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THE CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS OF REGIONAL CO-OPERATION AND INTEGRATION: THE AFRICAN UNION.

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DECLARATION

I, Usenekong Nkaimaha Jonas hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signed: _____ Date: 13th Nov 2012

PROF. MARIA NZOMO

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DEDICATION

To God Almighty for His comforting presence; to my loved ones for their wonderful supports; to Africa and to those who love and wish her well.

ABSTRACT

This research work is an evaluation and assessment of the challenges of the African Union in its drive towards the integration of Africa. Clearly, yawning economic, political and social gaps exists at the sub-regional and continental levels. Similarly, studies on the African Union and on integration by other authors and scholars have been reviewed. Clearly, the lack of political will, coupled with the absence of supranational bodies with cohesive powers has inhibited integration in Africa. This research work has extensively assessed the constraints of the AU and has suggested ways of overcoming them as well as assessing the benefits of integration to Africa.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAPO	All African Peoples Organization
ACB	African Central Bank
ACJ	African Court of Justice
ADB	African Development Bank
AEC	African Economic Communities
AMF	African Monetary Fund
AMIB	African Union Mission in Burundi
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASF	Africa Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
CEDEAO	Communate economique des Etats de/'Afrique de/'ouest
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CEPGL	Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries
CEWs	Conflict Early Warning Systems
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.
COPAX	Council of Peace and Security in Central Africa
CRM Team	Country Review Commission Team
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
EAC	East African Community
EC	European Commission
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa.
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOSOCC	Economic and Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States

EU	European Union
FAL	Final Act of Lagos
G-8	Group of 8 Countries.
HOSGIC	Heads of State and Government Implementation Committee
IAB	African Investment Bank
IGAD	Inter- Governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	Indian Ocean Commission
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MRU	Mano River Union
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	Non Aligned Movement
NCBWA	National Council of British West Africa
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NTC	National Transitional Council
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PAFMECSA	Pan-African Movement of East and Central Southern Africa.
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
POW	Panel of the Wise
PRC	Permanent Representatives Committee
PSC	Peace and Security Council
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
REPAC	A Network of Parliamentarians of Central Africa
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
TFC	Transitional Federal Council
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
U.S.S.R	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

UAM	Union of Arab Maghreb
UEMOA	Union Economigue et Monitaire Quest –africaine
UN	United Nations
WAMZ	West African Monetary Zone
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

It is increasingly obvious that Africa cannot afford to continue to look outward for the development of the continent, especially in today's world, where economic recession and financial crises has not spared even the most developed countries of the world. Regional cooperation and integration established on the foundations of strong and workable institutions then becomes a must for Africa to find solutions to its own problems which include disunity, economic woes, social malaise, etc.

Clearly, the African Union represents the best platform and a vehicle of great importance in this campaign to galvanize the forces of the African states and sub – regional groups to take charge of its destiny in other to address the legacies of division and backwardness which has so far defined the African continent. Hence, this study focuses on the role of the AU, as it seeks to forge regional cooperation and integration on the African continent. It will also assess why the AU and the African peoples have not succeeded to bring unification to Africa. Emphases will equally be placed on what needs to be done to actualize real cooperation and integration, as well as on the benefits that awaits Africa, if unification becomes a reality.

OAU, the predecessor of the AU came into existence on May 25th 1963 at a time most African States were consolidating their hard won independence, while others were yet to break free from the claws of colonialism. The main pre-occupation of OAU then was to achieve independence for all African states. This position was later achieved. But beyond this achievement, lack of co-operation and integration or little of it has robbed the

continental body of the capacity for more achievements. This lack of desired co-operation and integration poses a danger to the Organization and undermines the dreams of the African peoples.

After four decades, the need for OAU to transform itself and be more collaborative and pro-active led to the adoption of the Constitutive Act which provided for the transition of the OAU to AU on 11th July 2000 in Lome, Togo[1]. This effort finally manifested in the birth of AU in Durban, South Africa in 2002[2] – a development that attested to growing pressure which was mounted on the Organization to re-invigorate itself and to bring about far-reaching changes and transformation in the African continent.

In spite of this transition, real co-operation is yet to be achieved. Apart from the fact that the motivation for the establishment of AU was to fast–forward integration among African states, it has additionally been seen that the future of Africa and indeed that of AU lies in co-operation and integration, a development which has rekindled calls for a continental government for Africa.

It is on record that attempts were made to unify Africa politically by the radicals. These positions were rejected by the moderates. Efforts to bring about economic co-operation and integration, has also been made at sub-regional levels in the creation of ECOWAS, COMESA, EAC, SADC, UMA, IGAD, ECCAS, CEN-SAD and at other intergovernmental platforms. Clearly, some have collapsed and disintegrated over the years, others have failed almost woefully, some are struggling and merely existing in

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[1] Constitutive Act of the African Union,p.15 www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key_oau/au_act.pdf retrieved 23/7/2002 5.41pm
[2] African Union in a Nutshell, p.2
http://www_africa_union.org/root/au/AboutAu/au_in_nutshell_en.htm, Retrieved 9/7/2012 3:01pm

names, while some have managed to succeed only partially. Obviously, this is not the African dream for cooperation and integration Africa desires. It should be cooperation and integration at all fronts, and in a functional way, via the AU, which will make the continent united and economically self-sustaining and to also be acknowledged as an emerging sphere even at the global arena.

Currently, as it has been observed for decades now, yawning economic and political gaps exist. Good governance, even though preached, is yet to be appreciably practiced. The will for collective security is weak. Even response to issues of grave concerns is weak and often delayed. The monetary union which should provide a springboard for a strong financial position and wide economic base, is yet to be given the consideration it deserves. The free movement of people across the continent is yet to be actualized. Africa is still plagued with conflicts and leadership problems. States are still reluctant to give necessary and adequate supports which the AU requires. Above all, the lack of political will remains the greatest constraint facing the Union.

Evidently, there are benefits and advantages in integration, this will include infrastructural development, increase in cross-border trade, economy of scale, market enlargement, conflicts reduction and it will be a good response to globalization which has affected the continent negatively.

The inability of the AU to integrate the continent so far observed needs collaborative efforts among the African states and the RECs. AU will require functional powers and they all-important political clout to enforce, engineer and crystallize the aspirations and destiny of the African peoples.

There are really no simple solutions to human problems – how much more the problems of Africa which are complex, multifaceted and some chronic. The challenges are great, no doubt, but challenging as they may be, with collective will, with honest work on the part of African leaders and people, success can be achieved.

Africans should not allow their fears to hold them back from achieving their collective dreams-as it is clear that there exist a strong need for cooperation and integration in Africa. If there is a need; a need that is backed up with determination, then there will be a way.

It is true that Africa has been divided for centuries by the colonial powers, through territorial boundaries. Some of are Muslims, some Christians; many believe in traditional tribal gods. Some of us speak French, some English, some Portuguese and some speak Arabic and Spanish, not to mention others who speak one of the numerable African languages. Clearly, Africans are not ignorant of the cultural differences which affect their outlook and have conditioned their political development. In spite of these, the forces making for the unity of Africa far outweigh those which divide them.

We should not be under any illusion, as was warned by Nkrumah that the enemies of African unity will multiply their endevours to defeat the resolve of Africa at unit. Their device will be to create discord and distrust in other to keep a wedge between the African people.[3] This wedge of discord and distrust has been the reason for disunity. This discord and distrust are not only created externally, but also within. But if Africa can come together, the leaders and peoples of Africa and dig in, this wedge will be dislodged from their path-way and the destinies and the prosperity of Africa will be achieved.

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[3] Ibid Nkrumah, Kwame, *Africa Must Unite*, (London ,Heinemann Educational Books Ltd,1963) pp. 187 - 188

Finally, what is perhaps needed is for AU to take a cue from the EU. The leadership of the African states must surrender a bit of their sovereignty and sacrificially contribute, just like Gadaffi pleaded with African leaders to "give a little bit of their sovereignty in the interest of the whole of Africa........"[4]. If giving part of their political sovereignty to achieve co-operation means dying a little, I think it's worth it for the survival and progress of the continent. The decades of haphazard and peripheral co-operation has not gotten Africa anywhere. And in today's world where regional co-operation and integration has become fashionable, the reality should dawn on the leaders and peoples of Africa to speed up the pace of co-operation and live no stone unturned.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

It is an obvious fact that Africa is yet to achieve unity. Unity will be expressed through cooperation and integration. But it will be wrong to say that no progress or collaborative efforts have been made by AU in the past decades, but it is a truism that so much remains to be achieved through cooperation and integration in the continent.

The much needed economic cooperation and integration that can uplift the poor economic status of countries in the continent has not been achieved. Politically, over the years, even right from the inception of OAU, there has been great reluctance on the part of the leaders of the continent to politically unite. Collective security is weak. In the area of conflict resolution it is also evident that AU is finding it difficult in most instances to resolve conflicts in the continent satisfactorily. Its responses to conflict situations can best be described as generally slow. Real unity among the peoples of Africa, North and

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[4]Akunor, Kwame *Stuffing old Wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News, 2007 www.fahamu.org/downloaeds/au-special.pdf pg.5

South of the Sahara has not really been promoted. There is no reason by now, why environmental and social issues that plague the continent should not be generally and jointly coordinated and with serious commitment too.

This study examines the challenges and constraints AU grapples with in its efforts to achieve regional cooperation and integration. The transformation within the continental body from OAU to AU should bring a revolutionary change. Identifying issues that can help enhance cooperation in Africa and practically approaching them with a view of achieving unification also, is the focus. The question then is; can the AU overcome the challenges that lie ahead to bring integration to Africa? Or does the AU hold the key that can make all-round cooperation and integration workable? Does it have the transformative agenda? What are the signals that it is doing what OAU failed to do? Has it been able to take up the challenges of globalization? In looking at the role of RECs, NEPAD and other institutional mechanisms within the AU; can it be said that they have been complimentary or overlapping and competitive rather than supportive?

1.3 Research Questions

Since the political will and commitment has posed as a challenge to cooperation and integration. Are the African states and their leaders truly ready to cede part of their sovereignty to make cooperation and integration workable? Are there real benefits and achievements that Africa can access from cooperation and integration?

The transition of OAU to AU was seen as a development that was needed to fast forward cooperation and integration in Africa. Can it then be said that AU has not lived

up to this expectation? If yes, what further transformation or drastic changes can be effected within the AU to make integration possible?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of this study will include the following:

i) To assess the nature of the challenges and constraints of AU towards regional co-operation and integration.

ii) To assess what AU has to do to overcome the challenges of integration and what has to be done to enhance and deepen it.

iii) To assess the impacts that cooperation and integration can bring to Africa.

1.5 Hypothesis

In evaluating the performance of the African Union as a regional organization, in the area of cooperation, this study will look into the following arguments;

- To bring integration to Africa will to a great extent depend on the capacity of the African Union, in line with the regional groupings and the leadership of the AU member states, to overcome certain challenges and constraints.

- If the AU has a clear transformative agenda and the supports of its member states, it is likely to achieve continental integration.

- The lack of political will on the part of the leadership of the AU and the African states remains one of the major obstacles frustrating Africa's integration.

1.6 Significance of the Study/Justification

The justification for undertaking this research work is for policy and for academic relevance.

For Policy Relevance:

It is my hope that this work can offer recommendations on the initiatives that may be useful to motivate commitment in the leadership of Africa in working towards the unification of Africa.

Similarly, a clearer appreciation of the circumstances that has delayed cooperation and integration in Africa is necessary. This work therefore provides an insight into this.

For Academic Relevance:

It is my believe that this work will form part of the body of knowledge in the study of Pan-Africanism.

In the same vein, it will undoubtedly, be found useful to students of International Studies and especially on academic work related to the AU.

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 Introduction

This section aims at reviewing the works and studies that has been carried out on African Union with special emphasis on regional cooperation and integration. The area of coverage, as will be seen, will attempt to be as diversified as it can possibly be, in other to capture the different facets and periods in the history the Union.

Undoubtedly, commitment on the part of the African leaders and the supports of the civil society groups will be important towards the drive for regional integration. Without this commitment, the collective platform needed to galvanize the whole continent to work together as a force of unity, be it politically, economically and socially, will continue to be a mirage.

1.8 The Political and Diplomatic Maneuvers that led to the Formation of AU

It should also be noted that the then continental organization, the OAU had increasingly exhibited signs of fundamental failure and therefore in need of reformation, having been observed to tilt towards a state of moribund. The response to the decision for change was overwhelming, when the Assembly of Heads of State and Government issued the Sirte Declaration on 9th September 1999. It was decided unanimously at the 4th Extra-Ordinary Summit Meeting of OAU that the African Union should be created. By 2000, at the 36th Ordinary Summit of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU in Lome, Togo, the Constitutive Act of the AU was adopted by the 53 member states[5]. At the Lusaka Summit in 2001, the Constitutive Act was entered into force and a roadmap for the implementation of the AU was drawn. And by 2002 at the Durban Summit in South Africa, the African Union launched its first Assembly of the Heads of State and Government.

It is important to mention here that there were maneuvers that led to the creation of the AU. This is important in the light of the fact, that there were groups and personalities who were interested in the shape the new organization should take.

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[5] Ibid, Eyinla, B. M., Pp246-247

At the OAU Summit in 1999, Colonel Gadaffi presented a draft Charter in which he proposed the formation of the United States of Africa. This was his planned programme of fast-forwarding the integration of Africa that would be based on one government, one leader, a single army, one currency, one central bank, and one parliament - a government essentially without a border. The time period for the commencement of this government was put at 2000[6]

There were reactions from many. To some, the nature of the proposal was seen as extremely idealistic. Other leaders like Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa saw the need to water-down substantially on this "extreme view" of Colonel Gadaffi. There were political discussions held and diplomatic overtures made, as well as exchanges and compromises which eventually led to the making of the Constitutional Act .Through them, a compromise was struck that partly resulted in the formation of the Constitutive Act of the AU which was subsequently adopted during the 36th Ordinary Summit of OAU in Lome, Togo on 11th July 2000[7]

The creation of AU can be seen as a marriage of two forces, the gradualists and the radicals. The radicals, led by Colonel Gadaffi and the gradualist led by Obasanjo and Mbeki. This was a repetition of almost the same scenario that transpired between the African leaders before the formation of the OAU. If there were debates and division of opinions on African co-operation and integration in the 1960's before the formation of OAU – after the transition of OAU to AU, there still existed a divide between the radicals and the moderates on African integration. According to Desmond Orjiako, at the African

[6]Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration,' in Bola. A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage publishers, Ibadan, 2005) pg 142
[7] Ndirangu, Gichinga, *Pan-African Unity: Can Africa Match the Bid?* Pambazuka News,2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/au special.pdf P58 retrieved 15th Sep 2012 3:01 PM

Heads of State Summit in Accra, Ghana in June 2007, the radicals, led by Colonel Mouamah Gaddafi, and supported by Ethiopia, Chad and Senegal pushed for the immediate establishment of the United States of Africa, this was rejected by the moderates, who instead called for a gradual and structured approach to the goal of a continental government.

In all these, there are challenges and there have been failings and some level of achievements, but much effort is now needed to bring the much needed economic development and political transformation to Africa. A serious effort was made to economically transform the continent; this was the adoption of a treaty to establish an African Economic Commission in 2025.[8]

The transformation of OAU to AU in 2002, many had thought would make AU more proactive. This new organization has been described by Goldstein and Pevehouse as having ambitious plans to coordinate economic and foreign policies, elect an African parliament, and create a stronger infrastructure than the predecessor, OAU.[9] Real cooperation is possible for AU, but real political will is needed, while sacrificial commitment on the part of the leaders of Africa will be the key to achieving this ambitious plan.

African leaders need to realize that political unity holds a good prospect for the overall integration of the continent. To this, Kennes asserted that "....... the chances of success for regional integration increase when the political and economic benefits

[8]DeLancey, Virginia, 'The Economies of Africa', in A.A Gordon and D, L Gordon (ed) *Understanding Contemporary Africa* (Boulder, Colorado; Lynne Reinner Publishers. Inc.2001) P. 132
[9]Goldstein, J.S and J.C. Pevehouse, *International Relations,* (New York; Longman, 2010) P. 356

complement each other"[10] Cervenka added his voice to this by saying that "....economic unity could only be achieved by the broadening of this unity into a true political alliance and not vice versa".[11]

AU and the Challenges ahead

The AU and the African countries should be able to speak with one voice on issues that concern them in international forums. There are other positive developments of cooperation within. At the economic level, a mechanism capable of dove-tailing the economic needs and activities of the various countries in a way that would benefit Africa as a whole, has not yet been fully worked out. The challenges of integration are numerous. Oche Ogaba cited non-implementation of treaties and agreements as having affected the programmes of the Union negatively.[12] In the same vein, poor funding has also frustrated the Organization[13] leading to under funding of the AU's programmes. This is due to the fact that most of the African countries are faced with daunting economic problems, a situation which has sometimes made the Union to look out for funding from outside. This is not good for the image of Africa.

The issue of leadership is believed to have constrained integration in Africa. Akonor mentioned that Africa needs leaders with Pan-Africanist commitment.[14] The AU

[10] Kennes, Walter, 'African Regional Economic Integration & the European Union,' in D.C Bach(ed), *Regionalization in African Integration & Disintegration* (Indiana university press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999) p.31

[11] Cervenka Z., *The unfinished Quest for Unity*, (London; Julian Friedman Publishers Ltd, 1977) P. 177

[12] Oche Ogaba, 'Nigeria, The African Union and the Challenge of Regional Integration,' in B.A Akinterimwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005 p.154

[13] Ibid, Oche Ogaba p.157

[14] Akonor,Kwame, *Stuffing Old Wine with New bottles?* Pamabazuka News, 2007 Www.Fahamu-Org/Downloads/Au-Special.Pdf. P.9

lacks the requisite supranational authority to adequately function.[15] Eyinla specifically pointed out that the office of the Chairperson of the Commission and the secretariat should be strengthened and entrusted with the necessary powers to accomplish the task assigned to him or her[16]

The Grand Debate at Accra Summit for a continental government was a step in the right direction[17]

1.9 An Overview of Regional Cooperation and Integration in Africa

The idea of cooperation and integration is not new to Africa and its peoples. Africa had fought against slavery and the imposition of colonialism at different periods of its history. According to Ernest Harsch "...the idea of better integrating African countries and regions has long been promoted by political leaders in speeches, official conferences and formal treaties."[18] African leaders have consciously been involved in cooperation at some levels, whether in deepening relations, coming together to promote trade and carrying out developmental schemes, they have been working together to cooperate and integrate at some level.

It can therefore be said, that the notion of regional cooperation and integration is hinged on the premise where components states belonging to the same region come together to find solutions to their problems by developing open collective form of economic, social and political planning.

[15] Oche Ogaba, 'Nigeria, The African Union and the Challenge of Regional Integration,' in B..A Akinterimwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005 p.159

[16] Eyinla B.M,. 'OAU, Charter and the Constitutive Act of the AU: A Comparative Analysis,' in B. A Akinterinwa (ed)), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005 p.257

[17] Murithi, Tim ' *From Pan- Africanism to the Union of Africa* www.fahamu-org/dowloads/au-special.pdf p.24 retrieved 15th sept 2012 5:01PM.

[18] Harcsh, Ernest 'Making African Integration a Reality', Africa Recovery, Vol. 16 #2 -3, (September 2002), P. 2, http://www.Uun.org/en./africarenewal/vol16no2/162r... retrieved on 04/27/2012 0:02pm

It is therefore important to stress here, that cooperation and integration in this perspective, as it relates to the African Union will be linked to the task of building intra – African unity on an elaborate perspective, be it economic, political, diplomatic, security, social, cultural etc, between African nations. Regional cooperation and integration in Africa calls for common action and functional sense of solidarity that will bring joint planning in development in any sphere deemed necessary.

Prof. Maria Nzomo defined it as a process involving the growth of linkages and transactions which are economic in nature, but include political and social aspects. According to her, it requires integration geographically and socio-economic interdependencies; which should include shared values and political treaties.

Haas defined regional cooperation as "any interstate activity with less than universal participation designed to meet some commonly experienced needs"[19] Here the idea of shared values, as expressed by Prof. Nzomo again comes to the fore. And the aspect that it is less than universal reflects that regional aspiration.

Again, it can be said that African regional integration was a dream of many of the continent's leaders and this was seen in their efforts by the creation of OAU in 1963.[20]It was the OAU that helped give form and impetus in encouraging and building cooperation among the African states.

[19]Morara, H. O, *Regional Cooperation and Integration in East Africa: The Case of the East African Co-operation,1993-1999*, Master Thesis, University of Nairobi, October 2001,p. 9
[20]Harsch, Ernest 'Making African Integration a reality', *Africa Recovery*, vol 16 # 2- 3,(September 2002), P. 4, http:// www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol16no2/162r..... retrieved 04/27/2012 0:02pm

The establishment of a Liberation Committee based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania to aid liberation movement with both economic and military assistance [21] was a case of cooperation at the continental level which finally ended white rule in Africa.

The creation of far-reaching and notable economic groupings, capable of promoting regional cooperation and integration, such as ECOWAS, UAM, SADC, ECCAS and IGAD was another case of integrating the continent. The Lagos plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980 – 2000, which proposed the establishment of an African Common Market (ACM) are some efforts at regional cooperation and integration in Africa.[22]

But beyond this, better regional integration is needed and this has long been the goal of African leaders. This goal has now added greater urgency to forge more links among African economies.[23] Without any doubt, Africa needs rapid economic growth and development, but the fundamental conditions for success falls outside the realm of economies namely; the existence of mature institutions within a strong state.[24] These conditions have to be met. The political will, on the part of the African leaders and their ability to sacrifice national sovereignty for the sake of the development of the region is paramount. Hence, regionalism will only prosper if the constituent states are strong, confidently and well governed and among themselves undivided on the major issues concerning development and economy and political system.[25] To this extent, one can then

[21] Schraeder, P. J, 'African International Relations' in Gordon, A.A. and D.L., Gordon (ed), *Understanding Contemporary Africa*, (Boulder,Colorado; Lynne Reiner Publishers. Inc, 2001) P. 155
[22] Ibid P. 156
[23] UNCTAD, Africa Must Pull Together, Africa Renewal, Vol. 23 #2 (July 2009), page, retrieved 04/27/2012 12:54pm
[24] Ellis, Stephen *Africa Now, People, Policies and Institutions*,(New Hampshire; Heinemann, 1996) P. 230
[25] ibid, Ellis, Stephen, P. 230

see the added impetus shown by the AU, in its integration drive which has rekindled the dreams of leaders like Nkrumah and Gaddafi.

Clearly, regional cooperation and integration promotes the sharing of experience and transfer of expertise, setting and promoting best practices. It also defines common thematic strategies and actions plans, carrying out together concrete projects. It creates networks of people and organizations. Equally, it reinforces capacities of national and local authorities as well advancing the strengthening of civil society.[26]

The African Union as a regional organization, within the African continent, has the capacity to position itself as a platform for the integration of member states.

A region is a relatively large territory, possibly, physical and human characteristics make it distinct from neighbouring regions. A region is therefore better suited, according to Prof. Alvarez to analyze societal behaviours and in making decisions than the global.[27] It is from this platform that varieties of opportunities will be offered to the member states of AU to sit around the same table and engage in a dialogue even in difficult times or on sensitive issues like safeguarding human rights, gender and security issues and economic integration etc.

It is at this point that attempt will be made to scrutinize how the AU has performed in the area of cooperation and integration. Has the AU been able to lay a foundation for economic and political unification of Africa? What are its achievements? For these reasons, the evolution and transition of the AU will be considered. It short-

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[26] European Mediterranean partnership, A Publication of EU Information Media, retrieval date – May 10th 2011, P.1 www.en.pi-info.eu/files/publications
[27]Alvarez, J.F,3rd *Global Intra and Inter-Regional Cooperation Meeting of Association of University of Guadalajara, Mexico,*(Paper Presented on 20th April, 2009 in Guadalajara, Mexico) April P. 3

comings and challenges will also be looked into, those things that need to be done to enhance cooperation and integration, through the AU, will also take centre-stage.

It is very clear, that the desire for workable cooperation among the African states within the auspices of the OAU has always been there, but this desire seems to have always been unachievable. This position was mentioned in the 16th volume of African Recovery which has it that "Greater African unity has long been cherished....but elusive..... "[28] From such expression of concern, one can see that cooperation and integration goes beyond mere formation of a regional organization; it goes beyond having desire for cooperation; but what is needed will be the political will, determination and collective efforts from the leadership and peoples of Africa ,as well as patience.

It should also be pointed out emphatically, that lack of political will is among the reasons given as being responsible for the inability of Africa to integrate.

The emphasis has been in promoting economic cooperation between AU and its member states. The adoption of AEC into the AU was aimed at accelerating the process of implementing the Abuja Treaty,[29] which prescribes the establishment of the African Central Bank, the African Court of Justice and the African Parliament. Apart from the AEC and the RECs, NEPAD has the vision and programmes of action for the redevelopment of Africa.[30] These efforts led to the creation of many sub-regional and intergovernmental organizations. Needless to say, that this development did not achieve the desired results. It is from this background of failure and unfulfilled desire for

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[28] "Making African Integration a Reality", *Africa Recovery*, vol. 16 # 2-3, September 2002, P. 1 www.un-org/en/africarenewal/vol16no2/162r... retrieved 04/27/2012 0:02 pm

[29] Oyovbaire,sam 'Political Stability and the African Union: 2002-2005' in B.A. Akanterima(ed) *Nigeria & the Development of African Union* Vvantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p.143

[30] The New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) www.Africa – union.org/root/an/ans/speicla programs/nepad/nepad.Htm.p1,' retrieved 8/28/2012 5:50AM

cooperation and integration that a call had been made for "..... a renewed impetus to countries, based on a heightened appreciation of the need for regional integration and a clearer understanding of the reasons for past failures."[31]

One therefore sees the birth of AU as a new chapter in the drive for African integration. It is believed and hoped that the idea behind this birth ".... was that political integration should be the raison d'être of the African Union, the objective being to achieve a federation or a confederacy in the long run. This idea is fully in line with the thesis advocating political integration, that was in the minority in 1963, and which President Nkrumah was the most ardent proponent." [32]Africa cannot afford not to actualize regional cooperation and integration. The rest of the world, the EU, NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) also called the NAFTA zone, have realized the importance cooperation and integration, Africa must follow suit.

