Council of the AU reached a conclusion that: first, a necessity of an AU government existed without a doubt; second, that such a union must be of African people and not merely a union of states and governments; third, that the creation of a union government must come about through the principle of gradual growth; fourth, that the roles of the Regional Economic Communities as building blocks for the continental framework should be highlighted. The consensus among the African heads of state with regards to the above was quite clear; however, most if not all of them have differing views about how exactly this Union Government should be structured and exactly when it can be feasibly realized.

1.2. Problem statement

There is no doubt that the concept of the United States of Africa is a great idea. It has however been grossly misinterpreted, which may be the reason why it has taken so long to materialize. Dr. Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah once said that[4]

> Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world. I believe strongly and sincerely that with the deep-rooted wisdom and dignity, the innate respect for human lives, the intense humanity that is our heritage, the African race, united under one federal government, will emerge not as just another world bloc to flaunt its wealth and strength, but as a Great Power whose greatness is indestructible because it is built not on fear, envy and suspicion, nor won at the expense of others, but founded on hope, trust, friendship and directed to the good of all mankind.

---

[2] Editors of *The Spark* and Panaf Books. 1975. *Some essential features of Nkurumaism*. London: Panaf Books Ltd, p.160.
[3] Even Libyan leader Muammar al-Gaddafi, who was the 2009 Chairperson of the African Union (AU), has advanced the idea of a United States of Africa at two regional African summits: in June 2007 in Conakry, Guinea, and again in February 2009 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
[4] Abbas, H. *Towards a continental Government?* Available at http://www.pambazuka.org; last accessed on 27 April 2011.

As beautiful as this may sound, there has been great scepticism that the integration of all 53 independent states of Africa could have adverse effects; firstly, there exists no uniformity of laws in the African states; secondly the creation of a United States of Africa would involve the formulation of a continental government for Africa which may result in the derogation from national sovereignty of member states and thirdly; the inequalities in development of the different states-they are all at different levels of development, some more advanced than others, how can the integration take part in such a manner that some states do not benefit more and some less? Of all these, the greatest worry amongst African Heads of State is the issue of sovereignty.

Moving beyond this status quo would require, amongst other things, leaders who share a Pan-Africanist commitment, and who are willing to engage the African population in a search for solutions that preserves Africa's independence and dignity; as well as strategies which reflect Africa's image and interests. It is therefore clear that much work needs to be done before the dream of the collective empowerment of all African peoples comes true; until then, the dream of African unity only remains but a mirage.

The aim of this study was to determine *how* the dream of the united states of Africa can be turned from a dream into reality and suggest ways into which this United States of Africa can be implemented.

1.3.   Hypothesis

The integration of Africa will not automatically mean loss of sovereignty over the territories of individual member states. The problem of sovereignty can easily be overcome through the type government chosen. The Idea of a United States of Africa is greatly misunderstood; as with all misunderstandings, the solution to the scepticism behind the formation of a united states of Africa lies in the provision of clarity. African

Heads of state and all other interested parties need to realize that there are more benefits to be had from continental unity than there are disadvantages.[5]

1.4.   Significance of study

Most African countries fought long and hard for their liberation and so pride themselves highly of their sovereignty; Namibia for one has expressed its sovereignty in its fundamental law-its Constitution.[6]

The study was directed at finding the perfect governmental structure for a united states of Africa so as to preserve some of the sovereignty the African states fought so hard to obtain. In the same vein, also to provide clarity for any misunderstandings that may exist in relation to the proposed United States of Africa.

The study was hence aimed at showing all stakeholders that a united states of Africa is possible by setting out possible ways in which this can be done. The study can be used by other researchers who are interested in the subject; for purposes of further research on other aspects that this study may not have covered.

1.5.   Research methodology

The methodology for this dissertation comes from empirical research. Academic literature on the subject of the United States of Africa is vast and as such it had to be narrowed down to writings that specifically deal with the aspects pertinent to the study at hand. The data used consists of journal articles and academic writings on the subject; for the most part collected from internet websites so as to include sources that are

---

[5]Some of benefits of a united Africa; socio-economic development, reduction in dependency of African countries on the west[5], joint development of particular common assets and how it may well be the solution for political, economic and social stability in Africa. Dr. Martin, G. 1989. *African Regional Integration: Lessons and Central African Experiences.* Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.p.24.

[6] Article 1(1) provides that "the Republic of Namibia is hereby established as a sovereign, secular, democratic and unitary State founded upon the principles of democracy, the rule of law and justice for all".

sufficiently current. The literature was then critically analysed and compared in a detailed and balanced manner in order to accomplish the main object of the study, mainly the provision of clarity as to what the United States of Africa really entails and sufficiently provide academically informed conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

_____

Overview of Study

2.1. Pan- Africanism and the United States of Africa
a) The history of Pan-Africanism

African unity is closely intertwined with the evolution of Pan-Africanism and since the argument for the United States of Africa is based on the philosophical idea of Pan-Africanism; the concept merits discussion.

Pan-Africanism has been, and remains the most ambitious and most comprehensive ideology that Africa formulated for itself since the 19th century. Although no precise definition of Pan- Africanism is available, its conceptual view provided the philosophical support for ideas such as a 'United States of Africa', an 'African Federation', or a 'Union Government of Africa'-essentially stressing the need for continental African unity as a way to achieving African liberation and development.[7]

The concept of Pan-Africanism has its beginning in the liberation struggles of African-Americans and expresses the aspirations of Africans and peoples of African descent; as

---

[7] Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:18. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011.

time went by, it became increasingly identified with Kwame Nkrumah. Pan-Africanism seeds back to the centuries of slave-trading and has come to mean the quest for continental unity by Africans on both sides of the Atlantic in the decades since World War II. The transatlantic slave trade was a noteworthy landmark in the records of African history; it produced the forced migration of millions of Africans as slave-labourers to Europe, the Americas and the Caribbean. Pan-Africanism was consequently born in the Diaspora,[8] out of a longing for the African homeland.[9] Thompson[10] affirms that the brutal experiences of slavery on plantations crafted some men whose determined spirits were to become the symbol of African revolt- out of this desire to survive was born the idea of unity of action and racial integration. The people who have been linked to Pan-Africanism are so different and as such finds expression in different forms.[11]

The birth of Pan-Africanism can be traced to the founding of the African Association in London in 1897 and the convening of the Pan-African Conference three years later by Trinidadian lawyer, H. Sylvester Williams in the same city. Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, an African- American scholar and activist organized and played a leading role in a series of Pan-African congresses in United States and Europe between 1900 and 1945 which brought together peoples of African descent from the Americas, Africa and Europe. In the 1920s, Marcus Garvey also began to promote African nationalism and advocated for African self government with the motto "Africa for Africans".

---

[8] The descendants of Sub-Saharan peoples living anywhere in the Western hemisphere.

[9] Adogamhe, P. G. 2008. "Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development". *African Review of integration*, Volume 2 No.2:1 Available at www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/.../Adogamhe.pdf; last accessed on 4 May 2011.

[10] Thompson, V. B. 1969. *Africa and Unity: the Evolution of Pan-Africanism*. London: Longman Group Ltd, p.xxi.

[11] He clearly articulated the importance of Pan-Africanism in this way:

"The masses of the Negroes in America, the West Indies, South and Central America are in sympathetic accord with the aspirations of the native Africans. We desire to help them build up Africa as a Negro empire, where every black man, whether he was born in Africa or the Western world, will have the opportunity to develop on his own lines under production of the most favourable democratic institutions…" (Quoted from Marcus Garvey's Speech in Amy Jacques, 1969). Adogamhe, P. G. 2008. "Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development". *African Review of integration*, Volume 2 No.2:1 Available at www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/.../Adogamhe.pdf; last accessed on 4 May 2011.

While Europe may have been the centre of the Pan-African world before 1945, the focus of Pan-African activities shifted to the African continent subsequent to the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England. The idea of Continental Pan-Africanism can be traced to African nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Ahmed Sekou Touré of Guinea, Modibo Keita of Mali, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, an Tom Mboya, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, among other African leaders of the early 1960s. For Nkrumah, the ideology of Pan-Africanism became a revolutionary movement for the unification and total liberation of the African continent. He pronounced that the total liberation and unification of Africa under an All-African Socialist Government must be the primary objective of all Black revolutionaries throughout the world; an objective which, when achieved, will bring the fulfilment of hopes of Africans and people of African descent everywhere.[12]

According to Murithi,[13] Pan-Africanism recognizes that the only way out of the existing socio-political crisis is by promoting greater solidarity amongst Africans. While dialogue and debate in Africa may not always generate consensus, it will at least be dialogue among Africans about possible resolutions to their problems. Pan-Africanism also holds out the belief that if ideas are not designed by the Africans themselves, it will rarely be in the interests of Africans. The ideology of Pan-Africanism with its many forms of expression was not only a movement that brought together people of African origin; it was recognition that Africans have been divided among themselves, a strategy for social solidarity, as well as cultural, political and economic emancipation. Like all ideologies, Pan- Africanism set up a vision of what was desirable in the future, rather than what actually existed.[14]

---

[12] Adogamhe, P. G. 2008. "Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development". *African Review of integration*, Volume 2 No.2:1Available at www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/.../Adogamhe.pdf; last accessed on 4 May 2011.

