

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**SIGNIFICANCE AND DYNAMICS OF
AFRICAN UNITY**

**By
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**Addis Ababa University
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MA Thesis

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THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

Significance and Dynamics of African Unity

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Dedicated to:

Those who struggle against injustice and exploitation

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Abstract

The leading concepts associated with African unity today are Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. In particular, the ideal of African unity is historically associated with Pan-Africanism. This quest for African Unity, as embodied in Pan-Africanism, can be traced back to more than two centuries. Similarly, its new version pioneered by South Africa, African Renaissance calls for and propagates the regeneration and Unity of Africa. The quest for Unity as a whole is necessitated by a desire to change Africa's poor economic and political conditions as well as to put a strong resistance against external exploitation. African Unification is a strategy that has the potential to remove many of the scourges the continent is facing as well as the infighting among Africans and to create an atmosphere that will enable African countries resist, more effectively, the increasing foreign pressure. The advocates of African unity on the one hand believe that the disunity of the continent is responsible for continued foreign manipulation, exploitation and rivalry between Africans that usually erupt into armed confrontation. On the other hand, a united Africa will have the capability to feed itself, through organized efforts, breaking the long chain of dependency and enhancing the African condition in the international arena.

Beginning in early 1960s there is increasing agreement about the significance of continental unification for Africa. In particular, the debate to forge unity was at its height in the early years of independence. However, the move to form an immediate integration lost ground as the majority of the new heads of states decided to adopt a 'gradualist' or step by step approach to unity. This was the base that set up the first all encompassing continental institution i.e. the Organization of the African Unity in 1963. In 1991 African countries decided to form African Economic Community to hasten the integration program. African regional economic communities are seen as 'pillars' for the ultimate achievement of African Unity by the latest continental organization, the African Union, established in 2002. However, there are serious obstacles to make the unification of Africa possible. These obstacles generally can be divided into two broader categories; external and internal. The external challenges include foreign intervention, dependency, colonial legacy, debt and international regionalism. The internal impediments include conflict, poverty, lack of political will and institutional weakness, among others.

Notwithstanding, there are new emerging continental phenomena that can be seen as opportunities for Africa to achieve its goal of political unification. Among these the demise of Apartheid which placed South Africa in the forefront in various continental affairs; the renewed commitment by the heads of African states to speed up the integration process expressed in the formation of African Union and adoption of NEPAD are significant. More importantly the recent proposal for the establishment of a United States of Africa by 2015 practically replaced the disenchantment concerning the integration of Africa with renewed enthusiasm. Accordingly, African countries discussed, at Accra, in early July 2007, on the AU's proposal for Union Government, which would be a political transitory arrangement towards the United States of Africa. The proposal set out three successive phases toward establishing the United States of Africa. The first phase, from 2007-2009, targets to set up a continental government. The second phase, i.e. from 2009 to 2012, focuses on making the continental government fully functional and preparing a constitutional framework for United States of Africa. The third phase, from 2012 to 2015, aims to create all essential structures for the United State of Africa at country, regional and continental levels. The summit gave majority support for the gradualist approach, but it has agreed to set up a road map and a time frame for a union government. This exemplifies the growing significance of African unity for the future prosperity of Africa.



ACRONYMS

AAPSC	Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference
AAPSO	Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific
AEC	African Economic Community
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APFTA	Asia Pacific Free Trade Area
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CIAS	Conference of Independent African States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo (Kinshasa)
EAC	East African Community
EACSO	East African Common Services Organization
EADB	East African Development Bank
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central Africa States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa States
ECPGL	Economic Community of Great Lake Countries
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FLN	Front Liberation Nation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
ICE	International Conference on Education

IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IGO	Inter- Governmental Organization
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAIA	Latin American Integration Association
MNC	Multi National Corporation
MRU	Mano River Union
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Area
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PAA	Pan-African Association
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
PAFMECSA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SACU	Southern Africa Customs Union
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SPLA	Southern Sudan Liberation Army
UAR	United Arab Republic
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The movement toward African Unity, as embodied in Pan-Africanism, emerged in the Caribbean and the United States in the late 19th century. Since then Africans have been striving to forge unity; because the unity of Africa is seen as the only strategy that has the potential to ensure sustainable development and true independence for the continent. However, the African governments' general desire to keep colonial boundaries and Their support for the gradualist or step by step approach toward integration is among the main factors for the delay of a possible formation of the 'United States of Africa'.

Today Africa is facing a number of problems. These include wars (intra and inter state), severe poverty, genocidal conflicts, crises of economic and social policies, state failure and political decay, epidemics, rampant corruption, over dependency, indebtedness and marginalization. Moreover, in the 21st century, Africa's relations with the outside world remain unbalanced; rather the exploitation of Africa is continued in a systematic manner aggravating the already worse political, social and economical problems. Nevertheless, amidst this chaos, the answer for the question as to how Africa can overcome these developmental challenges is often uncertain and controversial.

In general, there are two options for African states to enhance their position in the international arena and tackle their developmental challenges. The first option is to continue pursuing progressive partnership with foreign powers individually. This has been the dominant discourse in the post-

colonial Africa; but African countries are still ravaged by hunger, starvation, ignorance, unemployment, conflict which show no sign of abating. This indicates that the road traveled along this path has been disappointing and in no way can benefit the poor African states. The second option is to opt for continental unity. The unification of Africa in the contemporary world is the only choice to ensure lasting economic independence, prosperous future, peace and security as well as a better position in the international arena. Thus pressure on African countries to revive the continental integration agenda is growing.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Some critics see the struggle for African unity as a racist struggle designed to claim 'black supremacy', or 'black power' relating to the origin of the Pan-African ideal in the Western Hemisphere. However, the struggle for African unity, on the contrary, is against racism, human suffering and exploitation. African unity is a struggle that includes the whole of African continent and people of African-descent across the globe. It is humanist in outlook that stands against inequality, exploitation, colonialism in both its overt and covert guises. This is one of the main misconceptions about the struggle for African unity. The movement toward African Unity will help uplift humanity as a whole, by eradicating racism and greed (egocentrism).

The leading concepts i.e. Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance aim at clarifying such misconceptions about the African unity ideal. The other major controversies revolve around the feasibility of African unity ever materializing. Afro-pessimists in this regard out rightly reject the possibility of a unified Africa ever becoming a reality .Therefore, they consider the struggle for African unity destined to fail. However, opponents of the African unity ideal often fail to provide alternative pragmatic developmental strategy for Africa. But African unity is expected to rally Africans together against their common enemies i.e. poverty, over dependency, neo-colonialism,

conflict, foreign intervention etc. It also urges Africans to develop their own developmental agenda and eradicate the tradition of dependency.

Paradoxically, Afro-pessimists tend to advise Africans to follow the foot steps of the white man and aim to forge a lasting partnership with the Western powers putting aside the unification agenda. But this study questions these Afro-pessimists; has any policy that came out of the Western world be it Mercantilist, Keynesian, Socialist, Liberal, neo-Liberal etc ever benefited Africa? The answerer is No. In fact many of the causes for Africa's underdevelopment and instability pertain to the continent's foreign relations: slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, SAPs, globalization etc. All of which resulted in unbalanced relations, political marginalization and dependency. It is, therefore, naïve to expect the West to genuinely help Africa to stand on her feet. Thus, the question arises; can African countries benefit in continuing to form alliances individually with the West? The answer is again a firm No. So what is the solution? The solution, as this study attempts to address and analyze, lies in the unification of Africa.

The other controversy concerning the issue of unity is related to the continent's attempt at integration. Critics see the various attempts made so far to realize the African unity ideal as evidences for its failure. But, it should be noted that integration is 'a process, not an act', which requires time. Therefore, this study considers the previous attempts as steps (evolutionary) toward the ultimate achievement of the United States of Africa.

1.3. Hypothesis

Africa has been suffering rigorous and harsh setbacks in its quest for sustainable development and lasting peace and security, mainly because of its disunity. Without continental unification it will be impossible for African states to overcome the various developmental challenges and become a powerful force in world politics.



The hypothesis of this study is

- In the post-independence period Africa's inability to overcome the various developmental challenges and become a powerful force in the world politics is mainly due to the fragmentation of Africa.

1.4. Research Questions

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

- What is the relationship between African Unity and development?
- Why African Unity is important in today's Africa?
- What roles are African leading concepts i.e. Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance playing with regard to Unity?
- What is the role of OAU, AU, RECs etc in facilitating African Countries towards unity?

- What is the significance of attempts at integration?
- What are the main challenges for Unification of Africa?
- What are the prospects for unity?

1.5 Objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

- To address the importance of African unity in contemporary Africa.
- To study the evolution of African unity.
- To examine the rationale and relevance of African unity.
- To evaluate the various steps of OAU, AU, RECs etc. with regard to unity.
- To analyze the main challenges for unification of Africa,
- To identify opportunities that favor unification.

1.6. Significance of the study

The study will significantly contribute in addressing the important role continental unity can play in overcoming Africa's developmental challenges. Hence, this study addresses the necessity of continental integration for Africa and inspires African scholars and policy makers to increase their efforts including a way out of suffering and dependency for the people of the continent. As the adage goes 'Unity is strength'; thus, this study encourages African intellectuals to focus their attention in matters, which bring African people together. It also aims at informing and inspiring decision makers that Africa is at a crossroad in history. In addition, it might help as a spring board for other researchers concerned with the issue of Africa.

1.7 Methodology and Methods

Social Science research is both descriptive (fact gathering) exercise and analyzing resources. In addition the argumentative approach also helps to clarify things in more detail. To address the importance of African unity the researcher has been engaged in gathering the necessary data and information which would help to analyze the different concepts and strategies that revolve around African unity. This study employed different methodologies i.e. descriptive, analytical and argumentative.

The preferable method for this research is largely qualitative method. This is in one hand due to the limited availability and unreliability of the quantitative sources in many areas in Africa. In the other hand, the qualitative method will enable to analyze a wide range of areas. However, quantitative methods were also used. Most of the sources for the research are secondary with a few primary sources. The secondary sources used in the study include books, journals, and unpublished documents.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study begins with examining the main conceptual themes related to the idea of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. It describes the origin, nature and critics of these 'theories'. In doing so, it explains why unification is significant for Africa. In addition, it develops the main arguments for the needs and urges for continental unification. It also touches upon the various attempts made at unification, and analyzes the degree of unity in Africa.

In due course of this study there are many problems that have influenced its further development of this study. First, the amount of time given to this thesis wasn't enough to gather all the necessary information that would have helped in consolidating the study. Second, the scarce availability or unavailability of books and important journals has limited the researcher's study. The cap put on the number of pages of this study have tied the researcher's hands from covering various aspects of this study in great detail. Financial constraints have limited the researcher's capability to travel and interview intellectuals who have directly or indirectly been involved in African affairs.

1. 9. Organization of the Study

This study attempts to address the importance of unification in Africa. The study is divided into five main chapters. The first chapter deals with background issues and technical aspects. The second chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part of the chapter, the conceptual framework, discusses the origin and nature of both Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance, the second part of the chapter mainly focus on the literatures of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. The third chapter attempts to address the economic, political, military, cultural and global significance of continental integration and examines the cases for and against African unity.

Chapter four focuses on attempts made at forging unity. It also discusses the present developments in the institutionalization of the ideal for African unity. The last chapter analyzes the major external and internal challenges that appear to hinder and delay the continental integration process in Africa. The second section of the chapter, however attempts to identify the current opportunities that seem to hasten the integration discourse in Africa. At the end, conclusion based on the study is presented.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Conceptual Framework

Pan-Africansim and African Renaissance

There is no concise definition of Pan-Africanism. In a narrow sense, however modern Pan-Africanism can be defined as a 'political movement for unification of Africa' (Keep, 7:1974). The origins of African Unity as an ideal comes from Pan-Africanism. Though, Pan -African movement, which started in the Caribbean and North America, was initially associated, mainly with the struggle for equality, justice and 'cultural survival' (Nabudere, 2001:20), gradually adopted the notion of African unity as its main strategy to enhance the Africans condition. It was in fact the "resistance against enslavement and oppression" that created "the first key link for the African unity and the emergence of Pan-Africanism as a conceptual framework of the common struggles of the African people . . . everywhere" (ibid: 21). But, it was the Fifth Pan-African Congress, which held in Manchester, England in 1945 that made direct relationship between Pan-Africanism, independence and African unity (Mathew, 1998: 154). Despite the diverse nature of African societies, there are many common elements which still continue to enable pursue African unity.

Most of the 'ingredients' for unity are contained in Pan-Africanism. Among these according to Nkrumah "the sense of one-ness in that we are Africans" (Nkrumah, 1963:132) is an important element. In addition to common economic interest as Mazrui articulated Africa unity is "the ultimate inspiration behind Pan-Africansim [in] a desire to see Africa become more powerful in the world" (Mazrui, 1967:165). The ideal of African unity also developed in the hope of strengthening the weak, fragmented and small African countries to fight poverty, over exploitation and dependency, as well as exclusion . . . more effectively. Moreover, unity is expected to provide a

lasting solution for the different ethnic and border conflicts prevalent in the continent. Furthermore, the common interest and shared values of African countries are contained in documents such as the Constitutive Act of the AU, NEPAD Plan of Action, and the Kampala Document of the CSSDCA etc.

Pan-Africanism is a movement that transformed itself from a “protest against the degradation of the Africans” to an ideology that has “a vision of a resurgent and renaissance Africa”; making African Renaissance, which is a recent phenomena a ‘Pan – Africanism future” (Muchie, 2003: 6-7). African Renaissance is an old concept, which is renewed by the South African, President Thabo Mbeki. Africans have been struggling for renewed Africa, revolutionary Africa, reborn Africa, reawaken Africa . . . for centuries. African Renaissance does not aim to replace Pan-Africanism, but it ‘complements’ Pan Africanism (Muchie, 2003:8). Thus, we see both concepts in this research accordingly.

2.1.1 Ideology of Pan- Africanism

Pan – Africanism is an ideology and a movement, a vision and a strategy set by Africans in the continent and African descent across the world. Pan-Africanism as a movement began in the last decade of the 19th century in the North America and Caribbean. It is also a ‘belief in some form of unity or of common purpose among the peoples of Africa and the African Diaspora’ as well as the “celebration of Africaness, resisting the exploitation and oppression of Africans and their kin in the Diaspora, and a staunch opposition to the ideology of racial superiority in all its overt and covert guises” (Murithi, 2005:11). Pan-Africanism is the result and expression of “the fragmented nature of the existence of Africans, their marginalization and alienation whether in their own continent or in the Diaspora” (ibid:7).

There is no straight forward single definition of Pan-Africanism, and from its inception Pan-Africanism has undergone several stages in directing the

social, political and historical discourse of Africans. The foundations of the Pan-African ideology are broadly embodied under the following four themes.

A) A Manifestation of 'Black Pride and Achievement'

When the Pan-Africanism movement started in the late 19th century in organized manner its purpose was mainly limited to securing "the civil and political right . . . to ameliorate the condition" of oppressed Africans throughout the globe (Prah, 2003:28). During these period most Pan-Africanists were following 'accommodations' approach in defending the African dignity and culture; H. Sylvester Williams, H. Mason Joseph and others are the pioneers in regard to this movement (ibid:30-31). Such movement prevail today as residual in rap and soul music or high street fashion which become popular as the expression of African descent in the Diaspora at a cultural level (Ackah; 15). Where as Malcolm X, Steve Biko and Afrocenterism as well as Negritude can be categorized in this 'universal expression of black pride and achievement' in more assertive manner (ibid: 14).

B) A Call 'Back to Africa'

Pan - Africanism is also a call for the return of the people of African descent to Africa. The people of Africa's "attempt to escape form tyranny of slavery" in the Western hemisphere has made the "back to Africa" movement a feature of Pan-Africanism. The movement was mainly associated with Marcus Garvey, one of the torchbearers of Pan-Africanism and his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the United States of America (Ackah:15). UNIA was working "for the general uplift of the Negro peoples of the world" (Ajala, 1974:93). Marcus Garvey was also one of the prominent advocators of the United States of Africa (ibid: 91). Today, even if it is in a limited number, the Rastafarian association propagates the same back to Africa theme. There is a large settlement of African descents in particular from Jamaica, in Ethiopia, on the land granted by Emperor Hailesellase I.



C) A Struggle for Liberation

Pan - Africanism was also aimed at as a liberation movement against colonialism. The 1945 Pan-African Congress at Manchester was a landmark concerning the changing tactic of Africans in dealing with European occupation, in which the idea of freedom and liberation moved "from a theoretical level to the pursuit of practical solution" (Prah, 2003:30). Around 200 representative of the black people from different parts of the world participated in this Congress, which was chaired by W.E.D Bois from the United States of America. The Congress fully discussed the issue of nationalism and "well organized, firmly knit movements, as a primary condition for the success of the national liberation struggle in Africa was stressed" (Ajala:10-11). From this onwards Pan-Africanism begins to be associated with more of "a mass movement of Africans for the Africans" aimed at unity and eradicating the forces of colonialism, economic backwardness as well as conflict and instability (Ajala: 11).

Pan-Africanism was successful in eradicating colonialism totally from Africa. This is mainly because, Pan-Africanism as an ideology as well as a movement against colonialism, was fundamentally strong, logically simple and explicit in addressing the exploitation and barbaric nature of colonialism; which made it possible to agitate or move African people enmass against foreign occupation. This is one of the most important achievements of Pan-Africanism. Nevertheless, the struggle for African unity continued, yet to be achieved.

D) A Movement for Continental and Regional Integration

Continental integration becomes the main aspiration of Pan-Africanism since independence. The spirit of unity was very high in the early 1960s among African leaders and patriots. Most Pan-Africanist's such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Patrick Lumumba of Congo/Kinshasa, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Frantz Fanon of Algeria among many

others made it clear that the liberation of Africa without unity will not provide a true and full independence. Hence, Pan-Africanism engaged wholly with the theme of African unity, which became the main challenge for the struggling African doctrine. Pan-Africanism as a strategy sees African integration as the only way that can “create the sustainable atmosphere for economic cooperation, provide the medium whereby the foreign policies of independent African states may be coordinated, so as to make the African presence a force to be reckoned with in world politics; and promotes effective action to rid the continent of colonialism” and neo-colonialism (Ajala: 322).

Nkrumah’s vision of the ‘United States of Africa’ is still alive in the hearts and minds of many Africans as well as those who struggle against exploitation and suffering. Pan-Africanism is the main force behind the July 2007 AU proposal for the “Grand Debate” i.e. on the establishment of the ‘United States of Africa’ in the year 2015, which made the issue of African unity a topical agenda in the African current political discourse. The July 01 to 03, 2007 AU Special Summit that exclusively focused on the establishment of the ‘United States of Africa’, received no outright rejection from any African state (the detail about the Summit was not available in due course of this paper). This shows the growing need and understanding among African Heads of States and governments the significance of continental unification. Pan-Africanism is also responsible for the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963; and for its transformation in 2002 to African Union (AU) as well as the creation of different regional groupings.

A Pan-African vision is also an inspiration for the development of regionalism in Africa. Regionalism in Africa emerged in 1960s following independence. As Mzuki Qobo explains the regionalism process has been facilitated through the OAU and ECA to ensure economic and political

development in the continent as well as to enhance the African condition in the world (Qobo, 2007:2). The Pan-African vision is responsible for the emergence of various regional groups in Africa such as Economic Community of Central African States; the Arab Magreb Union; and the Preferential Trade Agreements for East and Southern Africa (Later Common Market for East and Southern African States) (ibid: 2). This regional integration schemes was seen “as a precursor to full-scale unity”. It was expected these regional unit gradually and hopefully lead to a “United states Africa’ (Ackah: 17).

Nevertheless, the Pan-African forces are not yet successful in establishing unity and true independence in Africa, which is why they say Africa is sick today “lame, bedridden and in a coma” (Ki-zerbo, 2005:86).

