

ONE SEAMLESS PEOPLE: THE MALI FEDERATION, 1959

MARCH 15th-17th, 2024



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MSUMUN NOTICES

Committee Content Warning

Please be advised that the contents of this background guide and committee may discuss/contain references to colonialism and racism. It is not MSUMUN XXIII's intention to condone these behaviors/ideas, however, such discussions may be necessary to fully understand the historical context of committees.

With that understanding, please also note that MSUMUN XXIII will not tolerate any replication of the above mentioned issues. While MSUMUN values the discussion and awareness of these topics and a delegate's obligation to accurately represent their assigned role, all participants who engage in any bigoted, racist, sexist, homophobic, ableist, fatphobic, xenophobic, or other such comments or sentiments will be subject to appropriate disciplinary action at the discretion of MSUMUN's Secretariat. Additionally, in all things, MSUMUN pledges its Secretariat and staff to maintain approachability and inclusivity; if any participant has any questions, comments, or concerns they are encouraged to contact MSUMUN's Secretariat or, in the case of delegates, its staff. If you have questions or concerns regarding this, please reach out to your committee's senior staff prior to conference weekend.

MSUMUN is committed to fostering a safe and secure environment for all delegates, staff, and advisors. In this, MSUMUN operates with a zero tolerance policy with regard to any and all instances of harassment and discrimination. Further, MSUMUN is committed to promoting the mental health of its participants and requires all participants to act with compassion, grace, and understanding. MSUMUN encourages participants to step out of their committee room and/or speak with a trusted individual if they are feeling overwhelmed or are otherwise uncomfortable.

All participants should be aware that MSUMUN's Secretariat and staff are designated mandatory reporters with MSU's Office of Institutional Equity while operating within their roles before and during the conference.

MSUMUN Statement on Mental Health

Red Cedar Model United Nations is committed to fostering a safe and secure environment for all delegates, staff, and advisors. In this, MSUMUN operates with a zero tolerance policy with regard to any and all instances of harassment and discrimination. Further, MSUMUN is committed to promoting the mental health of its participants and requires all participants to act with compassion, grace, and understanding. MSUMUN encourages participants to step out of their committee room and/or speak with a trusted individual if they are feeling overwhelmed or are otherwise uncomfortable.

Moreover, MSUMUN recognizes that some of its committees may include references to or discussions of sensitive topics. While RCMU values the discussion and awareness of these topics and a delegate's obligation to accurately represent their assigned role, all participants who engage in any bigoted, racist, sexist, homophobic, ableist, or other such comments or sentiments will be subject to appropriate disciplinary action at the discretion of MSUMUN's Secretariat. Additionally, in all things, MSUMUN pledges its Secretariat and staff to maintain approachability and inclusivity; if any participant has any questions, comments, or concerns they are encouraged to contact MSUMUN's Secretariat or, in the case of delegates, its staff.

All participants should be aware that MSUMUN's Secretariat and staff are designated

mandatory reporters with MSU's Office of Institutional Equity while operating within their roles before and during the conference.

MSU Provisional Land Acknowledgement

"We collectively acknowledge that Michigan State University occupies the ancestral, traditional, and contemporary Lands of the Anishinaabeg – Three Fires Confederacy of Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi peoples. In particular, the University resides on Land ceded in the 1819 Treaty of Saginaw. We recognize, support, and advocate for the sovereignty of Michigan's twelve federally-recognized Indian nations, for historic Indigenous communities in Michigan, for Indigenous individuals and communities who live here now, and for those who were forcibly removed from their Homelands. By offering this Land Acknowledgement, we affirm Indigenous sovereignty and will work to hold Michigan State University more accountable to the needs of American Indian and Indigenous peoples."¹

https://aiis.msu.edu/land/.

¹ "Land Acknowledgement," American Indian and Indigenous Studies, accessed December 5, 2021,

LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

Dear Delegates,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to One Seamless People: The Mali Federation, 1959! My name is Caroline Zackerman, and I will be the Chair of this committee. I am a senior from Cincinnati, Ohio, and I'm studying Linguistics here at Michigan State. This is my fourth year in MSUMUN and my second year working alongside our amazing Crisis Director, Ethan! Last year, I served as an assistant crisis director for the Colombia, 1903 crisis committee. Outside of Model UN, I am the Project Manager for a sociolinguistics research project at MSU. When I have free time, I'm probably trying a new recipe, biking around East Lansing, or telling people to stop asking about my post-graduation plans!

This committee provides an opportunity to explore a fascinating, yet under researched era in West Africa's history. Following centuries of colonial rule, the Senegalese and Soudanese came together with a shared vision of independence and prosperity. Despite having little else in common, their bond, this mutual desire for change, pushed members of the Mali Federation to see past their social and political differences. Throughout history, when official colonial power is brought to an end, it has been essentially impossible to immediately deconstruct all colonial structures, and the Mali Federation was no exception. Members of this committee will be tasked with navigating this post-colonial experience, which we hope will provide insight into how these same structures persist today. We understand that the topics in this committee may be new to you and difficult to research (they were certainly difficult for us!), so please come to committee open-minded, curious, ready to learn about and demystify this era together.

Looking forward to an excellent weekend!

Caroline Zackerman (she/her/hers)

LETTER FROM THE CRISIS DIRECTOR

Dear delegates,

Welcome to the Mali Federation, 1959 crisis committee! My name is Ethan Biederman, and I will be your crisis director throughout MSUMUN weekend. I am a senior () studying International Relations, Comparative Cultures & Politics, and Arabic at Michigan State. I am originally from Franklin, MI, a suburb of Detroit and about a one hour drive from campus. In addition to my work with MSUMUN, I am also the President of our competitive MUN team, the MSU International Relations Organization. In the past, I have served as an assistant crisis director for the 2036 Social Security crisis and crisis director for the Philippine People Power Revolution and Colombia 1903 crises. Outside of Model UN, I can usually be found reading a book or practicing violin or piano.

After World War II, the West was forced to give up its colonies. However, contrary to the popular narrative, it did not give up its domination and exploitation of their former colonies. Instead, they created a narrative that these countries could become "modern" and developed if they just had some assistance from the West – and so began the development industry. During the late 20th century, "development" was used to place debilitating debt burdens on developing countries, control the types of policies that they were able to implement, and continue to exploit developing countries. This cycle continues to this day. The West has made developing countries dependent on foreign aid. Without it, they simply cannot survive. Therefore, a system has been created in which we must continue to provide aid but also work to reduce the system's colonialist implications. It is a difficult balance that you will be tasked with managing this weekend. Best of luck & go green!

Ethan Biederman (he/him/his)

JUNIOR STAFF BIOGRAPHIES

Ethan Czaja (he/him/his)

Hello delegates, my name is Ethan Czaja and I am one of the Junior Staffers for One Seamless People: The Mali Federation, 1959. I am a sophomore here at MSU studying International Relations with a minor in Russian and History. I am excited to see all of the ideas you bring to this committee!

Dide Karaboga (she/her/hers)

Hi everybody! I'm Dide Karaboga, and I'm very excited to meet all of you. I'm majoring in International Relations and minoring in Spanish and Dance. I love to read, dance, and hang out with my friends. I can't wait for all of you to start this committee, you'll have a lot of fun!

Addy Meyers (she/her/hers)

I'm excited to meet you all! My name is Addy and I am a freshman in James Madison College. I am a Political Theory and Constitutional Democracy major with a minor in Spanish and potentially Political Economy. I'm from a suburb of Chicago and a lover of Stan's Donuts! This is my first year involved in Model UN here at MSU but I did it throughout my 4 years in high school and loved it. Outside of Model UN, I love reading, going out, and coffee.

