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# The Spirit is Willing, But the Flesh is Weak: Contemporary Pan-Africanism and The Challenges to A United States of Africa

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**The Spirit is Willing, But the Flesh is Weak: Contemporary Pan-Africanism and The Challenges to A United States of Africa**

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University of San Francisco  
Master's in International Studies  
Thesis

The Spirit is Willing, But the Flesh is Weak: Contemporary Pan-Africanism and The Challenges  
to A United States of Africa

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS  
in  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

by Adesola A. Adeyemo

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Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis  
project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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**Abstract:**

Establishing a '*United States of Africa*' to the average individual is deemed as a mythical idea in contemporary Africa, irrespective of the popularity of this idea several years ago. Today, the idea is idealized as overambitious – considering the balkanized state of the continent post-colonialization. Because of this, attempts made since then have favored enforcing regional integration over continental integration. Undeniably, this idea would not have come into being if it wasn't for the concept of Pan-Africanism - which has for long guided the political and socio-economic policies created on the continent. The goal of this research is to explore the perceptions of Pan-Africanism on the continent tracing it from the past to the present conceptions. At the same time, this study aims to highlight efforts that have been made by the African Union - idolized to be a 'renaissance of Pan-Africanism, towards continental integration. In turn analyzing whether continental integration will eventually occur – seeing as it is at the crux of the agendas laid out and encompassed in the philosophy.

**Acknowledgements:**

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## Introduction

The forces that unite us are intrinsic and greater than the superimposed influences that keep us apart.

- **Kwame Nkrumah** (*Africa Must Unite*)

Without unity, there is no future for Africa.

- **Julius Nyerere**

Continental integration today, primarily for the continent of Africa continues to be one of the most controversial topics. This research is strategically titled “*The Spirit is Willing, but the Flesh is Weak: Contemporary Pan-Africanism and The Challenges to a United States of Africa.*” In other words, the transmutation of the continent of Africa into one country or a federal government (Efrat, 1964), guided by a single government with the jurisdiction to control the politically and economically feeble states within the continent. The idea of creating a ‘United States of Africa’ has been in the Pan-African discourse in Africa for quite some time and has been heavily contested within the continent and in the diaspora. The opinion of using Pan-Africanism as a mechanism for the realization of the notion of a ‘United States of Africa’ dates back to the period when African forefathers were struggling for independence from colonial rule. Bright African Pan-Africanists like Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, Tom Mboya, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Lumumba Patrick, and Julius Nyerere were amongst the many (African) proponents of this doctrine.

In light of this, the main question driving this research asks; how do contemporary understandings of Pan-Africanism and the African Union help us to better understand the challenges and possibilities for a United States of Africa? Put differently, why is the concept of Pan-Africanism endorsed on the continent but is yet to be put into practice? Essentially, why are there large proponents of Pan-Africanism, explicitly those who are patrons of the reputable African Union (an epitome of the Pan-African philosophy), but are still skeptical of applying the ideology in reality by pushing the boundaries beyond the creation of an institution that does not entirely

express the core values of the concept? Other questions that encircle this topic and research deal with questioning; what has happened to pan-Africanism on the continent? does it still exist in ways that it did 50 years ago?, how will a 'United States of Africa' play out locally and globally?, alternatively, are there winners and losers to the fulfillment of the pan-African dream?, what are the short-term and long-term outcomes, are there any substitutes to what constitutes as “African unity?” what can be done to extricate the continent from generational curses and mistakes? what has made it difficult for Africa to take charge of its destiny? how can Africans and African leaders rethink re-integrating the core objectives of pan-Africanism into the present social, economic and political state in Africa today? and can the ideas behind pan-Africanism save the continent? what can save Africa from many more years of setbacks and disunity?