[13] Murithi, T. 2007. *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism: Transforming African Union Values into policy and practice.* Available at www.iss.co.za/uploads/PAPER143H.PDF; last accessed on 25 May 2011.p.2.

[14] Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:18. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011.

b) The institutionalization of Pan-Africanism

With time, the ideals of Pan-Africanism found manifestation in the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In the 20th century, the Pan-African movement became more formalised. Its first formal organisation was the Pan-African Congress, which developed from congresses which were convened in the UK and the US under the leadership of activists like W E B du Bois and Henry Sylvester Williams, who then who took the idea of Pan-Africanism to another level on 25 May 1963 when they founded the OAU. The principles of the OAU, the primary objective of which was the continuation of the tradition of solidarity and cooperation among Africans, kept the spirit of Pan- Africanism alive.

Mathews[15] outlines four major themes that constitute the key components of Pan-Africanism, namely

(a) an expression of pride and the achievement of Africans;

(b) the idea of returning to Africa, a notion mainly promoted by Africans in the Diaspora, notably Marcus Garvey;

(c) liberation from colonialism and all forms of oppression; and

(d) African unity as a primary objective in the struggle for liberation and development. This unity became a goal as part of the struggle for liberation from European colonialism.

The OAU embraced the principle of Pan- Africanism and undertook the challenge of liberating all African countries from the grip of colonialism; in addition, the OAU sought to assert the right of Africans to control their own social, economic and political affairs and achieve the freedom necessary to consolidate development. Unfortunately, the OAU failed to live up to its norms and principles.[16]

---

[15] Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:18. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011.

[16] Murithi, T. 2007. *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism: Transforming African Union Values into policy and practice.* www.iss.co.za/uploads/PAPER143H.PDF; last accessed on 25 May 2011, p. 3.

After the failure of the OAU, the AU came into existence in 2002. The purpose of the AU was to usher in a new era of continental integration leading to a greater unity and resolution of the problems of the African continent. The AU has been expressed as the final goal of African unity that leaders have been pursuing for more than forty years.[17] The AU is appropriately viewed as the latest incarnation of the ideals of Pan- Africanism seeing that it is the product of many years of Pan-Africanist aspirations.[18] The Union does not propose to be the perfect form, but it does represent the progression towards Pan-Africanist ideals. Murithi stresses that Pan-Africanism is a tool which in the right hands could be a key to Africa's emancipation.[19]

2.2. Sovereignty of African States

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana fought vigorously for the creation of a Union of African States with a common African Government. His optimism for the unity of Africa as a force for continental development was unparalleled. His dream, however, never became a reality due to firm opposition from African leaders as most of them feared the loss of their sovereignty.[20] There existed among African Statesmen skepticism about the wisdom of political union of States at the early stages of their independence, they were afraid that political union might encroach upon the sovereignty of their States; an uncertainty that has been a major obstacle to the evolution of the common African Government.

a) The Concept of Sovereignty

---

[17] Okhonmina, S. *The African Union: Pan-Africanist Aspirations and the Challenge of African Unity*. Available at www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no4/3.4AfricanUnion.pdf; last accessed on 6 May 2011, p. 86.

[18] Okhonmina, S. *The African Union: Pan-Africanist Aspirations and the Challenge of African Unity*. Available at www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no4/3.4AfricanUnion.pdf; last accessed on 6 May 2011, p. 88.

[19] Murithi, T. *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism: Transforming African Union Values into policy and practice*. www.iss.co.za/uploads/PAPER143H.PDF; last accessed on 25 May 2011, p. 8.

[20] Olaosebikan, A. J. 2011. Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume 5:218-228, p. 218. Available at http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir; last accessed on 27 June 2011.

In the *Corfu Channel Case*[21] sovereignty was defined to mean 'the whole body of rights and attributes which a state possesses in its territory, to the exclusion of all other states, and also in its relations with other states'. The classical concept of sovereignty can be traced back to the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. The concept has since become known as 'the Westphalian concept of sovereignty' in terms of which the nation state had absolute power and authority over its internal affairs without external interference, political and foreign policy autonomy and border control.[22]

One can not speak of sovereignty of states in isolation of equality of states. Brownlie[23] states that sovereignty and equality of states are closely linked and 'represent the basic constitutional doctrine of the law of nations which governs a community primarily of states having a uniform legal personality'. According to Brownlie, the principal corollaries of the sovereignty and equality of states are:

(1) A jurisdiction, prima facie exclusive, over territory and the permanent population living there;
(2) A duty of non-intervention in the area of exclusive jurisdiction of other states; and
(3) The dependence of obligations arising from customary law and treaties on the consent of the obligor.[24]

It is therefore clear from the above that sovereignty demands that states are equal and, irrespective of their size, and that they have legal personality in their relations with other states. This absolute Westphalian concept of sovereignty is, however, no longer in existence. In fact, absolute sovereign power of states in international law and relations has been limited by factors such as increased international interactions, globalisation,

---

[21] ICJ Reports (1949) 4, 35.
[22] Wachira, G. M. 2007. *Sovereignty and the "United States of Africa": insight from the EU*. ISS Paper 144, p. 2. Available at www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/.../Detail/?Ots591...lng; Last accessed on 17 July 2011.
[23] Brownlie, I. 1999. *Principles of Public International Law, 5th edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 289.
[24] Brownlie, I. 1999. *Principles of Public International Law, 5th edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 289.

human rights and humanitarian law as well as membership to international, intergovernmental and supra-governmental institutions.[25]

With all the recurring and adverse issues that arise, states have increasingly acknowledged that some problems affect them collectively, and that consequently the effective resolution of the problems can only be attained through global efforts as it is almost impossible for a state to act independently. It is upon this realization that unity of the African continent is so strongly advocated. The only hurdle is that each state would have to give up some of its sovereignty as is portrayed in the European Union.

b) The United States of Africa and individual State Sovereignty

All African states are sovereign states; this is recognized by the then Organization of African Unity and at present, the African Union and is reflected in Article 2 and 3 of both Charters.[26] This notion of state sovereignty was later translated into the norm of non-intervention. However, as mentioned above, one of the components Kwame Nkrumah's proposed Union Government includes the total surrender of sovereignty of individual independent African states to a supranational body.[27]

Most African states are afraid of relinquishing their sovereignty; they guard their sovereignty so closely because many perceive that yielding their sovereignty to a

---

[25] Wachira, G. M. 2007. *Sovereignty and the "United States of Africa": insight from the EU*. ISS Paper 144, p. 2. Available at www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/..../Detail/?Ots591...lng; Last accessed on 17 July 2011.

[26] The OAU Charter: Article 2 provides that: "the Organization shall have the following purposes... (1)(c) to defend the African States' sovereignty, their territorial integrity, and independence". While Article 3 provides that "the Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 2, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles... 3. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence".
The AU Charter: Article 3 provides that: "the objectives of the Union shall be to... (b) defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States.

[27] Olaosebikan, A. J. 2011. "Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government". *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume 5:218-228, p. 221. Available at http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir; last accessed on 27 June 2011.

continental body is practically the same as to losing their independence.[28] This is a position that is definitely hampering the success of the Continental Union government.

According to Oppong,[29] the surrender of state sovereignty is needed so as to allow for the direct application and supremacy of laws created by extra-state institutions. In other words, surrendering sovereignty is more than a mere delegation or handing over of decision-making powers to external institutions; the decisions made should become part of the delegating state's legal system and have binding effect within it. This surrender of sovereignty may be done in whole or in part. Oppong further states that, a mere political association of states may exist without even a partial surrender of sovereignty, but no strong economic community may exist under such circumstances. It is impossible to envisage a common market or economic union in which member states have not partially ceded sovereignty and created a new legal order.[30]

The surrender of sovereignty by African states will strongly depend on the political will of the leaders of the different states. Hannun[31] is of the opinion that there are various reasons for the reluctance of African leaders' to surrender their sovereignty. Firstly, a common government would require political power; power which would be taken away from the national level. Secondly, some African states are relatively weak and young and are hence not willing to cede much of their power. Thirdly, some African states have gained their independence only recently and, therefore, are 'particularly sensitive' when it comes to limiting their sovereignty. Finally, the sovereignty of some states is

---

[28] Wapmuck, S. 2009. "In search for greater unity: African States and the quest for an African Union Government". *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*. Volume 1, No. 3:645-671, p. 666. Available at www.japss.org/upload/6_wapmuckarticle.pdf; Last accessed on 27 April 2011.

[29] Oppong, R. F. 2009. *Relational Issues of Law and Economic integration in Africa: Perspectives from Constitutional, Public and Private International Law*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia. Available at www.eprints.lancs.ac.uk/33295/.../ubc_2010_spring_oppong_richard_frimpong; Last accessed on 14 March 2011, p. 91.

