

THE CHALLENGES OF PAN-AFRICANISM FROM W.E.B DUBOIS TO KWAME NKRUMAH

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Abstract: This article deals with the issue of Pan Africanism from America, via Europe, until Africa. Our goal is to show how the challenges of Pan-Africanism started in America with activities of Sylvester W.E.B Dubois until Kwame Nkrumah in Africa. Despite the claimings for their cultural identities, their origins, and different activities of Sylvester W.E.B Dubois, Afro-American remain under the white men domination, not only in the socio-cultural field, but also in the socio-political even economic as well. So more than 60 century ago, the whole cultural, socio-politics, even the economic life in America was totally belonging to the white men. So, through socio historical approach, we have noticed that the ideas of the African Unity resulted from the different activities of Pan-Africanism by Sylvester W.E.B Dubois in America, via Europe and finally in Africa with Kwame Nkrumah.

Key Words: Pan-Africanism, Afro- American, ideas, movement, Phases, Periods.

Résumé: Cet article traite de la situation du Pan-Africanisme Depuis l'Amérique, en passant par l'Europe, jusqu'en Afrique. Notre objectif est de montrer comment les enjeux du Pan-Africanisme ont débuté en Amérique avec les activités de W.E.B Dubois jusqu'à Kwamé Nkruma en Afrique. Malgré les revendications pour leur identité culturelle, leur origine et les différentes activités de Sylvester W.E.B Dubois, les Afro-Américains sont restés longtemps sous la domination des blancs, non seulement dans le domaine socio-culturel, mais aussi socio-politique voire économique. En fin, il y a plus de 60 siècles aujourd'hui, que toute la vie culturelle, socio-politique voire économique en Amérique était totalement l'apanage des blancs. A travers l'approche socio historique, nous avons constaté que l'idée de l'unité Africaine résulte des différentes activités du Pan-Africanisme menées par W.E.B Dubois en Amérique, en passant par l'Europe, et enfin en Afrique avec Kwamé Nkrumah.

Mots Clés : Pan-Africanisme, Afro-Américains, Idées, mouvement, Phases, Périodes.

I. INTRODUCTION

For more than a century, Afro-American have followed the path of political dependence on white men and their system. From the Liberty Party in the decades before the Civil War to the Republican Party of Abram Lincoln, their trusted in white men and white politics as their deliverers. Sixty years ago. W.E.B Dubois said he would give the Democrats their "last chance" to prove their sincere commitment to equality for Afro-American and he was given white riots and official segregation in peace and in war.

However, the present study is to situate readers to the main purpose when reading African civilization in general, and the history of Pan-Africanism from W.E.B Dubois to Kwame Nkrumah in particular. Pan-Africanism as ideas and Pan-Africanism as a movement are the main concerns of our work. It is in this sense that our study is entitled: The Challenges of Pan-Africanism from W.E.B du Bois to Kwame Krumah. As we can see, the current topic raises an interesting question that we hope to scrutinize in this study. How did the Afro-American stated with the ideas of Pan-Africanism?

Concerning the review of literature, we have to mention that there are different works related to the history of Pan-Africanism. Many writers have already worked on this topic. The available academic studies are mostly related to the study of Africa in the sense of history, sociology, or civilization. Indeed, this study is going to be made clear in relation with Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, when he started that the movement aimed at an "intellectual understanding cooperation among all groups of Negro descendants in order to bring about at the earliest possible

time the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro people.” This quotation sounds right if we consider the situation in the context of Pan-Africanism.

About methodology, we shall use the socio-historical approach in the fact that the problems of Africa have a long history that requires looking at contemporary developments in Africa through the study of past events. Our study will start by examining the origin of Pan-Africanism. That is to say the Afro-American Pan-African ideas. Next, we are going to see the European origin of Pan-Africanism, Then, the African Origin will constitute the third and the last step of the origin of Pan-Africanism.

Furthermore, we shall deal with congresses of Pan-Africanism. Here, we are going to start from the first congress to the fifth one. There after, we may scrutinize the significance of Pan-African movement and the fifth congress. And Pan-African ideas and the setting up of the Organization of African Unity will constitute the seventh step of our work. Finally, we are going to study Pan-African ideas and the setting up of African Union.