Since, there is no quintessential man made ideology applicable for all ages and problems, Pan-Africanism being no different. Pan -Africanism failed to attain the long awaited unification of Africa so far. There are many constraints for African unity such as absence of appropriate strategy, scarce capital, insecurity and conflict, poor leadership, institutional decay, over dependency, foreign intervention etc. Immediately, after independence the main challenge for the unity of Africa seemed leadership. The corrupt African leaders and their foreign mentors seem the main force behind “weakening the awakening African giant” (Henderson, 1999:93). The problem of leadership and their unwillingness was/is one of the main constraints for unity. Besides, African’s inherited empty treasury, backward infrastructure and limited skilled manpower, which resulted in severe economic problem in many African societies that led to economic dependency and limited the activity of Pan -Africanists.

This economic dependency took the power practically from Africans of directing their economic and political affairs. Today, Africa is the poorest of

the continents, highly dependent on aid and loans from the former colonial powers, and other who are enemies of African unity. In addition, the colonial boundaries become major constraints for integration, and become a source of conflict between countries and within countries. Conflict is still one of the peculiar characters of Africa and a major challenge for the Pan- Africanism dream of continental integration. According to Pan – Africanists the major source of the conflict in Africa is the disunity of the continent and the fragmentation of the African societies; and the solution for it is creating a “United States of Africa.”

2.1.2 African Renaissance

African Renaissance is a nascent call, movement, vision, and ideology born in Africa. African Renaissance is a vision to liberate Africans “from the legacy of colonialism and neo- colonialism that they went through and to situate themselves on the global stage as equal and respected contributors . . . as well as beneficiaries of all the achievement of human civilization” (Mulemto, 2000:47).

In economic sphere African Renaissance aims at economic rebirth of Africa “in which the growth plan for the African economy should and can be African driven and based” (Iya, 2001:322). It argues African economy directed to the benefit of the African people could create a strong African economy which enables to enhance the African position and status. It is also an acceptance of the African’s poor conditions and as Mbeki indicate the way out is not reliance on former colonial powers like “if the African slaves of Haiti had asked the slave masters what they needed to do to secure their liberation, they would have never have secured their emancipation” (Murithi:33). Similarly, the responsibility to change the African condition as African Renaissance asserts lies on the hands of Africans, themselves. African Renaissance calls African people and nations to “solve the many problems troubling the African continent” (Becker, 2007:)

African Renaissance's cultural dimension emphasis on the rediscovery of "Africanness", that include restoring African customs as well as "reclaiming those elements of African culture that will help revive the moral values that have been eroded by deliberate and systematic colonial destruction" (Iya:322). This will help also to reduce foreign cultural influences which enables as Mbeki articulated to "determine who we [Africans] are, what we stand for, what our visions and hopes are, how we do things, what programs we adopt to make our lives worth living, who we relate to and how" (Mbeki, 2002:72).

As proposed by South Africa, Renaissance put the following strategies at the fore front to restore the African identity, unity and a better position in the international scene. First, it calls African elites to make this movement the movement of the majority i.e. to engage the majority of the African people or actively participate in accelerating the continental integration process and restore African dignity. Secondly, it give priority for agricultural revolution, because Africa must be able to feed itself first Africans dependency is a main cause for the easy foreign intervention, which contributed for the continent's worsening conditions.

Thirdly, the development vision or strategy either economic or political should come form Africa and incorporate African values and traditions. In this way Africans can develop their own self, and halt the transmutation process. In this respect Afroecology i.e. part of African Renaissance, which focus at African knowledge production could play a significant role. In addition, Africa should renew its education system which continue to glorify Western culture and civilization, particularly history, anthropology etc. This could make a policy directed toward increasing African political awareness more effective. Fourth, African elites must understand the limitations of neo-liberal theories in African context and its impact in increasing the gap between and within societies, and its economic polarization tendencies. Last

but not least, it encourages the restoration of African languages, which enables us to understand as well as formulate policies that directly impact the targeted society; and reduce the gap between the academic elite and the society at large (Jacobs and Callard, 2002:130).

African Renaissance like its predecessor has two enemies i.e. the enemy within and foreign elements. First, as Mbeki in his speech in 1998 at SABC, Gallagher Estate explains

Africa cannot renew herself where its upper echelons are a mere parasite on the rest of society, enjoying as self – endowed mandate to use their political power and define the uses such power such that its exercise ensures that our continent reproduces itself as the periphery of world economy, poor, underdeveloped and incapable of development. (Mbeki, 1998)

African Renaissance, as a movement, calls to fight such elements and eradicate them for the sake of a better Africa. Most of the causes for the protracted conflicts and policies in Africa are nonsensical; results of corrupt leaders that only aim to fill their thirst of power and belly. As long as such leaders hold on to the power apparatus in African 'state' the road to Renaissance will be difficult. Today, the world's dominant strategy to benefit out of globalization is regionalism. Improvement in leadership could play a major role in facilitating the fragmented African states and regions toward integration. Associated with corrupt leaders are the foreign elements that struggle to crush a revolutionary and progressive force to keep Africa underdeveloped.

Furthermore, African Renaissance aims at developing a worldview that can rescue humanity as a whole from the Western "barbarism that masquerades as civilization" (Jacobs and Collard, 2002:128). This is one of the main reasons for African Renaissance search for home grown (developed in Africa) view and paradigm. The world today has potential of self annihilation. First, because of large presence of nuclear weapons, which are the result of a policy of security dilemma; secondly the excessive economic competition threaten indirectly or directly the existence of various species including

humans in different parts of the world. Africa, according to African Renaissance, has a historic responsibility to provide an alternative paradigm that can uplift humanity as a whole. In addition, African Renaissance calls on the African Diaspora “to come together again” for the sake of Africa at this time in history to address the “problem of . . . poverty, underdevelopment and marginalization together to search for ways and means by which to confront these problems” (Murithi, 2005:33). Likewise, African Renaissance advise Africans not to compete and fight each other, rather Africans should identify “who and what their enemies are” and fight together against them there of.

African Renaissance is an incipient ideology. The rise of this new ideology or reform is the result of both external and internal phenomena. Internally, the slow or rather retarding economic growth; widespread and protracted conflicts rampant corruption and absence of vision that led for the emergence of African Renaissance. The external factors include marginalization, alienation, dependency... which required a unified front to overcome. There are various criticism leveled against African Renaissance. These allegations and controversies are described in the next section.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1. Pan-Africanism

Pan- Africanism is a 21st century political “phenomenon with nineteenth-century roots and precursors” (Keep, 424). The “roots of the forces” that produced Pan-Africanism are linked to ‘revolt [s] by people of [African and African descent across the world] against . . . [the] influence of the colonial, semi-colonial or para-colonial situations” (Legum, 1963:21). In other words, the emergence of Pan-African movement, in organized manner, in 1900 was a cumulative result of the discontent of African people against the white man’s rule-slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism etc.

Pan-Africanism is a dynamic movement 'that developed on different planes of varying significance' (Keep, 1974:4). During its 'transplantation' in 1958 in Africa, Pan-Africanism had encompasses the following major themes as Legum enumerated:

- *Africa for the Africans: complete independence of the whole of Africa. Total rejection of colonialism in all its forms, including white domination.*
- *United States of Africa: the ideal of a wholly unified continent through a series of inter-linking regional federations within which there would be a limitation on nation sovereignty.*
- *African renaissance of moral and culture: a quest for the 'African personality'; a determination to recast its own past what is valuable and desirable, and marrying it to modern ideas. Modernism is heavily accentuated.*
- *African regeneration of economic enterprise to replace colonial economic methods .*
- *African nationalism to replace the tribalism of the past: a concept of African loyalty wider than 'the nation' to transcend tribal and territorial affiliation.*
- *Solidarity of black people everywhere, and a fraternal alliance of colored peoples based on a mutual history of struggle against white domination and colonialism*
- *Positive neutrality non-involvement as partition in power politics, but 'neutral in nothing that affects African interests' . . . (Legum, 1963:38-39).*

Currently, Pan-Africanism is mainly associated with the development of Africa and its unity. It 'is reacting realistically . . . to Africa's fundamental problems: its disunity . . . , a plethora of unviable states . . .' (Legume: 130), overdependence, neo-colonialism, conflicts etc. The Pan-Africanism motto has always been 'Africa for Africans' and 'Unity represents the pinnacle of [its] aspirations' (Ackah:17). Pan-Africanism propagates two compatible and consecutive forms of unity. First and for most Pan-Africanism believes that the unification of Africa would strengthen the African effort in abating 'the problems of neo colonialism and dependency on Europe and the US . . .' (ibid:18). In addition, as K. Mathews articulated the Pan-African Unity "can remedy the effects of colonialism, alienation and marginalization' (Mathews :) as well as enable Africans 'to control their own destinies' on their own hands (Achah: 18). Secondly, the Pan-African unity embodies "the wider ideal of universal black brotherhood, with Africa being the home for the hearts of all those Africans and people of African descent that are scattered across the globe". This forms of unity considerers the political and economic

integration of Africa as a prelude for 'the social and cultural unity which is the complete African experience'. (ibid: 18).

The Pan-African vision of Africa is indeed a grand and noble vision; but it seems a 'utopian' vision when one observes the contemporary realities of Africa. Despite, the Pan-Africanism triumph over colonialism and apartheid as well as huge expectation that followed Africa is in trouble situation today facing numerous problems. Africa is facing the problem of 'underdevelopment, low rates of economic growth, declining rates of food production, high rates of population growth, unmanageable debt burden, devastating drought and famine, AIDS, corruption, growing ethnic conflicts, violence and wars resulting in unmanageable refugee crisis, militarization; starvation and death' (Mathews, 1998:147). There are a number of internal and external factors responsible for the shameful African condition. But, critics argue as a leading concept in Africa Pan-Africanism and Pan-Africanists also share responsibility for the present African condition'.

Most of the literatures on criticisms of Pan-Africanism revolve around the following major themes.

a) An Eclectic Movement.

Critics of Pan-Africanism argue one of the causes for its failure in post-colonial Africa is the absence of cooperation among the Pan-African elites. This eclectic nature of Pan-Africanism brought it weakness in directing the development agenda of Africa during the early years of independence. For instance, the Nkrumah's desire to see a powerful and prospers Africa like the West through the mechanism of the East was not accepted by the majority of the then African leaders. Keep claims as a result Nkrumah became more and more isolated in Africa . . . He was suspected of trying to "promote unification of Africa by subversive means. . ." (Keep: 421-422). Similarly, the *Ujama* or African socialism of Nyerer, also not widely

accepted. Thus, critics argue the failure of the Pan-African forces to bring their ideas together resulted in the difficulty of defining the concept as well as its weakness; letting Africa an easy prey for outside ideological dependency.

Even if, there was/is division among Pan-Africanist on different areas, the ultimate aim of all Pan-Africanists is the same and one i.e. to see Africa United and developed. Thus, Pan-Africanism must be seen as an African world view, form where we would see the emergence of various theories, paradigms, laws and disciples. Pan-Africanism is still young in regard to establishing a development agenda, because the continent was liberated recently and joined a world, which increasingly become unfavorable to hasten the development of a large Pan-African group that share common strategies of building the future of Africa.

b) Outside Influence

Critics of Pan-Africanism limit the movement as “more of anti-colonial rallying program than a plan for post independent” African politics (Hendrson, 93). The critics state the Pan-Africanists’ wider reliance on Eurocentric views such as socialism, capitalism. . . and the absence of African-centered well developed thinking as the main weakness in the struggle to achieve African Unity.

Frantz Fanon the prominent advocator of Pan-Africanism warns as ‘not to imitate Europe’ and calls for Pan- Africanists’ ‘to combine our [Pan-Africans] muscles and our brains in a new direction’ (Fanon, 1963:313). Because, as he continue to explain in his book ‘The Wretched of the Earth’ analogically

Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster, in which the taints, the sickness, and the inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimension. (ibid)



Fanon's advice will save the world from creating a 'third monster' and might help for the creation of a better world. In addition, so far the attempt to emulate the white man in Africa is a failure at large; 50 years of experience shows in this direction, brought nothing but destruction for Africa. In other words, Africa had never benefited from ideologies that come from the West either you call it Mercantilist, Keynesian, Liberal or neo-liberal. This is why we see different attempts by Africans to developed African centered world thinking such as Kimira under Afrocenterism; Afrokology under African Renaissance.

c) Weak Ideology

As critics claim the fact that Pan-Africanism arose out of the struggle against slavery and colonialism made it fundamentally weak. The notion indicates Pan-Africanism was developed out of negative factors i.e. against colonialism and neo-colonialism. This negativity, according to the critics, also 'redirect toward the rival ethnic groups, the rival nations and the different tribes and . . .' intensifying the conflict trend in the continent (Ackach: 28) after the 'white man myth' is removed.

Pan-Africanism is 'today is in a weak position as an ideological force to transform the African continent' in the right direction (ibid). But, Pan-Africansim seems the only hope for Africa. Critics often fail short in providing alternative paradigm for Africa.

d) Exclusive club for the Elite

According to Keep, Pan-Africansim is only the "the reaction of the most advanced, most intensively Europeanized Africans and Afro-Americans to contact with the modern world" (Keep: 5), which has a limited connection with the African society. Particularly after independence become a concern of tiny, Africans. Therefore, it hardly addresses the concern of the majority,

which made it unsuccessful after independence, in leading Africa toward development.

Pan-Africanism needs to breakdown its themes and made itself a concern of the masses. But, as it's seen in history change is the result of a committed minority, not mass mobilization at large. Pan-Africanism after independence became an exclusive club "between the heads of states or that of the intellectual and Western educated elite held together by their common inheritance of European languages . . . organization of knowledge and conceptualization of reality" (Thiong'o, 2005:162). Society's inclusion will not be easy considering the literacy rate and other backward communication, but it would help to achieve the Pan-African objective enormously.

In addition, since independence the decision to integrate or not is almost always is controlled and dominated by the power controlling elite. This as critics surmise is the main cause for the delay of unification.

e) Racism

Pan-Africanism is a movement begins in the Caribbean and the US. Its inception is linked with the suffering of the African across the globe. Based on this, critics postulate that Pan-Africanism is nothing but a racist movement to avenge over the white supremacist.

Nevertheless, racism seem the one main thing Pan-Africanism stands to eradicate. Pan-Africanism on one hand engaged in "exposing the falseness of the absurd doctrines of European racial superiority, which denied them [Africans] their dignity as human beings and any chance to attain equal rights" (Keep: 426). It as worldview aims to enhance humanity as a whole, far from racism.

Pan-Africanism in general as Murthi explains propagates “the unity solidarity and cooperation of African peoples and Afro-descendants so as to take their destiny in their own hands and overcome the yoke of oppression and exploitation” (Murthi:35). Pan-Africanism was successful in organizing various summit and debate since it came to Africa in 1958. It is also responsible for the emergence of various regional economic groups, aimed to facilitate the different African nation toward unification. Pan-Africanism more importantly was the main force for freeing Africans from colonialism, and giving purpose for the people who had been ‘removed from history’ for decades. In addition, it contributed for the establishment of a solid link between Africans in the continent and Diaspora. Moreover, it helped in the betterment of the African-decent across the world.

Be that as it may, the struggle is not over, yet. Pan-Africanism is now fighting to establish unity and uplift the African condition in general. This struggle is not an easy one, I believe so did the struggle against colonialism or racism. Despite the various challenges and pessimism, Pan-Africanism is still the only concept that can cut across linguist, ethnic, religious or regional barriers in Africa. Africa must tame its intellectuals in directing the Pan-African goals according to the contemporary demands of Africans.

2.2.2. African Renaissance

The former South African President Nelson Mandela at the 1994 OAU summit Tunisia used the term African Renaissance for the first time. However, the incipient African Renaissance is considered by most as a brainchild of his successor President Thabo Mbeki of the Republic of South Africa. His speech, “I am an African” in 1996 marked the emergence of a new version of continental movement (Nabudere 2006, 11).

As a new developing ideology the literature available on the topic of African Renaissance is relatively limited. However, the researcher attempts to



survey and analyze the nature and criticisms of African Renaissance. The African Renaissance is a call, a vision, a psychological, philosophical and political movement. African Renaissance is a call made by South Africa to African states to involve in, according to Mbeki, "African development and renewal and to end the marginalization of our continent [Africa] in the world affairs and development process" (Mbeki 1998). This call is also aimed at developing a popular movement for that will mobilize responsible citizens, political organizations and governments in all African countries.

According to H.E. Hage G. Geingob, the former Prime Minister of Namibia, African Renaissance is more of a vision that will contribute "towards a better understanding of what we (African) are striving for" (Geingob, 1999). In his interpretation African Renaissance is "a vision for African that by the year 2025, it becomes a continent in harmony with itself and with the world, where every person has an opportunity to achieve his potential to the fullest in an environment of peace and security, where every citizens of every country is guaranteed human rights, and is assured of basic means of survival, self- respect and fulfillment". In addition, the prime Minister strongly recommends other African states to set their own vision of the African Renaissance (ibid).

On the other hand, the former president of Haiti, Jean Bertrand Aristide and many others stressed on psychological aspects of renaissance as being crucial. Aristide elaborates in his articles the psychological Renaissance as:-

An important first step to an African Renaissance, psychological renaissance can raise among all of us, our level of self-awareness and historical awareness. Both in Africa and throughout the African Diaspora, we (Africans) must be more and more awake-conscious of our environment, of all changes taking place. processing information, using our brain (Aristide 2006,165).

As a philosophical movement, African Renaissance has become Afroecology for Wadada Nabudere. In his article "Towards an Afroecology of Knowledge Production and Regeneration", he claims that African Renaissance

“encompasses the philosophical, epistemological and methodological issues all seen as part of the process of creating an African self understanding that can place Africa in today’s global world, and in which it is recognized as a full partner and forebear of much of the human heritage” (2006:7).

Nabudere calls Africans scholars to engage in “knowledge production” that can restate African identity, dignity and culture; to the extent of developing an alternative paradigm against the Eurocentric view of the world (ibid P.11).

Last but not least, African Renaissance is a political movement geared towards reducing the dependency, marginalization, violence, elitism, corruption and poverty that appears to haunt Africa, and amend this African Condition to a better end (Becker 2004), through a united front.

African Renaissance seems to encompass a wide range of fields that include psychology, history, anthropology, philosophy, sociology and economics. These studies about Africa with the present favorable conditions that exist within and outside Africa might help in facilitating the way for African Renaissance.

The struggle for the liberation of Africa is not unique for African Renaissance. Such a movement (struggle) has been propagated by Pan – Africanism in Africa and the Diaspora. It seems, however, relatively African Renaissance has the potential to realize the fulfillment of long dreamt goal. This is because African Renaissance has learned from the pervious movements. The other reason is that changes in the present international arrangement seem to favor Africa more. Let us analyze the contemporary conditions that appear to support African Renaissance. First and for most, Africa is finally able to get rid off its colonial past with the demise of apartheid in 1994. The end of apartheid not only brought the black majority

to equal terms and power in South Africa, but also contributed for the relative peace, economic cooperation in the neighboring region and the rest of Africa. (Mbeki Speech Oct. 1999)

The end of South Africa's isolation from the rest of Africa is a very important event. South Africa is a huge economic power, for instance in 1993 real GDP per capital of sub Saharan Africa has three times less than South Africa GDP (Muchie:45). This shows South African's potential as a successful leader in building a prosperous and stable Africa. In addition, South African's democratic achievement and Thabo Mbeki's engagement in the security situation of different African states can be seen as an important step that should be followed and supported by the rest of African states and politicians. This is one of the indications for the outside world that Africans can solve problems by themselves, (Mboya 2006, 81).

In relation to this, we see the emergence of "new breed of African leaders" with a Renaissance vision. Among these are Obassanjo of Nigeria, Museveni of Uganda, Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Libya's president Gaddafi can be mentioned at the forefront in the new movement for Africa revival. (Muchie, 2001)

The "New Dawn for Africa" speech by president Obasanjo and the Nigeria's embarking on a democratic truck hints at an optimism to the achievement of African Renaissance dreams. Museveni, President of Uganda, on his part proposed a Bantuphone Africa to replace the out dated Francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone Africa. In addition the president is the head of global Pan-African movement in Uganda (ibid, 49). Also Gaddafi's recent assertion about the significance of continental integration led to the debate on restructuring the continental organization in Sirte Summit, Libya (Mamo 2003, 47) and the formation of the African Union in 2002 at Durban, South Africa, with the aim of accelerating the continental integration program.