It has been over 50 years since Africa gained its “complete” independence from colonial rule and or imperialism. With the established national identities and an emphasis on state sovereignty in Africa today, putting the guiding philosophy of Pan-Africanism into practice as a means to bring the vision of a United States of Africa to life has been overshadowed by its reduced relevance in the political, socio-economic fabric of the continent. To put it another way, it is as a consequence of the change in the understanding of the term Pan-Africanism. Particularly, a shift from an emphasis on African political unity as a means to develop the pan-African agenda to one that now indicates economic unity as integral to delivering the pan-African dream. Also, coupled with the importance of state sovereignty as an impediment to realizing the an-African dream in modern-day Africa. Irrespective of these changes and hurdles to the unification of the continent, the doctrine of Pan-Africanism remains moderately relevant to Africans generally, to those who claim to be Pan-Africanists, proponents of enabling the continent to attain economic and political independence and or stability, and to those who foresee and anticipate a complete political and socio-economic turnover or transformation for Africa. Notwithstanding, this is also where the



problem lies as those who claim to be Pan-Africanists and maintain that they agree with Kwame Nkrumah's way of thinking or affirm that they share his dream and vision for the progress and unification of the continent are afraid to allow his ideas to become a reality, precisely concerning the creation of a United States of Africa.

Along the same line, of recent, even with the backing of powerful heads of states like former Prime Minister of Libya; late Muammar Al Gaddafi and Zimbabwe's former president Robert Mugabe, to promote and set the ball rolling for continental unification by reminding the continent of the Pan-African goals, the idea continues to be shut down by Africans and African leaders, particularly regarding drawing up a blueprint for the political and socio-economic integration the continent. Africans today continue to lament over the degradation of their countries, and the representation of the continent as backward or underdeveloped in the eyes of the outside world, yet, many, but not all, are blasé about taking full control of the political and socio-economic situation in their countries. This is due to comfort and the growing lackadaisical attitude that continues to build amongst political leaders and citizens concerning this topic. An archetype of the biblical phrase that states; the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak (Matthew 26:41). The spirit of Africans accepts the ideology because of its historical and sentimental value to the continent, still, the flesh is not amenable to adopting the concept wholly to bring to reality a federation of Africa. The flesh, in this case, is symbolical and represents a number of things like; nationhood, state sovereignty, and even the greed or corrupt characteristics of some heads of states who would rather preserve the continent as it is to aid their own personal agendas.

Several scholarly works have been carried out, meticulously looking into the theme of continental integration for Africa and what that means for the socio-economic and political development of the continent. With the same inquisitiveness, using the philosophy of pan-Africanism as the governing approach toward the creation of a United States of Africa, this topic

will be researched through the following lenses; the first being the evolution of pan-Africanism - the shift from understanding pan-Africanism as a political project to an economic policy. Second, from the lens of understanding how the concept of Pan-Africanism is perceived in Africa by bureaucrats and African nationals within the continent (and the diaspora). Third, from the lens of state sovereignty in the context of Africa and political survival - by recognizing how the already existing continental union; the African Union, a symbolic representation of Pan-Africanism poses as a threat to the now sovereign states and the capacity of political influence that political leaders can possess within their state's frontiers and the continent. Finally, through a policy lens, scanning for instances whereby policies have been - or are currently being - created and adopted by the African Union towards continental integration. Applying these lenses as devices for investigating the puzzling research question, more insight on the efforts and barriers to achieving a United States of Africa will be presented.

Plainly put, the research will be structured utilizing the following operating hypotheses;

*(a) Reduction in the meaning of Pan-Africanism*

The difficulty in attaining a United States of Africa originates from the shift and difficulties in the ways in which the concept of Pan-Africanism is conceived today in the theoretical context and also in the lingo of African political and economic development. Specifically, Pan-Africanism has changed over time to be understood from just being used to push a racial, political and or economic agenda. Precisely, looking at the idealization of the concept on the continent, the concept of Pan-Africanism has been envisioned as a political tool to unify the continent, to one that is determined through economic approaches. Pan-Africanism in the context of unifying Africa has shifted from a political approach to an economic policy.

*(b) Cultural and Ethnic Divisions*

The reluctance towards the manifestation of a United States of Africa stems from the vast cultural/ethnic differences that exist in African countries today making its feasibility unlikely.