COMMITTEE STAFF CONTACT

Delegates or advisors with questions for the staff regarding the content of this background guide or this committee in general are encouraged to reach out to Caroline (chair) and Ethan (crisis director) by emailing <u>crisis5@msumun.org</u>.



RULES OF PROCEDURE

Article I: General Rules

- 1. Delegates are expected to adhere to all regular MSUMUN rules and standards of decorum.
- 2. In the event of a dispute over the Rule of Procedure, either those of MSUMUN generally or the Mali Federation 1959 Committee, the MSUMUN Secretary-General will be the ultimate authority of appeal.

Article II: Meetings

- 1. All of Mali Federation 1959 Committee meetings shall be attended by all specified members of the committee, unless otherwise authorized by the MSUMUN Secretariat.
- 2. Quorum for discussion and voting will always be 50% plus one committee member, unless otherwise authorized by the Secretariat of MSUMUN or at the Chair's discretion.
- Unless otherwise indicated by the Secretariat or Mali Federation 1959 Committee, all meetings of the committee will be held in the specified Mali Federation 1959 Committee room as designated by MSUMUN.

Article III: Agenda

 Items for debate may be pulled from the background guide but do not need to be limited to what is mentioned. The Mali Federation 1959 Committee staff would like to see well-rounded and well-researched delegates think outside of the box and bring new and relevant topics to the table.

- 2. Any committee member may make a motion to restrict debate to one topic. If this motion passes, debate shall be limited to the topic specified until such time as another motion is made to either change the topic under consideration or return to general debate.
- If at any point an imminent crisis should arise, the Chair shall immediately declare it as such and limit all debate to the topic of said crisis, upon conclusion of the crisis, debate may or may not return to the previous topic.

Article IV: Conduct of Business

- 1. Mali Federation 1959 Committee proceedings shall be conducted in the form of a permanent moderated caucus until such a time that a delegate makes a motion to change this.
- Delegates may motion for either a roundtable or a straw poll. A roundtable consists of the Chair recognizing each delegate in turn to speak for a specified amount of time on a specific topic or proposal. A straw poll consists of delegates giving their probable vote on a specific proposal.

Article V: Types of Proposals

- Directive: A directive requires only one sponsor, though it may have more. The number of required signatories is up to the discretion of the Chair. A committee member need only move to introduce a directive in order for it to be considered by the entire committee.
- Press Releases: A press release is usually passed in lieu of a directive if doing so is more likely to make the committee's intentions clear. A press release is written either in the form of a directive or a press release; it requires the same number of sponsors and signatories as a directive.

3. Communiques: A communique is an external communication from the entire committee with a non-committee member. Such a communication can include anything from a request of support to negotiations to even a threat. Passing this type of document can also result in the person being contacted meeting with the committee if requested.

Article VI: Voting

- 1. Votes may be entered as Yeas, Nays, or Abstentions.
- Votes on non-substantive proposals or procedural matters will be passed by the affirmative vote of a simple majority of committee members. Abstentions are allowed on non-substantive proposals, but not procedural matters.
- 3. Votes on substantive matters will be passed by the affirmative vote of a simple majority of committee members.
- 4. In all cases a simple majority constitutes 50% plus one member of the Yea and Nay votes.

A NOTE ON ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE, BEHAVIOR, AND TOPICS

Despite the fact that this committee is set in the year 1959, all delegates will be held to 2024 standards of appropriateness in terms of in-room speeches, directives, crisis notes, and any other committee-related matters. Delegates who engage in inappropriate behavior will forfeit their eligibility for awards and may be reported to the MSUMUN Secretariat.



LETTER FROM MODIBO KEITA AND MAMADOU DIA

Dear delegates,

16 April 1959

Bienvenue au comité! Thank you all for assembling to address the most pressing issues that we face as a new country today. It is imperative that we work together to secure a bright future for the Mali Federation and all its peoples as we move forward into a modern age. Despite our past as separate peoples, we have shared the terrible experience of French colonialism. Based on this, we seek to foster prosperity and unity in our great country despite the challenges that we face.

Though we stand united, our independence and freedom is not yet secured. It is of the utmost importance for the Mali Federation to stand strong as an example of the unity, strength, and collective power of African peoples. We must develop our country's institutions, from the government to healthcare to education, to improve the lives of our citizens and contribute to the success of our new nation. We must grow our economy and expand our international partners to give us a strong standing on the global stage.

The difficulty of these tasks cannot be underestimated, but it is incredibly important that we succeed. The world is looking to us to see if a united, pan-African state can succeed or not. They are seeking our failure to demonstrate weaknesses in African peoples. But we can, will, and must prove them wrong.

Merci beaucoup et bonne chance, Modibo Keïta, Premier Mamadou Dia, Vice Premier



NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The terminology used in this background guide reflects the names and spellings of countries and people in 1959. For easier comprehension, please note that French Soudan refers to present-day Mali. Similarly, Soudanese refers to the people of the country, now known as Malian. This is not to be confused with Sudan, the North African country.



HISTORY

Pre-Colonial History

Mali holds a rich history dating back thousands of years and countless civilizations. Most notable is the Mali Empire, founded in 1240 CE. Following the collapse of the Ghana empire, King Sundiata Keita united the North Western region of Africa into what would one day become one of the wealthiest empires in history.²

After unification, the king of the Mali empire was henceforth referred to as the "Mansa," the most famous of whom was Mansa Musa who ruled from 1312 to 1337 CE.³ Under Mansa Musa, the territory of Mali doubled, its economy thrived, and its culture spread across the

Northern expanses of Africa.⁴ One of the most famous moments of Mansa Musa's reign was his famous Hajj to Mecca in which he journeyed across Africa to Mecca, bringing with him a colossal display of wealth and power. This led to the near collapse of the Egyptian economy from the sheer amount of gold spent.⁵



Following Mansa Musa's death around 1337, the Mali Empire entered a state of decline due to economic competition from surrounding trade centers and mismanagement within its

³ Mansa Musa (Musa I of Mali)." Education. Accessed November 4, 2023.

https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/mansa-musa-i-mali/."

² "The Mali Empire." Education. Accessed November 3, 2023.

https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/mali-empire/.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Mansa Musa's Hajj to Mecca: Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time." MANSA MUSA'S HAJJ TO MECCA | Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time. Accessed November 3, 2023.

https://caravans.library.northwestern.edu/tour/mansa-musas-hajj-to-mecca/.

governance. By the end of the 15th century, the Mali Empire would be conquered by the Songhai Empire.⁶ The Songhai Empire would flourish in the wake of the Mali Empire, becoming the largest empire in West Africa under the leadership of Askia the Great who would spread Islam across the region whilst expanding trade into Europe and East Asia.⁷ In understanding the pre-colonial history of Mali, delegates should be prepared to engage with the deep, rich history of Mali and North and West Africa as a whole.

French West Africa

French colonial expansion into West Africa began with the invasion of Ottoman Algiers in 1830. France continued to acquire territory during the Scramble for Africa, founding the Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) Federation in 1895. It consisted of French Guinea, Mauritania, Senegal, French Soudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Upper Volta, Dahomey, and Niger. French colonial rule was motivated by the "mission civilisatrice" or civilizing mission, by which the French attempted to "civilize" the Indigenous peoples of their colonies through cultural, political, and economic reforms.⁸ However, in reality, French colonialism was a cycle of violent conquest, economic exploitation, legal inequality, and sociocultural disruption. Until after World War II, almost none of the Africans living in French colonies were citizens of France. Rather, they were "French subjects," lacking rights before the law, property ownership rights, rights to travel, dissent, or vote.

⁶ "The Mali Empire." Education. Accessed November 7, 2023.

https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/mali-empire/.

⁷ "Songhai, African Empire, 15-16th Century." South African History Online. Accessed November 6, 2023. https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/songhai-african-empire-15-16th-century.

