FROM THE OAU TO THE AU: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE QUEST FOR PAN- AFRICANISM, 2002 – 2012

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DECLARATION

I, Winnie Opiko hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of a degree in any university.

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This project has been submitted for an examination with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

To my family especially my Mother and Father for their continued moral support and encouraging words during synthesis of this project. Their endless support proved immeasurable and their mentorship in every step of my life remains forever valuable.

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First and foremost, I thank God for the strength, wisdom, provision and everlasting favor throughout the entire course.

The continued support and encouragement of my family during the entire course and research period kept me on the right path, and remains one of the reasons I stand proud with them in sharing this achievement.

I also take this opportunity to acknowledge and express my sincerest gratitude for the continued professional and intellectual support and advice of my supervisor, Dr. Ibrahim Farah who relentlessly guided me up until the successful completion of this study.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my fellow classmates for their encouragement and support even as we undertook this journey through knowledge together.

Winnie Opiko

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACtHPR	African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights
AEC	Africa Economic Community
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
CENSAD	Community of Sahel – Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOSOC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OAU CHARTER	Organization of African Unity Charter
PAP	Pan-African Parliament
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	South African Development Community
UMA	Arab Maghreb Union
UN CHARTER	United Nations Charter
UNDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN)
UN-ECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNSC	United Nation Security Council

ABSTRACT

This study critically assesses the effectiveness of the quest for Pan-Africanism by examining the transformation from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU). It reviews the objectives as well challenges faced by the continental body during the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism with the intent to explore and critically analyze its continental effort towards a common goal; that of unity in progressive development among African countries. In so doing, it invokes the importance of unification as a key pathway to the achievement of greater prospects that would ultimately steer the continent towards prosperity. The transformative stages are explained using a two dimensional theoretical approach; the realist theory was applied to delineate the events preceding the failure of the OAU that was attributed to inherent weaknesses in the institution, specifically the sovereignty principle and states self-seeking interests that became a barrier to the African unification dream. In an attempt to revamp the defunct OAU and address the reasons that led to its failure, African leaders across the continent adopted a structurally defined approach in line with the constructivism theory that lay emphasis on the importance of dedicated structures, albeit heavily borrowed from the European Union (EU) model, to guide the functionality of a continental body, the result of which was the creation of the AU to better articulate and steer forth the African unity dream. The selected methodology for the study involved the use of quantitative and qualitative techniques as well as review of relevant documentation and literature on the subject area. The study addressed emerging issues, including the relevance of Pan-Africanist debates within the context of the twenty-first century quest for Pan-Africanism, the pre-requisite conditions for the unification of the continent and highlighted key findings including financial constraints, challenges faced by the regional economic communities (RECs) in strengthening the regional integration processes in the continent and neo-colonial tendencies that have continued to negatively affect realization of the unity dream for Africa. Based on this premise, the study recommends key remedial actions including the adoption of stronger policies and frameworks as well as the much needed political will from African leaders that would impact future debates revolving around the Pan-African agenda.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1   Introduction

Africa is a continent abundant in resources, and whose benefits can only be fully enjoyed if there exists unity of purpose for the general interest of the African people; "failure to unify would effectively limit this expectation" as Kwame Nkrumah argued.[1] Right from the inception of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU), the call was inter-linked with the era of Pan-Africanism where the unity concept first emerged. Coined on the belief that African people shared a common history, destiny, and an inter-connection seen mostly prominently in the political and economical institutions during the colonial era, the rise of the Pan-African movement initiated in the 1930s thus signified the fight for African liberation from colonial rule considered oppressive and undermining to the integration of African regions.

Collectively, shared experiences of these African countries during the colonial period gave rise to the need for solidarity and togetherness. The agility of one man, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana steered Pan-Africanism into a revolutionary movement that stood for the unification and total liberation of the African continent.[2] Through this movement, he strongly advocated for unity that would see African people capitalize on the continent's unutilized potential and exploited resources by what he termed as 'forces' outside the continent that ultimately negated African

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[1] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*: (Published in the United States of America: 64 University Place, New York, 1963), p xvii
[2] Kwame Nkrumah: *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: Panaf books, 1980), p 77

integration; the surmountable task today however remains an all round unification of Africa –
politically, culturally and economically.

For this reason, the unification process required an even stronger approach as re-defined in the
OAU and later re-modeled to the AU. The latter was considered a major achievement for African
leaders, a victory for Pan-Africanism, and an opportunity to strengthen the union as rooted in its
ideals and ambition for the year 2025 of a united and integrated Africa. However, this quest for
Pan-Africanism as institutionalized in these continental bodies has not been devoid of debates as
to its existence and ideals, with advanced arguments that it was solely a movement to fight
colonialism and elevate a few African leaders to positions akin to 'a club of dictators'.[3]

With the objective of understanding the institutionalization of the quest of Pan-Africanism as
founded in the OAU and AU, and within the premise of these contending debates, this study
critically assesses the ideology of continental unity as set forth in these formations, and explores
objectively their applicability, limitations and the prospective opportunities likely to be gained
by the continent in the quest for a united Africa if, and only if, concerted efforts are put towards
the unification process.

1.2   Statement of the Research Problem

The notion of continental unity is not a unique phenomenon to Africa. In fact, history itself
depicts the determination of African States to free itself from the whims of colonialism as
advanced by great African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah who spearheaded a vision for the

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[3] Said Adejumobi & Adebayo Olukoshi: *The African Union and new strategies for development in Afric*a (Cambia
Press, 2008) p 9

continent. A myriad of literature relating to this process as advanced from the era of Pan-Africanism that draws back to the 1930s details progressive steps towards the achievement of unification.

Looking at the tenets upon which this dream of continental unity was formed, it is evident that despite efforts and structures put in place to guide the unification process, the challenges still remain, making it seem more like a coerced endeavour, ill supported by the African states for which it was to represent and benefit. As such, it remains a pipe dream in spite of being most recently advocated for by 'new age leaders' such as the demised former Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi who envisioned a 'United States of Africa' revolutionized from Pan-Africanism and institutionalized in the African Union[4].

Despite the negativity portrayed, the argument within this study is that while it may at this juncture be difficult to pursue the notion of an integrated United States of Africa, one can borrow from the concept of it, more so now that there seems to be a second scramble for Africa from the western countries owing to the vast resources and potential economic opportunities existing within the continent; lack of unification will mean that African States will stand to gain only minimally on this existing potential. Does the concept of unification therefore offer the platform to embrace sustainable development approaches that best maximize on Africa's growing potential? Can Africa stand true to the ideals of a unified approach as first advanced by recognized leaders such as Nkrumah through Pan-Africanism for peace and sustainable development? Why the systematic change from several revolutionary movements, each carrying

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[4] It has been argued however that the intentions of the Libyan leader were self centered and only meant to fulfill his selfish gains given the efforts he had put into establishing this 'empire' and did not embrace continental unity.

with it one objective still failing to strengthen the approach of unification? It is no secret that Africa now forms part of the 'hopeful continent',[5] with imminent possibilities in its further development and potential growth economically, given the vast resources within the continent. How then can we fulfill the quest of a united Africa with progressive developmental records? Your most probable sentiment will be as good as the researchers – that full utilization of this opportunity therefore calls for strengthened unified approaches in the region that will focus less on retrogressive performance, and more on developmental aspects judging from the international focus that has now turned to the region.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to critically assess the effectiveness of the quest of Pan-Africanism by examining the transformation from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU).

Specifically, the study aims to:-

i) Critically assess the quest for Pan-Africanism and the transformative processes of the OAU into the AU

ii) Analyze the effectiveness of the AU as an institution

iii) Examine the role of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the unification process

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[5] The Economist – *"Africa Rising: A hopeful continent"*, Published in March 2013 that touches on Africa's progressive nature in the last decade and expectations of greater achievements to come.

1.4   Literature Review

The subject area of unification is an area all too familiar to various scholars and academicians who have conducted substantial research in the area. The integrative process in the establishment of movements such as the Organization of African Unity and the African Union bear significance in the history of its evolvement highlighting the failures and minimal impact it has often had in the unification process of the continent.

A variety of books exist on these research topics that critically analyze the unification and integration processes within the African context.[6] Contributions by researchers and scholars alike have given both positive and negative aspects of Africa, with some texts painting a very bleak picture for the African continent, classifying it as 'hopeless'.[7] Others contain positive aspects by looking at an all round situation, detailing the complexity of the African situation and look into positive measures such as adoption of regional strategies aimed at problem resolution.[8] The literature review will focus around three key areas; the transformation from the OAU to the AU as an institutionalization process of Pan-Africanism, Pan-Africanism as a concept and the role of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa and the continent at large.

Transformation from the OAU to the AU - The African dream initiated by Pan-Africanism led to the establishment and growth of institutions that carried forth this dream. While detailing the African dream, Francis stressed the importance of this dream as a precursor to the establishment

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[6] Timothy Murithi; *The African Union; Pan-Africanism, Peace Building and Develop*ment (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2005)

[7] Article; The Economist – "*The Hopeless Continent*", Published in May 2000 that painted the continent as war ravaged and cited that not much could come from Africa judging from the myriad of problems that it faces.

[8] David J. Francis; *Uniting Africa – Building Regional Peace and Security Systems* (Ash gate Publishers, February 2006)

of the Organization of African Unity in 1963, an organization that stood as a symbol of unity for African nations and marked the transformation of the Pan-Africanism idea to an institutional form. [9] Overall, throughout the book, Francis examined both the continental and regional attempts to build viable institutional mechanisms for integration, peace and security in Africa, while at the same time highlighting the possible challenges and opportunities available for development initiatives in Africa.

The Organization of African Unity had three main objectives; that of unity, security and development. These combined solidified the common interest of African states, especially that of the total eradication of colonialism in the continent and an end to economic exploitation from neo-colonial forces. In this respect, Olatunde argued that the appropriate response in terms of policy was for African leaders to engage in the promotion of integrative forces in the continent, with the aim of reducing economic dependency that would ultimately strengthen Africa's bargaining powers.[10] This same view was cemented by Maglivers and Naldi who opined that the objectives and principles around the evolvement of the organization symbolized unity in the African continent.[11] The establishment of the Organization of African Unity was therefore a subject area that grasped the attention of many scholars who wrote widely about its inception and reasons as set forth by African States for the need to have an organization that held an identity

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[9] Organization of African Unity, Charter of the Organization of African Unity (Addis Ababa: OAU, 1963)
[10] Ojo Olatunde, D.K. Orwa and C.M.B. Utete: *Regional Cooperation and Integration* (London, Longman Publishers, 1985) pp 166 - 169
[11] Magliveras, K.M. & Naldi G.J The *African Economic Community – Emancipation for African States or yet another glorious failure?* N.C.J. Int L & Com, (1999): Vol. 24 Pgs 601 - 631

for the African people as equally stressed by Murray as he focused on the effects of the move from the OAU to the AU.[12]

The OAU was lauded for the success it achieved especially in the decolonization of Africa. Equally attached to its achievements included the attainment of peaceful settlement of disputes as was stipulated in the Charter of the OAU (OAU Charter)[13] as well as a forum in which African leaders held debates and negotiated policies that would affect its relations to other states.[14]However, in the same breath, the organization has been faulted for its non-achievements especially with regard to its bringing peace and stability to the continent. It was largely perceived to have weak powers unable to deal with conflicts as argued by Sturman citing that the call for unification was not uniformly spread as it was rejected by some African leaders who felt it was a means to take away the sovereignty of their country.[15] This essentially became one of the major inherent weaknesses of the OAU owing to the policy of non interference on the internal matters of sovereign African states thereby compromising peace and stability of the continent.[16] Furthermore, it rendered the OAU ineffective as it failed to promote the very essence of sovereignty – the protection of human rights.

The challenges faced by the OAU finally led to its collapse and the emergence of the African Union in 2002 that set for itself the ambition of building, by the year 2025:

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[12] Murray, R *Human Rights in Africa: From the OAU to the African Union,* (United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press,2004)
[13] The Charter of the Organization of African Unity, 1963
[14] David Mackenzie: *A world beyond borders*, An Introduction to the History of International Organizations (University of Toronto Press, 2010) p. 96
[15] Katherine Sturman, (2007, June): *New growth on deep roots: Prospects for an African Union Government,* Occasional Paper 146; Retrieved February 27,2009 – Institute for Security Studies http://www.issafrica.org
[16] Ibid, Murray (2004)

"a united and integrated Africa; an Africa imbued with the ideals of justice and peace; an inter-dependent and virile Africa determined to map for itself an ambitious strategy; an Africa underpinned by political, economic, social and cultural integration which would restore 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; an Africa engaging in promoting its values in a world rich in its disparities."[17]

Establishment of the AU presented an opportunity to correct the ills of its predecessor. Through adoption of the Constitutive Act of the AU, the notion of non interference in internal affairs of member states moved to that of intervention, giving the AU a right to intercede in member states internal affairs in the instance of conflict and thus strengthened its recognition of the importance of safeguarding human rights.

The movement from one organization to another in the quest for continental unity right from Pan-Africanism, the OAU and finally the AU was systematic, and for established reasons. The main argument for the continuous change was the need for the delineation of weighty issues that included sovereignty of States. These issues had by far limited the scope of the Organization of African Unity with some scholars likening it to 'a ship without a captain' and equating it to just what it started out as; a dream.

But why the constant change? Biswaro opines that while the organization has been criticized as having only undergone a name change, the AU, through its objectives, are considered more comprehensive as compared to those articulated in the OAU.[18] The author continues by emphasizing that the end goal of the AU was in fact to enable it develop a strong economic

[17] Vision to Action (2000)

[18] Joram Mukoma Biswaro: *Perspectives of Africa's Integration and Cooperation from the Organization of African Unity to the African Union*; 'Old wine in New Bottle?' (Tanzania Publishing House Limited, 2005) p. 114

sector consisting of a collection of democratic states free to engage at will. This, he stressed was achievable only if there was greater transparency of established commissions within the AU.

However, in further examining the functionality of the AU especially in the sustainability of institutions of governance and security, Makinda & Okumu drew analysis of the difficulties faced by African leaders in addressing the challenges faced in the organizational setups, given the change from the OAU to the AU; they argued that the AU galvanised the vision of unity through the quest for Pan-Africanism and ambitious nature for regional integration. The authors ostensibly stressed that the AU remained the avenue for addressing the challenges, only achievable through leadership that was strategic.[19]

Other areas that created disharmony towards the achievement of unification included the advent of globalization. Africa is yet to fully adopt the change that comes with globalization due to the myriad of problems faced by Africa. This has been attributed to the lack of regional approaches to solving issues faced by countries within the continent as contended by Mbaku & Saxena.[20] As such, Africa is yet to fully benefit from the potential that globalization carries with it. This view was also supported by Akokpari, Ndinga – Muvumba & Murithi who took cognizance of the challenges faced by the AU including those of development that had been exacerbated by the advent of globalization.[21] They opined that indeed, the AU had made progressive steps towards the Pan-African agenda, terming it a framework through which the Pan-African blue print had been put forth, and that the only challenge that the AU faced lay in the transformation of the blue

[19] Samuel Makinda & F. Wafula Okumu: *The African Union; Past and future governance challenges* (London, Routledge, 2006)

[20] Mbaku, J. M., & Saxena, S. C. (Eds.). 2004. *Africa at the crossroads: Between regionalism and globalization.* London: Praeger Publishers

[21] John Akokpari, Angela Ndinga-Muvumba & Timothy Murithi: *The African Union and its institutions* (University of Michigan, 2008) p.128

print vision into reality.[22] The authors opine that though plagued with challenges, the AU does afford Africa the opportunity to take head on these challenges, all dependant on the close coordination between the AU and various institutions.[23]

Has the AU made progressive steps towards uniting Africa? Badejo argued that positively yes! In his opinion, the AU became the vehicle that would unite the continent, and in spite of the problems it has faced, the organization ought to be commended for its initiative of creation of institutions of governance and policy, all critical toward continental unity building[24] - all that however remained was the strengthening of these institutions to turn Africa's vision from a dream to reality, and a vehicle that would carry through the hopes and dreams of the continent.[25]

How then will the process of unification be achieved given the difficulties that have been experienced and documented. In his argument, Manby stressed that what really mattered most was the willingness of the African leaders to continue and encourage the use of common approaches, standing true and upholding commitments to the cause of unity.[26] It is for this reason the OAU was 'revamped' to the AU, with the main objective of learning from the failures of its predecessor, the OAU, and drawing lessons that would better inform the creation of a strengthened structure to go forth with the need to achieve continental unity.

Pan-Africanism as a concept **-** One cannot entirely understand the call for unity without first tracing its route to Pan-Africanism. The stage was set from the onset by the founder of the Pan-

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[22] Ibid p. 26
[23] Ibid p.372
[24] Didre Badejo: *The African Union* (University of Michigan, 2008) p. 100
[25] Russel Roberts: *The African Union* (Mason Crest Publishers, 2008)
[26] Manby, B *The African Union, NEPAD and Human Rights – The Missing Agenda* – Human Rights Quarterly, Vol. 26 (4), 2004): pp 983 - 1027

African movement, Nkrumah who championed African unity as mechanism that would adequately address the problems faced by Africa, but only if states discarded the notion of territorial boundaries that only came about as a result of demarcations by colonial powers that were in effect a blockade to the development of Africa. [27] He argued for a solidarity force for Africa, one that was united under a federal government, stressing that as all Africans had a shared history revolving around economic, political segregation and exploitation, Africa had, within its grasp, the potential to be economically empowered, but if and only if African states were unified politically; in doing so, Africa would achieve economic integration.

Nkrumah was however criticized for making much of his reference to his country Ghana that was somewhat strategically the first to break free and achieve independence from the colonialists; instead Francis opined that the challenging perspective to African leaders remained that of embracing oneness, given that the time had come for unity to move from the status of an ideology to attainable. This was to be achieved through the mobilization and unification force of Africans as rooted in Pan-Africanism if at all Africa was to prosper in the twenty first century.[28] Similar thoughts were resounded in yet another of his books in which he opined that the unification of Africa should be through an all inclusive African government; a government that took interest in the affairs of African states and could well articulate their interests in global spheres. [29]

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[27] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite:* (Published in the United States of America: 64 University Place, New York, 1963), xvii

[28] David J. Francis; *Uniting Africa – Building Regional Peace and Security Systems* (Ash gate Publishers, February 2006) pps. 5-6

[29] Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, London 1965

Not only was Pan-Africanism associated with the African people living in their own country, but extended to those in what was termed as the 'African diaspora'. As such, the emergence of Pan-Africanism had also been partly attributed to the geographical delineations and the widespread dispersal of persons into the African diaspora, but nonetheless traced their roots to Africa. Pan-Africanism thus acquired varied historic and momentous episodes based on where one was.[30] In advancing their argument, Adi and Sherwood stressed that the underlying factor of Pan-Africanism anchored itself on founded beliefs in the existence of unity of some form, having a common purpose for Africans as a whole, whether situated within the African continent or living in the diaspora. They emphasized the need to embrace and acknowledge what was termed as 'africaness' in a bid to rid Africa and its people (whether within or in the diaspora) from segregation, oppression or exploitation brought about by colonialism.

How then can one define Pan-Africanism and what purpose does it serve? Murithi argued that there is no one standard definition of the term, and that its meaning was as diverse as the number of Pan-African thinkers. As such, he considered it a movement possessing a theme that portrayed struggles for recognition, equality on the social and political front as well as absence of economic exploitation from developed countries.[31] In this context therefore, he compared it to an invented notion created for the purposes of addressing underdevelopment in Africa, and in essence urged Africans to instead rely on their capacity and strength to attain self reliance. In short, Pan-Africanism took cognizance of the divisiveness of African approaches owing to their

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[30] Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood; *Pan-African History: Political figures from African and the Diaspora since 1787* (London: Routledge, 2003) p. vii

[31] Timothy Murithi; *The African Union; Pan-Africanism, Peace Building and Development* (Aldershot, England, Ashgate Publishing Ltd.2005) p.11

own competitiveness. He argued that a prosperous future for Africa lay in its hands, and that solidarity remained a key ingredient to solving Africa's problems.[32]

Even with the advent of the twenty first century, the quest for Pan-Africanism is still alive and continues to take shape in the African continent. The institutionalization of Pan-Africanism in the African Union represents the movement and its ideals represented in a global context and as such are representative of the progression towards its ideals. Even so, the threats to Pan-Africanism comes from ourselves, from leaders seeking self recognition for their own material gain as argued by Vincent Thompson where he stressed that taking such positions would in effect result in the dilution of credibility of the movement.[33]

It is time to make Pan-Africanism a pertinent and focused movement for the progression of Africa. It is time for Africa to move from ideologies to realization of benefits that Pan-Africanism can bring with it that can push Africa to become a global force to reckon with. Africa, it is time!

