
ANALYSIS OF PAN AFRICANISM AND AFRICAN UNITY: 2016 AND BEYOND REJUVENATING DEBATE ON PAN AFRICAN UNITY

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to analyse Pan-Africanism as a philosophy and ideology from inception to its growth as an international movement. Essentially, the concept was developed outside Africa by descendants of African activists in the Diaspora. As a philosophy, Pan-Africanism is premised on a set of ideals that espouses Africans and peoples of African descent to have fundamental similarities and experiences including subjugation, Imperialism, neocolonialism, deprivation, discrimination, segregation, profound cultural affinity and above all, consider the countries of Africa as a single entity that must unite. Suffice it to say that the current exercise on one hand debunks the contents of 'tragedy of endowment' and applauds the notion that it is only when the countries of the continent of Africa unite that Africans realise the full benefits of its vast natural and human resources currently exploited by non-Africans. And on the other hand, is a testimony to pan Africanism and a manifesto to achieve African unity.

Pan-Africanism as an ideology is a beacon light and clarion-call. Platform for self-determination that underscores fraternal solidarity among Africans and peoples of African descent in the Diaspora. As a global force, exponents of Pan Africanism campaigned relentlessly against the aggressive policies of imperial powers in Africa at the turn of the Twentieth Century, drew the attention of the conscience of the rest of the world to the plight of subjected peoples of Africa and by extension, evolved to link Africa with descendents of peoples of Africa in the Diaspora and Third World Countries with large populations of people of African descent, where the quest for unity and solidarity remains paramount.

It is in line with the above that this paper will be written. Part one dilates on the evolution of Pan-Africanism from its genesis to growth as a global movement and how its goals have changed during the different political, economic and social

development stages. Part two examines the current priorities of African Union Commission with emphasis on cooperation among African countries. Part three discusses where the Africa Union Commission and Pan-African Parliament stand 'right now' and ought to be in the not too distant future with respect to 'political union' of countries in Africa. Finally, rejuvenation of debate on African unity and removal of the 'whole analysis of Pan Africanism from realms of rhetorical attachments and superficial historical accounts and embeds it in the essential context of unity void of demagoguery are integral parts of this work.

Analysis of Pan Africanism and African Unity: 2016 and Beyond Rejuvenating Debate on African Unity

The objective of this paper is to examine Pan-Africanism as a philosophy and ideology from the inception to a vibrant international movement. Additionally, it will analyse the founding and transformation of the Organisation of African Unity, roles of the African Union Commission and Pan African Parliament in the pursuit of political union of countries in Africa.

Pundits the world over including Odomaro Mubangizi regard Africa as the cradle of humanity with a common destiny. As a matter of fact, Mubangizi not only dismissed the Marxist notion of 'history' as a theatre of class struggle, he considered history as a platform for quest for unity and he further argued that

Africa ... must take the lead in promoting unity, not fragmentation. That unity cannot be based on only transient systems like economics and politics, but has to include deeper values and norms rooted in ontology, anthropology and belief systems (Odomaro Mubangizi 2015).

In a similar vein, Hashni Kenneth Tafira contended that the balkanization of Africa and delimitation of boundaries between imperial powers and colonial spheres of interest sanctioned by the Berlin Congress at the end of the nineteenth century was arbitrary and imposed without the consent and approval of the citizenry, regard to ethnic affinity as well as other local conditions. Hence the unintended consequences of demarcation of the continent cjjrAfricans in general and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular were immense and devastating., Therefore, "dismantling colonial boundaries and borders according to Hashni K. Tafira is a "veritable Pan-African project." For Tafira, "Pan- Africanism is a people-to-people relationship rather than an event between heads of state, politicians or intellectuals (Diop 1962, Harowitz 1985, Tafira 2015).