The African Union undoubtedly has a vision that aims to unite and integrate the African continent, which will reflect in "....an Africa imbued with justice and peace; and interdependent and robust Africa, determined to map for itself an ambitious strategy; an Africa underpinned by political, economic, social and cultural integration which would restore to Pan-Africanism its full meaning; an Africa able to make the best of its human and material resources, and keen to ensure the progress and prosperity of its citizens by taking advantage of the opportunities offered by a globalized world rich in its disparities."[33]

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[31]Africa Recovery, Vol. 16 #2 -3, September 2002 P. 1 www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol16no2/162r... retrieved 04/27/2012 01:02pm

[32]Orjiako, D. T, *The Role of Communication in African Integration: Case Study of the African Union Commission*, Master Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2008 P. 21

[33]Vision of the African Union and Mission of the African Union and Mission of the African Union Commission, March 2004, Office of the Chairperson, of the African Union Commission, P.18.

But as lofty and as well thought out this vision is; its realization may continue to be hampered if the constraints and challenges to its full implementation are not found. Some questions have been asked, as to what should be the impediments that hold back cooperation and integration in the AU. Could there also be that there is no real interest and commitment on the part of the African leaders to make integration work? Unmistakably, lack of political will, fear of loss of sovereignty on the part of African states, lack of communication and poor infrastructure and inadequate trade within Africa, have been pointed out as some of the factors that inhibit integration.[34] Added to these include poverty, neo-colonialism, non-involvement of civil society, disunity among the African peoples etc.

A continental government, promoted by President Nkrumah and Gaddafi, which can lead to the political and economic unification of the African continent in a functional and effective way, now beckons on Africa.

1.10 Conclusion

It will take serious commitment and sacrifice on the part of the African states for regional integration to succeed. AU remains central and pivotal to Africa in it search for all-round unification.

It has also been seen, that attempts have been made in the past by the Continental Organization to bring cooperation and integration to Africa. The results have been far below the expected desire. However, it should be said, that the renewed impetus to unify the continent is encouraged by the transformation at the AU, as a reinvigorated and

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[34] African Ministers of Economic Integration Experts 'Meeting, 27 – 28 March 2006, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

revitalized Organization. But beyond the transformation in the AU, real challenges still exist. These challenges must be collectively surmounted for cooperation and integration to be achieved.

Regional integration will offer Africa considerable dividends. It stands to strengthen the economic, political and socio-cultural development of member states and will undoubtedly create the enabling environment for the growth and expansion of the private sector and will also lead to peace and security in the region. The sheer size of the region and the large market will strengthen the position of Africa as a territorial entity and will provide it with a strong voice internationally, and particularly with a leverage to negotiate advantageously with other regions and nations in every sphere.

The challenge to make this regional unification work is undoubtedly great. The institutions of the African Union, empowered by the Constitutive Act should be practically made to be fully functional and effective. The involvement of the African leaders and peoples and that of the civil society will be paramount in this plan. The time for Africa, through the AU to successfully take its destiny in its own hands has come. Africa must unite.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

1.11.1 Theoretical framework

Theories are empirical generalizations which describe and predict phenomena of interest to us. In looking at this research topic, the realist theory and the theory of integration will be used.

1.11.2 Realist theory

Machiavelli (1514) had emphasized the need for a ruler to adopt a different set of moral standing from those of the individual in order to ascertain the survival of the state. Preoccupation with power and his assumption that politics is characterized by a conflict of interest, places him in the confines of realism. The writings of Thomas Hobbes saw power as crucial in human behaviour and Hegel's works which reveal a belief that the states highest duty is its own survival.[35] In the 20th century, a number of theorists have contributed to the realism school. These include Hans Morgenthau (1951) and Carr (1946). Morgenthau attempted the most explicit reformation of principles upon which international relations is studied.[36] Regional cooperation is within the confines of international relations.

Seemingly, cooperation and integration have challenged the realist assumption that states were strictly autonomous and would never yield power or sovereignty.[37] This is the challenge that seems to ensue between states sovereignty and international cooperation. It then explains the reluctance on the part of the African states in ceding sovereignty to the AU. This has resulted in constraints which the AU faces in its drive towards integration.

"Traditionally, the theory of realism, based on the dominance principle, holds that each state must rely on its own power and less reliably, on it as alliances to influence the behaviour of other states".[38] From this position realism assumes that international relations can be best, though not exclusively explained "......by the choices of states

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[35] Muga, C. E, The Dynamics of Regional Integration in Africa: A Case Study of the East African Community 1967-1977, p.20
[36] Ibid, Muga, C. E, p.20
[37] Goldstein, J.P and J.S. Pevechouse, *International Relations* (Longman, New York, 2010) .P. 335
[38] Ibid,Goldstein,J.P and J.S Pevehouse. P43

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operating as autonomous actors rationally pursuing their own interest in an international system of sovereign states without a central authority."[39] This is what is called power politics.

The above insights evidently inform the position of states on sovereignty. Sovereignty is undoubtedly, one of the most important norms to states. Here, they belief is that, they have the right to do whatsoever they want and therefore should not answer to any higher authority, like the African Union.

1.12 Theory of Integration

The theory of "...international integration refers to the process by which supranational institutions replace national ones–the gradual shifting upward of sovereignty from state to regional or global structure."[40] In this perspective, the focus is on the region. The African continent, as a region, through the AU, has reinvented itself for the economic and political integration of the African states. One can then see that the ultimate expression of integration would be the merger of several (or many) states into a single state, such as the continental government which was proposed by Colonel Gaddafi[41] and which seems to be currently considered by the leadership of Africa.

Today, the EU is seen as a typical example of the most successful integrating unit. The AU, has also come up with some ambitious plans. "...to coordinate economic and

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[39] Ibid, Goldstein, J.P and J.S Pevehouse P.45
[40] Goldstein, J.S and J.C. Pevehouse, P. 354
[41] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenges of Regional Integration,' in B, A Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005). P. 142

foreign policies, elect an African parliament and create a stronger infrastructure than its predecessor, Organization of Africa unity (OAU)[42]

As it has earlier been pointed out, cooperation and integration has challenged the realist assumption that states were strictly autonomous and would never yield power or sovereignty.[43] This position provides an interesting scenario between realism and international integration.

International integration contradicts the notion of state sovereignty. This arrangement allows for the involvement of public officials with substantial autonomy from national governments. This means that they display high level of publicness and delegation.[44]

It also creates supranational bodies. Examples of such bodies can be found in the EU. They include the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Court of Justice. The direct effect associated with the supremacy of European law over national law and the direct enforcing effect of ECJ case law through the preliminary – Ruling Procedure of Article 177 EC guarantees European law undoubted validity in all member states. Hence, the Community provisions are an inseparable part of the body of law valid for EU citizens (Weiler 1993).[45]

This respect of supranationality is what has also inspired the AU to create the African Parliament, the African Court of Justice and others. But they are yet to be effective, in comparison to what is obtainable in the EU.

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[42] ibid, Goldstein, J.S and J.C. Pevehouse P.356

[43] Ibid, Goldstein, J.S and J.C. Pevehouse ,P. 355

[44] Koenig-Archibugi, M. and M. Zurn, *New Models of Governance in Global System. Exploring Publicness, Delegation and Inclusiveness*,(Hampshire, UK; Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) P. 239

[45] Ibid, Koenig-Archibugi, M. and M. Zurn, P. 239

Clearly, the theory of international integration fits into this research work on "Regional Cooperation and Integration." A continental organization like AU, which aims to bring cooperation and integration to the African continent, will depend on supranational institutions like the Pan-African Parliament, the AUC, the ACJ, ECOSOCC, the 3 financial institutions of ACB, AMF and AIB as well as the Specialized Technical Committees to succeed.[46]

But why should states and other actors would want to delegate significant powers to supranatational institutions? It is believed that. "...in dynamic terms, we can expect that the more international regimes address behind the border issues, which are especially difficult to monitor and have significant impacts on societal actors, the more the question of credibility of commitments arises. A logical way to increase the credibility of commitments is to develop supranational bodies that monitor regulations and resolve conflicts (see Moravcsik, 1998:73-7)"[47]

But it needs to be pointed out, that, "In practice, the process of integration has never gone beyond a partial and uneasy sharing of power between states and supranational levels. States have been unwilling to give up their exclusive claim to sovereignty and have limited the power and authority of supranational institutions."[48] This position explains the issue of national interest. States will continue to guard their national interests. They will consciously protect their physical, political and cultural interests against encroachment from other nations. National interest is defined with national survival.

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[46] Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article5,
[47] Ibid
[48] Goldstein, J.S. and J.C Pevehouse, *International Relations*, (New York; Longman, 2010)P.354

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National interest will continue to be a major threat to regional objective of integration, be it in the UN, EU or in the AU. Each member state has national interest to pursue, even when they are grouped in an integrative initiative. This position has been observed within the African Union, right from its inception. This does not however mean that the ambitious plan for integration of the African Union cannot work. They EU is a successful story of integration. This is a success that can be re-enacted on the African continent. Africa and the AU can draw inspiration from EU's success, especially on the benefits the continent will derive from a united Africa.

1.13 Research Methodology

This study intends to rely on both the primary and secondary data:

1.13.1 Primary data

Primary data will be collected through interviews on a one-on-one basis. Here, open-ended questions would be asked, the atmosphere has to be at an interactive level. There may be need to examine issues raised if need be.

The study will identify selected professors at the Institute of Diplomacy, and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi, for interviews. The officials of the African Union will also be interviewed. Through this method the limited literature on this subject will be complemented and enriched.

1.13.2 Secondary data

Published and unpublished materials will be used. It will range from text books, academic and conference papers, journals, news from the media, news paper and newsletters. Electronic articles and other periodicals, especially on memos, transcripts of conversations, speeches at Summits and Conferences, assessments, reports of the African Union on the websites will also serve as sources of information for this research work.

Important documents like the various reports of the African Union, the Constitutive Act, and documents and reports of the RECs and other relevant articles of the Commission will also be collected. Efforts will be taken to analytically read and critically scrutinize these sources of information. These sources present an environment for examination and evaluating what has been done in this area of study. It also highlights on the weaknesses and strengths of such undertakings with the ultimate aim of contributing to knowledge on the subject matter.

1.13.3 Data: analysis

Here, the data analysis will be qualitative. The reason for this can be seen in the light of the fact that it allows the researcher to appreciate critically, studies that have been carried out on the subjects. It makes the research work quite descriptive, as well as making it in depth and enriched. The data will undergo strict test of objectivity in interpreting and presenting them, especially in the light of the theories of realism and international integration.

1.14 Limitation of the Study

This research work will take into consideration the debates that still surround the issue of integration or unification of the continent. The moderates believe integration should take a slow pace, while the radicals believe integration and unification should not be delayed. These positions which are often interlaced with emotions will be downplayed and isolated for the issue at hand to be properly substantiated.

1.15 Chapter Breakdown

The entire research work is organized into six chapters. Chapter one covers the introduction, the research problem/problem statement, research questions, the objectives of the study, the hypothesis, significance of the study/justification, as well as the literature review and the theoretical framework. Chapter one finally concludes with the research methodology and limitation of the study.

Chapter two begins with African Union in perspective. Chapter three assesses the AU's efforts at integration. While chapter four takes care of the challenges and constraints of cooperation and integration. Chapter five offers ways of overcoming challenges and enhancing integration and finally ends with the benefits of integration. The conclusion and recommendations will be the focus of chapter six. The study ends with a bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO

AFRICAN UNION IN PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction

The AU came into existence on 9th July 2002.[49] It will be important to note that

the road to the creation of this continental body was long and challenging, as there were

distances to cover and struggles to overcome.

Different forces, alliances and events and even personalities, all contributed in

creating an organization that has given Africa a platform to aspire for self-realization.

The vision of the AU is to accelerate socio-economic integration of the continent,

which will lead to greater unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples.[50]

The focus of this Organization is to also have a united and strong Africa, built on a

partnership between governments and all segments of the civil society.[51] As a means of

achieving its developmental and integration agenda, the AU focuses on the promotion of

peace, security and stability on the continent. The AU's secretariat, the African Union

Commission is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

2.2 From Pan-Africanism to OAU

Pan-Africanism first came to be associated with black communities of African ancestry in

North America and the Caribbean. They were united by their colour and by their

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[49] Opening Statement by H.E., President Thabo Mbeki, at the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. 10 July 2003, Maputo, Mozambique,p.2

[50] Transition from the OAU to the African Union, www.au 2002 gov.za/docs/background/oau-to-au.htm,p.3, retrieved 9th July 2002.3: 01 PM

[51] African Union in a Nutshell htpp://www-africa-union.org/root/au/About AU/au-in-nutshell-en.htm.p.3, retrieved 9yh July 2002 3:01 PM

suffering, and also in the believe that they can access freedom and equality if they stand together to resist racism and discrimination.

The idea that led to its conception can be traced back to Pan – African Movement. Beyond this, it should also be pointed out that a sense of pride in Africa's past and the need to break free from a life of near slavery and discrimination strongly motivated the very notion of Pan-Africanism.

A series of Pan-African Congresses were held. The first was in 1900 in London. The 2nd in Paris in 1919, and the 3rd was simultaneously held in London and Brussels in 1921 and the 4th in London in 1923, while the 5th took place in New York in 1927.[52] All these efforts were made to bring equality, freedom, unity and self determination to Africa, whether in the Diaspora or continental Africa.

By this time, especially in the 1920's, Pan-Africanism had developed into a new form, where Africans were expected to find their own way toward unity and freedom. Black Americans felt there was a limit to what they can do to free Africans in mother Africa from colonialism. According to them, they could support and give solidarity, but they could not lead Africans in that struggle.

Some notable figures were very instrumental in Pan-Africanism, these included Edward William Blyden, (1832-1912), a West Indian, who later became a Liberian diplomat. Marcus Garvey of Jamaica, (1887-1940). He founded an organization in 1914 in New York, called the Universal Negro Improvement Association. His influence is said to have been felt widely across Africa. William DuBois of the U.S.A (1869-1963), a great student of African history. He did much in not only spreading the ideas of Pan-

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[52] Davidson, Basil, *Modern Africa, a Social and Political History.* (Burnt Mill: Longman Group UK Limited, 1989) P.33.

Africanism, but eventually became a citizen of Ghana. Henry Sylvester-William of Trinidad equally helped in spreading the ideals of Pan-Africanism world wide. Through them and many others, Pan-Africanism or Pan-Black or Pan-Negro ideas were propagated all over the world.

The African Americans recognized that their own problems were different. According to Kobina Sekyi: (1892 – 1956), a leading thinker from the Gold Coast in his book wrote that "any sound plan for African progress... must be controlled and decided from African Africa, and through African African."[53] It was from this stand point of the need for Africans in Africa to play a more pivotal role in Pan-Africanism and from the African soil, that the sixth Pan-African Congress of 1945 held in Manchester, England, witnessed leading African nationalists and future African leaders like Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast in attendance. It was at the Manchester Congress too, that new demands were made for African independence. With this development, Pan-Africanism came alive with a new purpose.[54] Indeed, the Pan-African Congress of 1945 was pivotal to the Organization of African Unity that later came to be in 1963. Through the Manchester Congress, Pan-Africanism and African nationalism took concrete expression. It was there that the necessity for well organized, firmly – knit movements as a primary condition for the success of the national liberation struggle in Africa as well as demand for constitutional changes, providing for universal suffrage were stressed.[55] A strong desire for unity in the search for independence and freedom for Africa among the nationalists also developed. Basil Davidson had it that a new vision of

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[53] Ibid P. 33
[54] Ibid P. 254
[55] Nkrumah, Kwame, *Africa Must Unite.* (London; Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, London, 1963), pg. 134

unity began, books were written by some African nationalists – these included "Africa's Freedom" by Julius Nyerere, "Pan Africanism" by the Nigerian historian, Adekunle Ajala. This literary works and ideas promoted the belief that there was nothing to prevent a united, stable and highly industrialized Africa that can compete with other spheres of the world.[56]

The NCBWA in the 1920's, and the two big French independent federations of ex French West Africa, and the ex Equatorial Africa,[57] all helped to galvanize the continent to lay the foundation of unity in Africa.

No one can underestimate the effect and the impact that the independence of Ghana had on the rest of the continent. Nkrumah, at the independence of Ghana was reputed to have declared that "....there would be no meaning to the independence of Ghana, unless it was linked with the total liberation of the African continent.[58]Nkrumah was said to have thrown his support behind a strong campaign for Pan-African progress.[59]

On 23rd November 1958, Ghana and Guinea came under a political union (which was later joined by Mali in April 29th 1961).[60] This development was also a significant move towards some sort of arrangement that was to affect the whole continent.

Some events took place before the eventual formation of the OAU, these included the Conference of Independent African States in Accra, Ghana (April 1958) attended by Ghana, Egypt, Liberia, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Ethiopia. At this conference,

[56]Davidson, Basil, *Modern Africa, A Social and Political History*,(Burnt Mill; Longman Group UK Limited,)1989 P. 254
[57]Ibid
[58] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*,(London; Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, London, 1963), p. 136
[59]Davidson, Basil, *Modern Africa, A Social and Political History*, (Burnt Mill; Longman Group UK Limited,1989) P. 255
[60] Organization of African Unity, OAU, OAU Press Information Division. P.O. Box 3243 – Addis Ababa, P.1

matters of common interest that bordered on consolidating and safeguarding African independence, overcoming colonialism and building economic and cultural ties were discussed.[61]

There was also the All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana in December 1958, which was mainly for nationalist parties all over Africa, even from countries that were not yet independent. The wide spread attendance of delegates from sixty two African countries was significant. These included attendance from the Belgian Congo, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa. They went back to their respective countries with enthusiasm and were equally profoundly influenced by issues on independence and unity of Africa, which were discussed at the Conference.[62]

These AAPO conferences, as referred to by Basil Davidson, demanded for the liberation of the continent and also came up with steps toward an eventual Commonwealth of Free African States to resist colonialism and racism.[63]

Another building block towards a continental wide organization was the All-Africa Trade Union Federation meeting of November 1959 in Accra, Ghana. Labour movements across Africa assembled there with an aim to find a common ground in aligning themselves toward the independence of Africa and for freedom of the African people.

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[61] Nkrumah, Kwame, *Africa Must Unite* (London; Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1963), p. 136
[62] Davidson, Basil, *Modern Africa, A Social and Political History*, (Burnt Mill; Longman Group UK Limited, 1989) P. 257.
Also see   Nkrumah, Kwame, *Africa Must Unite*, (London; Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1963,) p. 137
[63] Davidson, Basil, *Modern Africa, A Social and Political History*, (Burnt Mill; Longman Group UK Limited, 1989) P. 257

In April 1961, in Accra Ghana, a Conference on Positive Action and Security in Africa was organized by the Ghanaian government in consultation with other independent African states.[64]

The idea of freedom and unity held by leading nationalists in the British East African colonies, through a programme of "Uhuru na Umoja,"a Swahili phrase for freedom and unity also contributed to the spreading of the ideals of African independence. Series of conferences were held under the umbrella of PAFMECA, Pan – African Movement of East and Central Southern African. It later became the Pan-Africanism Movement of East and Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA). It was aimed to work for the independence and for unity of that region. Equally, was the effort of the Maghrib North African countries of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia to unite.[65]

One will not ignore the role played by the Non-Align Movement (NAM) which was made up of Third World Countries of mainly Asian and African countries. Six African governments of Liberia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya and the yet-to-be independent governments of Ghana and Sudan, were among the countries that gathered at Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 during the launching of the Movement.

Finally, the formation of different ideological groupings in the continent like the Casablanca Group (7th January, 1961), the Monrovia Group (May 8th 1961), the Brazzaville Group and PAFMECSA, helped laid the foundation for the organization was to come. It was only a matter of time for an organization meant for the solidarity of the

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[64] Ibid
[65] Davidson, Basil, *Modern Africa, A Social and Political History*,(Burnt Mill; Longman Group UK Limited,1989)Pp. 255 - 256

African people to emerge on 25th May 1963. In attendance were 31 out of 32 African states.[66]

2.3 The Transition from OAU to AU

After decades of existence, the OAU, as a matter of necessity needed to re-invent itself to take the continent of Africa to a new level. OAU had partly fulfilled its mission and was also in the same vein observed to lack certain ingredients and therefore, a more efficient platform was required to address the continents needs.

It should be recalled that there had been growing pressure within the continent for the OAU to be transformed for far–reaching changes and pro-activeness. To this end, the African leaders and stake-holders in the OAU came to the conclusion that change was indeed required in the continental organization, if Africa can make it mark in the new millennium.

Beyond the pressure for the OAU's transformation and other official initiatives taken for this purpose, one can formally trace the transition of OAU to AU, to the acceptance by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in July 1999 in Algiers for the 4th Extraordinary Summit to be held in Sirte. The 4th Extraordinary Summit was requested to be hosted by Colonel Gaddafi. The aim of the Extraordinary Summit was to amend the OAU Charter to increase its efficiency and effectiveness. "The theme of the Sirte Summit was to strengthen the capacity of the OAU to enable it meet the challenges of the new millennium."[67]

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[66]Organization of African Unity, OAU, OAU Press Information Division. P.O. Box 3243 – Addis Ababa, P.1

[67] Transition from OAU to the African Union, Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa, May 2002, P.2, www.au2002_gov.za/docs/background/oau_to_au.htm Retrieved 9/7/2012, 3:01pm

It was at the Extraordinary Summit of Sirte in Libya on 9th September 1999, that a decision was taken for the establishment of the AU. The Declaration of Sirte, thus reads; "To establish an African Union in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the Charter of our continental organization and the provisions of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community."[68] There is therefore a strong link between the decision to establish AU and the Treaty that established the AEC (also called the Abuja Treaty). The emphasis is to accelerate the process of implementing this treaty.

Since the July 1999 Algiers Summit, four Summits have been seen as very instrumental, which subsequently led to the official launching of the African Union. These were the Sirte Extraordinary Session of 1999. The Lome Summit of 2000, here the Constitutive Act of the Union was adopted and entered into force in 2001.[69] Then was the Lusaka Summit of 2001. Here, the main objective of the Lusaka Summit was to look at the implementation of the African Union, it was at this Summit that the Secretary General was mandated to work out the modalities and guidelines for the launching of the organs of the Union.[70]

Finally, at the Durban Summit in South Africa, in 2002, the African Union was launched and the first Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the AU convened.[71] This was another victory seized by the African leaders to take the continental organization to a higher platform within which to realize the shared destiny of the African peoples. Thus the OAU was replaced with AU, with the aim of achieving integration for

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[68] Ibid
[69] African Union in a Nutshell,
http://wwww_africa_union.org/root/au/AboutAu/all_in_nutshell_en.htm P2. Retrieved 9/7/2012, 3:45
[70] Transition from the OAU to the African Union, Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa, May 2002, P.3 www.au2002_gov.za/docs/background/oau_to_au.htm_ Retrieved 9th July 2012 3:01pm
[71] African Union in the A Nutshell,
http://wwww_africa_union.org/root/au/AboutAu/all_in_nutshell_en.htm P2. Retrieved 9/7/2012. 3:45

Africa. This transition "... has been described as an event of great magnitude in the institutional evolution of the continent."[72]

2.4 African Union in a Nutshell

The AU as Africa's premier institution is vested by its Constitutive Act with the responsibility of promoting unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among the peoples of Africa and African states. These are prerequisites that are needed for the implementation of the development and integration of Africa.[73] Every institution must have a plan or vision, and a vision gives direction and guides an organization to fulfill its future plans. The AU is Africa's premier institution and principal organization and its vision according to Adedeji Adebayo in Orjiaku entails "a united and integrated Africa; an Africa imbued with justice and peace; an interdependent and robust Africa determined to map for itself an ambitious strategy; an Africa underpinned by political, economic and social and cultural integration which would restore to Pan-Africanism its full meaning; an Africa able to make the best of its human and material resources, and keen to ensure the progress and prosperity of its citizens by taking advantage of the opportunities offered by a globalized world rich in its disparities"[74]

The African Union in essence is an organization that is aimed at the economic integration and social development of Africa with an ultimate desire of leading to political unity.

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[72] Ibid P.1

[73] Constitutive Act of the African Union, www.au 2002.az/docs/key-OAU/AU-ACT.PDF.P.2, Retrieved 23rd July 2012, 5:41Pm

[74] Orjiako, D. T, *The Role of Communication in African Integration: Case Study of the African Union Commission*, Master Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2008, P.13

For this purpose, the AU has set up institutions, which are permanent, meant to give it direction on a continuing basis to accomplish its tasks. The African Union is made up of both political and administrative institutions. The highest decision-making body and clearly the most powerful organ is the Assembly of the Union. It is made up of all Heads of State or Government of all member states of the African Union. There is also the Executive Council, which is composed of ministers or authorities charged with the responsibility of dealing with the Union.[75]

The African Union Commission, the secretariat to the political structures is chaired by Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the first female head of the African Union Commission. The Commission is the key organ playing a central role in the day-to-day management of the AU. It is charged with the responsibility of representing the Union and defending its interests; elaborates draft on common positions of the Union; prepares strategic plans and studies, for the consideration of the Executive Council; it elaborates, promotes, coordinates and harmonizes the programmes and policies of the Union with those of the RECs; ensures the mainstreaming of gender in AU programmes and activities.[76] The Commission is central to the Union and therefore very pivotal to the Union's agenda on integration.

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[75] Eyinla, B.M, 'OAU Charter and the Constitutive Act of the AFRICNA Union,' in B.A. Akinteriwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage publishers, Ibadan 2005) P.256.
[76] African Union in a Nutshell, http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/About Au/au-in-nutshell-en.htm,p.5 retrieved 9th July 2012; 3:01 PM

Other institutions of the AU include the following;

The Permanent Representatives Committee.

Peace and Security Council (PSC).

The Pan-African Parliament (PAP)

The Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC)

The African Court of Justice (ACJ)

The Specialized Technical Committees

The 3 Financial Institutions of AIB, AMB and ACB

These institutions or organs are all interwoven in a network that is aimed at providing the energy and drive that will propel Africa towards development and integration.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The African Union is an expression of efforts that can be traced back to the notion of Pan –Africanism. As we have seen, Pan-Africanism in the course of time went through the long road of history in a search for freedom, unity, self–reliant and independence of Africa, this journey ultimately manifested in the creation of the African Union in 1963. The transition of AU from OAU has been a desire for the fulfillment of the search for Africa's integration. This was after the OAU was observed to have reached a point that it needed to be reinvigorated and transformed.