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa - Vigorous attempts towards the promotion of African regional integration begun in earnest at the start of the twenty-first century with the aim of hastening progression economically and enhancing peace and security processes. In transitioning from the OAU to the AU, the realization of regionalism became steadfast, especially in the wake of the emerging role of RECs considered as the building blocks to the harmonization of the political and economic aspects of integration as led by the AU. The regional integration efforts were thus solidly informed by the need to hasten the pace of

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[32] Ibid p.8
[33] Vincent Bakpetu Thompson; *Africa and unity: the evolution of Pan-Africanism* (Longmans, 1970) p. 285

economic progress of Africa given its marginalization in the global context. Adejumobi & Olukoshi contend that the only way regionally integration efforts can be fully developed is through developing a 'macro-states' approach that would facilitate better strategies for integration in a globalized world. [34] In its entirety, the authors articulate the attempts towards African regional development as incorporated in the AU by adopting a historical perspective approach of Pan-Africanism, transition between the OAU and the AU, while highlighting the challenges in the process of regional development and how these can be overcome.

African regional integration has been described as being 'loosely modeled' around the European Union. Adebajo and Whiteman compared their similarity which could be drawn from the Constitutive Act of the AU and the formation of the institutions within the African Union. Semblance is found in the manner in which the institutions were created to conform to the EU model.[35] What may be lacking from this similarity would be more evident when it came to decision making. [36] The evolution of the European Union dates back to the cold war period at a time when Europe begun to explore the idea of cooperation among European countries given the failing economic situation attributed to the effects of the cold war. In a bid to salvage its' economic status, European nations were faced with the option of either forming integrative forces or succumb to failed economies. In basing their arguments for the adoption of the EU model to the African context, the authors effectively argue that cooperation can only be sustainable if there exists a collective will to do so.

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[34] Said Adejumobi & Adebayo O. Olukoshi: *The African Union and new strategies for development in Africa* (Cambria Press, 2008) p. 82

[35] Adekeye Adebajo and Kaye Whiteman: *The EU and Africa: From Eurafrique to Afro-Europa* (Hurst Publishers, 2012) p. 53

[36] For instance, the comparability of the 'Assembly of Heads of Government' to the European Council of the EU.

Just as the African States, most of the European nations were at first unwilling to cede sovereignty that would accompany the process of integration, but nonetheless, drawing from the benefits it would achieve, they formed the European block that would among other benefits, encourage free trade and travel between European countries. This would be made possible by establishing structures that would ensure commonality, such as non requirements for travel documents and the existence of one monetary unit, the Euro that would encourage effective trade among the countries.

With the desire to improve improved economic development for the continent, the OAU fostered the idea of continental economic integration as instituted at the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and culminating in the Abuja treaty of 1991 that proposed the establishment of the African Economic Community responsible for the creation of regional economic communities (RECs) and African integration as a whole. This included the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the South African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). However, in emulating the EU model, Adar et al argued that the overlapping memberships in the RECs would prove to be a challenge.[37] It is for this reason the AU assembly instituted a protocol that guided the relationship between the former institution (AU) and the RECs.

The question that then begs is, have the RECs been instrumental in achieving the objectives for which it was formed and has it received adequate support from the AU to perform its

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[37] Korwa G. Adar, Monica K. Juma & Katabaro N. Miti: *The State of Africa 2010/11: Parameters and Legacies of Governance and Issue Areas* (African Books Collective, 2010) p. 99

functionalities? Makinda and Okumu opine that for the AU to establish well founded relationships with the RECs, its transformation into a properly run organization would be a pre-requisite, with the RECs strengthening themselves through enhanced cooperation to ably handle regional issues. [38] Additionally, the harmonization of peace and security mechanisms, as well as the adoption of common regional values would go a long way to reducing competition among the member states to the RECs. A similar position was taken by Dompere in which he advocated for African unity stressing its importance in ensuring non-stagnation of Africa's socio-economic development basing his argument for regional integration on the advantageous positioning of Africa' in the global world.[39]

However, if the conference of the committee of Heads of State and Government convened in November 2005 dubbed 'Desirability of a Union Government of Africa' was anything to go by, the goal of realization of complete economic and political integration towards a United States of Africa would be achieved. The greater challenge to this achievement would however be the complete harmonization of efforts for integration among the AU member states and the regional economic groupings.

Contending debates arising from the unification process

Much has been said with regard to the unification process and the ideals for which it stood for. Of the emerging debates are issues as to the real purpose why the quest for Pan-Africanism really begun. Critics of the movement liken it to a decolonization tool that was only used to fight the

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[38] Samuel M. Makinda & F.Wafula Okumu: *The African Union; Challenges of globalization, security and governance* (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, 2008) p 92

[39] Kofi Kissi Dompere: *African Union; Pan-African analytical foundations* (Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd, 2006), p.199

West as the main objective to ensure freedom to conduct their own affairs. Was it all a question of hegemony over colonial powers, or was it driven by the selfish interests of a few leaders who envisaged a more powerful status within the continent?

The above debates will be highlighted within the discussion of this study, with the aim of assessing the quest for Pan-Africanism. It is hoped that with the upcoming celebration of the fifty years since the start of the vision for African unity dating back to the establishment of the formal institution of the OAU in 1963 that the continent can share a common goal and vision. It is argued that this would ultimately place Africa as a global force to reckon with, only if the continent would speak with one voice and address the challenges that restrain it from achieving its full potential.

Literature gap

While there is a common consensus that Africa needs to pull together to attain the Pan-Africanism idea of unity, no concrete prospects on how this will be attained have been put forth. The OAU was criticized of being a 'talking club' and a 'toothless bulldog' that only visualized ideas, but did not turn them into reality. The change from the OAU to the AU has been referred to as a simple name change, with the challenges in the past being carried forth into the future. The only way in which Pan-Africanism can be truly institutionalized is if the principles adopted by the AU become strong policies, only made possible by the common willingness of African States. This study aims at adopting a neutral approach by balancing out the positive and negative aspects as well approaches that can be adopted or strengthened to supplement the efforts already in place towards achieving the African vision.

1.5   Justification of the Study

The quest for Pan-Africanism has been considered a far cry from reality and remains an ideology yet to be engrained in the African States for which it was to benefit. Although unification is regarded an important pathway to achieving greater prospects, with it must follow pre requisite arrangements necessary to sustain the process. Common willingness, proper and functioning structures and mechanisms in place to guide this process thus remain just but a few of the necessary foundations to bolster the process of unification.

This study examines the journey to that quest for Pan-Africanism in Africa, assessing its impact and the institutionalization process through analysis of the institutions as set forth in the OAU and the AU in achieving the purpose of unity. It is in this understanding that one can conceptualize the reason behind the shift in the institutionalization set up. Looking back through history, the OAU, born of the idea of Pan-Africanism has since its formation in 1963 been subjected to various reforms in a bid to strengthen identified inherent weaknesses.

Emerging in an era where many African countries had achieved independence, and at a time when visionary leaders showcased their strengths in advocating for a well organized movement for the liberation of Africa, the OAU, which was largely driven by the desire of African states to form one continental block to fight against colonial powers fell short of its expectation of fulfilling the very purposes for which it was formed. It is therefore pertinent to analyze the reason leading to the ineffectiveness of the organization, and its further transformation to yet another organization as found in the AU. In establishing the latter organization in 2002

considered an improvement from the OAU, it was felt that the change would ideally improve on the inherent weaknesses that characterized the OAU.

Five decades following the formation of the OAU, the question that still begs is whether the very reason for which the OAU was replaced with the AU has been achieved, or whether it remains an organizational name change carrying forth its troubled past plagued with challenges? What more can African states undertake to ensure achievement of the objectives of the organization that has the potential to afford them global recognition and clout especially in this era of globalization? How best can Africa promote and further strengthen the Pan-Africanism ideals to take charge of the economic, political and social progress in the global sphere?

Africa in now undergoing what is termed as the "second scramble" that has aroused the attention of the west given the growing potential it has exhibited over the five decades since the inception of the OAU. This study will in effect address these issues holistically, while examining and addressing the challenges faced since the inception of the institutions, highlighting the progress and pointing out the gains that would be achieved should the necessary reinforcements to structural processes within the institution be given the attention it deserves.

In remarks during the AU summit held in Ethiopia in May 2013 to mark the organizations fifty years of existence since 1963, the AU commission chief, Nkosazana Diamini-Zuma stressed that *"The future is in our hands, it's bright..the opportunities are great for the continent to be prosperous".[40]*

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[40] ' Leaders open landmark AU summit in Ethiopia' Aljazeera News, May 25, 2013, accessed May 31, 2013 http://www.aljazeera.com/video/africa/2013/05/201352575042462766.html

1.6   Research Questions

This study will be structured around the following research questions;

- What are the pre-requisite conditions to the realization of the African dream?

- What are the key determinants towards the achievement of a shared vision and an equally prosperous continent?

- Do African states embrace unification?

1.7   Theoretical Framework

The framework of this study will be structured around a background that will draw from various theories revolving around the structures of the Organization of African Unity and the African Union. A two throng approach will be adopted to understand the study – both the positive and the negative through the use of a combination of theories that hinge on the subject matter.

The realism theory as advanced by Hans Morgenthau proponed that in acting, the rationality of states was in accordance with their need to seek power aimed at securing their interests. [41]It stems from the anarchical nature of the system necessitating states to enforce their own methods of security,[42] and as such States will always look into ways of protecting their own interests and seek self preservation in order to remain dominant and relevant in the international system. In the understanding of this theory, the mere interest of states in relative gains makes it untenable that

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[41] Edward A. Kolodziej, *Security and International Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 119
[42] Karns M.P & Mingst, K.A: *International Organizations: The politics and processes of global governance*: (Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004) p. 119

international institutions and states can cooperate in a beneficial manner as the former can be easily manipulated to achieve selfish gains by States.

Realists do contend that the competition among states is likely given the continuous competition for states to domineer over others and be considered of more strength in the international system. Looking at the structure of the international system, the neo-realist view of scholars including Kenneth Waltz believed that respect is accorded depending on the status and wealth of states, the geopolitical position and natural resource availability.[43] It should be noted that indeed one of the reasons attributed to the failure of the Organization of African Unity in achieving its objectives displayed the realist view as states desired to safeguard their sovereignty from interference by other states, creating incompatibility of goals and objectives within the OAU.

The second contending theories revolved around constructivism and functionalism as put forth by scholars including Alexander Wendt and Radcliffe – Brown.[44] They argued that more than the existence of the international system, of importance is social structure and relationships brought about by shared understanding, knowledge and practices and how states interact with each other. These theories essentially conceive that despite the international system being anarchic, what should be accorded more weight would be the structures in place between and among states that will essentially define how they will relate with one another in the international system.

It is their commitment that results in the creation of institutions mandated to serve a particular function for which it was created, explaining both the process and the outcomes to be achieved through use of trends that can be easily observed in understanding its potential and capability of

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[43] Kenneth Neal Waltz: *Realism and International Politics* (Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 2008)
[44] AlexanderWendt: *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp 15 - 20

ably steering the process. This theory can be closely interlinked to the liberalism or idealist theory advanced by scholars such as Emmanuel Kant that contend that besides rivalry as advanced in realism, there exists cooperation in the world and it is for such reasons states focus on the building and strengthening of a just world by enforcing suitable laws and standing for social justice.[45]

These theories are therefore representative and critical to the process instituted in Pan-Africanism. Their use will be relevant in the discussions of this study that will point out the challenges of the institutionalization of the Pan-African movement and highlight ways in which these challenges can be addressed through the use of different approaches.

1.8   Research Methodology

The selected methodology for this study is a combination of desk research and/or primary research (quantitative and/or qualitative techniques) that will enable triangulation of findings and provide a better understanding the unification process and regional integration systems.

The desk research will involve the collection and review of relevant documentation such as literature from scholars, academics and writers on the relevant topics, published reports (case studies) newspaper articles and journals, interviews, reliable information accessed via the internet and other authentic available sources that are documented.

Where possible, the study will incorporate views from academicians knowledgeable in the areas of research that will strengthen the basis for triangulation of information as obtained. This will

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[45] Emmanuel Kant: *Perpetual Peace; A Philosophical Essay* (BiblioBazaar, 2009)

include correspondence with technocrats in the understanding of the establishment of the organization structures and its operations that will further inform the context of this study.

1.9   Chapter Outline

The structure of this study will take five chapters; Chapter one will contain an overview and framework of the research topic that will provide the basis for the discussion. This will include a summarized approach on the subject matter highlighting the topic of research, its fundamental importance that will lay the foundation and set the pace or guideline for the discussion paper.

Chapter two will discuss the background of the research paper by delving more into the various mechanisms that have been established right from the period of Pan-Africanism to the drive for the creation of continental organizations such as the OAU to the AU that were established to deal the continental unity agenda. This will be through examination its roles in this process, both in the past and at present, and the challenges it has and continues to face in achieving its objectives

Chapter three will be a case study explaining Pan-Africanism, taking a look of the integrative process of the European Union (EU) model and the possibility of its adaptation in the African context, and draw comparisons from the RECs achievements with focus on economic and political integration. This will at most form the scope of this study.

Chapter four will critically look into the emerging issues arising from the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism vis a vie the regional integrative process explaining Pan-Africanism and resultant emerging neo-colonial relationships in Africa.

Chapter five will provide summary, key findings within the discussion paper as well as afford recommendations and possible way forward for future research.

THE AFRICAN UNIFICATION PROCESS: AN OVERVIEW

2.1   Introduction

The unification process is one that traces its roots from the colonial era. To this end, the drive for a continent free from colonial rule was engrained in the formation of movements that arose from a commonality of African states that had shared goals and experiences. From the era of colonialism and economic exploitation, the movements signified the fight for social and political identity that would ultimately result in a continental union of Africans that held a belief in a common purpose – a united Africa!

Through a historical examination of the processes that defined the rise of these movements, this chapter will evaluate the institutional roles, objectives and challenges, both past and present, and the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism in two such movements, the OAU and the AU that essentially drove the continental and unity agenda for Africa.

2.2   The Creation and Development of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

Prior to the establishment of the OAU, efforts had been made by various scholars and researchers to enunciate the African aspiration for freedom and progressive development. [46] Pan-Africanism became the first step towards the institutionalization of African unity that gave rise to the OAU, a movement that reinforced the significance of unity of all Africans, whether in the diaspora or Africa itself, and provided a platform by which African nationalists and leaders including

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[46] Timothy Murithi; *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism*; Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, (ISS Paper 143, June 2007), 1

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya could discuss problems that the continent faced. These leaders all harbored an enthusiastic approach to the unification concept, but the rallying cry for unity was led in earnest by one of the visionary and outspoken leader of that era, Kwame Nkrumah, who became the backbone against which the OAU was founded. It is for this reason therefore that a clear understanding of the evolutionary process of the OAU would first require the tracing of its origin as anchored on Pan-Africanism.

Historically, the formalization of the Pan-African movement was engrained in the early nineteenth century Pan-African congresses that mainly served to shape and steer the unification process, while affording African leaders the much needed experience on African integration. These congresses eventually marked the dawn of a new era for Pan-African movement, for strengthening the African continent meant that it had first to be united.[47] The fifth Pan-African Congress which took place in 1945 in Manchester, United Kingdom (UK) lay the ground work for which Africa needed cohesion and liberation, with leaders such as Nkrumah stressing the necessity of a well organized, firmly – knit movement as a precursor for the success of the national liberation struggle against those termed as 'oppressors' in Africa. This was particularly important given the growing number of independent states and the corresponding need for the preservation of their newly acquired stature and enhanced cooperation that would support social and economic development; a platform that would provide for articulation of its goals.[48]

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[47] Walter R.W., *Pan-Africanism in the African;* An analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements (Wayne State University Press, 1993)

[48] Langley Ayodele J., *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa* (1900 -1945); A Study in Ideology and Social Classes (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973)

Established during an era of militancy and confident optimism, Africans believed that having achieved sovereign independence and through a pre-defined independent institution (later the OAU), the world was at their feet.[49] The leaders of that era, including Nkrumah, Nasser, Nyerere, Sekou Toure and others, had already acquired the status of giants and visionaries. It is for this reason Nkrumah begun a movement in the late 1950s that would look to achieving this goal, a process that also involved the formation of country specific political and resistance movements. [50] In 1957, Ghana became a sovereign state, effectively paving way for other African countries that soon gained their independence thereafter, evoking African leaders to rally support for Pan-Africanism that would act as an avenue towards the continent's liberation.

Pursuant to this dream, Nkrumah organized subsequent conferences in 1958 and 1959 - the key messages during these conferences revolved around discussions on the Pan-African movement priority areas, the need to support decolonization and liberation movements throughout the continent, respect for each other's territorial integrity as well as pursuance of a common foreign policy that would govern all African states. All these were to take into account the observance of the United Nations Charter's (UN Charter) respect for human rights in the process of advancing cooperation, solidarity and promotion of interest of states.[51] Similarly, African leaders firmly supported the idea of establishment of a permanent secretariat to be based in Accra, and charged with the responsibility of coordination of efforts requisite for the set up of an African

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[49] Abdul Mohammed: *First African Union Summit, Reports and Reflections* (unpublished report, July 2002, Addis Ababa)
[50] Suresh Chandra Saxena: *Politics in Africa* (Delhi, Kalinga Publications, 1993) pps. 197 - 198
[51] Kuruvilla Matthews: *The OAU and the problem of African Unity*, Africa Quarterly, Volume 23, Issue no. 1-2 (1986) p.50

organization. The mandate of this organization would be that of continental integration for a united Africa through proposed regional economic groupings.

However, despite Nkrumah's concerted efforts during these two conferences, and the agreement in principle by leaders in attendance that the African unity ideology based on Pan-Africanism would be the ideal situation for Africa, some of the African leaders felt that his push for a rather immediate African unity was ill-conceived and did not embody the right methods needed to attain that level of unity desired; immediate African unity meant that the countries would have to give up their sovereignty, and no country was ready to do that![52] This resulted in the emergence of divisions and later groupings among African leaders each supporting different view points to the achievement of this unity. One such group was that of Casablanca consisting of countries such as Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Morocco, Egypt and Algeria who supported the immediate uptake and implementation of the unity concept that would effectively result in a model 'United States of Africa' while the Monrovia formed group consisting of countries like Liberia, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Cameroon and Senegal felt that a more gradual approach towards unification should be adopted. [53]

It was not the unity idea that was questioned, but rather how and at what pace this would be attained. At first, it seemed that these divisive approaches would tear apart at the seams the unity dream, but through the concerted efforts of two notable African leaders at the time, President Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, the two blocs reached a

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[52] Paul G. Adogamhe, *Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development*, (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, USA), African review of integration vol. 2, no. 2 of July 2008, 10
[53] Z.Cervanka, *The Unfinished Quest for Unity:* African and the OAU (London, Friedman, 1977) pps. 2-6

middle ground; to form one union that would encompass both perspectives – what was later to be referred to as the OAU – an admission that nothing would deter the vision of unity.[54]

Born of the idea and commitment to Pan-Africanism, the OAU was then formed in May 1963 in Addis Ababa Ethiopia by 32 member countries aimed at promoting solidarity and enhancing cooperation between and among African countries away from the era of colonialism – indeed, this signified the efforts of prominent African leaders who championed the cause for African freedom.[55] Its establishment came four years after the All Africa Conference in Accra Ghana in 1959 where the role of the African state being key to the struggle against colonialism and towards economic development and political unity was emphasized.[56]; as such, the main objective of the organization was to empower Africans to practice economic, social and political freedom that would enhance peace and development.

So engrained was the vision of unity as advanced in the various conferences and summits from the formation of the OAU that the African leaders adopted new approaches of strengthening newly independent states. It was for this reason the Charter of the OAU[57] which came into force in September, 1963 was formulated to safeguard the sovereignty recently achieved by African states, and further assist those still under the grip of colonial rule attain independence.

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[54] Makonnen Ketema,58th Anniversary Celebration of African Liberation Day/Africa Day and the Creation of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) (May 25th 1963 – 2011), 3 http://www.black-king.net/58th%20Anniversary%20Celebration%20of%20%20African%20Liberation%20Day.pdf
[55] The New-African: The birth of the OAU, June 2000, last accessed on 03 May 2013 at 9:06 http://www.newafricanmagazine.com/features/history/the-birth-of-the-oau
[56] Abdalla Bujra; Africa: Transition from the OAU to the AU – Lecture delivered at Acartsod Tripoli, Libya on September 23, 2002 http://www.dpmf.org/meetings/From-OAU-AU.html
[57] 57 OAU Charter http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/OAU_Charter_1963_0.pdf

Objectives and Principles of the OAU

The objectives that guided the establishment of the OAU charter were articulated in Article 2.[58] These were highlighted as follows; the promotion of unity and solidarity of African states; coordination and intensification of cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa; defence of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa and; promotion of international cooperation having due regard to the Charted of the United Nations (UN Charter) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR).