Furthermore, at institutional level the African states signed the Abuja Treaty in 1991 aiming to develop cooperation through economic means. This treaty with all its drawbacks can be seen as a step towards the bigger African Unity, in the hope of standing together against continued foreign exploitation, a sharing of responsibilities and achieving continental integration (ibid, 49).

The second significant difference brought about by time factor is the presence of relatively large number of scholars and a wider consensus among Africans about the exploitative nature of neo-colonialism. As a result, most Africans now understand that a common front and unity with fellow Africans is the only option to eradicate dependency and continued exploitation.

Thirdly, the on-gong globalization poses a tremendous threat for small nations in Africa. Thus, Africa should adjust itself by establishing a practical continental organization that enables to compete with organizations like – EU or the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) or the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) to manipulate the global contemporary trends on its side. Africa must learn its lesson from history that one of the major causes that made the continent an easy prey for colonialism and neocolonialism was its disintegration and failure to stand as a unified force. Similarly most scholars argue and fear that most of African countries would be excluded or will be on the losing side in the present trend of globalization. This common threat can be reversed only through continental unity. African Renaissance, to this end can be used as a call to “rebellion against the neo – colonial masters and their agents, globalization, Multinational Corporation, and international financial institution (IMF, WB...) (Mangu, 2006: 149).

Fourth the end of the Cold War brought the weakening of the ideological conflict between the superpowers US and USSR. The post – Cold War era provides a wider alternative partners for Africa to pick. The emergence of economic giants like China and India can be seen as potential candidates for this. According to Ali Mazrui the diversification of global partners can enable to reduce dependency i.e., one of the most difficult challenges for Africa's development that needs to be tackled. African Renaissance as a call and movement has provided optimism about the future of Africa. Nevertheless, there are many who doubt African Renaissance's potential in attaining its goals. The skeptics, even, labeled Mbeki's several speeches on the topic, as mere rhetoric used to make ANC win the national election only (Beker, 2004). There are also other criticisms from Africa and from abroad about the feasibility of the African Renaissance.

The criticism on African Renaissance starts from its name 'Renaissance'. They argue that the word as having a backward looking strategy, but as the advocates of Renaissance argue it has been selected "intentionally, to denote an outburst of mental energy aimed at promoting a spirit of awakening in Africa in the 21th century" (Jacobs and Callard, 2002:125). The critics ask without a birth at the first place how can there be a rebirth, challenging the meaning of renaissance and its compatibility, and deny Africa's contribution to the world civilization. In other words they surmise Africa has played no significant role for the development of the world civilization. Such ideas about Africa are rejected especially after Cheika Anta Diop's, Origin of African Civilization: Myths or Reality, was published in mid 1970s, which scientifically proved that the Ancient Egyptian civilization as a black civilization and its link with the rest of Africa. Besides, monuments, other archeological findings and universities (ancient) are living evidence for the presence of a remarkable civilization in the continent before the white man's interruption. The other criticism associated with the word 'Renaissance' in reflecting African philosophy is the word is already famous

in indicating the 15th to 16th century European history i.e. Europe's advancement in science and technology, . . . exploration that led to the colonization of Africa. But as Dr. Mulemto explains Mbeki "borrowed the word Renaissance in his search for socio-economic and political emancipation of Africa" (Mulemto: 40).

African Renaissance is spearheaded by South Africa, a country which got liberated in 1994, and has a huge economy compared to any other African region. Some critics see this as a threat to the rest of Africa for several reasons. First South African's huge economy and its expansion to the rest of Africa threaten indigenous economies in states like Zimbabwe. There is a growing suspicion about the concept of "what is good for South Africa is good for Africa". Besides, South Africa's leaders firmly believe in globalization world economy will make African Renaissance dependent on 'decidedly northern understanding of development and progress'. African Renaissance must be targeted in a way that would help Africans to overcome its developmental impediments. In addition the market solutions appears to only exacerbate not ease "political and economic tensions" in most African states by marginalizing large sections of the population and widening the gap between the haves and the have nots. Secondly, after observing the relation between US or West and South Africa critics argue African Renaissance as "no more than an effort to secure non African interest (particularly Western) on the African continent". (Jacobs and Callord: 131-134). In order to make the vision of African Renaissance a reality South Africa must look more toward Africa and African values. Similarly, South Africa and the rest of Africa should debate renaissance across the continent, in this manner it will not be a monopoly of a single country or made in South Africa, rather it become the 'product of Africa' as a whole (ibid).



Several of the criticisms on African Renaissance revolve around Thabo Mbeki, ANC and South Africa's role. According to Dani Waddada Nabudere, Mbeki's assertion of African unity via Renaissance is to respond to ANC's racial questions; changing the African National Congress image as non-racial organization by giving it a Pan-Africanist outlook (Nabudere 2006, 11). Nabudere also considered the call to African Renaissance as rhetorical to disguised and preserve the privileged position of white minorities and Indians over the black majority, with a few black bourgeois joining the "empowered" club. (ibid:12).

Grant Farred claims African Renaissance as "an evocative, modernist, nostalgic politics". Thus, he fears it might clash with the postmodern society and US global hegemony. In addition, he thinks the call is using Europeans as its touchstone for measuring the African progress and placing a time limit for the African modernization by relating it to the European Renaissance and age of Exploration. However, modernization as he claims is a "timeless and eternal" process. Some Orientals see the call for African Renaissance as a way to establish a new form of continental colonialism by South Africa i.e. "Pax-Praetoriana". They surmise South Africa as having a grand desire to use its economic and political power to colonize the rest of Africa (Beker, 2004).

The critics of African Renaissance also reduce the call/ movement as a 'misnomer' a mere rhetoric form of 'Africanist utopianism.' This perception of African Renaissance rise out of the present economic, political and security realities of Africa (Beker, 2004). Hence it seems there is a general agreement on the significance of reviving the African personality among African Renaissance sympathizers.

African Renaissance is a source of inspiration for rebuilding Africa. Its fundamentals are similar with the continental organizations and Pan-

Africanism, that is why most of the challenges ahead to improve the African condition are similar. The purpose set by the movement will impact the hopelessness that surrounds the contemporary elite and reduces its flight to the developed world on one hand, and enable African policy makers to focus on long term substantial policies, rather than mere foreign aid oriented policy formation. African policy makers, politicians and intellectuals needs to engage in developing African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism accordingly; because well developed concepts and theories will reduce the challenges during implementation phases. So far African intellectuals are far behind the institutionalization progress of African unity ideal. This needs to be changed.

Currently, there is ongoing debate across Africa how to hasten the continental integration program in Africa; and if possible to establish the United States of Africa in the year 2015. Even if, this seems too ambitious, it clearly expresses the growing consensus and understanding of the significance of immediate integration for Africa. The next chapter explains the importance of continental unity.

CHAPTER THREE

SIGNIFICANCE AND DYNAMICS OF AFRICAN UNITY

INTRODUCTION

Since independence, "the necessity of continental integration as a goal in order to facilitate unity of action among African states has always been accepted by African states" (Elaigwu, 1982:132). In the early decades after independence, the main concern of African people and countries was to eradicate once and for all the colonialist and apartheid regimes, at the same time resist the forces of neo-colonialism. Though the former aspiration was accomplished successfully with the demise of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the later remains to be realized. Even if there is a general consensus about the viability of unification in tackling the developmental problems and alleviating the tradition of dependency, the way to achieve unity however, has been a moot point in Africa for a while.

Beginning from independence there are two antagonistic approaches to African unity. One as a "gradual process spread over a long period of time in which functional interaction among groups may led to an elaborate framework of unity" (ibid:143). The other, urges for immediate integration, and sees this as the only way out of dependency and poverty. However, there are also groups who do not believe [or doubt] the unity of Africa [ever] coming. This chapter discusses the significance and dynamics of unity and assesses the factors that promote and work against the unification agenda.

3.1 Significance of African unity

Unification of Africa provides various benefits for the people of Africa. To mention but a few: It facilitates economic and political progress at domestic and international level, provides peace and security for the region, it gives well defined identity for different societies which were separated as a result of colonial partition, gives solution for landlocked African countries, restores

dignity for the people of Africa and the Diaspora spread across the world and last but not least, it provides an alternative world view to rescue the world from the moral, political, security, economical, social and environmental deterioration.

3.1.1 Economic Significance

Africa is a backward continent, mainly due to its underdeveloped economy. Because Africa “inherited fragmented, retarded and virtually under developed economies” (Green and Seidman, 1968:343) from colonialism. A dynamic and rapid economic growth is essential for Africa as most scholars agree. This is only possible through continental economic integration. The 53 African countries have small size, limited natural resource in range, shortage of capital required to plant large-scale efficient industrial complex and “the inequalities imposed by their small economic size is limited in bargaining with foreign interests.” (ibid: 345)

Through continental economic integration, Africans have the potential to achieve a dynamic growth. Economic integration encourages the establishment of big firms for the production of suitable consumer items, which becomes “poles of growth for further productivity increase in agriculture and light industry” (ibid: 218). It is very difficult for almost all African individual states to put their limited capital “in a large scale efficient modern industrial complex” that has the power to set up a powerful regional pole of growth such as steel mill or petrochemical complex.

Continental economic integration would make Africa an attractive destination for investment. Integration would make it possible for the creation of a bigger market that can attract investors and foreign direct investment (FDI). This will be very important for many African regions, which were unable to attract expected amount of FDI despite their adoption of various capitalist policies such as privatization, liberalization etc. Thus,

the formation of economic integration will increase African competitiveness in attracting FDI and other benefits (Museveni: 12).

Africa can utilize, through continentally organized economic planning, its water resources like rivers, lakes . . . for hydro-electric power expansion, transport, irrigation, fishery etc effectively. This kind of cooperation could also reduce resource related conflicts, besides improving development in the region (Ajala: 326). The economic weakness of African countries is related to colonial exploitation that focused only in developing the imperialists (Nkrumah: 150). The amalgamation of Africa's "agricultural and mineral resources together with the joint use of major power and water supplies could create a significantly more effective natural resource base than the sum of resources divided among separate states" (Green and Seidman: 346). In addition, capital invested in large scale specialized interrelated industries will contribute for rapid ascending of productivity at limited cost.

Changing the African economic condition requires "a gigantic self help programs" that could create high productivity, which can only be possible through continental economic planning. Continental planning has the greater chance or power to distribute benefits across a wide region, than a common market which results in polarization of capital and creation of economic disparity in the region. It seems "only planned location of economic growth poles within a continental economic union can equalize the growth rates of individual states within the framework of rapid over all continental development." In other words "coordinated economic planning is an imperative for rapid, socially desirable growth. . ." (ibid: 219-221).

The fragile and small individual African countries will not show a substantial development, as we have seen in the last 50 years. However, through organized continental economic planning, Africa could reconstruct

and develop its economy to attain its hopes, needs and demands of its peoples.

Economically unified Africa will have a much better potential to pressure global market to bargain for a better deal, than any individual African state. Economic unity will give Africa strong position in negotiation tables as well as setting prices in the global market. Most of Africans are dependent on agriculture; these sectors will be revolutionalized in a coordinated manner at continental level which will ensure food for all Africans. Unified Africa will consume, what is largely internally produced. The economic integration will enable Africa to function largely on demands driven by domestic realities not by outside forces.

Africa has been pressured in different historical times to be a subservient to the capitalist world. Even today IMF, World Bank, WTO and so called donor states urge African countries to produce primary products for export, and import food from outside. This resulted in economic decay and food shortages. As Shaw asserts, the shortage of food in Africa is the result of the continents' wrong incorporation in the international trade system, not the result of increased population or environmental hazards (Shaw, 1982:4). Hence, Africa can tackle such challenges by increasing intra-African trade through continentally coordinated economic planning.

Be that as it may, as Nkrumah asserts, economic progress and unity can only be effective and efficient if "we are united politically" (Nkrumah: 167). In fact, most of the time it is difficult to distinguish politics from economics in African context, therefore,

What is essential is to create an irreversible dynamic towards continental economic unity within the framework of political union; to make the welfare of the African people—not of foreign interests or a limited African elite truly dominant in economic policy and structure; and to create the coordinated national and continental planning mechanisms technically essential to rapid, socially desirable economic reconstruction and development. (Green and Seidman: 27)



African countries should set up a political union to hasten economic integration and achieve real economic liberation and a better living standard. Political and economic integration “processes should be parallel and mutually supporting”, because unless the mandate of political unity is widened, the organizational framework for planned economic integration can not be established.

3.1.2 Political Significance

“Africa should unite or die” this is a comment made by president Gadaffi of Libya prior to the 9th Ordinary AU summit at Accra, Ghana that exclusively focused on the “proposal on the establishment of the United States of Africa” which shows how significant continental integration is for Africa. The unification of Africa is vital economically and politically because as Nkrumah indicated African countries are “too weak, too poor, and too politically vulnerable to serve the needs of their people.” The individual African countries have neither the economic nor the political power to influence the global capitalist market or power. However, a politically unified Africa could play a major role in combating various foreign threats and overcoming its developmental impediments.

Political unification would give Africa a better bargaining power. It is becoming very difficult in the current international environment for many small African countries to gain a fair deal while negotiating with bigger economic powers like US or EU. As Museveni explains, a small African country like Uganda can only be “engaged in supplication, petition . . . rather than negotiation”. As he further indicated negotiation means having mutual threatening power like “if you will not do this for me I will not do that for you”. However, the small African countries are only capable of saying “please kindly consider doing this or that for me”. This is hardly negotiation. But a United States of Africa can provide true negotiation power to all African states and its people.

A united Africa will provide better peace and security for the conflict-ridden continent. The main problems to peace and security in Africa are border conflicts, violence, ethnic confrontations, civil wars and government failures. Most of African countries are too weak to provide peace and security and are becoming more and more "banana republics" (Chimutengwenda, 2003:84). A unified Africa will have a strong military that can combat anti-peace elements. The problems related to boundaries and ethnicities are consequences of colonialism. At dawn of independence colonial powers deliberately fragmented Africa into pieces. The inheritance of these boundaries is well described by Prah, "the gross artificiality and conceptual arbitrates of the post-colonial state created new Africa without history, truncated cultures, and pure creatures of the imagination and interests of the Western powers" (Prah, 2003:17). Thus, as Chimutengweds, strongly asserts "Africa either unites or perishes and there is no other choice" (Chimutengweds: 85).

The other source of conflict in Africa is elite manipulated ethnicism and irredentist claims, which resulted in protracted conflicts that lasted for decades such as in Sudan, Ethiopia, Congo/Kinshasa, Somalia, and Central African Republic etc. Societies in different parts of Africa are partitioned as a result of colonial borders, but nationalist leaders widen the gap by accepting these boundaries, causing instability and conflict. Political unification will provide a common purpose and goal to societies which have been manipulated to wage war against their brothers rather than to feed their children. Through political unity all people of Africa will adopt African identity. Africa experienced 186 coups and 26 major wars in the last 50 years (ROPE, 2005:709). These wars and political limbos resulted in the lose of millions of precious lives and squandered desperately needed resources in military expenditures. These unnecessary political confrontations must

come to an end. Unification can create common identity and can provide the means to halt such disastrous military politics within the region.

Moreover for economic planning at continental level to be successful, there should be a parallel political authority responsible at continental level to regulate governments, formulate broad policies and supervise their implementation thoroughly. In other words economic union requires a permanent political structure.

Political unification, apart from creating a bigger domestic market and making use of more resources, would create a better developmental atmosphere for land locked countries. Political integration is essential "to co-ordinate all the existing economic, agricultural, mineral and financial resources and employ them methodically so as to improve the over all surpluses, to assist a wider capital development" (Nkrumah: 168).

3.1.3 Military Significance

Political unity would "command more defense potential to guard African interests against encroachment by foreigners" (Museveni: 14). The current African states' defense ability is limited. It is very difficult for many small African countries to command different army organizations such as land, air, naval, space . . . Many African countries hardly control every part of their territory. States like Somalia can be seen as good examples of failed states. Others are starting to rely on private military companies for their security demands. In addition, the heavy military presence of the US and France in different parts of Africa indicate the continent's vulnerability and put into question the sovereignty of African countries.

Even if African governments' military expense appears staggering relative to their overall expenditure; when compared to the rest of the world regions it seem negligible. Africa currently does not guarantee its security, This

limited Africa's influence and credibility in the international area. In the era of space technology and space defense strategies individual African countries capacity to meet its security demand is unattainable.

Nevertheless, a united Africa will have a cumulative capital or skill to acquire and uplift its military standards. In addition, a united Africa can produce better trained and equipped soldiers with a sound salary which reduces military mutiny as well as abolish military intervention in African politics. Thus, the unification of Africa would significantly contribute in enhancing the military capacity of Africa as well as defending African interests besides guarantying peace and security.

3.1.4 Cultural Significance

African people share a common history and have "linguistic and cultural homogeneities going back to centuries". For example, the Luo language is spoken by the Nilotic people living in Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Zaire. In the Sudan alone it is spoken by the Dinkas, Shilluk, Nuer and Achoils; in Uganda by the Alurs, Achoils, Langi and Jopadholas. Around 200 million people speak in central, Eastern and Southern Africa Bantu languages. In addition Swahilli and Arabic are spoken by millions of Africans in different countries (Muserveni: 16). This explains that "the myth that Africa is peopled by disparate tribes with incurable tribal differences is an invention of the colonialists that is amplified by the African reactionories" (ibid). A united Africa would revive the lost African "one-ness" realizing the already existing "emotional unity".

Political integration would bring societies, isolated forcefully by colonial powers and post independent regimes, together. Many different cultures also cut across different societies. Cheikh Anta Diop showed in detail various similarities that existed among African societies from Sudan to South Africa and Senegal affirming African's "one-ness". Such cultural

revival will reduce conflict between tribes. African Renaissance desires to “find the genuine African cultural path”.

According to Mazrui “Africans are in a state of heavy cultural dependency; and because . . . of that they are more infiltrated [by foreign powers]” (Mazrui, 1977:292). Replacing this situation requires a strong commitment and a united front. The African cultural regeneration will help set Africa’s own development agenda avoiding the aim to emulate others. Molefi Kete Asante depicts Africa as “one cultural river with numerous tributaries characterized by their specific responses to history and the environment” (Molefi Kete Asante and Kariamuwelsh Asante, 1985: ix). Culture is important particularly to revive the African dignity, which is often looked down because of Western negative portrayal of Africans. The African cultural unity can be built on “the belief that people of African descent share a common experience, struggle, and origin” (Molefi kete Asant: 4).

3.1.5 Global Significance

A “United States of Africa” that is capable of feeding and defending itself will enhance humanity as a whole. Besides, the world at large is suffering from arms race, nuclear threat, conflicts, environmental hazard etc. Henceforth, a United Africa could provide a pragmatic alternative paradigm to change the contemporary international situation for the better. A United Africa will give suppressed societies across the world a voice in the international forums and a refuge for marginalized people. A united Africa will also create a balance in the international scene.

Both African Renaissance and Pan-Africanism emphasize on understanding the various cultures of the societies of Africa in a new perspective to produce trends that can strengthen the unity of African people as well as helping in solving regional, continental and global challenges of Africans. The unification of African countries will put Africa and her people in a better

position economically as well as politically in domestic and international affairs. The integration of small and weak African entities will have the potential to provide lasting peace and sustainable development. Despite the presence of wider consensus and contemporary challenges, Africa has not seen a progressive move toward unity so far. The contemporary continental and international conditions also call for African unity.

3.1.6 The Need for African Unity

The urge for African unity emanated from the contemporary African condition and increasingly regionalizing and competitive international environment. These factors enhanced the significance of continental integration for Africa enormously. Africa should adopt a unified front to amend its shameful condition. Continental unity is today more of a necessity than a choice for Africa.