*(c) Sovereignty Concerns*

The establishment of the African Union exemplifies how the Pan-African ideology is widely accepted but is yet to be put into practice. Because of this, putting it into practice also poses a threat to state sovereignty and the political survival of African heads of states.

Precisely, the overall aim of this research is to bring to light the value of Pan-Africanism in modern-day Africa. The same issues that concerned the Pan-African movements are still the same issues disrupting continental and national progress in Africa, hence, making it as relevant as it was over 50 years ago, to present-day Africa. Although the idea of Pan-Africanism and what it truly means as it was conceived five decades ago might be deemed as an old-fashioned or over-romanticized approach in realizing and bolstering continental unity in Africa, by enabling the concept in its full competence without any limitations or reducing it to merely an economic project, and also incorporating it as a political agenda (demanding for political unification), Africa and Africans will reap tremendous benefits. By reifying the political and economic union of the continent, the advantages comprise of, inter alia; having hegemony over continental economic and political development without the influence of external parties - concurrently eliminating the influence of neocolonialism in the guise of globalization, increased continental free trade, the dissolving of political borders, freedom of movement with the enforcement of the African passport.

Yet, it has to be stressed that accommodating the goals of Pan-Africanism, African nationalism or the unification of the continent cannot occur without first guaranteeing political and economic unity. Creating a United States of Africa could potentially allow the continent to become a global force to be reckoned with. Africans, today need to recognize that Africa's destiny relies on the foundational ideas that have been laid down for them by African Pan-Africanists through the concept of Pan-Africanism that urged and continues to call for the promotion of African nationalism or continental unity as an alternative to envisioning a future for the continent in ways that strays away from the philosophy and has also failed the continent as a whole numerous times.

Moreover, Africans need to begin to understand that Pan-Africanism should not only be understood as equal economic participation. There is also the need for all African countries to have a strong political front by virtue of political unification on the continent, also an imperative for assuring economic integration. With that said, Africans need to begin to re-imagine themselves from the viewpoint of a Pan-Africanist. One who is not only concerned about the advancement of his or her country but rather is invested and burdened with the issues that affect the holistic growth of the continent. Rather than cultivating the "White Man's Burden" rhetoric, the phrase needs to be displaced with being an "African (Wo)Man's Burden." Without a Pan-African-like mind on the continent, Africa might persist to suffer cycles of setbacks because of the political and socio-economic disunity.

### ***Methodology***

To pursue this topic, this research involved a combination of theoretical, historical and contemporary scholarships on the concept of Pan-Africanism, African unity and or continental unification. In addition, I use qualitative and quantitative data gathered from interviews with diplomats and or staffs working with the African Union. The included interviews regard their perceptions on the idea of a unified Africa. Likewise, an extensive critique of the past and current policies that have been devised by the organization that also indicates an attempt to nurture the Pan-African dream is included in the literature. Generally, all these methods have been employed in an attempt to find an answer to the puzzle. Based on the information found in the scholarships, data collection/analysis, and policies, I also propose solutions that have been overlooked in the literature.

Seeing as this topic is pertinent to the discourse on Pan-Africanism, especially in modern-day Africa and how it is interpreted and for this reason, it is being examined in order to understand and explore both the challenges and probabilities of establishing a United States of Africa in

present-day Africa. The bodies of literature applied to study this topic come from diverse fields of studies- history, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science and legal literature - relevant in unravelling the relationship between the scramble for Africa, colonial legacy, decolonization of Africa, nation/state building, state sovereignty, ethnic or cultural amalgamation, the history of pan-Africanism as a doctrine and a political apparatus for continental unification, the formulation of regional economic blocs, evolution and role of the African Union since its conception, amongst many other themes that have been explored in solving the puzzle that this research proposes.