⁸ "French Colonial Rule," Oxford Bibliographies, accessed November 10, 2023,

https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199846733/obo-9780199846733-0029.xml.

In 1946, the French Empire was reorganized into the French Union, as a part of the Fourth Republic. Under the French Union, colonial territories were able to elect their own representatives. In the AOF Federation, each constituent colony was headed by a lieutenant governor, who operated under the authority of the federation's governor-general.⁹ Each lieutenant governor, except for that of Senegal, was assisted by a Conseil d'Administration with advisory powers, made up of appointed civil servants and unofficial representatives. While this political system seems relatively democratic, it operated entirely without the participation of Africans and did not address the wishes or needs of African people.¹⁰ This system was representative of French colonial extraction of West African states.

The unpopularity of French governance among African people led to calls for reform in the 1950s. Léopold Senghor, a Senegalese politician, envisioned modifications to the French Union to make it a federation, where each territory would have its own parliament and executive under the authority of a federal government in Paris.¹¹ This began a debate between advocates of "unity" and "federalism." Advocates of unity wanted an independent, federal union of African territories that would stand united against colonialism.¹² On the other hand, advocates of federalism wanted more integration of colonies into the French Republic. In response to this debate, the French passed the Loi-Cadre in 1956, which devolved more powers to territorial assemblies on internal matters.¹³ This undermined federalist advocates as it did not integrate French colonies more than they had hoped.

⁹ William Foltz, From French West Africa to the Mali Federation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 17.

¹⁰ Ibid, 20.

¹¹ Ibid, 65.

¹² Ibid, 67.

¹³ Ibid, 74.

<u>Fifth Republic</u>

A coup began in Algiers on May 13, 1958 that would end the French Fourth Republic. A series of long and brutal wars to maintain French colonial presence in Indochina and especially Algeria weakened the government system. Some factions began to favor a negotiated settlement in Algeria; however, this was brutally opposed by right-wing activists. A coalition of French military leaders in French Algeria, and Gaullists, supporters of Charles de Gaulle, staged a coup in Algiers to influence the French Parliament's vote on a resolution to the Algerian War. The coup facilitated the rise of a right wing government in French Algeria that called for Charles de Gaulle to be the president of France.

The crisis showed that the French Fourth Republic no longer had the support of the French Army. Not only that, it demonstrated that the Army had the power to influence the government in all matters.¹⁴ On May 29, with the nation divided, then-French President René Coty called for a new government to be formed, with Charles de Gaulle at its head. This led to de Gaulle's return to power and a call for constitutional reform.

The new constitution established the Fifth Republic, with a mixed presidential parliamentary system. Under this system, the president, de Gaulle, had increased powers while coexisting with a prime minister and parliamentary government.¹⁵ The constitution also reorganized France's empire as the French Community. This reorganized the French colonies and allowed the 14 member states to be relatively independent, but still within the French sphere of influence.

 ¹⁴ Lorraine Boissoneault, "Why Is France In Its Fifth Republic?" *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 20, 2017, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/why-france-its-fifth-republic-180962983/.
¹⁵ Ibid.

The new constitution was put to a vote throughout the French Community. This was a major issue because of the reorganization of the colonial system from the French Union to the French Community. Many leaders in Africa had pushed for colonies to be able to freely determine their level of association with metropolitan France.¹⁶ The new constitution did not allow this, instead mandating that all colonies would become a part of the French Community. Muslim leaders, who had large influence among the Senegalese peasants, were largely in favor of de Gaulle and the new constitution.¹⁷ Coupled with this, the French High Commissioner in Senegal, Pierre Messmer, was busy spreading the word about the consequences of voting no in the referendum. In the end, all the AOF territories, except for Guinea, approved the new constitution and joined the French Community.¹⁸ As a result of their no vote, Guinea was expelled by France and made independent. Consequently, France refused to aid the new country in any way.

Collapse of the AOF Federation

Following the 1958 Crisis and the subsequent reorganization of French territories, the fate of the French territories of the AOF became a critical question for French and African leaders. The different territories of the AOF began calling for political reorganization and the right to autonomously determine their association with France.¹⁹ Some West African territories went so far as to vote for complete independence.²⁰ Other territories, such as Senegal and Soudan, called for political organization to come in the form of a unified republic consisting of

¹⁶ William Foltz, From French West Africa to the Mali Federation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 89. ¹⁷ Ibid, 93.

¹⁸ Ibid. 95.

¹⁹ Ibid, 89.

²⁰ "French Decolonization in Africa," Britannica Kids, accessed November 10, 2023, https://kids.britannica.com/students/article/French-Decolonization-in-Africa/311336.

African territories but maintaining some French influence. By this point, it became clear that, although the AOF still existed in name, it had lost all political unity and influence. Faced with the opportunity to secure freedom, four members of the AOF, Senegal, Soudan, Dahomey, and Upper Volta, elected to declare themselves as "state member[s] of the Community empowered to join in a federation." Other members of the AOF failed to express this status, symbolizing the AOF's complete collapse of unity.²¹

In late 1958, Senegal, Soudan, Dahomey, and Upper Volta gathered in the city of Bamako to discuss the creation of a federation between the four territories.²² Senegal and Soudan were eager about a federation's creation, but Dahomey and Upper Volta were more apprehensive. Dahomey was reliant on foreign economic support and feared that joining a federation would mean losing French support. Upper Volta was under economic pressure from Côte d'Ivoire, who was dependent on Voltaic labor and did not want Upper Volta to join the federation.²³ As a result, Upper Volta and Dahomey have declined to join the federation, leaving only French Soudan and Senegal to organize and formalize the structure of the Mali Federation.²⁴

²⁴ Ibid, 109-111.

²¹ William Foltz, From French West Africa to the Mali Federation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 99.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid, 108-112.

CURRENT ISSUES

Political Issues

By 1959, two distinct leaders have emerged, along with their parties, in both French Soudan and Senegal. Modobo Keïta, who was elected president of the 1958 constitutional convention for the federation, is the leader of the Union Soudanaise-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (US-RDA) in French Soudan. In Senegal, the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (UPS) has emerged with Léopold Sédar Senghor as its leader. The federation held an election for seats in the territorial assemblies, with the US-RDA and UPS as the primary contenders for any substantial number of seats.²⁵ Despite leading a shared territory and supposedly unified federation, the US-RDA and UPS parties represent differing political ideologies and plans for structuring the federation.

The federal government of the Mali Federation is based in Dakar, Senegal. It is designed with a strong executive branch, which is largely independent of territorial control.²⁶ The government is made up of the Federal Council of Ministers, who are in charge of the respective government ministries.²⁷ These positions are evenly divided between Soudanese and Senegalese. The Federal Assembly is the Mali Federation's legislative body. Its representation is evenly divided between Senegal and French Soudan, 20 seats each. Because Senegalese seats are mostly controlled by the UPS and French Soudanese seats are mostly controlled by the US-RDA, this means that little policy can be passed without compromise and cooperation between the two parties. However, this rarely occurs which is hindering the development of the Mali Federation. French Soudan and Senegal each have a territorial assembly that manages lower-level affairs.

²⁵ Ibid. 113.

²⁶ Ibid, 103.

²⁷ Ibid, 162.