These objectives were inter-twined with the organization's principles articulated in Article 3 that member states were to comply with including; the sovereign equality of all member states, the non-interference in the internal affairs of states; respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and its inalienable right to independent existence; peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration; dedication to the emancipation of African territories which are still dependant and; the affirmation of a non-alignment policy with regard to all blocs.

The charter became a representation of the African leaders' standpoint on matters pertaining to colonialism and emphasized the importance of establishing liberation committees that would essentially oversee liberation movements continentally. With these objectives in mind, the OAU made aggressive steps towards first bolstering sovereignty of states, a principle highlighted in the non-interference principle by the OAU in the affairs of newly independent sovereign states

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[58] Ibid, OAU Charter

as articulated in article 3(7) of the OAU charter.[59] Further, article 4 regulated the organizational membership to consist not of individuals, but of independent and sovereign states. Important to note however is that the OAU charter did not contain legal norms that were binding for member states adherence. As a result, African states remained non-committal to the provisions of the charter, citing that this would instead take away newly acquired sovereignty status.

Within the principles of the OAU charter thus arose inherent weaknesses that led to the instability of the OAU. This had far reaching implications that undermined the workability of a strengthened force that was now the face of African unity; for one, the equality of member states and sovereignty over their land and by extension citizens meant that this principle placed state interests above those of its citizens thus compromising the safeguarding of human rights; the charter additionally accorded absolute rights to the state in the conduct of internal affairs within its territory, meaning that external interference in the internal affairs of the afflicted state was strictly prohibited, while the principle of respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty of members states rights to exist independently effectively endorsed existing colonial borders and served to divide countries rather than unify them. The principle of peaceful settlement of disputes through necessary means such as mediation, negotiation, arbitration and conciliation equally contradicted the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states as this meant that the involvement of states in a conflict was only through consent of the warring states, otherwise any state intervening would be in contravention of this OAU principle.[60]

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[59] Ibid, OAU Charter
[60] Yoh John Gay Nout: *The institutional role of the Organization of African unity (OAU) in conflict resolution in Africa* (PhD thesis, University of South Africa, 2008), 165 - 166

Despite the compromise of the formation of the OAU and formulation of the OAU charter to incorporate the views of both the Monrovia and Casablanca groups, majority the African leaders sided with the Monrovia group and unanimously rejected the idea of having a confederation that would lead to a political union as advanced by the Casablanca group. Instead, they adopted the Monrovia group view of first safeguarding sovereignty and upheld the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states as per the charter. Nonetheless, the creation of the OAU thus historically signified a great achievement in the African continent given its creation in an era when colonization of African countries was still rife, necessitating the collectiveness of Africans and its joint voice to work towards bringing to an end colonialism.

The Organs of the OAU

The objectives and principles of the OAU were to be accomplished through four main principal institutions. These institutions would undertake the mandate of fulfilling the objectives of the organization as highlighted in Article 2 of the charter.[61] Established as the supreme organ of the OAU, the Assembly comprised of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives charged with the responsibility of discussing matters of concern in the African context; the Council of Ministers comprised of foreign ministers or authorities designated by the governments of members states who reported to the assembly on the implementation of coordination duties on inter-African cooperation. The functioning of the organization was a role allocated to the General Secretariat composed of a Secretary General appointed by the Assembly of Heads and States and would in turn report to the Assembly on the routine performance of the organization. Lastly, to cater for conflict resolution among member states, the Commission of

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[61] Ibid, OAU Charter

mediation, conciliation and arbitration whose composition was defined by a separate protocol approved by the Assembly of Heads of States was allocated the responsibility of settling such disputes by peaceful means with the purpose of ensuring continued peace and security within the continent.

The Roles and Impact of the OAU

The OAU was deemed instrumental in its quest to promote unity among African nations. There is no doubt that it played a fundamental role, especially within the context of the political and economic spheres. Most notable politically was its role in conflict resolution for the promotion of peace and security. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states as provided for in the OAU Charter of 1963 was one of its founding principles that expressly barred collective action in the addressing of civil wars and other internal conflicts in Africa by the OAU or other African government institutions owing to the colonial legacy. The resultant effect was domination of conflict management in Africa by foreigners that saw for instance Italians mediate the end of the Mozambique civil war during 1991/92[62] and the US with Ethiopia and Somalia between 1990 and 1993 respectively.[63]

With the convening of the 29th OAU Assembly of Heads of States and Government in Cairo in June 1993 that triggered the emergence of a conflict prevention, management and resolution mechanism, conflict resolution became recognized as an important process. This mechanism empowered member states to take charge of the process, given that internal wars in African countries e.g. Sudan, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Somalia were recognized as bearing external

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[62] Cameron Hume, *Ending Mozambique's War: The Role of Mediation and Good Offices* (United States Institute of Peace, November 1994), 170 - 172
[63] John L. Hirsch and Robert B. Oakley, *Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping* (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1995) pp. 46 - 50

consequences such as refugee crisis situations, proliferation of arms that fuelled further conflicts, and which events in the long run were seen to undermine the economic development of countries, regions and the continent as a whole. As a result, collective action measures to manage these conflicts within this context were therefore considered both appropriate and necessary. The mechanism was meant to anticipate and prevent conflicts and where indeed conflicts did occur, it served to assist in peacemaking initiatives. In the event that international interventions then became necessary, the OAU would invoke the relevant articles provided within the UN charter.

Within the interpretation of Article 2 of the OAU Charter, the OAU adhered to a strict and rigid interpretation of the doctrine of sovereignty and territorial integrity that prevented it from engaging in many devastating conflicts in Africa.[64] Despite the goal of eliminating interstate conflicts due to border disputes, the first test of the OAU's ability to resolve a crisis between members arose out of such a dispute.[65] In 1963, hostilities erupted between Morocco and Algeria as a result of a disputed frontier. Algeria requested the intervention of the OAU, which convened its Council of Ministers. The Council's recommendations led to a cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of troops, and eventually to a bilateral agreement between the two parties. The OAU's first attempt at resolving a major crisis between its members was thus met with success.[66]

Economically, the OAU promoted cooperation among its member states. This was undertaken under the umbrella of the economic and social commission which underlined the important principle that the OAU states be attached to cooperative development of African states. Functionally, the commission aimed at studying the problems relating to the economic and social

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[64] Corinne A. A. Packer & Donald Rukare: *The New African Union and its Constitutive Act*, The American Journal of International Law no. 96 (2002) 365, 367
[65] Gino J. Nsldi: *The Organization of African Unity; An analysis of its role* (Mansell Publishing Limited, University of Michigan, 2008), 33, 34
66 Ibid

development of African states, and thereafter was expected to create a free trade area among African states, establish a common external tariff for Africa's exports, a common fund for raw material price stabilization as well as promote inter-African trade. Other areas of activities included the restructuring of Africa's international trade by setting up an African payment and clearing union and establishing an African monetary zone. The commission additionally bore the responsibility of harmonizing current and future development plans in Africa for promoting integrated inter-African transport and communication systems.[67]

Successive summit meetings of the OAU restated the need for a coordinated African economic policy for the unification of African economies. This culminated in the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) in April 1980 and in the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for Eastern and Southern Africa, created in Lusaka in 1981 aimed at enhancing inter-African trade and promoting both continental and regional integration. OAU served to provide the basis for African co-operation that promoted economic and social development of the continent and consequently, unity among its member states.[68]

The Contributions of the OAU to the African agenda

The OAU has been credited for the significant contributions it made towards Africa's development. Its importance as a continent political institution was most evident in its role in the liberation of African countries from colonial rule, for instance as seen through its instrumentality

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[67] Abdalla Bujra,Pan-African Political and Economic Visions of Development; *From the OAU to the AU; from the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) to the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)* (Development Policy Management Forum, 2004) pp. 20 -23

[68] Francis Nguendi Ikome, *From the Lagos Plan of Action to the New Partnership for Africa's Develop*ment: The political economy of African Regional Initiatives (Institute for Global Dialogue, 2007), 54

in securing Namibia's independence in 1990, as well as the fight against apartheid and an end to western nations rule that involved its efforts to free Nelson Mandela of South Africa, a move culminating in his election as President and the subsequent joining of South Africa as the 53rd member of the OAU during the June 1994 Tunis summit.[69]

Similarly, during its early years, the OAU was applauded for its ability and efforts to ably undertake conflict resolution measures. With examples such as the Kenya/Somalia and Ethiopia/Somalia conflicts, the OAU displayed its prowess in bringing to an end the ensuing potential wars through the use of peaceful means. The success of settling these disputes emanated from the understanding that conflicts, irrespective of geographical locations, was a problem to be quelled only by Africans themselves.[70] Further, the establishment of the conflict prevention mechanism in 1993 for purposes of resolution of conflicts in the continent was seen as a bold and progressive step towards stability in the continent; various boundary conflicts in East, North and Central Africa were settled peacefully and successfully without outside intervention, earning the OAU the status of prime peacekeeper on the African continent.[71]

Economically, African countries under the OAU undertook initiatives that lay the foundation for the progress and development of the continent. The importance of regional integration was underscored with the formation of the LPA of 1980, the Abuja treaty of 1990 and in 1991 the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) which ultimately provided a

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[69] Paul G. Adogamhe, *Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Dev*elopment, (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, USA), African review of integration vol. 2, no. 2 of July 2008, 12

[70] Makonnen Ketema,58th Anniversary Celebration of African Liberation Day/Africa Day and the Creation of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) (May 25th 1963 – 2011), 4 http://www.black-king.net/58th%20Anniversary%20Celebration%20of%20%20African%20Liberation%20Day.pdf

[71] Monde Muyangwa and Margaret A. Vogt, *An Assessment of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution,* 1993 – 2000 (International Peace Academy, 2000)

platform for the establishment of a common market for Africa that relied on the RECs as its building blocks.[72]

The Institutionalization of the OAU: Challenges

The era of the OAU was marred by the key challenge of colonialism. The period 1885 commonly referred to as the 'scramble for Africa' denoted an era when large parts of Africa were under colonial rule. Formation of the OAU therefore signaled the manifestation of a united force in Africa strongly rooted in Pan-Africanism; a "strong continental commitment to unity, based on racial consciousness and the common experience of colonialism."[73]It therefore was no surprise that the main objective driving its formation was to rid the continent of colonial powers, and succeed it did in its efforts to free the continent. Embracing the principle of Pan-Africanism, the OAU thus took up the challenge of ensuring that African countries were liberated and free from colonialism and could therefore affirm their rights to control their own affairs and promote their development.

The OAU Charter of 1963 served to define the manner in which the organization would achieve unity of purpose, and in its preamble, member states committed to the establishment and maintenance of conditions for peace and security.[74] Despite this commitment, the OAU was criticized for its ineffectiveness in the monitoring affairs of member states and it's rather slacken nature of response to conflicts, corruption, human rights abuses and lack of economic agenda. The charter also contained principles that were inconsistent with its objectives. For one, the

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[72] J.M. Biswaro, *The Quest for Regional Integration in the Twenty First Century:* Rhetoric versus Reality; A Comparative Study (Tanzania Publishing House Limited, 2005) ,xxxvi, 249
[73] W. Tordoff, *Government and Politics in Africa* (London, Macmillan, 1984) p. 275
[74] OAU Charter, 1963 http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/OAU_Charter_1963_0.pdf

commitment by member states to the preservation of human rights and security as upheld in the charter failed to take cognizance of the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent member state as articulated in article (2), a provision that prohibited the intervention of the assembly of heads of state and the council of ministers within the organization of the OAU from implicitly intervening in conflict situations unless expressly invited by the warring parties as set out subsequently in article (3) of the Charter. This effectively meant that ability of African leaders to respond appropriately to security issues in the continent was compromised, resulting in its inefficiency to intercede and adequately handle conflicts in Africa.[75]

Overall, political stability and economic development required an authoritative institution adequately equipped to address competing interests in the society, a quality the OAU lacked owing to its failure to recognize integration benefits that would have outweighed the clinging to preservation of the sovereignty of states. The principle of non-intervention or non-interference in the internal affairs of member states served to spur the blatant abuse of human rights in conflict situations intra-states even despite the enforcement of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.[76] Positively, in 1993, the OAU established the conflict prevention mechanism to counter disputes and effectively deal with conflict situations experienced in the continent; however, its effectiveness was questioned given the Rwandan genocide of 1994, collapse of Somalia and fighting in the Democratic Republic of Congo occurred under its watch, events all contributing to the limitations of the OAU in implementing the principles it firmly stood for; the OAU Charter in this instance holistically failed to address the security problems faced in Africa.

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[75] Akinyemi Bolanji, The Organization of African Unity and the Concept of Non-Interference in the Internal Affairs of Member States (British Yearbook of International Law, 1972 – 1973)Vol. 46, pp. 393 - 400

[76] The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, Adopted 27 June 1981, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), entered into force 21 Oct. 1986) - All member states of the OAU were parties to the Charter.

When the OAU failed to mediate the territorial dispute between Tanzania and Uganda, Nyerere reacted by calling the OAU a "Trade Union of tyrants"[77] as African nations incapable of collectively punishing a single country then meant that a country had to fend for itself.

The OAU was thus relegated to an observer status given its inability to curb and prevent conflict occurrence within the continent. As a result, even disputes that arose during the tenure of the OAU were resolved through the use of external interventions as opposed to African interventions, casting doubt on the capability of the organization in the resolution of conflicts and brought to question the unity vision in Pan-Africanism. The OAU therefore was conceived to have widely failed in fostering the promotion of security, peace and development in strengthening the African agenda. It had proved to be too weak, unresponsive and incapable of addressing contemporary African problems, especially the abuses inflicted by the continent's dictators on their people, and had become a "collaborative club of perpetual self-preservation" as was argued by Nobel Prize Laureate, Wole Soyinka.[78]

Over the more than three decades that the OAU was in existence, the organization was faulted for its slow and poor decision making processes, lack of member states contributions to finance the institution and the formulation of plans, especially on the economic front that held no prospects of being fulfilled. To add onto the list, the lacking agenda for economic development plunged Africa into economic crisis in the 1970s and 1980s, a period characterized by the exploitation of neo-colonialists with the view of influencing African economic policies, thus

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[77] Godfrey Mwakikagile: *Nyerere and Africa; End of an Era* (Pretoria, South Africa; New Africa Press, 2010), 325

[78] Michael Wilkerson*: "After the AU's failure, what to do about Zimbabwe?",* World Politics Review July 7,2008 accessed August 2013 http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/2391/after-the-aus-failure-what-to-do-about-zimbabwe

necessitating a re-think into the development agenda. This translated into plans of action documented in the LPA of 1980 that spelt out ways in which economic integration could be fostered, having been the direct result of historical injustices of colonialism and over-dependence on the western countries for economic aid for development.[79] The end result would be articulated in sound policies continental and regional integration aimed at the reduction of external economic dependency and the strengthening of collective bargaining power with the western nations.[80]

Whilst the OAU was meant to act as a forum that articulated the principles governing the relations between states and a common platform in the pursuance of an African agenda, this was found to only apply in paper as the organization was likened to a 'talking club' with no commitment to the actualization of the principles that governed the organization. Scholars such as Ofuatey-Kodjoe argued that the OAU was a mere re-enforcement of neo-colonialist relationships that tended to only lead to further exploitation of the African people, and contradicted the Pan-Africanist call.[81]

Based on the various failures as has been highlighted, the OAU was then dissolved to pave way for a further reformed institution manifested in the AU. The next section of this study will delve further into the functioning of the AU and assess whether it conquered where its predecessor obviously failed.

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[79] Paul G. Adogamhe, *Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development*, (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, USA), African review of integration vol. 2, no. 2 of July 2008, 12
[80] Ojo Olatunde, *Regional Cooperation and Integration,* in Olatunde Ojo, D.K.Orwa and C.M.B. Utete, African International Relations (London, Longman Publishers, 1985) pps 166 - 169
[81] Ofuatey-Kodjoe, *Pan-Africanism: New Direction in Strategy* (University Press of America, 1986) , 17

2.3 The Realization of the African Union

The summit held in Sirte in September of 1999 set the centre stage for the establishment of the African Union where various Heads of State and Government of the OAU, following extensive deliberations on how best to strengthen the continental organization and by extension its people, unanimously agreed to pass what came to be referred to as the 'Sirte Declaration'[82] . The aim of this declaration was to fast track the integration process in the continent that would make it more effective in view of growing economic, social and political problems brought about by the advent of globalization.[83] The summit eventually marked the decision by African leaders to establish the AU, first initiated through the efforts of the demised Libyan leader, Muammar Gadaffi at the July 1999 35th summit of the OAU in Algiers. Summarized, the summit aimed to; boost the continental organization to enable it take a more active role in addressing its people's needs; address the changing perspectives in the political, economic and social realm to counter global changes; eliminate conflicts as well as harness the continent's natural resources that would impact on African development.[84]

Subsequent summits followed thereafter in Lome (2000), Lusaka (2001) and Durban (2002), each defining the progressive steps towards the establishment of the African Union.[85] With the decision to establish the African Union in September 1999, the predecessor organization, the OAU tasked its legal body within the organization to embark on the drafting of the Constitutive

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[82] Declaration of the Fourth Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, Sirte, Libya on 9 September 1999. OAU Doc. http://www.iag-agi.org/bdf/docs/sirte_declaration.pdf

[83] African Union: A United and Strong Africa, last accessed in July 2013, http://www.au.int/en/about/nutshell

[84] Transition from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union: University of Essex http://www.essex.ac.uk/armedcon/story_id/000529.doc.

[85] Vincent O. Nmehielle, *The African Union and African Renaissance; A New Era for Human Rights Protection in Africa?* Singapore Journal of International & Comparative Law, no. 7 (2003) 416, accessed July 2013, http://law.nus.edu.sg/sybil/downloads/articles/SJICL-2003-2/SJICL-2003-412.pdf

Act of the African Union, which was on the assent of the Assembly of Heads of State in July, 2000 officially adopted as the Constitutive Act of the African Union.[86] The following year saw the convening of the Lusaka summit (2001) whose main objective was to establish a roadmap that would guide the implementation of the AU; interesting to note during this process was the holistic involvement of various stakeholders including the heads of state and government, non-governmental associations and civil organizations, who pulled efforts together towards the development of guidelines and modalities that would facilitate and guide the operations of various organs of the Union. This was therefore a representation of inclusivity, and most certainly a departure from the structural set up of the OAU which was the privilege of a selected few.[87] The final summit held in 2002 marked the last stage towards the establishment of the African Union.

Inaugurated in 2002 in Durban, South Africa, the African Union served as the continent's Pan-African institution that effectively replaced the OAU established in 1963, with the aim of anchoring itself on its predecessor's success as well as address the challenges that led to its failure thought to have arisen from non-harmonization of its objectives to take into account the changes occasioned after the cold war era. Its formation was equally attributed to the desire to meet the aspirations of African people as well as the changing dynamics in the social, economic and political environments globally.[88] It was during this time that the first assembly of heads of

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[86] Constitutive Act of the African Union, adopted at the Thirty Sixth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, 11 July 2000 at Lome,

[87] Joelien Pretorius, eds, African Politics, *Beyond the Third Wave of Democratization* (Juta and Co Ltd, South Africa, 2008), 28 - 29

[88] Samuel M. Makinda & F.Wafula Okumu: *The African Union; Challenges of globalization, security and governance* (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, 2008) p 35

states was convened, and with it came the hope for a renewed fight for continental integration that would effectively resolve Africa's problems; an achievement in pursuit of continental unity.