Essentially, the concept of Pan Africanism was developed outside the continent of Africa by descendants and activists in the African Diaspora. From the

inception, Pan Africanism is a philosophy premised on a set of ideals and beliefs that represent the historical, spiritual, artistic, scientific and cultural norms of Africa. Furthermore, Pan Africanism espouses that Africans and peoples of African descent in the Diaspora have fundamental identical experiences of imperialism, subjugation, discrimination, segregation, deprivation, profound cultural affinity and above all, consider the countries of Africa as a single entity that must unite (Legum 1962, Mazrul 1967, Hooker 1975).

As an ideology and movement, Pan Africanism stresses self-reliance, unity and upliftment. It underscores the notion that the fate of black people are intertwined and proffers solidarity based on political, economic and social progress of black people and descendants of black people everywhere in the world. Therefore, the core of the ideology of Pan Africanism is the belief that Africans and peoples of African descent have common history and destiny. Suffice it to say that the current author carefully notes the contents of 'tragedy of endowment' Alao (2007), endorses the notion that it is only when the countries of Africa unite that the citizenry will fully realise the potential and real benefits of the enormous human and natural resources of Africa that are currently exploited by non-Africans-Nkrumah ,1973,Rodney 1974and Alao (2007). Hence, this piece is a testimony to Pan Africanism and a manifesto to achieving political union of countries in Africa, not in the too distant future.

Africa's Entry in to the European World Economy

The formal relationship between Europeans and Africans that led to the founding of Pan Africanism began when Portuguese established 'way stations' on the west coast of Africa in the middle of the fifteenth century, in that regard, the activities of the early explorers led to the establishment of trade between Africans and Portuguese in a variety of commodities such as pepper, tapioca, ivory and gold. At the turn of the fifteenth century, Portuguese began to buy slaves from African slave raiders. When the innocuous slave trade became prosperous, they were joined by British and later the French

Due to expansion of plantation economies in North America, South America and Caribbean Islands with the similar climatic conditions with Africa, the Portuguese, British and French reasoned that Africans were best suited for manual labour on their plantations. The demand for slaves increased exponentially when the trade became exceedingly profitable. Hence millions of Africans were enslaved through inter-ethnic conflicts and sold to Europeans by African slave merchants in Central, South and West Africa. Indeed, the above was one of the most expedient ways that fostered the entry of Africa in to the European World Economy and hastened the destruction and eventual replacement of traditional African governing systems by imperial administrative institutions and caused the systematic

degradation and devaluation of Africans by Europeans (Diop 1962, Bennett 1963, Rodney 1969, Du Bois 1980).

Interestingly, the commercial relations between Europeans and African were accompanied by European attempt to seize territory from Africans. It is therefore important to point out that the aim of Europeans from the onset was to capture, own and secure control of the territory that produced the agricultural resources. After conquering the land, they set out to control the African population, exported millions of Africans to Europe, United States and Caribbean islands as cheap and inexpensive labour to work in plantations, mines and other thriving businesses (Walters 2007). It is important to point out that Africans resisted the violent incursions in Africa by Europeans, it was through the use of superior forces and military assets, Europeans destroyed and uprooted the indigenous African way of life and political institutions (Rodney 1974, Mshomba 2000). In many instances, Africans were compelled to learn European languages, adopt dress codes, cultural norms, values, beliefs and assumptions. Suffice it to say that European baikanization of Africa was the climax of imperialism in that era characterised by absolute domination and control of human and natural resources and, the traditional leadership of Africa (Nkrumah 1973, Harowitz 1985).

As a matter of fact, when traditional institutions were dismantled, Africans became imperial subjects in their own continent, African chiefs became pawns in the new colonial administration, family lands were confiscated by imperial administration, minerals and agricultural commodities were looted and exported to Europe and above all, the Continent of Africa became European sphere of interest. In that regard, Europeans constructed roads, railways, and air and sea ports to facilitate trade as means to quicken the pace of economic exploitation of Africa (Rodney 1974, M'buyinga 1982, Geiss 2000).