The UPS is a moderate, center-left party. Its leaders are committed to democratic socialist ideals, but it avoids traditionally Marxist practices. For example, the UPS is largely opposed to economic centralization and the nationalization of industries. The UPS is so opposed to strict integration that it has not accepted the recent relocation of many Soudanese into Senegal.²⁸ Members of the UPS also maintain many pro-French beliefs, despite wanting independence. UPS leadership believes that France is an important support resource for the Federation, as continued French involvement in the Federation means continued aid.²⁹

In contrast to the UPS, the US-RDA is far more left wing. Its leader, Modibo Keïta, is an outspoken Marxist. The party is thus committed to developing a slightly radical, communist federation. The US-RDA seeks to nationalize key industries of the economy, such as the peanut industry.³⁰ The party openly expresses its anti-Western ideology, especially against the French. Support for the US-RDA comes mainly from urban centers, skilled workers, middle class bureaucrats, and agricultural laborers. The US-RDA is receptive to non-elite interests, and its authority is generally recognized and valued by non-elites. In order to remain recognized and valued, the party is also very committed to collective decision making. However, this means that, once the US-RDA makes a decision, any criticism is seen as divisive and dangerous.³¹

Leaders of the US-RDA and the UPS now face the difficult task of reconciling their vastly different goals for the Federation. The US-RDA's goal of absolute unity and integration is at odds with the UPS's goal of plurality and autonomy. On the one hand, both parties are eager to secure a strong, viable future for the Federation. However, neither is especially eager to compromise its ideologies. Thus far in the formation of the Federation, this has led to frequent

²⁸ Ibid, 170.

 ²⁹ Wikipedia Contributors, "Léopold Sédar Senghor," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, accessed November 8, 2023. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=L%C3%A9opold_S%C3%A9dar_Senghor&oldid=1183627823.
³⁰ Michalel Ray, "Olaf Scholz." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, November 3, 2023.

https://www.britannica.com/biography/Olaf-Scholz.

³¹ William Foltz, From French West Africa to the Mali Federation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 125.

deadlocks, during which no progress is made until compromise is reached. In order for the newfound Federation to create an effective government, leaders in both Senegal and Soudan must find solutions which combine their goals or face irreconcilable political fracture.

Social Issues

There are numerous issues between the Senegalese and Soudanese peoples that greatly endanger the success of the Mali Federation. Firstly, there is a significant linguistic barrier between the two groups. Senegalese people primarily speak Wolof, whereas Soudanese primarily speak Bambara. As a result, very few people can communicate easily between the two territories. However, due to French colonization, the French language could act as a lingua franca and bridge the linguistic gap between the two territories. Furthermore, the two groups widely hold stereotypical views of each other.³² The Senegalese people are much more Westernized due to greater direct influence by the French. Therefore, they see themselves as more modern and civilized, viewing the Soudanese as less so. Meanwhile, the Soudanese feel that they are more connected to their heritage and view the Senegalese as sellouts to the French. Due to these tensions, as the Soudanese population has increased in Dakar, the federal capital, social differences have been exacerbated between the two groups. Luckily, no violence has erupted yet, but it is a possibility if disagreements continue to occur.

The creation of a union between Soudan and Senegal rested heavily on ideals of pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is the principle or advocacy of the political union of all the indigenous inhabitants of Africa. On paper, both parties in the Federation are committed to ideals of pan-Africanism. The UPS, however, is far more devoted to actually implementing a pan-African union than the US-RDA. Soudan's economy is weak and underdeveloped, while ³² Ibid. 147.

Senegal has a strong economy with high customs revenue, development aid, and port access. Members of the UPS therefore favor a strong union so that they can rely on Senegal's economy.³³ The US-RDA, in contrast, is more devoted to pan-Africanism as an ideal, rather than a political structure. This means that the US-RDA would like the Federation to develop socially and culturally in a way that captures African identity. However, the US-RDA would still like to maintain as much of their political autonomy from other African nations as possible. As of late, many in the Federation no longer feel African unity. Instead, they find themselves frustrated with the difficult task of reconciling their political, cultural, and social differences.

Little cultural and social factors unify the two countries. The foundation of the federation rests only on the shared colonial experience of Senegal and French Soudan. However, the peoples in the two nations have very different views of this experience. Religiously, most people in both territories are Muslim. Beyond these two factors, there is little that unites the Senegalese and the Soudanese. Developing a more unified sense of nationalism will be critical to ensuring the continued success of the Federation.

Economic Issues

The French created the Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) federation to increase the economic output of its colonies in West Africa. The federation's creation enabled the free flow of resources and labor across the borders of Mauritania, Senegal, French Soudan, French Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Upper Volta, Dahomey, and Niger.³⁴ Due to this arrangement, trade occurred primarily within West Africa, with most international trade leaving the Atlantic ports of Senegal

³³ Donn Kurtz, "Political Integration in Africa: the Mali Federation," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 8, no. 3 (1970): 14.

³⁴ Emmanuel Akyeampong, *History of African Trade*, African Export-Import Bank (2017): 22. <u>https://elibrary.acbfpact.org/acbf/collect/acbf/index/assoc/HASH0100/039e055d/606b9c4a/9550.dir/History-of-Afri</u> <u>can-Trade.pdf</u>

for France. For example, French Soudan was a major producer of food crops, fish, and livestock.³⁵ Merchants traded these products throughout West Africa, but not very much outside of the region. This internal trade is one of the main justifications for the formation of the Mali Federation. An economy in which French Soudan produces goods for export via Senegal is envisioned for the new country, but it remains to be seen if this will be possible.

International development emerged as a concept after the conclusion of World War II. The Marshall Plan is commonly cited as the first instance of development aid, when the United States provided money to European countries to rebuild after the war.³⁶ From the success of the Marshall Plan, development aid expanded into a large field of work in which resources and expertise flow from developed countries to developing countries.³⁷ Currently, development assistance is primarily used for major infrastructure projects, such as roads, ports, and railways.

At this time, there are two principal theories on how countries should engage in development, modernization theory and dependency theory. According to modernization theory, developing countries should follow the Western model and modernize their societies to mirror major Western economies, such as the United States, United Kingdom, and France.³⁸ Societies should open their markets to free trade, encourage the presence of multinational corporations, privatize industries, deregulate their economies, and limit the role of government. If these policies were enacted, the theory posits that the economy will naturally start to grow and reduce poverty.

In contrast, dependency theory rejects the free market principles of modernization theory. It argues that the development and growth of Western nations is contingent on the continued and

³⁵ William Foltz, *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 119. ³⁶ "USAID History," USAID, accessed October 31, 2023, <u>https://www.usaid.gov/about-us/usaid-history</u>.

³⁷ "International Development," Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University, accessed October 31, 20223, https://www.bu.edu/africa/outreach/teachingresources/international-development/.

³⁸ Jacobus Du Pisani, "Sustainable development – historical roots of the concept," Environmental Sciences 3, no. 2 (April 2006): 88.

active underdevelopment of non-European countries.³⁹ In other words, the Global North (or developed countries) can only continue to grow because they actively exploit the economies of the Global South (or developing nations), creating poverty and inequality between nations. According to dependency theory, this creates a power dynamic known as the core-periphery relationship. The core, made up of Western countries, maintains control over the periphery, made up of the Global South, through continued economic exploitation. This exploitation occurs through the policies that modernization theory advocates for: free trade, privatization, and openness to foreign businesses, among others. It therefore advocates for economic policies such as protectionism, import substitution industrialization, and infant industry protections to help grow the domestic economy before opening to trade.

Geographical features of countries can make it harder to engage in development. Remoteness, such as being landlocked, can make it difficult for countries to engage in trade.⁴⁰ French Soudan, for instance, is completely landlocked and only has a single railway connection, the Dakar-Niger Railway, which leads from Bamako to ports in Dakar.⁴¹ This railway was constructed with the colonial mindset of extraction: its only purpose was to bring resources from French Soudan to ports in Senegal to be shipped to France. As a result, any trade to or from French Soudan must make a very difficult journey across the Sahara desert or come via Senegal for the time being.

Foreign aid is the primary instrument of international development assistance. It is defined as financial flows, technical assistance, and commodities that are designed to promote economic development and welfare as their main objective.⁴² Foreign aid primarily comes in the

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Serena Cosgrove and Benjamin Curtis, *Understanding Global Poverty: Causes, Solutions, and Capabilities* (New York: Routledge, 2022), 112.