Objectives and Vision of the AU

Composed of 53 member states, and with its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the African Union arose as yet another initiative of the African people destined to drive the unification process as well as progress towards Pan-African ideals. The overall objective of the AU was cemented in its drive to strengthen cooperation and enhance unity in the continent through defined institutional and legal frameworks. The AU vision of "an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena" represented the dynamism, with shifted focus from support of liberation movements for African territories under colonial rule as had been the earlier task of the OAU, to a new organization concerned with integration and development in Africa.[89]

Tied to the spelt out vision of the AU were comprehensive accompanying objectives that had a wider scope in comparison to its predecessor, the OAU.[90] This included; promoting cooperation and rallying support from the African people to jointly address issues affecting the continent in a structured manner; achievement of greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa; defence of sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States; acceleration of the political and socio-economic integration of the continent; promotion and defence of African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples; encouragement of international cooperation, taking due account of the UN Charter and

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[89] African Union, *supra note 65*
[90] Abou Jeng; *Peace building in the African Union: law, philosophy and practice;* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012) p 169

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR); promotion of peace, security, and stability on the continent; promotion of democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance; promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments; establishment of necessary conditions that would enable the continent play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations; promotion of sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies; promotion of co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples; coordination and harmonization of policies between the existing and future RECs for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union; advancing the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology and; working with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.[91]

The foundation of the AU was lodged in the Constitutive Act of 2000[92] that signified the collective will of the 53 member states who signed it to establish the AU as an instrument that would effectively address the chronic challenges that the African continent continued to face. Article(4) of this act guides the institutions principles in the: sovereign equality of states, respect of borders, participation of African people in activities of the union, establishment of a common defence policy for the African continent, peaceful resolution of conflicts among member states through appropriate means, the rights of the union to intervene in the affairs of states based on grave circumstances, encourages the peaceful co-existence of member states, promotion of self

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[91] Ibid, Abou Jeng, p 169
[92] The Constitutive Act of the African Union http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/aboutau/constitutive_act_en.htm

reliance, gender equality, social justice; the respect for the sanctity of human life and the non-receptiveness of unconstitutional changes of governments.[93]

Given these defined principles, the AU was expected to guarantee the much needed change away from the shortcomings of its predecessor, the OAU. For one, the Constitutive Act of the AU took cognizance of the importance of the right of intervention in member state affairs for the restoration of peace and stability as has been highlighted in the principles set out in Article 4 of the Act, a distinct detour from the non-interference principle as referenced in the Charter of the OAU. The realization of the significant role played by Pan-Africanism thus manifested itself in the establishment of the AU, affording the continent an opportunity to draw lessons from the challenges of the OAU that would essentially serve to inform the strengthening of institutions within the AU.

The Design and Organs of the AU

The OAU was seen as more of a politically motivated organization that bore selfish interests and was not all inclusive, the transformation of which became the central task of the AU to overhaul so as to effectively represent social development and economic integration, key ingredients for the achievement of political unity.

To this end, the union is comprised of ten main organs set up to work towards the strengthening of the union.[94] The Assembly represents the supreme organ of the AU comprised of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives who articulate African affairs; Reporting to the Assembly is the Executive Council composed of Ministers or Authorities

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[93] Ibid, The Constitutive Act of the African Union
[94] African Union website http://www.au.int/en/about/nutshell

designated by the Governments of Members States; the coordination and feed back of information on the implementation of various actions was a duty allocated to the permanent representatives committee composed of Member States accredited to the Union. (This organ did not play an integral part under the OAU). Additionally, eight main portfolios are assigned under peace and security; political affairs; infrastructure and energy; social affairs; human resources, science and technology; trade and industry; rural economy and agriculture and; economic affairs. To aid in the day to day management as well as representation of the AU, a commission, consisting of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Eight Commissioners and staff members are charged with the execution of various duties including the elaboration of draft common positions of the union, preparation of strategic plans and studies, harmonization of programmes and policies to conform with those of the RECs as well as mainstreaming of gender in all programmes and activities of the Union. [95]

Other organs include the Pan-African Parliament that ensures the full participation of African people in governance, development and economic integration of the Continent; the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOC) composed of different social and professional groups of the Member States of the union that serves as an advisory organ; financial institutions (provided for under article 19) that include the African central bank, African monetary fund and African investment bank; specialized technical committees with the objective of addressing sectoral issues and include the committees of rural economy and agricultural matters; monetary and financial affairs; trade, customs and immigration matters; industry, science and technology,

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[95] Ibrahim Kane and Nobuntu Mbelle, *Towards a people-driven African Union; Current Obstacles and Opportunities* (First Published by AfriMap & Oxfam GB, January 2007), pps 9 -10

energy, natural resources and environment; transport, communication and tourism; health, labour and social affairs and the committee on education, culture and human resources and two final institutions for upholding peace and rule of law as found in the organs of the peace and security council (created pursuant to the decision made at the Lusaka summit of 2001) and the court of justice. [96]

Achievements so far: The AU Agenda

With the zeal to succeed where its predecessor otherwise failed, the African Union focus lie in strengthening the existing principles of the OAU and according the organization a new lease of life. This set the pace for the adoption of new principles as established in accordance to the union of rights to intercede in the affairs of a member state, upholding of principle of good governance and democratic principles as well as the promotion of human rights and social justice.

At the turn of the century, African states further begun to embrace the concept of 'African solution to African problems' in an effort to maintain peace. The AU firmly took up this role by promoting peace and security through its regional peacekeeping forces and its interventions in conflicts. The AU agenda focused on issues of peace and security, governance and the significance of the RECs in the development of the continent.[97] Unlike its predecessor that did not interfere with the internal affairs of member states, the AU became the driving force in establishing a security framework for Africa, identifying key areas that would call for the organizations intervention in internal affairs of member states. These were outlined as gross

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[96] African Union: A United and Strong Africa, 'Organs of the AU', last accessed in July 2013, http://www.au.int/en/about/nutshell
[97] Kennedy Graham and Tania Felicio, *Regional Security and Global Governance;* A study of interaction between regional agencies and the UN Security Council with a proposal for a regional-global security mechanism (VUB Brussels University Press, 2006), 153

human rights violations, changes of government that were conducted contrary to the constitution, genocide and in cases where instability in one country was a threat to the overall regional stability.

In a bid to enforce the peace and security framework, the AU adopted two initiatives that would serve to bolster its efforts in ensuring the prevalence of peace in the continent'. Firstly, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) set up in 2004 with a membership of fifteen countries was responsible for decision making in conflict prevention and driving the peace building agenda.[98] Structurally, it consists of five renewable seats (with a three year term maximum) and ten non-renewable seats (with a two year maximum term). Further credited to the portfolio of the PSC is the early warning system and military staff committee that advises the institution on matters of deployment of troops.

To promote the governance and development agenda, the 2001 OAU summit in Lusaka adopted the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) framework, an economic initiative that would form the blue print for Africa's socio-economic development especially taking into account developmental challenges of the twenty-first century. Under this framework, it was anticipated that regional and economic integration would be enhanced, and the continent would richly benefit from defined ways of interaction with nations globally and in an accountable manner. To this end, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), a monitoring instrument was instituted to ensure compliance of African States with human rights and governance as well as act as an accountability mechanism particularly to gauge African leaders' implementation of

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[98] Angela Meyer, *Regional Integration and Security in Central Africa*; assessment and perspectives 10 years after the revival (Academia Press, 2008), 10

economic and political reforms as set out in the Constitutive Act of the AU.[99] Similarly, built on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights of 1981 and the African Commission on Human and People's Rights of 1987, the African Court of Human and People's Rights of 2006 symbolized Africa's attempts at improving in human rights related issues with states expected to comply with decisions as made in the enforcement of human rights.

Tied to the creation of governance bodies was the need for recognition and inclusion of the civil society in governance matters, and it is for this reason two civil society bodies were formed; the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOC) to act as advisory bodies and consult with civil societies and nongovernmental organizations on issues of governance.

The RECs serve as building blocks and the foundation upon which the AU is based.[100] Africa is grouped into five regions i.e. the North, East, West, Southern and Central region and has eight recognized RECs namely; the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD); the East African Community (EAC); the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD); the Southern African Development Community (SADC); and the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA). The challenges that come with these groupings stems from the overlapping memberships that

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[99] Mario Claasen and Carmen Lardies, *Social accountability in Africa: Practitioners' experiences and lessons* (African Books Collection, 2010), 68
[100] David J. Francis*; Uniting Africa – Building Regional Peace and Security Systems* (Ash gate Publishers, February 2006), 5

proves to be a hindrance in economic integration and equally poses financial constraints especially if a member state is also part of another regional grouping.

<u>Challenges faced by the African Union</u>

The inauguration of the AU symbolized a strengthened approach to the unification of the African continent. However, it has not been devoid of challenges in the pursuance of its unity objectives. While the design of the AU was meant to be a representation of the Pan-African ideals and unity, its functioning was evidently marred by the lack of clear understanding of the roles the member states in the unification process. This lay the course for what came to be known as the 'Grand debate' held in Accra, Ghana in 2007 during Ghana's 50th anniversary celebrations to mark its independence.[101] In contention was the decision of whether to embark on the creation of a union government that would fast track the dream of a United States of Africa or the adoption of a gradual approach system based on integration efforts that would unite the continent first economically prior to the formation of the union government. The differing opinions led to a stalemate that failed to strengthen what would have been the roadmap to the unification process.

The overall limiting factor lay in the barriers created by the diversity of the African continent economically, socially and politically that in effect inhibit the establishment of a federal state as did the effects of colonialism.[102] Additionally, lack of a shared common heritage, as well as differences in geographical strength and prowess present challenges in the aligned development of Africa as countries within the continent differ in size, economic development levels and

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[101] J.M. Biswaro, *The Quest for Regional Integration in the Twenty First Century*: Rhetoric versus Reality; A Comparative Study (Tanzania Publishing House Limited, 2005) ,347
[102] Cheikh Anta Diop, Black Africa; *The Economic and Cultural Basis of Federal State* (Lawrence Hill Books, Chicago, 1984)

natural resources availability that equally impedes integration efforts owing to the inherited socio-economic structures from the colonial era.

Despite a well encompassed institution, financial constraints, just as experienced in the era of the OAU however still remains a challenge and a crippling factor towards the effective functioning of the AU given the dwindling member state contributions to the functioning of the organization. Often, member states have made pledges towards the financing of some of the institutions within the AU, but have continuously failed in honoring those pledges contributing to the dismal performance in the achievement of set objectives by the Union.

Conclusion

The OAU and AU represented Africa's search for economic and political integration and collective will of development. The afro-optimists believe that the African century should encompass the building of viable and sustainable structures that would see the reality of this vision.[103] There has however been skepticism in the notion of a united Africa with arguments advanced that it lacked important constituents towards the attainment of a united force; this include issues of common languages, political differences, geographical positioning, lack of political will by African leaders, misplaced prioritization of African agenda issues, country specific resource endowment as in the case of countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, South Africa for instance classified as states rich in minerals compared to countries with no resources, and culture that are seen more as the reasons that serve to keep Africa divided.

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[103] David J. Francis; *Uniting Africa – Building Regional Peace and Security Systems* (Ash gate Publishers, February 2006) p.2

That notwithstanding, suffice it to say that the transformation from the OAU to the AU provided a strengthened framework for Africa in its wake to take charge and rightfully claim its space and place in the twenty-first century. In its vision, the AU focus remains in the unity and integrative processes of the African people as well as the establishment of African unity based on regional integration.

THE QUEST FOR PAN-AFRICANISM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

3.1   Introduction

The creation of the OAU and AU as discussed in the previous chapter was built around an aura of optimism and confidence that it would lead the continent to its destiny. Despite the organizational set up being criticized as flawed with ambitiousness and lack of consensus among the leaders in certain instances, it nonetheless bore fruit to defined processes and structures that served to drive forth the African agenda.

The journey towards the quest for Pan-Africanism has been long and tough. The discussions in this chapter will focus on tracing that history of Pan-Africanism while examining and analyzing critically the efforts that were set forth in pursuance of structured organizations. This will involve looking at the various integrative processes as exemplified in the role of RECs in African development, a comparative analysis of the European Union (EU) that is perceived to have been the model framework of the AU today, and the possibilities vies a vie limitations of its adaptation within the African context.

3.2   Pan-Africanism: An Overview

The path to continental integration is solidly founded on the Pan-African movement - one that called for solidarity among the African people. [104] Celebrating 'africaness' thus became the main emphasis and driving force of the movement. Strongly supported by African nationalists like

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[104] Timothy Murithi; *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism;* Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, ISS Paper 143, June 2007 p.2

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana; Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria; Ahmed Sekou Touré of Guinea; Modibo Keita of Mali; Julius Nyerere of Tanzania; Tom Mboya and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, among other African leaders of the early 1960s, it represented a realization that Africans have been among themselves a divided lot, and this had resulted in their deprivation of their own resources, marginalization, exploitation and lack of development that necessitated the need for the continent to cultivate a culture of self reliance and dependency.[105]

The road to Pan-Africanism can be traced back to the post cold war period when the realization for African unity first emerged. Historically, it was felt that the basis of the Pan-African movement originated not from the continent, but rather initiated by African-American diaspora intellectuals including W. E. B. DuBois and George Padmore, both of whom expressed their opposition to racial discrimination, exploitation and instead held the general desire to strengthen people of African descent. At the time of colonialism and the partitioning of Africa, the movement arose to fight for the liberation of Africa from oppressive colonial rule. As such, the characteristic nature of Pan-Africanism took shape in the form of Pan-African congresses that drove the unification process, with the very first of its kind held in London at the start of the 19th Century.

Subsequent congresses in Paris and New York followed in which the main agenda was to encourage self governance of independent states. The most significant meeting held in 1945 resulted in the formation of the Pan-African federation in London, Manchester during the sixth Pan-African congress where African organizations led by influential political leaders such as

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[105] Hakim Adi & Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political figures from Africa and the diaspora since 1787* (Routledge Chapman & Hall, New York 2003) p. vii

Nkrumah (who derived his influence from interactions with advocates of Pan-Africanism such as Marcus Garvey and George Padmore credited for their engagement in the negritude ideals at a global level), Jomo Kenyatta, Wallace Johnson among others joined forces to advocate for independent and autonomous states.[106] The congress represented a historic moment characterized as a 'movement whose time had come', and essentially signaled the importance of an organized movement as a pre-cursor to the African liberation struggle and avenue to the economic development of Africa. [107]

Effectively, the Pan-African movement took a positive turn when Ghana under the stewardship of its leader, Nkrumah became a sovereign state in 1957 and at a time when majority of the African nations were under colonial rule, thereby paving way for other African countries that soon gained their independence thereafter. This evoked African leaders to rally support for Pan-Africanism that would act as an avenue towards the continent's liberation as guided by Nkrumah himself. Increasingly at this juncture, the African American leaders from the diaspora who featured prominently at the onset of the push towards Pan-Africansim begun to slowly fade away, as more and more African states become independent between 1957 and 1963 and with Nkrumah taking up the mantle of leadership for the African continent. In April of 1958, Nkrumah organized a conference in Accra that brought together the independent African states at the time with a view to discussing Pan-African movement priority areas, with the main agenda revolving around the need to support decolonization and liberation movements throughout the

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[106] Abou Jeng; *Peace building in the African Union: law, philosophy and practice;* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) p 140

[107] George Padmore: *Colonial and Coloured Unity; A programme of action,* History of the Pan-African Congress (First published in 1947, Hammersmith Bookshop, London – edited by George Padmore, 1995

continent.[108] During this meeting, the member states in attendance that included Liberia, Ghana, Libya, Ethiopia and Sudan resolved to respect each other's territorial integrity as well as pursue a common foreign policy that would govern all African states while taking into account the observance of the UN charter's respect for human rights in the process of advancing cooperation and promotion of interest of states.

Subsequently, Nkrumah organized another conference in December 1958 in Ghana dubbed the 'All African People's Conference' with the objective of encouraging leaders of yet to be independent states to bolster their efforts by organizing country specific political movements that were revolutionary, yet non-violent in nature.[109]This conference signified the true resolve of African leaders who were committed to taking control of their destiny, evident in the manner in which they sat to discuss ways in which to free their countries from colonial rule, while endorsing Pan-Africanism and addressing the African unity concept. It is at this conference that the there was a widespread desire and resolve to form a Pan-African commonwealth, an organization that would work with the same objectives of Pan-Africanism. Similarly, African leaders firmly supported the idea of establishment of a permanent secretariat to be based in Accra and charged with coordination of efforts in the set up of an African organization with the mandate of continental integration for a united Africa through proposed regional economic groupings.[110]

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[108] Kofi Buenor Hadjor, Nkrumah and Ghana: *The Dilemma of Post-colonial Power* (Kegan Paul International, 1998), 92

[109] Suresh Chandra Saxena: *Politics in Africa* (Delhi, Kalinga Publications, 1993) pps. 197 - 198

[110] Tapan Prasad Biswal, Ghana; *Political and Constitutional Developments* (Northern Book Centre Publications, 1992), 76

However, despite Nkrumah's concerted efforts during these two conferences, and the agreement in principle by leaders in attendance that the African unity ideology based on Pan-Africanism would be the ideal situation for Africa, some of the African leaders felt that his push for a rather immediate African unity as opposed to the establishment of regional integration systems was ill-conceived and did not embody the right methods needed to attain that level of unity desired. During the 1963 conference in Ethiopia that established the OAU, Nkrumah had advanced and pushed for what he termed a 'four-point programme' that would be common to all African states that he believed would achieve African unity outlined as follows; a defence and security system for stability in Africa as well as liberation of colonized African states to be headed by an African high commander; foreign policy that would enable Africans collectively speak in one voice especially where international affairs were concerned; establishment of a common currency and monetary union and common platform for economic planning and development in Africa.[111] For the African leaders, immediate African unity therefore in essence meant that the countries would have to give up their sovereignty, a conditionality that no country was ready to adhere to! It is at this juncture that the dream of a union of Africa and essentially the Pan-African dream begin to tear apart at the seams. Fortunately, the dissenting groups agreed to converge their views as cemented in the founding of the OAU in 1963.

The vision held by Nkrumah emerged as a practical possibility as brought forth by the African unity project that he spearheaded. Championing for the expression of Pan-Africanism in unity, he advocated for it as the only reasonable and viable mechanism that could holistically address Africa's problems. This therefore was the reason he did not favor the creation of regional

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[111] Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary path*, (University of Michigan, International Publishers Company Incorporated, 1973), 314

integration forces in Africa as he considered them division forces that would in turn de-stabilize the continent and encourage political and economic partitioning of already independent African states. Nkrumah nonetheless provided a vision around which African unity was rallied, seeing it as the possible vehicle to Africa's economic and political independence. True political and economic independence, he believed, could not be achieved without unity of the continent's states and nations, and he therefore continuously agitated for unity in order for the people of Africa to be able to harness the continent's potential that lay dormant or exploited by what he termed as forces outside of the Continent.[112]

Within the broader context, he was seen as a leader of the continent's vision to defeat imperialism, champion for independence and secure betterment of the African lot. His radical approach influenced many people, both intellectuals and masses. Sam Nujoma of Namibia once stated that it was through the activities that took place and were happening in Ghana under Nkrumah that they derived the inspiration to petition the UN to be granted independence.[113] The greatest dilemma he experienced as a leader was his pursuit of nationalism and Pan-Africanism at the same time; Nationalism meant he focuses on building and strengthening Ghana as a nation-state, while Pan-Africanism required that he focuses on uniting African nation-states which in effect would mean Ghana ceding some of its sovereignty and national identity to some supranational body or organization.[114]

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[112] American Society of African Culture, *Pan-Africanism Reconsidered* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California 1962), pp 75- 76
[113] Speech by his Excellency President Sam Nujoma on the occasion of the first independence anniversary of the Republic of Namibia, 21 March 1991
[114] Ibid, pp. 83 - 90

Pan-Africanism indeed saw the advent of great African leaders, who, in their own way, made their contributions to the movement to what it is and stands for today. Marcus Garvey, linked to the Rasta movement of the 1930s was the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) that advocated for education of the African people as a means of liberation and development of black consciousness for the attainment of cultural, political and economic independence under the motto, "Africa for Africans".[115] Noble as his idea was, his critics, who included Pan-Africanists like W.E.B Dubois scoffed at his admiration of western ideologies and segregation ideologies of black versus white oppression rule coupled with his obsession to be an 'eventual President of Africa' that, were in his opinion not illustrative of meaning of true Pan-Africanism. Nonetheless, his zeal inspired other Pan-Africanists such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Patrice Lumumba of Congo, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who all borrowed a leaf from his Pan-African ideology.

In song and dance, even musicians picked up on the Pan-Africanism theme as was seen through the Bob and Rita Marley Foundation which organized various symposiums under the theme of 'Africa Unite'. Rita Marley, the wife to a Pan-African poet Robert Nester Marley, commonly known as Bob Marley, delivered messages of the essence of African unity and the need to fight poverty through empowerment of people in Africa. At the same time, the activities associated with the symposium emphasized the importance of Bob Marley's songs of freedom as a necessary ingredient to change in the entire world; that freedom is change.[116]

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[115] Jeremie Kroubo Dagnini, *Marcus Garvey; A controversial figure in the history of Pan-Africanism*, Journal of Pan-African Studies Vol. 2, no. 3, March 2008, 199
[116] http://ritamarleyfoundation.org/programs_africaunite_2007.html

Other personalities who contributed to Pan-Africanism include: Cheikh Anta Diop, Frantz Fanon, and Ali Mazrui, who all explored the issue of Pan-Africanism by examining psychological, cultural and religious aspect of the movement. Frantz Fanon dwelt on the issue of cultural consciousness in relation to Pan-Africanism and argued that a new consciousness of one's self and the cultural group to which one belongs were inseparable from their political struggles.