African slaves worked under cruel and dehumanising conditions in Europe and the new world for little or no pay. Interestingly, if and when paid, the wages were starvation wages. In addition to losing family lineage after being sold in bondage, African slaves were separated from their traditional roots and homes. They were scattered in distant communities in the Caribbean Islands, Europe, North America, Central America and South America. From the middle of the fifteenth century to middle of the nineteenth century, an estimated 6% of African slaves went to the new world that later became the British colony of United States of America, 17% were taken to the Spanish colonies in North and South America, 40% were sold to the Islands in the Caribbean that were controlled by Europeans and 38% were ferried to the Portuguese territory in South America, currently known as Brazil (Diop 1962, Walters 2007).

From the onset, Africans were opposed to European military incursions in Africa that were under the guise of trade. Additionally, Africans hated with passion the innocuous slave trade and imperial domination that led to the establishment of

colonies in Africa. It is from the above perspective that Pan Africanism became and continues to be a platform to combat inequality experienced by Africans. Also, Pan Africanism highlighted and continues to highlight the disadvantages which Africans and descendants of African people in the Diaspora experienced before the commencement of the struggle of national liberation. Although Africans and people of African descent were dispersed in many continents, the ideals of Pan Africanism reinforced the notion that they are a unified people and would work for the liberation of the continent of Africa (Walters 2007, Du Bois 1980)).

Pan Africanism is a beacon light and clarion call platform for self determination. And it underscores fraternal solidarity among Africans and peoples of African descent everywhere in the world to say the least. As a global force, the exponents of Pan Africanism mounted a sustained relentless campaign against the aggressive policies of imperial powers in Africa at the turn of the twentieth century, drew the attention of the conscience of the rest of the world to the plight of subjected peoples of Africa and by extension, linked Africa with descendents of peoples of Africa in Third World Countries with large populations of people of African descent, where the quest for unity and solidarity remains paramount. Additionally, the exponents of Pan Africanism portrayed Pan Africanism in three different ways. First, they contended that Pan Africanism encompasses all countries in the continent of Africa; second, the concept applies to all peoples in the continent of Africa including non- black Arabs in North Africa except settler regimes and their descendants and thirdly, Pan Africanism includes African people and people of African descent (Du Bois 1980, Walters 2007).

Origin and Development of Pan Africanism

Pan Africanism as a concept was initially developed outside of Africa by Henry Sylvester Williams in 1900. Henry Sylvester Williams, the pioneer of Pan Africanism was born in the Caribbean Island of Trinidad. He lived and practiced law in England for many years. It was Henry Sylvester Williams who organised the first Pan African Conference in London to alert the rest of the world about the plight of Africans and people of African descent, how black people were treated and discriminated against in ifeer Africa. The forum also created the opportunity to discuss issues pertaining to the welfare of black people. The objective of the forum among other things was to react to policies implemented by Imperial powers in their spheres of interest in Africa and protest the segregated and discriminatory treatment meted to Africans and peoples of African descent in Europe and North America. The initial conference attracted delegates from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. United States of America

and Caribbean Islands (Diop, 1962, Geiss 1967, Hooker, 1975, Mathurin, 1975, M'buyinga, 1982).

The consequences of World War 1 had extraneous effects on black people in Europe and North America. Although they were drafted and fought gallantly in the war, they faced deprivation, segregation and discrimination at home at the end of the Second World War. In the same vein, William E B Dubois, an African American educator, organised the first Pan African Congress in Paris in 1919 to draw the attention of the world to what black Americans encountered in their country of birth despite their contribution to the development of the United States. Indeed, the Pan African Congress was carefully planned to coincide with Allied Conference that negotiated the aftermath of World War 1 in Paris in 1919. The agenda of the Congress emphasised the provision of education to Africans and the eventual granting of independence to territories placed under the supervision of the League of Nations. Two congresses were held after the initial one. in 1921, William E B Dubois simultaneously organised the second Pan African Congress in London, Paris and Brussels. The third and fourth Pan African Congresses were organised in London and Lisbon in 1923, and New York City in 1927 (Langley 1973; Walters 2007, and Du Bois 1980).