⁴¹ William Foltz, From French West Africa to the Mali Federation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 156.

⁴² Steven Radelet, "A Primer on Foreign Aid," Working Paper 92, Center for Global Development (2006): 4.

form of grants or subsidized loans, meaning that they have lower interest rates than normal loans. Currently, some sources of aid to developing countries, such as the Mali Federation, include the World Bank Group's International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the United States' International Cooperation Administration (ICA), France's Caisse centrale de coopération économique (CCCE), or the Soviet Union's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Aid, particularly from the IBRD, is primarily directed at infrastructure projects right now; however, it could eventually be used to support public services, such as health or education. While aid has numerous benefits, critics argue that it creates a dependency of developing countries on developed countries and perpetuates a cycle of colonial exploitation. It is up to the Mali Federation's government to decide if the benefits outweigh the costs.

Major Industries

Peanut farming in French Soudan is one of the Federation's primary agricultural sectors. Additionally, agricultural sectors in general make up 90% of Mali's employment.⁴³ Without peanut farming, the country would have significantly less agricultural exports and would be less capable of independently feeding its population. The industry is a major part of the Federation's economy due to the colonial relationship with France, which sought to extract agricultural and raw materials from Africa in exchange for manufactured goods made in metropolitan France.⁴⁴ Senegalese peanut farmers employ about 20,000 migrant laborers from French Soudan, which makes up 50% of the total migrant labor population.⁴⁵ This is another key point of economic unity between the two territories, although reliance on this migrant labor is decreasing.

⁴³ "L'option socialiste: Mali's non-capitalist development and the international communist movement," Internationale Forschungsstelle DDR, accessed November 10, 2023, https://ifddr.org/en/mali-noncapitalist-development-communist-movement/.

⁴⁴ William Foltz, *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 32. ⁴⁵ Ibid, 158.

Peanut farmers face abysmal working conditions, especially those who are migrant laborers. Although it existed for their use, agricultural corporations did not integrate advanced farming technologies. Instead, they forced laborers to conduct all of the work by hand and reserved the use of expensive technology for shipment of products back to France. The lack of technology made the labor extremely difficult, requiring farmers to work tirelessly for long hours. Due to a complete lack of regulations in the peanut industry, these practices are allowed to continue. Additionally, laborers were severely undercompensated for their work on the peanut farms. Many are not able to earn enough to survive, forcing them to work even longer hours or face or quickly enter into debt to their bosses. Despite the terrible conditions, leaders in the peanut industry are quick to squash any attempts at organization among laborers. Many agricultural laborers have grown frustrated by these conditions and the ways they are in complete opposition to the alleged socialist ideals of the Federation.

At this time, France is not particularly interested in the gold mining industry in the Federation, leaving gold mining an underdeveloped and under-practiced work. Those who do work in the industry largely use "artisanal mining," a rudimentary practice involving simple handheld tools.⁴⁶ Some in the industry are interested in the potential to expand and modernize this technique, possibly through government subsidy or foreign intervention. The lure of developing this industry may be an important bargaining chip for leaders of the Federation who are interested in foreign involvement. There are also vast, largely untapped phosphate resources throughout Senegal and Soudan. Phosphate is used as a crop fertilizer, making it an important resource for crop production. Tapping into the phosphate mining industry may be an important opportunity for leaders in the Federation looking to expand their economic influence. There are

⁴⁶ "Mining," Mali – Country Commercial Guide, International Trade Administration, accessed November 10, 2023, https://www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/mali-mining.

also numerous other natural resources that can be mined throughout the Mali Federation that have significant value, including rocksalt, semi-precious stones, iron ore, and more. However, the mining industry requires significant investment and reform to extract all of these resources for profit.

Relations with France

Since the formation of the French Community, the Mali Federation has gained greater autonomy; however, it still remains a colony of France. As such, France has an outsized say in all of the Federation's decisions and massive influence in its economy, politics, and society. The continuation of the French presence in the Mali Federation is visible in many areas. The French Army has retained its presence in the country and the French armed forces continue to hold and use military bases in the country.⁴⁷ France also provides financial and other aid to the Mali Federation as a reward for remaining within the French Community. While the country is reliant on this aid to maintain stability and services, independence is also a necessity moving forward.

The role of France is a source of contentious debate in the Mali Federation. Generally speaking, the Soudanese and members of the US-RDA support greater autonomy and separation from France.⁴⁸ They see France as a colonizer that has caused nothing but pain and wish to distance themselves from that relationship. On the other hand, the Senegalese and members of the UPS generally want to see more integration and cooperation with France. They ascribe to the viewpoint of France bringing "modernity" to West Africa and hope to foster partnerships with France to continue the development of the Mali Federation.

⁴⁷ William Foltz, *From French West Africa to the Mali Federation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 168. ⁴⁸ Ibid, 147.

The whole idea of the Federation was to create a country that would be able to be on a level playing field with France.⁴⁹ This has simply not been the case due to France's continued colonial presence and extraction of raw materials from the Mali Federation. While the new country needs to create some space between it and France, it is extremely difficult to do so due to the remnants of colonial structures that are still in place. The French government, especially under de Gaulle, has a very keen interest in retaining power in West Africa and its primary foothold is the Mali Federation.

<u>Relations with other countries</u>

While the Mali Federation exists under French colonial rule, it still retains the ability to negotiate on the global stage. In this committee, delegates should take great consideration in which states they wish to align themselves with.

United States

While the United States has generally left France to deal with its own sphere, it has a reputation for involvement in countries it fears may take a pathway toward communism. The country is primarily interested in the promotion of capitalist economic systems over all else. Any socialist movement or violent efforts against the French government may result in increased United States involvement in the affairs of the country, ranging from economic to military methods. The United States is also committed to aiding in the development of other nations in ways that benefits it, and this is the case in the Mali Federation as well.

Soviet Union

While the Soviet Union has not shown considerable interest in Africa, recent pushes against Western colonialism has led to further efforts by the Soviet Union to expand its sphere of $\overline{}^{49}$ Ibid, 146. influence. Given the socialist tendencies of many decolonization efforts, the Soviet Union has begun to take a greater interest in the affairs of the Mali Federation. It can also provide assistance with development through its Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Neighboring African States

The Mali Federation is surrounded by numerous other African states which are just now emerging as more autonomous actors. These states could be valuable partners in achieving the work of this committee or the personal goals of its members. The former members of the AOF Federation that are neighbors of the new Mali Federation include Mauritania, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Upper Volta, Dahomey, and Niger. Despite the drama surrounding the formation of the Mali Federation, these countries could be valuable partners. All remain members of the French Community except for Guinea, which is an independent country. France has warned against any association with Guinea, as it tries to position the country to fail to support France's argument that West African states need France's help to succeed.

In other areas, the French continue to fight against Algerian nationalists to the north of the Mali Federation. Additionally, the former British colonies of Ghana and Nigeria are obtaining greater autonomy and could also be valuable partners.

CHARACTER BIOGRAPHIES

Adama Aissatou, Minister of Education

Adama Aissatou is the Minister of Education and a member of the US-RDA party. Born in 1909 in Gao, French Soudan, Aissatou became a teacher after studying at the École normale de Gao and taught primary school for 15 years. During that time, she was frustrated by the government's lack of support for teachers and lack of understanding about children's education. As a result, she was motivated to enter politics to try to fix education in French Soudan, knowing that a weak education system was a tool of the French colonists to keep Africans complacent and unable to oppose their colonial oppressors. She joined the US-RDA party and began serving as its education policy advisor in 1950. With the creation of the Mali Federation, Aissatou successfully pursued the position of Minister of Education, her first major political appointment. While she certainly has the expertise for the job, she is surrounded by male, elite politicians whose favorite pastime is mansplaining. She hopes to improve education systems in the Mali Federation while also proving all of her haters wrong and being a powerful example of a female political leader. Being from Gao, Aissatou is extremely interested in the history of the Songhai Empire, which had its capital in her hometown. In fact, when digging a garden in her backyard, she found a Songhai sword that she proudly displays in her dining room, as a reminder to all guests of the strength of African societies and their need for independence.