Judging from the array of African people who stood up to be counted as proponents of the liberation cause, it is of no doubt that Pan-Africanism played an integral role into transforming the African continent into what it is today. Significantly, the resolutions as reached during the Pan-African congresses recognized desire for liberation by African leaders that in turn positively impacted on the future of Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism brought with it the importance of maintaining cooperation, solidarity and strengthening unity among all Africans, whether living in the diaspora or within the continent itself, for it was only through this unification would African countries attain self governance, independence from colonial rule and African liberation as a whole.[117]

The Role of Pan-Africanism

Having been construed as a mobilizing force that created solidarity and cultivated action oriented states towards achieving a common agenda, Pan-Africanism came to be known for its contributory roles to the liberation movement. It was essentially the continent's driving forces in

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[117] George Padmore: *Pan-Africanism or Communism: The coming struggle for Africa* (London, Dobson Books Limited, 1956) p. 170

the 1960s and an affirmation that the answer to the obstacles faced by Africa was to be found in the unity of its people. For one, it played an important role in bringing commonality in the understanding of global issues that affect the present day as in the case of terrorism which, unabated, has the potential to destabilize countries and to undo the positive developments of numerous countries in the region.

African concerns at continental level to combat and eradicate the scourge of terrorism have a long history dating as far back as 1992 and 1994 during the OAU summits in Dakar, Senegal and Tunis[118] that aimed at enhancing cooperation and coordination among Member States in order to fight extremism or the use of religion to commit acts of violence that included terrorist attacks.[119] These efforts to combat terrorism activities and the need for a legislative framework resulted in the adoption of the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in 1999 at the 35th Ordinary Session of the OAU Heads of State and Government, held in Algiers, Algeria. Africa as a continent has since then signed several international conventions aimed at combating terrorism as well as taking the initiative to develop common positions that would counter activities associated with terrorism such as drug trafficking, arms trafficking, organized crime, and weapons of mass destruction.[120]

On the political and economic integration front, the signing of the Abuja treaty by 51 member states at the time establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) at the 27th Summit of

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[118] The OAU Assembly adopted resolution AHG/Res. 213 (XXVIII) at the 28th Ordinary Summit in Senegal while the 30th Ordinary Summit in 1994 held in Tunis, Tunisia adopted the *declaration AHG/Decl. 2 (XXX) on the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations*
[119]http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/AUC/Departments/PSC/Counter_Terrorism.htm, last accessed March 28, 2012
[120] Samuel Moki, *From Blueprint to Implementation: Assessing the Progress of the African Union in the Fight Against Terrorism,* In Terrorism in Africa, ed John Davis (Lexington Books, United Kingdom 2010) pp 265 - 280

the OAU in 1991 was a major milestone in the quest for continental unity and development. The treaty provided a timeframe for the implementation of the phased removal of barriers to intra-African trade and the strengthening of the existing regional economic groupings.[121] This would culminate in the formation of an "Africa-wide monetary union and economic community by the year 2025" among other steps towards African economic cooperation.

<u>Limitations of Pan-Africanism</u>

Nobility of a cause requires the full support of its members – a notion that was found wanting in the push for Pan-Africanism. Arguably, Nkrumah held a vision on the achievements Africa could attain through a unification movement which he commonly referred to as the 'United States of Africa' that would hold the key towards realization of this vision. So determined was Nkrumah to pursue this dream that he opted to readily trade sovereignty of his country documented in its constitution, a move that created enmity with his peers who criticized him of pursuing and harboring personal goals.[122].

The Pan-Africanism idea was infact not fought from outside the continent, but its resistance dwell in the divide among African leaders who mis-conceptualized the unity ideology. For one, there was no clear distinction from global or continental Pan-Africanism. Mazrui argued that the challenge of institutionalization of the Pan-African idea arose from its conflict on whether unification meant bringing together persons of African descent in the mainland as well as diaspora, or whether it focused mainly on unification of African people only in the continent of

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[121] Martin Guy, *African Regional Cooperation and Integration; Achievements, Problems and Prospects*, in Anne Seidman and Fredrick Anang eds, Twenty First Century Africa; Towards a New Vision of Self-sustainable Development (Trenton, Africa World Press, 1992)
[122] Legum, C.: Pan-Africanism: *A Short Political Guide* (Revised Edition, London: Pall Mall Press,1965) p. 192

Africa.[123] From one summit to the next, the realization of a united Africa driven by an African agenda was the topic of debate among continental leaders. While it holds true that during such summits and debates the common standing was that Africa must forge ahead as one, [124] the argument revolved around a gradualist approach to the formation of a United States of Africa as opposed to an immediate organization of a continental government.

Many African leaders felt that sovereignty would be compromised if it was agreed that an immediate approach be adopted, resulting in such summits concluding without any timelines set for the creation of a continental government.[125] One of the African leaders opposed to a continental union, Nyerere of Tanzania criticized Nkrumah of wanting to take lead of Africa, an opinion he confessed during his attendance of the 40th anniversary of Ghana's independence in 1997 as a failure of nationalist leaders to understand the objective of a unification approach.[126] Stressing on the twin objectives of the OAU – that of continental liberation from colonialism and to unite Africa, African leaders had succeeded in the former and failed to achieve the latter. He acknowledged this position when he said that:

> "Kwame Nkrumah was the greatest crusader for African unity. He wanted the Accra summit of 1965 to establish a Union Government for the whole of independent Africa. But we failed. The one minor reason is that Kwame, like all great believers, underestimated the degree of suspicion and animosity which his crusading passion had created among a substantial number of his fellow Heads of States. The major reason was

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[123] Ali Mazrui, *Africa's International Relations:* The Diplomacy of Dependency and Change (Boulder Co., Westview Press, 1977) pp. 68 - 69

[124] Article; *'African leaders plan union'* last accessed on Thursday, July 5 2007 at 9.09:36 GMT http://unitedstatesafrica.tripod.com/

[125] Ghanaian President at the time John Kurfuor during a three day summit in Ghana stressed that 'Africa shall evolve; it's not a revolution being invoked so no timeline can be given.'

[126] Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Unity: A selection from writings and speeches, 1952 – 1965 (London, 1967), 301

linked to the first: already too many of us had a vested interest in keeping Africa divided."[127]

What lay un-pursued was the mechanism through which a politically unified Africa would be entrenched, hence the demise at the time of the noble dream of a united Africa.[128] The independent states held firmly to the need to comply with the principle of non-interference with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and non-interference in internal affairs of another country. This in effect limited the concept of the solidarity calling in Pan-Africanism, essentially suffocating the African dream. Other challenges that setback the Pan-African movement effort included the lack of total commitment by member states, poor leadership within states and in institutions that articulated Pan-Africanism thought and philosophy as well as the nature of recurrent civil and political conflicts that blurred the vision of Pan-African unity.

The Pan-African dream did however not fail, but rather, was revitalized through its institutionalization into key organizations as founded in the OAU and the AU as will be discussed below.

3.3 The Long Journey: From the OAU to the AU

The institutionalization of Pan-Africanism took shape in the formation of these two key organizations that embodied the African unity agenda as steered by visionary African leaders following the post colonial era. Having dwelt on the origins of Pan-Africanism, this discussion

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[127] Issa G Shivji: *Pan-Africanism or imperialism?* Unity and struggle towards a new democratic Africa (April 2009,Issue 427 http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/55473
[128] J.K. Nyerere,*: 'Africa Must Unite',* edited excerpts from a public lecture delivered in Accra to mark Ghana's 40th independence day anniversary celebrations, United New Africa Global Network, 1997http://www.unitednewafrica.com/Africa%20Unite.htm

aims at analyzing the journey and process that informed the formation of these two organizations in pursuance of the unity dream.

Established in May 1963 by 32 member states in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the Organization of African Unity emerged at a time of the cold war era when global politics was taking shape, and with the aim of fostering economic and political cooperation between and among states.[129] African leaders at this time felt the need to cement the continental dream through the OAU, and visionary leaders such as Nkrumah grabbed the mantle and purposed to lead the continent to higher levels. His four point programme as highlighted in chapter two projected his determination to lead Africa to its rightful position in the global sphere, a dream that was cut short in the same conference in 1963 at the formation of the OAU by none other than the African leaders who had hailed his vision for Africa, but did not entirely agree with his agenda which they termed as selfish and oriented towards his personal gain. This set the centre stage for lengthy debates and the formation of two groups – those in support of Nkrumah and the vision of a union of Africa versus those who advocated for a gradualist approach that would not tie them down to binding agreements. It is at that juncture that the dream of a "States of Africa" slowly disintegrated and no more enjoyed the backing it initially had garnered.[130]

The establishment of the OAU was followed by the adoption and passing of a charter that was in every bit of it contrary to the hopes of a unified Africa. The principles enumerated tended to lean towards self preservation of states as in the case of the principles of non-interference in the

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[129] David Clark Mackenzie, *A World Beyond Borders:* An Introduction to the History of International Organizations (University of Toronto Press, 2010), 96

[130] Dorothy Nelkin, *Socialist Sources of Pan-African Ideology;* In African Socialism eds. By William H. Friedland and Carl G. Rosberg Jr. (Stanford University Press, 1964), 75

internal affairs of member states and the sovereignty matters that only served to create

hegemony's more interested in their own development, and less concerned of the afflictions of

its neighbours. The spiraling of conflicts and the rampant abuse of human rights was one the

member states of the OAU stood by and watched as depicted in the Democratic Republic of

Congo, Rwanda and Somalia conflicts in the 1990s. As such, much as the principles were

translated into the charter, their application was questioned and was soon likened to a 'talking

club', with all talk and no action, necessitating a wind of change.[131]

The need to reform the OAU was a driven agenda by two African presidents at the time – Thabo

Mbeki of South Africa who was credited for his doctrine of 'African Renaissance' that sought a

radical reformation of the OAU from its 'dictators' club status, and Olusegun Obasanjo who held

strategic visions for the economic recovery of Africa. These two African leaders together sought

to provide leadership and create political will that would define the reform process.[132] However,

given the divisiveness in African politics and the realization that driving the process of OAU

reform would be a mountainous task, they sought support of the then Libyan leader, Colonel

Muammar Gaddafi who at the time volunteered to host the extra ordinary summit in Sirte, Libya

in 1999, with the agenda on how the OAU can be made effective in executing its mandate. In

doing so, the two leaders chose to collaborate with Colonel Gaddafi owing to his influential

nature towards pushing for reform as well as his ability to offer financial support in the creation

of a new institution to replace the OAU.[133] In exchange, he would push his now adopted agenda

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[131] Said Adejumobi & Adebayo Olukoshi: *The African Union and new strategies for development in Africa* (Cambia Press, 2008) p 9

[132] Kwako Konadu-Agyemang and Martin Kwamina Panford, *Africa's Development in the Twenty-first Century*: Pertinent Socio-economic and Development Issues (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006), 76

[133] Tieku T.K, *Explaining the Clash and Accommodation of Interests of Major Actors in the Creation of the African Union,* (Journal of African Affairs, 2004), Vol 103 No. 411 pp. 228 - 249

for a "United States of Africa" that was to be headed by one continental president under a political and economic union, thus essentially reviving the Pan-African dream as first advanced by Kwame Nkrumah.

The resolutions of Sirte in 1999 as documented in the Sirte declaration that led to the eventual transformation of the OAU to the AU in Durban in 2002 marked a major development towards the achievement of the goals of Pan-Africanism; an expression of Pan-Africanism ideals of the nineteenth century. Guided by the principles in the Constitutive Act, the advent of the AU signified the beginning of new dawn for continental integration and the unification movement for Africa; it came at a time when the continent was plagued with unresolved problems owing to the inefficiencies of the OAU, and therefore rose up as an initiative that was home grown and whose destiny lay solely in the hands of the African people. [134]

Only by contextualizing the challenges that faced the OAU can one understand the transformative stage from the OAU to the AU. The dawn of a new era essentially meant that overhaul of the pre-existing documents and institutions previously established were pertinent. Comparing the OAU and AU guiding documents for instance, the shift lay evident in the manner in which the principles were revamped at the transition stage. The dividing factor of the non-interference principle in the OAU charter was redefined and substituted with that of solidarity as articulated in the Constitutive Act, Article (4)h that gave the AU leeway to intervene in the internal matters of states, especially under grave circumstances, a complete shift from the non-

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[134] Timothy Murithi; *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism;* Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, ISS Paper 143, June 2007 p.2

interference principle as was articulated in the OAU charter. [135] Institutionally, the AU took a more robust approach, a departure from OAU that failed to take into account the changing environment in the face of globalization and emerging challenges that required strategic thinking and approaches. This it did through the establishment of various organs and inclusion of various stakeholder views with the purpose of enriching the mandates in pursuance of the successful functioning of the AU even in the present twenty-first century.

The AU has made good progress from its predecessor and continues to display its prowess in its current capacity in a highly globalized and changing world. Fifty years after the first institutionalization of Pan-Africanism in the OAU, its successor has embraced change and embodied the will of the African people towards a united Africa. Under the new vision of 'Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance', the Pan-African agenda in the AU has gone full circle, albeit the challenges it still continues to grapple with in achieving the unity dream, but nonetheless represents that positive picture of an African force alive to fact of unity of purpose.

3.4   The Role of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in African Unity and Development

The emergence of regional economic communities (RECs) in Africa traces back its roots to Pan-Africanism where it was first viewed as a strategic means of enhancing economic integration given the significant role they play in the global world trade arena. Under the flagship of the OAU, African countries have, since the onset of Pan-Africanism and independence, set up

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[135] Constitutive Act of the African Union, 2002

various initiatives in the search of unity, social and economic development that progressively opened the doorway for the creation of the AU. [136]

The first of these steps was benchmarked in 1980 during the Extraordinary Summit of the OAU adopting the LPA, a long-range plan for Africa's integrated structural transformation signaling the pathway to the integration processes. As a blue print for the African economic and political ideas, the LPA lay the foundation for integration of the continent into the world economy on the basis of regional and continental integration. It was later transformed into a treaty by OAU Heads of States at the 27th Summit of the OAU that established the African Economic Community (AEC) also commonly referred to as the 'Abuja Treaty' with focus on economic integration considered a milestone in the quest for continental unity and development. [137] Within its mandates, the aim of the treaty was three fold: the promotion of cultural, social and economic development to encourage sustainability; promotion of development and cooperation with the aim of improving living standards of the African people and; support of the growth of intra-African trade. Containing 106 articles, the treaty provided a timeframe for the roll out of the six stage implementation plan for the AEC that would serve to strengthen the functionality of RECs;[138] ensure the establishment of a customs union; stabilization and coordination of tariff and non tariff system for the establishment of a customs union and African common market guided by common policies and; the formation of an Africa-wide monetary union and economic community, all envisaged to be completed by the year 2025.

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[136] Bruce Clifford Ross – Larson, *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa II:* Rationalizing Regional Economic Communities (United Nations Publications, 2006), xv - xvi

[137] Jeggan Colley Senghor and Nana Poku, *Towards Africa's Renewal* (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007), 131

[138] Daniel Antonio, *The Challenges for Africa: A culture of Peace, Good Governance and People-Centered Development* (Asia - Pacific Review), Vol 8 No. 1, 2001 pp. 64–65 http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/courses/PoliticalScience/474A1/documents/DanielAntonioChallengesforAfricaPeaceGovDev.pdf

Further, Article 88 of the Treaty mainstreamed the activities of the AEC that was to be established in tandem with the integration activities of the RECs, a responsibility that the member states were to promote in fulfillment of the integration mandate of the RECs to serve as building blocks towards the creation of the African common market. The formation of the AU was thus viewed as a positive step towards the achievement of integration among its member states. The African Union recognizes eight of these RECs as follows:[139]

The Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD): Established in February 1998 in Tripoli, CEN-SAD became a regional economic community during OAU's 36th Ordinary Session conference of Heads of States held in Lome, Togo in July 2000. The community holds partnership agreements with regional and international organizations aimed at promoting shared cultural, political and economic visions. This essentially involves the removal of restrictions that hamper the integration process and ultimately enhance free movement of labour and goods across borders, promote external trade and enhance communication systems across borders for effective trade processes

The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS): Established in October 1983, but functionally begun its operations in 1985, a delayed caused by the financial difficulties it faced at the time coupled with conflicts in the Great Lakes region. It nonetheless was recognized as an important economic pillar for Central African States;

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): Founded in 1975, it represents a regional group of fifteen countries aimed at promoting economic integration in all economic

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[139] The African Union Official Website http://www.au.int/en/about/nutshell

fields including transport, agriculture, energy, commerce, social and cultural issues. The establishment of two institutions within the group; the ECOWAS commission and the ECOWAS bank for investment and development guide the design and implementation of policies and development projects in member state countries. Other institutions include the Community Parliament and Court of Justice that ensure transparency in the implementation process;[140]

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA): Formed in 1965 in Lusaka, Zambia through the efforts of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Within this regional economic body, recommendations were made for the further for the creation of a sub regional preferential trade area (PTA) through a treaty enforced in September 1982 intended to encourage the sharing of the region's common heritage as well as allow for greater economic and social cooperation, ultimately leading to an economic community. The treaty was later transformed in 1994 into what is COMESA today.

The East African Community (EAC): Represents the regional intergovernmental organization of the Republics of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Its headquarters are in Arusha, Tanzania and officially came into force following its ratification in July 2000.[141] It aims at grounding and widening cooperation among states and other regional communities alike for shared mutual benefits in the social, political and economic fields. In pursuit of this aim, already established is the customs union in 2005, with the eventual goal of the creation of a political federation of East African States. Currently, the integration process is at top gear with substantial progress recorded with the start of negotiations of the East African monetary union in 2011 and

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[140] Ibid, The African Union Website
[141] The Treaty was first signed off by the three member states at the time; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; Rwanda and Burundi acceded to the treaty in June 2007 and were admitted as full members in July 2007

fast tracking of the process towards an East African Federation as the African leaders to the EAC aim to create a powerful political and economic bloc.

Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD): Created in 1996 in Djibouti to supersede the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) which was founded in 1986. It derives its aim from the need for strategic management of natural disasters, given its past experiences between 1974 and 1984 that resulted in economic hardship, thus necessitating the need for expanded areas of regional cooperation to boost national efforts towards the cushioning of such occurrences.[142]

The Southern African Development Community (SADC): Formed in Lusaka, Zambia in 1980, it started off as a loose alliance comprising of nine majority ruled states known as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), with the main purpose of coordinating development projects and reducing economic dependence on South Africa. It was however later transformed in 1992 in Windhoek, Namibia during a summit of Heads of State making it a development community. Its headquarters are in Gaborone, Botswana, and boasts of a membership of fifteen African states.

The Arab Maghreb Union (UMA): During the first conference in 1964 in Tunis, Maghreb economic ministers established a council that would coordinate development plans of Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania and Morocco and guide inter regional trade. The treaty establishing UMA however was signed by the Heads of State of the five countries in February 1989. It aims to strengthen ties among member states to enhance policy coordination and enhance regional stability.

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[142] Opcit, The African Union Website

Pursuant to the recognition of these regional economic blocs and the roles that they each played towards the African development, the protocol guiding the relationship between the RECs and AEC was enforced in February 1998 to strengthen the RECs as per the Abuja treaty and coordinate the harmonization of policies and relations with the RECs. Since its signing, several developments have been noted, the most significant being the formation of the AU, its supporting organs and programs linked to the economic development agenda for Africa especially in the changing globalized world.

In pursuance of the peace and security agenda, the role of RECs was inbuilt into the AU structure through the Peace and Security Council (PSC).[143] The African Union realized the important role that regional mechanisms play in promoting security, preventing, managing and resolving conflict, all intended to promote stability in the continent. The PSC as such is mandated to work closely with regional groupings to advance initiatives that would prevent, resolve conflicts crisis or even mediate before or after they erupt. Overall, the involvement of regional blocs remains a pertinent component in the stability of a region and continent as a whole.