The AU is by far is more proactive and more ambitious than its predecessor, the OAU, and it is an organization guided with an integrative agenda for the continent. This can be seen in the elaborate organs and institutions created and many action plans it has set in motion for the integration of the continent. Clearly the task ahead for the AU is by

no means an easy task, but it is a task that has positioned the AU in a central domain to partner with Africa's governments, the RECs and other stakeholders for the development and transformation of the continent. As challenging as this may be, it is a responsibility that can be achieved.

CHAPTER THREE

OVERVIEW OF AU'S EFFORTS AT COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION

3.1 Introduction

It is a fact that the AU has been involved in a number of efforts to bring cooperation and integration to the African continent. Whether these efforts and measures have achieved the expected results is entirely another issue. This chapter will look into efforts initiated by the African Union towards the search for integration, with specific emphasis on the AEC, RECs, NEPAD, and other AU mechanisms, like APRM. There is also the common defence, as well as the peace and security efforts, the Constitutive Act and the proposed continental government.

3.2 The African Economic Communities

The African Economic Community (AEC) is seen as a landmark development in African politics. It was originally signed on 3rd June 1991 in Abuja, Nigeria hence the name Abuja Treaty.[77] It eventually entered into force in May 1994 after the requisite number of ratifications. This treaty has a provision for a continental economic community to be achieved through a progressive six stage planning that will involve the coordination, harmonization and gradual integration of the activities of the existing and future REC's. The implementation period for the eventual achievement of this treaty was to a span over a period of 34 years[78]

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[77] Leshaba, Marvin, *A critical Analysis of Africa's Effect at Regional Integration. Policy Brief* 30 P.5
[78] Chimanikire, Donald P. *African Union's Security and Economic Development Agenda. International Essay on African Security and Development* www.tradecentre.org.zw/indexphp? P.15 Retrieved Aug 15 2012

The 8 recognized building blocks of the AEC are:

1. COMESA

2. EAC

3. ECCAS

4. ECOWAS

5. IGAD

6. SADC

7. CEN-SAD

8. UAM

With the conversion of the Abuja Treaty to AU[79] the African leaders and the AU saw it important and urgent to fast-track the AEC and to therefore shorten the implementation periods of the Treaty and to strengthen and also consolidate the RECs as pillars of achieving the AU's envisaged dream of economic integration[80]

It should also be seen that the Abuja Treaty was adopted against the background of the fact that current global change was going to increase Africa's marginalization in world affairs, and having been widely acclaimed as a major landmark development for the economic renaissance, African leaders perceived the AEC Treaty as "......an attempt to create an economic community covering the whole of Africa....If successful, the

[79] Leshaba, Marvin, *A Critical Analysis of Africa's Efforts at Regional Integration.* Policy Brief 30 Pg11
[80] Shinkaiye, K, 'Nigeria and the African Union: Roles and expectations' in B A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of African Union* (Vantage Publishers,Ibadan,2005) P80

African Economic Community will be the largest economic integration(in terms of membership) in the world"[81]

Interestingly too, the leadership of AU, through the AEC, rather than start from the scratch, saw the wisdom to use the existing REC's as the building blocks of AEC. In other words, progress by RECs is progress for the AEC[82].

Evidently, so much remains to be done, but some level of progress has been made towards the African Economic Community by the African Union.

3.3 RECs as AU's buildings blocks:

As AU's building blocks, the RECs are not only expected to promote economic integration in their respective regions, they are also involved in infrastructural development, peace and security, monetary and customs unions. Some of them have also created regional courts and legislative assemblies. Mechanisms of integration within their regions have also been initiated. But it is important to add that these efforts have not been very successful. Below are some efforts at integration by the regional economic communities.

Economic sphere: At this level, all the RECs have been involved in trying to create the enabling economic atmosphere. ECOWAS has continued to work towards the creation of a single large trading block through an economic and trading union. Its

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[81]Oppong, R. F 'The African Union, The African Economic Community and the Africa's Regional Economic Communities; Untangling a complex Web.' *African Journal of International and Comparative Law* Vol 18 No1 (Mar 2010) P92

[82] Oppong, R. F 'The African Union, The African Economic Community and the Africa's Regional Economic Communities; Untangling a complex Web' *African Journal of International and Comparative Law* Vol 18 No1 (Mar 2010) P93

mission has been to promote economic integration in all fields of economic activity.[83]

IGAD in its economic and trade integration, has tried to create a platform to bring together business and investment experts to make contacts, networks and coordinate businesses in IGAD region.[84] CEN- SAD has initiated a comprehensive economic union in line with the objectives of the AU.[85] SADC, in its programme of economic integration has added a market integration agenda to its sectoral coordination agenda role,[86] and together with EAC and COMESA they agreed to create a Tripartite Free Trade Area in 2008.[87] The success of this effort can be really huge for the three regional bodies and for Africa.

Similarly, the EAC in 2010 launched a common market for goods.[88] ECCAS seeks to promote regional economic cooperation in Central Africa,[89] while COMESA has adopted a free trade zone for its member states.[90] AMU, as a trade agreement pact is aimed at bringing economic integration to its member states.

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[83] Economic Community of West Africans States (ECOWAS) African Union, ECOWAS in Brief. http://AU.int/en/recs/ecowas p1 retrieved 7/16/2012 9:20 AM

[84] IGAD news, *Making a case for Regional Integration* Jan March 2009, Djibouti, Jan 2009 p.5

[85] Panapress, CEN – SAD celebrates 13th Anniversary feb, 4/2011 Tripoli http://www.panapress.com/CEN-SAD-celebrates - 13th........p.2, retrieved 8/23/2012 12:48PM

[86] Kennes, Walter, African Regional Economic Integration and the European Union' in D.C. Bach(ed), *Regionalistaion in Africa Integration & Disintegration* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999)

[87] COMESA Activities, The COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area programe. Comesa.int/index.php?........id......p.1, retrieved 8/18/2012, 3:41AM

[88] Reuters East African Common Market begins, 1 July 2012, http://af reuters.com/article/Kenya a News. Retrieved 1 July 2012.

[89] African Union, Regional Economic Communities (RECs), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).www.africa.union-org root/au/recs/eccas.htm p.4 retrieved 8/16/2012 9:00AM

[90] About COMESA: Overview of COMESA, ww.about comesa.int/index.php?option = com-content & review article and id=123& intermid=121,p.1, retrieved 20th Aug.2012 12:55PM

Monetary Unions: Almost all the RECs have initiated plan to create monetary unions in their respective regions, a development that will help in strengthening the value of their currencies, and will also help in facilitating trade.

ECOWAS, for instance is seriously working towards a single monetary union. Presently it has the CFA Franc of UEMOA, a monetary unit for the mainly Francophone states. There is also the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ)[91] for the mainly Anglophone states. But by 2015, the goal of ECOWAS is to integrate the two monetary zones of UEMOA and WAMZ in a single, stable currency.

The EAC has a plan to establish a common currently for East Africa,[92] and ECCAS already share common currency, the CFA Franc within its region under what is called the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa or (CEMAC)[93]

Political Union: Political integration has also been planned by some RECs. For instance EAC aims to establish it in 2015,[94] AMU and ECOWAS also have future political integration.

Infrastructural Development: Joint infrastructural development has been pursued by the RECs. Poor infrastructure has been the bane of most African states, especially in the Sub-Saharan Africa. Ikiara cited that in the area of infrastructural development, construction of road network has been promoted in East African region.[95] CEN-SAD has

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[91] Project Appraisal Report, Multinational- the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) Payments System Development project. Jul y 2010 P.1

[92] *Reuters, East African Common Market Begins,* 1 July 2010, http://af.reuters com/article/Kenya News. Retrieved 1 July 2010. http://af reuters 1 July 2010.

[93] Bongya, Godwin, 'The Economic and Moray Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) and the Decline of Sovereignty' *Journal of Asian and African Studies.*

[94] Reuters, *East African Common Market Begins,* 1 July 2010, http://af.reuters.com/article/Kenya News retrieved 1 July 2010.

[95] Jonas, U.N, Interview with Dr. Ikiara, Gerrishon, Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) University of Nairobi; August 10 2002

proposed to execute joint projects for the common good of its member states.[96] Tans-regional highways from Dakar in Senegal to Njamena in Chad and from Lagos in Nigeria, to Nouakchott in Mauritania have been constructed.[97] ECOWAS in 2007 initiated a trans-ECOWAS project aimed at upgrading railways in the region.[98]

Peace and Security: Giant strides have been taken by ECOWAS through ECOMOG in ending conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone,[99] ECOWAS is currently planning on deploying troops into Northern Mali,[100] which was taken over by Islamist groups earlier this year. IGAD has also intervened in conflict situations. In July 2002, it sponsored the Machakos peace process aimed at finding a framework for solving the Sudan conflicts[101] It has also been involved in Somalia's political crises, with an aim to broker peace[102] in that war-torn country. Similarly, COMESA tried to resolve the Eritrea – Ethiopia conflict of 1998 - 2000[103].

[96] African Union. What is CEN-SAD? http://au.int/en/recs/censad.p1, retrieved 7/16/2010: 9:16AM

[97] Ojo, Olatunde B.J 'Integration in ECOWAS, *Success and Difficulties,'* in D.C Bach(ed) *Regionalisation in Africa. Integration & Disintegration* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999)P.120

[98] Railway Africa, Proposed ECOWAS Railway. Oct 9.2009, Ghana www.railway Africa.com. ,retrieved 1st Sept 2012 1:15PM

[99]Ojo, Olatunde B.J 'Integration in ECOWAS, *Success and Difficulties,'* in D.C Bach(ed) *Regionalisation in Africa. Integration & Disintegration* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington&Indianapolis, 1999)P.120

[100] VOA News, *More Islamist Fighters Deployed in Northern Mali,* 22 oct 2012 www.vognews.com/.......1531035.htm retrieved 26th oct 2012 12:01 PM

- AFP.Com World News, African Mali Intervention in Weeks Says France,16th Oct. 2012 ,Paris, www.afp.com/en/news /topstories/afri...p.1, retrieved 12:02PM 26 Oct.2012

[101] Likoye, Dolly .A. *The role of strained Bilateral relations in mediation by sub REGIONAL Organizations: A case of IGAD* Thesis, University of Nairobi 2007 P.45

[102] Boell, H, In Quest for Culture of Peace in the IGAD Region. www.ke.boell.org/downloads/cutlure......

[103] Maundi, M.O et al, *Getting in Mediators Entry into the Settlement of African Conflicts* (United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC 2006).P.159

For SADC, it has recognized the need to settle conflict situations, not only in Southern African region but in other African countries. SADC sees conflict resolution as an important cornerstone of the Pan-African ideals which it subscribes to.[104].

The Central African region has largely been embroiled in conflicts and instability. For this purpose, ECCAS adopted the Standing Orders of the Council of Peace and Security in Central Africa (COPAX)[105] in other to bring peace and security to that region. At the 2007 Summit of CEN-SAD, the leaders of CEN –SAD member states made efforts to reconcile the differences between Chad and Sudan over the Dafour conflict. They also boosted and supported the embattled Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia at the regional summit in Libya[106].

The Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) is a mechanism of the Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). It is meant to alert the monitoring centre on potential conflicts. According to Gadin, the early warning system is also in place at the RECs, and there exists collaboration between CEWs and the early warning systems of the RECs[107]. The 2010 APSA assessment observed that automated data collection and reporting are relatively advanced at ECOWARN (early warning system for ECOWAS) and CEWARN (early warning system for IGAD). Other RECs have made progress in

[104] Schraeder, P.J, ' International Relations,' in A.A. Gordon and Donald. Gordon (ed), *Understanding Contemporary Africa*(Lynne Reinner Publishers, Inc:2001)p.160

[105] ECCAS/Africa Union, History and Background, http://au.int/en/recs/eccas P.1 ,retrieved 7/16/2012 9:19 AM

[106] Timelines, Libya 2007 June3, www.timelinesdb. Com/list events.php?subjid=109&dayinhist=:retrived 31st Aug 2012 12:47 PM p.1

[107] African Peace and Security Architecture(APSA) 2010 Assessment Study, Held from 4-10 Nov,2010,Zanzibar, Tanzania p.33

establishing policy frameworks, specific concepts and approaches to early warning.[108]

Here, the RECs are seen playing very important roles in the security system of APSA.

Regional Legislative Structure: Legislative assemblies have been created in a number of RECs to oversee legislation at regional level. The EAC has a 27 legislative member Assembly,[109] ECCAS in 2002 adopted a protocol on the establishment of a Network of Parliamentarians of Central Africa (REPAC)[110] The ECOWAS Parliamentary Assembly and the SADC Parliamentary Forum is in existence.[111] These are attempts to create forums for legislation to take place at sub-regional basis on issues of concern to the RECs.

Regional Courts/Tribunals: This effort is to adjudicate on matters of concern of the respective RECs. The ECOWAS Court of Justice for instance allows for ruling on disputes between states.[112] The EAC has also created the East African Court of Justice as a judicial arm of the EAC. The court was established on 30th November 1999 and became operational on 30th November 2001[113]. SADC has also not been left out, they are all expected to handle judicial functions at the regional levels.

Free Movement of People: Free movement of people is an important aspect that should be operational in all the RECs. Fortunately, all the RECs aim at instituting it. It does not only promote trade, it enhances interaction between citizens within the same region.

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[108]Jonas, U,N, Interview with Gadin, James, Political Officer, African Union (AMISOM) Nairobi, Kenya 9th Aug 2012

[109] East Africa legislative Assembly (EALA), www.parliament go.Ug/..../members - of-....../east-african-legislative – assembly, retrieved 13th Oct.2012 1:00PM

[110] Eccas/African Union, History and background, http://au-int/en/recs/eccas/P.1. Retrieved 7/16/2012:19AM

[111] Kingah, S.and A .Cofelice 'Engagemnent with African (Sub) Regional Parliament of ECOWAS, SADC, the EAC and the AU' UNU-CRIS Working Papers. April 20th 2012 P.1 www.cris.Unu.edu

[112]ECOWAS (2007), Information Manual: The Institutions of the Community.http://www.ecowascourt.org/French/texts/information.pdf

[113] EACJ, Court of Justice of the East African Community, 26 June 2012 , libguides.law.havard.edu >HAVARD Law school Library > HLSL InfoAdvance P.1, retrieved 27th Oct 2012 12:30 AM

3.4 The Constitutive Act of the African Union

One should not be in doubt that the motive and driving force of the Constitutive Act of the AU was to bring integration to the African Continent. This was well captured in the Sirte Declaration, which "....was issued with a view to accelerate the process of African Integration so that the continent can play its rightful role in the global system with an African Union that is capable of addressing more effectively, the multifaceted social-economic and political problems besetting the continent"[114]

Without the Constitutive Act of the AU, there will be no AU. The AU draws its strength, its existence and definition from the Constitutive Act. In other words, the Constitutive Act of the AU to a large extent is what has conceptualized the AU.

Clearly, the establishment of the AU was an act of proactiveness on the part of African leaders to bring change and integration to the African Continent. It was a decision to position the Continental Organization with the capacity to embark on a series of activities and efforts that will galvanize the continent through its new structure and its components to create room for the economic, political, and social unification of Africa.

Firstly, it took 53 Heads of State and Government of African States to witness and participate in the adoption of the Constitutive Act. This development on its own spoke volume of the readiness of the African States and their governments to chart a new part for the integration of the continent.

Through the Constitutive Act, new innovations were brought into the AU objectives, which include, the acceleration of the political and the socio-economic

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[114] Eyinla, B. M 'OAU Charter and the Constitutive Act of the African Union:' A Comparative Analysis' in B A. Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers,Ibadan,2005) P246

integration of the continent, promotion of democratic principles and protection of human rights, ensuring effective participation of women in decision making, development and promotion of common policies on trade, defense and foreign relations, full participation of the African Diaspora in building the Union and the eradication of preventable diseases as well as promotion of good health on the continent[115].

Key new organs were created like the Pan-African Parliament, the African Court of Justice, the Commission, the Permanent Representatives Committee, the Specialized Technical Committees, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council and the Finance Institutions etc.[116] Obsolete provisions were removed and those still relevant, like the Abuja Treaty were brought in and sustained.

Furthermore the Constitution Act allows for intervention in a member state Article(4) and (i) in matters of grave concerns like war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, and to equally restore peace and stability to member states where there is serious threat to legitimate order[117].

Punitive measures like threat of sanction, suspension of member states are all provided for. [118] The Constitutive Act also stresses seriously on democratic tenets and good governance to be in place in member states[119]. This provision makes the Union to emphasize on periodic elections, which are also monitored by the Union.

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[115] Eyinla, B. M 'OAU Charter and the Constitutive Act of the African Union:' A Comparative Analysis' in B A. A,kinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers,Ibadan,2005) P253
[116]Ibid, Eyinla, B. M, P253
[117]Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article 4. www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key_oau/au_act.pdf Retrieved 23/07/12 5.41pm pg 5
[118] Ibid, Articles 23 and 30, Pg 12-14.
[119] Ibid, Articles 3(9) Pg4

Looking at the above provisions, one can see the emergence of new positions within the Organization. It is this development that led to the suspension of some member states like Madagascar after the undemocratic take –over of the government of Marc Ravalomana by Andry Rajoelina in 2009[120]. Mali was also suspended after the March 2012 military coup,[121] as well as Guinea Bissau, after the March 2012 Coup d'état.[122] South Sudan was also pressured by the AU to withdraw from the disputed Heglig Oilfields in Sudan,[123] and the two Sudan and South Sudan have been told to settle their differences by re-entering negotiations over unresolved issues affecting them.

Efforts have been taken to reform the Commission for effectiveness and functionality. Clearly, the Union through its Constitutive Act has become more eager on achieving greater unity and solidarity between the African Countries and the peoples of Africa[124]. It is more enthusiastic on the need to accelerate or at least initiate acceleration of political and socio-economic integration of the continent,[125]and has also in its preamble encouraged some level of citizen and civil society participation as well as women and youth involvement in its programmes[126]. These are efforts that can bring integration to the continent.

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[120] BBC News, African Pressure Grows on Madagascar Coup news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7954356.stm Mar 22 2012

[121]VOA News, African Union Suspends Mali, President Toure Safa www.voanews.com/continent/articles/1181222.htm

[122] News24, *AU Suspends Guinea-Bissau after Coup.* www.new24.com/Africa/...AU-Suspends-Guinea-Bissau-after-coup. 17 April 2012

[123]PRESSTV, African Union Demands South Sudan Withdrawal from Heglig Oilfields. www.presstv.ir/detail/235755.html

[124]Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article 3(a) www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key_oau/au_act.pdf Retrieved 23/7/12 5.41 pm P.4

[125] Ibid, Article 3(c) p4

[126] Ibid,Pg2

The Constitutive Act of the AU is one document that has been generally acknowledged as purposeful and well conceptualized. To all intent and purpose, when compared with the OAU Charter or when scrutinized on its efforts at integrating policies for the unification of the continent, one will see that it is to an extent, a more progressive and proactive document.

As stated much earlier, the Constitutive Act was instituted to accelerate the process of African Integration and it has undoubtedly taken the AU and African a step closer to the point of achieving it.

Evidently, much more still remains to be done, but the Constitutive Act has pointed Africa to a destination point. The AU and Africa, as long as the desire for integration is concerned is much better off with the Constitutive Act.

3.5 The Proposed Continental Government

It should be understood that the notion of the United States of Africa has always been a cherished idea in the minds of Pan-Africanists, whether on the African continent or in the Diaspora. This notion was conceived by liberation leaders and activists during the decolonization period, seeking the unity of Africa through political, economic and social integration.[127] On cannot talk about this notion, without mentioning the name of Kwame Nkrumah, who was a proponent of African Continental Government. His famous phrase; "Africa must unite" still reverberates today in the mind of Pan-Africanists.

At the 1999 OAU Summit in Sirte, Colonel Gadaffi presented a draft Charter in which he proposed the formation of the United States of Africa. This was a proposal for a

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[127]Abbas, Hakima, *Towards a Continental Government?* Pambazuka news 2007
www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P1 retrieved on 15th Sep 2012 3:01 PM

government in Africa that would be based on one government, one leader, a single army, one currency, one central bank, and one parliament - a government, essentially without a border. The time period for the commencement of this government was put at 2000[128]

There were reactions from many. To some, the nature of the proposal was seen as extremely idealistic. Other leaders like Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa saw the need to water-down substantially on this extreme view of Colonel Gadaffi. Through them a compromise was struck that partly resulted in the formation of the Constitutive Act of the AU which was subsequently adopted during the 36th Ordinary Summit of OAU in Lome, Togo on 11th July 2000[129]

During the Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in January 2005 at Abuja Nigeria, the AU had agreed to the Libyan government proposal to establish ministerial portfolios for the organization[130] The AU then set up a Committee of Heads of State and Government, chaired by president Yoweri Museveni of Uganda to submit a report in July 2005. By November 2005, this Committee convened a Conference under the theme "Desirability of a Union Government in Africa" The REC's, technical experts, academics, civil society groups, Diaspora representations and the media were all involved in the conference.[131]

3 key conclusions were arrived at by the conference;

1. The recognition of the necessity for establishment of the Union Government

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[128]Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration' in Bola. A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) pg 142
[129] Ndirangu, Gichinga, *Pan African-Unity: Can Africa Match the Bid?Pambazuka News,2007* www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P58 retrieved 15th Sep 2012 3:01 PM
[130]Murithi, Tim, *From Pan-Africanism to the Union of Africa,* Pambazuka News 2007,www.fahamu-org/downloads/au_special.pdf p.22,retrieved 15th Sept. 2012 3;01 PM
www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P1 retrieved on 15th Sep 2012 3.01am
[131] Ibid, Murithi, Tim P22

2. The proposed Unity Government must be of the African people, it will not just be a Union of States and Governments

3. Its formation must come through the principles of gradual incrementation and the role of RECs should be seen as building blocks for the continental framework.[132]

By these findings, the Assembly mandated the AU Commission to prepare a consolidated framework document to define the purpose of the Unity Government; its nature, scope, core values, steps and process as well as a guiding roadmap for achieving it.[133]

Affirmation for the ultimate goal of the African Union was given by the Assembly to be of full political and economic integration that will usher in a United African States.[134]

Another Committee of Heads of States and Government chaired by President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria was created. The Committee was particularly asked to look into steps that needed to be taken for the establishment of the Union Government, its structure, the process, the time frame for its establishment as well as measures that should be taken.[135] In July 2006 at the 7th Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly in Banjul, the Gambia, the Chairperson of the Committee submitted the committees' report. Some of the key issues of the report included the following;

- Africa is over-dependent on external world, especially with regards to expatriates, technicians and technology.

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[132] Ibid, Murithi, Tim P.22
[133] Ibid, Murithi, Tim, P22
[134] Ibid, Murithi, Tim P22
[135] Ibid, Murithi, Tim P22

- Africa has not fully exploited its national, regional and continental potentials with reference to trade, education and health sectors, that a United Africa is uniquely positioned to produce most types of food and agricultural produce all year round.

- Equally noted was the issue of globalization. Africa was observed to be clearly faced with challenges of overdependence and under exploitation of its potentials. This has increased the marginalization of Africa in world affairs.[136]

Areas for the United Africa to strategically focus on were given to include continental integration, education, training, skills development, science and technology, energy, environment, external relations, food, agriculture and water resources, gender and youth, governance and human rights, health, industry and mineral resources, finance, peace and security, social affairs and solidarity, sports and culture, trade and customs union, infrastructure, information technology and biotechnology[137]

Equally stated was that the design functioning of a Union Government as an instrument for integration would have four reaching implications on the existing institutes and programmes of the AU,[138] and it also assessed the implications of a Unity Government on the organs of AU. The report suggested a longer period tenure of about 3 years for the president of the Assembly of the AU. The president will also be the unique spokesperson of the Union at the world or other special Summits. For this purpose, the

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[136]Murithi, Tim, *From Pan-Africanism to the union of Africa*, Pambazuka News, 2007
www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P22-23 retrieved on 15th Sep 2012 3.01am
[137]ibid, Murithi, Tim, p.23
[138]Ibid, Murithi, Tim Pg23

functions of the president should be on a full term basis and could be assigned to a former Head of State or any other distinguished African with the necessary background and track record for the job.[139]

Another notable aspect would be that"…under the Union Government, the AU Commission will be entrusted with the implementation of designing programmes and projects in the strategic focus areas which will constitute the community domain"[140] Of course this means there will be areas deemed as exclusively controlled by the Union Government, while other areas may be handled by component constituents.

The need to also recognize the REC's as building blocks for the integration of the continent was re-affirmed, but the challenge would be to synchronize and harmonize the integration efforts of member states, the REC's and the AU.[141]

The Obasanjo report also stressed on the need to implement the establishment of the Unity Government at the national level. It stated the need to device appropriate mechanisms for legislative implication at the national level and the direct involvement of the people in promoting the planned Union Government. It also suggested that countries that are not yet to establish Integration Ministry should do so.[142]

On the financial implication, direct taxation scheme was suggested. The report was optimistic of the prospect of the unity government and subsequently outlined 3 phases for this transition[143] which will include;

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[139] Ibid, Murithi, Tim . P.23
[140] African Union *Study on African Union Government; Towards the United States of Africa* July 2006,Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, P.15
[141] Ibid Pg 28
[142] Ibid Pg 30
[143] Murithi, Tim, *From Pan-Africanism to the Union of Africa* ,Pambazuka news 2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P22-23, retrieved on 15th Sep 2012 3.01am

1. The initial phase

2. The second phase

3. The third phase

The study went ahead to recommend a 3 year period for each phase, which indicated that the Continental Government should be formed by 2015.

Subsequently, the Executive Council at the 9th Extra Ordinary Session from 17th-18th November 2006 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, considered the report and again stated that;

1. All member states accept as a common and desirable goal of the formation of the United States of Africa, but differ on the modalities and time frame for instituting it.

2. There exists a general and common agreement for an audit review of the state of the Union in order to comprehend the areas where improvement have to be effected in order to accelerate the process of integration[144]

A Continental Government for Africa is the desire of the generality of the African people and governments, but just like it was observed by the Executive Council, there are concerns, and these concerns can be ironed out.

It was decided that there should be a Grand Debate on the issue at the Accra Summit in July 2007[145]. The 2007 debate by the leaders of the African Union on the Union Government was put forward as a proposal seeking for the establishment of a Continental Union Government. Specifically, it was at the Summit that a forum, where discussions

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[144]Murithi, *Tim, From Pan-Africanism to the union of Africa*, Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P.24, retrieved on 15th Sep 2012 3.01am
[145] Ibid,Murithi,Tim, P.24

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3. The third phase

The study went ahead to recommend a 3 year period for each phase, which indicated that the Continental Government should be formed by 2015.