Edegbe Assogba, Peanut Farmer

Edegbe Assogba was born in a small village in Upper Volta in 1935. As a result, Assogba experienced the close-knit community bonds and traditional values which shaped his early years. However, he faced limited job opportunities and financial trouble. In 1956, Assogba was forced to move to Senegal in search of employment and leave behind his family. That same year, he found himself as a migrant laborer working on a Senegalese peanut farm. Despite not being native to Senegal, Assogba has found camaraderie with his fellow laborers and feels he has a permanent home in Senegal. Conditions on the farms are quite difficult and dangerous, and he hopes to see greater regulation and less corruption in the industry. He especially resents his bosses, who hoard profit for themselves and attempt to divide laborers in order to keep them from finding comradeship and banding together. Assogba's main goal is to earn enough money to leave his position as a migrant farmer and open his own restaurant in Dakar. Since he was young, he has dreamed of running a peanut-themed restaurant called Freddy Fazbear's Peanuts that will specialize in children's birthday parties. He hopes Fazbear's can be successful enough that he can afford to move his family from Upper Volta to Dakar.

Antoine Bagayoko, Minister of Development

Antoine Bagayoko was born in the city of Bamako in French Soudan in December of 1895. His father operated a small bank in the city center, and Bagayoko was often tasked with helping run the bank during his youth. He was a brilliant student and was lucky to be accepted into HEC Paris, one of France's most prolific business schools, where he studied finance and economics. After graduation, he worked as a financial analyst at Société Générale, Banque Nationale de Crédit, and Crédit Agricole, three of the largest banks in France. After the financial crash in 1930

and the start of the Great Depression, Bagayoko returned home to French Soudan to help support his family. His father's bank was closed and Bagayoko had to seek employment on nearby peanut farms to earn income. As a result of this experience, he understood the importance of developing French Soudan, and now the Mali Federation, to reduce poverty and make the country prosperous, just as he had seen in France. He joined the US-RDA to advocate for economic development in his country. Despite the Marxist leanings of the US-RDA, Bagayoko's educational and professional background in France have led him to ascribe to the modernization theory of development and support the growth of capitalism in the Mali Federation. He hopes to utilize his foreign connections, many of whom continue to work in France's largest banks or have shifted to government roles in the Ministry of Finance and the Economy or the CCCE. In his opinion, maintaining strong and healthy connections with France will be vital to ensuring the economic and social development of the Mali Federation.

Emeran Bassirou, CEO of la Société des cacahuètes du Mali

The first time Emeran Bassirou ever tasted peanuts would nearly be the last time he tasted anything. Born with a severe (but not airborne) peanut allergy, Bassirou grew to despise peanuts but became attuned to another fact-those around him did not. From the city of Tombouctou, Bassirou worked diligently to amass a peanut empire, rewarding those loyal to him with a taste of his fortune whilst burying his enemies under mounds of peanuts. In due time, Bassiro would plant himself as the CEO of la Société des cacahuètes du Mali (Mali Peanut Company), one of the largest peanut exporters in Western Africa. Bassirou came to realize the only path forward in solidifying his peanut empire was through the French, who he sees as integral to preserving the economic status quo from the devious socialists and communists who only desire to steal away the legumes of his labor. In spite of this success, constant contact with peanuts and many allergic reaction scares have left Bassirou with an intense desire for cleanliness, constantly cleaning surfaces he touches and in some cases, refusing to shake hands with important business people without them sanitizing their hands first. For Bassirou at least, to control peanuts is to control death. For the less dramatic, the immense wealth of Bassirou may just accomplish the same.

Gabriel d'Arboussier, Minister of Justice

Gabriel d'Arboussier is a politician and member of the US-RDA, who has previously served as President of the Grand Conseil de l'AOF, French West Africa's colonial administration. He was born in Djenné, French Soudan in 1908. He is currently the Mali Federation's Minister of Justice, in charge of interpreting the country's laws. D'Arboussier was born into a wealthy family of farmers turned politicians. His mother inspired (perhaps even helped kick-start) his political journey when she helped him win his campaign for student body president while in university. Although it is debated whether he scored his political positions through nepotism or merit, he is not liked by his constituency. They find his expensive, flashy clothing to be in bad taste, and they feel that he is out of touch and does not keep their best interests in hand. Often, he deals with minor uprisings and fights within the land he governs. Although he is true to his land and cares about his constituency, it is unlikely he will ever be trusted due to his economic status. Throughout his career, D'Arboussier has been staunchly anti-imperialist, but he benefits greatly from his connections with the French. Therefore, he hopes to see the Mali Federation become independent but retain close ties to France. He has lately been considering a wardrobe change to gain more trust from his constituency.

Valdiodio Diouf, Minister of Labor

Valdiodio Diouf was born into a Soudanese family in the early 1920s. Before stepping into the realm of politics, Validiodio initially found himself working in the blue-collar world of the mining industry, gaining firsthand experience of the challenges faced by laborers. This experience not only forged a strong work ethic but also fueled Valdiodio's passion for workers' rights and social equality. Valdiodio's transition to politics came as a result of his desire to address systemic issues and advocate for positive change on a broader scale. In the late 1940s, he became actively involved in the US-RDA political movement, aligning himself with like-minded individuals who sought to challenge the status quo. Valdiodio's charisma, dedication, and ability to connect with people quickly propelled him into a leadership role within the movement. Valdiodio's commitment to social justice and workers' rights caught the attention of the political leadership, leading to his appointment as the Labor Minister. In this pivotal role, he has worked tirelessly to enact policies that protect the rights of workers, improve working conditions, and promote inclusive economic growth. However, Valdiodio's policies have seen little success as they are met with heavy pushback from the French and corrupt peanut corporations.

<u>Gédéon Eto'o, Professor of Literature</u>

Gédéon Eto'o is a professor of African Literature who was born in 1891 in Saint-Louis, Senegal. Eto'o, the son of a high-ranking Senegalese diplomat and a well-known author, experienced a privileged and cultured upbringing and was highly influenced by his parent's socialist beliefs. Much of Eto'o's political views were shaped through his father's weekly *oware* group, a strategy game similar to mancala. Eto'o loved to eavesdrop on the group, which always seemed to spend more time discussing the political and social future of West Africa than playing *oware*. Eto'o, through his readings and the political teachings of his parents and their friends, knew from a young age that he wanted to see change in Senegal. In high school, he began writing editorial pieces about Pan-Africanism and socialism for his local newspaper, eventually graduating to writing for numerous national publications. Eto'o has worked as a professor of African literature at the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar since 1940. He is a supporter of the artistic and literary interests of his students and follows in his father's footsteps by hosting a weekly *oware* group for his students and colleagues to gather, discuss their political ideas, and share their work. Eto'o's ultimate goal is to see French influence and the obsession with French culture and scholarly works expelled from Senegalese society. He believes Senegalese academics should abandon their Francophone ways and conduct their work from a purely pan-African perspective. Eto'o is not opposed to the Mali Federation, but he fears that Soudan may be a burden on Senegal's economy. Eto'o is in no position to face economic downturn, as he's recently taken up betting on his *oware* tournaments. He hasn't won a game in 6 years.