II. AMERICAN PERIOD:

The aim of this section is to study how the Afro-American started with the ideas of Pan-Africanism as their expressions of revolt by claiming their cultural identities. Then, we shall see how Pan-Africanism as a movement moved from America to Europe, and finally in Africa.

2.1-Origin: Afro-American Pan-African ideas

To understand fully the origin of Afro-American Pan-African ideas, it is not unnecessary to enlighten the different components of the term Pan-Africanism. Indeed, “*Pan*” is a Greek word meaning “*all*”; so Pan-Africanism means “All - Africans”. But the first form of the Pan-African movement was not directly concerned with Africa.

It was concerned with the black communities of African descent, who lived in North America and the Caribbean (West Indies). These black people had come from many peoples and cultures. But they had lost their languages and cultural identities during the time of slavery.

It is not unnecessary to stress that Pan-Africanism ideas originally started in the new World during the moments following the American Declaration of Independence. So, the Afro-American Pan-African ideas represented a reaction against the maltreatment of the Negro and the racial doctrines that marked the era of abolitionism. It was also contesting and revolting against the activities of the colonizing Europeans.

Indeed, The Negroes could neither marry into the white sector or attend white churches; or if allowed into a white church they worshipped in a segregated corner. Some whites’ schools admitted blacks before 1820, after that period most Northern States either excluded them or provided separate institutions for them, they received no benefit from free schools despite the fact that Boston Negroes petitioned the legislative granting them educational facilities in as easy as 1787.

The foregoing ideas as developed by Edward Wilmot contain the essential elements of Pan-Africanism. These elements can be summarized in this way: Africa as the foreland of Africans and persons of African origin, the rehabilitation of the African past, the vision of a glorious African culture and values. It is in this way that in his poem entitled “Africa for the Africans” Marcus Garvey cried:

Europe Cries to Europeans. Ho!
Asiatics claim Asia, so
Australia for Australians
And Africa for Africans Marcus Garvey, 1940: www. Africa
speaks.com

It is also important to mention that Pan-Africanism as the idea roughly coincides with the American period of Pan-Africanism both being practically nineteenth century affairs. New World Negroes, but Negro-Africans also played some part but their cousin across the Atlantic provided the vanguard.

It must be remembered that thought naturalized a Liberian. Blyden was strictly speaking a West Indian Negro. Besides promulgating the main ideas. Pan-Africanism of this period took the dominant form of Black- to Africa the Fartherland.

By 1884, Otto Von Bismarck held a congress in Berlin called Scramble for Africa. He invited fourteen European countries (including the US) and divided Africa amongst themselves. No Africans were invited.

England got the biggest pieces, followed by France, Germany, Portugal, and Belgium. In 1893, Chicago Congress was held under Bishop McNeil Turner and Alexander Crumwell. The French threat to Liberia and Ethiopia.

Africa's only Free States, demanded the meeting. The Congress declared Africa home of all Diasporians and sought out ways to assist Africa in its development. The formation in Great Britain on 24 September 1897 of the African Association through the initiative of Henry Sylvester Williams, a West Indian barrister may be taken as the emergence of Pan-Africanism as a moment.

The Association aimed to encourage a feeling of unity among Africans in general and "to promote and protect the interests of all subjects of all claiming African descent, wholly or in part, British Colonies and other places especially in Africa."

In addition, Pan-Africanism traces its origin in the activities of Henry Sylvester William in the West Indies and of Du Bois in the United States. As a matter of fact, Henry Sylvester William was from the West Indies. He was a councilor from Trinidad and was also generally known as the forerunner of Pan-Africanism.

By 1900, he convened a meeting in London to protest against the land policy practiced in Rhodesia. This congress indicates that the vision of Pan-Africanism was that of combating injustice as to the distribution of lands in Africa. To this vision, Du Bois added the African American dimension.

Dr. Du Bois was the famous Afro-American scholar who asserted that the movement aimed at an intellectual understanding cooperation among all groups of Negro descents in order to bring at the earliest possible time the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro people. Always, by 1900, Du Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured people in order to denounce and combat racial segregation in all its form.