African Condition

Africa today has a population of over 800 million, around 13% of the global population. But it contributes only one percent of the world GNP and produces one percent of the world's manufactured goods. Only one of three children goes to primary school, and one out of eight children is severely disabled, over a third of the total children population is malnourished, one in every six children dies before age of five i.e. more than four million children die every year before the age of five. The continent is known for the highest mortality rate in the world at 108 per 1000 compared to world average which is around 63 per 1000, and developed world's 12 per 1000. Similarly, life expectancy is around 47, where in some countries like Zambia it has plummeted to 32 years. (Chimutengwenda, 2003:89)

3.1 million people have died of AIDS around the world, 70 percent of them lived Africa. Half the African of population have no access to health service. Over one third of skilled manpower flees to outside world in search of better

salary. Africa is also losing around three million hectares of fertile land every year because of expansion due to desertification and deforestation; in around relation three-fourth of arable land is affected by erosion. Unemployment in most African countries is between 40-80 percent (Ibid). These situations are aggravated because of economic dependency and poor African political strategies. Hence, a united African front is the only option to combat these horrifying realities.

The last two decades are known as a 'lost development decades' in Africa. In these years, poverty increased and growth slowed. At the start of this century around half of the population (400 million) lived in poverty (Wasika). There are estimated 34.3 million people infected with HIV/AIDS in the world, out of these 24.5 million of them are found in Sub-Sahara Africa (Cheru, 2000:6). Africa's terms of trade also declined with the decrease in the price of commodities in the international level. African states have limited power in regulating the price of their products and are often referred as "price takers" not "price makers." In 1996, 41 countries were labeled, according to World Bank and IMF, as heavily indebted poor countries incapable of repaying their debts; out of these, 32 are from Sub-Sahara Africa. (Boafo - Artur, 2000;134).

Today's African countries are products of colonial 'fabrication'. Most scholars assert that the present African boundaries are the outcome of the 1884/85 Berlin Conference - where the different colonial powers (England, France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Belgium and Italy) set to partition 'the hot cake' without any bloodshed. Nevertheless, the manner in which the colonialist partitioned Africa is debatable. Different scholars convey the partition of Africa as one of deliberate handiwork of colonial powers to ensure their indirect domination and exploitation of Africa. This European 'excessive territorial fragmentation' made Africa the most fragmented continent in the world. The artificial colonial boundaries have several

negative impacts on political economy as well as socio-cultural dynamics of African people. They “interrupted the sovereignty of the network of indigenous Africans” (Ramustsidela, 2001: 92-95). These fake boundaries put a huge scar to inhibit lasting peace and economic progress in independent Africa.

The impetus for the unification of Africa was crushed mainly as a result of the fabricated colonial boundaries. Despite the presence of several Pan-Africanist leaders like Kwam Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Seku Toure . . . and a general consensus among many Africans (living in the continent as well as the Diaspora), Pan-Africanism, as a movement, has failed (Ackah). Most of the causes for the failure of integration directly or indirectly are connected to the colonial boundaries. The fragmented territories and ‘empty’ treasuries inherited, made African states very weak to support their development agenda and vulnerable for foreign intervention through the mechanism of aid, assistance or loans. In order to secure desperately needed foreign aid, most African states had been, many times, forced to compromise their domestic and foreign policy orientations. Likewise, most of the newly independent countries established partnerships with their former colonial masters – Francophone (French former colonies except Guinea plus France) and Commonwealth (British colonies Britain). These and other foreign institutions such as EEC/EU were and still are against African Unity.

The Cold War had better advantage for Africa than the post Cold War period either in terms of decision making in domestic affairs or status in the international arena. During the Cold War at least most African countries had the geopolitical strategic advantage that enabled them to choose or interplay between the big powers. US aggrandizement after the Cold War and the forces of globalization made Africa more dependent on outside world economically, technologically, militarily as well as ideologically. Much worse the ‘new world’ threatened Africa’s importance and survival in the global

political economic system. Most African countries, in order to secure aid and acceptance, are forced to heed and compel to the only superpower, its allies and their agents. As a result most African countries⁹ prepare foreign policies motivated by aid. As Akokapri indicated “development in the wake of unipolarism, including economic crises and the general development challenges (of Africa), have elevated the search for foreign aid as a critical driving force in foreign policy’ (Akokapri 2001:51).

In recent years the most widely observable conflict and violence frequent community riot, demonstration and plots that usually ended with bloodshed in urban centers of different African countries. Zimbabwe, Egypt, Guinea, Ethiopia now Nigeria etc provide ample examples for these atrocities. More often, these conflicts arise immediately after a competitive election, but conflicts organized along ethnic lines are not unusual. The protracted conflicts and failure of several development programs in Africa are the results of inherited colonial boundaries directly or indirectly. The ‘territorial trap’ set by the colonial powers helped to keep Africans busy. There is no such thing as a ‘natural boundary’. Hence, some scholars explain the colonial fabrications as “brutal political limbo worthy of reparation;” even go as far as suggesting redrawing (remapping) the whole continent “we should set down with square-rule and compass and redesign the boundaries of African nations in order to create ‘large and fewer state (Ramutidela). As Nkrumah strongly stressed in his book, *Africa Must Unite*, a unified front and a continental purpose seems the only plausible mechanism that will enable Africa to stand against the pressure of neo-colonialism. The presence of different groups within individual African countries and economic austerity hindered a progressive democracy that ensures peace and development. (Young, 1999)

Africa’s contemporary source of problems can be summed up in two categories. The first one is the enemy within, it seems the African elite is



suffering microscopic personality syndrome in which they usually spend a lot of energy and resource in parochial or personal interest totally neglecting the bigger picture. African leaders and policy makers must be focused to take care of the details to see the bigger picture i.e the ideal of African unity (they must understand that the pixels which make up the picture is meaningless when taken individually). The parochial and personal interests are keeping Africans disintegrated and are serving as instruments for outside exploiters. The Second source of problem is the west's stance not to include Africa in their political economic agenda in fair manner. The foreign powers should include Africa in the international political economy, because a prosperous Africa will have limited refugees and the end of suffering in Africa will uplift humanity as a whole, to the least.

3.2 Factors Promoting African Unity.

African integration should be based on geographical location; regardless of race, color, riches, ethnicity or religion. The unity of Africa could rely on a common African identity, consciousness and interest (Muchie, 2003:40). Based on these, African countries developed a case for the possibility of establishing a United States of Africa. The cases for unity arise from the African countries' shared values and common interests as well as their common historical heritages.

3.2.1 Historical Heritage

The struggle for African unity is a continuation of the struggle against human degradation, exploitation and barbarism. All Africans have suffered under colonialism and neo-colonialism. This fact triggered the first calls for integration. African unity is the expression of African people's desire never to be put into the shameful position Africans were once obliged to take. The struggle for African unity is necessitated by the historic reality that all African states have experienced slavery and colonialism.

3.2.2 Shared values

The origin of shared African values is related to African culture and societies and “from articulated commitments of African countries to meet the challenge of coping with historical legacies and current realities” (AU, study on An African Union Government towards the United States of Africa, 2007:6). The union of African states will be guided according to the following values that will limit the possibility of domination and discrimination of race, language, as well as religion. These values are

- Adherence to the rule of law
- Popular participation in governance
- Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
- Transparency in public policy making.

These shared African values are vital in “uniting Africa” and creating a common purpose through out the continent. Effective utilization of African indigenous values and modern skills “could devise a well thought out and creative strategies for the transformation of their social structures, political system and economic organization” to enhance integration and Africans’ development.

3.2.3 Common Interests

The common African interests are the product of the suffering the continent is in, which include over dependency, limited utilization of resources among others. Adherents of African unity consider this common interest as the main driving force for unity. Regardless of their differences, Africans “must unite” to overcome their developmental challenges and stand on their feet. Individual Africa states are finding it difficult even to secure food in the present condition. The opponents of unity fail to address any tangible strategy that can change the situation on the ground. In general “an all embracing common interest of the African continent is . . . to build its collective capability and capacity to act as a stakeholder and not an outsider

in world affairs, and to fully participate in shaping international norms and agenda” (AU:8).

3.3 The Case against African Unity

There are many factors that discourage the dream of African unity from ever materializing. Most of the critics of African unity focus on the continent’s natural, historical, socio-cultural and contemporary politico-economic situations in their surmises. These critics tend to advice African to focus on nation’s state building. These cases against African unity include nationalism, diversity, limited communication, ideological dependency, sparse population and poor economic system.

3.3.1 Nationalism

Critics of the ideal of African unity claim the establishment of nationalist regimes as a bonefide, which expressed the African’s disinterest in forging unity. They put nationalism as a main force that stand against unity, because, they explain, it is firmly established and enjoys a wide support in particular by the power controlling group. In addition, they advise African states to concentrate on nation state building rather than aspiring to form continental integration. But a closer look at the origin and nature of nationalism in Africa shows a different reality.

The origin of African nationalism was the anti-colonial struggles that “lacked deep historical roots and [which were] born out of a protest movement against European rules and exploitation; it represented also Africa’s claim to human dignity and the right to self-rule” (Tordoff, 1998:77). This makes the case of African nationalism unique compared to most parts of the world which developed based on ethnic affiliation, religious solidarity, common language etc. Even though nationalism was established in Africa after independence (Ochwado, 2005:195), it had nothing to say about the post

independent African societies. As Ackach puts it, "African nationalism had little to say about anything" (Ackach: 25)

The experience of the past half-century proved this type of nationalism as a main cause, based on politics and sociology, which made African states weak; because it is not a well developed or strong concept. The adherents of the ideal of African unity blame nationalists for the continuing poor conditions of Africa. They put several (causes) reasons as to how fraudulently the nationalism theme became the dominant theme in African politics after independence. First, it was established with the support of former colonial powers, because it is a system that provided former colonial powers a suitable environment to continue to exert their influence in their former colonies. To this day, most African states are dependent on their former colonizers for their economic, military or other needs. Second, the sympathizers of nationalism are those Africans who have been studying in colleges in their former colonizers' countries, brainwashed by the ideals of the West. For these scholars "the way forward is [only] via emulation of their colonial masters" (Ackach: 23). Third, it gave their first taste of power for the liberation leaders. Thus, as Tordoff cited from Huga Sector-Watso, for these nationalist leaders "if national consciousness, based on religion, language and deeply rooted historical mythologies were not available, then the agent of continuity could be the central power" (Tordoff:80). Based on this system Africa failed to achieve its ultimate goal i.e. development. Nationalism is losing ground in Africa. Nationalist leaders use Pan-African sentiments to rule their societies; because of the absence of any element that cut across different societies (Tordoff: 80). The current movements toward unity also indicate the decline of nationalist sentiment in African politics. According to Nyerere "African nationalism is meaningless, anachronistic and dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism" (Nyrere: 194).

3.3.2 Diversity

Africa is the second largest continent in the world with a population of more than 800 million. Africa is known for its diversity in ethnicity. Some of the diversity among Africans such as ethnic, religion, language and culture are considered by the critics of African unity as the barriers which are hard to overcome for any integration project.

a. Ethnicity

Africa is known for its ethnic diversity. Politicians' manipulations of this factor are responsible for creating disparity and conflicts among African societies. Ethnicism in countries like Congo, Sudan, Ethiopia and Chad are known to threaten the existence of state itself. The ethnic situation is aggravated mainly as a result of fake colonial boundaries that were established without recognizing the social, historical, cultural and economical experiences of the different tribal groups. Therefore, based on this critics claim that the African unification agenda as impractical.

b. Religion

Religion is one of the main catalysts for solidarity in different parts of the world. For example, Hinduism in India; Islam in Arabia and Christianity in the western world. However, Africa is a mosaic of different religions. Many African's communities believe in different spirits, . . .there are a number of religions in Africa including Islam and Christianity. The absence of such an important "unilateral religion" for solidarity will reduce, as critics argue, the feeling of "one-ness" among Africans. However, it seems that the critics misunderstand the call to unity, as the call to "identity". The call to African unity is not a call for "identity" or as Nyerere articulated 'A united Africa does not mean a uniform Africa' (Nyerere:117). So the African unity does not require a single religion. The example of the US is very important in this respect.

c. Language

There are two aspects of language raised as barrier for unity. First is the language diversity in Africa. There are more than 1000 languages in Africa today. The language diversity is especially prevalent in the region below the Sahara. According to critics of unity, because of such differences, unity will not be possible. They say it creates a communication problem and competition among the different languages will be intense. Second is the domination of western languages in Africa. As a result of the colonial languages' domination, the African elite lost connection with the people of Africa which forced them to lean to Western values. In addition, the domination of foreign languages such as English, French . . . employ the absence of "Africanness" and a society which has a confused identity.

EU's experience shows that the absence of a single language will not stop nations to enhance their integration program. In today's world, there are a number of economic, political, social . . . pressures that overwhelmingly urge for unity. The language "identity" has a limited significance in contemporary integration programs not only in Africa, but also in the rest of the world. In addition, as kimani Nehusi articulated " . . . the liberation and development of African languages is a central aspect of the project of Afrikan liberation, the construction of African unity and building the Afrika-nation" (Nehusi, 2003:209). Thus, contrary to the allegation, the African unity will have potential to revive African languages.

3.3.3 Ideological Dependency

The other case against the realization of unity in Africa is the absence of well developed home-grown (African-centered) ideology. Pan-Africanism in the post independence era failed, because, besides other reasons, it heavily relied on foreign ideologies such as socialism, capitalism etc . . . This explains the limited knowledge these so called African intellectuals and policy makers have about Africa. Without a proper vision as well as know-

how about Africa and its people an attempt toward integration is a vain dream or a utopian vision. Similarly, there is no proof whether an emulation of other integration processes will work in Africa or not. As critics argue, it seem a risky business, therefore African countries should concentrate on their nation building agenda.

The transformation of Pan-African movement or the call to African Renaissance to a certain consolidated ideology is a process. Africa has enjoyed freedom for a mere 50 years; which is a short much time to plan and record substantial progress in a world full of challenges. The transformation of African worldviews into a well developed ideologies and theories will not only result in the integration of Africa, but will also impact the global thinking in general. This will be possible however, through a united African effort only.

3.3.4 Poor Communication

Africa is a continent known for its limited and poor communication and transportation facilities. It is also known for its difficult landscapes such as equatorial rain forest or the Sahara Desert. These realities reduce the potential cooperation among African societies. The critics of the possibility of integration or African unity believe this fact will continue to hinder a possible integration program. Moreover, the technological backwardness of Africa will limit the continent's potential to develop a strong communication and transportation infrastructure capable of supporting the integration discourse. Building these facilites will be a great challenge for most poor African countries. But through organized economic planning and coordination, African countries can overcome both these natural and man made obstacles to the unification process.

3.3.5 Poor Economy

Africa is the poorest of the continents. There are several factors for Africa's economic backwardness. Some of these factors also contribute for the difficulty of integration in the present African standard such as:

a. Small population

Africa has sparse population. According to Museveni "small population, amidst plentiful natural resources, have no need for political integration." (Museveni, 2007:5). Thus, most of African people have no desire in conquering and advancing their market as a result.

b. Raw material export

Most African countries are dependent on a few primary products for export, usually similar types of products. Thus, the integration schemes will not produce expected internal circulation of capitals. It will continue to depend on foreign countries for its secondary, tertiary product needs. In addition most African countries produce similar type of products which limit a possible exchange between societies. Therefore, critics surmise the unification will have a difficulty.

c. Narrow Market

According to the critics, the African economy is very poor in capital and purchasing power. This will limit the development of strong integration. Besides, the enhancement of this purchasing power and market size requires skilled personnel, advanced science and technology: few of the expensive elements in today's world. The absence of these important elements reduces the significance of integration for Africa. Therefore, critics advise African states to focus on developing such elements initially in their individual sovereign boundaries. Because African states are "so poor and their economies so competitive that they have nothing to offer one another" (Ajala: 319).

Moreover, the absence of security, the issue of leadership and institutions are major areas the critics roam about when explaining why the African unity is impossible to achieve during this time in history. These and other issues are discussed in the last chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ATTEMPTS AT AFRICAN UNITY: OVERVIEW

Introduction

Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, as most scholars agree is the pioneer at proposing the idea for establishment of the “United States of Africa”, which became “the cardinal point of Pan-Africanism” (Ajala: 101). Henceforth, Africans in the continent and Diaspora are aspiring to achieve the unification of Africa. The struggle toward the formation of the ‘United States of Africa’ requires the institutionalization of the African unity idea. Thus, beginning from the late 19th century there have been several institutional progresses to transform the concept of African unity from a dream to a tangible reality.

The first institution in the institutionalization history of African unity idea is the Pan-African Congresses. The first Congress was the result of both the 1893 Chicago Congress on Africa and the London Congress that set up, in 1897, what is called the Pan-African Association (PAA) (Murthi, 2005:23). It was the PAA that pushed for the creation of the Pan African Movement (PAM), which is directly responsible for the formation of the Pan-African Congresses. The first Pan-African Congress (PAC) was held in London under the chairmanship of the Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams from Arouca in 1900 (Prah, 2003:27). There were several PAC meetings held in various parts of the world struggling mainly for the general enhancement of the living standards of the black people, up until 1945, through accommodationist strategies.

However, the PAC held in Manchester in 1945 became a benchmark in the transformation of the African strategies in dealing with the white man. This chapter deals with the attempts toward the institutionalization of African Unity. In doing so, it aims at indicating the struggle for unification of Africa as a living process, not a vain dream as many Afro-pessimists surmise.

4.1 Early years of Independence and African Unity

The 1945 Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, England under the chairmanship of W.B. Du Bois “was a point of departure in the quest for African nations to assert their will and desire for independence” (Murthi:20) as well as urge for the unity of African people against colonialism. However, the independence of Ghana in 1957 under Kwame Nkrumah moved the struggle for the independence and unity of Africa from the Northern Hemisphere to Africa. Ghana, the first black African country to secure independence, became a major player in the effort to establish the unification of Africa. Hence forth in the early years during independence the movement toward integration was consolidating.

4.1.1 From 1957 to 1962

The second half of the 20th century is a landmark in the history of Africa that witnessed the demise of colonialism. There were several factors that led to the eventual collapse of colonialism in this period. The revival of the African political awareness and consciousness that resulted in organized liberation movements, the decline of the colonial powers due to the Second World War, the emergence of new rival superpowers in the world i.e. US and USSR and their opposition to colonialism are worth mentioning. Besides, unlike the current relations, there were more solidarity and genuine fraternity among different liberation movements and African countries against the common enemy; their aim was mostly oriented toward Africa Unity. The movement ‘toward unity’, Wallerstein explains, “has been the most significant single African attempt to affect, in an important way, the rate and direction of social change” (Wallerstein, 1967: IX). The debate for African Unity was at its zenith during the late 1950s and early 1960s. These years were characterized by African states gaining independence in large numbers; formation of various groups and regroupings and a limbo on

African future and vision. More specifically, in 1956 Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia became independent. Egypt in the same year asserted her independence through the Suez Crisis. The following year Ghana became the first independent black African country. "Rassemblement Democratique Africa (RDA)", for the first time in French African community, demanded 'the right to independence' and declared itself as the Congress of Black Africa, at its Third Congress (Ibid:18). In 1960, which is known popularly as 'year of Africa', eighteen countries became independent, and up to 1963 i.e. the formation of Organization of African Union (OAU) around 32, African states became independent. In these years, liberation and unification were at the top of African political discourse

At organizational level, in 1957 Gamal Abdul Nasser, the president of Egypt, set up Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference (AAPSC). The objective of the conference was to connect African radical leaders with China and USSR to counter-balance the Western influence in Africa. Participants came from around nineteen different African countries. The main agenda of the conference was the Algerian and South African issues, but the case of non-independent African states and the incorporation of national movements were also debated. AAPSO came to an end in 1963 with the Sino-USSR dispute (Hoskyns, 1967:360). On 1958, April 27-30, the North African countries Morocco and Tunisia with the Algerian nationalist party Front de Liberation National (FLN), met at Tangier to form the consultative assembly of the Arab Magreb and agreed on "a federal form of unity of the three states," (Wallerstein:28). The French war on Algeria had negative impact on the supposed integration of Magreb countries (Hoskyns: 355).