Indeed, the Pan African Congresses were popular among Africans and peoples of African descent, Europe and United States for a number of reasons. First, the congresses gained popularity and were attended by many politically conscious representatives from African countries. Second, conferees from African countries, United States and Europe were sponsored by Labour Unions that were growing in size, popularity and power. Third, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, the nationalist movement founded by Marcus Garvey was popular in the United States of America and served as an organisation that rallied black Americans to return to Africa. In Garvey's view, the Black Star Line which he financed and operated was to oversee the return of African Americans to Liberia. Indeed, Garvey's philosophy added impetus to the popular expression of the sentiment of African unity and promoted 'black pride' among working class African Americans (Legum 1962, Walters 2007).

Pan Africanism and the Struggle for National Liberation

In spite of the harsh economic realities caused by the great depression, militarisation of Germany and consequences of World War II cloud that hanged over Europe in the 1930s and early 1940s, the ideals of Pan Africanism were a great concern to Africans and people of African descent in Europe, Great Britain, United States of America and South America. At the end of World War II, African students in Europe founded West African Student Union in London. They corroborated the work of West Indians and African Americans to popularise the Pan African ideology

in the world. One of the leading pioneers and architects of the West African Students Union was Kwame Nkrumah. He was a graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, United States of America who founded the African Students Organisation during his student days in America. Kwame Nkrumah stopped in London on his way home to the Gold Coast in 1944 (Langley, 1973; Mshomba, (2000) Walters, 2007).

While in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Kwame Nkrumah met Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya, Hastings Kamuzu Banda from Nyasaland, Pan Africanists including Jamaican born activist George Padmore and the fiery orator and author C L R James from Trinidad. They organised the 5th Pan African Conference in Manchester in 1945. The Conference attracted nationalists and trade unionists from Africa, Europe, Caribbean and ' United States of America. Indeed, the 5th Pan African Conference was different from previous Pan African Conferences and Congresses in that it gave impetus to the Pan African movements, created a political forum for national liberation struggle in Africa, placed 'independence for countries in Africa' as a priority and above all, located educated African nationalists at the helm of the Pan African Movement. Based on the agenda, the 5th Pan African Conference held in Manchester was rated the most successful held in Europe and United States (Walters 2007),

Kwame Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast in 1949. The Gold Coast achieved independence from Great Britain on 6th March, 1957 and Kwame Nkrumah, founder and leader of the Convention People's Party became prime minister and the colony assumed the new name, of 'Ghana'. Following the attainment of political freedom, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah trumpeted and expanded Pan African ideals in Africa when he declared that the political freedom of Ghana was meaningless and incomplete unless linked to the total liberation of all countries in Africa. In order to realise his vision, Prime Minister Nkrumah authorised the establishment of a Pan African Secretariat in the government of Ghana and appointed George Padmore, a respected, seasoned, experienced and veteran Pan Africanist at the helm. Under the mercurial and dynamic leadership of George Padmore, the Pan African Secretariat promoted the twin objectives of attaining political freedom for all countries and territories in Africa and orchestrated an agenda for continental unity (Walters, 2007).