Liberated from American slavery, they were united by the color of their skin and by their sufferings. Some of these black people, during the last century, came to believe that they could become free and equal only if they left America.

2.2. The European Origin

The first form of this movement was really, a "Pan-Black" or Pan-Negro movement which took shape outside of Africa. Yet the Pan-African movement, even in its early stage, also stood for defense of Africans in Africa.

In July 1900, the African Association summoned a Pan-African conference. The year 1900 marks the beginning of what may be called the European period of Pan-African Movement centred on independence for Africans and peoples of African stock. In addition, the European origin of Pan-Africanism is associated with the fact that most of Pan-African congresses were held in European capital.

2.3. The African origin

The African and third principal period of Pan-African Movement started after the end of the Second World War with the return of Jomo Kenyatta (1946) and Kwame Nkrumah (1947) to Kenya and the Gold Coast respectively. By 1958, Nkrumah summoned in Accra a conference of the eight independent African States namely: Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and Egypt.

In September of the same year, the All-African Peoples Conference also sponsored by Nkrumah, took place in Accra. It was a meeting of the nationalist leaders, from African territories still under colonial domination signifying a shift of the focal point of Pan-Africanism from Europe to Africa.

Taken together, these two conferences held in Accra in 1958 may be accepted as making the end of the European period of Pan-Africanism and the beginning of the African promoting a feeling of unity among African in general.

III. CONGRESSES

This part is about different congresses of Pan-Africanism which occurred from William W.E.B. Du Bois to Kwame Nkrumah. Here, we are going to find out all congresses or conferences from the first Pan-African conference to the the fifth one.

3.1. The First Pan-African Congress

Here we have to mention that by 1919, the very first Pan-African Congress was organized by W.E.B. Du Bois. There were of course fifty seven delegates representing fifteen countries. The main task was the petition of the Versailles Peace Conference which was held in Paris at that moment. Some of their demands can be made clear as follows:

The Allies should be in charge of the administration of former territories in Africa as a joint control of the State's affairs by two or more other States, on the behalf of the Africans who were living there. This may also mean that it demanded ex- German colonies to be placed under the League of Nation.

Africa is granted home rule and Africans should take part in governing their own countries as fast as their development allows until at some specified moment in the future. The matter was that colonist offered no end in sight. Hence, the resistance and war pursued. Amongst the delegates were: Eliezer Cadet, of Negro Improvement Association; BlaiseDiagne Senegal, and French Commissioner General of the Ministry of Colonies; William Jernagin, Washigton, USA; Charles D.B. King, Liberia; William Monroe Trotter; Richard R. Wright; Robert Russa Moton.

3.2- The Second Pan-African Congress

The Pan-African Congress reconvened in London in August 1921 and a month later in Brussels. Both meetings featured representatives from the Americas, the Caribbean, Europe, and Africa who echoed earlier Pan-Africanist reformist ideas, denouncing imperialism in Africa and racism in the United States.

Moreover, the delegates demanded local self-government for colonial subjects and Du Bois stressed the need for increased interracial contacts between members of the black intelligentsia and those concerned about the political and economic status of colonial peoples. There was an Indian Revolutionary who took part, Shapurji Sklatvala and a journalist from Ghana named W.F. Hutchinson who spoke.

This session of the Congress was the most focused for change of all the meetings they had so far. At the London session, London Manifesto was created declaring to the world: "England, with all her Pax Britannic, her court of justice, established commerce, and a certain apparent recognition of Native laws and customs, has nevertheless systematically fostered ignorance among the Natives, has enslaved them, and is still enslaving them, has usually declined even to try to train black and brown folk as civilized, or to grant to coloured colonies those rights of self government which it freely gives to white men."

The dissenting voice was that of BlaiseDiagne who was a French politician of African origin. He represented Senegal in the French Chamber of Deputies. He soon abandoned the ideas of Pan-Africanism because he thought that the London Manifesto declaration was too dangerously extreme. This congress demanded equality of all races, especially between whites and blacks.