The methodologies for this project will consist of several references to historical and contemporary scholarly works on the concept of Pan-Africanism, African unity, and continental unification. First, this research will primarily involve an intensive critical descriptive and explanatory analysis of historical scholarships that focus on the concept of Pan-Africanism. Utilizing the discourse analysis method, I will be sketching the history and evolution of the concept of Pan-Africanism and looking for three particular themes; race, unity and integration and liberation and freedom from the West all of which are maintained to be at the center of the concepts' goals. I will also be examining the changes from Pan-Africanism as a political device to an economic policy. Through this, I will be discussing why the concept of Pan-Africanism is appropriate to this topic and how the change in its conception overtime helps uncover the hidden transcripts in the discourse. In general, I will be looking into the varying debates on the study of the term Pan-Africanism then and now, looking for recurring themes, if any, and how they fit into socio-political and economic situation in Africa today. In the context of Pan-Africanism in Africa, the main Pan-African and political thinker I will be referring to is Kwame Nkrumah, also doing a discourse analysis on his historical speeches, books (texts), and interviews, highlighting the major themes in his writings that are motivated by the philosophy behind pan-Africanism.

Additionally, by using discourse analysis, I will be connecting and deconstruction the philosophy of Pan-Africanism as a mechanism used in the creation of the African Union. The same method of discourse analysis will be applied in discovering the debates on continental integration, scanning for similarities in the concerns on the validity of the idea of continental integration, especially in the context of Africa with that of the concept of Pan-Africanism. I will be drawing from contemporary scholarship on, and elite perceptions of “Pan-Africanism’ and the African Union, to better understand the pathways and challenges to create a United States of Africa. The major approach I will be adopting in exploring includes; a historical analysis of Pan-Africanism as a concept, and or a movement, elite perceptions of greater integration and the United States of Africa, and a policy analysis of existing attempts at integration.

I will be conducting an extremely thorough process tracing of African state formation dating back to colonization with the scramble for Africa and analyzing what that meant for the existing diverse cultural and ethnic groups in Africa and today, what that means in the context of state sovereignty. In particular, I will be tracing the consequences following the balkanization and inception of African nations from the onset to the present day. I will be looking for indicators whereby cultural and ethnic diversity has been an impediment to national growth and solidarity, for example, instances of civil wars driven by cultural and ethnic clashes, while simultaneously examining and thinking about how cultural and ethnic diversity will turn out on a continental level. This part of the research will also include figures on the number of ethnic groups that are on the continent. I will then connect this to the concept of Pan-Africanism and how cultural diversity might be an obstacle to the realization of Pan-Africanism in practice.

Moreover, this research relies on theories covering state sovereignty popularized by political scientists, distinctively drawing upon its emphasis on control and authority over its governing territory, its significance, contributions and implications to attaining a United States of

Africa (Winston and Hammer, 2004-2005). In other words, by executing a discourse analysis on the political and philosophical scholarly works on state sovereignty, I will be dismantling the ways in which state sovereignty has been discussed in the varying pieces of literature, linking it to how this affects the governing power of a continental body (Winston and Aitza, 2012) like the African Union. Essentially, by combining the theories on state sovereignty and continental integration in Africa I will be exploring the connections, possibilities, and ramifications assuming Pan-Africanism was put into practice. Further, investigating the ability of the African Union to move from being merely a symbolic representation of Pan-Africanism to pushing forward for it to become a reality, farther exploring how this could potentially limit state sovereignty assuming it became a body that fostered continental unification in the creation of A U.S of Africa.

In addition, I have carried out interviews in addition to data derived from an online data analysis; Afrobarometer, to capture the contemporary views on Pan-Africanism in modern-day Africa. Participants for the interviews were gathered applying the snowball and or convenience methods, particularly, participants recommended based on social networking and generally, those who are willing to participate. These methods were chosen in an attempt to garner information relating to the concept, mainly paying attention to the theories on pan-Africanism and continental integration. These interviews were strategically designed to be carried out on diplomats and or staffs of the African Union and took place at the headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.<sup>1</sup>

Coupled with the above, the interviews were structured to gain an understanding on how these individuals comprehend the concept of Pan-Africanism, race, their identity as Africans or by virtue of their nationality, and their views on; integrative policies, socio-political and economic

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<sup>1</sup>A sample of the interview questions can be reviewed in the appendix.

progress for the continent, trade in Africa, and lastly, the role of the African Union. Information retrieved from the interview have been coded according to the reappearing themes this research is attempting to explore. Through a critical content analysis on the qualitative and quantitative data, transcripts from the conversations will be provided to support the study.