Subsequently, the Executive Council at the 9th Extra Ordinary Session from 17th-18th November 2006 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, considered the report and again stated that;

1. All member states accept as a common and desirable goal of the formation of the United States of Africa, but differ on the modalities and time frame for instituting it.

2. There exists a general and common agreement for an audit review of the state of the Union in order to comprehend the areas where improvement have to be effected in order to accelerate the process of integration[144]

A Continental Government for Africa is the desire of the generality of the African people and governments, but just like it was observed by the Executive Council, there are concerns, and these concerns can be ironed out.

It was decided that there should be a Grand Debate on the issue at the Accra Summit in July 2007[145]. The 2007 debate by the leaders of the African Union on the Union Government was put forward as a proposal seeking for the establishment of a Continental Union Government. Specifically, it was at the Summit that a forum, where discussions

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[144]Murithi, *Tim, From Pan-Africanism to the union of Africa*, Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P.24. retrieved on 15th Sep 2012 3.01am
[145] Ibid,Murithi,Tim, P.24

and formal arguments were to be held by African leaders and their governments, as well as by civil society groups and stakeholders on the need to establish a Union Government on a transitional arrangement to precede full political integration under the auspices of the "United States of Africa"

Accra's debate was quite intense. African states held different positions on the proposal. Libya, as to be expected pushed for a Common Government with a single army. Others like Southern African states preferred a strengthening of the existing structures with some reforms to correct and rectify administrative and political challenges in making the AU Commission and other bodies more functional.

After the debate, the Assembly came out with a declaration to review the state of affairs of the AU, with a view of assessing its preparedness towards a Unity Government[146]. The following agreements were taken;

- Accelerate the political and economic acceleration of Africa, in addition to forming a Unity Government of Africa.

- Conduct an audit of the institutions and organs within the AU and to examine relationship between the AU and the REC's and to seek ways of empowering the AU as well as give a time frame for the establishment of the Union Government of Africa

The Declaration also made mention of the need to involve the African peoples,(who are often left out of important decisions of the Union) including Africans in the Diaspora, in the process towards the formation of the United States of Africa.

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[146] Accra Declaration, Assembly of Union at its 9th Ordinary Session in Accra, Ghana, 1-3 July 2007

For this purpose, a Panel of Eminent Persons was set up to conduct an audit review and it was headed by Professor Adedeji Adebayo[147]. The AR was submitted on 27th December 2007 to the president of the AU, President John Kufour of Ghana[148].

From the Committees, Conferences and Summits that have been held on the Continental Government, coupled with the Reports and Reviews that have been submitted as follow-ups, to this end, one cannot then be in doubt, that the subject of a United States of Africa or the Union of African States has been an issue on the agenda of the AU. Though there have been divisions on the nature and concerning the time for the commencement of this Union Government-but every member state has seen the need for Africa to integrate politically, socially and economically.

The reports from the various committees have been quite detailed and expansive. The report from the Museveni-led Committee stressed on the importance of involving the academics, technical experts, the REC's and the African Diaspora, emphasizing that the Union must not only be a union of states and governments but a Union of African people[149]. The Obasanjo-led Committee listed priority areas for the Continental Government,[150] and also looked into the national implications of this Union Government and equally shed light on the tenure and the role of the president of the anticipated Union Government. It even projected on the 3 phases and possible time frame for each of the

[147]Orjiako, D. T, *The Role of Communication in African Integration: Case Study of the African Union Commission,* Master Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2008 P. 28

[148]Bujra, Abdalla, *The African Union Audit Report : A Brief Note,* Africafiles www.africafiles.org/articles.asp?ID=17233 Pg1 retrieved 09/15/2012 3:01 AM

[149]Murithi, Tim, *From Pan-Africanism to the Union of Africa,* Pambazuka news www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P22 retrieved on 15th Sep 2012

[150]Ibid, Murithi,Tim P23

phases as well as the nature and elections that will be held to pave the way for the official

constitution of the Union of African States.[151]

The Audit Panel led by Adedeji Adebayo went as far as considering the financial

implications for the running of the Unity Government[152]. It listed areas that can accelerate

integration to include, free movement of people, building of infrastructure, etc[153].

The leadership and the people of Africa have realized that integration will be best

expressed through a political merger, even when some level of foot-dragging have been

observed on the part of some governments and leaders. But the reality on the ground is

dawning on all, that Africa is now closer to this Union Government than it has ever been.

What is left to be seen, is the will and the courage to push forward with this plan that can

transform Africa for the good of all Africans.

3.6 Efforts at Common Defense/Promotion of Peace and Security

For the integration of the African continent to succeed, Africa needs peace and

security. For quite a long time, Africa has been depicted as a continent embroiled in

conflicts and wars; conflicts and wars that are triggered by religious, ethnic, social,

political and economic factors.

The consequences of armed conflicts are always disturbing. They are likely to

lead to emergence of refugees, both internally and externally. Socio-economic and

political orders will be fundamentally disturbed. This scenario was witnessed in Kenya

(2008), Ivory Coast (2011), Tunisia, Libya and Egypt (2011), Mali (2012), Congo DR

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[151] Ibid, Murithi,Tim P24
[152] Wapmuk, Sharkdam, 'In Search of Greater Unity: African States and Quest for a African Union Government' *Journal of Alternative Perspective in Social Sciences*, Vol 1 No3(2009) P665
[153] Bujra, Abdalla, *The African Union Audit Report: A Brief Note*, AfricaFiles, 14 Feb 2008 www.africafiles.org/articlesasp?ID=17233 P2, retrieved 09/15/2012 3.01 am

and Somalia (still ongoing) etc. Perhaps, it is not surprising then, that it is in Dadaab, Kenya in Africa that the largest refugee camp in the world exists. [154]

James Gadin stressed on the strategic importance of the role of PSC in the integration process of the continent. He emphasized that without peace and security it is difficult to talk about economic development and infrastructure.[155] This is true, because without peace, security and stability, development will be a scarce product. If there is something that Africa really needs, it is a stable and secured environment. It is this atmosphere of stability and security that can lead to development and cooperation, then integration can be achieved.

Apart from its responsibility for promoting peace, security and stability in Africa, the PSC is equally saddled with the responsibility of developing preventive diplomacy and the capacity to manage disaster, as well as engaging in humanitarian activities and also for peace restoration.[156]

The protocol of it establishment also reaffirmed the importance of developing democratic institutions and a culture of democracy as well as respect for human rights for promotion of lasting peace and stability in the continent.[157] It is believed that where democratic structures are in place and respect for human rights are observed, lasting peace and stability within the society can be easily established. This is what the PSC stands for in Africa; a continent that has been affected by a great deal of conflict situations.

[154]Gupta, Sunjay, *Misery in World's Largest Refugee Camp* – CNN.com 10 Aug. 2011, www.cnn.com/2011/health/08.... largest. refugee.cmap/index.html. Retrieved 27th Sept. 2012. 6:02pm
[155] Jonas U.N, Interview with Gadin, James Political Officer, African Union Commission, (AMISOM), Nairobi, Kenya (9th August 2012). ,
[156]Strategic Plan of the African Union Commission, Volume 1 Vision, Mission of the African Union Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 2004 p. 30
[157] Ibid, p. 37

There is also in existence the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which is intended to give the AU the required instruments to execute the task set out in the Constitutive Act of the AU and in the protocol establishing the PSC. Within the APSA architecture are:

1. **The Peace and Security Council (PSC)** – This is the standing decision making organ and the central pillar of APSA. It has 15 members and it meets regularly and recommends action to the Assembly of the Union[158].

2. **The Panel of the Wise (POW)** - The composition is made up of distinguished Africans. It may also advise the PSC and or the Chairperson of the Commission on all matters within their area of competence. It can also carry out fact finding missions and can equally work closely with the RECs.

3. **Continental Early Warning Systems (CEWs):** The CEWs it is meant for early warning of impending conflicts in Africa. Through the CEWs, development of data collection and analysis tools and the elaboration of software licensing agreement between CEWs and the early warning systems of the RECs exists. There is also an increase of expertise and analytical skills of the CEWs and the early warning systems of most RECs[159].

The Early Warning Systems of APSA is structured in such a way that every component of the continent should be linked up from the AU Commission to the RECs, and from the RECs to the different states of Africa, and to other different components

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[158] Powell, Kristiana. *The African Unions Emerging Peace And Security Regime: Opportunities And Challenges For Delivering On The Responsibility To Protect* (A working paper, may 2005) p. 10
[159] Ibid, p. 32

within the states.[160] By so doing, these early warning systems will ensure that quick transfer of signals, as a warning signs of impending conflict or disaster prone situations are sent to the various observation and monitoring centres for quick response. This will help nip conflicts in the bud on time.

4. African Standby Force (ASF): The ASF has within its structure the Military Staff Committee and other instruments. It is composed of standby multi-disciplinary components of civilian and military components in their states of origin and on standby for rapid deployment on notice. It consists of 5 regional standby capabilities[161].

This means that ASF will draw it resources form the individual states of Africa but as a matter of organization, it will be regionally managed. Powell has it that the multidisciplinary contingent of 3000-4000 troops, between 300 and 500 military observers, police units and civilian specialists on standby in their countries of origin, can then be deployed through regional brigades, under the AU mandates and placed under AU operational control as applicable[162].

5. The Peace Fund: This is where the financial contribution of the member states should be sent to. The Peace Fund is very important to APSA, according to James Gadin, it is from this fund that deployment of forces and other associated issues are paid for[163].

The AU has been empowered to be actively involved in the continent's security challenges. The Constitutive Act of the AU in Article 3 (f) directs the Commission to

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[160] Jonas, U.N, Interview with Gadin, James, Political Officer, African Union Commission, AMISON, Nairobi-Kenya, 9th Aug. 2012

[161] African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), 2010 Assessment, Held from 4-10 Nov. 2010, Zanzibar, Tanzania p. 37

[162] Powell, Kristiana, *The African Union's Emerging Peace and Security Regime. Opportunities and Challenges for Delivery on the Responsibility to Protect.* (A working Paper), May 2005 p. 14

[163] Jonas, U. N, Interview with Gadin, James, Political Officer, African Union Commission AMISON, Nairobi, 9th Aug. 2012

promote peace and security and stability on the continent.[164] Article 4(d) touches on the establishment of a common defense policy for Africa.[165] This has resulted in the initiation of APSA structure. Article 4 (h) emphasizes on the right of member states to request for intervention from the Union, in order to restore peace and security.[166] Article 4(j) of the Constitutive Act talks about the right of the Union to intervene in a member state, pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstance, mainly war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. [167]

Quite a number of conflict situations have been confronted by the AU. This includes the deployment of AU troops into Burundi in 2003, under the umbrella of African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB).[168] There was also the peace keeping of the African Union in Darfur, Sudan.[169] AU troops are presently in Somali.[170] The AMISOM forces, as the AU troops are called, have helped in supporting the Transition Federal Council (TFC) engaging the Al-shabaab forces in the country. The fact that a presidential elections has recently been conducted there, the first since 1991, is largely to the credit of the role of AU in that country.

In 2008, it took the AU to send contingents of troops from South Africa, Ethiopia and Mozambique to quell a rebellion in Comoros.[171] All these developments were

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[164] Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article 3(f), www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key_oau/au_act.pdf. p.5, retrieved 23rd July 2002 5:41pm
[165] Ibid, Article 4 (d) p. 5
[166] Ibid P. 5
[167] Ibid p. 5
[168] African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), 2010 Assessment Study, held form 4-10 Nov. 2011, Zanzibar, Tanzania p. 2
[169] BBC News, 21st Sept 2006, *AU Extends Darfour Troops Mandate*, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/Africa/5362762.stm, retrieved 27 Sept 2012 6:01pm
[170] Peace and Security, the African Union Commission, vol. 3, no. 2 April – June 2011 p. 10
[171] Moroni, Ahmed, A. A., "African Union Troops Quell Comoros Rebellion, *The Guardian* ,Wed, 26 March 2008, p1, ww.guadian.co.uk/world/2008march.../ retrieved 27/9/20912 5:01am

authorized by the PSC in order to bring stability to the continent and these have been at great human and material costs.

AU has also intervened in a number of countries in support of constitutionality. In Togo after the death of Gnassingbe Eyadema, ECOWAS and AU rejected the assumption to power by his son, Faure Eyedema as his successor, and pressured him to step down for a presidential election to take place.[172]

The August 2005 coup in Mauritania was rejected by ECOWAS and AU leaders – this led to the suspension of that country until general elections were organized and the suspension was lifted.[173]

The AU has also been involved in settling a number of elections crisis, example in Zimbabwe in 2008, which led to a settlement.[174] In 2008, in Kenya after the presidential elections conflict, the AU sent a team of mediators to be led by Koffi Anan to Kenya, [175] this led to the peaceful settlement of that conflict which resulted in the swearing in of the coalition government. In Ivory Coast, the AU tried a number of mediating roles, until it finally together with ECOWAS supported the military intervention of UN and France in ending that crisis.[176]

There is in place, the AU – Regions Steering Committee on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), this has given the African states within this mandate the resolve

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[172]*PANAPRESS*, AU, ECOWAS, Mourn Eyadema, Reject Succession, 07 Feb. 2005,Abuja-Nigeria, www.panapress.com/AU-ECOWAS-mourn-Eyadema-reject-sucession-12-562902-20-lang4-index.htm, p.9 retrieved 27/9/2012 5/L02pm
[173]Reuters, Addis Ababa wed, July 1, 2009 African Union Lifts Sanctions on Mauritania. www.reuters.com/article/2009/07/01/isUSL1231702
[174]Volatile Political Transition Looms in Post Mugabe Zimbabwe, Daily Risk Analysis, Norwegian Risk Consulting International (NRCI) Aug. 2, 2012 p. 1
[175]Mwagiru, M. *The Water Edge, Mediation of Violent Electoral Conflict in Kenya* (Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, 2008) p. 68
[176] Obi, Cyril, Nairobi- AU-UN Relation with special reference to the c cote d' ivoire crisis, Nordic Africa institute 5-9/12/2011 p.1

to identify and seize and destroy illicit SALW.[177] One cannot downplay on the havoc such weapons have caused in the continent; these efforts have been taken in a bid to harmonize positions by the AU, in controlling proliferation of arms in the continent. There is also an effort on the part of AU to bring safety in the territorial waters of Africa. A continental framework for an African integrated maritime safety and security strategy has been initiated.[178]

The AU and the RECs are still struggling with security challenges, but it is clear that more concerted efforts are being made in dealing with these issues. The AU and the RECs do send monitoring teams to observe elections in their member states. Unconstitutional takeover of legitimate governments are frowned at and such culprits and their governments suspended form AU and their respective regional bodies, especially in ECOWAS. The AU and the RECs though still overwhelmed by conflict situations, but a desire and at some instances, structures to deal with these issues have been developed.

It is clear that the AU, through its security and peace mechanisms, both at the continental level and at the regional level is making efforts to coordinate peace and security efforts in the continent. North Sudan and South Sudan are back to the negotiations table to sort out the issues confronting them. The AU has been involved in this development.

The AU must be ready to do whatever is necessary to stabilize the continent from the scourge of armed conflicts; it must be proactive in its responses to crisis events and to areas that are likely to degenerate to conflicts. If the AU is unable to overcome conflicts in the continent, which always come with their resultant upheavals, then integration will

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[177] Peace and Security, the African Union Commission, Vol. 3, No. 2 April,- June 2011, p. 6
[178]Ibid p. 13

continue to be a mirage and the much desired development of the continent will continue to be a dream.

3.7 The Role of NEPAD in AU's Process of Integration

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is a vision and programme of action for the re-development of the African continent[179] though originally an initiative of OAU, the predecessor body of AU, NEPAD is now a programme of the African Union, whose primary objectives are: to restore peace and security, entrench good governance in all ramifications; eradicate severe poverty and widespread underdevelopment, accelerate growth and sustainable development and put an end to the marginalization of the region in the globalization process"[180]

Africa is evidently laden with many challenging issues which include deep-seated and wide spread poverty and underdevelopment and continued marginalization of the continent; therefore, a new pro- active plan of action was needed to develop a vision that would guarantee Africa's renewal.

NEPAD, though a programme of the African Union, created by Africans for Africa and implemented by Africans, has also interestingly forged a partnership internationally to change the unequal relationship between Africa and the Developed World for acceptability and support. This desire is yet to be achieved. Working partnership has been forged with the UN and its agencies, the G.8 and non G.8 developed

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[179] The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), www.africa-union.org/root/an/aus/special programs/nepad/nepad.htm.p/1,retrieved 8/28/2012 5: 50 am

[180] Aluko-Olokun,I , 'The Role of Nigeria in the New Partnership for Africa's Development', in B. A. Akinterinwa (ed) *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) Pg163

nations and partner institutions.[181] Here, "NEPAD envisages a bargain where by Africa delivers peace and good governance and adopts appropriate policies of its own choosing and the Developed World delivers more relief and aid reforms. This would replace the existing aid relationship which is heavily controlled by developed countries for reasons of self – interests, differences in world view and perceptions of pervasive corruption or incapacity of African partners"[182]

In its efforts to carry out its extensive vision, through an integrated and coordinated way, certain priority or thematic areas have been mapped out. These are;

1. Human capital development.

2. Integration and infrastructure.

3. Economic and corporate governance.

4. Cross cutting issues.

5. Climate change and sustainable development.

6. Agriculture and food security.

It is important to note that the scope of NEPAD is quite wide. And these thematic areas have been programmed to accommodate a whole lot of issues.

It has become a nagging problem for Africa to be largely perceived as a high risk region for investments. Therefore the initiators of NEPAD, in their attempt to make Africa attractive for investors have come up with various means of action plans and programs to ensure peace, security and political stability, providing efficient infrastructure and municipal services; reduce red-tapism and multiple taxes; ensure

[181]Ibid, Aluko-Olokun, I, P.165
[182]Chimanikire,Donald.P *African Union's Security and Economic Development Agenda.* International *Essay on African Security and Development* ,July 2006 www.tradescenter.org.zw/indexphp retrieved Aug 15th 2012 5.10am P10

sanctity of property rights and contracts and a predictable judiciary for rule of law, adopt sovereign credit ratings and organize road shows to industrialized countries.[183] All these efforts are intended to be carried out in the regional economic communities as well as replicated in the member states of AU, which will ultimately integrate the countries into one conducive environment for investment.

NEPAD is seen as the socio-economic agenda of the AU. Together with AU, NEPAD can become a collective response of African leaders to the rapid changing political, social and economic, dynamics in the continent, to properly handle the crisis of government and development, and to upgrade the standard of living of the Africans and to protect the African interests in an increasingly competitive and globalized world.[184]

3.8 African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM): This has been another effort on the part of AU, through NEPAD to integrate policies and practices in its member states. The aim is to promote conformity in a number of areas. This include democracy and political governance, economic governance, corporate governance and socio-economic development

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) is one of the internal affairs of the African States with a view of addressing promptly, warning signals prelude to an outbreak of conflict. By all standards this is a commendable device[185]

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[183] Aluko-Olokun, Isaac, "The Role of Nigeria in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)
" in Bola A. Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union,* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P 166
[184] Ibid, Aluko-Olokun, I , P.171
[185] Magbadelo, J.O 'Nigeria and Africa's Development concerns' in B. A Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers, Ibadan,2,005)Pg 50

The African Peer Review Mechanism is a mutually agreed programmes voluntarily adopted by the member states of the African Union to promote and re-enforce high standards of governance. The APRM is a self-monitoring mechanism,[186] which is opened to any AU country upon depositing the signed Memorandum of Undertaking (MOU) of March 9, 2003 at the NEPAD Secretariat. It is on record that as of the 29th January 2011, thirty countries had formally joined the APRM[187]

Between January 2006 and January 2008, 14 member states had been peer reviewed. They are Ghana, Rwanda, Kenya, Sudan, Algeria, Benin, Uganda, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Mali, Mozambique, Lesotho, Mauritius and Ethiopia[188]

APRM has a structure that is quite elaborate and it is constituted into;

1. The committee of participating Heads of State and Government (APRM Forum), which is the highest decision making authority in APRM.

2. The Panel of Eminent Persons (APRM Panel), which oversees the review process to ensure integrity, considers requests and makes recommendations to the APRM forum.

3. APRM Secretariat, which provides secretarial, technical, coordinating and administrative supports to the APRM.

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[186] African Peer Review Mechanism(APRM)
www.nepad.org/economicandcorporategovernance/african-peer-mechanism/about   retrieved   10/09/2012
5.13pm

[187] Ibid Pg 9
[188] African Peer Review Mechanism(APRM)
www.nepad.org/economicandcorporategovernance/african-peer-mechanism/about p1 retrieved 10/09/2012
5.13pm

4. The Country Review Mission Team (CRM Team), which visits member states to review progress and produce an APRM report on the country[189]. Their composition is carefully designed to enable an integrated, balanced, technical competent and professional assessment of the reviewed country.

5. APR Focal Point – This is a national mechanism set up by a participating country to play a communication and coordinating role serving as the liaison between national structures and continental ones, such as the APR Secretariat and the APR Panel

6. National Coordinating Structure. It is here that the actual implementation of the APRM at the national level happens

The APRM process looks at four priority areas:

1. Democracy and good political governance.

2. Economic governance and management.

3. Corporate governance.

4. Socio-economic development.

One will agree that the absence of coordination in most African countries require urgent intervention in order to bring about an environment for sustainable development "...it

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[189] ibid p1

appears the APRM is the required antidote for corruption, irresponsible leadership and followership, authoritarianism/fascism etc[190]

From the above position of APRM, it shows how APRM seeks to bring uniformity in the standards it plans to put African countries and governments to, in other for them to be accountable to their actions. In other words, their actions or inaction, when seen to be contrary to the rule of governance set by APRM can negatively affect the reputation of the governments and leaders of such states. It should be seen that these measures will '...enhance African ownership to its development agenda, through a system of self-assessment that ensures that policies of African countries are based on current knowledge and practices. An effective mechanism, designed, owned and managed by Africans, must be credible, transparent and all encompassing. This demonstrates the fact the African leaders are fully aware of their responsibilities and obligation to their people and are genuinely prepared to engage and relate to the rest of the world on the basis of integrity and mutual respect. This would enable the continent make the necessary interventions in any situation considered to be at variance with the principles contained in these agreed documents"[191]

Olusegun Obasanjo, the former president of Nigeria captured the essence of APRM when he said "......African Peer Review Mechanism will foster the sharing of information and experience and will reinforce successful and exemplary practices.... Non

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[190] Oluyemi-Okusa, D, 'Nigeria and the Challenge of the African Peer Review Mechanism(APRM)' in B .A. Akinterinwa(ed) *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers, Ibadan,2005) P179

[191] Oluyemi-Okusa, D, 'Nigeria and the Challenge of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)' in B .A. Akinterinwa (ed) *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers, Ibadan,2005) P179-p180

interference in internal affairs is no longer tenable an excuse for folding our hands and allowing innocent women and children to be consumed by barbarism, tyranny or whatever violent means of expression of evil nature"[192]

From the APRM view, a burden of compliance has been placed on African leaders, especially in the area of good governance and institutional process. This is a perspective taken to place the leaders and governments of member states of the African Union, on a standard that should bring responsible and accountable governance to the whole continent.

3.9 Key Challenges and Conclusion

We have considered some efforts of the AU at integration. Having assessed these key areas, one can say while these programmes or priority areas have been used to make some efforts towards continental integration, challenges still exit ahead. For the RECs, it has been noted that they are at different developmental stages. Their capacity varies. Some are more developed, while others are less developed and there is a low level of trade between them. At the individual levels, AMU is the most handicapped of all the RECs. It is dogged with rivalries between Morocco and Algeria, over the unsolved issue of sovereignty of Western Sahara.[193] Tripoli and Nouakchott are also at loggerheads. Nouakchott has accused the Libyan secret services of involvement in a recent attempted military coup against president Taya[194]

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[192] Magbadelo, J.O 'Nigeria and Africa's Development Concerns,' in B A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) Pg.50
[193] Martinez, Luis, *Algeria, the Arab Maghreb Union and regional integration* ,EuroMesco Paper Oct. 2006, www.euromesco.net/euromesco/images/59_eng.pdf
[194] PANAPRESS, Libya Denies Mauritanian Coup Plot Claims – Tripoli, Libya (19 Dec. 2003)

The name Arab Maghreb Union is seen as Arab–centric, as it is considered to overlook the Berber population present in all the five of the AMU Countries. The Moroccan Foreign Affairs minister, Saadeddine El Othmani, recently suggested the removal of the term "Arab" and for it to be called "Maghreb Union" a position that was rejected by some states.[195]

At CEN-SAD, it is believed that the death of Gaddafi, who used to be its chief sponsor, will affect funding.[196] Between IGAD, EAC and COMESA, some states are found to be engaged in all three communities – a situation that has overlapping effect. SADC and COMESA also seem to have the same problem. IGAD and EAC clearly have had many conflict situations at hand – in Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Kenya, this has been distractive to say the least.

NEPAD's initial challenge was one of skepticism from much of the civil society in Africa. It was seen as adopting Western model of economic development and so some 40 African social movements, trade unions, youth and women's groups, NGO's, religious organizations and others, made a declaration against NEPAD.[197]

NEPAD was equally rejected because it was felt that the civil society was almost completely excluded from the discussions by which it came to be adopted.