3.3. The Third Pan-African Congress

By 1923, the Pan-African Congress met in two separate sessions in London and Lisbon. Noted European intellectuals such as H.G. Wells and Harold Laski attended the London session. Several members of previous meetings participated in the deliberations that addressed the conditions of the African Diaspora as well as the global exploitation of black workers.

While some scholars argue that the 1921 and 1923 congresses were effective only in keeping alive the idea of an oppressed people trying to abolish the yoke of discrimination, others claim that the international gatherings laid the foundation for the struggle that ultimately led to the political emancipation of the African continent.

In addition, this meeting was totally unorganized. This meeting was also a repeat of the demands such as self-rule, the problem in Diaspora and the African- European relationship. The following was addressed at the meeting. The development of Africa should be for the benefit of Africans and not merely for the profits of Europeans.

There should be home rule and a responsible government for British West Africa and the British West Indies to dominate a black majority in Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa. Lynching and mob law in the US should be suppressed.

3.4. The Fourth Pan-African Conference

Delegates reconvened for a fourth Pan-African Congress in New York by 1927. The congress featured 208 delegates from twenty-two American states and ten foreign countries. Africa, however, was represented only sparsely by delegates from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria. The small number of African delegates was due in part to travel restrictions that the British and French colonial powers imposed on those interested in attending the congress, in an effort to inhibit further Pan-African gatherings. Most of the delegates were black Americans and many of them were women. The congress was primarily financed by Addie W. Hunton and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an interracial organization that had been founded in 1919 by opponents of World War I. Similar to previous Pan-African congresses, participants discussed the status and conditions of black people throughout the world. It demanded an African voice in colonial administration as well as African resources on African land for the Africans. Africa for the first time was well represented.

3.5. The Fifth Pan-African Conference

The financial crises induced by the Great Depression and military exigency generated by the World War II necessitated suspension of the Pan-African Congress for a period of eighteen years. In 1945, the organized movement was revived in Manchester, England. It is unclear whether Du Bois or George Padmore, a West Indian Marxist, provided the initiative for this meeting. Recognizing Du Bois's historic contribution to the Pan-African movement, delegates named him president of the 1945 congress. The Manchester meeting marked a turning point in the history of the gatherings.

For the first time representatives of political parties from Africa and the West Indies attended the meetings. Moreover, the conservative credo of the forum gave way to radical social, political, and economic demands. Congress participants unequivocally demanded an end to colonialism in Africa and urged colonial subjects to use strikes and boycotts to end the continent's social, economic, and political exploitation by colonial powers.

While previous Pan-African congresses had been controlled largely by black middle-class British and American intellectuals who had emphasized on the amelioration of colonial conditions, the Manchester meeting was dominated by delegates from Africa and Africans working or studying in Britain.

The new leadership attracted the support of workers, trade unionists, and a growing radical sector of the African student population. With fewer African American participants, delegates consisted mainly of an emerging crop of African intellectual and political leaders, who soon won fame, notoriety, and power in their various colonized countries.

The final declaration of the 1945 congress urged colonial and subject peoples of the world to unite and assert their rights to reject those seeking to control their destinies. Congress participants encouraged colonized Africans to elect their own governments, arguing that the gain of political power for colonial and subject peoples was a necessary prerequisite for complete social, economic, and political emancipation.

This politically assertive stance was supported by a new generation of African American activists such as the actor and singer Paul Robeson, the minister and politician Adam Clayton Powell, and the educator and political activist William A. Hunton Jr. who took an increasing interest in Africa.

While the Pan-African congresses lacked financial and political power, they helped to increase international awareness of racism and colonialism and laid the foundation for the political independence of African nations. African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya were among several attendees of congresses who subsequently led their countries to political independence.

In May 1963, the influence of these men helped galvanize the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), an association of independent African states and nationalist groups. This may also mean that Africans fought in World War II.

After this war, many felt that they now deserved independence. The Fourth congress is widely considered to have been the most important. Organized by the influential Trinidadian Pan-Africanist George Padmore and the Ghanaian independence father Kwame Nkrumah, it was attended by ninety delegates, twenty six from Africa.