[30] Integrated economies like Australia, Canada, the EC, Nigeria and the USA exist because of the partial surrender of sovereignty by the member states. Oppong, R. F. 2009. *Relational Issues of Law and Economic integration in Africa: Perspectives from Constitutional, Public and Private International Law*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia. Available at www.eprints.lancs.ac.uk/33295/.../ubc_2010_spring_oppong_richard_frimpong; Lat accessed on 14 March 2011, p. 91.

[31] Hannun, W. P. *Economic integration in Southern Africa*, p. 29. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/158750; Last accessed on 14 March 2011.

already limited by their weakness, for this reason they are reluctant to limit it even further.

A possible and reasonable explanation is that African integration will represent an unprecedented new form of government. The creation of a government is a process that can be interpreted as signing a contract among parties that have common interests. The contract, according to Passarelli,[32] concerns how to manage these interests, the government is then the set of institutions that will make decisions with regards to these interests. The institution will be democratic; like in any democratic government, the decisions made by the majority apply to the minority. Thus states take the risk that the majority decisions may not be best for the minority. The weaker states may therefore fear that the much stronger states whose needs may differ from theirs may be the majority.

This fear is not recent, the then President of Mali, Modibo Keita, also opposed the idea of African Unity. According to him, the colonial system may have divided Africa but it permitted nations to be born. Further stating that: "present frontiers should be respected and sovereignty of each state must be consecrated by a multilateral non-aggression pact". This general desire to protect national sovereignty and identity is overwhelming.[33]

The words of Ambassador Richard Haass in 2003 could be viewed as the most rational standpoint for the aversion towards sacrifice of sovereignty: "sovereignty has been a source of stability for more than two centuries. It has fostered world order by establishing legal protections against external intervention and by offering a diplomatic foundation for the negotiation of international treaties, the formation of international organizations, and the development of international law. It has also provided a stable framework within which representative government and market economies could

---

[32] Passarelli, F. 2008. *Diversity and Decisional Rules*. Tokyo: Hitotsubashi University, p. 1. Available at www.euijtc.org; Last accessed on 27 April 2011.

[33] Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:23. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011.

emerge in many nations. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, sovereignty remains an essential foundation for peace, democracy, and prosperity".[34]

In as much as the issue of sovereignty is such a bone of contention, the reality is that African Unity, as demonstrated above is highly desirable. The issue can only be determined by the type of government the union will take. Moller[35] expresses this in terms of federal and confederal unions and states that in a confederation the constituent parts retain their sovereign rights, including that of abrogating the founding document of the confederation, accordingly regaining their initial independence, but in a federation the formerly sovereign entities will have to irreversibly transfer their sovereignty to the new political entity.

President Omar Bongo of Gabon[36] sought to bridge the divide by arguing, defying all logic, that the two positions were actually compatible, claiming that the formation of an African government does not mean the end of national sovereignties and declaring that States, governments and their ministers will continue to have all their current national authorities. The Federal government, with a number of federal ministers will be based on the principle of subsidiarity. "We should therefore decide which portions of sovereignty we are ready to give up".[37]

Moller,[38] however, contends that it is not really helpful to conceal the implications of instituting an all-African government, however federal, for the governments already in existence. Either the AU government will not be a real government, enjoying sovereign powers, but simply a coordinating mechanism for the sovereign member states, virtually like all international organizations or it will, *mirabile dictu*, be a real government of a

---

[34] Jackson, J. H. "Sovereignty-Modern: A new approach to an outdated concept". *The American Journal of International Law*. Volume 97: 789. Available at www.asil.org/ajil/jackson.pdf; Last accessed on 17 July 2011.

[35] Moller, B. 2010. "Pan-Africanism and Federalism". *Perspectives on Federalism*. Volume 2, No 3:40. Available at www.europsworld.org/portals/O/AdvBoard/081_download.pdf; Last accessed on 7 June 2011.

[36] Moller, B. 2010. "Pan-Africanism and Federalism". *Perspectives on Federalism*. Volume 2, No 3:63. Available at www.europsworld.org/portals/O/AdvBoard/081_download.pdf; Last accessed on 7 June 2011.

[37] Moller, B. 2010. "Pan-Africanism and Federalism". *Perspectives on Federalism*. Volume 2, No 3:63. Available at www.europsworld.org/portals/O/AdvBoard/081_download.pdf; Last accessed on 7 June 2011.

[38] Moller, B. 2010. "Pan-Africanism and Federalism". *Perspectives on Federalism.* Volume 2, No 3:64. Available at www.europsworld.org/portals/O/AdvBoard/081_download.pdf; Last accessed on 7 June 2011.

sovereign polity, in which case its constituent parts will have lost their sovereignty. Neither in ordinary life not in politics can one have one's cake and eat it at the same time. A suggestion is made that sovereignty may in fact be subdivided, so that an actor may relinquish sovereignty in a piecemeal fashion, e.g. in a particular issue area, rather than all at once—as is arguably the case of federalism.

Regardless, states have to be willing to limit their sovereignty in favour of the regional organisation if they want the process of integration to be successful. This means that the elite have to be ready to transfer part of their powers to the supranational level and be ready to implement on a national level the decisions made on the supranational level.

2.3.   The Governmental Structure of a United States of Africa

When the ongoing debate on the creation of a Union Government for Africa as a step towards the final establishment of a United States of Africa first began, it was met with considerable opposition. The heads of states argued that the creation of a United States of Africa would require a change of constitutions, and referendums.[39] The notion of a United States of Africa suggests the relocation of political power and authority, either partial or complete, from national governments to a supranational body or entities.

At a glance, Dr. Nkrumah's scheme for one government for the whole continent may appear utopian. Yet, undeniably, borders in Africa are arbitrary, states are hardly established, and are often so tiny as not to be viable, neither do they have national basis, barring a few exceptions. And since the present states have no national basis, if they cannot thrive and grow, why indeed should they not be grouped into one big State? Mathews reflects that without creating a strong, democratic, independent and self-reliant 'New Africa', the continent will continue to remain an easy prey to external economic

---

[39] Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:19. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011

and strategic interests.[40] The most obvious question to follow is what type of government would be most suitable to this diverse yet in a way similar states that make up Africa?

a) Types of Governments

The achievement of a union government would involve integration. The manner in which this integration it to be achieved, however, has been a subject of serious debate between the Federalists, realists, Functionalists, and several other integration theorists. Wapmuck sets out the arguments laid down by these different groups:[41]

(i) The Federalist Approach to integration:

This presupposes the coming together of diverse entities in order to create a unit, to which states relinquish their sovereignty, thus leading to the creation of a supra-national entity. The state, according to Charles Pentland, possesses sufficient political authority and coercive and material power to satisfy the member states' need for collective defence; internal security and economies of scale; while still permitting them to maintain their individual identities and exercises local autonomy in appropriate fields of policy.

Proponents of this approach to integration argue that this will fast-track the time table for addressing the most important political question of state sovereignty, which they view as an obstacle to Africa's integration. There, however, exist critical questions which include- whether African states are ready to pursue genuine federalism in which case authority and power will be given to a supra-national authority or federal government? Are African states ready to view national interest as federal interests?

(ii) The Realists Approach to integration:

---

[40] Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:29. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011.
[41] Wapmuk, S. 2009."In search of greater unity: African States and the quest for an African Union Government". *Journal of alternative perspectives in the social sciences,* Volume 1, No 3:647. p. 647-648. Available at www.japss.org/upload/6_Wapmuckarticle.pdf; Last accessed on 27 April 2011.

This approach has expressed serious reservations about Africa's ability to sustain one territorial jurisdiction; this is because the institutional and physical infrastructure to sustain this kind of arrangement is lacking. They have also pointed out the lack of political will on the part of leaders to surrender their exclusive claim to sovereignty as a hindrance to the maintenance of a United Africa.

(iii)   Other Approaches:

These include arguments for a more gradual approach to integration and consist of:

(a) The Functionalist Approach to integration

This is one of the oldest arguments put forward that supports those that favour 'gradual incrementalism'. Wapmuck[42] cites the view of David Mitrany, a leading exponent of functionalism, who states that integration could be effected through the creation of a transnational complex of economic and social organization. International activities could then be organized around basic functional needs such as transportation, health and welfare necessities, cultural activities, trade and production.

This process would not involve the surrender of national sovereignty, but would rather promote international peace and security. The basic rationale for the existence of any given political community, in Mitrany's conception, is welfare and security; once a moderate sufficiency of what people want and ought to have is given to them, they will be more than willing to keep peace.

Since African states emerging from colonialism were deeply concerned about preserving their sovereignty; it explains why the functional approach to integration as the framework for the establishment of the OAU in 1963 was chosen. The ideas of the functionalist approach were also taken up by the neo-functionalist school of thought.

(b) The Neo-functionalist Approach:

---

[42] Wapmuk, S. 2009."In search of greater unity: African States and the quest for an African Union Government". *Journal of alternative perspectives in the social sciences,* Volume 1, No 3:647. p. 647-64. Available at www.japss.org/upload/6_Wapmuckarticle.pdf; Last accessed on 27 April 2011.