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www.panapress.com/pana-pays-pagination-93-5500-7-lang2-index.html   P1 retrieved on 21st September 2012, 3:01pm

[195] Masiky, Hassan, *Maghreb Union: Polemic About "Arab"* Morocco Tomorrow – Feb.29 2012 moroccotomorrow.wordpress.com/2012/02/page/2/ P.1 retrieved 21st September 2012.
[196] ANSAmed, *Organization Looking for New Sponsors After Gaddafi's Death* — Rabat, June 12 – http://www.ansamed/en/news/sections. P.1, retrieved 8/23/2012 12:47pm
[197] *African Civil Society Declaration* – SARPN, July 2002, www.sarpn.org/NEPAD?july 2002/acs_declaration/index-php   P.1, Retrieved 21st September 2012 at 1:30pm

NEPAD was conceived by a small group of African leaders like Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, Bouteflika of Algeria and Thabo Mbeki of South Africa.[198]

Again, the rush by NEPAD initiators to G8 for endorsement made quite a number of African leaders question the wisdom behind it. One such critic, according to Dr Kwame Akonor, was Gambia's president, Yaya Jammeh who said: "People are sick and tired of African beggars. Nobody will develop your country for you; I am not criticizing NEPAD, but the way it was conceived to be dependent on begging" (Lokongo. 2002 in Akonor)[199]. It is also believed that NEPAD has the potential of dividing and not uniting Africa: The G8 which NEPAD depends on for funding clearly stated that it would only help African countries whose performance reflects NEPAD's commitments (G8 2002 in Akonor).[200] And it has been accused by even one of its initiators, Abdoullaye Wade of Senegal for wasting hundreds of millions of dollars and achieving nothing for the world's poorest continent.[201]

The APRM is seen as a self-monitoring mechanism. It is voluntarily adopted by the member states. It has been criticized as being potentially difficult to implement, given the fact of its voluntary nature. And so far not many African leaders have complied with the APRM.[202] By the character of APRM, African leaders are supposed to peer review

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[198]Akinsanya, Olusegun, 'Nigeria at the African Union' in B.A Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan 2005) P.104

[199] Akonor Kwame, *Stuffing Old Wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf P.7 , Retrieved 15th September 2012 3:01pm

[200]Akonor, Kwame

[201] BO, Diadie, *Senegal President Slams NEPAD* – 10L News, June 14 2007 www.10l.39/news/africa/senegal-president-slams-nepal-1.357495. P.1, Retrieved Friday 21st September 2012 01:37pm

[202] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigerian, The AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration' in B.A. Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P.148

their counterparts, especially on issues of good governance and accountability to their people.

It is been argued by many commentators that African leaders may not have the moral courage to intervene where they should. Such example was cited by Archbishop Pius Ncube of Bulawayo, who in 2004 alleged that president Mugabe of Zimbabwe is being protected by his colleagues. He said rather harshly "..... all they do is back each other up and drink tea together. African leaders keep saying it is for the people of Zimbabwe to work it out. This is just an escape for them. They fear facing the facts but they know very well there are so many injustices in Zimbabwe".[203] This is the concern of some commentators that African leaders may not be able to show courage when they are expected to intervene in the political crisis of member countries.

For the AEC Treaty, the time frame set for it to be in place was to span over a period of 34 years, from 1994 to 2028.[204] This period, apart from being too long, compared to how economic integration has been fast-forwarded in other parts of the world – but quite regrettably, African government feel they have enough time and the slow pace of integration in the RECs which are the building blocks of AEC is therefore not surprising.

On the proposed Continental Government, many African leaders still do not see it as a realizable goal. The 2007 Adedeji Adebayo led Audit Report is said not have been given the attention it deserved. Final decision on the matter was to become an issue of

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[203]Ibid, Oche, Ogaba P.132
[204] Chimanikire, D P, *African Union Security and Economic Development Agenda. An International Essay on African Security and Development*, July 2006,
www.tradescenter.org.zw/indexphp? August 15th 2012 Retrieved A5:10am P.15

manipulation and procrastination.[205] Publicity on this Unity Government by national government is almost non-existent.

The perception of AU is still seen in some quarters as a club of African Heads of State and Government. It still have a long way to go in discarding this toga, it needs to be more African-people-oriented than it is presently is. The AU, the RECs, and the African governments should give more efforts and time to integration programmes of the AU. Member states must be more supportive of the AU Commission, if the integration agenda of the Union must succeed.

Funding for African Union's efforts in the area of peace and security must not be dependent on external supports, the member states must live up to their financial obligations. The AU must not be seen as being slow in responding to conflict situations in the continent and it must not wait on the international community to be the first to respond just like it was in the case of the Libyan uprising in 2011. More courage is needed by the AU in intervening in the internal affairs of member states on issues, like poor human rights, bad governance and deteriorating security situations.

In conclusion it would be a fallacy to think or say that no progress has been made towards integrating the African Continent by the efforts of AU. The AU is taking Africa forward even though the pace may not be appreciative enough. The Union has problems that it must sort out and move the continent forward. The AU should be the vehicle of progress and integration and the umbrella of unity for the continent.

The questions that should be asked are; Are these measures put forward by the Union enough to bring the much cherished African integration? Can it be said that the

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[205] Bujra, Abdalla, *The African Union Audit Report: A Brief note* AfricaFiles, 14 Feb 2008, www.africafiles.org/articles.asp? ID=17233 sep/15th/2012 09:15am P.1

REC's and the African governments on their own efforts have shown the required supports that the AU Commission desires for its integration agenda to succeed? And is the African Union Commission deeply committed and bent on unifying the continent? Are there enough proofs to show that the African people and the civil society have been carried along on this journey of integration?

These are questions to be answered, but no matter how one looks at it, the AU has progressed, but more than mere progress is needed for Africa to get to its destination point of integration.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHALLENGES AND CONSTRAINTS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

4.1 Introduction

It is a universal truth that nothing good comes easy. For Africa, this is indeed true, especially going by the several efforts that has been made over the decades-it will seem that the dreams of integration has so far remained a dream.

Integration for Africa holds enormous benefits but these benefits will only come if the political leaders of Africa, in consultation with their people can make and take tough decisions, bury their differences, be focused and be ready to carry out decisions which can integrate the continent. If the African leaders are prepared to look beyond their individualistic aspirations and if the African States and governments are ready also to look beyond nationalistic interests and work on surmounting all hurdles that militate against the unification of the continent, then integration of "real" African unity will cease being a dream and will become a reality.

The challenges that face the African Union are great, and until these constraints are dealt with, integration will be difficult. This chapter will look into the challenges and constraints that hinder integration in Africa.

4.2 Challenges and Constraints of Integration

The African Union has a vision and this vision is one that entails "......a united and integrated Africa; an Africa imbued with justice and peace; and interdependent and robust Africa determined to map for itself an ambitious strategy; an Africa underpinned by political, economic, social and cultural integration which would restore to Pan-

Africanism its full meaning;"[206]As it can be seen, this vision is aimed at integrating the Continent. Evidently, this is a very ambitious vision that will and must cut across the political, economic, social and cultural fronts of the continent

No one will be simple minded enough to assume that integration will be easy. No! Not for Africa; not for a people that have gone through a cruel and damaging colonial history that was intended to divide a continent that has gone through the path of economic and social-cultural orientation that aimed at a life of dependence on others; a path of neocolonialism with an aim of weakening Africa; as well as a path of self frustration and destruction foisted on ourselves as a result of blatant greed, ignorance and selfishness.

Integration ordinarily should not be easy, but for a people such as one highlighted above, then it will not come except by overcoming quite a load of challenges. This however, does not mean that integration is impossible for Africa. Fortunately enough, there has been a process and there is a vehicle. The process had to be initiated decades ago by Pan-Africanists and other Africans. The vehicle is the African Union, which has undergone transformation. The African Union can take Africa to a destination of integration, if the African leaders are truly ready to make the necessary commitments and sacrifices.

Lack of Political Will: This is clearly the greatest constraint facing the AU and Africa in the search for integration. African leaders have proven without doubt that they lack the courage to make tough political decisions and to implement them. They do not really

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[206]Vision of African Union and Mission of the African Union Commission, March 2004 Office of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission P 18

mind to sometimes make decisions, even when they make them reluctantly, but when it comes to implementing them, that can be met with stiff reluctance.

African leaders need the courage and the commitment to make decisions and implement them. Many treaties and protocols have been initiated and ratified and with very good intentions, but the mental power and the drive to see to their execution has been the bane. Dembele commented that the decision to create the United States of Africa is the latest in a long series of decisions reached, most of which were never executed. He added that some of the agreements on regional integration are more than 30 years old but are still not implemented for lack of genuine will.[207] Slow pace of integration in Africa, be it at the continental or at the REC's level can be traceable to lack of political will.

A closer look at the RECs, which are recognized as the building blocks of the African Union and also pivotal for the implementation of NEPAD, will show evidence of slow progress towards sub-regional integration. As a matter of fact, apart from the most developed RECs like ECOWAS, SADC and EAC, a considerable number of RECs practically only exist in names. AMU, according to Bach is said to have achieved very little as a regional community[208] And even the more developed RECs have only been able to achieve little progress towards market integration,[209] all owing to lack of political will on the part of the member states.

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[207] Dembele,D. M *The United States of Africa: The Challenges.* Pambazuka News 2007 www.fahamu.org/download/au_special.pdf P41 retrived on 15th Sep 2012

[208] Bach, D..C 'Revisiting a Paradigm,' in D.C Bach(ed), *Regionalisation in Africa, Integration and Disintegration*(Indian University Press Bloomington and Indianapolis,1999) P7

[209] Ibid, Bach,D.C, P7

There is a consensus that the African Integration groupings have not on the whole been successful, though there have been achievements in some areas[210].This failing is largely owed to the lack of political will.

For Dembele, he illustrated what lack of political will has done at the continental level to key documents adopted over several decades ago, which should have strengthened African unity and deepen integration. These included the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), which he said, the African leaders ditched for the IMF and World Bank imposed Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAPs). He mentioned the African Alternative Framework, a document that leveled a devastating critique on SAPs. He listed the Arusha Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Social Transformation which contains a blueprint for citizen participation in the design and implementation of public policies in a democratic and participatory decision making progress. Also, the Abuja Treaty which aimed at creating an African Economic Community.[211]

This shows that African leaders have a knack for weakness in implementing agreements and decisions which can deepen African Integration. One will not forget the Adedeji Audit Report that was submitted on 27th December 2007 to the AU. This High Panel Audit was set up after the Grand Debate on the creation of the United States of Africa. The audit report by all standards makes it one of the best documents of the AU, but rather disappointingly it failed to receive the attention it needed, as no final decision was taken on the recommendations of the panel. First a committee of 10 Heads of State

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[210]Kennes,Walter 'African Regional Economic Integration and the European Union,' in D.C. Bach(ed) *Regionalisation in African, Integration and Disintegration*(Indian University Press Bloomington and Indianapolis,1999) P28

[211] Dembele,D..M, *The United States of Africa: The Challenges.* Pambazuka News 2007 www.fahamu.org/download/au_special.pdf P42, retrived on 15th Sep 2012 5.01pm

and Government was set up to consider it and report back to the Union in 3 months time at the July 2008 Summit in Egypt[212]. In Egypt, the final decision was again deferred to 2009 Summit of Addis Ababa.[213] It therefore became an issue of deferral, all owing to lack of political will. Levity takes centre stage while commitment is thrown out of the window.

Fear of Loss of Sovereignty: Many African leaders and governments are so obsessed with the issue of sovereignty. Yet, without ceding of power by member states to AU or the RECs, agreements and protocols reached, can not be effectively implemented. Before agreements and protocols can have binding power in a member state, such protocols have to be domesticated. Integration demands for common actions. It calls for collective adherence to standing orders of a higher authority like the AU to the member states. This cannot work without a readiness on the part of member states to give up parts of their sovereignty. It was for this purpose that Colonel Muammah Gaddafi pleaded with his fellow African leaders in 1999 to give up a little bit of their sovereignty in the interests of the whole of Africa[214]

States and governments are not truly ready to sacrifice sovereignty even when they agree to do so. Nationalism still struggles with Pan-Africanism. African leaders would prefer to lead delegations to world meetings like the UN. They may also prefer to chart their individual courses on issues, than to redirect their nationalistic ideals towards

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[212] Decision on the Report of the Executive Council on the Audit of the Union and Report of the Ministerial Committee on the Union Government, Doc.Assembly/AU/8(x) Tenth Ordinary Session, 31st Jan-2Feb 2008, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia P24

[213] Europafrica.net *AU postpones Continental Government Debate to Next Summit in 2009*, July 3rd 2008. Europaafrica.net/2008/07/03/au-postpones-continental-govt-debate-to-next-summit-in-2009/ p.1, retrieved 18th Sep 2012 11:15am

[214] Akonor, Kwame, *Stuffing Old Wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News,2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf p.5, retrieved on 15th Sep 2012 5.01pm

continental ideals. African leaders get excited to lead delegations to the UN, they pride themselves on the issue of sovereignty and completely ignore the fact that their countries are being looked down in the comity of nations, due to poor economy, food insecurity, trade deficit and poor infrastructure. Leaders or governments like that should be more concerned of belonging to, and having a stake in a United African States that can command respect internationally.

The member states of the AU should see the need to give up a bit more of their sovereignty, not all, but a bit more, in other to empower the Union with coercive powers and authority to compel and change the behaviors of the member states. It is this capacity to affect the behaviors of EU states due to EU's coercive powers that make the EU quite successful.

The question of sovereignty holds a great challenge to the African Integration. The African leaders should know that the unification of Africa does not bring an end to the history or existence of their states. Certain aspects of their states would still be controlled by them. But above all, they should be guided by the fact that they stand to enjoy the dividends of a United States of Africa.

Conflicts and Wars: Conflict situations and wars are at variant with development and integration. African leaders and indeed African Union must work assiduously in preventing and resolving conflicts and wars in Africa. This is important, if unity and integration is to be nurtured and deepened.

The African Union, the REC's and the individual African States should know that wars and conflict situations do not just happen, but they are caused. And if they are caused, then it is likely that with the right steps they can be prevented. It has been argued

that "....the easiest way to achieve peace and security is for African leaders to pay attention to the continent's numerous economic and social maladies, some of which are enumerated as graft, nepotism, political intolerance, poverty and all forms of mal-governance generally"[215] When the AU and leaders of African states can pay serious and timely attention to these issues that are often overlooked, then these economic and social maladies that are generally obtainable in all the African States would then be controlled.

Modern war situations in Africa include the following; The Angolan Civil War(1975-2002), the Civil War in Mozambique (1977-1992), the 1994 Rwandan genocide, the second Sudanese War(1983-2005) and the two wars of Liberia in (1989-1996) and (1993-2005). There have been wars in Sierra (2011). The Somalian War started in 1991 and is still raging to date.

In Congo DR war(1996) and (1998-till date) which has been described by the Human Rights Watch as the World's most deadliest-having killed over 3.5 million people since 1998[216].These wars have done so much damage to the African Continent and its peoples. These wars have disrupted normal socio-economic life and in some cases, entire economies have been destroyed and the prospects of regional integration has been worsened[217]

With the way internal conflicts are so rampant, there is no way they can not affect the process of integration, be it at the RECs and at the continental level. It is said that "....the prevalence of intra-state conflicts is an indicator of the weakness of the African

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[215]Adeniyi, Olusegun, 'African Union in the Nigerian Media,' in B.A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers ,Ibadan 2005) P.p 128-129.

[216]Woudenberg, Anneke Van, *Democratic Republic of Congo: On the Brink-Human Rights Watch*, Aug 2,2006 www.hrw.org/news/2006/07/31/democratic-republic-Congo-brink p1 retrived 10th Oct 2012 3.00pm

[217] Oche,Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU and the challenges of Regional Intergration,' in B.A. Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan 2005) P.155

States that the continent has been buffeted by numerous internal conflicts with tragic and destabilizing consequences[218]

Similarly, whenever there is an outbreak of war, be it between countries or within a country, there is always the involvement of other countries in such war effort as supporters of involved parties. For example, Eritrea has been accused many times of supporting the Al-Shabaab militant group,[219] in its war with the TLG and AMISOM, a position Asmara denies. In the same vein Ethiopia has also accused Asmara of supporting the Ethiopian Separatists against Addis Ababa.[220] Recently the president of Congo DR, Joseph Kabila openly accused Rwanda of supporting rebels in the Eastern Congo against government troops[221]

From the above scenarios, relations between these countries would be certainly negatively affected. The AMISOM troops in Somalia include; Uganda and Burundi. Ethiopia is also actively supporting the TLG, and recently the Kenyan forces have also joined in. The relationship between these countries and Eritrea cannot be said to be normal. It will not only affect integration process in IGAD, it will equally affect integration efforts even at the continental level.

One should not forget the Western Sahara conflict. Clearly, this was the conflict that made Morocco to leave the OAU in 1984, after Western Sahara was recognized by the OAU. In 2001, Morocco refused to join the new union still, because of the

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[218]Oche,Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU and the Challenges of Regional Integration,' in B.A. Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P. 155

[219]Taha,Rana,M, *Eritrea Sanctioned for Ties with Al-Shabaab by U,S-*Daily News Egypt 8 July 2012 P.1 dailynewsegypt.com/2012/07/08/Eritrea...... retrieved on 6th Oct 2012 11:02am

[220] Aljazeera English, *Eritrea Reduces Support for Al-Shabaab* 17th July 2012 www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2012 retrieved on 06th Oct 2012 11:45pm

[221] The Botswana Gazette, DR *Congo President Accuses Rwanda of Aiding Rebels.* 30th July 2012 www.gazettebw.com>home>news>worldnews P. 1, retrieved on 06th Oct 2012 11:09pm

membership of Western Sahara in the AU.[222] The Western Sahara question still affects relations between Algeria and Mauritania on one side and Morocco on the other side. This has negatively affected the development and integration of AMU.

The point that needs to be stressed here is that conflicts have constrained integration in Africa. This is because nations that should work together to deepen the African unity are themselves involved in contentious issues that inhibit them. This has been the situation in a number of African countries. I agree with Ogaba Oche when he said that "... when countries find themselves in circumstances characterized by political and economic crises as well as destructive conflicts, there is not much room for successful efforts at integration."[223]

Oyovbaire has also added his voice to the effects of conflicts to the integration efforts in Africa by maintaining that the relationships between Rwanda and DR Congo, the Sudan conflict, the ethno–geo-political convulsions in Cote d'Ivoire and consequential involvement of neighboring countries – indeed induced worrisome instability. The then president of Cote d' Ivoire did accuse its neighbors of being the architect of Ivorian protracted internal crisis and civil war.[224]

It is abundantly clear, that conflicts and wars have done so much damage to the integration efforts of the AU. James Gadin strongly advised on the need to contain conflicts in the continent, that without peace and security, it would be difficult to attend

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[222] Akonor, Kwame, *Stuffing Old Wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News, 2007, wwwfahamu.org/downloads/au_special.pdf. P.5, retrieved 15th Sept 2012 5: 01 pm

[223]Oche, Ogaba, 'The AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration' in B. A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*, (Vantage publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P. 156.

[224] Oyovbaire, Sam, 'Political Stability and the African Union: 2002 – 2005,' in B.A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P. 119.

integration.[225] The resultant effects of these situations have led to displacement of people, leading to refugees, as well as the destabilization of the environment. This is the challenge that the AU faces. The African Union must device effective mechanisms of preventing and solving conflicts if it really wants to nurture and deepen integration in the continent.

Neo–Colonization/ Western Interests: No one should be under any illusion that the forces of neo – colonialism would be happy to see an integrated and unified Africa. These imperialist countries have interests which they will always try to protect. The West will always want to maintain the status quo, which is to continue to dictate to Africa and to sustain their dominance over the continent, while pretending at the same time as if they are the benefactors of Africa.

These countries are ready to subtly frustrate the unification drive of Africa in a number of ways. These could be through neo- liberal policies imposed by IMF and the World Bank and other corporate-led globalization mechanisms have further weakened Africa.[226]

For some reasons, the Western World, because of the resources it commands and the multilateral institutions at its control, believes it has the solutions to solve African problems and should therefore be in a position to prescribe and proffer them.[227] Quite on the contrary, these institutions have even compounded the economic problems of Africa with their vague prescriptions. Again, Adeniyi maintains that the IMF, the World Bank

[225] Jonas, U.N, interview with Gadin, James, Political Officer of the African Union (AMISOM) Nairobi, Kenya, Aug.9 2012

[226] Dembele, D.M. *The United States of Africa: The Challenges* Pambazuka News, 2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_special pdf P.41, retrieved 15th Sept 2002, 5: 01 p.m

[227] Adeniyi, Olusegun, 'African Union in the Nigerian Media,' in B.A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) pp 133- 134

and other western firms have for decades failed to show any appreciable results in Africa with their economic policies[228]

Neo – colonialism is seen as the greatest danger facing Africa. Its aim is to weaken and divide Africa and make the continent lose its momentum whenever there is a resolve to unite.

Western interests can also be seen by the setting of foreign military bases in the continent. Today, most African states accommodate such military establishments and facilities belonging to France, U.S or Britain. To Dembele, this makes Africa vulnerable and fragile. These foreign military facilities have created room for countries on the continent to be accessed at will. African Union has a responsibility to educate African countries on the implications of such decisions. The AU should also enlighten African countries to be weary of Western structural adjustment policies.

Affiliation to foreign powers, whether former colonial powers or other organizations that are not likely to help in the development or strengthening of the African continent, should be discouraged. To this end, Nguru cautioned on the need to redefine the existing relationship between the African states and their former colonizers. He added that while the relationship should not be discouraged, more emphasis should be placed on African integration[229]

United Africa will certainly be a threat to the neo- colonial tendencies and structures of some foreign powers. The AU and Africa should resolve to protect and resist these imperialist forces and should advance for Africa's integration to succeed.

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[228] Ibid, Adeniyi, Olusegun, p. 134.
[229] Jonas, U.N, Interview with Nguru M, Lecturer and the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) University of Nairobi Kenya. 2cd Aug 2012

Funding; Sourcing for funding for the integration programmes is an issue that needs to be strategically handled. Most African states are facing frustrating financial situations. But it is clear that "the elaborate organs and structures of the AU and the lofty objectives of hastening greater unity and solidarity between African countries and accelerating the political and social economic integration of the continent, among other aims and objectives, would certainly need huge injection of funds in the administration and operation of the AU"[230]

It is not a secret, that it has always been frustrating and difficult to get member states to make their financial contributions. Does the AU have the mechanism and the authority to oblige member states to send in their financial contributions regularly and at the appropriate time? A situation where the AU depends on external funding robs the Union of the independence status it is trying carve for itself. AU and indeed the RECs cannot afford to show beggarly tendencies in search of financial assistance, which can come with strings attached. In other words external financial assistance is not bad, but care should be taken so that it will not come at the detriment of the Union and member states.

The African Union's funding for its extensive structures and for programmes like NEPAD, APSA, PAP, ACJ etc are indeed quite enormous. The breakdown of the AU's budget between 2004 and 2007 shows its budget has always been under funded [231] For example, the approved budget for 2006 was US $ 136,004. The sum of US$ 88,893 was

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[230]Oyovbaire, Sam, 'Political Stability and the African Union: 2002 – 2005,' in B .A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P. 123.
[231] Wapmuk Sharkdam, ' In search of Greater Unity: African States and the Quest for an African Union Government, *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in The Social Sciences* Vol. 1, No 3, 645-671 (2009) P. 665.

realized, and US$ 73, 890 came in as contribution from member states, while US$ 15,008 was received from external sources. In 2007, US$ 132,988 was the budgeted amount, but the total sum of US$ 73, 874 was realized, while US$ 10,101 was received from external sources.[232]

The member states must live up to their financial obligations. It is a sacrifice that they need to bear. The so called 'small states 'should endeavor to pay their contributions. It is a responsibility they have to shoulder. The 'big states' too should not default in their financial obligations. In 2006, it was reported how five African states of Nigeria, South Africa, Libya, Algeria and Egypt pledged to pay 75% of the Union's budget, but they delayed payment of the said amount.[233] This would mean that a lot of the AU's activities and programmes, especially those related to the integration process would have been delayed as well. This is indeed a big challenge to the Union. Funding is like the oil in the engine of integration, without which the engine will not function.

The problem of funding is not likely to go away, but more sacrifice, more responsibilities and a greater resolve will be needed from the member states of the Union. The union must, as a matter of fact device a means of sourcing for funds also. Funding is very crucial to this task of Africa's unification and the AU and its member states must not fail.

Mistrust among African Leaders and Governments: The aim of the AU is to build and forge the different sub-regional and state components of the African continent into one formidable entity, which will be politically, economically and socially united. This

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[232] Ibid, Wapmuk, Sharkdam, p. 665
[233] Ibid, Wapmuk, Sharkdam, p. 666

means the individual states with their national governments and leaders will give up some aspects of their sovereignty for Pan-Africanism to succeed. This expectation can only be fulfilled if there is trust among the African leaders. If there is mistrust, then whatever agreement or protocol is reached may not be implemented.

The question that should be asked is; is there fear of domination of the smaller states by the bigger states? Or to put it differently, do the small states feel comfortable to integrate with the bigger states? Naturally, a smaller state will feel apprehensive of her concerns and interests in a union with a bigger state.

At the sub- regional level, how is Nigeria perceived by the West African neighbours? How is Kenya regarded by her neighbouring East African states? In North Africa, is Egypt seen as a domineering neighbour? Or is South Africa viewed as a Southern African state that will always insist on having her ways at the detriment of her other Southern African neighbours?

It will not be uncommon to suggest that some states and leaders may feel inadequate on the issue of integration, which could have a drawback effect on the Union's drive towards integration. This fear of inadequacy may not be real, it may only be magnified by external forces that want to divide and weaken the resolve of the African Union toward integration. It will be naïve to think that the smaller states may not be worried or concerned about the power and influence of the bigger and more powerful states. There is a feeling that they are apprehensive towards the development of hegemonic states. So, one may see how smaller states sometimes unite against states that seem to play dominant roles in their respective sub- regional blocks. This could be the reason, according to Oche, in the resistance that is exhibited by the Francophone states of

West Africa in Nigeria's initial attempts at building support for ECOWAS integration initiative and also by SADC towards South Africa's hegemonic position.[234] It would not be surprising if in EAC, Kenya may be viewed as nurturing some level of hegemonic tendencies. One of the reasons given for the collapse of the East African Community in 1977 was that Kenya demanded for more seats than Uganda and Tanzania in decision - making[235]

Equally, this mistrust goes beyond states, it extends to individual leaders as well. Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was commonly regarded with mistrust, even though he significantly bank rolled quite a number of the Union's initiatives and even undertook to offset debts owed by some African states[236]

The "king of kings' tag he took for himself did not help in dispelling the rumour that he wanted to be the president of the United States of Africa, a vision he passionately championed. He proposed for a single government, a single army and single currency and an Africa without borders.[237] Gadaffi did not only propose for the United States of Africa, he equally wanted the commencement of the Continental Government to start in 2000. One year after his proposal.[238]

With this very ambitious plans for the Organization and with the zeal he demonstrated on the issue of integration, coupled with his radicalism and charisma, it then became easier to understand why he was branded in some quarters as using the

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[234] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU and the Challenge of Regional Intergration,' in B A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*, (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 153.
[235] Hardenberg, Christiane, *Regional Integration* (East African Community, Jan 2012, Berlin) P. 5
[236] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU and the Challenge of Regional Intergration,' in B A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*, (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 153.
[237] Ibid, Oche, Ogaba, p. 142
[238] Ibid, Oche, Ogaba, p. 142

African Union to push his political agenda[239] The same was also said of Kwame Nkurumah as he also was viewed with suspicion for pushing rather strongly for the formation of the United States of Africa in the 1960s. Nkrumah was also suspected for aspiring to lead the Union Government. It is believed that these suspicions generated some level of conspiracy against him by other African leaders, with strong instigation from outside Africa. African leaders must do away with mistrust and push for the integration of the continent. This should be the task before them.