They included many scholars, intellectuals and political activists who would later go on to become influential leaders in African independence movements and the American civil rights movements, including the Kenyan independence leader Jomo Kenyatta, American left-wing activist and academic W.E.B. Du Bois, Malawi's Hastings Banda, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Obafemi Awolowo and Jaja Wachuku from Nigeria. It also led partially to the creation of the Pan-African Federation, founded in 1946 by Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta.

There were thirty three delegates from West Indies and thirty five from various British Organization such as the West African Students Union. The presence of 77-year-old Du Bois was historic, as he had organized the First Pan-African Congress in 1919.

The British Press scarcely mentioned the conference. There a number of resolutions passed such as the criminalization of racial discrimination and the main resolution which decried imperialism and capitalism.

6-The Significance of the Pan-African Movement and the fifth Congress

One's should keep in mind that Pan-Africanism aimed at the economic, intellectual as well as political cooperation of all African countries. It required that the riches of all Africa have to be used for the development of Africans all over the continent.

It calls for the financial and economic unification of markets and a new political landscape for Africa. Despite the fact that Pan-Africanism as a movement started in 1776, it is not unnecessary to remind that it was the fifth Pan-African congress that boost up Pan-Africanism and also applied it to decolonize Africa.

Indeed, the people in Manchester were politically conscious and that was one the reasons why it was selected as the venue for the fifth Pan-African congress. That congress was organized by people of African origin living in Manchester.

It has a great significance as it was an important step towards the end of those imperial power in Africa. Unlike the four earlier congresses, the fifth one involved people from the African Diaspora including Afro-Caribbeans and Afro-Americans.

So, Manchester had a significance part to play in helping the African countries to march forward in their struggle to independence.

7- Pan-Africanism and the setting up of the Organisation of African Unity.

It is not unnecessary to remind that onestimulant for the rapid and widespread development of Pan-Africanism was the colonization of the continent by European powers in the late 19th century. The First Pan-African Congress, convened in London in 1900, as mentioned above was followed by others in Paris (1919), London and Brussels (1921), London and Lisbon (1923), and New York City (1927). These congresses, organized chiefly by W. E. B. Du Bois and attended by North American and West Indian black intelligentsia, did not propose immediate African independence; they favored gradual self-government and interracialism.

In 1944, several African organizations in London joined to form the Pan-African Federation, which for the first time demanded African autonomy and independence. The Federation convened in Manchester (England) for the Fifth Pan-African Congress (1945), which included such prominent political figures as Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah from the Gold Coast now (Ghana), S. L. Akintola from Nigeria, Wallace Johnson from Sierra Leone, NamndiAzikwe from Nigeria and Ralph Armattoo from Togo.

While at the same congress, Nkrumah founded the West African National Secretariat to promote a so-called United States of Africa. Indeed, the main goal of those meetings was to unite all Africans on the bases of common interests, and in the long run, to create a continental organization.

With regards to the long list of events that have occurred in Africa and the manner that the negative effects of those events are gaining ground in Africa, the elite, including the Diaspora of Africa, have realized that the continent would cope with the numerous issues it faces through an organized framework. That is the reason why after those pan-African congresses which occurred from America to Europe, namely the fifth session of Pan-African movement which took place in London, precisely in Manchester as quoted above (1945).

By the close of World War II, the Modern Pan-Africanism movement shifts back to Africa, with the return of those young African elites, the third and last period of the Modern Pan-Africanism movement started after the end of the Second World War with the return of Jomo Kenyatta to Kenya in 1946 and Kwame Nkrumah in 1947 to the Gold Coast (Ghana).

In 1958, Nkrumah summoned in Accra a conference of the eight independent African States which newly acquired political autonomy namely: Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Egypt. In September of the same year, the all African People's Conference, also sponsored by Nkrumah, took place in Accra. It was a meeting of the national leaders, from African territories still under colonial domination, signifying a shift of the focal point of Modern Pan-Africanism from Europe to Africa.

Taken together, these two conferences held in Accra in 1958 may be considered as marking the end of the European period of Modern Pan-Africanism and the beginning of the Africa promoting a feeling of unity among Africa in general. And the illustration of this in particular is the following quotation from Nantambu:

The national, Unified Struggle resistance of Africa peoples against all forms of foreign aggression and invasion. The primary goal of Pan-African Nationalism is the total liberation and Unification of all Africans and people of African descent under African Communalism. (Nantambu, 1998, P. 569)

This period was also the moment of the awakening of Nationalism in Africa States. To make it clear, African nationalism is a political movement for Pan-Africanism and for national self-determination political interest began in the 1870s and political organizations started to form in the 1890s.