The goal of the interview is to get a grasp on whether Africans and contemporary Pan-Africans still believe in the vision of a United States of Africa. I have also paid close attention to the ages of the interviewees, with the hope that it could contribute to the evolution in the definition of Pan-Africanism. In this case, the evolution could likely have varying impacts on different generations. Likewise, the data gathered from the Afrobarometer which will also be in tune with the information procured from the interviews also extending into broader themes that nonetheless fall under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism and continental integration. These forms of acquiring qualitative and quantitative data are relevant to the discourse on Pan-Africanism and generally the topic of this research as it contributes to depicting the contemporary perceptions of Pan-Africanism on the continent today from the public and diplomats who are products of this symbolic representation of Pan-Africanism by virtue of their occupation. Lastly, I will be analyzing the various integrative policies that exist using both content and discourse analyses to tease out relevant motivations for the development of the policies possibly inspired by Pan-African ideals. This research will also analyze the efficiency and effectiveness of the integrative policies, further proposing suggestions for policy changes for successful policies for a more integrated continent in the future.

### ***Literature Review***

Comparing the existing literature on Pan-Africanism, studying how it was comprehended over 50 years ago to how it is now understood in modern day Africa, there is an apparent shift in the interpretation of the concept from its core themes - race, unity and integration and liberation



and freedom from colonial rule. The turn away from the foundational themes that bound Pan-Africanism paints a lucid picture of Pan-Africanism today and the manner in which it is understood by Africans. Research and deliberations pertaining to the creation of a 'United States of Africa' or in simpler terms, African continental integration typically focus on the concept of Pan-Africanism. Precisely, research is conducted on Pan-Africanism and its relations to paving the way for African continental integration. Similarly, scholarly works on this topic tend to focus on how the term was derived and its main principles. In the same vein, these scholarly articles tend to analyze how the term was conceived by the masterminds who popularized the concept and recipient's reaction to the Pan-African ideology within the continent and globally. Presently, the core objective of Pan-Africanism is considered to have deviated from the original goals expressed by the founders of African Pan-Africanism years ago.

The concept 'Pan-Africanism' is said to have been coined by Pan-Africanist Henry Sylvester Williams, although today, it is more known to have been popularized by Pan-Africanist and African-American W.E.B. Du Bois who made it possible for African political thinkers during his time and Africans in the diaspora (and other blacks) to begin a political revolution that sought to free Africans or blacks from slavery and colonization and side-by-side unify black people (Ola, 1979). Not only did Du Bois voice his concerns for blacks in the United States, but he also acknowledged the plight of Africans on the continent (Romero, 1976). Critics of the ideology of Pan-Africanism have also pointed out the difference in Du Bois' Pan-Africanism as a mechanism to remind black Americans of their African identities and heritage which can also be likened to the negritude movement and how it differs from Africans' conception of Pan-Africanism (Adeleke, 1998). From this point, there is a clear emphasis on the significance of race in the Pan-Africanism dialogue that does not entirely exist today. Because Du Bois is recognized as the founding father of modern Pan-Africanism, some scholars scrutinize the concept as not being authentically an

African idea. In contrast, others disregard the claim that Du Bois is the mastermind behind Pan-Africanism arguing that Pan-Africanism originates from the continent in an attempt to avoid seeming to have adopted an idea that did not emerge solely because of the recognition of Africans struggles on the continent but one with a foreign agenda.