In 1958 at Accra Ghana, the First Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) was held. This, as Ajala put, "marked the formal launching of the Pan African movement in African soil", which previously was mostly active in North America, the Caribbean and Europe (Ajala, 1974: 14). The

participants at the conference were Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and United Arab Republic (UAR) (ibid). CIAS was successful in setting the African Group i.e. 'a permanent machinery at UN for consultation on foreign policy' (Wallerstein: 27-30). The African Group was effective in gathering support around the world (Latin America, Scandinavia, and Asia) for the Algerian cause at the UN. The UN finally accepted the presence of 'war' in Algeria. In addition the group was the main force behind the formation of African economic committee at the UN i.e. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. CIAS also contributed for the formation of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) in 1958 (Hoskyns 362).

In East Africa "during the colonial era scarcely anything had been done to encourage contact between different groups" (ibid: 358). On November 17, 1958 in Mwanza, Tanganyika, the "representatives of national movements of five territories [were] able to meet" and set up the Pan-African Freedom Movements of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) (Wallerstein: 31), there were 21 political parties represented (Ajala, 1974:40). Most of the leaders of the movements had participated in the CIAS, at Accra. The main agreements of the PAFMECA were "to bring different nationalist movements into contact, to exchange ideas and harmonize policies and to provide a channel of mediation where necessary" (Hoskyns: 362) and to foster "the spirit of Pan-Africans in order to get rid [of] the East and Central African territories of imperialism . . ." (Ajala: 41). In 1962 the PAFMECA incorporated national movements from Southern Africa i.e. Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland and transformed itself to Pan-African Freedom movement of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA), with the aim of regional integration as a 'step toward the final objective of total African Unity' (Ajala :43). PAFMECSA served as important organ in transferring vital materials to Southern Africa nationalist movements. The

movement dissolved in 1963 with the formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) (Hoskyns 362).

However, the case in French Colonies was different. Guinea was the only state that voted "NO" in the Constitutional Referendum which asks African countries to stay in French community. Henceforth, Guinea declared its independence in September, 1958, in spite of France and her NATO allies' threat against her economy. Guinea survived. The man that came to the rescue was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. The two states after few meetings agreed to establish a Ghana-Guinea Union. The Union's main objective was "to build up a free and prosperous African community in the interest of its people and world peace" (Ajala: 20). The Union achieved three main significant objectives. First, it helped Guinea at a time of great difficulty that encouraged other French colonies to follow suit, which they did in large number after two years. Second, it broke the colonial lingual barrier and brought the French speaking Africa to African union agenda. Third, the open ended nature of the Union encouraged others to join. The Saniquelle, Liberia, Declaration on July 19, 1958 between Liberia and the Union was one example. The Union was dissolved in 1963 with the formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU).

In December, 1958 Ghana set up the All African Peoples' Conference (AAPC), where twenty-eight African states had participated, though only eight of them were independent, others were represented as political parties and trade unions. The conference also included South Africa (white) and Indians from East Africa. Guinea, the first independent country from French colonies, was present in the Conference. The AAPC's main concern was liberation. Mboya, the chairman from Kenya expressing the position of Africa said "the problem is not to know if we want independence, but how to get it" (Wallerstein :33). The objective of AAPC 'was to support and coordinate the nationalist struggles in the various parts of the continent'

(Tordoff, 1997: 276). The AAPO for the first time in large number brought nationalist parties into contact with independent states (Wallerstein: 34).

The conference adopted the following resolution

- *Endorse Pan-Africanism and the desire for unity among African peoples.*
- *Declare that its ultimate objective is the evolution of a common wealth of free African States.*
- *Call upon the independent states of Africa to lead the peoples of Africa toward the attainment of its objective and*
- *Express the hope that the day will dawn when the first loyalty of African states will be to an African Common wealth (Ajala: 19)*

In addition, the conference discussed about the use of violence in the liberation struggles, especially in relation to FLN.

The year 1960 was a year of celebration in Africa, because around 18 countries became independent; but it also marked the beginning of division among African countries concerning Unity. The divisive issues between African countries were the Congo/Kinshasa crisis, the Algerian liberation war against France, the Cameroon (UPC) liberation movement and the irredentist claim of Morocco over Mauritania. In 1960 there were already four Pan-Africanist or Unionist parties i.e. AAPSO, CIAS, PAFMECA and AAPC. In the same year, most of the organizations held their second round summits, which showed difference in ideology and implementation of continental integration among African states. For instance, at the Second AAPC, summit which was held in January at Tunis, Tunisia, (Ajala :24); Ghana's proposal for political union was not adopted (Wallerstein : 39), but the organization recommended "that all independent African states should recognize the provisional government of the Algerian Republic" (Ajala: 25). Besides the difference on various crises, there was a growing opposition to the Nkurmah's idea of political unification. The main proponents of gradual economic unity first were from French colonies and Nigeria. One of the cases that tarnished the relations between former French colonies and Pan-Africanists was the issue of Cameroon. There was Union des Population Cameroon (UPC), which used to receive support from APSO and AAPSO while fighting the French colonizers since 1955. But, in 1960 France

transferred the power to Ahidyó, a pro-France government, in Cameroon Republic. In June of the same year, CIAS's second conference there was a controversy over which party would represent Cameroon. Ghana and Guinea were reluctant to abandon the UPC, despite their reluctance at the end of the year both countries accepted the pro-France government (Hoskyns :377). In contempt UPC expressed

The situation is thus perfectly clear: in the months and years to come we shall see the birth of government which are called independent but are clearly directed by the imperialist. From then on, African solidarity will be more and more a sentiment in the service of imperialism, if as at Addis Ababa the truly independent governments seek unity at any price (Wallerstein: 40)

In addition, the absence of the new independent French speaking states after much expectation at Addis Ababa indicated their different ideology on Africa unity Nigeria, that sidelined with the group stated gradual integration is “. . . more acceptable for it is yet premature to form Union of states under one sovereignty”. For these states, economic cooperation must come first and they will not give up their sovereignty, as a result the issue of African Unity was polarized. Nevertheless, at Addis Ababa, CIAS agreed to support the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and admitted FLN. However, the subsequent Congo Crisis had widened the gap between Africans further. (ibid: 40-41)

In October, 1960 the French speaking African countries except Guinea, Mali, Togo, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria met at Abidjan, Ivory Coast. They expressed support to Kasavabu, the President of Congo, a man who ousted Lubumba and accused Ghana of subversion in different states. In December, the group met in Brazzaville, Congo, again which led for the formation of the so-called Brazzaville Groups, later named Union African et Malgache (UAM). The group officially supported Kasavabu, against Lubumba, Mauritania's 'prospective candidacy' for UN membership and restrained position for Algeria at the UN' (Wallerstein: 43). The group was

“unenthusiastic about Pan-Africanism” (integration of Africa) and had closer relations with the outside forces (Ajala: 28-29). UAM was a regional grouping for governments only. The first concern that led to the formation of the UAM was the fear of the countries that ‘unless they joined forces they would be unable to make any impact either in Africa or in international scene against the increasing critics. . . of African states”. Secondly, they want to remain loyal to France, and they needed such organization “to negotiate their position as regards France and EEC”. The group had shown neither any intention toward integration of Africa nor support for anti-colonial movements. It calls itself a defensive organization that aim to keep the status quo. The Brazzaville conference was a major blow for the Pan-Africanist movement in general. (Hoskyns: 364)

The Brazzaville Group and Nigeria’s stance for gradual unification of Africa was the main ideological barrier that led to the formation of antagonistic groups in the continent. One, supporting economic cooperation as a prelude or as a stepping-stone for progressive integration of the continent was supported by personalities like Felix Houphouet Biogny, Jomo Kenyatta, Leopold Senghor . . . ; Others such as Patric Lumumba, Kwam Nkurma, Seka Toure . . . strongly advocated the political unification of Africa as the first step to ‘promote socio economic development and of reducing dependence on the West (Martin, 1992: 69 and 72). Consequently, the impetus for continental integration dwindled; moreover, with the formation of another group the situation was aggravated.

The other group was the result of the Casablanca conference of January, 1961 where, the presidents of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and the United Arab Republic (UAR) attended, so did the Algerian prime Minister of the Provisional Government and the Libya’s foreign minister (Ajala: 30). The conference “cut across linguistic, ethnic and regional divisions” and was built “to create a radical pressure group in world affairs, to build an

organizational structure which would ultimately be able to absorb a wider group”(Hoskyns: 365). All in attendance supported Lumumba and agreed to withdraw their troops from Congo which were assisting Lumumba, to give the UN a ‘last chance’. However, Kasavabu who ousted Lumumba gave him to his arch enemy Teshomba, a secessionist movement leader in Katanga who had links with US and the West. Teshomba brutally murdered Partic Lumbuba (Wallerstein: 50). This marked deeper division between African states that made reconciliation very difficult. The difference between so called Brazzaville group and Casablanca group prevented, for at least a while, any wider cooperation among African states and excluded non-participatory members from the continental affairs (Hoskyns: 366).

Nevertheless, the Third AAPC summit at Cairo “between” March 25-31, 1961 was able to bring three different groups together. These were – the African nationalists from non-independent countries; leaders from revolutionary Africa and African radical nationalist opposite movement ‘puppet of the West’. The later two are the Casablanca and the Brazzaville groups respectively. The participants at the conference agreed on the threats of neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism, as Madibo keita of Mali defined, ‘is when an independent country is indirectly administrated by its former colonial power, by the intermediary of traitors which she has helped to place in power’ (Wallerstein: 53). The different groups also agreed to reconcile their differences. Henceforth, there were several meetings among African countries aimed at narrowing differences.

To this end, at the Monrovia, Liberia, Conference in May, 1961, twenty countries attended including the Brazzaville groups, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo and Tunisia. But hardliners of the Casablanca group declined. The group i.e. Monrovia set non-interference

at its policy (Wallerstein: 53). Sir Milton A.S Margai, the prime Minister of Sierra Leone expressed their objective

The principle of African unity which respects the territorial integrity of each state, the free choice of political ideology and form and government . . . We pledge co-operation in the deference of all freedom loving states in Africa, particularly with a view to curbing any internal subversion against the law fully constituted government of any friendly state . . . (Ajala: 36).

The group also called important conference at Lagos, Nigeria in the same year, its main objective being getting rid of groupings. Haileselassie I of Ethiopia described the situation in Africa: "We are told that Africa has been split into competing groups and that this is inhibiting co-operation among the African states and severely retarding African progress". He expressed his position as "Ethiopia considers herself a member of one group only - the African group" (Ajala: 48).

After the Lagos Conference, Africa experienced major political turns that encouraged contact between different groups. For instance, Nigerian relation with England began to deteriorate, which increased Nigeria's inclination toward Africa; Guinea experienced attempted coup that had some connection with France; South Africa and Portugal were expelled from African membership and similarly reduce Britain and France were reduced to the status of "associate members". These at least cleared the official track only to the newly independent African countries (Wallertein: 57). Then, there followed several meetings between members of different groups. Among these were Abdulla Osman of Somalia was in Ghana in October 1961; Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa went to Guinea in December of the same year; Sekou Toure of Guinea, met Haileselassie I at Asmara, Ethiopia. In most of these meetings the prime agenda was the unification of Africa. Likewise, the divisive issues of Algeria and Congo relaxed; Algeria won independence in 1962 and finally the capture of Katanga, Congo, by the UN forces that resulted in the establishment of pro Lubumba government brought the Casablanca group to the negotiation table (Ajala: 48). Hence, the



Casablanca group met at Cairo to propose for continental conference in June, 1962.

4.1.2. The Organization of African Unity (OAU)

On May 25, 1963, the thirty-two, except Togo and Morocco, independent African states set up at Addis Ababa the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (Ajala: 53). The absence of Togo is related to the assassination of president Olympio on January 13, 1963 by opposition militant groups (Wallerstein: 64); and boycotted because of Morocco against the Mauritanian presence. The main concern of OAU was to bring the antagonistic groups together, as Hoskyns indicated its aim was "to bring all states together rather than to establish stringent condition of membership" (Hoskyns: 366). However, most of the finally agreed objectives and principles are related to the Brazzaville group. Thus, the objectives of the Casablanca group were abandoned. In particular, Nkurma's assertions for political unification at Addis Ababa remained only as silhouette. As Henderson argues.

When the OAU enshrined itself, its raison d'etere was harried notion of the insoluble national sovereignty of its constituent states within their colonial boundaries. Pan-Africanism as a practical political philosophy, in the continent at least, died at Addis Ababa summit. The OAU was not to be an instrument for Pan-African federation. (Henderson, 1995:93)

The OAU had four main bodies. These were the Assembly of Heads of states and governments; the council of Ministers; the General secretariat; and the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration (Ajala 69). The later however was never set up, due to the opposition from the Heads of states "to create strong bureaucracy at OAU headquarter" (Tordoff, 1997: 281). In addition, the organization set up special commissions that included the economic and social, education and cultural, health, sanitation and nutrition, deference, and scientific, technical, research, transportation. The main objectives of the OAU were

Promotion of unity and solidarity among African states, coordination and intensification of cooperation between the

states in their efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa, defiance of sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states; eradication of all forms of colonialism from the continent and promotion of international cooperation in accordance with the charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (OAU Charter, Article II)

The organization adopted the following principles to achieve the stated objective

Sovereign equality of all member states; non-interference in internal affairs; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each states and for inalienable right to independent existence of peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiations, mediation, cancellation of political assassination, as well as of subversive activities on part of neighboring states or any state; absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent; and affirmation of policy of non-alignment with regard to all international bloc. (OAU Charter, Article III)

OAU experienced chequered history. Particularly, its early years are seen as a success in coordinating member states and exerting pressure at the UN. For instance, all signatories of the OAU went out of the International Labour Organization (ILO) after South Africa refused to Nigeria's inclusion, which resulted in South Africa's exclusion from ILO. Also, when Portuguese resisted to "heed a resolution demanding its exclusion in the name of humanity", African states did the same in July, at Geneva, in the International Conference on Education. In the same month Portugal was kicked out of ICE. In addition, because of the coordinated African action, in December 1963, "FAO adopted a motion to refrain from inviting South Africa to any regional meeting of international organization." (Wallerstein: 70)

Likewise, OAU enjoyed some success in setting internal disputes as well. For example, under OAU auspices, Hailsellasse I successfully mediated the border conflict between Algeria and Morocco, in October, 1963. This African mediation in North Africa also indicated the North African solidarity preference for Africa over the Arab countries. Similarly, Sudan mediated at DarelSelam a cease fire between Ethiopia and Somalia; and in October 1965, Ethiopia and Somalia agreed on a protocol condemning all 'propaganda attack' at Accra. However, at the second Congo crises of 1964,

which involved both regional and international powers, OAU failed, which marked the beginning of frequent nadir experiences of the organization's forty years (Hoskyns: 380-382).

The limited power the secretariat exercised crippled the organization's potential to influence and intervene in various affairs of the members states. Like most member states, the organization also suffered financial difficulties. Gradually, the absorption of the Heads of members states in their domestic affairs hindered the possible concern they might give to the OAU, and their failure led to the "idea of any grandiose joint action" to be abandoned (ibid: 390). Last but not least, the impetus for continental integration disappeared from the African political scene with dwindled number of its advocates at governmental level. When one asks, what happened to them, they say "...Some have been depos'd, some slain in war, some haunted by the ghosts they have depos'd, some poison'd by their wives, some sleeping killed..." (Geen and Seidman, 1968:17).

The dominant political discourse after the formation of OAU in Africa became a "project co-operation at sub regional level between small group of states" (Hoskyns: 390). So far, there is no such significant progress in consolidating regional organizations despite the presence of numerous groupings. Moreover the absolute concentration of power at the head of state crushed African intellectual. Intellectualism as Mazrui defines is "an engagement in the realm of ideas, rational discourse and independent enquiry" (Mazrui, 2005: 58). This was/is a group that had/has the caliber to bring the necessary changes and revive the noble African goals.

4.1.3 The African Union (AU)

The African Union (AU) is the third in the institutional evolution of the African unity idea. It is the result of Mohammad Gaddafi's, President of Libya, address at the OAU summit in the 1999 Algiers, Algeria summit,

which ignited the idea of the formation of a new continental organization. Gaddafi asserted at the meeting

I have been accused of being obsessed with the word Union. But can you explain to me why, 36 years after creation, our institution should still be called the Organization of African Unity? What is it waiting for before organizing this unity? Now we are free and independent, it is time to move forward, we have no time to lose. (Ndi-Zambo, 201:32)

Subsequently, members agreed to transform the former OAU to African Union (AU), which was completed at Durban, South Africa in July, 2002 (Jacobs and Calland, 2002:140). The AU is a product of combination of the contemporary challenges the continent is facing as well as the call from the new established organizations like: the African Congress, a Supreme Council, Federal Executive, Specialized Executive, Federal Commission, a Federal Court of Justice, an African Bank, and African Economic Commission etc.

AU encompasses different new mandates, such as the use of African language in the summit; the principle of interference in the affair of member states with certain conditionalities such as genocide, a mechanism known as “peer Review” to evaluate governance in member states (Prah:33) and a plan to own a Pan-African stand-by Rapid Reaction “force composed of 15,000 troops by the year 2010” (Murthi:83).

In order to undertake its various objectives AU set up the following organs

- The Assembly of Heads of States and the council-as the higher authority that make final decisions
- The Executive Commission
- Pan-African Parliament
- Economic Social and cultural Council (ECOSOCC)
- Peace and Security Council and others.

The AU surely has the potential to accomplish the struggle that started during independence, if it follows the proper path and is able to rally the necessary willingness of different actors in and outside the continent. Its predecessor was an intergovernmental body; whose resolutions were not legally binding on its members. In its life time of around 40 years OAU saw the total eradication of colonialism and apartheid from Africa, which are great achievements. However, the other problems of the continent remain the same and even worse after the formation of the OAU.

As its founding charters indicated its aim was not to "create a supranational power". Thus, the OAU had limited capacity to bring different (conflicting) ideas of the members together (Ndi-Zambo, 2001:29-31). As Prah states the "OAU only express the wish to unity; it is a regional association of states" (Prah, 2003:3). At the AU foundation summit, different heads of states expressed their gratitude such as Bouteflika's, president of Algeria, ". . . this is a key event in the life of the OAU, the African continent and international relations" (Ndi-Zambo: 34). Surely, the Sirte Declaration and the formation of AU revived and brought the Pan-Africanism or African continental integration in to the contemporary political discourse. As Muchie stated "Unity is not an act. It is a process, which comes through a sustained fostering of communication, conversation, deliberation, dialogue, coordination, cooperation and solidarity" (Muchie, 2003:40). The AU, with no doubt, is another phase in Africa that indicates . . . the parameters for the pursuit of the ideal of African unity are changing" (Prah: 33). The new organization like its predecessor "considers regional economic communication as the pillars of continental integration" (ECA, 2006: XVI).

AU in its short history already scores a remarkable success in Sudan between the Sudan government and SPLA ending decades long civil war; has a peacekeeping force in Darfur, Sudan and other places in the continent. Funding become one of the biggest problems of the AU like many

of its member states. It seems the biggest success of the AU with regard to continental integration is the coordination of the “Grand Debate on Continental Government” at Accra, Ghana from July 2 to 3, 2007.

4.1.4 Africa Union’s Proposal for Continental Government

The AU commission set out a grand vision in may 2004 for the unification of Africa in the “short-term by 2007, in the medium-term by 2015, and in the long-term by 2030.” In addition, the commotion set up a detailed plan of action to hasten the unity of Africa (Mathews, 1998 :8). In light of this, AU’s committee of seven (African Heads of Governments) chaired by Libya, Uganda and Nigeria beginning from 2005, proposed for the establishment of the ‘United States of Africa.’ the discussion on this issue which was named as a ‘Grand Debate’ held from July 2 to 3, 2007 in Ghana, Accra under the chairmanship of the Ghanaian President.

The proposal set a three phase time frame for the ultimate achievement of the United States of Africa’.

Phase one, from 2007 to 2009, formation of the Union Government.

Phase two, from 2009 to 2012, activating the Union Government and preparing a constitutional framework for the final stages.

Phase three, from 2012 to 2015, establishment of all necessary structures of the United State of Africa at country, regional and continental levels.