Those meetings aimed at establishing an organization of African States that would gather and unite the whole African continent. Thereafter, as independence was achieved by more African states, Panafricanist initiative other emerged associations, including: the Union of African States in 1960, and the African States of the Casablanca Charter in 1961, then the African and Malagasy Union always in 1961, furthermore, the Organization of Inter-African and Malagasy States in 1962.

Finally, in 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was created in order to promote unity and cooperation among all African states and to put an end to colonialism. Although one of the organization's primary motivations initially was also the liberation struggle and the defense of the independence and the territorial integrity of African states, the OAU later expanded its scope of activities to encompass economic cooperation and the protection of human rights.

It is also important to precise that The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was postcolonial Africa's first continent-wide association of independent states. Founded by thirty-two countries on May 25, 1963, and based in Addis Ababa Ethiopia, it became operational on September 13, 1963, when the OAU Charter; its basic constitutional document, was adopted.

8-Pan-Africanism and the setting up of the African Union.

But later on the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was more criticized such as the Organization has faced and survived many trial and tribulations.

It was portrayed as an expensive white elephant and as a continental embarrassment. Continuously criticized for real as well as imagined failures, mistakes and weaknesses, the Organization suffered from an overwhelming crisis of confidence, credibility and relevance. Even worse, it was viewed in some areas with unbridled hostility for the role it played in legitimizing unjust and corrupt governments, for the moral and political support rendered to illegitimate states and for its duplicitous application of certain hallowed principles, particularly the rights to self-determination.

Critics are of great importance and concerned Africans as well as friends of Africa. Some of the criticism, especially the one which relates to individual as well as peoples' rights, was quite legitimate. Many people argued that the OAU in particular did little to protect the rights and liberties of African citizens from their own political leaders, often dubbing it the "Dictators" club. The weaknesses can also be explained by the failure to act in Rwanda in 1994. They assert that:

Organization had no capacity to take decisions in independent states, (they) criticized the OAU for failing to say expressly that the situation in Rwanda was genocide. (Regional Renaissance <http://www.Relooney.Info/o> Development. Accessed July 30th 2015.)

Here, the finding fathers of African Union thought that The African Union reserves its right to intervene. One's should keep in mind that the other weakness and the most important of the Organization of African Unity was that it did not succeed to eradicate Apartheid in South Africa.

Admittedly the OAU has made many mistakes and has been plagued by many failures; but the aggregate of these failures did not nullify or belittle the unheralded achievements-both concrete and intangible- of the Organization during the last quarter of a century.

Much was based on a miscomprehension of the general purposes and mission of the OAU, while the rest was caused by frustration rooted in idealism and the unique role that was mistakenly attributed to the Organization in matters of Africa Affairs. A part of that criticism fails to realize that the OAU had to operate under severe constraints.

Then, with the end of the cold war, the final liberation of South Africa and the change of the international political scene, African Heads of States and Government recognized that the OAU's was no longer adequate to meet the needs for greater continental policy coordination and stronger economic growth, and that a greater commitment to democratic government at national level was necessary to strengthen Africa's own voice on the international stage.

And they argued that the failure to succeed resulted from the "fact that it was not designed to exploit effectively the dynamic tension between globalization, security, and governance". Here we may quote African Association of Political Science AAPS Newsletter, which asserts:

There is a need '... For Africa's to speak with one voice, and abide by commonly agreed African position, as this would reinforce Africa's negotiating power in this age of globalization' AAPS Newsletter, 2001, p.10

So, this quotation sounds right in consideration of African Union's goal and its time of creation. Furthermore, the idea of creating the African Union was revived in the mid -1990s under the leadership of Muammar al-Gaddafi (in Arabic Muammar Abu MinyarAbd al-Salam al-Qadhafi). The former Head of State and of the OAU published the Sirte Declaration, in Libya on 9 September 1999, calling for the establishment of an African Union.