In order to expedite the attainment of the above twin objectives, the Pan African Secretariat organised two important international conferences. The first was the 'All African Peoples Conference', held in Accra, Ghana in 1958. Delegates to the forum included nationalists, political party leaders and trade unionists from independent countries as well as colonies in Africa. The cardinal purpose of the conference was to stimulate debate on independence and spur the national liberation struggle movements in all colonies in the continent of Africa. Additionally, political leaders of sovereign African countries were expected to give moral, political, financial, and material support to nascent liberation movements in the colonies and

dependent territories to ensure their survival. Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah invited only heads of state and governments of independent countries in Africa for the second conference. Among other things, the goal of the conference of independent African countries held in Cairo, United Arab Republic in 1961, was to lay the cornerstone of diplomatic framework for political union of sovereign countries in Africa. The presence of leaders of Arab speaking North African countries and Cairo being its venue, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, the icon of Pan Africanism not only re-enforced his commitment to the Pan African ideology at the forum. He also firmly anchored the most salient Pan African ideal at the forum: the political union of African countries with a centralized political system (Mazrui 1967, Du Bois 1980, Walters 2007).

Indeed, there is no gainsaying that the political vision of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah for the African Continent bore fruit. Interestingly, seventeen countries achieved independence within three years after Ghana attained political freedom, and eighty per cent of the colonies in Africa attained political freedom from imperial bondage in 1963 which was a momentous achievement for the black community and peoples of African descent. For Africans and people of African descent in the Diaspora, 'political freedom' means on one hand restoration of the dignity of the black race and more importantly on the other hand, the pace of the political, economic, social and cultural development of Africa and independent island countries in the Caribbean will be determined by black political leaders (Cervenka 1977).

Transformation of the Organisation of African Unity to African Union Commission and Pan African Parliament

After many years of controversy, wrangling and protracted debates among heads of state and government of thirty two countries comprising the Casablanca bloc and Monrovia bloc about the future of Africa with emphasis on unification of African countries, the heads of state accepted invitation from Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia to a summit conference in Addis Ababa. In spite of personal ego, aura of sovereign statehood, differences in foreign policy objectives and manifestations of cold war super power rivalry, delegates from thirty two independent Maghreb and Sub-saharan African countries assembled in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and founded the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). It was at that compromised summit conference that the Pan African premier forum popularly known as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was born in May, 1963.

Indeed, it was a significant giant step in African diplomacy. The objective of the Organisation of African Unity among other things was to

- safeguard the continent of Africa landmass from external provocations
- protect the territorial integrity of African countries
- ensure the utility of human rights in African countries

- raise the living standards of the citizenry of Africa
- amicably resolve disputes between member states through peaceful and diplomatic negotiations and
- promote positive relations with the global community within the framework of the United Nations Organisation (Legum 1975, Sesay 1980).

Essentially, the Organisation of African Unity is a confederation of sovereign countries that are committed to political, economic, social and cultural cooperation among the constituent members (Sesay 1980 Dubois 1980, Walters 2007).

Epitomised by annual summit conferences which were tagged with astronomical costs that are solely funded by host member countries during the past four decades, the Organisation of African Unity was transformed to African Union Commission by the Constitutive Act of the African Union in the Sirte Declaration adopted at the Fourth Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State held in Sirte, Libya in September 1999. The Declaration also called for a speedy establishment of the African Economic Community. May I emphasise that the transformation of Organisation of African Unity to African Union Commission was a giant leap in the pursuit of political union of countries in Africa? Interestingly, Articles 5 and 17 of the Constitutive Act adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government Conference at its 36th Ordinary Session in Lome, Togo in 2000, provided the Pan African Parliament as a viable organ of the African Union Commission. The Pan African Parliament gives "concrete expression to the common vision of a united, integrated and strong Africa" which was the ostensible aim of the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity (Protocol to the Constitutive Act of African Union Commission 2014).

The cardinal goal of the African Union Commission is to advance the objectives of the Organisation of African Unity and promote the vision of the founding fathers who laid the cornerstone of the continental forum. Since its coming to being, the African Union Commission faces formidable challenges from the international community and within the continent of Africa. It must be pointed out that the idea about 'Union government' emanated from the Assembly of Heads of State Conference at Abuja, Nigeria in January 2005. At that forum, the heads of state decided to create a number of ministerial portfolios to expedite the operations of the African Union. Hence a Seven-man Committee under the Chairmanship of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda was formed to examine the proposal. The Report of the Committee endorsed the formation of a continental government of the United States of Africa rather than waste unnecessary time to create ministerial portfolios. Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, Chairman of the African Union capitalised on the Report and engendered what Gilbert Khadiagala 'billed a grand debate on the Union Government' that transcends African Union institutions in to continental government (Khadiagala 2010).