Even if most member states continue to give their support to the ‘gradualist’ approach, the states’ agreement to discuss the issue is a major step toward integration. Besides, there is still no outright rejection of the importance of continental integration. In fact, most African countries set up regional groups in order to facilitate regional integration as a prelude for the ultimate achievement of African unity.

4.1.5 African Economic Community (AEC)

The Abuja Treaty of 1991 set up the African Economic Community (AEC) which embodies the African unity idea with emphasis on economic sphere. AEC was a successor of the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action (Mkwzalamba and Emmanuel, 2007:13). The Abuja came into force theoretically in 1994. Its main objectives is to establish the African Economic Community by the year 2025, with the aim of making “Africa a vital player in the global economic relations” (Cheru:122). The Abuja Treaty created a supernational authority over the different regional economic organizations and “even makes provisions for suction against member states which do not conform to its stipulations” (Ndi-Zambo: 35).

The EAC is expected to hasten the economic integration of Africa and function side by side with the continental political organizations. The Lome 36th Ordinary summit of the OAU was aimed at reducing the over lapping of power between OAU and Abuja. The performance of the Abuja treaty is determined by the activity of to regional economic groups. (ibid:)

4.2. Regional Economic Communities (RECs)

RECs are one of the manifestations of the African unity idea. Today, Africa is rich in regional groups. Some see the presence of this large number of regional groups itself as a major obstacle to achieve their ultimate goals i.e. continental integration. Africa within its five regions based on Abuja Treaty of 1991 - Eastern, Southern, Central, Western and Northern Africa has 14 regional groups. These are East African Community (EAC) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the East; in the Southern Africa we have Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU), the Indian Ocean Commission (IOC) and with East and Central Africa the region shares the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). In the Central Africa. Economic Community of Great Lakes Countries (ECGLC) with Central



African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) also the Community of Central African States (ECCAS). In the Western part there are Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) with West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA), the Mano River Union (MRU) and the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD). In the North, the Arab Magreb Union (UMA) (ECA 2006:45). Most of the groups “intended to serve as rallying pivots for the total economic integration of the continent” Besides, there are around two hundred ECA directed non governmental organizations (NGOs) (Cheru, 2002: 127). However, these economic schemes are far behind in meeting the Abuja Treaty’s objectives i.e. creating (prepared to create) an African Economic Community (ECA:45). They also have their own unique characters, thus we will see some of the vital sub-regional groups briefly.

4.2.1 East African Community (EAC)

In the 1890s Britain’s plan to construct a railway linking what is today Uganda and Kenya is seen as a first step toward integration in the region. The colonial power also set up, in 1948, a secretariat to administer Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (the later became under British mandate (occupation) after World War First) called East African High Commission. This Commission lasted until 1961 and gave way to East African Common Services Organization (EACSO) (Hazelwood, 1967:71). EACSO is responsible “for the formation and direction of policy in specified fields” such as posts and telegraphs, railways and harbor, air ways and currency. It was accused several times for having inequitable distribution of benefits in favor of Kenya which dominated the inter-territorial trade (Todeff, 1997:266). Even if there was a “high degree of integration of the three economies, there was no general harmonization of economic policy”. Thus, ministerial discussion was set to regulate the common market established at Kampala, Uganda, in April 1964 (Hazelwood 94-95). However, the Kampala Agreement did not produce the expected change, as a result Tanzania imposed, in 1965 and

1966, a 'unilateral import restriction against Kenyan products' (Tordoff: 266). To sort out their differences members met again at Kampala to form what is called the Kampala Treaty on June 6, 1967. This treaty established the East African Economic Community (EAC) (ibid: 267). It was officially launched in December, 1967 with the aim

To strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial and other relations of the parties and states to the end that there shall be accelerated, harmonious and balanced development and sustained expansion of economic activities the benefits where of shall be equitable shared (Kasekende and Ngeno, 1999 :155)

EAC lasted for nearly ten years and was able to set up a common market and common legitimate service. The community also established a common external tariff and excise duties and also built institutions to meet these demands like the East African Development Bank (EADB). The main objective of the EADB was "to promote industrial development in the community" (Kasekende and Ngeno:155). The EAC was one of the few most advanced integration schemes in Africa "(Kasajia: 27) and was seen as "a model for the way toward an African economic Union (Kasekende and Ng'eno: 160), but it failed in 1977.

The reasons for EAC's failure are ambiguous. One reason appears to be the political leaders' reluctance to deal with the institutional problems EAC was facing. This is somehow related to the animosity developed between Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Idi Amin D'ada of Uganda. From economic point of view, the EAC's main challenges were related to transportation sector such as in East African railways, East African Airways and East Africa Harbor. In addition, Tanzania's weakness to narrow the economic imbalance, contributed for the countries reluctance to continue in the community (ibid:160). In general, the main source for the collapse of East African Community seems uneven distribution of benefits, institutional difficulties, politico-ideological factors and external dependency.

The incentive to revive the legendary EAC came in 1984. However, during this period the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) served as instrument in the region granting continued relation. The PTA was a product of UNECA "long term sub-regional strategy." It was set up in October, 1977, but heads of states of the governments who agreed late at Lusaka, Zambia, on December 21, 1981. PTA was large in size having around 16 partners i.e. Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Somalia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. As a prelude, the PTA put 'free trade area, custom union and a common market', as the initial step to the formation of economic community; it "combines a market integration approach (trade liberalizing measures i.e. reduction of tariff barriers and custom facilitation)" with a production integration approach (common projects in the agricultural, industrial and transport and communization) (Martin: 83). It's membership is now extended to include Angola, Eritrea, Madagascar, Namibia, Seychelles, Sudan, Botswana, South Africa and Zaire. One of the main treaties of PTA is an idea to create an Economic community for Eastern and Southern African states. Hence, a common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) was officially set up as a first step in December 1993 for Economic Community of Africa (Kasekende and Ng'eno: 163).

4.2.2 Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

COMESA is formerly known as PTA for Eastern and Southern Africa. PTA was set up 1981 "to promote development of its member states projects and programs, and encouraging cooperation in all fields of economic activity". In 1992 PTA transformed into COMESA having- Burundi Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. There is a significant difference among members of the sub-region both in

terms economic and physical size. COMESA established hopping “to intensify the economic integration and development of member countries by allowing the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital with in the region . . . by increasing the production of competitive goods and improving transportation and communication network”. The principle the sub-regional group utilize to attain its objective in through “trade activities that include tariff and non-tariff concessions, market surveys, trade information, dissemination, trade promotion activities, trade facilitation and interaction of the business community of the sub-region” (Cheru: 142). COMESA has seen “progress in coordinating activates in sub-sectors of metallurgy, engineering, chemicals and agro-based and building materials and industries” (Amoako, 2000:184)

Large economic disparity among members is the main challenge in the COMESA that brought fear and suspicion of over domination by Kenya and Zimbabwe which relatively have advanced industries. In addition, its policy of ‘Rules of origin’ which is harsh for most members to adhere and South Africa’s refusal to join is a major’ blow to COMESA’s confidence and credibility’. Besides the community is losing members or partners are leaving COMESA to SADC like Tanzania. In this sub-region the process of trade liberalization is very low and members are often accused of failing to formulate and implement policies at a national level on time. The other impediment for integration in the region is backward communication facilities that limit information exchange, poor infrastructure, shortage of skilled human power, extended bureaucracy, different rules in each partner state complicated the integration process (Cheru, *ibid*). In order to overcome the problem in information transfer COMESA set up the Automated System for Customs Declaration (ASYCUDA), and the Trade Information Network (TINET) (Amoako: 184). TINET was established in 1995, which setup a national focal point in each member state that are “responsible for collecting national trade-related data and for disseminating information distributed by

the central unite of TINET to the respective national organizations and private sector operators” (Cheru: 144)

Recently, COMESA’s nine partners – Egypt, Djibouti, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Marituies, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe are agreed to embark on ambitious union i.e. currency union. They have around 170 million populations and US\$ 128 billion capital, the other members joining such project is uncertain. First, it is known the region is conflict ridden in which most members experience either domestic difficulties in the area of place and security or are in interstate disputes.

4.2.3 The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

The West African 15 countries (later 16) governments and heads of states, on May 28, 1975 established the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) at Lagos, Nigeria (Ukeje, 2005: 143). Members of ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory coast, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania (withdrew in 2002), Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo (Martin:74). In general, the ECOWAS treaty encompasses a wide range of economic and recently security and governance sectors. Specifically the various protocols of the community aim at

Progressive elimination of custom duties and charges; the abolition of quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among the member states ; the establishment of a common custom tariff and commercial policies forward third countries; the removal of obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital; the harmonization of the agricultural policies and promotion of common projects in the members states notably in the fields of marketing, research, and agro industrial enterprises; the harmonization of economic and industrial policies of member states and the elimination of disparities in the level of development of member states: the harmonization of a fund for monitory policy; and the establishment of a fund for cooperation, compensation and development. (Ukeje: 146)

At its inception to meet these grand projects, partners set several organizations including the Council of Ministers; the Tribunal of the Community; the External Auditor; the Technical and Specialized Commission and the Executive Secretariat (ibid). ECOWAS is a response to the changing world political economic discourse, which affected the member states especially in the years after the mid-1970s oil hike. In addition the various groupings outside the continent like EU and their own economic

vulnerability and weakness individually encouraged the West African countries to confront the world in a united front. In general, “both internal and external factors and events clearly served as a wake-up call for political leaders in West Africa” which were late to develop a regional group since their failure at the time to the great leaders i.e. Nkrumah, Touris (Ukeje: 141).

In 1993, members of ECOWAS revised their Treaty and set what is called the Revised Treaty of Economic Community of West African State at Continuo, Benin. In the revised treaty members expressed their commitment to create strong regional committee aimed at

Co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among members states and contribute to the progress of development of the African continent.(Sesay, 2005:194)

The ‘new’ ECOWAS is expected by the UNECA to absorb the different sub-regional communities in the region (ECA, 2006:47). The Abuja Treaty also set ECOWAS as a potential sole integration scheme in West Africa (M’ Bet, 1999:84). Likewise, currently ECOWAS “has been more activist as a peacekeeping force than a vanguard for economic change” (Mazrui, 2005:65). This is particularly significant because the region frequently experiences political unrest. Major examples include: Liberia in April of 1980; Ghana in December 1981, Burkina Faso in August 1983 and October 1987; Nigeria in December 1983, August 1985 and November 1993; Mali in March 1996; Niger in January 1996 (Tordoff: 269), Ivory Coast in 2006 These frequent conflicts interrupt viable integration process. To this end, ECOWAS partners signed a protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in October, 2001 at Dakar, Senegal (Sesay: 197) in an attempt to “find new role in a turbulent subcontinent” (Mazrui: 73). The community’s activity to secure peace and security will contribute to enhance economic cooperation among member states. However, ECOWAS often criticized as over ambitious that fail recognize its capability (M. Bet: 70) and its members backwardness.

4.3 Challenges to Regional Integration in Africa

These regional groupings and IGOs have contributed very little as far as regional integration is concerned. The problems these various organizations are facing is more or less similar. Cheru, identified six major challenges with regard to the failure of regional integration in Africa. "Lack of political will to succeed" and "unfavorable legal environmental, weak institution and inadequate infrastructure" are the first two. As Cheru indicated lack of 'political will', corruption and exhaustive bureaucratic networks are one of the main sources of problems that inhibit efficient integration, emergence of investors and harmonious relations among important economic actors. Also the presence of disputes, which often ended in arms confrontation, limited the progress of regional organizations. Similarly, most of the governments are not willing to hand essential power to regional schemes. Besides, "the economic cooperation and integration schemes adopted in Africa to date have been replicas of schemes designed to suit advanced market economies'. For example, the Abuja action plan as Cheru states is "a carbon copy of the institutional framework of the European Community", which doesn't reflect the African reality in various spheres and regions, that makes the implementation process so complicated and often ineffective. In many African states, problems in "import controls and exports licensing customs hold ups, restrictive exchange controls and a complicated system of documentation" are common (Cheru: 128-130). Moreover, some small and weak states become members to a number of regional groups in order to "maximize perceptible or imperceptible gains from groups they join." This overlapping is a major problem, on average 95% of the African states are members of more than one regional economic group. This has a considerable impact on the ability of the communities to function effectively. Multiple memberships reduce loyalty that result in low program (performance) and inadequate payment to the institutions ". . . most of African states join different economic communities mainly not because of

the necessity of economy rather for political and strategic reasons". (ECA, 2006:52-53)

Third, the exchange rate of Africa is very low due to high dependency on primary products for export i.e. "vulnerability due to high commodity dependence". Cheru argues the high fluctuation on the price of African products and limited access for African exports 'resulted in stagnation in the development endeavor of integration schemes in Africa.' Likewise, the post Lome Convention signed by Europe and Africa, extended to include all developing countries, reduced the African exclusive (preferential) access to European markets, and the WTO extended rounds, put each African country to engage in bilateral agreements with the big powers which pressure the acceptance of conditionalities like AGOA.

Fourth, inter-African trade is very low. African countries' main trade partners still are former colonial powers which Cheru named "unbreakable colonial trade links." This is facilitated through financial and physical infrastructures made by colonial powers. In addition, the 'African consumers have become captives of goods produced in Europe tending to look down on goods produced locally.' This retarded the potential to create a strong regional economy.

Fifth, "poor and inadequate transport and communication networks" between and within most poor African countries are one of the main factors that inhibit integration between states. The construction of 'transportation networks' is very expensive and time consuming. For poor African countries and their IGOs it is mostly difficult to invest their limited capital on long term projects.

Last, Africa has been losing around 20,000 professionals to the West every year since 1990 (Zezeza, 2005: 209) this caused a widespread shortage of skilled human resources, which has "an enormous impact on the

functioning of institutions of higher learning, industry and enterprise” (Cheru: 131).

Since independence African policy-makers and academicians agree on the significance of continental integration for sustainable development and lasting peace in Africa. However, the debate on the ‘level, strategy, scope of cooperation and ultimate goal of integration’ is still raging (Martin:69). In the period from the independence of Ghana in 1957 until the formation of OAU in 1963, the impetus for political unification before economic integration comparatively was very high in the history of independent Africa. Nevertheless, the establishment of the OAU marked the triumph of the gradualist approach to African unity i.e. economic integration as a prelude for political unity. Thus, the continent became maze of regional economic groups. AU’s objectives have no significant difference from its predecessor in this sphere. To this end, the Abuja Treaty, Article 88 remains dominant in organizing different communities. These include:

- *The African Economic Community will be established by coordinating, harmonizing and integrating the regional economic communities’ activities.*
- *Members will promote regional economic communities integration activities geared toward achieving the African economic community’s objective.*
- *Members will coordinate and harmonize their activities through their respective regional economic communities.*
- *The African Economic Community is responsible for coordinating, harmonizing and evaluating the regional economic communities’ activity. (ECA: 131)*

The transformation from economic integration to a political union requires series of phases that include developing “preferential trade area then to free trade area, custom union, common market, economic union and finally political union” (Cheru: 124). So far, the performance of the majority of regional economic groups and continental agents either in reaching their stated goal or time table is disappointing. Trade between African countries is still very minimal, and relation between regional communities is not effectively coordinated. The recent initiatives of AU and Abuja Treaty aim at improving these situations.

The quest for African Unity goes back to over a century. The African struggle for solidarity, integration, common trade policy and protection of their interest is growing. The road toward African unity and a true freedom is not an easy one, but it is a struggle that must be fought. The ideal of unity has undergone, from its inception, through three major institutional stages.

The AU's proposal for the establishment of the United States of Africa is among the most important ones. If there is a strong political commitment, African countries could start from a minimum threshold toward unity, because integration is a "process not an act." The fact that the AU member states met to discuss this proposal by itself is a 'great leap forward.'

CHAPTER FIVE

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

5.1 Challenges

There are many problems the African continental unity discourse faces which are wide, interrelated and often associated with economic backwardness and political decay of the continent. The issue of integration in Africa should be seen as a means of creating a better economic, social, and political and security atmosphere that could restore African identity and grant the people of Africa true freedom and a prosperous future. The sources of the problems that appear to inhibit the progress of integration mainly date back to the colonial period. But there are also numerous factors that arise from recent global phenomena that seem to delay the process of integration, coupled with internal weakness.

5.1.1 External Challenges

The contemporary African condition, relation and role in the world are largely the result of its long historical interaction with the international community. Slave trade and colonialism appear at the forefront in understanding as well as describing the nature of Africa's relation with the outside world. Briefly, the slave trade that saw large forceful movement of Africans to the Western Hemisphere has had dreadful consequences on the socio-economic and political status of the continent, because it was targeted on able bodied – young people. This act which continued for nearly three centuries forced African societies to face depletion of population. The slave trade on one hand contributed for the development of the Western world by providing labor, market . . . cheaply; yet for Africa it was responsible for deprivation of societies' population, degrading African humanity and suffering, aggravating conflict between tribes and affecting the agricultural production, consequently it made Africa more vulnerable for the subsequent occupation.

5.1.1.1 Colonial Legacy

Colonialism is the root cause for most of Africa's problems. Among the several dreadful consequences of colonialism: It denied Africans political power and "removed them from history." Thus, the problem of leadership is a major concern for most African states today. The colonial powers marked 'boundaries without creating the economic, political and social conditions necessary for consolidation' (Cheru: 36). This resulted in the break up of regional ethnic groups which forced them to "cohabit with other ethnic groups within artificial borders of the new state" (Ibid: 193). Hence, one of the main challenges for the integration of Africa becomes the protracted ethnic conflicts, irredentist claims and secessionist movements which are still part and parcel of Africa's political discourse. The fragmentation of African people and societies into 'pieces' inhibited a possible development of large, economically strong and politically powerful states which would have the potential to influence the international political economy. Besides "colonialism culminated in the distortion, disarticulation and underdevelopment of African economics and societies"(Rugumamu, 2001:7). The weak status of the African bourgeoisie is the result of colonial economic system that benefited the European trade unions only. This economic system also hampered the indigenous people from developing a sound economy by cutting the prices of their products. In addition the 'introduction of cash - crop production, created peasants integrated in the international economy' (Tordoff: 14) with no power to influence the market, and brought the degradation of traditional African values and institutions. The cultural degradation has a lasting impact on the socio-economic dynamics of today's Africa.

5.1.1.2 Dependency

Africa's present condition seem nowhere near to have the potential to assert its social, political or economic will, including integration, in the international stage. In terms of status, Africa is the poorest continent today; around 46.8 percent (2001) of the Sub-Saharan African population live in extreme poverty. Poverty and other developmental impediments made the continent highly dependent on the global community. The problem for integration arise when African countries are compelled to follow the rules of the donor or leader countries and institutions that often set preconditions which discourage and contradict the integration process in the continent. Even though Africa's reliance on the outside world is growing from time to time, the assistance it used to acquire is rapidly declining. For instance "between 1990 and 1998, Official Development Assistance (ODA) fell by one third in real terms" (Rugumamu, 2001: 32-33).

Some of the factors associated with the reduction in the flow of aid to Africa include the donor states' declining interest in Africa, because of the end of the Cold War and the abatement of socialism as a threat. In the post Cold War era, the main priority of the World powers had become 'Terrorism'. Moreover, the idea of human solidarity and the promotion of human rights gave way to liberalism and democratization. EU, the major Africa partner, shifted its interest to new program, EU expansion, and gave priority to the East and Central European states. Even if Africa desperately needs more aid, as Rugumamu describes after the Cold War, developed countries "rather than increasing the quality and quantity of aid to the poor" focused their attention on "domestic and regional issues, such as facilitating the transition of the former socialist states to market economies" and 'terrorism' (ibid:33). Opponents of foreign aid, on the other hand, took this reduction in the flow of aid as an opportunity to get rid of short term planning. As they argue, this will pave the way for "private investment and commercial loans



in stimulating long term economic growth” (ibid). Besides, the so called foreign aid will no more serve despotic rulers to resume the exploitation of Africa and disruption of peace and security. During, the Cold War era many dictators used to receive aid from either Western or Eastern bloc only for their purpose of satisfying the geopolitical and economic strategy of the donor states. The shortage of this aid was one of the main causes behind the downfall of different regimes in Africa such as Mobutu Sesseseko of Zaire (now Congo/Kinshasa), Siad Baire of Somalia, Mengistu H/Mariam of Ethiopia etc.... Foreign aid in Africa, in general served to keep allies in power during the Cold War; on the other hand the poor economic condition forced African countries to comply with the rules of the donor countries, leaving aside the integration process that will grant a lasting peace and sustainable development in the continent. Individual African countries find it difficult to break this cycle of dependency; in the meantime, by accepting aid and assistance African governments are widening the gap between societies in the name of ‘terrorism’ or so.