This is the intellectual descendant of functionalism, for the reason that it builds on the work of Mitrany. It derives support from the experience and success of regional integration in the European Union. After observing of the integration processes of the EU organisation, proponents of this approach argued that while certain functionalist dynamics were clearly at work, the progress of integration could not be explained simply in terms of technical self-determination and the learning of habits of cooperation. This argument leaves one thinking that in a way, the neo-functionalists are not so much concerned with the attainment of integration as an end, but rather, with the understanding of why and how actual integration outcome may occur.

b) African Union Government and Federalism

Late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and several other African leaders were committed to the idea of achieving continental unity through a single federation.[43] Federalism as a form of governance may be approached from two different angles. It may be seen either as a piecemeal way of building a larger political entity or it may be intended as a form of decentralisation, i.e. of "bringing power to the people" through devolution of authority from the national to a more local level. Even though the two approaches are hence each other's opposites, it does not follow that they are necessarily mutually exclusive.[44]

In a federal system, the constituent units typically maintain their separate legislatures and executives and often also judiciaries, entailing a two tier structure, the states usually also have a representation at the federal level. That is why federations almost always have bicameral legislatures in which one chamber is supposed to consist of

---

[43] Wapmuk, S. 2009."In search of greater unity: African States and the quest for an African Union Government". *Journal of alternative perspectives in the social sciences,* Volume 1, No 3:647, p. 650. Available at www.japss.org/upload/6_Wapmuckarticle.pdf; Last accessed on 27 April 2011.

[44] Moller, B. 2010. "Pan-Africanism and Federalism". *Perspectives on Federalism*. Volume 2, No 3:40. Available at www.europsworld.org/portals/O/AdvBoard/081_download.pdf; Last accessed on 7 June 2011.

representatives of the constituent states, usually with equal representation for all part-states, regardless of sizes. There may or may not be a similar overrepresentation of the small constituent entities in the other chamber, the members of which are supposed to deal with the common matters of the federation even though they are elected locally. To the extent that constituent parts also maintain independent judiciaries, the federation will almost inevitably be characterised by a degree of "legal pluralism," in the sense that different laws will apply in different parts of the same sovereign political entity

2.4.   The Proposed Union Government

The AU Assembly decided to set up a Committee of Heads of State and Government chaired by the then president of the Republic of Uganda and composed of Botswana, Chad, Ethiopia, Niger, Senegal and Tunisia.[45] This committee was to coordinate with the chairperson of the AU Commission and submit a report by the next summit, in July 2005.

In November 2005, the committee convened a conference with the theme 'Desirability of a Union Government of Africa. The conference came up with three key conclusions:[46]

- the recognition that the necessity of an AU government is not in doubt;
- that such a union must be of the African people and not merely a union of states and governments;
- That its creation must come about through the principle of gradual incrementalism; and that the role of the Regional Economic Communities should be highlighted as building blocks for the continental framework.

Based on the findings of this conference the Assembly mandated the AU Commission to prepare a joint framework document defining the purpose of the Union government, its nature, scope, core values, steps and processes, as well as an indicative roadmap for its achievement. The Assembly reaffirmed that the ultimate goal of the African Union is full political and economic integration leading to a United States of Africa.

---

[45] January 2005.
[46] Murithi, T. *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism: Transforming African Union Values into policy and practice*. www.iss.co.za/uploads/PAPER143H.PDF; last accessed on 25 May 2011, p. 10.

This detailed report entitled "A study on an African Union government: towards the United States of Africa", was submitted on July 2006 at the 7th Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly in Banjul, Gambia.[47] The study outlines the 16 strategic areas that an African Union government should focus on including: continental integration; education, training, skills development, science and technology; energy; environment; external relations; food, agriculture, and water resources; gender and youth; governance and human rights; health; industry and mineral resources; finance; peace and security; social affairs and solidarity; sport and culture; trade and customs union; infrastructure, information technology and biotechnology.

The AU study notes that the design and functioning of a Union government as a tool for integration would have far-reaching implications on the existing institutions and programmes of the African Union.[48] It further assesses the implications of a Union government on the organs of the AU. The most notable impact would be the need to consider allowing a longer tenure, about three years for example, for the President of the Assembly of the AU.[49] This president of the Assembly would also be the unique spokesperson of the union at world or other special summits. The AU study notes that it would be desirable that the function of president be on a full time basis and could be assigned to a former head of state or any distinguished African with the necessary background and track record for the job.[50]

Another notable innovation would be that under the Union government, the AU Commission will be entrusted with the implementation of decisions, programmes and projects in the strategic focus areas, which will constitute the Community Domain.[51] This notion of issues falling under the Community Domain would assign the commission with

---

[47] Available at www.africanunion.org/DOC/Study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 7 July 2011.
[48] AU 2006: *Study on an African Union Government: towards the United States of Africa*. Addis Ababa: AU, p. 7. Available at www.africa-union.org/DOC/study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 1 July 2011.
[49] AU 2006: *Study on an African Union Government: towards the United States of Africa.* Addis Ababa: AU, p. 14. Available at www.africa-union.org/DOC/study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 1 July 2011.
[50] AU 2006: *Study on an African Union Government: towards the United States of Africa.* Addis Ababa: AU, p. 14. Available at www.africa-union.org/DOC/study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 1 July 2011.
[51] AU 2006: *Study on an African Union Government: towards the United States of Africa*. Addis Ababa: AU, p. 15. Available at www.africa-union.org/DOC/study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 1 July 2011.

'the executive authority and responsibility to effectively implement' policies. The AU study also recognises that the logic of using Regional Economic Communities as building blocks for the eventual deep, continental integration remains valid. The challenge is in aligning, synchronising and harmonising the integration efforts of member states, the Regional Economic Communities themselves, and the AU.

There are also national implications of the establishment of a Union government which were identified by the study. It notes that it is very important to build the necessary constituency for advancing political integration. In this regard, some countries have already set up ministries in charge of integration and other countries should follow suit. The AU study also observed that there is also a need to work out appropriate mechanisms for legislative implications at the national level as well the direct involvement of the people in promoting the Union Government, which could also be in the form of national associations or commissions for the United States of Africa. In terms of financing the Union government, the study discusses the possibility of establishing indirect taxation schemes particularly with regards to an import levy and an insurance tax.[52]

At the end of the day, the AU study is positive about the prospects for a Union government and outlines three phases for the transition to such a government:

The *initial phase* – which commenced immediately after the decision of the Assembly at the AU summit in July 2007; it will include all the steps and processes that are necessary to make the Union government operational. The *second phase* will be devoted to making the Union government fully operational in all its components and to laying the constitutional ground for the United States of Africa. The *third phase* will aim at the facilitation of all required structures of the United States of Africa at the levels of states, the regions and the continent.[53] The study recommends a three-year period for each phase, which will mean that the United States of Africa will be formed by the year

---

[52] AU 2006: *Study on an African Union Government: towards the United States of Africa.* Addis Ababa: AU, p. 31. Available at www.africa-union.org/DOC/study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 1 July 2011.
[53] AU 2006: *Study on an African Union Government: towards the United States of Africa.* Addis Ababa: AU, p. 31. Available at www.africa-union.org/DOC/study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 1 July 2011.

2015. Elections at continental, regional and national levels would be held, paving the way for the official constitution of the United States of Africa.

Chapter 3

_____

A Comparative Analysis: The European Union

Having discussed the issue of sovereignty briefly and the proposed form of government having been dealt with, what remains to be determined is how the proposed union government is to be established, this chapter will therefore briefly look at some aspects of the European Union. This is because the European integration and unification project remains a source of inspiration and practical guidance for those building unions elsewhere.[54] It has been widely adopted as a key benchmark for the development of the new global regions.

3.1. History of the EU

_____

[54] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011.

The EU was launched in 1958 after the 1957 founding Treaty of Rome.[55] There was, in the aftermath of the Second World War, widespread support for the goals of European integration – primarily as a way of avoiding further internal European conflict and a means of creating supra-national foundations for democracy and the rule of law. The EU was originally created by a group of six like-minded states that sensed that their common problems could be more effectively addressed if they worked together rather than independently. The member states of the then European Economic Community remained extremely wary of surrendering important aspects of their autonomy – or sovereignty – to supranational bodies. Consequently, the EU of today displays elements of both inter-governmentalism and supra-nationalism, although the founding fathers strongly believed and may even have hoped that it would eventually adopt a more federal form.[56]

During the past 50 years the EU has deepened the integration of its Member States through the creation of a single market, a single currency and the emergence of common policies in a number of important areas.[57] At the same time it has dramatically enlarged its membership from the original six founding Member States to the present 27, in effect almost uniting all the continent of Europe for the first time in conditions of democracy.

3.2. Governmental Structure

In what is called 'the Community'[58] decision making system, only the European Commission may propose new laws and regulations. Final decisions are taken by members jointly with the directly elected European Parliament in a complicated three

---

[55] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011, p. 2-3.