In addition, the Libyan representatives pressed for the creation of 'ministerial committees and studies' to examine 'the time line for the union government'. Interestingly, while "all member states accept the united states of Africa as a common and desirable goal-differences exist over the modalities and time frame for achieving this goal and the appropriate pace of integration." Incidentally, rifts and differences between member states continue to be obstacles to African Union today which pundits contend, are yet to be resolved before the coming to being of a union government (Khadiagala 2013, Anon 2007).

The endorsement of the protocol that founded the Pan African Parliament also known as 'African Parliament which is the legislative body of the African Union Commission was a significant step towards unification of the countries of Africa. Indeed, the Abuja Treaty and Sirte Declaration are the diplomatic initiatives that brought about the Pan African Parliament. Additionally, the Abuja Treaty underscores the need for "the peoples of Africa to be fully involved in the economic development and integration of the continent/" That led to the establishment of the establishment of the Pan African Parliament. The Protocol was adopted during the Organisation of African Unity Heads of State Summit in Lome, Togo in 2000, the inaugural session was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 2004, and currently, the meeting place is at the Gallagher Convention Centre, Midrand, Republic of South Africa. Currently the protocol is open and in circulation for signature and ratification by member countries of the African Union. It is interesting to note that twenty one member countries have signed and three countries have ratified the Protocol to date. Article 22 of the Abuja Protocol of the Pan African Parliament states that, the Protocol will go in to effect after "a deposit of the instruments of ratification by a simple majority of the member states" (Protocol 2014, PAP. Org).

Pan African Parliament in 2016

With reference to the protocol, the Pan African Parliament comprises of the 'Plenary' which is the legislative assembly that makes policies, passes resolutions and consists of 235 representatives from 47 of the 54 member countries of the African Union. Instead of being elected in their own capacity, each member country sends a delegation of five members of its parliament, at least one of them must be a woman to the African Union Parliament. The protocol dictates that the composition of the delegation of member countries reflects the political diversity of the member country national assembly. The term of office of pan African parliamentarians corresponds with that of their respective national parliament or the deliberative organ that designated the representative. When parliament is in session, the plenary is chaired by the president of the African Union Commission. The second organ is the 'Bureau'⁷ which comprises the leadership of

parliament. The Bureau consists of the president, four vice presidents, and the following ten Permanent Committees:

- (i) Rural Economy, agriculture, natural resources and environment
- (ii) Monetary and financial affairs
- (iii) Trade, customs and immigration matters
- (iv) Cooperation, international relations and conflict resolutions
- (v) Transport, industry, communications, energy, science and technology
- (vi) Health, labour and social affairs
- (vii) Education, Culture, Tourism and human relations
- (viii) Gender, family, youths and people with disabilities
- (ix) Justice and Human rights
- (x) Rules, privileges and discipline

The 'Secretariat' is the third organ of the Pan African Parliament and consists of the clerk, two deputy clerks and support staff. Essentially, the Secretariat of the Pan African Parliament is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the continental forum, preparation of minutes of scheduled meetings, organises and monitors elections and manages staff.

It must be emphasised that while the current mandate of the Pan African Parliament includes advice and consult, its long term goal among other things, is to conduct elections by universal adult suffrage and enact laws for the Continent of Africa when it assumes and exercises full legislative powers. The undermentioned are the functions of the current Pan African Parliament.