To address issues of governance, the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) was established with the aim of ensuring participation of African people in issues directly affecting them including governance and democracy. To this end, the PAP is mandated to work in collaboration with the parliamentary organs of regional economic communities, especially in matters that may mutually affect them. This relationship ensures that there are adequate checks and balances that would serve to point out areas requiring redress and ultimately safeguard the interests of the citizenry of

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[143] Samuel M. Makinda & F.Wafula Okumu: *The African Union; Challenges of globalization, security and governance* (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, 2008) p 92

any given member state against blatant abuse of authority and power as well as enhance transparency within governmental and state institutions.[144]

The creation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was one of such measures that was adopted through efforts of African leaders to act as a continental strategy for the development of the economy. As AU building blocks, the RECs play an integral part in regional level planning, monitoring and coordination of integrative processes. This role was acknowledged at a 2002 meeting of NEPAD heads of state in Abuja as being key for African economic development.[145]

The Development Agenda for Africa: Challenges

The establishment of regional economic groupings served as a strengthening force towards the progressive development of Africa in the economic, political and social front. However, its efforts in pursuit of this agenda have not been without challenges. Overlaps and duplication of activities exist between RECs as evidenced between COMESA and SADC, coupled with the issue of multiple memberships to other intergovernmental organizations. This in essence, tends to destabilize the integration process given the slowed process of economic integration a member state would encounter within the different organizations to which it may belong to. Tied to this, regional level cooperation bears the ripple effect of this duplication given that regional economic communities do not carry the same progression rate towards the African economic agenda owing to the different procedures applied between the regional blocs; no universal method as to how

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[144] Richard Oppong, *Legal Aspects of Economic Integration in Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19
[145] Saleh M. Nsouli, *New Partnership for Africa's Development:* Macroeconomics, Institutions and Poverty (International Monetary Fund, 2004) pp 20 - 21

this objective should be attained or even how the regional blocs should relate with each other has been put forward. Further, the non-surety of continued political will remains a deterrent towards the achieving continental integration despite the full recognition of RECs as AEC building blocks.

What then would be the way forward to counter the challenges faced in the development agenda for Africa? For one, maybe it's time for Africa to get organized by anchoring itself on well spelt out frameworks and guidelines for strategic partnership and integration approaches especially important when engaging with emerging partners in the East such as China so as not to create hegemonies; the stark dark reminder of the dangers of a weak form of regional integration as illustrated in the World Bank / IMF economic reforms drive in the 1980s threatened to cripple the economic status of African countries – that ought to remain a thing of the past! [146] However, that is not to say collaboration with key institutions or other countries and international agencies with keen interest on African developmental issues should be ignored; rather, economic planning and strategic thinking that encompasses the thoughts of African leaders within the continent is key to the development agenda – pursuance of selfish interests only leads to exploitation. Unity in thought and purpose remain critical to the development of Africa and at a full potential.

3.5   The Possibility of a European-Type Model AU

The inauguration of the AU in Durban, South Africa in 2002 marked a new beginning for Africa as it transformed from the OAU, an organization that had been heavily criticized for failing to meet its objectives in the African unity agenda; the only way to continue that agenda was

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[146] Aderanti Adepoju: *The Impact of Structural Adjustment on the population of Africa* (James Currey Publishers, 1993), 5,28

through an overhaul of the now defunct organization. With an air of optimism, African leaders widely labeled the transformation a second effort at the liberation agenda that would salvage Africa from the jaws of poverty, firmly encourage economic activities while addressing economic underdevelopment, promote African unity, resolve conflict situations and enhance Africa's visibility as a global force to reckon with.

The guiding document of the AU became the Constitutive Act adopted by African leaders in Togo. The Act in itself reflected the changed perspective on how Africa would handle its affairs, and represented a holistic document that aimed at addressing the inefficiencies and shortcomings of the OAU. In a nutshell, the act, comprising 33 articles stipulated principles and objectives, aimed at encouraging greater solidarity between African states, support and promotion of security, peace and stability and the promotion of human rights, development and democracy. Most of these provisions had been articulated in the OAU charter although had not been adhered to – the difference now lay in the creation of ten accompanying organs and structures within the AU that would support its implementation. These included the Assembly, Executive Council, Commission, Permanent Representatives Committee, Peace and Security Council, Pan-African Parliament, The Economic, Social and Cultural Council, Court of Justice, Specialized Technical Committees and Financial institutions, whose composition and roles were earlier discussed in the preceding chapter.

During the transformation process from the OAU to AU and the articulation of its guiding principles and objectives in the Constitutive Act, there had been talk that the AU was 'loosely based' around the European Union (EU) model, and was therefore just but an imitation of the

latter.[147] This may not be true in entirety as some articles existing within the act were actually taken from the Abuja treaty that had launched the AEC subsequently replaced by the act. Arguably, the similarities are recognizable as evidenced within the structuring of the relevant organs that bore striking resemblances to those present in the EU. For instance, the Assembly in the AU has been likened to the European Council, and the Executive Council to the Council of Ministers; the Economic, Social and Cultural Council is also viewed as similar to EU's Economic and Social Committee. These similarities exist both in function and name and may only differ in the expertise way and manner the objectives are carried out.[148] The recognition of regional integration systems in the achievement of goals is a shared vision by both the EU and AU in their focus of economic growth, maintaining peace, solidarity among their people as well as recognition in the global context. In the EU context, the need for peace among countries is prioritized given that its absence becomes a deterrent to gainful economic trade, an approach that is yet to be fostered in the African continent given the unresolved conflict situations still existent within its borders. Further, the progress of regional integration continues to lag behind in African states as they are yet to reach the stage of mutual interdependency given the limited trade that occurs across borders.

The EU for one was initially doubtful when the AU was first established. However, this notion changed when the EU regarded the Pan-Africanist movement as creating an excellent opportunity for the emergence of an interlocutor at a continental level. In the EU's eyes, the AU had tremendous potential to tackle continental and global challenges that could only be dealt

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[147] Referenced during the July 2001 OAU summit in Zambia during the discussions on the transition from the OAU to the AU
[148] Olufemi Babarinde: *The EU as a model for the African Union; The limits of imitation* (Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series, 2007) Vol. 7, No. 2

with at a continental level (e.g. peace and security, migration, and climate change). To this end, the European Commission's expectation remains high and Europe has continued to play a strong and influential role in supporting the AU in enhancing cooperation that would encourage the growth and development of the African continent.

Limitations

Despite the prospects of an enhanced AU based on the EU model, there exist limitations to the successive implementation of objectives within the AU. The proper functionality of an institution is more often than not, pegged to its financial capability, one that the EU seem to have mastered well.[149] Despite having a large membership size, the institution is often bogged down by financial constraints when member states default in their annual remittances. While Article 23 of the Constitutive Act provides remedial action for members who default in executing their financial obligations through the imposition of sanctions such as denied rights of audience during AU meetings or fines for nonpayment, there exists no concrete way in which the union will finance its programs in the absence of member states contributions. This, unlike the organized system of the EU has a potential to cripple the workings of the union.[150]

Quick decision making processes are faster and more effective when there is a small membership that would allow for quick resolutions. The EU only begun with six members' states at the onset of the regional integration process that made consensus building on various issues faster; it

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[149] The EU draws funding from its own resources including customs duties on imports from outside the EU, VT, gross national income as well as other supplementary sources such as contributions from non-EU countries to particular programmes, fines on companies breaking laws as well as rebates and compensation mechanisms. http://ec.europa.eu/budget/explained/budg_system/financing/fin_en.cfm#compensation
[150] Bruce Clifford Ross – Larson, *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa II:* Rationalizing Regional Economic Communities (United Nations Publications, 2006) pp. 45 -68

however faced its share of difficulties as the membership rose, but still managed to build consensus as necessary. The AU, unlike the EU model started off with a broad based membership of over 50 member states, each with varying degree of interests, creating a potential ground for rifts in the case of non-consensus on vital issues that may affect the continent; this may well pose a challenge to the collective movement and unity if not addressed.

The establishment of replica organs to the EU within the AU was made on the basis of trying to draw from experiences of what was considered a good example of benefits of regional integration systems. However, the EU learnt that establishment of regional integration is a process, and not a onetime event that calls for gradual change and policies that would support that change. The AU optimistically set up structures that would complement its institutions, but absent remains the lack of corresponding policies for the implementation of its objectives. Silent also is the criteria for membership to the AU which does not explicitly determine who can be admitted to the membership of the union i.e. would it have to be an African country to be a member, or was it open to all and sundry in pursuance of the development agenda? Article 49 of the EU treaty on the contrary stipulates the necessity of any joining country to be European, and that restricts and ensures that there is shared commonality in purpose and objectives for which the union identifies with.[151]

In view of the foregoing, it can be said that although the emulating of structures within the EU model affords an opportunity for the development of the continent, it does not necessarily equate

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[151] Herman Lelieveldt and Sebastiaan Prince, *The Politics of the European Union* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19

it to smooth sailing of the institution. What works should be viewed in the full knowledge of the different contexts in which the regional integration forces emerged and the geographical context in which it will apply. To address these limitations would therefore entail the contextualizing of the implementation process based on the structures and their proper functioning as documented in the Constitutive Act. In built into the act are good initiatives such as the peer review mechanism that allows for the non-biased review of developmental ideas of member states, but can only function adequately with accompanying policies that would allow for their implementation in an agreed manner. The similarity shared with the EU model should, though faced with its challenges, be not an action taken in vain. It should be taken with the positivity that they were emulated for the benefit of the continent as a whole. Working on the limitations to the full implementation of the AU in line with the EU model to draw from its strengths will only be possible if the structural systems are supported as they need and ought to be.

3.6   The Quest for Pan-Africanism

The Pan-African quest has been one linked to the historical upsurge of liberation movements with one aim – to create a united Africa, one free from colonial influence and equally destined for change in the robust political, social and economic spheres. Dating as far back as the 1930s, visionary African leaders, both in the mainland and diaspora began the march towards a united Africa through Pan-Africanism which was later institutionalized in the organs of the OAU in the 1960s and most presently the AU in the twenty-first century. [152]

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[152] Timothy Murithi; *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism;* Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, (ISS Paper 143, June 2007), 5

The quest for Pan-Africanism is one that has continued even to the present day given the yet to be fully achieved objectives for what it stood for. Marking fifty years in May 2013 following the recognition of the need to have proper coordinating structures for African development as established through the OAU in 1963, Pan-Africanism is still a much sought after ideology by African leaders. That is however not to say that no progress has been made towards this quest; on the contrary, commendable steps have been taken over the years with the vision of creating a developed Africa and continent as a whole, and the current efforts have been made visible with the formation of the African Union operating under the re-branded theme 'Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance'

Pan-Africanism and the African Union

Since the formal inauguration of the AU in Durban (2002), and with the understanding of establishing the "United States of Africa", African leaders embarked on a pathway towards the achievement of the Pan-African vision. Prominently and pursuant to the sixth ordinary session of the Executive Council of AU Ministers in Nigeria, a two day conference themed "Desirability of a Union Government of Africa" held in November 2005 came up with three key recommendations deemed as essential prior to union government establishment; that it must be gradual, it should encompass the African people as opposed to only Heads of States and the emphasis that the RECs be the main building blocks for the continent.[153] Additionally, the forum also identified the committee that looked into possible challenges that a union government would face and appropriate means of handling them. Further, four principles for a prospective union

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[153] Paul G. Adogamhe, *Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development*, (University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, USA), African review of integration vol. 2, no. 2 of July 2008, 2

Africa were defined; it must be one motivated by identified set of goals; these goals must be based on non-negotiable shared values and interests; the goals would determine the rules of the union and that the rules would be based on a strict adherence principle. According to Nigeria's former president, Olusegun Obasanjo who chaired the committee, the main goal of the union was to revolve around the unification of all African people, whether in the mainland or diaspora that would result in transformation and development of the continent as a whole.

Based on these recommendations, the AU commission was mandated by the Assembly to prepare an all inclusive framework that would pave way for the achievement of the proposed union government. The report titled "A Study on an African Union Government: Towards the United States of Africa" was submitted in July 2006[154], and reflected emerging issues such as Africa's overdependence on the external world, the yet to be fully exploited areas in regional, continental and national levels, globalization and its challenges to the continent, strategic areas of focus for the union government, the challenges of harmonizing integration efforts within the AU, RECs and the overall implications that a union government would have on the already existing institutions of the AU.

Positively, a three phase transition towards a union government was proposed; to embark on necessary steps to operationalize the union government; ensuring functionality of all organs within the AU in preparation for this government and the set up of necessary structures at continent, region and state levels. At present day, the challenge that still remains is actualizing these recommendations within the AU context. Maybe there is still no clear understanding of the benefits that would be derived from the union government, maybe it's the lack of commitment

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[154] Report submitted during the 7th Ordinary Session of the AU Assembly in Banjul, Gambia in 2006

and political will. It follows naturally that good initiatives do no implement themselves – they need serious commitment if at all the aspirations of Pan-Africanism are to be realized or face relegation to the likening of its predecessor; a talking club with no concrete action towards implementation of set ideologies.

Challenges and Opportunities

In May 2013, the AU marked the 50th anniversary of the path towards unification in its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia themed "Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance". Question is, does Africa have cause to celebrate any achievements? Has the AU achieved the objectives that have continuously been set even with its transformation? What more needs to be done to get closer to the full attainment of the Pan-African dream? Despite the welcome approach to overhaul the structures that existed within the OAU in an effort to enhance accountability, transparency and more focus on the African people, the AU, just like its predecessor, has had and continues to have its fair share of challenges in its desire to achieve continental unity.[155]

Common to both institutions is the lack of finances that would aid the implementation of the activities of the AU. Many of the countries continue to default in their annual remittances and this subject it to heavy reliance on donor funding as member states often fail to make contributions that would assist in the implementation of their decisions. [156]

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[155] Samuel M. Makinda & F.Wafula Okumu: *The African Union; Challenges of globalization, security and governance* (Routledge, 270 Madison Avenue, New York, 2008) p 199
[156] The Peace and Security Council members took the decision to deploy the AU mission to Somalia (AMISOM) with no accompanying funds resulting in only troops from Burundi and Uganda sent to support the mission, but later joined by the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) integrated into AMISOM relying on financial backing from the United Nations.

The AU still faces challenges in speaking with one voice. This stems from the non adherence to democratic principles as articulated in the Constitutive Act; the absence of strategic thinking becomes the undoing of the member states to the AU. This essentially has the effect of placing into doubt the continent's ability to determine its own destiny, and coupled with the lack of political will and sustained commitment by African leaders, poses a challenge to the realization of this dream.

However, all is not considered lost in the desire to achieve the unification dream. In principle, by virtue of being member states and identifying with the objectives and principles of the AU, African leaders still have the opportunity to make amends and drive forth this process. Institutionally, the right structures exist – what remains is the strategic thinking on how best to achieve the objectives of the union. Accompanying policies to support the structures in place becomes a priority for the continent. Realistic roadmaps should be set and benchmarked on realistic timeliness, with accompanying institutions to measure the impact or progress in the implementation of the objectives of the union.[157]

The AU represents a unification entity and is an illustration of Pan-African principles. Within the context of globalization and the changing economic and political environment, the African continent has the opportunity, given its wide membership, to speak in one voice and gain its recognition as a dominant player in the global arena. This role becomes particularly important given various global actors interests in advancing economic and investment agendas to benefit from the potential that the continent now exudes with emergence of non-traditional partnerships

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[157] Timothy Murithi; *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism;* Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, (ISS Paper 143, June 2007), 6

from the East as in the case of increasing China relations with Africa. Strategic thinking should thus becomes a priority for the AU if the opportunities that are now awash in Africa are to ever benefit the continent as a whole.[158]

Conclusion

The AU has displayed commitment towards the furtherance of the continental unity as shown in the creation of holistic institutions that are solely set for the development of Africa. To avoid being labeled as simply a name change with nothing new to offer to the African continent, it must work on strengthening its existing structures and cultivate the practice of political good will among its members to make that much needed difference in the continent. For Africa to gain in the global sphere, it must stand united as one; solidarity in thoughts, deed and actions towards the realization of the Pan-African dream.

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[158] Jing Men and Benjamin Barton, *China and the European Union in Africa: Partners or Competitors*? (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2013)

CHAPTER FOUR

FROM THE OAU TO THE AU AND THE QUEST FOR PAN-AFRICANISM

4.1 Introduction

The institutionalization of Pan-Africanism has indeed a painstaking journey as has been extensively discussed in chapter three. The focus lay in the progressive structural change from the OAU to the present AU in search of institutions that would well reflect the African dream. As an entrenchment of the unification process, the chapter further analyzed the fundamental role played by regional economic communities as building blocks to the regional integration process and development of Africa as a whole. In the modeling of the AU structure, a comparison was drawn from the European Union model type which the AU is said to have emulated; highlighted were the possibilities as well as limitations of an EU type model AU within the African context.

The quest for Pan-Africanism has undoubtedly been a subject of debate for many scholars and researchers alike given the manner in which it was orchestrated. The resultant effect has been the emergence of several debates that have attempted to explain the unrelenting quest for Pan-Africanism. This chapter will take a critical look at the relevance of those Pan-Africanist debates within the unification concept and their relevance in the twenty first century understanding of Pan-Africanism.

4.2 Emerging Issues

Pan-Africanism and its ideals have long been a debate that has dominated the literature scene with scholars and researchers alike giving a step by step account of the road to the quest for

unity. Judging from the literature and history itself, clear in the minds of these researchers and scholars are the objectives for which Pan-Africanism was formed – for the liberation of Africans from colonial rule and slavery. However, given the transformation from one organization to the next, some of these scholars have formed a different view; that apart from its use as a liberation tool, Pan-Africanism has done little to pursue the African unity agenda for which it was to achieve.

The Relevance of the Pan-Africanist Debates

Linked to continental decolonization efforts in the early 1960s at a period when colonial rule was rife in the African continent, Pan-Africanism was driven by the need to steer Africa forth to the stature of a united continent that focused on prosperity and peace. In understanding the relevance of the Pan-Africanist debates in today's century, it would be critical to analyze whether the movement entrenched in Pan-Africanism was meant to act as a tool to rid the continent of superpower intervention and imperialism, or whether it was one established for the selfish interest of a few distinct African leaders who used imperialism in an attempt to assert themselves as global leaders.[159]

The theoretical thinking behind Pan-Africanism hinged itself on the call for collective self reliance as advanced by Pan-African leaders such as WEB Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere among others. The generational arguments resonate around the drive by African leaders at the time to ensure that countries under colonies became independent as exemplified by Ghana's determination through its leader, Kwame Nkrumah who set the pace for

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[159] Abdul Alkalimat & Associates, *Introduction to Afro-American Studies – A people's college primer* (Twenty-First Century Books & Publications, Chicago, 66th Edition (1984 – 2009), 311

self dependency of states away from colonial chains of bondage. It was through Pan-Africanism that the necessity for political will towards the realization of African unity as depicted through liberation struggles led by leaders such as Sekou Toure, Abdel Nasser and Kwame Nkrumah was first acknowledged. Their contribution towards the Pan-African agenda was evidently displayed through their involvement, whether morally or materially to African countries still fighting to gain their independence. However, in the present day, this seems to be a lacking quality in dire need of restoration if the unity concept is to be achieved.

Arguably for some scholars, Pan-Africanism in itself only served to represent how complex black politics can be. This changed in accordance to the focus whether it be politically, culturally or even difference in ideology. One thing that however stood with certainty was what it represented; the sharing of a common history and destiny by African people in the continent and diaspora. From that point on, there seem to be a divergence of views on the real aim of Pan-Africanism.[160] In arguing that Pan-Africanism cannot be related to only one objective, the liberation of the African continent, Immanuel Wallerstein opined that Pan-Africanism was a term that was used to define different movements and aimed to address distinct issues; to fight racial discrimination, and support political protests of African leaders who considered themselves as more of nationalists than liberalists.[161] The author's line of argument was pegged on the understanding that the unity call was just but a secondary cause for the liberation fight, and that it was rather driven by the selfish interests of leaders who saw it as a tool of acquiring the status of 'leaders of the developing world' ruling a self-established kingdom. For Kwame Nkrumah, the

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[160] Ackah, William B. Pan-Africanism: *Exploring the Contradictions, Politics, Identity and Development in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Ashgate Publishers, 1999) Brookfield
[161] Wallerstein, Immanuel, Africa: *The politics of independence* (New York, Vintage Books 1961), 103

idea of having a union government seemed the only way out for the liberation of the continent from colonial rule. However, not many African leaders were enthusiastic with this approach leading to divergent views from two blocs; the Casablanca (which supported political unity) and Monrovia group with the latter dispelling his idea and opting for a more gradual approach (economic cooperation). Added to the suspicion was the hegemonic political ambition by Ghana through Nkrumah to eventually become the president of Africa. [162]

Not only were African leaders opposed to Nkrumah's idea of a union government, but the western powers felt uneasy. Given that his idea came at a time when the cold war was at its peak, and the idea of nationalists was not one acknowledged or accepted, especially given the fact that these nations largely benefitted from Africa's resources.[163]A union government for them meant that they would lose grip of control of the African economy and therefore marginalization of the African continent remained an important aspect in the continued control over the African economy without the interference of nationalists who would water down their strategic hold of the continent. One thing that is clear from the line of argument by scholars is the need to make a distinction between nationalism and Pan-Africanism.[164] On the one hand, Pan-Africanism which dates back to the 1900s is linked to the Pan-African congresses initiated by Henry Sylvester Williams as a means to bring closer persons of African descent spread across the world. [165] The tenets upon which this was founded emphasized that regardless of geographical location or

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[162] Agbi S.O., *The OAU and African Diplomacy* (Ibadan, Impack Publishers, 1986), 117

[163] Aremu Johnson Olaosebikan, *Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government*, African Journal of Political Science and International Relations Vol. 5 (4), (April 2011),224 accessed August 2013 http://www.academicjournals.org/ajpsir/pdf/pdf2011/May/Olaosebikan.pdf

[164] Kwame Nantambu, *Pan-Africanism versus Pan-African nationalism; An Afro centric Analysis*, Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 28 No. 5, (May 1998), 561-574

[165] Celebrated for his contribution in sparking the global thinking of the need for African people to address issues of exploitation by colonial forces.

proximity, African people were part of a single family in the continent having a shared culture, identity and devotion to the solidarity and unity of those Africans in an environment free from imperialism. The theory of African nationalism however recognized itself as a political ideology with no accepted standards of what constituted right or wrong and who would categorize a political ideology – in short, it was a 'free for all' field dependant on who could best promote a sellable political idea or notion to the multitudes.[166] This was the quagmire in which Kwame Nkrumah for instance found himself as his promotion of Pan-Africanism conflicted with that of nationalism, leading to his defeat of the union of Africa proposal.