On the other hand, it can also be said that mistrust can be avoided. African leaders should not be involved in subversive activities against each other. This has been mentioned by Oyovbaire, when he said, "…..there is also the critical need to avoid seemingly subversive activities of all kinds by AU leaders or heads of state in relation to one another at the continental level and in inter-state and sub- regional relations".[240] The current suspicion held against Asmara within IGAD and in the Horn of Africa over the supports Asmara is suspected to be giving to Al-Shaabab does not help in the way the go leaders of Asmara are viewed. African leaders should be sensitive and conscious enough in their aspirations so as not to jeopardize the unity and solidarity of which African is trying to build.

Daunting Economic Problems of Most African States: Most member states of the AU are poor. Poverty affects the integration process, be it at the RECs level or at the continental level. It is the poor state of most African countries that makes it difficult for

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[239]Wapmuk, Sharkdam, 'In Search of Greater Unity: African States and the Quest for an African Union Government, *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, vol 1. No 3, 645-671 (2009) p. 664.

[240]Oyovbaire, Sam, 'Political Stability and the African Union: 2002 – 2005,' in B .A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P. 121.

them to live up to their financial obligations. For this reason most member states regularly default in the payment of their dues to the AU.

The difficulty in the payment of dues also extends to the regional groups, which are the building blocks in the integration drive of the continent.

The poor economic state of some African countries was further mentioned in a UN report which classified 49 countries around the world as less developed countries, out of which 33 of them are in Sub-Saharan Africa.[241] The UN report, though given some years back – but the situation has not significantly changed, "…..poverty in Africa is a factor that stands to undermine the integrative aspirations of the AU."[242] Poverty has become pervasive in the continent.

Most African states economies for the past decades have been experiencing crises characterized by economic stagnation and heavy debt burden. Debt overhand has been one factor that undermines every development effort embarked upon by African states. Though some African states may have been handed debt reduction concession, and some have also had their debts cancelled, but most times these hand-outs are slow in delivering the much needed debt relief.[243]

Poor Infrastructure: With poor infrastructure, it will seem any continent or sub region is unserious about real integration. Good infrastructure is needed for economic integration of any territory or group of countries. Without the necessary infrastructure Africa's integration will not succeed. Therefore, right from the national, the sub –

[241] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU and the Challenge of Regional Intergration,' in B A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union,* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 158
[242] Ibid , Oche, Ogaba, p.158
[243] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU and the Challenge of Regional Intergration,' in B A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union,* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 155.

regional and through the continental level Africa must lay more emphasis on overcoming the state of poor infrastructure.

Infrastructural development here emphasizes on transport and communications sector. There has to be a determined policy which seeks to forge links that would enhance integration, and also co-ordinate and accelerate the mobilization of resources to facilitate the implementation of integration policies at all levels.

Development of infrastructure is a key requirement for Africa, if the unification of the continent must be achieved. The continent must have good road network, a good rail linking system has to be developed and air transport must as a matter of importance be in place, as well as maritime transport. Once this is done, services will then become easily conveyed from one part of the continent or from one region to another. Joint planning of any kind, be it in the area of agriculture, energy, industry will be possible. Good infrastructure helps in creating the enabling environment for integration to succeed. Therefore, poor infrastructure will become a hindrance and a serious challenge to integration. Clearly, this is a challenge that Africa needs to overcome. From the national to the sub-regional and to the continental level, much more needs to be done in this regards.

The point that has been made here about Africa is "..... that regional integration cannot be successful because the transport and communications infrastructure is insufficient. The reasoning goes that infrastructure should be improved before implementing regional integration. Lack of transport and communication infrastructure certainly constitutes a formidable constraint on economic activity in sub- Saharan Africa,

virtually as much within as between countries".[244] This is evidently a challenge which Africa faces. Good infrastructure is the engine room of integration. In Africa this should be given the necessary priority it deserves. ECOWAS, EAC, SADC and other regional blocks have all stepped up efforts towards this direction. NEPAD has also placed much emphasis on building infrastructure on the continent,[245] because poor infrastructure is a challenge to integration. But has NEPAD been able to deliver?

Cross-border infrastructure has been known to be badly maintained. In addition, there have been disruptions of infrastructure because of civil strives or conflicts. There is need to upgrade and maintain infrastructure. Successful integration and improvement in infrastructure are mutually reinforcing[246]

Evidently, its been observed that one of the greatest hindrances to improved trade among African countries is the poor state of the continent's roads, railways, telecommunications and other physical infrastructure. UNCTAD estimated that an investment of $32 billion to improve the road network linking African countries could generate $250 billion in trade, over a period of 15 years.[247] Certainly, so much money is needed to invest in infrastructural development. This is in deed a great challenge, but it is also an investment that will bring dividends to the continent.

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[244] Kennes, Walter,' African Regional Economic Integration and the European Union,' in D. C. Bach (ed). *Regionalization in African Integration & Disintegration*, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999) P. 30

[245]Leshaba, Marvin, A Critical Analysis of Africa's Efforts at Regional Integration. Policy Brief 30, P. 4

[246]Kennes, Walter,'African Regional Economic Integration and the European Union,' in D. C. Bach (ed). *Regionalization in African Integration & Disintegration*, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999) P. 30

[247]*Africa Must Pull Together Says UNCTAD*, Africa Renewal, July 2009, Vol 23 2, http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol23no2/232... P. 2, retrieved 04/27/2012 12: 54 pm

Better transport and telecommunications and improved banking across Africa will strengthen investment among African countries. Additionally, e-commerce project can help African business generate easier access to internal communications, maritime transshipment facilities and will facilitate the movement of people, goods and services and promote inter-state trading.[248]Africa requires such infrastructural development if integration agenda of AU must gain momentum.

By and large, good transport and communications are crucial to trade, and Africa must do everything to improve on these, because trade relies on them. The volume of trade is still at a low level and it is attributed to poor infrastructure. The RECs, which are the building blocks for Africa's integration must improve good infrastructure in the areas of roads, rail, airlines and communication network.

Internal Differences within the AU: On the basis of creating a united Africa, it will seem every African country has accepted by principle that there is need to create a strong united Africa as a common and desirable goal. At least this was the submission of the Executive Council of the AU at its 9th Extra-Ordinary Session in November 2006, at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.[249]

Additionally, the Constitutive Act of the AU in Article 3(c) emphasizes on the acceleration of the political and socio-economic integration of the continent.[250] Now, where the difference in opinion emerges is when Africa should be politically united and

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[248] Harch, Ernest, *Making African Integration a Reality*, Africa Recovery, Sept 2002, Vol. 16 2-3 http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol 16 no 2/ 162 r p.7 retrieved 04 / 27/ 2012 : 02 pm
[249] Murithi, Tim *From Pan–Africanism to the Union of Africa*, Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_speciali.pdf P.24,retrieved 15th Sept, 2012 5: 01 pm
[250]Constitutive Act of the African Union, Articles 3(c), www.au.2002.government .za/docs/key-oau/au_special.pdf p.4 retrieved 23rd July 2012. 5: 41 pm

the modalities to be used. To some it is clearly a way to delay an important continental issue.

Africa, before the establishment of OAU had three groups among the African leaders. These were the Casablanca, Monrovia and the Brazzaville groups. These 3 groups jostled for dominance and had their own ideas on the shape the envisaged Union was going to take. But with time the Casablanca group (those that wanted speedy unification of Africa) and the Monrovia group (those who wanted a gradual approach towards unity) became the more dominant groups. It would seem, the 'spirits' of Casablanca and Monrovia are still haunting Africa till today.

At the June 2007 Summit in Accra, Ghana, the radicals led by Colonel Gaddafi, supported by Ethiopia, Chad and Senegal pushed for immediate establishment of the United States of Africa, while the moderates or gradualists advanced for a slow approach towards the goal of continental government.[251] There appears to be a problem between these two groups. The radicals feel the moderates are too slow, and the moderates think the radicals are in a hurry. The radicals see the moderates as too analytical, too careful and scared to take a step. On the other hand, the moderates view the radicals as being too idealistic and extreme. Other leaders, who are neither fully in any of the groups, prefer to watch. This difference in opinion on the issue of integration has not helped Africa in the course of integration. It has brought a lull to this agenda. It has made it look as if, the African leaders are not very serious on this issue, a position shared by Bujra when he said "... I personally doubt if there are strong enough forces (representatives of states) in the

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[251] Orjiako,D.T, *The Role of Communication in African Integration: A Case Study of the African Union Commission*, Masters Thesis, University of Nairobi: 2008 P 2.

AU which are committed to support drastic changes in the AU – changes which are likely to speed up the process: towards African unity".[252]

This is the position where African leaders are today on the issue of integration or Continental Government, and it is affecting the position and performance of the AU Commission in its drive towards integration. The Commission can only go as far as the member states can go and they can equally go as slow as the member states will prefer to go. This means the opinions or the positions of the member states on the integration of Africa, to a large extent determines the progress or lack of progress that will be made ultimately.

It will be difficult to truly know if at least half of the member states of the AU will go all out for 'real' integration, even though many seem excited about the idea.

The internal differences in the AU also reflect in the decisions taken by African states on continental issues. For example in 2001 the AU barred Madagascar from the new union and refused to recognize Ravalomanana as the new president of that island nation, but due to the internal differences within the Organization, some member states like Senegal, Burkina Faso, Libya and the Comoros endorsed Ravalomanana's government[253]

During the Libyan crisis, when Colonel Gaddafi went into hiding and the National Transitional Council (NTC) declared itself as the government of Libya, the AU announced that it will not recognize the NTC as the government of Libya. Some African

[252]Bujra, Abdalla, *The African Union.* *Audit Report: A Brief Note.* Africafiles 14, Feb. 2008, www.africafiles.org/articles.asp? ID = 172 33, P.3 retrieval 09/15/2012.
[253]Akonor, Kwame *Stuffing Old Wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News, 2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/au-special.pdf. P.8, retrieved 15th Sep. 2012 5:10 pm

states like Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Rwanda etc recognized the NTC as the new government in Libya.[254] While others vowed not to recognize it. [255]

Similarly, the Western Sahara issue also helped in demonstrating the differences of opinions within the AU. After the recognition of Western Sahara by the predecessor union of AU, Morocco withdrew from the Organization as a protest. In 2001, Morocco again declined to join the AU when asked to do so.[256] The fact of the point is that some countries, after Morocco withdrew from the Union, broke ranks with the Union and refused to recognize Western Sahara. As at 2004, not more than 33 African states recognized Western Sahara.[257]

The so called moderates or gradualists seem to be growing in number more than the radicals. But there are a few questions that need to be asked; when will the time be ripe for those gradualists to go for the political integration of the continent? Can it not be assumed that these gradualists are merely hiding behind the curtain of gradual process of integration because of nationalism and individualistic tendencies? Sometimes it will do the African leaders some good, if they can stop and ponder on the gains Africa would have made, if the position of Nkrumah was accepted in 1963 when he pushed for the creation of a Continental Government. Personally I think the lot of Africa would have been much better.

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[254] *Ethiopia, Nigeria Recognize NTC as Legitimate Authority in Libya*, Ethiopia Unity Diaspora Forum, Aug 25, 2011, ethiopiaunitydiasporaforum.com/ news/ ethiopia – nigeria p.1 retrieved 10th Oct, 2012, 3:05 pm

[255] AllAfrica, *Africa Splits Over Recognizing Libya Transitional Council*, au afric.com/view/group/main/main/id 00139//html pp1-4, retrieved 10th Oct 212 3: 06 pm

[256] Akonor, Kwame *Stuffing Old Wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News, 2007.www.fahamu.org/downloads/au-special.pdf. P.5, retrieved 15th Sep. 2012 5:01 pm

[257] Countries that Recognize the Saharawi Arab Republic, Wide Angle, Aug 19th 2004, www.pbs.org/want/wideangle/episode/sahara-marathonp.1, Retrieved 10th Oct, 2002.3:23 PM

The radical view may seem idealistic and extreme, but the African leaders should understand that everything must not necessarily be in place before integration can take place. Africa has come a long way and there is need for the African governments to bury their individualistic or group differences and bring Africa to the much desired unity.

Leadership Factor: The leadership of each member state of the AU and of the African Union itself is strategic for fostering and enhancing stability and sustenance of the AU.[258] There is therefore a need for harmony, particularly with mutual dedication to the faithful implementation of decisions and deliberations of the AU. [259] This should also be replicated at the sub-regional groups since they are the building blocks of AU. The nature and character of AU leaders is crucial to the integration drive of the Union.

Distribution of Benefits of Integration: The sharing of the benefits of integration is an important aspect. States integrate to derive benefits. Currently, at the sub-regional levels, some criteria have been reached. But the smaller or seemingly disadvantaged states may continue to feel concerned; since they believe the more dominant or advantaged states will continue to derive more benefits from integration. This fear is informed of the fact that states in Africa are so unequal in size, in pace of development and some are landlocked and investment tend to tilt more to some.

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[258] Oyovbaine, Sam 'Political Stability and the African Union: 2002 – 2005,' in B.A. Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 120.
[259] Ibid, Oyovbaine, Sam, p. 120.

Effects of Globalization: It is observed that globalization as a phenomenon has affected some parts of the world positively, while leaving Africa not better off.[260] Africa seems to have been caught off guard by it. The onset of globalization in the early 1980's is said to have coincided largely with the period of Africa's economic crises.[261]

The process of globalization has also seen a shift in the policy focus of developed countries and funding agencies away from policies of developing countries. Transfer of technology, aid on concessional terms, as well as debt relief and debt forgiveness began to diminish on the agenda of developed nations. Even when developed nations make promises – it is now becoming difficult for them to be fulfilled. Ogaba, Oche asserted that the whole question of international development cooperation had receded to the background of international discourse. It is therefore not surprising that NEPAD, an adopted programme of the AU, has attracted very tepid financial support from the G. 8.

To this end, Ogaba argues that there are very serious implications for the integration efforts of the AU. Due to the effects of globalization on the African states there have been a rise of "....parochial movements, given expression through ethnic and religious chauvinism in most parts of Africa. In its very essence, regional integration strives towards the unification of the continent along political, economic, social, cultural and security dimensions. However, the rising forms of ethno-nationalism and religious intolerance are tendencies that, in their extremities, result in disintegration rather than

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[260] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration' in B.A. Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 156.
[261] Ibid, Oche, Ogaba, P. 156.

integration."[262] It is obvious that globalization has largely impacted Africa not positively and the fall-out has taken a toll on the economies of the African states.

Non-Implementation of Treaties: The bedrock of integration efforts is in the implementation of treaties and decisions.[263]When treaties are entered into and there is unwillingness to domesticate them at the national level by member states, then the possibility for the success of integration becomes weakened. In Africa,"... there is an unwillingness to incorporate international treaties into domestic law and to give effective powers to supranational bodies. [264] Oche Ogaba further observed that there exist a low level of institutional development such that obligation is hardly carried out. He went on to say that, while Nigeria and South Africa seriously pursued the formation of the AU, it is left to be seen whether member states will give the institution the required support in order for it to overcome the weaknesses of its predecessor, the OAU. [265]

Failure of African States to Achieve Diversification and Structural Transformation within Their Economies: African states are still basically dependent on the production and export of specific commodities.

There is the absence of diversified economic sectors that can provide stimulus for integration. To Nguru, African states are more of raw material producers.[266] The monocultural character of most African economies make them highly vulnerable to fluctuations in the international market, especially given the general decline in primary

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[262] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration' in B. A Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African* Union (Vantage Publsihers, I(badan, 2005).
[263] Ibid, Oche, Ogaba, p. 154.
[264] Ibid, oche, Ogaba,p. 154.
[265] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration,' in B.A Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 154.
[266] Jonas, U.N. Interview with Nguru, M., Lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) University of Niarobi, August 2nd 2012.

commodity prices in recent years. " For example, between 1997 and 2001, copper prices fell by 27%, cotton prices by 20% and coffee prices by 66%, causing great adversity to the countries that depend on them (Zambia, Egypt, Kenya). Only the petroleum producing states have enjoyed better terms of trade, but even their gains have been eroded by massive mismanagement of resources by the state."[267] Unfortunately, even these oil producing states are yet to diversify their economies. Absence of diversified economy inhibits the needed stimulus for integration. African states tend to have similarities in what they produce.

Low Level of Trade and Commodities: Despite the fact that sub-regional groupings have the objective of raising the volume of trade among African states, such trade is still at a low level. In Southern African sub-region for example, no more than 5% of international trade among member states have been recorded. Related to this is that most of the trade that take place among African states is either informal or illegal. This is in addition to the low level of intra-African travels and communication.[268]This will certainly affect the pace of integration. Integration thrives on trade and on Communication. Trade and communication definitely have the capacity to promote and enhance integration.

AU's Lack of Supranational Authority: The ability to face Africa's integration and development challenges will first of all be determined by the willingness on the part of African states to empower the African Union with the kind of supranational authority prescribed by its Constitution Act.[269] Without the African states internalizing the decisions reached at the AU by making these decisions binding on them, the AU and its

[267] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integration' in B.A 'Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005)p. 154.
[268] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenge of Regional Integrations in B.A Akinterinwa (ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African* Union (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) p. 153.
[269]Ibid, Oche, Ogaba,)p. 159.

institutions will lack the authority and credibility to be effective in carrying out their stated objectives. To this end, Oche Ogaba suggested that institutions like AU, PAP, and ACJ must be strengthened.[270]

Apprehension towards the Development of Hegemonic States: Africa needs states that can play dominant roles in inspiring the continent towards integration. States like Nigeria, South Africa, and Egypt should be encouraged.

Oche Ogaba mentioned absence of a dominant political – economic power on the continent that can form the core of a regional integration effort. Since most of the African states are economically weak. Gadaffi did much for the AU and even settled the indebtedness of some African states to the AU. Unfortunately, the role of a prime mover, he observes, is not one that is successfully pursued.[271] The African environment seems not to encourage the development of hegemonic states.

Gadaffi was viewed with suspicion, for having an ulterior motive for his supports to AU and some African states. In the 1960's Nkrumah also experienced the same perception and Nigeria occasionally has been accused or perceived as having hegemonic tendencies, especially in the West African region. Integration process needs prime movers and dominant states that can inspire others to action.

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[270] Ibid, Oche Ogaba, p. 159.
[271] Ibid, Oche Ogaba, P. 152.

4.2 Conclusion

Regional integration in Africa has enormous challenges. These can be seen in conflicts, poor funding, poor, and weak leadership, daunting economic problems, and neo-colonialism, e.t.c. These constraints require collective and purposeful efforts to overcome. To this end, the AU in alliance with the leadership of Africa, both at the sub-regional and state levels has the mandate to work towards the success of integration. It is a task Africa must overcome.

CHAPTER FIVE

OVERCOMING CHALLENGES/ENHANCING INTEGRATION AND

BENEFITS OF INTEGRATION

5.1 Introduction

Man is equipped with the capacity to find solutions to his problems and challenges. It is commonly said, that every problem has a solution. The challenges and constraints faced by the African Union and Africa are definitely surmountable. Integration, for it to succeed will need to be dutifully and constructively followed. Associated with this, will be how to deepen integration. It is pertinent to ask what Africa stands to gain from integration and cooperation. In other words, what are the benefits that are likely to accrue from it? It will be instructive to begin by stating that the case for integration for Africa has become stronger, and not weaker. The continent has nothing to lose from it, but much to gain.

From a number of indicators, the AU seems more determined to bring integration to Africa than its predecessor, the OAU. The Constitutive Act of the AU, apart from emphasizing on the agenda for integration, it also creates mechanisms that if applied will definitely deepen integration.

One may ask what Africa really stands to gain from integration. Is it really worth the sacrifices and challenges? Will it not be a lot easier to allow African states to continue on their individual paths of development than for them to integrate?

This chapter will attempt to asses ways of overcoming challenges of integration and at the same time enhancing integration. Efforts have also been expended into

assessing what the continent will gain form integration. These will be the thrust of this chapter.

5.2 Overcoming Challenges and Enhancing Integration

Integration is a process that has to be constructively and dutifully followed. Integration has challenges and if the challenges are not overcome then the process can be frustrated. But, as much as there are challenges and constraints in integration, there are also ways of enhancing it. We will therefore look at the following means or strategies of overcoming the challenges of integration and at the same time deepening integration.

A Visionary and Enlightened Leadership Based on African Ideals: Africa needs a leadership that can define an agenda in line with the interests of the continent.[272] Each individual African country has a task of electing leaders with Pan-African ideals who will be dedicated to the unity, independence and sovereignty of the African continent, and to also promote the welfare of their citizens.

Let us not forget that the most powerful organ of the AU is the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The most powerful individual of every state is the Head of State or Head of Government and therefore, one whose decision stands to count the most. If African states will do well to elect individuals with "...... decolonized minds, who are willing to stand up to foreign domination, who would listen to their own citizens and promote policies aimed at recovering Africa's sovereignty..." [273] then the full integration of Africa will not wait for too long.

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[272] Dembele, D.M, *The United states of Africa: The Challenges*. Pambazuka, News 2007 www.fahamu: org/downloads/all special.pdf. pp 42-43, retrieved 15ᵗʰ Sept 2012. 5:01 PM
[273] Dembele, D, M., *The United States of Africa: The challenges*, Pambazuka News, 2007, www.Fahamu org/downloads/all-special.pdf P.43,retrieved 15ᵗʰ Sept, 2012 5: 01 PM

This is a serious issue to ponder about. That is why Africa needs an enlightened society and citizenry where true democracy is practiced, where the citizens participate freely in choosing who should lead them. African citizens of each individual state should stop electing leaders who do not fully identify with the ideals of Pan-Afraicanism, because they simply have nothing to offer towards the much desired integration of the continent. The success of the much talked about integration of Africa requires a leadership at the continental level of like-minded leaders. Leaders "… imbued with the values and ideals of Pan-Africanism and genuinely committed to the unity, independence and sovereignty of Africa."[274] These are the leaders that will not just implement the policies and agreements of the Union, but will also enlighten the citizens of their countries about such programmes. The time to do away with leaders who will accept to sell their countries to aliens and to unworkable policies that will lead to Africa's enslavement and marginalization is now. "African leaders must no more accept that others speak or define policies in their place for their continent". [275]

The point on leadership has been emphasized so many times. It has become a recurring issue. Sometimes, when issue of leadership is discussed, people tend to focus mainly on the state. But leadership failure in Africa goes beyond state's level. It also touches on what kind of leadership is obtainable at the AU Commission. It is good to know, what kind of leadership exist at the AU Commission. Does the AU have the right kind of leadership to offer the continent? What is the nature and character of leadership in existence at the AU? Right from the AU Chairperson to the commissioners and the

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[274] Dembele, D.M. *The United States of Africa: The challenges* Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org./downlaods/all speial.pdf p 44, Sept 2012 5:01 P.M
[275] Ibid, Dembele, D.M, P.43

various principal heads within the Commission, the leadership should be such that can give direction and focus to the integration process of the AU.

Perhaps we need to ask if they are Pan-African in their orientation. If they are, then the AU, as long as the issue of integration is concerned, will be better for it. This is so, just like Oyovbaire asserted on the synergy between the leadership of each member state and the AU, that "....... it is critical to the sustenance of the AU and stability of the continent that the visions and perspectives of African leaders are harmonized particularly with mutual dedication to the faithful implementation of the AU."[276] In other words, the leadership of the member states of the AU will see to the implementation of their decisions as long as they have the right vision and perspective, and will be mutually dedicated to the Pan-African ideals.

Visionary and enlightened leadership on Pan-Africanism calls for leaders who are committed to the dream of an emancipated and prosperous Africa: it means a leadership that will not be cowed or frightened into giving up on recovering Africa's sovereignty and greatness. It requires ".....leaders who share a Pan Africanist commitment and who are willing to engage the African citizenry in a search for solutions that preserves Africa's independence and dignity; strategies which reflect Africa's image and interests.[277] This is the kind of leadership that Africa needs at this point in time.

Good Governance and Democracy: Good governance and democracy are two compatible ideals that ensure responsible governance. This is what every African country should aspire for. If this is achieved it then means that even at the level of RECs, this can

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[276] Oyovbaire, Sam, 'Political Stability and the African Union 2002 – 2005,' in B – A . Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union,* (Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005) PP. 120-121.
[277] Akonor, Kwame, *Stuffing Old Wine in New Bottles?* Pamabzuka News, 2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/AU-special.pdf. P.9, retrieved 15th sept 2012 5:01 P.M.

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also be achieved. Good governance and democratic principles will put a responsibility on the African governments to abide by the integrating principles of the AU, and the implementation of protocols and agreements, can then be achieved.

African states must do away with coups and dictatorship. They need to embrace democracy that can sustain an environment of freedom and good governance in the continent. It is at this level that governments and states will live up to the principles of Pan-Africanism, which are principally about democratic governance, rule of law and human rights protection.[278]

Good governance emphasizes on governments being accountable to the people. It ensures that the government is likely to consult with the people. Integration cannot work if the citizens and the civil society groups of each country are not carried along. It will also see to the rights of its people, including women and all categories of people. This is important because if the member states of Africa, the components that make up the RECs, can not integrate the sectors within its borders, how can the integration of the continent be possible? The protocol on the rights of women is yet to be ratified by all the states,[279] not to even mention the full implementation of this protocol.

Integration of Africa is a dream of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Africanism is anchored in good governance and democratic principles. Pan-Africanism according Ofuatey – Kodjoe (1986) in Akonor, emphasizes "....that the most fundamental goal of Pan-Africanism is the commitment to the collective empowerment of African peoples

[278] Murithi, Tim, From Pan-Africanism to the Union of Africa, Pambazuka News, 2007 www.fahamu. Org/downloads/ AU-special. Pdf , P.25 retrieved 15th sep 2012 5:01PM
[279] Mohamed, Faiza. J, Continental Government from the Perspective of Women, Pamazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downlaods AU- special.pdf P.27, retrieved 15th sep 212 5:01 PM

wherever they are." [280] The empowerment of the people is imbedded in the tenets of good governance and democracy. Good governance and democracy will not only make integration of the Africa less difficult, it will also deepen it. The much anticipated Union Government which has been projected for 2015 needs to be built on a solid foundation to realize the aspirations of Pan-Africanism. There is no other foundation that is more solid than the foundation of true democracy and good governance. This will ensure respect of human rights, rule of law will be observed and transparency in governance will be established.