From the onset, the unification of African people or black people has been an important element of Pan-Africanism. Despite the general or global conception that Pan-Africanism was initiated based on race, in Africa, Pan-Africanism is argued to have taken a different turn that transcends beyond uniting based on race or a common racial struggle. Therefore, it is relevant to note that Pan-Africanism has been deciphered in several ways for many years in the diaspora and within the continent. In essence, with reference to the precise definition of Pan-Africanism, political scientists still debate on how the term should be defined, in turn, contributing to the easy evolution in the meaning of the ideology, adapting to a particular issue(s) of concern wherever and whenever it is applied (Geiss, 1969; Nantambu, 1998; Ola, 1979).

Relating to how Pan-Africanism on the continent has been studied, academics have achieved this by looking at trends pre- and post-colonialization that has precipitated the emergence of the concept and its rampant use on the continent. In essence, by observing how "revolutionary, intellectual, cultural, geopolitical Pan-African nationalists have fought and expressed their Pan-African ideals on the continent (Nantambu, 1998). On one hand, political scientists and Pan-Africanists explore the concept by virtue of two main themes; freedom (political) and political integration (Ola, 1979). On the other hand, more recent studies on Pan-Africanism have been analyzed through the lens of development, explicitly in reference to economic integration or "technological re-creation" (Ola, 1979). This divergence transpired because of growing interest in focusing on economic growth and independence from economic and technical aid from colonial powers post-colonialization. As a result, one of the shortcomings in the past studies on Pan-

Africanism is the unequal concentration or lack thereof on the development aspect of the concept as scholars tend to bend towards the political liberation and integration phase of Pan-Africanism. This also shows the shift in perceptions of Pan-Africanism in modern day Africa as it tends to focus more on the latter. "Pan-Africanism started as a political movement with its own ideological basis at the end of the nineteenth century and has since followed a very complicated, contradictory course" (Potekhin, 47).

Undeniably, Pan-Africanism gave way for political and economic independence on the continent, at least in the context of allowing African leaders to realize the potentials existing within their respective countries. (Ake, 1965). "This expanding world of free African nations is the climax of the conscious and determined struggle of the African peoples to throw off the yoke of imperialism, and it is transforming the continent" (Nkrumah, 1963). During and post-colonialism, Pan-Africanism as a 'political movement' played a major role in the politics of many African countries on the path of attaining freedom from colonial rule and for those who had already gained autonomy from western powers it helped shape their nationalistic, political and socio-economic agendas. During the decolonization of Africa, Pan-Africanism became the mantra for many Pan-African (African) political thinkers like Kwame Nkrumah. Put differently, the continent's struggle for the "triple dreams of African nationalism—decolonization, democracy, and development" (Zezeza, 2014). Following the independence of Ghana in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah was among the many intellectual African political thinkers who sought to liberate the continent from the clench of colonialism and imperialism by popularizing the ideology.

Using Pan-Africanism as a political tool, African nations were able to emancipate themselves from colonialism (Potekhin, 47). Inspiration is often drawn from Kwame Nkrumah because of his sentiment on the colonial rule at the time. In *'Africa Must Unite'* the former Ghanaian president and notable Pan-African wrote, "imperialism is still a most powerful force to

be reckoned with in Africa. It controls our economies. It operates on a world-wide scale in combinations of many different kinds: economic, political, cultural, educational, military; and through intelligence and information services” (Nkrumah, 1963). Even though this statement was written years ago, despite the changes that have occurred over time, scholars maintain that this is still Africa’s reality today. For this reason, with regards to liberating Africa, researchers often turn to the works of the likes of Kwame Nkrumah as a means to interpret how African Pan-Africanist thinkers visualized Pan-Africanism will play out on the continent considering his strong political philosophy on the “freedom and unification of Africa and its islands” (Nkrumah, 1963).