There is no doubt in the thinking of scholars and researchers that the resultant effect of Pan-Africanism was the revolutionary unity struggle aimed at fighting imperialism and rightfully categorized as a 'reactionary response' to imperialism with the aim of securing the total independence of African states within the continent from colonial rule. Nationalism on the other hand was regarded as that force that drove the movement of Pan-Africanism and its concentration lay on the leadership aspects guided by political factors prone to continuous change. This eventually led to what was termed as a 'rebellion of masses' in the 1960s which witnessed an upsurge of African leaders who intended to promote the culture of a unifying factors, although marred by the misconception of African leaders that equated it to political unity as in the case of Nkrumah as highlighted in the discussions above.[167]

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[166] Sabelo Sibanda, *Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism; putting the African nation in context*. In Pan-Africanism/African Nationalism; *Strengthening the Unity of Africa and its Diaspora*, eds. Bankie Forster Bankie & K. Mchombu, (Red Sea Press Inc. Edition, 2008), 237 - 238
[167] Ibid, Abdul Alkalimat & Associates, p. 313

It is most certain that one cannot underestimate the relevance of these debates especially in the twenty first century. Given the circumstances, one thing that researchers in this field do agree upon is that there would be not much change in reasoning in what led to the rise of Pan-Africanism for it provided an eventual avenue to achieve the greatest of all objectives – freedom from colonial rule and injustices committed to Africans spread across the continent enforceable through African solidarity. Any other interest other than this is regarded contrary to the aims of the movement.

The 'Look East' Policy: Neo-colonialism or True Partnership?

Customarily, Western Europe has, since the colonial era, been the biggest trading partner in the African continent – this scenario has since changed. The African continent has witnessed rising interest groups with the emergence of foreign trading partners especially in the East that includes China, a situation that has opened avenues for a practical approach to Pan-Africanism with the view of advancing mutual interests.

Nkrumah defined neo-colonialism as "the political and economic partnership between Africa's ruling class and western leaders that resulted in the siphoning of Africa's wealth to the disadvantage of its people".[168] In examining and establishing whether this engagements translate to neo-colonialism or whether symbolic of partnership, this discussion will look at the case of China and what is now fast becoming known as the 'second scramble for Africa' in forged Sino-African relations. The starting point of this analysis will be drawn from an interview excerpt in which Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania openly spoke about neo-colonialism asserting that;

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[168] Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, (London 1965), 30

"It seems that independence of the former colonies has suited the interests of the industrial world for bigger profits at less cost. Independence made it cheaper for them to exploit us. We became neo-colonies. Some African leaders did not realize it. In fact many argued against Kwame (Nkrumah)'s idea of neo-colonialism. The majority of countries in Africa and the rest of the South are hamstrung by debt, by the IMF. We have too much debt now. It is a heavy burden, a trap. It is debilitating. We must have a new chance. If we doubled our production and debt-servicing capabilities we would still have no money for anything extra like education or development. It is immoral. It is an affront. The conditions and policies of the World Bank and the IMF are to enable countries to pay debt not to develop. That is all! Let us argue the moral case'. Let us create a new liberation movement to free us from immoral debt and neo-colonialism. This is one way forward. The other way is through Pan-African unity".[169]

Africa is a continent rich in resources, a fact acknowledged by the Western European countries. The attention is grabbing even the least thought of countries to the East, more specifically China.[170] Chinese investments in Africa has continued to take the world by storm, and its Western competitors like the United States of America have associated this motivation by China as pulled from the desire by Beijing to exploit resources within the continent of Africa.

Figuratively, China and Africa reached a trading record of US$ 160billion in 2011, with investments at US$13billion. Subsequently, in 2012, China promised a sum of US$ 20 billion worth of investments to African countries, a move that elicited the criticisms by the world's largest player and global super power, the United States that unequivocally urged African countries to evaluate their partnerships with countries to ward off those whose sole intention was

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[169]   Ikaweba   Bunting,   'Julius   Nyerere   on   anti-colonialism',   September   20,   2004 http://www.assatashakur.org/forum/shoulders-our-freedom-fighters/643-heart-africa-interview-julius-nyerere-anti-colonialism.html
[170] Robert I. Rotberg, *China's Quest for Resources, Opportunities and Influence in Africa,* in China into Africa; Trade, Aid and Influence, ed Robert I. Rotberg (Brooking Institution Press, 2009) pp 1 - 21

to exploit the resource rich continent.[171] The question that then begs is, why the sudden close cooperation between Africa and China, and what does this cooperation mean for Africa?

<u>Why the concentration on the East?</u>

China has been categorized as one of the emerging greater economies ostensibly falling under the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), a group that represents newly industrialized and developing nations of the world. They are now labeled as the 'gang of five' strongly led by China mooted for a race to conquer Africa's resources, scrambling for projects in Africa in an attempt to 'transform Africa's business fortunes' – they have now become Africa's largest group of investors and trading partners.[172]Most recently, the Chinese interaction with Africa has been the main focus arousing interest in the world domain today. China stands criticized for the extractive and exploitative nature of its relationship with countries within the African continent and the sometimes poor quality of its work in the construction contracts it undertakes. Despite the criticisms, African countries continue to enthusiastically embrace Chinese resources and investments perhaps owing to the flexibility of relations and non-imposition of conditions in countries they trade with, as does the Chinese government continue to dominate projects in Africa that provide an open avenue for the importation of readily available Chinese labour. [173]

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[171] Beb Blanchard, *China strengthens Africa ties with $20billion in loans*, Reuters, July 19, 2012, accessed July 2013 http://www.reuters.co'm/article/2012/07/19/us-China-africa-idUSBRE86I03O20120719

[172] Jevans Nyabiage, *"Gang of five' primes guns on Africa's massive wealth"*, The Standard, April 2, 2013, 4

[173] Mamta Badkar, All of the big Chinese investments in Africa since 2010, Business insider, last accessed August 13, 2012, http://www.businessinsider.com/map-chinese-investments-in-africa-2012-8

Historically, Africa's relations with China dates back to the colonial era in the 1960s at a time when China was viewed as a sympathizer and supporter for independent movements in Africa against colonialism and imperialism. By then, China begun to adopt a political stand towards African countries and developed policies that incorporated the African continent. It was then that China's resolve to provide aid to African countries begun in earnest.[174] As China continued to support the African countries, it developed sour relationships with the western countries leading to its isolation in the 1980s, forcing it to re-evaluate its foreign policies; perhaps this was the moment that marked the start of the 'love-hate' relationship between countries in the East and the West as they grappled to attain economic recognition.

At the turn of the century, the then president of China Jiang Zemin put forth a 'five point proposal' that would act as a long term development plan of relations with African countries, a plan that culminated in the Beijing 2000 forum for China-Africa cooperation that was to enhance economic trade and cooperation between China and Africa. It equally signaled the beginning of political (through diplomatic cooperation), social (through development assistance programmes and provision of skilled labour) and economic (geared towards investments and financial cooperation) interaction between the two countries. With growing trade volumes and the numerous investments opportunities it has made in Africa since 2010 (see annex 1), China took its global position as the second largest trade partner as the United States of America held firmly to the dominating force in trade. [175]

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[174] In the 1970s, China did not have a strong economy, but nevertheless, gave aid worth approximately US$2.5billion to 36 African countries in addition to sending skilled labour to undertake infrastructure projects such as the building of the 1860 kilometer Tanzania-Zambia railway

[175] Between 2000 and 2008, trading volumes grew at a rapid pace from US$10.5billion in 2000 to US$ 106.8billion in 2008

The African tendency to 'look East' has been a concept that has been driven by the huge potential that the continent now exhibits as a useful and strategic partner in trade and the natural resources that it boasts off. One would then ask, could China be strategizing to assert itself as a dominant leader of the developing world through its continued relations with Africa as a key partner to its development? Does the cancellation of debts owed by developing countries to China constitute acts of diplomacy or a tool for its continued rise in the global arena? [176] - perhaps this could be classified as an issue of imperialism re-defined in the name of neo-colonialism, given the unlimited investment opportunities that seem to be floating Africa's way. The West has been very vocal in its continued criticism of China's interaction with Africa perceiving it as self-interest driven and neo-colonialist. Question is, is the increased business and trade relations between China and Africa reflective of neo-colonialism or does it border on true partnership? What exactly motivates China to trade with Africa?

For one, the continent provides a ready source of raw materials, overseas direct investments & export Markets. China views Africa as a crucial partner given its rich resources in the continent. It benefits from the natural resources in Africa to boost its economy, more so particularly gas and oil, and it is therefore not surprising that it would secure the partnership of countries rich in those materials to sustain its growing economy. Additionally, exports to Africa in the form of goods and proceeds from overseas direct investments play an equally vital role in supporting and sustaining economic reforms and economic development in China.

Positively, by engaging with China, scholars perceive that Africa has considerably gained from employment opportunities to unskilled workers thus improving their livelihoods and imparting

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[176] Chris Alden, *China in Africa; Partner, Competitor or Hegemony?* (Zed Books Co., London 2007) pp. 37 - 50

skills especially in much needed developments within the continent such as infrastructure necessary for enhancement of trade links geared towards boosting the economy. However, on the flipside, China has been criticized for the continued imbalance of trade with African nations.[177] The benefits of this trade are seen to lean heavily towards China, tilting the balance between imports from vis a vie exports to China from countries within the African continent. Kenya, for instance, has been marked as being at a disadvantageous position when statistically in 2011, exports to Kenya from China were valued at US$ 2.8billion as opposed to exports to China from Kenya that was estimated a US$ 4.6billion.[178] Its political interaction has been criticized in equal measure given the negative actions it perpetuates such as incitement in country political affairs as was seen in its alleged involvement in the 2005 election in Zimbabwe when they were accused of propelling propaganda prior to the elections.[179]

Prominently featuring on the negative attributes of Africa's engagement with China is the impact of their activities on the environment as well as the poor quality jobs and labour conditions offered to natives of African countries where Chinese investments are rife. Africa has also been categorized as being unjust to itself even where matters of a populations' food security is concerned. Considering that the continent has been greatly affected by climatic changes that have often led to food insecurity, and with cases of food deficits being reported, rich agricultural land that can feed the masses has often been reported as sold or leased off to foreign countries.

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[177] The balance of trade is the difference between the monetary value of exports and imports in an economy over a certain period of time. A positive balance of trade is known as a trade surplus and occurs when value of exports is higher than that of imports; a negative balance of trade is known as a trade deficit or a trade gap – definition as per trading economics http://english.caixin.com/2012-12-03/100468135.html

[178] Gitahi Ngunyi, *Will Uhuru tame trade imbalance between Kenya and China? The* People last accessed on August 20,2013 http://www.thepeople.co.ke/16180/will-uhuru-tame-trade-imbalance-between-kenya-and-China/

[179] Jennifer L. Parenti, China-Africa Relations in the 21st Century, Joint Force Quarterly issue 52 (January, 2009) , accessed August, 2013 www.ndu.edu/press/lib/images/jfq-52/23.pdf

Tanzania did, for instance secretly sell off part of its land to foreign countries, among them China in trading deals as illustrated in the map attached (see annex 2) , a move that had security analysts and humanitarian organizations express that this practice would in future lead to food insecurity, conflict and instability in countries.[180] Debates abound, the argument is that the relationship between Africa and China seems to reflect one of present day neo-colonialism, only that it is neatly packaged and wrapped in a manner that could be equally deceiving if not critically evaluated.

One would therefore question, does China for instance hold genuine interest in the development of Africa or is this interest generated by the resources that Africa holds? What would Africa do to ensure that it remains an equal and not exploited or under-hand partner in doing business with foreign investors? For one, any African country intending to engage in relations with foreign countries ought to have in place solid strategies for development that will ensure a mutually beneficial relationship between countries. A first look would involve looking at the foreign policies between the two trading countries for integrative purposes. Legal frameworks need to be enhanced and put in place to ensure that Africa gets its rightful benefits when trading with other countries, more so in potential industries such as mining and natural resource extraction, trade and agriculture, just but to mention a few; perhaps this remains the weak link that any trading partner looking to engage in business in the continent have realized and capitalized on.[181]

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[180] Kigambo Gaaki, *Tanzania signs off huge tracts of land to foreign investors in secret deals*, The East African, May 12 2012, http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Tanzania+leads+East+Africa+in+secretive+land+sell+offs/-/2558/1404428/-/y8qxhoz/-/index.html

[181] Chris Alden, *China in Africa; Partner, Competitor or Hegemony?* (Zed Books Co., London 2007) pp. 52 -55

Not only would it be important to have strategies in place for trade and development, but the aspect of human capital is equally important. The impartation of skills by African countries needs to be harnessed to also equip their countries skill base and make it more marketable and valuable for its people. African countries should invest in having policy 'think-tanks', researchers and review mechanisms that would constantly monitor and affirm strategic avenues for partnerships that would serve as valuable information that would define future partnerships beneficial to them. [182]The overall understanding should emanate from the fact that it needs to have in place its own strategies independent from economic development plans that countries, whether from the East or West present as an agenda for Africa. The Western countries, which for a long time dominated the trading scene with African countries, now seem jittery with African nations now 'looking east' for business. Observing the trends, it is quite evident that a second scramble for Africa is at play, with foreign countries tripping all over themselves to at least get a piece of Africa – the reason? Africa has great economic prospect and should therefore not be drawn in as a battlefield for shift in power balance of the larger economies of the world.[183]

While basking in the attention, Africa should not sit back and be mesmerized by the current scenario playing out itself. This is the time Africa should get its act together and forge for strategic partnerships that would boost its standings and gain its recognition. Opportunity dictates that the greatest strength lies in the integration of Africa as one economic entity for greater bargaining power. It's time for Africa to come up with strong policies and frameworks

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[182] Timothy Murithi; Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism; Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, (ISS Paper 143, June 2007), 11
[183] Obadias Ndaba, *Why China will not solve Africa's problems,* The African Executive, August 15, 2012 last accessed August 2013 http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazine/articles.php?article=6753

that ensure it becomes an equal partner in trade, and the only way to do so is to stand together in solidarity.

The Pan-African Agenda in the 21st Century

The month of May 2013 was symbolic to the African continent as it marked fifty years since the formation of institutions that would pursue the African unity agenda, now encompassed in the AU. At the summit held at its headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, various African leaders representing their countries deliberated on the significant role that Pan-Africanism had played in the five decades since its formal institutionalization in the OAU and its continuity in shaping the future of Africa. According to the sitting chair of the AU, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, the need for deliberations stem from the understanding that Africa owed its progression to Pan-Africanism and there was therefore need to propel it further towards an integrated and prosperous continent.

The Pan-African agenda today is represented in the form of the AU and denotes a stage of 'self renewal'. With its transformation from its predecessor, the OAU, it was envisaged that there would be an invigorated and dynamic union that would rise to the challenges of the twenty-first century.[184] The OAU faced numerous challenges that included its lack of economic power to enforce integration in Africa, as well as its inability to satisfactorily curb conflict in the continent owing to its own created limitation of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states. With the formation of the AU in 2002, the objectives of the OAU were adopted albeit with changes, with more emphasis placed on the promotion of human rights, issues of conflict through

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[184] J.M. Biswaro, *The Quest for Regional Integration in the Twenty First Century*: Rhetoric versus Reality; A Comparative Study (Tanzania Publishing House Limited, 2005) , 295

the establishment of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) that saw the introduction of the peacekeeping force within the AU.[185]

Since its formation, the AU has not been without its fair share of challenges. Although well placed to drive forth the Pan-African agenda, and given its instrumental role in the creation of structures to address the challenges that plagued the OAU, there has been minimal political commitment by African leadership to follow through with the ideals of the institution. Rather than concentrate on building regional cooperation and integration, these leaders have been driven at times by their own agenda's, and the AU has been relegated to the position of a talking shop with no action whether in terms of policies or strategic planning to accompany the intentions of the AU. This leads to important questions as to whether the AU has really been instrumental in guiding the continent towards Pan-Africanism. After fifty years in search of Pan-Africanism, is there any significant change that the organization has brought forth? Political stability and security has been cited as one of the core reasons for which the EU, albeit its challenges, has remained a strong integration force. Unfortunately for Africa, the continent is still relatively unstable with cases of inter and intra-state conflicts as well as rebel insurgencies that are yet to be curtailed.[186]

On a positive note, despite its rather slow progression towards development, the AU can be credited for its shifting focus in development and integration efforts. Without a doubt, the idea of Pan-Africanism is noble – perhaps lacking is the way in which it has been implemented that has led to its' slow pace of progression. The thinking in this research is that though there are positive

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[185] Terry M. Mays, *Historical Dictionary of Multinational Peacekeeping, Third Edition* (Scarecrow Press Inc., United Kingdom, 2011), 40
[186] Paul D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity Press, Cambridge United Kingdom, 2011) pp. 16 - 18

aspects to be considered with the existence of the AU, the continental organization still has a lot of issues on its plate to grapple with. For one, for the continent to largely benefit from the investments abundant and within its reach, there must be strategic thinking on continental investment as opposed to individual countries negotiating for better terms for themselves. This would require the expedited set up of infrastructure that continues to hamper positive economic prospects for the continent; what would need to be put in place are progressive economic and social policies that would support the process towards developmental growth for Africa.[187]

Additionally, issues such as governance and democracy in countries must be given the true attention they deserve. The creation of the docket of the African peer review mechanism was seen as a positive move towards addressing these issues, but the extent to which they are applied is still questionable, given that African leaders tend to stay away from 'auditing' or keeping tabs on their fellow African leaders, and instead condone actions contrary to the governance principles. How then can the citizen of a country for example or the continent as a whole have faith in the leadership and structure of the institution of the AU if it fails to adhere to its own regulations? This would definitely hinder any integration prospects as the role of the AU will stand undermined. Only until the AU faces these factors head on will it move Africa forward.[188]

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[187] Timothy Murithi; *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism;* Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, (ISS Paper 143, June 2007), 11

[188] Diedre L. Badejo, *The African Union* (Infobase Publishing, New York, 2008), 36

Conclusion

The constant debates on Pan-Africanism have continued to play an important role in the quest for Pan-Africanism. The African continent is abuzz with foreign investment opportunities from not only the traditional Western Europe type interest, but a new and potentially dominant foreign partner in the East. The so called second scramble for Africa provides endless opportunities for the continent today and the AU seems to have its work cut out for it. As Africa celebrates fifty years since the formal institutionalization of Pan-Africanism, it would be important that it take note of not only the challenges it has faced, but the opportunities that the unity concept provides for Africans as a whole. At the risk of being labeled a talking shop as its predecessor, the AU must deeply reflect on ways of placing the continent in a strategic position by ensuring that it puts in place stronger mechanisms that would serve to develop the continent and eventually achieve the unity purpose as set out by previous Pan-African leaders of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1   Summary

This study has holistically reviewed the reasoning behind and contextualized what Africans refer to as Pan-Africanism today. There exists a plethora of literature today on Pan-Africanism, an indication of the knowledge demand the research area exhibits, with various scholars providing in-depth analysis of what exactly the unity call involved and the attention it drew. As an equal researcher, there is a clear understanding as to why the subject area of research drew a lot of attention; Pan-Africanism is an ideology that seems to stir the will to achieve some purpose, not only for self, but for multitudes.