[56] Jordan, A. 2001. "The European Union: an evolving system of multi-level governance…or government?" *Policy & Politics*. Volume 29, No.2:193-208. Available at www.wass.wur.nl/NR/rdonlyres/B23337CE-DD03-475B.../jordan.pdf; Last accessed on 30 June 2011, p. 194.

[57] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011, p. 1.

[58] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011, p. 2.

stage process. If challenged they can be upheld by the European Court of Justice whose jurisdiction in these areas overrides that of even the highest national courts in individual Member States. Some important areas of policy such as foreign, security and defence policy remain a matter of cooperation and require the unanimous agreement of all Member States. But an increasing proportion of decisions at the EU level are taken on a supra-national basis with the use of majority voting. As a consequence the European Commission and even more so the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice have come to play a major role in leading the process of European integration and, subsequently, in the internal politics of Member States.

Any European country may apply for membership if it respects the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States. Accession, however, can only follow if the given European country fulfils all criteria of accession which were fixed by the European Council in Copenhagen in 1993 and reinforced by the European Council in Madrid in 1995. These criteria are: [59]

- political: stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for protection of minorities;
- economic: a functioning market economy and the capacity to cope with competition and market forces in the EU;
- the capacity to take on the obligations of membership, including adherence to the objectives of political, economic and monetary union;
- Adoption of the *acquis communautaire* (the entire European legislation) and its effective implementation through appropriate administrative and judicial structures.

---

[59] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011, p. 2.

The EU has a number of constituent parts.[60] The European Commission is the main executive body and the legal guardian of the Treaties. It enjoys the sole right to initiate policies in the EU, oversees the implementation of its laws and policies and is charged with ensuring that they are respected. However, the central decision making body is the Council of Ministers which has the power to adopt or reject the Commission's proposals after consulting with the European Parliament. Finally there is the European Court of Justice. Its rulings, which are binding on member states, interpret the founding treaties and, in so doing, create new EU law. The tension between the logic of integration and diversity are also adorned upon the institutional structures of the EU. The Council of Ministers therefore, represents the interests of member sates, whereas the Commission, the European Court of Justice and the Parliament attempt to meld these essentially 'national' interests into some conception of the common good.

The European Union is the closest approach to a confederation today. Jordan describes it as *sui generis* because it "does not fit into any accepted category of government", this is probably because "it is not yet a state, nor is it replacing states".[61] Debate thus continues to rage over what it has evolved into and through what process – intergovernmental? Supranational? Federal? Is it, for instance, an institutionally 'thick' terrain whose essential purpose is to facilitate interstate bargaining? Or has it gradually metamorphosed into a unique political system with a life of its own?

3.3. The Sovereignty issue

A great deal of the day to day business of the European Union is still conducted on the basis of 'inter-governmental cooperation' between Member State governments.[62] Agreement is necessary for decisions of this kind. Unlike the other global regions, a growing proportion of EU decisions are now taken through this supra-national process

---

[60] Jordan, A. 2001. "The European Union: an evolving system of multi-level governance…or government?" *Policy & Politics*. Volume 29, No.2:193-208. Available at www.wass.wur.nl/NR/rdonlyres/B23337CE-DD03-475B.../jordan.pdf; Last accessed on 30 June 2011, p. 195.

[61] Jordan, A. 2001. "The European Union: an evolving system of multi-level governance…or government?" *Policy & Politics*. Volume 29, No.2:193-208. Available at www.wass.wur.nl/NR/rdonlyres/B23337CE-DD03-475B.../jordan.pdf; Last accessed on 30 June 2011, p. 194.

[62] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011, p. 2.

based on the principle of shared sovereignty and not only mere cooperation. Moreover many of these EU law based decisions are also now taken by means of a system of 'majority voting' in which individual countries no longer can employ a national veto.

The evolution of the European Union is far from complete. The pressures which arise from the complex interchange of 'national sovereignty' and 'shared sovereignty' at the European level remain strong and sometimes lead to major 'crises' in the life of the Union. These pressures seem to have been further increased with continuing enlargement and the prospect that by the end of the next decade the EU could embrace some 35 or more countries.[63]

3.4. Lessons from the EU

Schmitter & Kim[64] set out lessons from the European Union for Northeast Asia integration; the author feels that the lessons are also relevant to Africa.

The first lesson is that integration is a process, not a product. The beginning of voluntary integration may lead to different directions and may have unexpected effects. Its duration and result is unpredictable, in addition, once nation-states have made serious commitment to forming a "region", they are very unlikely to change their motives for doing so[65] even though more reasons are added with time. Leaders must take cognizance of the fact that there is no assurance that the initial effort will succeed; this is proven by the failure of the OAU.

The second lesson is that regional integration has to start somewhere, preferably a functional area that has low political visibility and can be dealt with separately and

---

[63] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011, p. 2.

[64] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 7. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

[65] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration*, p. 7. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

generate significant benefits for all participants.[66] The Europeans initially experimented with integration through common political or military institutions and having failed at this; they then started with coal and steel- a seemingly small step but one that led to large effects. What is important is to start out with an area that, on the one hand, is capable of being dealt with apart and is capable of generating its own benefits and on the other, is capable of generating secondary effects that require attention. For example, creating free trade areas alone is unlikely to produce the "spill-over" effect which was so successfully used in the EU integration.

The third lesson is convergence of interest as the driving force behind regional integration rather than the formation.[67] International regions are artificial constructs which are built not found. Europe, with its multiple languages, firmly entrenched national cultures and dreadful experience with armed conflict has been able to proceed and create an organization for regional integration. Africa shares all these characteristics and they can therefore not be used as hindrances. Europeans know and accept that many of their interests can only be satisfied by processes that go beyond national boarders;[68] this should be the understanding amongst the Africans too.

The fourth lesson is that although regional integration may be peaceful and voluntary, it is not exempt from conflict. Europe is now experiencing an increasing difficulty with the ratification of treaties that have been approved by all member governments.[69] Africa must accept this too as a future possibility.

The fifth lesson is that regional integration should start with a small number of member states but declare that it is open to future adherents.[70]

---

[66] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration*, p. 7. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

[67] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration*, p. 8. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

[68] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration*, p. 9. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

[69] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration*, p. 10. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

[70] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 10. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

The sixth lesson is that regional integration involves national states of different sizes and power capability. The largest and most powerful states have to respect the rights and presence of weaker and smaller states. In this way, their continued existence is guaranteed. In Europe, the citizens of those states that were smaller and less developed when they entered the EU tended to be among the strongest supporters of the EU.[71]

The seventh lesson is that regional integration requires leadership. The European experience shows that this role is better played by two powers or three, rather than a single homogenic power. It is important that the leading regional actors accept to underutilize their immediate power capability in order to invest in a long-term strategic plan of legitimizing the enterprise as a whole.[72]

The eighth lesson is that regional integration requires a secretariat with limited but potentially supranational powers. Not only must the organization not be perceived as the instrument of its members, it must also posses some degree of control over the agenda of the process as a whole. The EU Commission is composed of members selected by an unclear process, firmly rooted in nomination by national governments, but presumed, once approved, to owe allegiance to the supranational integration process itself and therefore not take instructions from the body that chose them. From experience, the president can under admittedly unusual circumstances not only assert his monopoly over the introduction of new measures but also play a proactive role in determining what these measures should be.[73]

The ninth lesson is that regional integration requires member states to be democratic. This factor was virtually taken for granted until the early 1960s when Spain applied for EEC membership and domestic democracy was made a prerequisite for joining. The

---

[71] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 11. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.
[72] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration*, p. 11. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.
[73] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 12. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

respect for human rights rule of law was later added and as such the requirements can no longer be taken for granted.[74] Democracy is important because:[75] only governments that have as strong legitimacy within their national societies can make the sort of commitments required to enter into agreement and ratify them; the presence of a democratically accountable government within all members is an additional assurance that none of them will resort to force in resolving disputes.

The tenth lesson is that regional integration seems possible with members that are at different levels of development and *per capita* wealth. Through a pattern of upward convergence; those member states that joined the EU under less favorable conditions to do better subsequently. Their standards of living have converged to the EU norm without depressing the performance of the more favored member states.[76]

The eleventh lesson is that once a set of nation-states has agreed to create a region by accepting certain mutual obligations and endowing a common organization with specified powers, its subsequent success or failure is primarily a matter of exchange between those member states; however, it can also be very dependent on external powers in the initial stages.[77]

The twelfth lesson is that regional integration, until it is well established, is a consumer and not a producer of international security. There needs to exist among member states a firm and reliable understanding that under no foreseeable circumstances will its members either use or threaten to use military force in the resolution of disputes among them.[78] While it can be useful to employ tools and lessons from the experience of the EU to critically examine the AU, there are limits to the comparisons. The AU will have to

---

[74] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 12. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.
[75] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 12. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.
[76] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 13. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.
[77] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 14. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.
[78] Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration,* p. 15. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011.

chart its own course, travel at its own pace, find its own rhythm, and write its own history.