Be that as it may, in most African countries, current foreign policy is directed towards attracting foreign aid and these states are more and more willing to accept the various conditionalities imposed by the donors. However, the flow of aid is declining and this affected Africa greatly because “it was on the poorest countries, with the share of aid going to low income countries falling from 45 percent to 28 percent in 1996” (ibid:34). This not only disrupted the poor African economics, but also it is incompatible to the Western rhetoric and plan of poverty reduction. Africa’s dependency on technology, food, technical assistance . . . on the Western world is one of the major challenge against the integration project. It also inflicted rivalry among African countries to win the so called aids and loans.

The competition to get the limited aid among African counties is getting intense, thus most countries are forced to adopt foreign aid oriented foreign

policy which "have spawned serious implications for the continent's foreign policy and international diplomacy in general" (Akokapri, 2001:5) and African unity in particular. International aid covers in many African countries "half or more of the total investment" (Rugumamu:33). Because of such shameful dependency Africa has lower status and disappointing relation with the outside world, which indirectly crippled the integration process.

Africa's relation with the international community is best described as a vertical relation, in which Africa usually adhere and compel. African countries lost their relatively favorable bargaining position, which they used to enjoy during the Cold War, recently. Africa's influence in the UN and other international conferences has gone with the collapse of the soviet bloc. The USSR and several of Central and Eastern European, then socialist states, used to give their support and set agendas to tackle African problems in major international forums. However, in the current unipolar world this does not seem possible, for instance, even though the World Trade Organization (WTO) was established to support developing countries, African countries are not benefiting from its exhaustive rounds rather "the benefit of the WTO go to a few powerful nations, under the guise of 'democracy', 'openness' and a 'neutral secretariat'" (Jawara and Kwa: 269). WTO and the other international financial institutions (IFIs) are now the most important vehicles through which developed states build relations with African states. WTO gives immense priority to the needs of the multinational corporations (MNCs) over human and labor rights (ROPE, 2005: 163-167). These IFIs are powerful in determining the flow of aid and loans; however, they encourage African countries to formulate policies destined to serve transnational corporations (TNCs) in exchange for foreign direct investment and aid. These institutions' unfair treatment, biased protectionist laws and draconian demands are the main obstacles that hinder the African attempt to alleviate poverty as well as ensure unity. Besides, the end of the Cold War

reduced most African countries' geopolitical and economic significance in the eyes of "major" Western powers and other global actors" to the level of 'irrelevance' (Rugumamu:4). Thus, the balkanization of Africa from international trade, foreign direct investment, science and technology and global regionalism is an imminent threat that endangers millions of African lives.

5.1.1.3 International Regionalism

Africa's absence from the process of world regionalism is one of the impediments for its objective of continental unity. Africans' pursuit toward integration is hampered mainly due to its exclusion from international regionalism. Regionalism currently becomes one of the peculiar aspects of globalization. Regional integration or regionalism "is not new, it has been a continuing part of the post World War II trade landscape" (Asante, S.K.B; 1997:1) Asante explains the reason for the new trend of regionalism as a product of.

The conversion' of the US to the regional approach; the emergence of regional arrangements among industrial and developing countries; and an apparent move away from inward-oriented towards more outward-oriented arrangement among developing counties, particularly the West. (Ibid)

Growing numbers of regional blocs serve their partners "with guaranteed access to large markets", while poor, non-member countries, like those in Africa suffer from the loss of access to world market in trading blocs. It is common sense for Africa to develop such a bloc that will "have a role to play in relaunching development and growth in Africa and to improve the economic outlook in the continent" (Ibid). The integration factors are mostly related to the "international economic relations, driven by economic mechanisms, but frequently with political objectives as the underlying motive force" (Rugumanu: 21).

Modern regional integrations are the results of a popular thinking that "by widening the markets and enhancing trade expansion, regional trade

arrangements result in enhancing the division of labor, improving efficiency, encouraging competition, product specialization and entrepreneurial skill development" (ibid). Efficient regional integration for Africa will enable it to cut the 'cost of industrialization by exploiting economics of scale' as well as "induce higher levels of productivity that would not otherwise be possible within the confines of individual small domestic markets" (ibid). In the Northern Hemisphere the establishment of the European Union (EU) which is a model regard to regionalism, necessitated for the formation i.e. US, Canada and Mexico NAFTA was the result of losing market access and competition in the European Union or "fortress of Europe". In the Southern Hemisphere the reform in Latin American economic discourse brought the Latin American Integration Association (LAIA). Moreover, the Central American Common Market (CACM), the Adean Community (AC), the Caribbean Economic Community (CARICOM), Asia Pacific Free Trade Areas (APFTA), South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and South Pacific Forum (FORUM) (ibid:22) are examples of the dominance of regionalism in today's economic relation in the world.

In spite of the general acceptance by different parts of the world and the presence of around 14 economic communities in Africa, Africa's progress toward effective regionalism is disappointing. It is now an open secret that most of the groupings are ineffective, and some even exist only in name, because leaders of Africa "neglected to conduct in depth evolutions of the potential impact of joining a regional bloc". As discussed in the last chapter the progress achieved in promoting Africa's integration efforts in the period after independence "has been uneven at best and unimpressive at worst" (ibid:23). The formation of different blocs in different parts of the world for both economic and security purpose with globalization, pose a "new threats to African countries to unprecedented vulnerability". It was in response to those major threats that African governments set up the African Economic Community (AEC) at Abuja in 1991. The Abuja Treaty was designed to

create a common African market, parliament, Central Bank, Monetary Fund and Federal court in 34 years (Kasekende and Ng'eno, 1999).

There is a growing competition in the world between different regional groups. Today the lion share of the world economy revolves around the three economic communities named as the Triad. These regional groups; European Union (EU), North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and Asia Pacific Economic cooperation (APEC) are "deeply integrated interims of their geo-proximity, investment, technology, trade and security co-ordination" in expanding their economy and becoming powerful. As a result most scholars agree that any economic regions success in the international economy is determined by its level of association or proximity (engagement) to the Triad region, 'unless Africa accelerates the pace and intensity of integration process, the capacity of individual countries to influence the global development agenda is absolutely limited" (Rugumamu: 24). Any given country's or region development agenda is now set by the triad, nearness and link to these regions means possible rapid economic development. Regional distribution of FDI indicates, that in 1996 developed counties invested US\$ 295 billion abroad and received US\$ 208 billion. The share of US in this was around 25 percent; EU however remained the 'largest host and home region, accounting for half FDI flows to developed countries". The number one receiver from the developing counties is China around US\$ 42.3 billion (UNCTAD- secretariat, 2000: 170-171). Compare to Africa Large amount of FDI goes to S.E Asia or Latin America. For instance the world FDI increased from US\$ 34.4 billion in 1991 to US\$ 155 billion in 1998 (Chensinga, 2001:65), out of which Africa received only US \$ 5 billion (ibid), a slight increase from 1997 which was US \$ 4.7 billion (Markham, 2000: 430), where as China alone share US \$ 16 billion and Singapore 9 billion really twice than the whole of Africa (Chensinga: 65). This "declining level of investment have in turn resulted in weak productivity and out put growth, which has affected the regional capacity to export" (Makham: 430). Limited

production and heavy reliance on imported items means retardation of the regional economic groups that hold back the progress toward achieving integration.

Nevertheless, different scholars agree that the economic rivalry and the consolidation of the various regional blocs are a major threat for African regionalism and ultimate achievement continental integration. The first regional grouping that put a huge constraint on African regionalism is the European Union (EU). The Union is the world's biggest market with around 400 million populations, a total of GDP (1994) of US \$ 8 trillion, exports worth US \$ 680 billion, and imports of US \$ 708 billion. Africa conducts two-third of its trade with the EU. Thus, the strengthening of the European Union, the expansion of the Union and its "policies towards other developing regions" are main concerns for Africa (Asante: 119-120). By the same token, Africa's trade relation, aid and preferential access in the European countries market are threatened with the consolidation and expansion of the Union. The formation of a single EU market resulted in the weakening of the EU - African trade and collaborations. This is observed wide openly in the updated Lome Convention.

The first Lome Convention was signed in 1975 Lome, Togo. The convention set to give African products preferential access to the European market, 'underpinned by the value of North-South solidarity in the context of decolonization' (Cheru: 28). But, in February, Ministers of the 71 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) counties signed a new Partnership Agreement with European Union. In April ACP-EU treaty halted the preferential access these regions used to enjoy in the European markets (ibid: 22). In other words, "EU is now characterized by a marked shift from aid to trade as the main instruments of cooperation" as far as Africa is concerned. This indicates the declining Africa's irrelevance to the EU, because of the unequal trade relations, "EU -African economy will undoubtedly impact

adversely on the economies of most African counties” (Cheru 28-29). In this the post Lome IV ACP-EU Trade agreement revived the unequal relation that existed in history between the two regions. Today there is a general agreement between ‘policy makers that economic integration is the fastest and surest way of reducing poverty in poor countries”, Africa no different. But, the current EU and NAFTA initiatives, set to benefit themselves only and Cheru indicates:

Undermine the existing regional economic groupings, which African counties groupings, which African counties regard as a building block of their economic integration, there by perpetuating the fragmentation of African economics. While the European Union counties will operate as a united solid group within the institutional framework of the EU, no similar role is envisaged for the OAU/AEC as Africa’s continental economic organization. (Cheru: 137)

African counties are expected to negotiate individually and to accept neo-Liberal policy packages before being accepted; this is an indication of the “inherent inequality of donor-recipient relationship, and the failure of the ACP to determine its own development path, take initiatives and assert sovereignty in national economy policy formulation” (ibid). Similarly, African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) which spells out US policy in Africa, like the Lome New Partnership Agreement with Europe, aim on the surface as stated to aid African counties to create trade based development programs. But, as usual it focuses on bilateral relations and set various neo-liberal conditionality on African states. AGOA facilitate the export of items according to the WTO rules to the US and urges African countries to open their market for US products and MNCs investment. It is obvious that in both Africa and US markets the US products outsmart African products in quality and price. On the contrary, the US will be the major beneficiary Africa provides raw materials with no or limited duties and Africa will be a dumping ground for the US unwanted products and wastes. (Nnadozie, 2005:28).

5.1.1.4 Debt Crisis

The other major external impediment for possible integration in Africa is debt. The debt crisis is a serious problem in Africa, for example in 1997 Africa received foreign aid US \$ 14 billion, however paid US \$ 12 billion in interest for its foreign debt alone (Idohosa, 2005:100). The indebtedness of Africa is severely increasing; it became US \$ 310 billion in 1997, from 1980 US \$ 111 billion. The increase in debt in Africa is totally incompatible with the gross domestic products (GDP) and exports. In between 1971 to 1997 the ratio of 'Africa's external debt to the gross domestic products increased from 14.5 percent to 67.5 percent'. Much worse the creditors countries or banks, prefer to handle the debt issue on a country -by- country' level which ensures that debtors are kept in the weakest possible bargaining position. (Rugumamu: 41).

Cheru identified three points to explain the illegitimacy of the African debt crises. First, 'the use to which borrowed money was put' i.e. the lenders gave the money without analyzing how the money will be spent, in most cases it ended up on unrealistic "white elephant projects" which doesn't go with 'the rate at which most foreign debt was contracted during the 1970s' i.e. African countries were encouraged to take 'petro-dollars' at low interest rates, but in early 1980s the policy change in Western states increased the interest rate, which Africa is not responsible. Third, 'the loaning of monies to undemocratic and unaccountable regimes' is unacceptable. (Cheru: 17).

Be that as it may, the debt crises "forced African states to divert scarce resources away from basic productive investment and critical social services" 'such as education and health. In addition, it is now scaring investors away from the continent and it 'encourages massive capital flight' to the developed regions. Much worse, the lenders 'hold hostage' the poor African countries through debt. Because of this illegitimate severe debt African government lost the potential to change the lives of poor people and

formulate appropriate policy that can encourage solidarity with other African states. It is only through united act Africa can get rid such debt problem.

To sum up, the external impediments for continental integration are different. Among these are the colonial experience, dependency and exclusion, as well as the rising tide of international regionalism have dreadful impact on the progress of continental integration in Africa. African's are expected to be steadfast in keeping the momentum of integration to reduce these and other external challenges.

5.1.2 Internal Challenges

The internal problems associated with Africa's slow integration process are different, but include lack of political will and absence of peace and stability. The nature of state and the different developmental strategies individual counties adopt did not allowed for the prevalence of active regional and continental organization. Besides, the protracted conflicts exacerbated the division between sates and societies by creating animosity. Among the internal factors that delayed the continental integration are the following.

5.1.2.1 Lack of Political Will

Putting into consideration the diverse and complex nature of African problems quality leadership seems mandatory. A quality leadership posses the "ability to make appropriate decisions expeditiously relating to the task undertaken" as well as "ability to command respect and support, showing consideration for the needs and feelings of others" (Leeds:285). The first step to a quality leadership seem taking the government offices legitimately. However, except a handful of occasions, power transfer in African counties often is through illegitimate means such as coups, assassinations, armed struggle . . . , which makes it difficult to forge unity in individual countries let alone at regional or continental level. African integration is a grand

project that requires a number of excellent leaders. Unfortunately, the number of leaders committed for this noble goal is limited. Most of the leaders of African countries are obsessed in their internal affairs which characterize conflict, backwardness, economic crisis, corruption . . .

For Africa bad leadership is one of the weakest point that contributed for very slow level of integration and backwardness. Without a 'visionary political' leadership and an authentic commitment the movement toward African unity will not be possible (Rugumamu: 62). However, the African nationalist leaders, immediately after independence, insistence to keep the colonial boundaries created widespread and protracted conflict in the name of ethnicism. The movement toward continental integration was opposed by most so-called nationalist leaders according to Marcus Garvey:

In the fight to reach the top the oppressed have always been encumbered by the traitors of their own race, made up of those of little faith and those who are generally susceptible to bribery for the selling out of the rights of their own people. (Ajala:)

Such collaborators (with the enemy) were present even at the first phase of colonialism i.e. while most Africans were fighting to keep their independence, there were people who served the colonial powers as soldiers, clerks, translators . . . to debase their own societies. In most African counties these were the people who took the state apparatus after independence, because they were favorites by the colonial masters and received education. Most scholars argue the signing at the OAU to keep the colonial fabricated boundaries at a triumph of these collaborators' and their former colonial powers at least for a while. In fact these fake boundaries are the cause for the precarious African security situation. There is no such boundary as natural boundary, Africa leaders, should put their main agenda on the welfare of their people, not on colonial fabricated boundaries. African leaders must break this chain of 'colonial trap' and forge unity to grant their people a 'prosper future and a better today'.

Often African leaders are accused of lacking vision and being too dependent on outside forces for ideological, technical, strategic and financial assistance. According to Kenneth O.Nyangena "there will continue to be ideological and intellectual crises in the African world until African understand Pan-Africanism, its value and luminaries' visions" (Nyangena, 2003:14). Unless African leaders support or propose a development ideology Africa will continue to be degraded and exploited. Nyangena further argue "the triumph of Pan- Africnaism as the only way Africans can survive the foreign onslaught and lives as a truly liberated people land that will come out of the sweat and blood of the Africa people themselves" (ibid). But, impaired vision and bad leadership in Africa which is infested with corruption, unaccountability and irresponsive institutions has resulted in "the misapplication and inefficient use of scarce resources that would have been utilized for the promotion of growth, development" as well as integration (Chinyama and Mkwezalambo, 2007:3). The other main factor associated with African leadership in retarding the move towards unity is lack of political willingness to share their sovereign power to regional institutions. Most African leaders' commitment toward unity since the establishment of OAU in 1963 is limited to only rhetoric. These African leaders should take the second step or practical steps towards unification both in their domestic or regional spheres, because it seems easier today than tomorrow when one observes African conditions and where the international community is heading. African leaders should keep away from subversive and destabilizing activities because, as Timothy Murthi quoted from Dr. Tajudeen Abdul Rahman,

The collective African experience is that we can only be ourselves and we need each other to counter the threat of marginalization, rapacious globalization and the consolidation of whatever little gains may have been accomplished in a number of African countries. (Murthi: 9)

The subservient regional and divide and rule domestic political polices only result in further disintegration of the African people. African leaders should

abstain from adopting foreign policies which focused on short term gains and fight domestic and exogenous factors that restricted the unity of African people to become a reality.

5.1.2.2. Absence of Peace and Stability

Peace and stability are essential elements to achieve African unity. But the presence of protracted conflicts and precarious security situation in the continent reduced the rate of integration. Most of Africa is exhausted by conflict as Nandmi Patel indicated “conflict and Africa have for a time been regarded as practically synonymous” (Patel, 2001:357). The root cause of the conflicts in Africa mostly date back to colonial era; but here are also personal, ideological, territorial, religious, economic crises and tribal or ethnic factors. In most cases these conflicts has international dimension (ibid). This conflicts inhibit the development of solidarity between societies by creating animosity retarding the integration of the continent and “wantonly destroyed infrastructures schools, hospitals, roads and communication networks which take decades to build . . . some of the most talented and skilled people are forced to seek their livelihood in more favorable environment in other countries” (Cheru:12).

The absence of peace and security increased the fragile nature of the African state and political economy (Patel: 358). It affects the plan set by regional and continental organization for unification. Due to these conflicts different regional economic communist are forced to extend their mandate to include security issues. Although, this might help to resolve certain cases quickly at regional level, the capacity of the regional economic groups to handle such program is controversial. Conflict settlement mechanisms are not a such effective in Africa. Currently on – going conflicts are found in Sudan (Darfur) threatening Chad, Ethiopia – Somalia, Ethiopia Eritrea, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Comoros and in the Central African Republic. These protracted and dreadful conflicts “has had far reaching consequences

on the African state, the region and the continent as a whole, creating an environment of perpetual insecurity” (Mkwezalamba and Chinyama:2) putting shade on the prospect of continental integration.

5.1.2.3. Institutional Weakness

In this part we will discuss the weakness of institutions that are assigned to undertake continental unification in Africa. These institutions are the African Union and African Economic community (AEC).

Beginning from independence it is understood that regional integration has vital role in addressing the problems of small country markets, the extreme balkanization of the continent, the high number of land locked states, few navigable rivers into the interior and underdeveloped infrastructure (OAU – EAC :196). The Lagos Plan of Action 1980 set up to “promote the economic integration of the African region in order to facilitate and reinforce social and economic intercourse” (OAU, Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980 – 2005). However, the African heads of state promise was limited to rhetoric that did not materialize, for instance most of the leaders never established institutions to facilitate for the expected regional cooperation and integration to take place in their nation. Besides, the Cold War rivalry undermined the regional initiatives of African states. Similarly, the former colonial powers and the apartheid governments “waged a prolonged campaign to destabilize Africa”. In addition, the IFIs supervised SAPs were “extremely unsuited to support regional integration in Africa”. Moreover, the concept of “collective self-reliance’, which was the fundamental ideology of the Lagos Plan of Action fell under suspicion (OAU – EAC, 2000:196) these collectively led for its collapse.

The end of the Cold War, contributed for the formation of Africa Economic Community, in 1991 in the Abuja Treaty. The Treaty was ratified in 1994, by around 34 African counties. It “provides a legal and institutional frame

work as well as a systematic approach with benchmark for a gradual process of economic integration over three decade” 2025 (ibid:193). In the light of globalization regional integration for Africa is “seen as a critical factor in enhancing the competitiveness of African economies and an essential component in pursuing a strategy of sustainable development “(idid: 192)”.