Chapter one of the study lay the foundation of this rather interesting topic by introducing the study in its entirety, drawing the attention of the audience to the subject at hand; a critical assessment of the quest for Pan-Africanism. Within this framework and with the support of existing literature, the ideology of continental unity was briefly explored and found to be grounded in the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism set forth in the formation of critical institutions first with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the now recognized continental body, the African Union (AU).[189] To therefore better grasp the functioning of the two institutions that embodied the African unity concept, this chapter took an in-depth look at their applicability, limitations and opportunities for the continent given the global attention that the continent now attracts.

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[189] Timothy Murithi; *Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism;* Transforming African Union values and principles into policy and practice, (ISS Paper 143, June 2007)

Chapter two gave a step by step background of the African unity realization process detailing the rigorous attempts made towards the institutionalization of Pan-Africanism through defined structures and systems. This was explored by first understanding how these institutions came into being and eventually the reasoning behind the transformation of these institutions while keeping in mind the quest for Pan-Africanism. The OAU for instance, was found to be wanting in terms of pushing the unity agenda for Africa. A look into the role and objectives of this particular institution brought out the reason why it eventually failed, and led to its eventual transformation into the African Union (AU). In understanding the reasoning behind this transformation, the study established what necessitated the change, and pointed out what were thought to be the particular areas of weakness that prompted it adoption as the reformed African unity symbol.[190]

Chapter three delved into the main study component of this study that of critiqued the quest for Pan-Africanism. Emerging from the discussions was the realization of the rather long and treacherous path that accompanied Pan-African attempts as early as the 1900s, resulting in the advent of staunch leaders who vocalized and drove the process for unification of African people. This process culminated in the formation of institutions, with the main focus being the African Union (AU) that was regarded as a reformed institution ready to deal with the challenges faced by its predecessor, the OAU as had been highlighted in the foregoing chapter. In recognition of these challenges therefore, the AU had more definitive structures and organs. The role of the regional economic communities (RECs) stood out as a strong and solid basis for integration efforts in Africa, and was acknowledged as the appropriate channel through which Africa can

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[190] Lawrence Agubuzu, *From the OAU to AU:* The Challenges of African Unity and Development in the Twenty-first Century (University of Michigan, 2008)

strongly unite.[191]In the creation of the AU, the European Union (EU) model became the guiding framework through which the AU sort to address present day challenges of the African continent. In as much as the AU is said to be 'loosely modeled' around the EU structure, this chapter equally assessed the pros and cons of the emulation of this structure within the African context, and finally articulated the current quest for Pan-Africanism as institutionalized in the African Union.[192]

Chapter Four ultimately focused on the emerging debates surrounding Pan-Africanism. These debates were instrumental in shaping the Pan-African agenda to what it is today. Traditionally, African countries have developed partnerships with the West, but with the advent of the twenty-first century, there has been a gradual shift in strategic thinking, with more African countries now choosing to look East in a bid to advance development agendas in Africa. This has equally raised questions as to whether these relationships may be taking the continent into neo-colonialism, disguised as beneficial development for the African continent.[193] As such, these debates have remained relevant even with the advent of the twenty first century recognition of globalization as a key factor to the changing dynamics in the African context. The relevance of Pan-Africanism became even more important as emphasized in the celebration of fifty years of the unification process in the current institution, the AU, with the hope that this defined the opportune moment for Africa to take control of its destiny.

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[191] Bruce Clifford Ross – Larson, *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa II*: Rationalizing Regional Economic Communities (United Nations Publications, 2006)

[192] Said Adejumobi & Adebayo Olukoshi: *The African Union and new strategies for development in Africa* (Cambia Press, 2008)

[193] Chris Alden, China in Africa; Partner, Competitor or Hegemony? (Zed Books Co., London 2007)

5.2   Key Findings

Throughout this study, the development agenda dominated the focus of integration forces in Africa. The key towards continental unity was emphasized in the need to establish pertinent institutions and infrastructure that would support economic and political integration of the continent.

The institutionalization of Pan-Africanism has a long history in the continent, and the founding leaders had, though not properly planned, a good an attainable vision for Africa. What was interesting is the manner in which this dream was slowly watered down in terms of drawing divergent views on the what constitutes Pan-Africanism, as it was the case that nationalism and Pan-Africanism were mistaken to be one and the same thing as highlighted in the various scholarly debates presented in the previous chapter. Probably that is where the confusion of the unity dream begun when there was failure to separate continental interest from individual political interest. As such, both the OAU and AU have faced the same criticisms – the labeling as a 'talking shop' still persists even as the continent marked fifty years since the formation of these unity institutions.[194]

The OAU was formed as a compromise to these views, and once in place, there seemed to be a shift by African leaders on what constituted unity. The first failures and challenges to the OAU presented themselves in the manner in which the objectives were set. Did the African leaders at this point now become their own colonial masters?

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[194] Joram Mukoma Biswaro: *Perspectives of Africa's Integration and Cooperation from the Organization of African Unity to the African Union;* 'Old wine in New Bottle?' (Tanzania Publishing House Limited, 2005)

Financial strain is an element that has often led to the lack of proper functioning of the key organs of institutions as was established in the OAU and AU. While African leaders converged at summits to discuss issues critical to the development agenda for the continent, the financing of this agenda was a lacking component, given that the African leaders themselves failed to honor their contributions to finance the institutions owing to incidences of poverty, underdevelopment and conflicts – diverse economic prowess of African countries. [195].

Did Africa really free itself from colonialism, or is it back like a boomerang, this time in the form of neo-colonialism? The main agenda behind the formation of the OAU was to rid the continent of colonial rule. It was felt that Africa was continually being exploited, given its wealth in resources as colonialists turned wealthy owing to their heavy investments within the continent.[196]Today, the contention remains that even with the advent of the AU, Africa seems to still be under a new form of colonialism under the guise of 'strategic partnerships' classified as neo-colonialism, most notably with the China-Africa relationship taking centre stage in the twenty-first century.[197]

The African Union does present a second chance for Africa to redeem itself and pursue its unity agenda in a collective manner. While acknowledging that it has made strategic efforts towards advancing development in the continent, it still falls short of being labeled a talking shop, just like its predecessor if it fails to put its words into meaningful action towards pursuing a continental agenda. What is evident is that Pan-Africanism does still exist in the twenty-first

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[195] David Mackenzie*: A world beyond borders,* An Introduction to the history of International Organizations (University of Toronto Press, 2010) p. 98
[196] Ojo Olatunde, D.K. Orwa and C.M.B. Utete: *Regional Cooperation and Integration* (London, Longman Publishers, 1985)
[197] David H. Shinn and Joshua Eisenman, *China and Africa: A Century of Engagement* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

century, and the AU rightly recognizes it's so much so that it themed the fifty year celebration 'Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance' – it remains to be seen whether the next fifty years will be a turning point for the continent.

5.3   Recommendations

The notion of continental unity is not a unique phenomenon to Africa; fifty years ago, the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism set a vision to free the continent and effectively empower Africans across the continent to embrace unity that would lead to self reliance and development. That vision still remains alive today as embodied in the structures and institution of the AU.

But has the AU lived up to its expectations of liberalizing the continent? While it has made progressive steps in achieving the unity vision, much of its objectives towards full attainment of African unity still remain on paper – riding high on its list of criticisms include inter-alia its inability to contain wars and conflicts, poor natural resource management strategies, corruptive practices, failure to adopt systems such as single currencies, passport for movement of goods and labour across borders and lack of legislative instruments to advance the women and youth agenda.

Noteworthy is the current Pan-African debate that presents an opportune moment for the continent to confront some of the key challenges facing it, among them the lack of political will by African leaders to push forward the unity agenda. The argument for this is grounded on the fact that it is this will that would drive African leaders to put in place appropriate strategies that would be beneficial to the economic and development agenda of the continent. What the AU

currently can be credited for is the robust nature of its institutional structures that are defined to deal with various elements in creating a continent in solidarity. Application of a different approach, possibly tacitly adopting the EU functioning system and learning more from it could enable Africa draw from these experiences to drive a more appropriate socio-economic agenda. [198]

Perhaps equally lacking is the visibility of the activities of the AU. For the wider populace, the AU is more associated with a group of leaders who do not entirely articulate the union agenda. As such, it has been perceived as a club of the elite, not representative of the people it is to advocate for better conditions for. While the AU has created room for representation of the women, youth and civil societies within its organs, it is essential that the groups are utilized as a possible and more effective avenue of informing the masses on the need to take ownership of the institution and be its watchdog. As it stands, this approach is all theoretical, and there is therefore need to ensure that citizens of this country are represented, even if in small groups to direct the working of the institution.

Continentally, the AU ought to look for areas of convergence that can help build on their current strengths and improve on the challenging areas. This would require the adoption of appropriate policies that would support the organs within the AU, the outcome of which will create confidence among its people and deepen their faith in the institution, processes and systems as well as front strong bargaining positions with foreign investors whose interest have now been

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[198] Anthony Otieno Ong'ayo, *Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance; More questions than answers as the African Union celebrates 50 years,* Pambazuka News, Issue no. 631 accessed May 22 2013 http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/87490

turned to the continent. Africa stands at a strong and influential position in the global world today, and holds the power within its grasp to transform its own destiny. With the AU and its emphasis on solidarity through integration, Africa seems well on its way to full achievement of the Pan-African unity dream, for only when Africa's people are united can Pan-African unity be sustained.

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Z.Cervanka, *The Unfinished Quest for Unity: African and the OAU* (London, Friedman, 1977) pps. 2-6

ANNEX 1: Chinese Investments in Africa
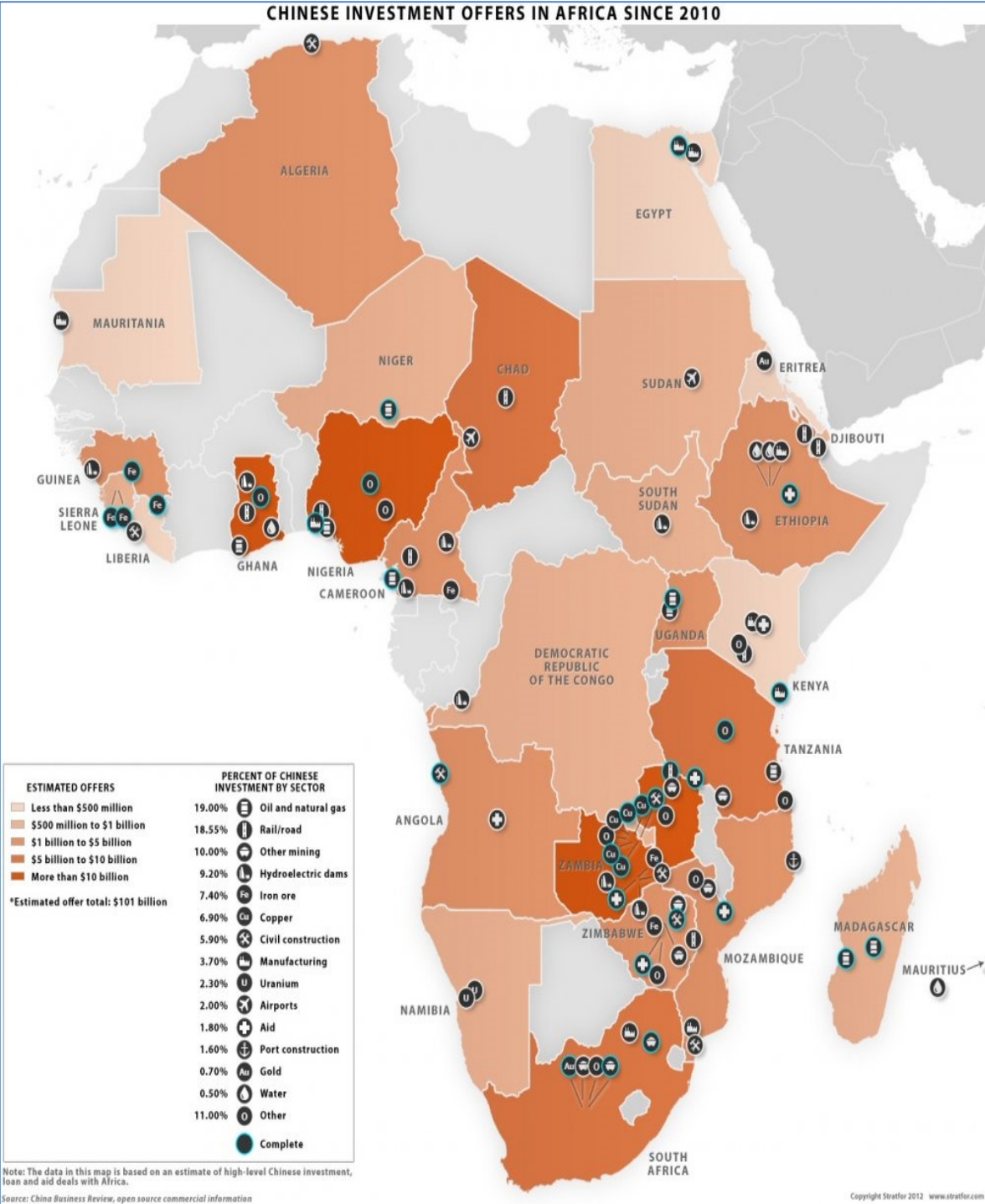
Source: China Business Review: http://anzetsewere.wordpress.com/2012/12/11/

The 21st-century African land rush

Worldwide, up to 115 million acres of farmland are leased to foreign investors, and the bulk of that is in Africa. Food security and the push to produce biofuels drive the land rush. This map shows a sampling of reported land deals in Africa.
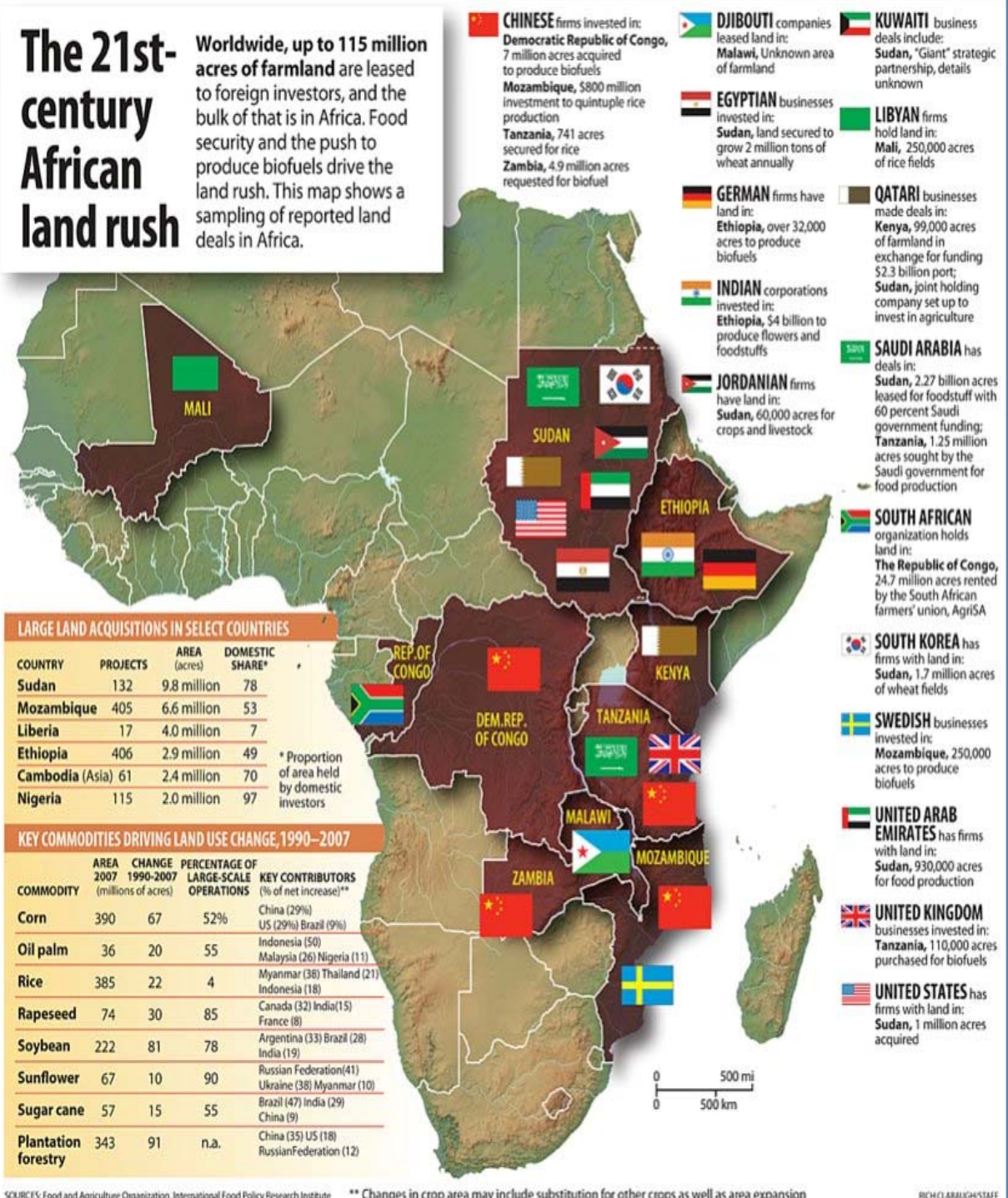
CHINESE firms invested in:
Democratic Republic of Congo, 7 million acres acquired to produce biofuels
Mozambique, $800 million investment to quintuple rice production
Tanzania, 741 acres secured for rice
Zambia, 4.9 million acres requested for biofuel

DJIBOUTI companies leased land in:
Malawi, Unknown area of farmland

EGYPTIAN businesses invested in:
Sudan, land secured to grow 2 million tons of wheat annually

GERMAN firms have land in:
Ethiopia, over 32,000 acres to produce biofuels

INDIAN corporations invested in:
Ethiopia, $4 billion to produce flowers and foodstuffs

JORDANIAN firms have land in:
Sudan, 60,000 acres for crops and livestock

KUWAITI business deals include:
Sudan, "Giant" strategic partnership, details unknown

LIBYAN firms hold land in:
Mali, 250,000 acres of rice fields

QATARI businesses made deals in:
Kenya, 99,000 acres of farmland in exchange for funding $2.3 billion port;
Sudan, joint holding company set up to invest in agriculture

SAUDI ARABIA has deals in:
Sudan, 2.27 billion acres leased for foodstuff with 60 percent Saudi government funding;
Tanzania, 1.25 million acres sought by the Saudi government for food production

SOUTH AFRICAN organization holds land in:
The Republic of Congo, 24.7 million acres rented by the South African farmers' union, AgriSA

SOUTH KOREA has firms with land in:
Sudan, 1.7 million acres of wheat fields

SWEDISH businesses invested in:
Mozambique, 250,000 acres to produce biofuels

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES has firms with land in:
Sudan, 930,000 acres for food production

UNITED KINGDOM businesses invested in:
Tanzania, 110,000 acres purchased for biofuels

UNITED STATES has firms with land in:
Sudan, 1 million acres acquired

LARGE LAND ACQUISITIONS IN SELECT COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	PROJECTS	AREA (acres)	DOMESTIC SHARE*
Sudan	132	9.8 million	78
Mozambique	405	6.6 million	53
Liberia	17	4.0 million	7
Ethiopia	406	2.9 million	49
Cambodia (Asia)	61	2.4 million	70
Nigeria	115	2.0 million	97

* Proportion of area held by domestic investors

KEY COMMODITIES DRIVING LAND USE CHANGE, 1990–2007

COMMODITY	AREA 2007 (millions of acres)	CHANGE 1990-2007	PERCENTAGE OF LARGE-SCALE OPERATIONS	KEY CONTRIBUTORS (% of net increase)**
Corn	390	67	52%	China (29%) US (29%) Brazil (9%)
Oil palm	36	20	55	Indonesia (50) Malaysia (26) Nigeria (11)
Rice	385	22	4	Myanmar (38) Thailand (21) Indonesia (18)
Rapeseed	74	30	85	Canada (32) India (15) France (8)
Soybean	222	81	78	Argentina (33) Brazil (28) India (19)
Sunflower	67	10	90	Russian Federation (41) Ukraine (38) Myanmar (10)
Sugar cane	57	15	55	Brazil (47) India (29) China (9)
Plantation forestry	343	91	n.a.	China (35) US (18) Russian Federation (12)

SOURCES: Food and Agriculture Organization, International Food Policy Research Institute
** Changes in crop area may include substitution for other crops as well as area expansion
RICH CLABAUGH/STAFF