The Declaration was followed by summits in Lomé in 2000, when the constitutive Act of the African Union was adopted, and at Lusaka in 2001, the date that the implementation of the African Union was adopted. During the same period, the initiative for the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), was also settled.

The African Union was launched in Durban on 9 July 2002, by her first chairperson, the South African Thabo Mbeki, at the session of the Assembly of the African Union. The second session of Assembly was held in Maputo in 2003, and the third session in Addis Ababa on 6 July 2004.

Before giving some reasons of the creation of African Union, I find it fundamental to understand the semantic use of the term "union." Indeed, the shift from "unity" to "union" is significant as each paradigm has a specific meaning even though both seem to be close with each other.

The first term signifies the act of joining people together to form a whole. It is also a political alliance formed by the gathering of people or groups of people for a common purpose or a unity of interests. The second term means the condition of being one. It is also the combination into one. That is to say, the combining of separate entities to form one.

In addition, it is a singleness or constancy among individuals or groups. It is clear that the second term is less loose than the first and it conveys the idea of gathering by taking into account the specificities of each country. "Unity" is more moral than political; and in the mind of the AU founding fathers, the term "union" fits better to the condition of respecting the specificities of each country. It is in this sense that OlusegunObasanjo (200:64) affirms that: '*The African Union is the final goal of African Unity that leaders have been pursuing for more than forty years*'

Unless to come back to the creation of this institution, I have to say that the African Union (AU), was created in order to promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and peoples' rights and other relevant human rights instruments. In the economic field, there was a need for the continent to respond to its development needs by linking political and economic aspects such as the distribution of resources and the need to distinguish and recognize the role of all stakeholders including the civil society.

As we know, unity and union are based on political, social, economic and cultural values. Politically, the AU aims at promoting the defense of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member states. In that field, peace, security, and stability on the continent are fundamental preoccupations of the AU which cares of the promotion of democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.

We have to stress that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the African Union (AU) are undoubtedly the results of the Panafrican perspective, which aim at searching solutions to social and political issues that may hamper the development of Africa.

9-Conclusion:

As a conclusion to our work, it is necessary to remind that by working on *The Challenges of Pan-Africanism from W.E.B. DuBois to Kwame Nkrumah*, our goal has been to provide an answer to the following central question: how did the Afro-American started with the ideas of Pan-Africanism? By giving our answer, our work has been divided into different sections.

In the first section entitled "Origin: Afro-American Pan-African ideas", we have stressed on Pan-Africanism ideas originally started in the new world during the moment following the American Declaration of Independence. In this section, we demonstrate that the Afro-American Pan-African ideas represented a reaction against the maltreatment of the Negro and the racial doctrine that marked the era abolitionism.

Then, we have studied the European Origin of Pan-Africanism. To speak of the European Origin, we have stressed on the fact that in July 1900, the African Association summoned a Pan –African Conference. Indeed, we considered that this period (1900) marked the beginning of what we may be called the European period of Pan-African Movement.

We have also scrutinized the African Origin. In this section, we have mentioned that the African and the third Principal period of Pan-African Movement started after the end of the Second World War with the return of Jomo Kenyatta by 1946 to Kenya, and Kwame Nkrumah to Ghana.

Furthermore, we have also deal with different Congresses of Pan-Africanism which occurred from William W.E.B Dubois to Kwame Nkrumah. Then, the significance of Pan-African Movement and the fifth Congress are also studied as the fifth stage of this work. And we moved to the Pan-African ideas and the setting up of the Organization of African Unity.

Pan-Africanism and the setting up of African Union constituted the seventh and the last step of this study. Finally, one should keep in mind that Nkrumah's idea of a United States of Africa was first mooted in Pan-African meeting in Cairo by 1960. He is the father of radicals while William W.E.B Dubois who organized the first Pan-African congress is represented as the spearhead of Pan-Africanism.

At last, we have to mention that the former Organizations (OAU) and the current ones (AU) are the products of many years of Pan-Africanist aspirations. It is the expression of Pan-Africanism as a structural working frame work for action in regard to the multiple issues that Afro-American and African countries faced as well.

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