1. Facilitate effective implementation of the Organisation of African Union policies and objectives and, ultimately, the African Union
2. Work towards the harmonization or coordination of member states' laws
3. Make recommendations aimed at recommending to the attainment of the African Union objectives and draw attention to the challenges facing the integration process in Africa as well as the strategies for dealing with them
4. Request African Union officials to attend its sessions, produce documents or assist in the discharge of its duties
5. Promote African Union Programmes and objectives in member countries constituencies
6. Encourage good governance, transparency and accountability in member countries
7. Familiarise the peoples of Africa with the objectives and policies aimed at integrating the African continent within the framework of the African establishment
8. Promote the coordination and harmonization of policies, measures, programmes and activities of Africa's parliamentary fora.

Pan African Parliament: 2016 and Beyond

The desire of the founding fathers, current generation and peoples of African descent in the Diaspora is for African countries to attain political freedom under the auspices of African political leaders that are elected by African voters which had been achieved. Currently, the most formidable challenge is to proffer 'union government' characterised by popular consent of the present political leaders to come to grips with reality and write a fundamental law of the 'United States of Africa' and a 'federal government' with clearly defined delegated powers namely Foreign Affairs, economic and financial affairs and defense. The proposed federal government will have executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. Essentially, the legislature will be charged with the responsibility to enact laws, the executive branch executes the laws and the judiciary interprets the fundamental law and punishes violators (Goldstein 2004, Rogers 2006, and Protocol 2014).

Interestingly, the chief executive of Africa will be elected by an Electoral College. The electors will be elected directly by the electorates in the 54 Africa countries. The president will administer the United States of Africa through a federal bureaucracy and he/she will be advised by a cabinet of ministers that he/she will have the constitutional power to appoint the members (Hayward 1987). For expediency, there will be an African Parliament that comprises two chambers: Senate and House of Representatives. Each of the 54 countries will be represented by two senators in the senate which underscores equality of the countries in the union. It must be emphasised that the geographical size of the countries, population and contributions to the economy in federation will be recognised in the House of Representatives wherein parliamentary constituencies will be based on 700,000 eligible voter populations to prevent it being unwieldy. And political parties in the various states will manage the election of the chief executive and members of parliament (Hodgkin 1961). Indeed, the chief justice will be appointed by the president who will supervise the supreme court and lower courts (Hayward 1984, Enelow 1984, Jess 1998).

Conclusion and Recommendations

In spite many obstacles, Africans and peoples of African descend have made progress since the end of the heinous slave trade. Today, the 54 countries in the continent of Africa are sovereign republics and above all, are fed by indigenous sons and daughters of the continent of Africa. Additionally, the cornerstone of a union government through the African Union Commission and Pan African Parliament are functioning. Indeed, these are momentous and significant milestone notwithstanding the enormous price paid. Unification of the countries in Africa is certainly one of the most significant ways to utilise the natural resources of the continent, reduce the gross inequality, immeasurable unemployment and grinding poverty experienced by the

citizenry (Green 1968). In the opinion of the author, the vision and sense of direction of Africans are clear with respect to where to be. The match is on and will neither be stopped nor reversed.

It is in light of the above that the undermentioned are recommended.

i. The African Union ought to play a more proactive role to solve intra-state squabbles in some African countries namely Somalia, Republic of South Sudan, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Gabon (Harowitz 1985).

ii. Regional Economic Communities of the African continent have the responsibility and mandate to introduce single currency in their regions as well as foster the same for Africa in the not too distant future (Gruhn 1997, Johnson 1999, Jeffries 2004, Ikome 2007).

iii. African Union Commission must endeavour to advise incumbent heads of state to abide with their national constitutions and desist from extending terms of office through manipulation of the national constitution.

iv. Pan African Parliament ought to be empowered to enact laws that are binding and enforced in all the countries in Africa.

v. It is about time for the African Union Commission to appoint a federal constitution drafting commission to begin work on the federal constitution of the United States of Africa to be completed in 2020.

vi. Military officers who come to power through coup d'etat must be barred from attending heads of state and government meetings.

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