Unity; African unity, or integration in the Pan-African discourse has from time immemorial been addressed as one of the primary goals of Pan-Africanism as a political idea. In the past and slightly in present times, the rhetoric has remained the same - recognizing that what the continent needs to alleviate itself from external influence and simultaneously set itself on the path of dictating its own socio-political and economic progress, a unified African people are needed for this vision to become a reality (Potekhin, 47). Pan-African thinkers like former Guinean diplomat Telli Diallo and Julius Nyerere have uniformly discussed in lengths, the importance of unity to Pan-African movement. Nyerere especially discussed the issue of unity suggesting that “only with unity can we ensure that Africa really governs Africa. Only with unity can we be sure that African resources will be used for the benefit of Africa... African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism” (Nyerere, 1963). Like Diallo and Nyerere, Nkrumah too believed in the power of Pan-African unity from a more political stance, declaring “we have added the objective of the political union of African states as the securest safeguard of our hard-won freedom and the soundest foundation for our individual, no less than our common, economic, social and cultural advancement” (Nkrumah, 1963). Realizing the era in which these thinkers were writing, given their bold statements and confidence in a

politically unified Africa, it vividly shows how Pan-Africanism was understood by prominent Pan-Africans at the time as a political project and how the comprehension of the ideology has slightly changed in contemporary Africa.

Coupled with the above, a supplementary theme at the core of Pan-Africanism is the need for freedom. Freeing Africa economically and politically has invariably been at the heart of the mission of Pan-Africanism on the continent. Beyond redeeming the continent economically and politically, Kwame Nkrumah and other Pan-African thinkers endeavored to push forward the establishment of one African government whereby all African nations would adhere to its principles and governance. This was proposed with the hopes of consolidating Africa and bolstering Africa's political and economic capacity. Nantambu (1998) concurs with this aspect of Pan-Africanism expressing it as the main goal of 'Pan-African Nationalism' (Shivji, 2006).

Notably, research that has been executed on the topic of Pan-Africanism can also be considered as being generally biased in the sense that researchers in the academia often focus on the positive aspect of Pan-Africanism; driving political and economic unity. However, Pan-Africanism according to Ake (1965), also propelled authoritarianism. In other words, under the guise of promoting Pan-Africanism in driving out colonialism, it has also created a pathway for African leaders to attain more power within government, allowing them to cultivate their own agendas - which is potentially an obstacle to the goals of Pan-Africanism on the continent - in the guise of being a driving force for increased continental unity. Ake (1965) notes that a "repressive trend is reinforced by the tensions arising from the differences in the attitudes of African leaders to Pan-Africanism. Although there is a consensus on the broad aim Pan-Africanism, there is little agreement about priorities and methods for realizing them" (Ake, 1965). This is the side of Pan-Africanism that is not frequently discussed in the Pan-African discourse.

In fact, another popular rhetoric in Pan-African studies and continental integration discourse indicates the culturally and ethnically diverse nature of the continent, drawing concerns on the inevitability of Pan-Africanism in practice or continental integration to fail and not reach its potential (Bascom, 1962). With diversity as an assumed obstacle, this is also an evident reason for the shift in the perception of Pan-Africanism from a political agenda (political unification) to an economic blueprint (economic unification). There are two opposing sides on this matter; the first being that it is impossible for people who have identified themselves according to a certain ethnicity and in broader terms, a particular nationality, to abandon their identities - which is rooted in their ethnic and national makeup, because of the Pan-African dream. In other words, this raises questions about what identity will mean if and when continental integration was to happen. The second and less professed aspect of cultural and ethnic diversity as an obstacle to pan-Africanism being put into practice claims that it is possible for it to work considering that African states - that are predominantly made up of several ethnic groups - have managed to live 'somewhat' peacefully since the scramble for Africa through which the colonial powers created nations without any regards for the culturally diverse composition of people that existed within the borders they were establishing (Bascom, 1962).