Yma Konaté, Founder of L'Association des Griots du Dakar

Yma Konaté was born in 1871 in Dioila, French Soudan to a family of ethnically Malinké *griots*, or West African oral historians. As such, she grew up listening to the stories, poems, and songs of the Malinké people to pass on to future generations. During her childhood, she became well-known throughout the region for her angelic voice and musical skill, quickly mastering numerous instruments, including the kora, khalam, ngoni, kontigi, goje, balafon, and junjung, by age seven. When the French began to colonize French Soudan in 1892, Konaté joined a resistance group. She was welcomed due to the historical revered status of *griots* and was tasked with documenting the history of the resistance for future generations. However, Konaté wanted

to help the fight against the French. Over the course of the resistance, Konaté killed 27 French soldiers and lost two toes off of her right foot. She was captured by the French Army in 1902 after ten years of resistance and spent 3 years in a prison in Dakar until the colony was firmly under French control. Since then, Konaté has stayed out of trouble in the city and focused on documenting the history of her people in oral history through songs and poems for future generations. She has four children with her late husband of 65 years, whom she met during her time in the resistance. As the French have left the Mali Federation, Konaté founded an association of Malinké *griots* in Dakar, which seeks to advocate for the Soudanese people in the new government and spread Soudanese culture. The association is important in political advocacy, arguing for greater autonomy from France and support of the Premier and Vice Premier.

Amadou Lamine-Guèye, Mayor of Dakar

Amadou Lamine-Guèye was born in 1891 in Médine, French Soudan. Guèye, ever since WWI, made demands for the assimilation of Africans into French culture and institutions. He is most well-known for the Loi Lamine Guèye, passed in 1946, which gave equal rights to natives of all French overseas territories. This has made him popular amongst the people of the Mali Federation, although this is somewhat diminished by his desire for the country to be assimilated into France. Prior to his political career, he completed a mathematics degree at École William-Ponty and went through traditional Muslim education. He also studied law in France and was the first Black jurist in French Africa. Throughout his legal career, he defended people and municipalities against corporations. In the last few years, he has been an advocate for each territory in the AOF to be given independence, not in the form of a federation. However, he is now committed to the success of the Mali Federation to demonstrate the autonomy of African people. A proud socialist and member of the UPS, Guèye is a strong advocate for greater workers' and women's rights in the Mali Federation. Due to his socialist ideals and hatred of corporations, Guèye has never eaten a peanut nor has he ever purchased gold. He hopes, in this small way, to undermine the power of imperialist corporations in the Mali Federation.

Camille Lisange, Gold Miner

Camille Lisange was born in 1942 to a poor Soudanese family. She grew up surrounded by laughter and seven siblings. Her parents have also always been vocal in the independence movement, causing conflict between themselves and neighbors who prefer to put their heads down and work. However, this influenced Lisange. Although she works very hard as a gold miner and has for the last five years, she dreams of a better life and education for herself and her six younger siblings. Her fiery temperament earned her a reputation in her village. With a thirst for knowledge, Lisange has looked for every opportunity to learn that she can, listening intently to local storytellers and becoming a talented storyteller herself. In her daily life, her disregard for unearned authority has meant that her work life is challenging, often standing up for herself and other young workers who are mistreated. Recently, she has been linked to discussions around the formation of a union, something the mining company she works for is strongly opposed to. Her tenacity makes her a good candidate for passing coded messages and her reputation has earned her a large network of other resistance supporters, both outspoken and private. Busy taking care of her younger siblings, Lisange hasn't had time for a date in years. She hopes her conditions and wages can improve enough so that she can hire a babysitter and finally ask out her shoe salesman.

Gaspardine Makubuya, French Envoy to the Mali Federation

Gaspardine Makubuya was born in Paris, France to his Soudanese parents in 1904. His mother and father were extremely wealthy, coming from an elite mining background. He grew up being waited on hand and foot by servants, receiving anything he wanted at a moment's notice. Makubuya's parents rubbed shoulders with the French elite, and prepared their son for politics. He was educated at the Paris Institute of Political Studies, and fell in love with French culture. Makubuya fancied himself a cheese afficionado and ate the stinkiest cheeses in all of France instead of going to his classes. His family's connections in the French government put him on a fast track for the cushiest diplomatic assignments. Makubuya was able to travel the world and eat cheese while rarely working but was unfireable. However, he is still a smooth talker and knows how to get what he wants out of people. The French, in desperate need of a qualified diplomat to keep ties strong with the Mali Federation, thought of sending Makubuya. He was not entirely happy with receiving the post, as Africa couldn't possibly be as fancy as his other assignments. He agreed because of his loyalty to France and dislike for ideas of African independence. He hopes to see increased French involvement in the Mali Federation and increased assimilation to French culture.

Fatima Mbodji, President of the Conseil national des femmes

Fatima Mbodji was born in Tambacounda, Senegal in January of 1928. Her mother was a nurse at the city's main hospital, a career she pursued after being denied entry to medical school because she was a woman. Because of this experience in her family, Mbodji has always been interested in women's rights and creating a more equal society in her country. She worked hard in school and eventually secured a scholarship to study political science at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris, also known as Sciences Po, from which she graduated in 1950. After finishing her studies, Mbodji returned to Senegal seeking to use her political science degree by working in the government. However, she found herself being denied from numerous positions and unable to find work. Mbodji found that other Senegalese women who had studied politics were also having difficulty finding work and as a result, along with three other women, she founded the Conseil national des femmes (CNF) to advocate for women's rights and equality. Today, the organization has grown substantially to include a staff of 25 hard-working women dedicated to advancing women's rights. Mbodji has dedicated her entire career to CNF and wants to see the organization succeed during these times of change. In particular, she hopes to secure gender equality as a foundational legal concept in the new Mali Federation and will work to hold the new government accountable on gender issues. Although Mbodji would like to see autonomy from France, she developed a habit of eating a pain au chocolat and a croissant every morning and worries about the supply of these pastries if the relationship between France and the Mali Federation deteriorates.

Dr. Robert Ndao, Minister of Health

Dr. Robert Ndao, the Senegalese Minister of Health, is a staunch communist with a deep-rooted passion for equitable healthcare. Born in 1915 in Dakar, Senegal, Ndao experienced firsthand the healthcare disparities exacerbated by colonialism. Although Ndao came from a middle class farming family that had the means to afford healthcare, the systems put in place by French colonists made it quite difficult for local Senegalese, especially those living in rural areas, to access healthcare. Ndao attended the Paris School of Medicine, where he specialized in public health and community well-being. Interestingly, Ndao's passion for healthcare is matched only

by his love for Parisian accordion tunes, which he picked up during his studies in France. Rumor has it he once danced the can-can at a political fundraiser, surprising many with his nimble footwork and infectious enthusiasm. When not dancing the can-can, Ndao attended student groups and meetings in Paris where he read and learned about communism. He quickly joined the movement, where his primary focus is advocating for universal healthcare and socialized medical services. His grassroots efforts gained recognition, leading to his appointment as the Mali Federation's Minister of Health in 1959. Despite facing opposition, Ndao's commitment to social justice remains unwavering. He believes in a Mali Federation where every citizen has access to quality healthcare, regardless of socioeconomic status.

Capitaine Pierre Sanogo, Captain of the 6th Company

Pierre Sanogo was born in Kayes, French Soudan in 1912, but quickly moved to Paris where he spent the remainder of his childhood. Sanogo's father was a well-decorated Colonel after decades of service in the French Army, and Sanogo's mother was the daughter and heir of one of French Soudan's most profitable peanut corporations. Following in his father's footsteps, Sanogo attended the École spéciale militaire de Saint-Cyr, France's elite military academy, and quickly earned the position of Capitaine after graduating. Due to his intensive military training, Sanogo approaches his professional and personal life with a no-nonsense attitude. He is so focused and disciplined that he refuses to date or have human companions, instead spending his time with his beloved guinea pig Hugo. Although his upbringing was primarily French, Sanogo has always felt a strong desire to reconnect with his mother's Soudanese heritage. Since being stationed in French Soudan, he has immersed himself in the local language and traditions. He has fallen in love with the culture and now wishes to see the Soudanese thrive as an independent people, free

from France's control. However, he feels that France's presence, especially its military, in the Mali Federation also brings stability and control. Just like his nuanced Soudanese and French upbringing, Sanogo is both pro-French and pro-independence and has contradictory goals. If Soudan does achieve independence, Sanogo would still like the nation to have a strong relationship with France.