3.5.   African Integration

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah[79] it is undeniable that the salvation of Africa lies in Unity. Only a union government can safeguard the hard-won freedom of the various African States. The idea of a United States of Africa was first mooted in a Pan-African meeting in Cairo in 1960, by Kwame Nkrumah. The present crusade is being led by Muammar al-Gaddafi who has abandoned Pan-Arabism for Pan-Africanism in broader terms.[80] The African Union has set for itself the ambition of building, by the year 2025:[81]

- A united and integrated Africa; an Africa imbued with the ideals of justice and peace;
- an inter-dependent and virile Africa determined to map for itself an ambitious strategy;
- an Africa underpinned by political, economic, social and cultural integration which would restore to Pan-Africanism its full meaning;
- an Africa able to make the best of its human and material resources, and keen to ensure the progress and prosperity of its citizens by taking advantage of the opportunities offered by a globalised world; and
- An Africa engaged in promoting its values in a world rich in its disparities.

According to Olukoshi and Adejumobi,[82] the Union Government will be in the form of a loose, confederal arrangement in which each member state of the union cedes some

---

[79] Adejumobi, S. & Olukoshi, A (Eds). 2009. *The African Union and New Strategies for development in Africa*. Nairobi: CODESRIA & DPMF, p. 3.

[80] Okhonmina, S. *The African Union: Pan-Africanist Aspirations and the Challenge of African Unity*. Available at www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no4/3.4AfricanUnion.pdf; last accessed on 6 May 2011, p. 88.

[81] Okhonmina, S. *The African Union: Pan-Africanist Aspirations and the Challenge of African Unity*. Available at www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no4/3.4AfricanUnion.pdf; last accessed on 6 May 2011, p. 88.

[82] Adejumobi, S. & Olukoshi, A (Eds). 2009. *The African Union and New Strategies for development in Africa*. Nairobi: CODESRIA & DPMF, p. 10, 11.

executive powers and functions to the confederal authority. The highest executive authority of that Union Government will be the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which will make the decisions. Its administrative machinery will be vested in the Commission of government, while the legislative responsibility will vest in the Pan-African Parliament. The judicial functions of the Union Government will reside in the African Court of Justice and the African Court of Human Rights.

Okhonmina[83] states that the quest for unity and therefore integration can be appreciated from three perspectives:

The first is the belief in the capacity of integration to enable the continent in the need to effectively meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world. Within this framework; integration is regarded as an enabling tool for a more effective African bargain in the global scheme of things. Despite the existence of many regional organizations; an assessment of their degree of impact and development levels in Africa places an aversion on the excitement over the formation of the African Union and the progress to the United States of Africa. He asserts that at least, if and when it is considered, the African Union may as well become insignificant as these other organizations.

The second string in the understanding of the argument for integration in Africa, which partly derives its origin from the first is, the concern for Africa not to be left behind in the global trend of regional integration. There exists a tendency for Africa to imitate or present the mirror image of the rest of the world. One may of course argue that the ideals of Pan-Africanism have been there since before global integration projects. What cannot be denied however is the fact that the present development in Africa is a response to global trends.

The third platform for the desire for African integration is centred on the belief that Africa needs to come together to be able to resist Western influence and ability to limit Africa

---

[83] Okhonmina, S. *The African Union: Pan-Africanist Aspirations and the Challenge of African Unity*. Available at www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no4/3.4AfricanUnion.pdf; last accessed on 6 May 2011, p. 90-91.

to accept measures considered not to be in the interest of Africa. This 'coalition for resistance' argument originally assumes that, Africa is at the negative receiving end of international economic, political, and social relations.

Consequently, the United New Africa that is envisaged here would be based on the principles of Pan-Africanism: Afro-Arab unity, Third world Solidarity; South–South co-operation; and open debate on all public issues. This kind of Africa would also be based on people-oriented and environmentally sustainable development; collective self reliance; economic and social human rights; women's rights; children's rights; minority rights; responsible and accountable freedom of the press and association; honesty and accountability; transparency in both the public and private sectors; pluralism in matters of politics and religion; a permanent liberation process; and, checks and balances in the socio-economic system. [84]

Additionally, Chimutengwende[85] states that the satisfaction of basic human needs for all would be given a priority in such a United New Africa. Production and development would be based mainly on domestic demand. Growth forms that are exclusively designed by the indigenous people would for a change be given a chance. Further, that adjusting the continent to living within its own means would be taken as a starting point.

In a United New Africa, the movement against corruption, nepotism, regionalism, ethnic chauvinism and the foreign domination of African economies, cultures and values; together with the struggle for socio-economic democracy and human-centred development, would be recognised, promoted and led by the state as a permanent process. He further advanced that as a genuinely independent entity, United New Africa would, by its very nature, have the capability to make a decisive contribution to world peace and to the re-structuring and democratization of the current and unjust international relations system, including its institutions and the international trading

---

[84] Chimutengwede, C. Pan-Africanism and the Second Liberation Struggle for a United New Africa. Available at www.blackherbals.com/pan-africanism.pdf; last accessed on 15 May 2011, p. 4-5.
[85] Chimutengwede, C. Pan-Africanism and the Second Liberation Struggle for a United New Africa. Available at www.blackherbals.com/pan-africanism.pdf; last accessed on 15 May 2011, p. 5, 6.

regime. Another major task of the second liberation struggle is to make the Western former colonial powers pay massive reparations to Africa and black people internationally for slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. United New Africa's solidarity with the poor, oppressed, discriminated against and all other disadvantaged peoples internationally would also be unwavering and uncompromising.[86]

While Pan-Africanism as a possible framework for Pan-continental unity and development continues to inspire several generations of Africans, the dilemma of African post-colonial states is that they have not really abandoned the colonial logic of oppression and domination as well as the exploitative and the greedy politics that are contrary to African unity and development. One major obstacle to African integration is the fear of losing state Sovereignty.[87] Therefore, the prospects for the creation of a 'United States of Africa' will call for not only a redefinition of the role of African state-system within the 'grand design' of federalism but also the adoption of an 'incremental decision-making' process, based on confidence and capacity building as a long-term strategy to intra-African cooperation and Integration.

Adogamhe[88] advises that the integration process will call on African leaders to accept a vision of a federal union as the ultimate goal of African integration with a clear roadmap and timeframe for its realization, while strengthening all the existing sub-regional institutions as building blocks for integration of the whole continent. This will afford the African states the opportunity to develop an enabling environment for common security, good governance and basic infrastructures, which may be required to establish an effective continental union government.

---

[86] Chimutengwede, C. Pan-Africanism and the Second Liberation Struggle for a United New Africa. Available at www.blackherbals.com/pan-africanism.pdf; last accessed on 15 May 2011, p. 4, 5.

[87] Adogamhe, P. G. 2008. "Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development". *African Review of integration*, Volume 2 No.2:1 Available at www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/.../Adogamhe.pdf; last accessed on 4 May 2011.

[88] Adogamhe, P. G. 2008." Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development". *African Review of integration*, Volume 2 No.2:1 Available at www.africaunion.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/.../Adogamhe.pdf; last accessed on 4 May 2011.

The real challenge before the African leaders therefore; as they revisit Pan-Africanism as a blueprint for African unity and development, is whether they have the political will and exceptional leadership skill to rekindle such a strategic vision that will unite and transform the continent into an integrated, stable, democratic and prosperous society.

According to Kwame Nkrumah, an African Common Government will promote the unity of Africa and help in achieving a number of social, economic and political objectives as enunciated below:[89]

(a) Projection of the African personality:

Kwame Nkrumah was perhaps the greatest proponent of the concept of African personality. In general terms, the concept has to do with Africa speaking with one voice within the international community in order to command the respect of other nations This desire of projecting the African personality under a Common Government was reaffirmed in 1961 when he wrote that;

> A union of African States will project more effectively the African personality. It will command respect from a world that has regard only for size and influence. I believe strongly and sincerely that the African race, united under one federal government will emerge as a great power whose greatness is indestructible.

To actualize this lofty goal, Nkrumah propounded that Africa should have a unified foreign policy and diplomacy.

(b) Overcoming the destructive forces of neo-colonialism:

Nkrumah equally enunciated the need for a united government of Africa in order to overcome the destructive forces of neo-colonialism. He stressed the need to construct the African society according to African aspirations- a construction unhampered by the crushing and humiliating new-colonialist controls and interference so as to maintain African independence. According to him:

---

[89] Olaosebikan, A. J. 2011. "Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government". *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume 5:218-228, p. 221-223. Available at http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir; last accessed on 27 June 2011.

No sporadic act or pious resolution can resolve our present problems of under-development. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink.

(c) Enhancing the security and cohesion of African states:

Nkrumah was of the view that the security and cohesion of the newly independent states of Africa lie in their unity. He therefore advised leaders of Africa to embrace the spirit and vision of unity because "salvation for Africa lies in unity for in unity lies strength" [sic]. Nkrumah submitted that Africans must see themselves as Africans and realize that their interests could best be served by unity within an African community.