The current position of AU on democracy and good governance is too vague. Kwame Akonor asserts "...that the AU has not established criteria on what constitutes 'good governance' or democracy beyond the minimalist procedural requisites of free and fair elections"[281] A case is cited of how AU at its inaugural launch in July 2001, barred Madagascar from the new union and refused to recognize Ravalomanana as Madagascar's new president due to the contentious manner of the elections and unorthodox way he consolidated his victory. The AU insisted, it will only admit Madagascar if fresh presidential elections were held. This position of AU at its commencement stage was highly commendable. But not long after, the AU recognized Ravalomana's government the following year. This u-turn cost AU to lose some credibility, because no new fresh elections were held. [282]

On this issue of democracy, the AU, quite regrettably does not have much credibility. One does not need to ponder to know that African leaders who sit and

[280] Akonor, Kwame, *Stuffing Old wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News, 2007, www. Fahamu.org/ downloads/AU-special.pdf P.4, retrieved
[281] Ibid, Akonor, Kwame p.7
[282] Ibid, Akonor, Kwame, p.8

command so much influence at the AU are among the world's longest serving presidents. If they AU, according to Akonor, were serious about democratic values and good governance, membership of that Organization should not be automatic but should rather be granted on merit or based on a set of political criteria.[283]

What this means is that emphasis on democracy and good governance should become a bit more stringent. Anti-democratic actors should not be allowed to feel comfortable within the Union.

Need for a Renewed Mindset: There should be a limit to how a people can wait for others to help them. There is also a limit to which others can continue to give help to those who demand for it. The time has come for the African mindset to look at things differently. It is not just for the African leaders, but for the African people to realize that the integration of the continent is a project that must be achieved, and that the hope of Africa is tied to the notion of true unity. Africans must free their minds and take on a different attitude that releases them into a new realm of understanding that they must take responsibility for their own development. "No country or group of countries, no international institution, no amount of external "aid' will ever develop Africa. Likewise, no foreign country, no matter how powerful, will ever guarantee the 'security' of African countries"[284] This is the truth African leaders and the African peoples must know and accept.

Africa had sat back for too long. If the leaders are not begging, they are prompting for help. If aid could help, Africa could have come out of its predicaments by

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[283] Akonor, Kwame, *Stuffing Old Wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu org/downloads/AU-special.pdf. p.42
[284] Dembele,D.M, *The United States of Africa: the Challenges,* Pambazuka News, 2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/AU-special pdf .p42, retrieved 15th sept 2012 5:01 PM

now. Today, many African governments are so heavily dependent on aid. The integration of the continent politically, economically and socially is the best bet for Africa's survival and prosperity. This should be seen as a task that has to succeed. It undignifying to say the least, to see foreign military bases in many African countries, or a situation where African countries enter into military or security pact with some of these foreign powers in the name of providing security for Africa. These countries certainly have their interests to protect. Their interests are definitely more important to them than the 'help' the give to the African countries or the perceived 'security' or dividends African states think they are getting. The call from Nguru, that the strong bonding exhibited by African states to their former colonial ties through certain organizations should be less emphasized, while priority on African integration should take the centre stage.[285]

It must be understood that the interests of Africa can not be more important to the interests of these foreign powers. To Dembele, it will be an illusion for anyone to think that the United States of America, France or Britain will provide security for Africa. To him "...these countries interest is to see a weak divided and defenseless Africa. African countries must take responsibility for their own collective security!"[286].

The African mindset truly needs to be renewed to look inward and to mobilize the forces within the continent and forge a unity that will set the continent on the pathway of true independence and respect. Looking for external help can never help the continent, it will only weaken it.

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[285] Jonans, U.N,Iinterview with Nguru, M, Lecture at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, (IDIS), University of Nairobi. 2nd Aug 2012.
[286] Dembele, D. M, *The United States of African: The Challenges* Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downoads.AU special.pdf , p.42, retrieved 15th 2012 5:01 PM

Enlightenment and Media Campaigns: The AU has often been criticized for not doing much to publicize its programmes of integration. What is at stake here is the role that communication has to play in facilitating integration. Evidently, the AU has realized that "...... information mission is vital as it would enable the Africa Union to involve all players in the process of regional and continental development and integration"[287] Until today, the African Union is still regarded as a government to government business, vis-à-vis its programmes. How will the African people in different parts of Africa know about the integration plan of the AU or to even understand it? "The African people need to be more educated on this. The AU needs to be more popularized and better understood. Consequently, there has to be a general public enlightenment"[288]

There should be much awareness created about the integration effort of the AU. This is where Nguru calls for a sensitization effort at the continental, sub-regional and national levels.[289] When states are sensitized to take this agenda into other components within their territories, and once the African people buy – in – into this notion, as suggested by the Audit Report of prof. Adedeji; the unification and process will then be".... Infused with energies from below and which is provided by the generality of the people – a kind of public peoples – partnership paradigm."[290]

The AU, in partnership with member states should mount a formidable publicity and awareness campaign, the types that will involve the media, bill board posters,

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[287] Vision of the African Union and Mission of the Africa Union commission march 2004, the Office of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission P.29
[288] Akinterinwa, B.A, 'Africa in Nigerian Foreign Policy, 1960-2005:Beyond Forty - Five Years of Unwavering Commitment,' in B.A. Akinaternwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the Africa Union*, (Vantage publishers, Ibadan, 2005) P.32
[289] Jonas U.N, Interview with Nguru M, Lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) University of Nairobi, Aug 2 2012.
[290] Bujra, Abdalla, *The Africa Union Audit Report: a Brief Note*, AfricaFiles 14 Feb. 2008, wwww.africafiles org/articles.asp?ID=17233

seminars and conferences, schools, places of worship, market places and just anywhere where awareness should be mounted should not be left out. This suggestion goes in line with the comment of the former chairperson of the AU Commission, Alpha Oumar Konare who said "........Pan Africanism is the fullest expression of our struggle today and our greatest building base is Africa. We must sensitize the member – states and push them to action. We must press for a public opinion that is Pan Africanist at a continental level"[291] The sensitization campaign must pervade the whole of the African continent.

Quite commendably, a number of African countries now have ministries of integration. The Report of the Committee of Seven Heads of State and Government had encouraged countries that were yet to create ministries of integration to do so.[292]. The emphasis will be to create awareness and public participation. This will have a ripple effect that will spread into other tiers of governments within the member states. The African people are passionate about the unity and unification of the continent, they need to be stirred up, and once this is done, they will agitate for it, even at the national level. When there is adequate awareness from the media and other outlets of sensitization, be it at the RECs or at the national level and when all sectors of the continent are informed of the AU's integration effort then the unification agenda will advance more readily.

Proper Coordination and Streamlining of the RECs: The RECs are pivotal to the AU in its role towards the integration of Africa. As the building blocks of the African Union, they are central to the strategy for implementing the integration and developmental efforts of AU at sub-regional level.

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[291] Abbas, Hakima, *Towards a Continental Government?* Pambazuka News 2007, www.fahamu.org/downoads/AU.special pdf P.3, retrieved 15th Sept 2012 5:01P.M.
[292] Murithi, Tim, *From Pan-Africanism to the Union of Africa.* Pambazuka New, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downlaods/AU-speicla pdf P.23 ,retirved 15th Sept.2012 5:01PM

The role of the RECs in the integration agenda of the AU was discussed in chapter 3 of this study – but one must also acknowledge the fact that the RECs have not actually been able to achieve much in this regards. Kennes captures the opinion of most analysts of Africa's regional integration blocks, by declaring that "...... there is a broad consensus that African integration groupings have not, on the whole, been successful......"[293] There is no need to go into the failings of the RECs, but suffice it to add that the RECs have underperformed. Potentially, the RECs are strategically positioned to enhance Africa's integration. This can only be possible if they can be properly coordinated and streamlined.

The question will be; how can they be properly coordinated and streamlined to enhance Africa's integration? The first thing will be the question of political will. Are the RECs ready to take decisions? Stand by them? And carry out such decisions? When there is political will in an organization, there will be that political authority to enforce decisions for the benefit of that organization.

In other words, in a properly coordinated REC, protocols and agreements should be implemented. Often, one hears of Free Trade Area, free movement of people and goods. The question is; are these measures fully implemented in the context of African regional communities? A properly run regional community should be able to first foster closer economic and trade relations with states within that region, and by extension, to

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[293] Kennes, Walter, 'African Regional Economic Integration & the European Union,' in D.C Bach (ed), *Regionalisation in African Integration & Disintegration*, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999) p.28

other RECs. For example, Oyovbaire observes how economic relations between five zones in Africa continue to be extremely marginal[294].

Without over flogging this issue, the RECs should pick the right leadership to run their affairs. Appropriate economic policies should be harmonized to bring a level of uniformity to the RECs. Adequate infrastructure in the area of transport, communication and banking should be developed. The notion of good governance and democratic tenets should be adhered to. Equally important should be the involvement of the civil society and the private sector in their activities and decisions.

The leadership of the states within the RECs not give in to the temptation of overlapping membership that is detrimental to them. Sako has observed that "....... African regional economic integration and cooperation process is characterized by a multiplicity of schemes and overlapping memberships".[295] Overlap can sometimes be confusing and burdensome, even to the point of overstretching foreign affairs staff to attend all the Summits.

Enhancement for continental integration can also come from the RECs, if they have objectives that align with those of the AU. This means their objectives should not override those of the African Union. They need to all have the aim of long-term continental integration agenda.

The issue of political will and commitment to implementation of agreements is very crucial. If this is matched with what the RECs represents in the overall scheme of AU, then the RECs should be the strongest instrument of AU's integration agenda.

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[294] Oyovbaire Sam, 'Political Stability and the African Union: 2002 – 2005' in B. A Akuinterinwa(ed),*Nigeria and the Development of the African Union*(Vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005)p.121
[295] Sako, Soumana, 'Challenges Facing Africa's Regional Economic Communities in Capacity Building' The African Capacity Building Foundation (ECBF) Occasional Paper No.5, 2006, P.3

The RECs are the building blocks of the AEC and rather than starting from the start from the scratch, the leadership of AU saw the wisdom of using the existing RECs for this purpose. [296] Equally, the RECs are considered as the main institutions to implement the NEPAD's programmes[297]. The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and its accompaniments, right from the Early Warning System etc, are to be replicated at the RECs level[298] That is why there is in existence ECOWARN, (for ECOWAS), CEWARN (for IGAD region) etc.[299] The African Standby Force depends on the RECs for deployment of troops under the regional brigades.[300] In the Constitutive Act, the AU is assigned a relationship of coordinating and harmonizing policies with the RECs, in other to achieve its objectives.[301] Finally, the RECs represent the AU at their respective regions. They serve as links between their regions and the AU, and the envisaged political unity discussed at the AU should as a matter fact gain momentum at the regional level.

The above mechanisms have been put to use by the AU to bring integration to Africa and the RECs are also integral to these efforts. Fully functional and well coordinated RECs will therefore without doubt enhance Africa's integration.

[296] Oppong, R.F 'The African Union, the African Economic Community and African *Journal of international and Comparative Law*, Vol.18,No1 (march 2010) P.92
[297] Sako, Soumana, *Challenges Facing Africa's Regional Economic Communities in Capacity Building'* The African Capacity Building Foundation (ECBF) Occasional Paper. No.5, 2006,P.1
[298] African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), 2010 Assessment Study, Zanzibar, Tanzania, Nov, 2010, P.19
[299] Ibid P.33
[300] Power, kristiana, A Working Paper on the African Unions Emerging Peace and Security Regime: Opportunities and Challenges for Delivering on the Responsibility to Protect, May 2005, P.14
[301] Constitutive Act of the Africa Union Article 3(1) www.AU.2002 gov.za/does/key.OAU/AU.act pdf, 1P.S retrieved 23rd Feb, 2012 5:41PM

The RECs are the building blocks of the AEC and rather than starting from the start from the scratch, the leadership of AU saw the wisdom of using the existing RECs for this purpose. [296] Equally, the RECs are considered as the main institutions to implement the NEPAD's programmes[297]. The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and its accompaniments, right from the Early Warning System etc, are to be replicated at the RECs level[298] That is why there is in existence ECOWARN, (for ECOWAS), CEWARN (for IGAD region) etc.[299] The African Standby Force depends on the RECs for deployment of troops under the regional brigades.[300] In the Constitutive Act, the AU is assigned a relationship of coordinating and harmonizing policies with the RECs, in other to achieve its objectives.[301] Finally, the RECs represent the AU at their respective regions. They serve as links between their regions and the AU, and the envisaged political unity discussed at the AU should as a matter fact gain momentum at the regional level.

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[296] Oppong, R.F 'The African Union, the African Economic Community and African *Journal of international and Comparative Law*, Vol.18,No1 (march 2010) P.92
[297] Sako, Soumana, *Challenges Facing Africa's Regional Economic Communities in Capacity Building'* The African Capacity Building Foundation (ECBF) Occasional Paper. No.5, 2006,P.1
[298] African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), 2010 Assessment Study, Zanzibar, Tanzania, Nov, 2010, P.19
[299] Ibid P.33
[300] Power, kristiana, A Working Paper on the African Unions Emerging Peace and Security Regime: Opportunities and Challenges for Delivering on the Responsibility to Protect, May 2005, P.14
[301] Constitutive Act of the Africa Union Article 3(1) www.AU.2002 gov.za/does/key.OAU/AU.act pdf, 1P.S retrieved 23rd Feb, 2012 5:41PM

Involvement of the African Peoples in the Integration Process: The OAU was commonly regarded as the 'club' of African Heads of State and Government. But this perception still lingers. It has not completely gone away even in this new Organization. Alienation exists between the decisions of the African leaders at the continental and sub-regional level on one hand, and the African people on the other hand. The African masses have always felt somehow detached from what goes on at Addis Ababa, or anywhere where African leaders congregate at the continental level. To Prof. Nzomo, it will seem the leadership of Africa lacks faith in the African peoples.[302] Though there have been some steps taken to involve the African people in their programmes, especially the integration programmes of the Union, but much more needs to be done.

The African Union needs to device an effective strategy for a people driven – Union. Hakima Abbas feels that though the AU claims its vision is of "an Africa driven by its own citizens". Yet, the African Union has, since its inception, been didactic with decisions being made with little consultation[303].

The civil society and the citizenry should be actively engaged with the AU through it organs and institutions. The African population is active and engaging and will readily be instrumental to the success of this integration effort. A determined effort through some well thought out means by the AU and its organs, especially on its integration programmes will be needed to involve the African peoples. If their inputs are fully assessed, it has the potentials of bridging the gap between the decisions of the leadership of the continent and the people. Dembele pointed out that the popular

[302] Harsch, Ernest, *Making African Integration a Reality.* Africa Recovery Sept 2002, Vol, 16 #2-3,http://www.org/en/African renewed/vol 16no2/162 p.6, retrieved 04/27/2012 01:02 PM
[303] Abbas, Hakima, *Towards a Continental Government?* Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_specialpdf. p.s retrieved 15th Sept.2012

participation in decision – making and implementation of public policies, as called for by the Arusha Charter is what is needed to build a genuine and strong Union.[304] Are the African masses aware of the integration drive of the AU? If they are aware, have they been carried along? Enough has not been done in this regard. The limited awareness among the large segment of Africa's population cannot help in enhancing regional integration. The African Union needs the African people to succeed in the political and socio-economic integration of Africa. The AU needs appropriate platforms which can strengthen partnership between national governments, people's representatives, civil society and other stakeholders towards promoting the AU's agenda of integration.

I think African people seem more readily disposed to the integration of Africa than the African political leaders. When one looks at the low trade relations between African governments – recorded on the government gazettes, the real truth of the fact on ground is that quite a sizable volume of unrecorded or unofficial trade takes place among the African people.[305] If the African governments are serious about unifying the continent, they need to mobilize the African peoples around it. The African masses should be put at the centre of this project, not only for a few Africans attending Summits somewhere. They social political and economic integration of Africa would be successful by making it people oriented.

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[304] Dembele, D .M, *The United States of Africa: The Challenges*. Pambazuka News, 2007. www.fahamu.org/downlaods.AU-speical pdf, P.43, retrieved 15th Sept 2012 5:01 PM
[305] Kennes, Walter, 'Africa Regional Economic Integration & the European Union,' in D C. Bach(ed), *Regionalization in Africa. Integration & Disintegration,* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999) P.29.

To Dembele, to achieve this. "........ the first step should be to allow a free movement of people – on the continent........ "[306] Africans need to be mobilized across the artificial borders that separate them. A free flow of African citizens across the continent should be allowed– this will make integration project much easier.

Implementation of the Adedeji -led –Audit Report: This report has been described as the best document available on the AU. Others see it as really historic.[307] The report came up with 'accelerators' and benchmarks that can enhance the social-economic and political transformation towards practical unity in Africa. These accelerators of integration harps on the following:

1. Free movement of the Africa people.

2. Building of inter-regional and transcontinental infrastructure in the fields of transportation, communication and energy.

3. Promotion and enhancement of African multinational private investment companies for financing integration projects.

4. Early establishment of the financial institutions as provided for in the Constitutive Act.

They were also some benchmarks which will serve as barometres of progress towards the unity of the continent. These are:

1. Revamping of organs of the AU.

2. Internalizing the values of Pan-Africanism by promoting and encouraging Pan-African consciousness.

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[306] Dembele, D. M. *The United States of Africa: The challenges*, Pambazuka News, 2007. www.fahamu.org/downloads.AU-speical.pdf P.43 retrieved 15th 2012 5:01PM
[307] Bujra, Adballa, *The African Union Audit Report: A Brief Note*. Africafiles, 14 Feb 2008. www.africafiles.org/articles.asp?ID=17233 P.3, retrieved 09/152012 01:23 P.M

3. Engaging the African masses, by moving away from a unification project that is driven by political leaders at the top to one imbedded with the forces provided by the teeming African masses below.

4. Dismantling all the restrictions in the continent that will not allow for free movement of the African people.

5. Creation of the African common market and the establishment of a truly functional African Economic Community.

6. Accelerating the monetary and financial integration by the establishment of constitutional, financial and monetary institutions.

7. Rationalizing, enhancing and dynamizing the RECs and creating a synergy between them and the AU Commission.

8. Mobilization of African entrepreneurs to be involved in transcontinental and inter-regional infrastructure and Pan-African enterprises, by providing them with the necessary favourable environment in other to free them from a culture of dependence on foreign capital and aid.

Once again, this calls for commitment on the part of African governments, in tandem with the AU Commission to implement decisions and reports that can enhance integration in Africa. This is not only about the Audit Report of the High Panel; it also calls for the full implementation of other reports of the AU that can take Africa to unification.

More Emphasis Must be Placed on Peace, Security and Stability: Wars and conflict situations have bedeviled the African continent for too long. There has been a reduction of conflict situations due largely to the joint efforts of the AU and the RECs, as well

as African governments and other stake holders. It is commendable that AMISOM is winning the war over Al-shabaab in Somalia. The Sudan and South Sudan are officially not at war. The civil wars in Mozambique, Angola, Burundi, Liberia and Sierra Leone all ended. The war between Eritrea and Ethiopia also ended in 2000. Many election crises that would have seriously destabilized the continent more than they have already done were equally brought under control.

The way and manner the leadership of the African Union reacts to conflict situations can either galvanize supports for a united Africa or can discourage it. How capable is the AU in handling and anticipating or preventing conflicts? The AU needs to show that through its structure and mechanism peace and security can be attained.

One of the objectives of the AU according to the Constitutive Act of the African Union is to promote peace, security and stability on the continent." [308] The AU has to do this through the PSC, a body charged with the responsibility of promoting, preventing and managing conflicts. The AU and the African leaders need to create an enabling environment that can enhance integration. The AU needs to earn the confidence and trust of the African peoples by responding to conflict situations when it should and by anticipating and preventing them as well.

Development and integration require peace and security. Foreign investments and general economic and commercial activities depend on the atmosphere of stability to flourish. This is what can encourage integration. Africans want to see an AU that will do all it takes to intervene in the internal affairs of a member states, to protect vulnerable

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[308] Constitutive Act of the African Union, Article 3 (f).

populations from human rights abuses.[309] Such interventions on the part of AU or the regional communities will send a strong message to governments or leaders who may want to take advantage of the vulnerable populations within their states.

The collective or common defence programme, if made effective will give Africans a sense of pride and solidarity. It will naturally mobilize the people of the continent towards the AU and the programme of integration.

Implementation of Treaties: Non – implementation of treaties is a cankerworm that has plagued the AU and the RECs. It has been observed that African states tend not to implement treaties to the later.[310] If treaties are not implemented, how will the integration efforts of the AU be realized? This attitude has to give way, if AU must succeed in unifying the continent. What African leaders really need is the courage and willingness to implement treaties and decisions reached. By so doing, the continent will not lag behind. Implementation of agreements will quicken the pace of integration. If a decision is left unimplemented for a long time, it affects the momentum under which such decisions were made and the focus can shift. That is why today, be it in the RECs and in the AU, treaties of more than 30 years old on regional integration have not been implemented. Implementation of treaties on integration will bring solidarity and will also reflect seriousness and willingness on the part of the African leaders.

Also, since implementation of decisions and agreements are to put into practice certain plans of actions, this will bring results. It is this outcome that enhances and

[309] Powell, Kristiana A Working Paper on the African Unions' Emerging Peace and Security Regime: Opportunities and Challenges for Delivering on the Responsibility to Protect May 2005, P.4
[310] Oche, Ogaba, Nigeria, the AU, and the Challenges of Regional Integration in B. A.Akinterinwa (ed),*Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (Vantage publishers, Ibadan, 2005)P.154

deepens integration. In agreement, Dembele said "....the building of a United Africa requires a new leadership with the will to follow through this commitment".[311]

When an organization can implement agreements reached, such an organization will be strengthened and made functional. Similarly, the effectiveness of implementing treaties and agreements can inspire other organizations into being effective in agreement implementation as well. Almost all the RECs have the intention of creating monetary units for their respective regions. Along the way, these implementation processes have not been scrupulous. But once, a region is able to achieve this purpose of having a single currency, it will galvanize the RECs into action. I want to think that the success of ECOWAS through ECOMOG in intervening militarily in its member states has helped inspire the creation of AMISOM and has led to the seriousness other RECs now attach to their security challenges.

Supports of Member States: The African Union can only go as far as the member states are willing to support it. The same goes for the RECs, they need the supports of their member states.

The AU needs financial contributions from its member states, it needs troops for deployment, it needs attendance of states representatives during summits and conferences to discuss issues and take decisions. It equally needs solidarity on decisions taken to make it binding.

It should be noted, that the leadership of the AU Commission and the leaders of the RECs have their own constituencies, which happen to be their own respective countries. The question that should be asked is; if there is a reason to choose where

[311] Dembele, D .M, *The United States of Africa: The Challenge*, Pambazuka News, 2007, www.faamu. Org/downloads.AU-special.pdf P.43 retrieved 15th Sep 2012 5:01PM

ones allegiance should go to, will they show loyalty to AU or their states? The supports and solidarity of member states is very crucial, if the integration agenda of the AU must be achieved. This supports would be seen in the active participation of member states in the affairs of the Union. It will also reflect in the implementation of treaties nationally.

The Unity of the African Peoples: Sometimes the issues of race can easily bring offense, even when it should not. So people try to avoid talking about it. But again, it is important to know that issues like this should be discussed in other to make it part of the solution and not part of the problem.

May be we need to ask some questions that will help on the issue of race. How is the issue on race handled in the AU? Is it an issue that people feel free to discuss? Can it be said that it can constitute a problem to the integration of Africa? Or is there a unity of the peoples of Africa? These are important questions that demand sincere and candid answers.

I think, it will be important to consider the relationship between the Arabs of North Africa and Africans, South of Sahara. In the same vein, what is the relationship between the white Afrikaners of South Africa and the rest of the African peoples? Do they share a common thought and purpose on the destiny of Africans? Do they envisage an integrated and united Africa for all Africans?

It was Gaddafi who once hinted that the Arab speaking states of Africa were no less Africans than those of predominantly non Arab states south of the Sahara.[312] Going by the supports Gaddafi gave to quite a number of African states and how he was at the forefront of unifying Africa - it will seem he saw himself as an African. But the

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[312] Orjaiko, D.T, *The Role of Communication in African Integration; Case Study of the African Union Commission*, Master Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2008 P.31.

xenophobic attacks on "fellow Africans" in Libya[313] seem to depict the fact that the position of Gaddafi on the issue of Africanism and the position of the Libyan population were at variant. From the World Press Review report, it seems the Libyan people regard the African immigrants as beneficiaries of Gaddafi's support for the African Union.[314] During the 2011 crisis in Libya, the mercenaries that fought for Gaddafi were commonly regarded as "Africans" by the Libyan population. Could this mean that the Libyans see themselves as non – Africans?

It is not in North Africa alone that xenophobic attacks have taken place, it has also occurred in Africa, South of the Sahara. In fact it has taken place in South Africa a number of times where fellow Africans were attacked and some lost their lives in 2008, [315] and 2010[316] as well as in 2012[317]

What this means is that the peoples of Africa cannot afford not to go in the same direction in the quest for unity. The leaders of the respective African states must create an awareness of a common destiny for all Africans. The earlier the Africans see themselves as one, the better for the integration aspiration of the AU. Africans cannot afford to attack each other on the basis of race or culture.

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[313] Ibid, Orjako, D.T, P.31
[314] Obasi, Onyeka, Communiqué to Africa Union Heads of States on the Xenophobia Attacks on Fellow Africa's Living in South Africa Cairo 19th June 2008;P.1
[315] Bald, Margare Xenophobia in Libya, World Press Review, Dec 2000 issue, Vol.47.No 12, www.world press. Org/Africa.1270.cfm p.2 15th Oct. 2012 10:11AM
[316] News24, Xenophobic Attacks – Patterns Changing, Breakfast News, 2012:07-24
[317] Bald, Margare Xrnophobia in Libya, World Press Review, Dec 2000 issue, Vol.47.No 12, www.world press. Org/Africa.1270.cfm p.2 15th Oct. 2012 10:11AM

5.3 Benefits of integration

Infrastructural development: There will be massive improvement of infrastructure across the continent. Africa presently is struggling with poor infrastructure in the area of transport and communication, especially in Sub-Sahara Africa.[318] This development will lead to increased transformation in diverse ways on the continent. There will be improvement in road, air, rail and water transport. Water transport which clearly is the least developed transportation means will witness massive transformation, for economic activities to be effectively transacted; communication links will also be developed. Like Ikiara pointed out "....the development of infrastructure will open up the continent".[319] It is this infrastructural development that will aid the free movement of people and goods in the continent. This will definitely boost trade.