Notwithstanding, Cheru claims the treaty’s failure to take into consideration well the various social, cultural, economic and political aspects effectively as the major weakness. As Cheru further asserts the institutional make up of Abuja as a ‘replica the European community’. In addition, the proposed strategy to implement regional integration is through market liberalization, which profiled difficult in developing countries, unlike in the developed economics of Europe (Cheru: 128). The limited capital available, poor economies of members’ states and absence of divers production capacity puts barrier for effective market liberalization to take place in Africa context. Moreover, the proliferation of regional economic groups becomes another challenge for Abuja Treaty. The presence of large number of regional groups in the continent created a difficult situation for efficient coordination to take shape between regional groups (Martin: 90). Likewise, the loyalty of member country to a particular economic community remain challenging because of the intense multiple membership and overlapping, that also reduced the role of countries in developing a single strong regional group. Besides, the regional groups’ activities are not encouraging, due to their “competition with one another in terms of objective and operations”. These mainly show the Abuja Treaty’s failure to regulate or coordinate the ‘satellites institution which the treaty considers as ‘pillars’ for African Economic Integration.

In addition Abuja and the regional economic groups are criticized for being largely exclusive to intergovernmental offices; putting aside non-governmental players which are dominat in domestic economies. Among



these are bankers, consultants, researchers, mass media, association of manufacturers etc. In most African countries the absence of political will also limited the establishment of necessary organs at national level to undergo regional integration, which indicate how far Abuja is in meeting its development and integration agenda. (Cheru: 129).

The responsible body to pressure African leaders to committee to their promises of continental integration is the African Union (AU). AU was expected to address the demerits of “over centralization and over politicization of regional organization” and the necessity to set up institutions at country level to facilitate integration; which are the major factors for continental integration (Martion:90). However, AU like its predecessor has no actual mandate to force members to obey the rules of the regional organization, or any other mechanism to pressure members to be committed to the Treaty of Abuja.

5.1.2.4. Socio-economic Challenges

The social and economic challenges that appear to be a barrier for continental integration in Africa include poverty, limited skilled power disease such as HIV/AIDS, malaria. TB . . . , technology backwardness . . .

a. Poverty

Poverty in Africa is increasing. In 2001 the people living below US\$ 1 a day in sub Saharan Africa reached 46.5 percent, unless African countries change this trend of poverty it will be very difficult to mange the integration of Africa. The sub Saharan Africa “has the highest rate of undernourishment, with one – third of the population below the minimum level of dietary energy consumption” (Mkwezalamba and Chinyama: 4). This is mainly due to “the failure of most African states to deliver services, support and promote policies that benefit to the poorest section of their

society (Muchie: 52). African integration is aimed at bringing a better condition to the majority of the African population which are poor, but without incorporating this part of the African society integration will not be possible. In turn a genuine attempt to enhance the level of this part of African society will enable to grant large support and easy road toward unification.

b. Limited Skilled Power

Africa is a continent with least skilled professionals. In addition Africa has 'the lowest primarily enrollment rate of all regions'. Besides, Africa is losing large percentage of its professionals to the developed world. For instance around "70,000 Africans had left the continent by the mid - 1987 up from 40,000 in 1985", these is around 30 percent of the skilled human power of Africa (Cheru:130). In another in relatively recent data Paul Tiyambe Zeleza set the flight of Africans on average around "20,000 highly educated, among them academics, have been migrating to the North every year" (Zeleza, 2005:209). The exile of such large number of African skilled power created shortage of professionals in regional organizations to accelerate the process of integration. In addition this brain drain "has an enormous impact on the functioning of institutions of higher learning, industry and enterprise". The main cause for the flight of intellectuals out of Africa is mainly associated with political uncertainty and economic condition. As Cheru indicated "reversing this trend is a precondition for a well functioning national economy and regional integration" (Cheru: 130)

c. Diseases

Africa has the highest mortality rate in the world. The number one killer disease in Africa to day is malaria, followed by TB and AIDS/HIV. However, the main concern of the content in respect to health is HIV/AIDS epidemic because it is affecting the productive forces, spreading in alarming rate and has no cure. Africa has the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence; the global

prevalence rate was around 1 percent in 2003, while for Africa it was 8.5 percent. In 2005 “between 2.8 million and 3.9 million people in Africa became newly infected, while 2.4 million adults and children died of ADIS”. Unless, this problem properly addressed there will be no people left to unite in Africa. The impact of HIV/AIDS on national economy and social situation is very high. In some districts schools are closing due to HIV/AIDS and related deaths. According to 2005 data estimated 4.6 percent of women and 1.7 percent of men lived with HIV (Mkwezalamba and Chinyama: 4).

d. Technological Backwardness and Absence of Infrastructure

Technology today is a detrimental factor for economic development. Advanced innovations in the fields of microelectronics, biotechnology and new materials have highly influenced the world socio-economic progress. However, Africa has the least infrastructure and technological know how. For example, Africa has ‘two percent of the world’s telephone line and 2 telephones per 1,000 in habitants’. If the physical infrastructure is very low “the human capacity to operate information technology remains totally inadequate” (Rugumanu: 27). The absence of infrastructure (moderate) such as road transport, railway . . . is the main challenge to accelerate the process of integration. Africa is denied to technology by ‘trade – related intellectual property rights agreements that established global rules on patents, copy rights and licensing’ (Cheru: 26). This is an indication of the difficult task of brining technology to Africa (Cheru: 26). In addition, technological advancements are threatening the survival of African primary products in the developed world. The advancement in biotechnology has the potential to develop coffee, cocoa or other crops in laboratories. Such innovation in technology and infrastructure has direct impact on Africa and its integration program (Rugumamu: 22).

5.1.2.5 Lack of Implementation

Often are African countries accused of failing to implement the various agreed regional and continental treaties in their domestic laws. It is vital to formulate and establish necessary legal framework to make either regional or continental integration possible. Without the active participation of the nation-states in the present context of regional schemes integration is non-essential.

In addition, the nation states active participation can draw the masses of African society to the integration agenda. The alienation of the African society from the integration discourse is the main cause for the delay of unification in the continent. Thus the active participation of the African people would help to accelerate the regional and continental integration programs, in addition, it would increase the feeling of belongingness which is one of the important ingredients for successful and lasting unity.

5.2 Opportunities

Nearly five decades after independence there is a growing mood and openness to revive the continental unification debate in Africa. The end of the Cold War and the liberation of South Africa are seen by many scholars as the main ingredients for the revival of the concept of continental solidarity, as contented in Pan-Africanism. According to Dr. Tim Murthi, the implementation of the Pan-Africanism ideas was "killed by the Cold War and the OAU's non- interference policies". In addition, the Rwandan massacre of 1994 that shocked the world was a wake up call for African leaders and policy makers, in which they realized the importance of accelerating the continental integration program, the hard way.

There are several encouraging developments at continental level that appear as opportunities for the unity of Africa to become a reality. Among these are, the liberation of South Africa that marked the end of colonialism in Africa;

the wider acceptance on the impact of neo-colonialism, due to large number of educated Africans today; the transformation of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU) to African Union (AU) a result of African leaders commitment to pursue continental integration; the formation of NEPAD and most recently the AU proposal for the establishment of the United States of Africa by 2015 are worthy of note.

5.2.1 The Liberation of South Africa

The liberation of South Africa from the racist apartheid regime in 1994 ended colonialism in Africa. The demise of the apartheid regimes brought, not only peace and stability in Southern Africa but also the subsequent joining of South Africa to the regional economic group i.e. Southern African Development Community (SADC) which boosted the regions economy.

At the continental level, South Africa, with its huge economy, embarked on ideological, economical and security areas of Africa, which these expresses manifest South Africa's loyalty to Africa. South Africa's liberation and rising role in the continent was welcomed by most Pan-Africanists because of the country's potential to play the role of the strong state in leading Africa to unification with proper support from the rest of Africa.

In relation to ideology, the African Renaissance which is spearheaded by the South Africa's President, Thabo Mbeki, besides many things, is a call to revive the Pan-Africanism dream of African Unity. This is a great opportunity for Africans as a whole in and outside the continent that created an atmosphere to revive the program laid down by Pan-Africanists like Kwame Nkurma to achieve continual unity and set an African vision i.e

- To address and fight the scourge over dependency, poverty, neo-colonialism of the African people collectively;
- To restore the African identity at the international level and
- To rally pro-integration and pro-unity forces against Afro-pessimism.

South Africa has a huge economy compared to the rest of Africa. This created an opportunity for effective economic integration in Southern Africa, which also could affect the rest of the continent as well. South Africa's investors are now expanding their capital to the different regions of Africa. The presence of large responsible investors will help to accelerate the integration process. Besides, South Africa is attracting labor force, skilled power . . . that would have been lost outside the continent. South Africa's development is now seen affecting the neighboring countries like Botswana in positive manner.

Moreover, South Africa's strong assertions in the area of peace and security in different countries of Africa is an expression of 'Africa for Africans' slogan. Peace and security is the major problem for African unity to materialize. South Africa's initiation should be encouraged and supported by other regional powers like Nigeria, Egypt . . . in handling security problems in the respective regions. Besides, South Africa become a model for the rest of Africa that peaceful political transition can take place in Africa, despite the presence of racism and other challenges. In general, South Africa's liberation from apartheid is a great opportunity to enhance the integration process through out the continent as stated above, the African Renaissance can be utilized to bring solidarity among societies and to set a vision for Africa in this century.

5.2.2. New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

NEPAD reflects the desire of African governments as well as international community to help African society to overcome their developmental challenges. NEPAD, which was signed in Lusaka in 2001, "provides a comprehensive, integrated development plan that addresses key social, economic and political principles for the continent"[Mathews : 2005: 145]. It considers "that peace, security, democracy and good economic and governance as pre conditions for sustainable development" [ibid]. As Mbeki

described “the need to engage our partners in the true NEPAD partnership must balance the necessary exercise to keep the right to protest against unjust system openly” [Muchie: 360]. NEPAD calls for new relationship between Africa and the international community, particularly with developed world. In short, it can be considered as one of the institutions that brought African governments together to achieve a better Africa.

5.2.3. African Union

The establishment of African Union (AU) is another major factor that renewed the call to unity in a more assertive manner, than OAU. The formation of the Union sparks a new opportunity toward African integration. It is the result of “the commitment of African leaders to endow the continent with the ideal and robust institutions to meet the challenges of a new era in the history of the continent laying greater emphases on integration and economic development” (Mkwezalamba and Chinyama: 6).

The vision, mission and strategic plan of the African Union categorized the absence of peace and security as one of the major impediments for integration. Thus, African leaders under AU adopted the protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC). It ‘has risen to the challenge of conflicts on the continent by playing a leadership role and taking a land mark and decisive actions to ensure peace and security in Africa; to facilitate further individual countries toward integration. The AU also calls members to accelerate the process of economic integration. The African leaders should focus on these opportunities to advance the cause of the African continent (Murithi: 33). As Murithi further argued, “the African Union provides a new opportunity for revitalizing the Pan-Africanist agenda of uniting Africans and the Diaspora and encouraging them to work in solidarity with each other” (ibid 36).

Moreover, the wider awareness can be considered as an opportunity to mobilize the people of Africa toward unification. In Africa today, there are very larger number of educated citizens than in the early years of independence, who recognize the importance of continental integration. Effective mobilization of these members of the society will increase the possibility of integration within a short period of time.

5.2.4 The African Union Proposal for the United States of Africa.

The proposal for the establishment of the United States of Africa (USA) is a 'Grand' project and a clear manifestation of the growing understanding that the continent is at its high time as far as integration is concerned. For most scholars, the 1999 Sirte, Libya Extra-Ordinary meeting of the OAU is a starting point in reviving the process and the spirit of unity, which led for the establishment of the African Union (AU) in 2002 in Durban, South Africa. Further, at the 8th Ordinary Summit at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, AU member states agreed to focus exclusively on the issue (proposal) of the United States of Africa, in the July, 2007 AU Summit at Accra, Ghana. "This proposal is a culmination of proposals coordinated by the committee of seven (African Heads of Governments)' led by Nigeria. As Dr. Tim Murthi noted 'the Grand Debate' on the formation of the USA 'may be no more than a storm in a tea cup; much-ado-about not-very-much'. However, it can at least serve as a rallying force for Pan-Africanists and enable their voices to be heard. It also presents an opportunity to provide a pragmatic platform that can hasten the integration program, besides being the latest evolutionary stage in the institutionalization of the Pan-Africanism ideas and a great opportunity to enhance the public awareness.

The proposal for the establishment of the United States of Africa entails 9 important points.

1. Election of the president of the Heads of States Assembly for three years rather one year with the president not necessarily being a sitting Head of State.

2. The Union President will be required to attend meetings of the peace and Security Council.
3. An expanded Executive Council to include not only Ministers of Foreign affairs but also Chairpersons of Ministerial conferences
4. Less oversight role but more collaborative role for the Addis based Ambassadors in the permanent Representatives Committee to support the commission on implementation
5. An executive Commission with a president and Vice-President who are appointed by the Assembly for 6 years and commissioners appointed by Council
6. A legislating African parliament who will directly be elected by universal suffrage with proportional representation
7. Consultations with Economic, Social and Cultural council (ECOSOCC) shall be enshrined in all Assembly deliberations
8. Establishment of financial structures should harmonies internal African trading and financial exchange
9. Establishment of National Commissions on AU Affairs must include CSOs and disseminate decision to accelerate implementation

This proposal set three successive phases for the creation of the "USA". The first phase (from 2007-2009) prepares for the formation of the Union Government of Africa. This Union Government is utilized as a transitional vehicle 'toward the USA'. Its foundations are expected to be on the basis of shared African values and interests, as contained in agreements such as the Kampala Document of the CESSDCA, the OAU Declaration on Unconstitutional Change of Government, the Constitutive Act of the AU and the NEPAD Action plan, among others. The second phase (from 2009 to 2012) set for the consolidation of the Union Government and a preparation period for the USA constitution. The third phase (from 2012 to 2015) aims to put into place all required structures for the "USA" at state, sub-regional and continental levels.

Be that as it may, it seems three schools are emerging in relation to the AU's role in the continent. The first school propagates the consolidation of the present "AU structures, harmonizes and rationalize regional economic communities before taking the bold leap to the "USA". In short their main attempt seems to keep the status quo. They are pessimists about the viability of the "USA" in the near future taking into consideration the austerity, conflict and backward condition of the continent as well as unwelcoming international community.

The second school, like Kwame Nkrumah, believes that Africa has no future without immediate continental integration i.e. 'Africa must unite, or disintegrates individually.' It considered the disunity of the continent as the major challenge that hindered any progress either in political economy or socio-economic fields. Further it urges AU to "accelerate the pace of integration" because they say "as long as the continent remains motley gathering of fragmented states, the ideal condition for full integration will never be attained."

The third school adheres to the idea of strengthening and enhancing the AU or regional entities. It provides a gradual approach towards unity and asks states to hand over some of their sovereignty to regional and continental entities that include defense and foreign relation. It seems moderate compared to the above scenarios.

These contemporary opportunities would not produce any tangible result unless Africans, in particular political and academic elite, are strongly committed. The odds against a possible integration appear more than the perceived opportunities, but this was similar even during the liberation struggles. Africa is now at the crossroads, where the need and the significance for unity are high. Regionalism and integration is today a global

phenomenon and Africa needs to grab these opportunities and prove all anti African and pessimist elements wrong.

In general, the quest for African unity in the 21st century is not about racism, or chauvinism, or continentalism; rather it is a struggle against poverty, over exploitation and injustice. There are many factors that go against the unification of Africa. However, political discourse is often unpredictable. For instance in the 1950s the Belgian colonial experts claimed that the people of Congo/Kinshasa will successfully liberate themselves after 100 years and so do many of the colonial experts. But we proved them wrong. Similarly, the new wind of change across Africa might help accelerate the integration process. These are opportunities that come nearly after half a century and they must be utilized effectively.

Conclusion

The vision to realize African unity has come from the Pan-African movement. Pan-Africanism, in addition to African unity, encompasses a wide variety of concepts. Among these 'expression of black pride and achievement', a return back to Africa and a struggle for liberation are famous. Unlike most other regions of the world, the unification agenda in Africa can be traced back to more than two centuries. Pan-Africanism was the main force behind integration attempts and movements in the continent. Pan-Africanism, besides being successful in rallying Africans against colonialism, became a main force after independence in addressing the significance of continental integration for Africa.

Similarly, the 1990s saw the emergence of a new movement named African Renaissance. Like Pan-Africanism, African Renaissance calls and propagates for unity of Africa and its people. This concept/movement, which started in South Africa, considers the integration of Africa as a major strategy to change the present condition of Africa that is synonymous with conflict, poverty, dependency, marginalization etc. African Renaissance emphasizes on the importance of African knowledge and Africa-centered thinking for designing an effective integration program and developing forward-looking agenda. Both Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance agree on the significance of continental integration for Africa.

In an attempt to address the importance of unity in Africa, this study started with the basic question: what will be the relevance of a united Africa? In order to answer this question clearly, it is essential to analyze the various pessimistic claims concerning the possibility of unification of Africa. Pessimists argue that the Pan-African dream of unity is a vain dream because of Africa's diversity (linguistic, religious, ethnic etc); the dominance of nationalism; limited communication due to backwardness, weak ideology

for unity and poor economic systems. A careful analysis of these cases however, in lights their limited stance compared to the forces that drive Africa to unity.

The economic, political and social forces that drive Africa toward unity boiling by the elements or factors for integration are many. These include a common historical experience, shared values and common interests. These solid values for integration and unity for Africa are growing. Because, according to Dr Hassey H.B Kitin “the continent is useless unless it unites. If we want to survive and become a strong people, we have to unite we must fight and win unity” (New African, July 2007: 26). This fact is becoming evermore clearer as the disunity of the continent continues to make Africa an easy play field for the imperialist powers. Thus, this study focuses in addressing the question of African unity as a necessity for survival not a luxury or the question of prosperity. In addition as Kwame Nkrumah asserted the very “same imperialist forces which exploit and subvert our independent states are the very same forces which breed armed conflicts, civil strife and economic impoverishment . . .” (Reprint in ‘New Africa’ July 2007).

A united Africa will have several vital significant benefits for the people of Africa. Among these, Africa with organized continental planning will be able to feed itself; will have a better bargaining power in the international forums; because of the presence of huge energy, natural and human resources; a continentally organized planning would increase productivity greater than individual states potential (Nkrumah, 1963:171). In addition, a United Africa “will raise the dignity of Africa and strengthen its impact on world affairs” (ibid: 193). Moreover, a United States of Africa would uplift humanity as a whole, because it would provide a solution for the problem caused by “those arbitrary frontiers erected by the colonial powers, and so eliminate irredentist dissensions”. Therefore, there “would be no foreign



military base on Africa soil" (Nkrumah: 202) and no horrifying atrocities such as Rwanda, Somali and Darfur.

Taking in to consideration the contemporary global political economic arrangements, the need for African integration is growing. It seems today, there is no alternative left for Africa that could establish lasting peace and sustainable growth in Africa, except the African integration discourse. The issue of integration currently is not only an African phenomenon rather different regions of the world are forming regional and continental organizations. This trend is mainly due to the rapidly globalizing world economy that required expansion of market and a potential to resist and benefit out of the competitive world economy. Almost all individual African counties are finding it difficult to benefit or survive while conducting trade with regional economic blocs such as EU, NAFTA ..., which have enormous capital. Such international changes also necessitated the continental integration debate to revive in Africa.

The other main objective of this study is to analyze the different attempts at integration in Africa. In doing so, the research tried to relate the continuation of the struggle for African unity which developed in Caribbean and America and Europe to Africa. After the 'transplantation' of Pan-African unity ideal, in the second half of 20th century in Africa the continent experienced various continental and regional integration attempts. In particular, the liberation of Africa from the yoke of colonialism put Africans in a better position to determine their affairs. Hence, the struggle for the African unity continued at continental, regional and state levels. As Nkrumah described "United Africa is destined to be a great force in world affairs. So the battle is joined . . . we cannot disengage until the wishes and aspirations of our people have been met" (New African: 16).

The debate about continental integration in African history was high in early 1960s. Though, the Pan-Africanist forces were not able to achieve the

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Declaration

I, the undersigned declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of materials used in this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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