(d) Transforming the political map of Africa:

Nkrumah passionately criticized the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the colonial powers which he regarded as a deliberate attempt to obstruct the political unity of African peoples. To Nkrumah, therefore, the concept of pan- Africanism meant nothing unless it goes beyond the artificial boundaries imposed by colonialism. Consequent upon this, he urged African States to take a bold step at unification by scraping the frontiers which were drawn to suit the convenience of colonial powers Africa must henceforth be administered as one large empire to redraw the map of the continent.

(e) Overcoming the problem of cultural divisions in Africa:

Nkrumah's proposed African common government was meant to overcome the problem of cultural divisions in Africa. It was an attempt to strengthen the bond of unity among African peoples and forge unity out of diversity. In his words:

> Critics of African unity often refer to the wide differences in culture, language and ideas in various parts of Africa. This is true, but the essential fact remains that we have a common interest in the independence of Africa. The difficulties presented by questions of language, culture and different political systems are not insuperable. The present leaders of Africa have realized they have much in common, in their past history, in their present problems and in their future hopes.

To Nkrumah, the need to establish a common political union in Africa was therefore of paramount and urgent importance to protect the African destiny.

(f) Putting an end to European exploitation of Africa:

Kwame Nkrumah also promoted the idea of an African Common Government in order to put an end to European exploitation of Africa. He believed strongly that the political union of African States was the only antidote to European exploitation of Africa. This he unequivocally propounded when he stated that:

> Unless and until the independent States of Africa are united in a single nation, the exploitation of Africa by Europe will never end.

In similar vein, Nkrumah also impressed it upon African leaders the danger inherent in a divided Africa. He suggested that unless African States work toward some form of constitutional union the African continent will remain a balkanized mass of small individual units used as a political and economic pawns by those external forces which seek to keep Africans divided and backward. By implication, Nkrumah desires for a united Africa under a Common Government to be able to stand firmly and solidly defend the African continent against exploitation.

(g) Effective exploitation and co- ordination of Africa's resources for sustainable development:

Another major objective of union government as postulated by Nkrumah was to enhance the effective exploitation and co-ordination of Africa's resources for sustainable socio-economic development. Given Africa's numerous natural and agricultural resources, Nkrumah opined that African people have remained poor in the midst of plenty due to inability to evolve a strong political union that can effectively manage her God given resources for the betterment of lives of our peoples.

Nkrumah observed that:

> Individually, the independent States of Africa can do little for their people. Together, by mutual help, they can achieve much. But the economic development of the continent must be planned and pursued as a whole. A loose confederation designed

only for economic cooperation would not provide the necessary unity of purpose. Only a strong political union can bring about full and effective development of our natural resources for the benefit of our people.

(h) Promoting world peace and security:

This was another advantage obtainable to African peoples from a common African government as submitted by Nkrumah.[90] To provide an alternative political system secured on cooperation, unity and mutual co-existence, Nkrumah opined that Africa should provide the lead as an example to be imitated across other continents of the world. According to him the greatest contribution that Africa can make to the peace of the world is to avoid the dangers inherent in disunity, by creating a political union which will also by its success, stand as an example to a divided world.

The major components of Nkrumah's proposed Union Government included:[91]

(i) The immediate creation of a grandiose continental superstructure.

(ii) Total surrender of sovereignty of individual independent African state to a supranational body.

(iii) The establishment of the Federal Union Government of Africa.

(iv) Establishment of an African High Command as the defence unit of the continental government.

(v) the organization of a system of joint defence

In Nkrumah's view, local forces of individual independent states of Africa were ineffective in combating any major attack upon any one of them. He argued that no single state in Africa was capable of protecting its sovereignty against imperialist aggressions.

---

[90] There is need to recall that Nkrumah made the proposal for an African Common Government at the height of the cold war which divided the world into two opposing blocs of States.

[91]Olaosebikan, A. J. 2011. Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume 5:218-228, p. 221. Available at http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir; last accessed on 27 June 2011.

Nkrumah therefore cautioned that if Africans do not unite and combine their military resources for their common defence, individual states, may out of fear of insecurity, be drawn into making defence pacts with foreign powers which may endanger the security of the African continent. Apart from this, Nkrumah also warned that the maintenance of large military forces imposes a heavy financial burden on the then young African states that were in great need of capital for internal development. It would therefore be suicidal economically for each state to separately assume such a heavy burden of self defence where the weight of the burden could be easily lightened by sharing it among them.

Chapter 4

_____

Discussion of Findings and Conclusions

Like most ideas, the notion of African union finds its origin somewhere. The driving force behind African unity is the concept of pan-africanism. The ideals of pan-africanism were then institutionalized initially into the OAU which eventually failed, and later into the AU the main purpose of which was to usher continental integration into fruition. The AU is viewed as the incarnation of the ideals of pan-africanism, and appropriately so, seeing as it proposes to represent the improvement towards pan-africanist ideals. Pan-Africanism set up a vision of what was desirable in the future, rather than what actually

existed.[92] As Murithi stresses, Pan-Africanism is a tool and in the right hands could be a key to Africa's emancipation.[93]

4.1. Sovereignty

As inspiring as Pan-africanism and the AU sound on paper, for some African leaders the ideals and aspirations laid out therein seem almost unattainable. Most African leaders fear the loss of their sovereignty.[94] It is this uncertainty that has been a major obstacle to the evolution of common government. Although the traditional concept of sovereignty which advocates for equality of states irrespective of their size and legal personality in the relationship of states with each other is no longer in existence: this in light of limitations through increased international interactions, globalisation, human rights and humanitarian law as well as membership of international, intergovernmental and supra-governmental institutions;[95] states still feel that they have to hold on to whatever measure of sovereignty they may have left.

It is undeniable that the issues that limit sovereignty can only be overcome through global efforts as it is almost impossible for a state to act entirely independent of other states. This in turn means each state has to give up a part of their sovereignty as portrayed in the European Union; it is therefore clear that one cannot be done without the other. Granted, all African states are sovereign states, however, in order for African states to successfully unite, there needs to be either partial surrender of sovereignty or the total surrender of sovereignty by individual independent African states to a

---

[92] Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:18. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011.

[93] Murithi, T. *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism: Transforming African Union Values into policy and practice*. www.iss.co.za/uploads/PAPER143H.PDF; last accessed on 25 May 2011, p. 8.

[94] Olaosebikan, A. J. 2011. Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume 5:218-228, p. 218. Available at http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir; last accessed on 27 June 2011.

[95] Wachira, G. M. 2007. *Sovereignty and the "United States of Africa": insight from the EU*. ISS Paper 144, p. 2. Available at www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/.../Detail/?Ots591...lng; Last accessed on 17 July 2011.

supranational body. Kwame Nkrumah suggested the total surrender of sovereignty as one of the components of the proposed Union Government.[96]

As much as the issue of sovereignty is such a bone of contention, the reality is that African Unity, as demonstrated above is highly desirable. States have to be willing to limit their sovereignty in favour of the regional organisation if they want the process of integration to be successful. This means that the elite has to be ready to transfer part of its powers to the supranational level and, on the other hand, be ready to implement on a national level the decisions made on the supranational level.

In order for Pan-Africanism and African unity of a supranational nature as visualized through a Union Government to occur, AU member states will have to make every effort towards pooling sovereignty in or ceding sovereignty to the supranational body. In this way, sovereignty- seeing as this is one of the major hindrances to the proposed Union Government; to some degree then becomes a collective responsibility of the member states of the Union. The Union Government idea is likely to stand or fall around how concerns regarding national sovereignty are balanced with the need for pooled sovereignty; the type of government to be implemented must therefore be chosen wisely.

4.2. Governmental Structure

The notion of a United States of Africa suggests the relocation of political power and authority, either partial or complete, from national governments to a supranational body or entities. What type of government would be most suitable to this diverse yet in a way similar states that make up Africa? The achievement of a union government would involve integration. How to achieve this integration however, has been a subject of serious debate between the federalists, realists, functionalists, and several other integration theorists. Wapmuck sets out the arguments laid down by these different

---

[96] Olaosebikan, A. J. 2011. "Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government". *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume 5:218-228, p. 221.   Available at http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir; last accessed on 27 June 2011.

groups,[97] however, the argument which is more acceptable will depend on each individual state. Late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and several other African leaders were committed to the idea of achieving continental unity through a single federation.[98] Should this be the only basis to be considered? When the choice would affect over a million people, the perfect governmental structure would have to be decided by an unbiased person with no personal agenda and who has the interest of all people affected at heart. It would have to be a well-thought out one, after considerable weighing of the pros against the cons.

That is why The AU Assembly decided to set up a Committee of different Heads of State and Government which was tasked to investigate the 'Desirability of a Union Government of Africa' with the aim of defining the purpose of the Union government, its nature, scope, core values, steps and processes, as well as an indicative roadmap for its achievement.