Movement of people, goods and services: Another benefit of integration that has been talked so much about is the free movement of people and goods through out the continent. Africa will become a continent that will be practically without borders, just as Gaddaffi proposed.[320]

It is this free movement of people and goods that will improve cross – borders trade and social integration. According to Maxwell Kwezalamba, one of the AU's

[318] Kennes, Walter, 'African regional Economic integration & the European Union,' in D.C.Bach(ed), *Regionalization in Africa integration & Disintegration* (Indiana University press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999)P.30

[319] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria the AU and the Challenge of Regional Integration,' in B .A. Akinterinwa (ed) *Nigeria and the Development of the African, Union* (Vantage Publishers, Ibandan, 2005) P.142.

[320] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria the AU and the Challenge of Regional Integration,' in B .A .Akinterinwa (ed) *Nigeria and the Development of the African, Union* (Vantage publishers, Ibandan, 2005) P.142.
Jonas, U. N, Interview with Ikiara, Garrison., Senior lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies(IDIS) University of Nairobi, Nairobi, Kenya, Aug. 10 2012

commissioners, he said the proposed African Diplomatic Passport (ADP) will help to facilitate the free movement of people on the continent.......["[321]] .

Increase in cross-border trade: Cross-border trade among the African states will automatically increase, due to the free movement of people across the different states. It has been observed that low level of intra-African trade is because integration groupings have not yet been able to abolish customs duties or more generally the barriers on doing *business across borders. Road-blocks and constraints on payments investment and movement of persons still persist.* But with integration, the measures to abolish barriers would then be adequately implemented.[322] Good transport infrastructure will increase cross-border trade also.

Market Enlargement: With integration, the African market will be enlarged. The present tiny markets of African states will be linked up continentally, due to economic customs union and, they will be able to overcome obstacles caused by the small size of their domestic markets[323] . Because of this development, the per capita income will grow and the purchasing power of African states, according to Ikiara will increase. This development will bring growth in industries – and as a result there will be increase in profit and revenue[324]

Common Regional Standards: This will help in bringing about mutual recognition of certificates. For example, the training of road-transport operators across the continent will

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[321]Panapress, *AU Highlights Efforts to Fast-Track African Integration,* 30 June 2006, http://wwww.panapress. Com/AU-highlights-efforts-to-fast-track-African.....P.1, retrieved 9/14/2012 5:03AM.
[322] Kennes, Walter, 'African Regional Economic Integration & the European Union' in D .C. Bach(ed), *Regionalization in Africa Integration & Disintegration* (Indiana University press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999). 29
[323] Sako, Soumana, Challenges Facing, Africa's Regional Economic Communities in Capacity Building. The African Capacity Building Foundation(ACBF) Occasional Paper. No 5, 2006. P.1
[324] Jonas, U .N, Interview with Ikiara, Gerrishon, Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies(IDIS) UNIVERSITY OF Nairobi, Kenya, Aug. 10 2012

be harmonized. Barriers that normally prevent movement of personnel, whether skilled or unskilled would be removed.[325]

Monetary Union: Real integration as envisaged by the AU is to lead to a monetary union which will bring about the creation of a single currency. This will have fundamental impacts on the continent. Trade will be promoted; cost of transaction will be reduced. Monetary union will mean that monetary policies will also be integrated for effective management of the single currency[326]. This can prepare grounds for the single currency of Africa to have international recognition. This is what a single currency over a single market as vast as Africa can bring.

Global Competitiveness: Integration will change the perspective and the image of Africa globally. Africa will have a large market, a single currency, and a single government. This will give Africa a strong voice internationally. Africa will be able to negotiate with other powers more advantageously, and not from a position of weakness. It will become an emerging sphere at global arena, with bargaining power, be it at the UN or at the W.T.O.

Common Institutions will be Created: Integration will lead to a unity that will reflect in the formation or merger of institutions. Institutions like the African Railways, Airways, Postal Agency and professional bodies will be instituted. Ikiara has anticipated that with development, regionalism in Africa will deepen.[327]

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[325] Ibid,Jonas, U .N,
[326] Ibid, Jonas, U.N
[327] Jonas, U.N ,Interview with Dr. Ikiara, Gerrishon , Senior lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies(IDIS) University of Nairobi, Kenya Aug 10 2012...........

Peace, Security and Stability: Integration will integrate political forces in Africa. A common defence mechanism will be in place, and for this reason conflicts will then be drastically reduced. With time, sources of violent conflict will also minimize. This will create a favourable economic environment. Africa will no more be seen as a theatre of conflicts, but an emerging sphere of investment and development.

Presently, with the collective efforts of some AU member states in Somalia, that country is beginning to see the light. An election had taken place and a government is in place. Integration will strengthen APSA and the African Standby Force can metamorphosed into a single army which will be a threat to forces and elements of insecurity and instability.. This will result in peace sustenance on the continent.

World Player: Small countries are almost nearly voiceless and they are naturally ignored by other more powerful countries. This has been the lot of African countries. But it will no more be so, if these small, weak, voiceless countries with enormous resources can integrate – then the world will certainly not ignore them as a united country. Aside from being more competitive globally, it will be able to assert itself more in world affairs, and will be able to engage the rest of the international community in a dynamic partnership. By this, Africa will be able to proffer solutions to world problems. If there is good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, and if measures are put in place to improve the lives of Africans, then there will be less agitations on the continent and there will be peace and stability.

A Fertile Ground for More Foreign Investments and Aid: With its large market and population and with the expected transformation that will follow integration, Africa will be a market and a territory that can not be overlooked or ignored. Naturally, more foreign investments will come to Africa, due to general improvement of infrastructure and stability - just like China, Brazil and India have become attracted by foreign investments.

It will also attract foreign aid. To Ikiara, foreign investors naturally like to associate with larger markets, since it justifies the capacity to make more profits.[328] This is likely to be the case if conflicts and poor infrastructure no more hold sway in the continent.

A More Democratic and Freer Society: The AU professes a commitment to democracy and good governance, though this commitment can be best described as minimal, but integration will deepen democracy and reinforce good governance and freedom in the continent. The fundamental human rights will be respected. Gender equality and customary practices that continues to limit women's potentials will be tackled. A united Africa will be an emerging force that will seek to set and promote best practices, from the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. This will be a regenerated Africa.

Economy of Scale: African states presently experience limited capacity. This is because of the inherent small market that puts the production output at a higher cost. The creation of a large market for trade and investment will lead to production output at a lower cost. This means, the larger the production, the lower the unit costs, and the

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[328] Jonas, U, N. interview with Dr. Ikiara, Gerrishon, Senior lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) University of Nairobi, Kenya 10th August 2012

continent will sell more and make more profit.[329] Trade deficits will be greatly reduced

for the continent and Africa will be on its way to become an emerging economic power.

Green and Seidman in Dembele agree with Ikiara, that "......Africa as a whole could

provide markets able to support large – scale efficient industrial complexes; no African

states nor existing sub- regional economic union can do..".[330]

Specialization and Location of Industries: Africa is the richest continent in terms of

natural resources. Some countries have the potentials of doing better than others in some

sectors. For example countries with arable land will be potentially good for agriculture

and others in crude oil and gas reserves for oil and gas related industries. This will help in

the branding of industries and territories for specialization which aims for comparative

advantage.

More Opportunities for African Producers: With the wider regional markets, more

opportunities for African producers, beyond the normally restricted markets, will be

available.[331] With the free movement for people and goods, coupled with the expected

lower cost of production and the removal of tariffs, African producers will have greater

chances to make more profits.

The costs of developing essential infrastructure will be reduced: While pointing out

the "virtues" of regional integration, the Algerian president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika said

that "....it can reduce the costs of developing essential infrastructure, which includes;

transport, communications, energy, water systems and scientific and technological

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[329] Ibid, Jonas, U, N.

[330] Akonor, Kwame, *Stuffing Old wine in New Bottles?* Pambazuka News 2007, www.fahamu.org/downlaods/AU-specialpdf.P.6, retrived 16thsep 2012 3:01PM

[331] Harcsh, Ernest, *Making African Integration a Reality*, Africa Recovery, Sept. 2002,vol.16 #2-3, htt://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol162...p.3,retrieved 04/27/2012 01;02 PM

research, which often lie beyond the means of individual countries.[332] Shared concrete projects will become easier with integration.

A Real Chance to Improve the Lives of Africans: Even though Africa is the most endowed continent in natural resources, ironically it is also the poorest. Poverty is pervasive on the continent and the severity of the problem even in comparison with other less developed countries, poverty in Africa is rising. More poor countries are found in Africa than in any other continent.[333] Integration is the best opportunity for Africans to have better living conditions.

One of the expected benefits of integration for Africa will be to meet the real needs of its people. It was Mr. K.Y. Amoaka, the executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) who said in 2002 "... I want to see intra-African integration....... Not because we will garner some foremost Utopian share of world commerce, but first, it will improve our business people to do business here. It will lower costs. It will make the African consumers' plight so much more hopeful. We must build for ourselves, if we do that, others will come". [334]

It has been said, that a primary focus for Africa's integration should be on improving the livelihood of African people as a whole. This can be possible if integration is motivated by the founding principles of Pan-Africanism, namely a commitment to

[332] ibid, Harcsh, Ernest p.3
[333] Oche, Ogaba, 'Nigeria, the AU,and the Challenge of Regional Integration,' in B. A. Akinterinwa(ed), *Nigeria and the Development of the African Union* (vantage Publishers, Ibadan, 2005)P. 158
[334] Harsh, Ernest, *Making African Integration a Reality*, African Recovery, Sep 2002, Vol. 16 #2-3, http://www.un.org/en/africanwel/vol 16no 2/162....p.4, retrieved 04/027/2012 01:02 PM

democratic governance, human rights protection and the rule of law.[335] By these measures the African governments will be accountable to the people. The peoples of Africa should be the beneficiaries of a united Africa.

Retention and Return of Skilled Man – Power: Brain drain" has deprived Africa of thousands of highly skilled workers in many different fields. The World Health Organization (2006) says that more than 25% of doctors trained in Africa work abroad in developed countries. About 30,000 highly skilled Africans go to the United States and Europe alone to work.[336]

Africa has incurred so in terms of monetary expenses in training its skilled workers which should help develop the continent. A more staggering statistics is given by Archbishop Ndungane (2006) in the United States alone. "African immigrants are the highest educated class in the range of all immigrants .... there are 640,000 African professionals in the US, over 360,000 of them hold PhDs, 120,000 of them (from Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan and Uganda) are medical doctors. The rest are professionals in various fields from the head of research for US Space Agency NASA, to the highest paid materials science professors....."[337]

No wonder the developed countries keep gaining, while African countries keep losing out. Africa, it seems will keep losing her skilled workers, except something fundamental is done. The fundamental thing that needs to be done will be the integration of the continent. Africa will be able to retain a sizeable number of its skilled workers and

[335] Murithi, Tim, *From Pan-Africanism to the Union of Africa*, Pambazuka, News, 2007 www.fahamu.orgdonwlaods/AU special pdf P. 25, retrieved 15th sept 2012 5:01 P.M.
[336] Dembele, D M., *The United States of Africa: the Challenges* Pambazukas News, 2007,www.fahamu.org/downlaods/au-speicla.pdf p.40 retrieved 15th sep2012 3:01 P.M
[337] Ibid, Dembele, D. M., P.40

the transformation in Africa at integration will equally bring back a sizable number of them.

Looking at the reasons why Africa loses its highly trained workers, one will observe that some leave because of poor remuneration, others due to conflicts and insecurity, while others leave because of political reasons and poor working environments. These reasons are what integration of Africa seeks to rectify. Once this is done, Africa will largely retain and bring back its skilled workers.

A Defeat for Neo-Colonialism and Western Manipulations: After the era of colonialism, the agents of colonialism soon transformed to neo-colonialist forces and never stopped meddling in the affairs of African states, which they perceive as satellite territories. These forces and agents of neo-colonialism and imperialism have skillfully masterminded division in different states of Africa. They successfully in a number of instances changed many governments through coups and sponsorship of insurrections. They created puppet governments and put stooges as leaders in some African states. They have equally sustained civil wars by exporting arms to such conflict points, and above all they have always seen a united and strong Africa as a threat to their neo-colonialist and imperialist tendencies.

Kwame Nkruma was foresighted enough to see how determined the neo-colonial forces were bent on keeping Africa economically dependent and politically subservient.[338] He clearly understood that a divided and weakened Africa would be easily controlled. This has been the position of Africa for decades now. A united Africa

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[338] Nkruma, Kwame 'African Prospect,' in P.W. Quigg (ed), *Africa A foreign Affairs Reader* (Frederick A. praeger publishers, London, 1964) p. 273.

will therefore be a defeat to the neo-colonialist forces that have been tormenting Africa for so long. This will certainly be a victory to Pan-Africansim.

Rapid Economic Growth: The pace of economic growth in the continent will be accelerated. This will happen for obvious reasons, which are; improvement in infrastructure, enlarged market, increase in cross – border trade, removal of tariffs, free movement of people and goods, increase in foreign investment and aid, and an environment of less conflicts among other things. Africa stands to see rapid growth in its economy.

Interests of Africa will be Protected: Africa is the most marginalized continent in the world. The numerical strength it possesses in terms of states has not truly helped at the UN or at the W.T.O. Africa has been at the mercy of the outside world and has been at a disadvantaged position for so long

African states have been lured into agreements that never had any chance of succeeding, right from the beginning. They have also been served with unworkable financial and economic tools by some international financial institutions. "Trade liberalization alone has cost the region more than $270 billion over a 20 year period, according to Christian Aid (2005) in Dembele.[339] Equally, it has been observed by the Commission for Africa (2005); that "... the privatization of state-owned enterprises and public services has resulted in a massive transfer of the national patrimony to foreign hands, precisely to Western multinational corporations. This, combined with the illegitimate and unbearable external debt, has deepened external domination and

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[339] Dembele, D. M. *The United states of Africa: The Challenges* Pambazuka News 2007 www.fahamu.org/downloads/auspecial.pdf, p.39, retrieved 15th Sept 2002 3:01 p.m

increased the transfer of wealth from Africa to Western countries and multilateral institution."[340]

Cheap and worthless products flood the African markets from abroad. Presently, there is an ongoing grab for land in some Africa countries, like in Ethiopia, Ghana, Madagascar and Sudan.[341] This situation should not be allowed to continue without regulation. For it can be detrimental to the continent, especially in the area of sustainable development.

Security pacts were entered in by some African countries with foreign powers without seriously weighing the implementations of such actions, that it could compromise the security of the continent.[342] But with the integration of Africa which stands to make the continent united and powerful, Africa will be able to protect itself from the subtlety of these powers. Africa will be in a position to negotiate advantageously. It will be in a better position to protect the interests of the continent. This, Africa will be able to do better from the capacity of a strong and United Africa.

A More Developed and United Africa: The African peoples need to unite. This unity has been illusive. It is not uncommon for the people of North Africa to refer to the people of Sub-Saharan Africa as "Africans, while the people of Sub-Saharan Africa largely refer to them as Arabs. The colonial history of Africa that brought different cultures and allegiance traceable to the colonizing powers- have resulted in making some parts of Africa Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone and Hispanophone. Division between Francophone and Anglophone countries takes place occasionally. At the recent election

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[340] Ibid, Dembele, D. M. p.39
[341] Biney, Ana, *Land Grabs: Another Scramble for Africa*, Pambazuka News, 17, Sept 2009, www.pambazuka.org/...58809 p.1, retrieved 16th Oct 2012 11:01 p.m
[342] Dembele, D. M, *The United States of Africa: The Challenges* Pambazuka News, 2007, www.fahamu.org/downloads/au_specialpdg. p. 4. retrieved 15th Sept 2012 5:01 p.m

of the Chairperson of AU Commission, it was speculated that voting was initially done along linguistic line.[343] Division is also sometimes displayed in religious beliefs, but with an integrated Africa, an Africa with a common destiny will begin to emerge.

Integration is bound to enhance development on Africa in the area of infrastructure and human development. The economy will enlarge and will be more efficient. Africa is bound to be more stable as integration will deepen. Integration will help the peoples of Africa to be more united and more development is bound to take place. The different components of Africa will draw closer and Africa and Africans will be the better for it.

A Good Response to the Challenges of Globalization: Prof. Nzomo, in a lecture on Globalization asserted that the poor countries suffer disadvantages in international trade, that it encourages the buying of goods and services from foreign countries, rather than from the local economies. It was also revealed that fluctuations in foreign exchange rates, stock prices and other financial values can destroy livelihoods in an instant. The MNC's production also keeps employment figures low, while working conditions deteriorate. Clearly, from this position of anti-globalizers, there is no "level playing field".From this, one will see that "....the strengthening of regional cooperation and integration has become a matter of survival for Africa, which is currently the weakest link in the global economic and political systems."[344]

Evidently, globalization is associated with some challenges and there are quite a number of persistent and emerging internal problems which require a regional approach

[343] Onyango- Obbo, C, *Africa Picks a female Boss: How the Girls Ran Away with Glory in Addis*, Daily Nation- Nairobi- Kenya, Thursday, July 19, 2012, p.12
[344] Chimanikire, D. P. African Union's Security and Economic Development Agenda. International Essay on African Security and Development. www.tradecentre.org.zw/indexphn? P.7, retrieved Aug 15, 2012 5:10A.m

to bring about effective solutions.[345] In Europe and in North America, it's been shown that integration or Regionalism represents an opportunity to establish a more appropriate framework for observing the pressure of multilateralism and globalization.[346] Integration to Africa will be a political and economic response to globalization as it will curb the marginalization of the African economy.

5.4 Conclusion: It is clear that the challenges of integration can be surmounted. This can be done while at the same time deepening and enhancing integration and cooperation in Africa. Democratic governance, proper coordination and streamlining of the RECs, the involvement of the African population and civil society, conflict reduction, implementation of agreements on integration, as well as enlightened, effective and accountable leadership etc are some of the ways that can help overcome these challenges and will by extension enhance integration in the continent. This will demand a political will on the part of the leadership of the AU and at the states level, without which there will be no head way.

Lastly, integration of the African continent is really necessary for the continent. It is a must if Africa must survive and prosper. Africa and Africans stand to gain so much from this unification project at the political, economic, social, cultural and even environmentally. Also, the effects it will have on the peoples of Africa will be uplifting and transforming. Africans will be more united and more progressive. African peoples will be the chief beneficiaries- this will be seen in the availability of a better life condition, the free movement of people, a deeper sharing of experiences and expertise, a

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[345] Ibid, Chinanikire, D. P. p.7
[346] Bach, D. C, 'Revisiting a Paradigm' in D. C. Bach (ed), *Regionalization in Africa Integration & Disintegration,* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1999), p. 2

freer society, more economic opportunities as well as in the reduction of conduction of conflicts. All these and more will be life-changing and far-reaching. The infrastructural development, the enlarged and strengthened economy, and a single currency, will make Africa a stronger voice internationally. Africa will be more confident and more self-reliant. These and much more gains, Africa stands to appropriate.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

This research work has covered quite extensively issues related to the challenges encountered by the African Union towards the integration of Africa. Clearly, the AU, with its transformative agenda is more ambitious than it predecessor, the OAU. The determination it has shown to overcome Africa's economic, political and social weaknesses, through its integration efforts is a testimony to this ambition. Africa has realized it cannot afford to remain backward and marginalized any longer.

The implication of the constraints faced by the African Union, to say the least seems staggering. To this end, the AU has much to offer, in terms of courage, determination and must show strong leadership in other to galvanize its member states, the sub-regional communities and every stakeholder to overcome these challenges. The lack of political will which manifests in the unwillingness to implement agreements, resulting in the failure to strengthen and support the continental organization, evidently remains as the major hurdle to surmount. But quite unmistakably too, efforts have been initiated towards cooperation and integration in diverse fronts at continental and sub-regional level.

It will be pertinent to ask some heart – searching questions at this point. How helpful and how far - reaching have been the efforts initiated by the Union and its member states and sub- regional communities towards the unification of the continent? How far are they prepared to go in achieving this purpose? And can it be assumed that there has been some foot- dragging and lack of interest or even a sense of insincerity

exhibited towards Africa's integration plan? But whatever perception, whatever answer or whatever attitude one may have on the issues, it is true to many, that the African Union, as a vehicle of transformation is saddled with a challenging responsibility to take the continent to a destination point, where the political, economic and social forces of Africa can maximize the full potentials of a regenerated Africa into a self-reliant, dignified, independent and prosperous entity.

Consequently, can we say that the objectives of this study were realized? The core objectives were to assess the challenges and constraints of regional cooperation and integration from the perspective of the AU. To assess what the Union needed to do or has done to overcome, enhance or deepen the chances of achieving unification for Africa. The benefits that are likely to accrue to the continent, from co-operation and integration were also an issue to consider.

In the final analysis, it will be safe to conclude that based on time constraint and according to the defined hypotheses, the objectives of this study were accomplished.

6.2 Recommendations

The African Union has a transformative agenda to integrate the continent, but that is not just enough to bring integration. Purposeful supports from all stakeholders, especially on the willingness to implement treaties and decisions from the member states and the RECs will be required. Treaties or decisions taken at the continental and sub-regional levels should be incorporated into domestic laws to give effective power to supranational bodies within the AU. This is what is lacking presently. These

supranational bodies will then be able to apply effective sanctions when and whe necessary.

Quite clearly, we have seen that sovereignty is not a ticket to development a prosperity, African states need to rise above unnecessary obsession to sovereignty and give all the supports required to make the search for integration a success.

It has been observed that some countries and leaders prefer to wait a little long before committing to full integration due to some reasons inspired by fear, or what sor observers see as reluctance, insincerity or unseriousness.

Rather than for such countries to slow the pace of integration and keep Africa a the dreams of Africans held down, while other parts of the world are integrating seriously working towards integration. Let some African states, which are ready to fu integrate go ahead and activate the process of integration, while others can join later.

Furthermore, there is a likelihood of some states and leaders that are not thinki of joining the integration process. It is not a must that all the African states should cor under a unified Africa, if they do not want to. It is far better to have a truly unite inspired, independent and empowered Africa, composed of some African states, than have an AU made up of all African states that are disunited, uninspired, less independe and enfeebled.

There is also the need for the AU and all stakeholders in the integration proj to be on guard not give in to the intentions or opinions, in whatever disguise of the ne colonial forces, who from all indications will not stop at nothing to frustrate t continent's efforts at integration. The AU and in deed the African states must be guid by Nkrumah's slogan of "Africa must unite or perish!"

For the African Union and the African leaders to show seriousness about building a new Africa on a strong foundation, stringent rules should be set for AU membership, which will help enhance integration of the continent. For example, the EU, which is an encouraging story of integration (and which recently won the Nobel Peace Prize Award) for 2012 has set standards for admitting membership into its fold. This, the AU can do by making democracy, good governance, respect for human rights, including gender equality and rights of minorities – as requirements to abide to. This way, the anti-democratic, dictatorial and repressive governments will have no place in the AU.

For African integration to be enhanced there is an urgent need to reduce the number of existing regional groupings with overlapping and conflicting agendas. They could be merged and streamlined for effectiveness and functionality.

The AU can learn from the EU in encouraging an identity shift programme. This effort supports a shift away from national identities towards continental identity. This will help African citizens to see themselves as Africans, who need to collectively solve problems that confront them, for the general good of all Africans. Some ways of doing this will be to encourage a campaign at the national level.

Emphasis should be placed on free trade, customs union and free movement of citizens. These have been the most successful aspects of EU's integration, where goods freely move across member states and unified tariffs created for goods entering from outside Europe. Equally, European citizens are assured free entry into member states of the EU. The Euro, as another strong symbol of identity for the EU citizens serves as a continental monetary unit. The AU has to create situations that will encourage these

persuasions. The free trade areas and the customs union within Africa should be made fully effective.

It is recommended that there is need for the AU Commission to be more efficient and pro-active. An efficient Commission will inspire success in the Union's projects, including integration of Africa. The AU Commission must not be another inefficient, ill-led or poorly organized establishment like some of its member states are. There is a need for goals in the Commission to always be well defined. Leadership should be sound and supervision within the Commission should be effective. No room for ineffectiveness and redundancy should be entertained and accepted. Accountability should be demanded by the African people from the Commission from time to time.

Beyond this it should be understood that for AU to have coercive power like the EU Commission, the African Union Commission must be empowered. The institutions of the AU like PAP, ACJ, the 3 financial institutions, ECOSOCC and the Specialized Technical Committees must be made functional. This is how integration can be enhanced.

The AU must also aspire to be more assertive and focused. It should not show signs of weakness or lack of confidence. AU must have a benchmark. It must set the pace, if not others will set it for Africa. No more should the African Union be unresponsive or insensitive to issues that require quick response. The AU must be decisive on issues pertaining to democracy, good governance, respects for human rights. It should not be seen taking decisions that are politically motivated. The AU must have integrity and credibility.

It has been suggested that Africa needs a Security Council. It may not necessarily have to be patterned after the UN Security Council. Akinsanya has suggested that there

has to be some kind of relationship between funding and the exercise of some aspects of voting rights. The financial burden borne by some active and influential member states should be accorded this privilege. This should not be seen as discriminatory, but rather as a mechanism that can bring effectiveness and more discipline into the Union. Modalities that can be accepted by the generality of the members should be considered towards this suggestion. It has become obvious that the AU can not work more efficiently without vesting some member states with some level of veto power provision.

Beyond all these recommendations, there are also areas where additional studies should be undertaken. These include;

A study on appropriate sharing formula from the benefits of integration among African states. This should also include the regional groupings. This is informed by the understanding that there is a great diversity in African countries, sizes and natural resources, as well as in their levels of development. It will be of immense importance to arrive at a balanced sharing formula. There have been concerns raised on this issue.

Further study should be also focused on the role and impacts of peace and security in African integration. Without peace and security integration may be a mirage. Conflicts are antithetical to integration.

Equally, additional study needs to be undertaken on the importance of adequate popular participation of the African peoples in the integration of Africa. Without mobilizing the teeming African population behind the integration project at the continental, sub-regional and national levels, it is not likely to succeed.

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