Léopold Senghor, Mayor of Thiès & Advisor to the French Government

Léopold Sédar Senghor was born in 1906 to a Catholic family in Joal, a small city near Thiès. He is a poet, teacher, Mayor of Thiès, and Minister Advisor in France. He is a member of the UPS party. His father was a wealthy peanut merchant of the Serer people, an elite class in Senegal. His mother sent him to a catholic school for him to become a teacher-priest. At 20 years old, he decided to change his life and went to Paris to continue his studies. Senghor discovered African art during his studies and fell in love with it. He now believes that art can be a huge contribution to the modern culture of Africa. After finishing his studies, Senghor became the first African agrégé in France, the highest rank of qualified teacher. Senghor was drafted in 1939 at the beginning of WWII and was captured in 1940, and spent two years in Nazi concentration camps. After his release, he joined the Resistance in France. After the war, he became a professor of African languages and civilization at the École nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer. Since the war, Senghor has pushed for greater inclusion of the peoples of France's colonies in government, advocating for their citizenship. He believes that France's territories should become a part of the country, rather than independent themselves. In 1956, he was elected mayor of Thiès, a position he still holds today, and is an advisor to the French government under Michel Debré. He begins each morning with a croissant and prefers the croque monsieur to the croque madame sandwich.

Fily Dabo Sissoko, Opposition Politician & Writer

Fily Dabo Sissoko was born on May 15, 1900 in Horokoto, French Soudan. As the son of a traditional local leader, he was taught lessons in leadership and politics at a young age. Sissoko held the traditions and culture of his people very close to his heart, as he started writing poetry at a young age. His writing earned him a spot at the École normale supérieure William Ponty in Gorée, Senegal, where numerous of the country's political elite have studied. This school was a teacher's college, which led him to become a teacher. Sissoko got involved in French politics in the 1930s, supporting the socialist Front Populaire government in the 1930s and the Resistance during the Second World War. He received the Médaille de la Résistance after the war from the French government for his support. These experiences made Sissoko a staunch anti-fascist. After the war, he was elected deputy to the French Constitutional Assembly representing the Soudan-Niger non-citizen constituency. With other African chiefs, Sissoko founded the Parti progressiste soudanaise (PSP) in December 1945, which sought after a gradual independence from France in order to keep the traditional local rulers in power. Sissoko joined the communist group during his time in the French Constitutional Assembly, and was reelected in 1946. After 1946, he joined the socialist SFIO group. In 1957, in regional elections, the PSP was dealt its first major electoral defeat at the hands of the US-RDA. Sissoko is also a talented essayist and poet, playing a crucial role in forming Malian cultural identity with his writings against Euro-centrism, colonialism, and racism. He also writes a biweekly comedy piece called "Fed-up with Laughter: A Comedic Exploration of the Federation" that he's hoping will take off.

François St. Laurent, CEO of la Société minière de l'Afrique occidentale française

François St. Laurent was born on July 22, 1869 to two lavender farmers in Nîmes, France. He experienced a privileged upbringing surrounded by the sweet scents of lavender and wealth. As a young man, St. Laurent joined the French Army and was stationed in Saint-Louis, Senegal, where he met Léandre Duchamps, the heir to the struggling Société minière de l'Afrique occidentale française, or French West African Mining Corporation (SMAOF). The two shared a beautiful summer of friendship together, but Duchamps strangely disappeared by August. Coincidentally, he left complete control of SMAOF to St. Laurent. Taking advantage of this situation, St. Laurent has turned SMAOF around and now enjoys more exports than any other corporation in the Federation. The company operates in both Senegal and Soudan, extracting phosphates from the former and gold, diamonds, and salt from the latter. St. Laurent is unsurprisingly a supporter of France, often communicating with and acting for his politician friends back home. Continued relations with France provide St. Laurent a wealthy purchaser for his exports. St. Laurent is largely ambivalent about whether the Federation stays together as long as the French continue having authority over both Senegal and Soudan. As a wealthy Frenchman, he splits his time across his numerous mansions in Saint-Louis, Marseille, Paris, and Nantes.

Doudou Thiam, Foreign Minister

Born on February 3, 1926 in Bambey, Senegal, Doudou Thiam has always been an intelligent and well spoken man. He has always had a passion for law and justice. Thanks to his wit and charm, Thiam had the privilege to be educated at the University of Poitiers in France, a premium university for up-and-coming lawyers. There, he studied law and developed an understanding of French culture and customs. Slowly but surely, Thiam became disillusioned with French rule over West Africa and wished to see his people independent. He led a wild night-life in Poitiers and met like-minded individuals that he shared his revolutionary ideas with. He became infatuated with the idea of socialism as a young man, and would tell anyone who would listen that the workers of West Africa must be free from the oppressive colonial rule of the French. As he grew older, he became less inflammatory and calmed his beliefs down. Though still believing in socialism, he is far less extreme than he was in his younger days. Today, he is a member of UPS and serves as the Mali Federation's Foreign Minister. He has ambitions for power in the new government and hopes to lead his people towards a brighter future.

Marie Upamecano, Nightclub Owner

Marie Upamecano was born in Soudan in the city of Kayes in 1907. In the early 1900s, as the economic prosperity of Kayes began to decline, Upamecano decided to take up the saxophone as a way to escape from the troubles around her. Ever since, the saxophone has been her greatest source of inspiration and liberation, no matter her struggles. As she developed her saxophone skills, she also learned more about the oppressive systems around her. Upamecano became devoutly anti-French, and believes that they should play absolutely no role in African affairs. She is also opposed Soudan's federation with Senegal because she disapproves of Senegal's pro-France stance. In 1932, Upamecano finally achieved her dream of opening a jazz nightclub in Kayes. Most of the nightclub's musicians and guests share her anti-federation beliefs, and many are involved with student socialist groups. Upamecano, increasingly dissatisfied with the political and economic situation around her, has found herself agreeing more and more with the socialists at her club. The club has become a safe place for like minded political thinkers to gather and share their goals for liberation, and Upamecano is seen as an activist and leader. Her

ultimate goal is to create a chain of jazz clubs across Soudan. She's tossing around name ideas, but she's thinking *Hard Jazz Cafe*.

Rosarie Zabu, Student Leader

Rosarie Zabu is a third-year student at Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) in Dakar, Senegal. She was born and raised in Saint-Louis, one of Senegal's major economic hubs. Her parents were merchants who pushed her to pursue a higher education. She is currently studying political science and hopes to work in the government of the new Mali Federation. She is the co-founder of a student organization called Les Étudiants pour le panafricanisme et l'indépendance (EPI) at UCAD, which is made up of like-minded students who want to see an independent Mali Federation that has strong economic, social, and political ties with other African states. Zabu is one of the best debaters at UCAD, having won numerous awards at debate competitions. Notably, when an opponent found out that they had to debate Zabu at a competition in Dakar last month, they burst into tears and quit the competition. As the French hold on the Mali Federation weakens, Zabu is hoping to use her organization to advocate for a clean break from the French and to promote a staunchly independent nation. While she is disappointed that only two countries have joined the Federation, she believes in its success and hopes that it can be an example for other African countries of the success of pan-African ideals in practice.