The ultimate objective is therefore, to achieve, through political, economic, social, and cultural integration, a strong multi-racial and multi-ethnic United Africa, based on the principle of justice, peace, solidarity, and the cautious exploitation of its human and natural resources. This United Africa would thus be in a position to promote its values and interests, and take advantage of the opportunities of a rapidly globalizing world. It will be a representation of the concretization of the vision of the African Union.[99]

4.3. Conclusion

It is established that African states are diverse in many aspects; however, European states also share similar if not the same differences. Africa can in this regard draw in lesson three from the EU. Europe, with its multiple languages, firmly entrenched

---

[97] Wapmuk, S. 2009."In search of greater unity: African States and the quest for an African Union Government". *Journal of alternative perspectives in the social sciences,* Volume 1, No 3:647, p. 647-648. Available at www.japss.org/upload/6_Wapmuckarticle.pdf; Last accessed on 27 April 2011.
[98] Wapmuk, S. 2009."In search of greater unity: African States and the quest for an African Union Government". *Journal of alternative perspectives in the social sciences,* Volume 1, No 3:647, p. 650. Available at www.japss.org/upload/6_Wapmuckarticle.pdf; Last accessed on 27 April 2011.
[99] Matlosa, K. *The Feasibility of a Union Government and a United States of Africa: Dilemmas of Political integration and democratization*. Available at www.jutaacademic.co.za/africapolitics/chapters/chapter2.pdf; Last accessed on 28 July 2011, p. 13.

national cultures and dreadful experience with armed conflict has been able to proceed and create an organization for regional integration.

The European Union operates on the principle of shared sovereignty. Although its evolution is far from complete so as to warrant comparison, it has reached a point where Africa can only dream to be. Though the EU may consist of complex interchange of 'national sovereignty' and 'shared sovereignty' and sometimes lead to major 'crises', the Union offers limited but valuable lessons about how such regional and structural aid policies might be developed and even though debate may continue over what the EU has evolved into and through what process – whether intergovernmental, Supranational or Federal, overall, they seem to have made it work; the EU has enlarged its membership from the original six founding Member States to the present 27.[100] If they can make it work, then so can we. Africa needs to follow in the footsteps of the European Union having the added advantage of avoiding the mistakes they have made and improving where the EU failed.

If both Africa and the International Community work together, Africa should be able to overcome the numerous continental integration and development challenges it faces and move on to a sustainable economic and development growth path that are the cornerstones of nation state. Therefore; if continental integration is to succeed and bear fruit for the people of the continent, it ought to be pursued in both the economic and political spheres; in addition, even if the integration process is state-led, it must also be people-driven. In other words, integration arrangements ought to involve people through civil society and community-based organizations.

Further research should be done on how far the AU report has been carried out since its presentation; especially regarding the set dates for the creation of the "USA" seeing as over the years there has been one proposed date after another by which African integration should have been completed and some of those have come and gone, this

---

[100] Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011.

shows a lack of commitment on the part of the African leaders. Further research should also be done on exactly how the European Union got to where it is today, so the drivers of the unification of Africa can have a step-by-step guide of how to go about it.

References

Abbas, H. *Towards a continental Government?* Available at http://www.pambazuka.org; last accessed on 27 April 2011

Adejumobi, S. & Olukoshi, A (Eds). 2009. *The African Union and New Strategies for development in Africa.* Nairobi: CODESRIA & DPMF

Adjetey, S. A. 2010. *The United States of Africa Philosophy - A Historical Perspective.* Available at http://ssrn.com; last accessed 30 April 2011

Adogamhe, P. G. 2008. "Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development". *African Review of integration*, Volume 2 No.2:1 Available at www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/.../Adogamhe.pdf; Last accessed on 4 May 2011

AU 2006: *Study on an African Union Government: towards the United States of Africa.* Addis Ababa: AU. Available at www.africa-union.org/DOC/study_on_AUGovernment_june2006.pdf; Last accessed on 1 July 2011

Brownlie, I. 1999. *Principles of Public International Law, 5th edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chimutengwede, C. Pan-Africanism and the Second Liberation Struggle for a United New Africa. Available at www.blackherbals.com/pan-africanism.pdf; last accessed on 15 May 2011

Dr. Martin, G. 1989. *African Regional Integration: Lessons and Central African Experiences.* Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs

Editors of *The Spark* and Panaf Books. 1975. *Some essential features of Nkurumaism.* London: Panaf Books Ltd

Green, R.H. & Seidma, A. 1968. *Unity or Poverty? The Economics of Pan Africanism.* Aylesbury: Huzell Watson & Viney Ltd

Hannun, W. P. *Economic integration in Southern Africa.* p.29. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/158750; Last accessed on 14 March 2011

Jackson, J. H. "Sovereignty-Modern: A new approach to an outdated concept". *The American Journal of International Law.* Volume 97: 789. Available at www.asil.org/ajil/jackson.pdf; Last accessed on 17 July 2011

Jakab, A. 2005. *Neutralizing the Sovereignty Question: Compromise Strategies in Constitutional Argumentations about the Concept of Sovereignty for the European Integration.* Available at www.journals.cambridge.org/article_S1574019606003750; last accessed on 7 April 2011

Jordan, A. 2001. "The European Union: an evolving system of multi-level governance…or government?" *Policy & Politics.* Volume 29, No.2:193-208. Available at www.wass.wur.nl/NR/rdonlyres/B23337CE-DD03-475B.../jordan.pdf; Last accessed on 30 June 2011

Jordan, A. *The European Union; an evolving system of multinational governance…or government?* Available at www.wass.wur.nl/NR/rdonlyres/B23337CE-DD03.../jordan; last accessed on 30 April 2011

Kojo, A. Cannon, S. Gjinah-Boddi, E. Wilkerson, M. 2007. *Briefing Paper: A "United States of Africa" by 2015*? Available at www.cddghana.org; last accessed 07 April 2011

Kwame Nkrumah Quotes. Available at http://www.panafricanperspective.com/nkrumahquotes.html; last accessed 01 June 2011

Mathews, K. 2007. "Moving Towards a United Africa". *Africa Quarterly*, Volume 47, No.3:18. Available at www.indiaafricaconnect.in/africa%20quaterly/Aug-Oct07.pdf; last accessed on 5 May 2011

Matlosa, K. *The Feasibility of a Union Government and a United States of Africa: Dilemmas of Political integration and democratization.* Available at www.jutaacademic.co.za/africapolitics/chapters/chapter2.pdf; Last accessed on 28 July 2011

Moller, B. 2010. "Pan-Africanism and Federalism". *Perspectives on Federalism*. Volume 2, No 3:40. Available at www.europsworld.org/portals/O/AdvBoard/081_download.pdf; Last accessed on 7 June 2011

Murithi, T. *From Pan-Africanism to the Union of Africa.* Available at http://www.pambazuka.org; last accessed on 27 April 2011

Ndembele, D. M. *The United States of Africa: The challenges.* Available at http://www.pambazuka.org; last accessed on 27 April 2011

Okhonmina, S. *The African Union: Pan-Africanist Aspirations and the Challenge of African Unity.* Available at www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol3no4/3.4AfricanUnion.pdf; last accessed on 6 May 2011

Olaosebikan, A. J. 2011. "Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government". *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume 5:218-228. p221-223. Available at http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir; last accessed on 27 June 2011

Olivier, G. *Regional Integration in Africa: a Political perspective*. Available at www.garnet.sciencespobordeaux.fr/.../GERRIT%20Olivier.pdf; last accessed on 27 April 2011

Oppong, R. F. 2009. *Relational Issues of Law and Economic integration in Africa: Perspectives from Constitutional, Public and Private International Law*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia. Available at www.eprints.lancs.ac.uk/33295/.../ubc_2010_spring_oppong_richard_frimpong; Last accessed on 14 March 2011

Palmer, J. 2007. *Building the African Union: Any lessons from the European Integration?* Available at http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/paper/AU_Palmer; last accessed on 30 April 2011

Passarelli, F. 2008. *Diversity and Decisional Rules*. Tokyo: Hitotsubashi University. p.1. Available at www.euijtc.org; Last accessed on 27 April 2011

Reality bites after the United States of Africa dream summit. Available at http://unitedstatesafrica.tripod.com/; Last accessed on 07 April 2011

Schmitter, C. & Kim, S. *The experience of European Integration and potential for northeast Asian integration*. Available at www.asianperspective.org/articles/v; Last accessed on 28 September 2011

Thompson, V. B. 1969. *Africa and Unity: the Evolution of Pan-Africanism*. London: Longman Group Ltd

Wachira, G. M. 2007. *Sovereignty and the "United States of Africa": insight from the EU*. ISS Paper 144, p.2. Available at www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/..../Detail/?Ots591...lng; Last accessed on 17 July 2011

Wapmuk, S. 2009."In search of greater unity: African States and the quest for an African Union Government". *Journal of alternative perspectives in the social sciences,* Volume 1, No 3:647

White, Hylton. "A united states of Africa" by Nyerere, *J. K. Journal of Modern African Studies*. Available at www.jstor.org/stable/158780; last accessed on 14 March 2011