Moreover, the above-mentioned viewpoint is often refuted as a few schools of thought have demonstrated that the diversity of the continent does not hinder and should not be seen as a deterrent to Pan-Africanism from flourishing on the continent as it has proven to promote increased tolerance amongst many Africans. Another shift in the conceptualization of Pan-Africanism deals with the issue of state sovereignty and there are two sides to this argument. First, proponents of the Pan-African philosophy assert that maintaining the sovereignty of nation-states poses as an interference to the manifestation of continental integration in as it only allows for increased

hostility and for heads of states to continue to promote their personal agendas that are usually to the detriment of another nation-state (Matthews, 2005).

Likewise, in the Pan-African discourse, the African Union is often addressed as an institution created to embody the aspirations of Pan-Africanism on the continent, essentially the brainchild of Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africans often claim that the African Union's purpose is to physically and legally represent the ideals of Pan-Africanism and also allow the universality or continental reach of the concept. In other words, through this institution, the Pan-African and continental integration notion can be achieved. Identifying that the African Union, formerly known as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was allegedly conceived by Pan-Africans; Haile Selassie and Kwame Nkrumah (amongst other African leaders at the time) in 1963, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the choice to change the name of the institution from what it was known as in the past to African Union has been commended as "a renaissance of Pan-Africanism" (Matthews, 2005), again a reiteration of the institution as a prototype of Pan-Africanism.

Contrary to the above, the Pan-African idea has yet to be achieved, in light of the fact that one of the goals of the institution is to protect and guarantee state sovereignty. Correspondingly, in doing so, state sovereignty weakens the Pan-African influence the institution is expected to exert. Hence, it then becomes a concern as to whether the African Union can perform effectively (Magliveras and Gino, 2002). This same critique was applicable when the institution was bearing its former name OAU as it failed miserably in putting into practice the Pan-African ideology. In this situation, research on the works of the OAU is largely unbalanced as it mostly covers the achievement of the OAU on the surface; principally post-decolonization. For this reason, in the Pan-African discourse, there is some relevant literature missing that criticize the organization's lack of success, coupled with its efforts in attaining the Pan-African dream (Ayttey, 2010). Perhaps there is a problem with the Pan-African dream that these scholars are unwilling to address.

Another aspect of the African Union's relevance to the Pan-African discourse stems from its perception by Africans. Confirming that Pan-Africanism is at the heart of the African Union's mission, most Africans; citizens and leaders included, prefer the path that the African Union has chosen to take, with respect to not interfering with state sovereignty. As a result, when the idea of Pan-Africanism is brought about in talks of being implemented in full-force with the hopes of strengthening the continent, it frightens nation-states' 'right' to autonomy (Magliveras and Gino, 2002). The aforementioned was evident shortly after the independence of Africa and is more noticeable today as African leaders guard and prioritize the needs of their country over the African Union's Pan-African dream, using their sovereign power as a way to circumvent attaining African unity (Emerson, 1962).

Similarly, comparative studies on African integration have also cited instances where an attempt to create a 'Union of African States' has failed as a result of the increasing demand from African countries to maintain their status of being a sovereign state (Kurtz, 1970). One cannot emphasize enough the power of state sovereignty for countries as it permits the nation to do as it wishes without being confined to specific sets of rules. Ghana, Guinea, and Mali's attempt and failure in making this work in the past has proven that self-determination continues to trump attempts towards continental integration even under a supposed 'African' identity that unifies them. This also stems from the need to be economically and politically independent, being able to selfishly determine the economic and political future of one's nation and not that of the continent. Again, proving that continental integration or Pan-Africanism on the continent might fail as it has in the past by virtue of African leader's desire to sustain their self-governing status.

An emphasis on state sovereignty has stalled economic continental progress or amalgamation following the adoption of the; "OAU's 1980 Lagos Plan of Action; 1991 Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC); and the New Partnership for



Africa's Development (NEPAD)<sup>2</sup> adopted by the African Union” and other economic centered policies adopted by the African Union (Akudo and Okeke-Uzodike, 2016). A more recent rejection of economic integration - due to the individualistic approach many African countries tend to take (as a result of the drive to govern one's economic future) - can be cited following the drawing up of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) where the world witnessed how some of the influential powers on the continent; Nigeria and South Africa, refrained from jumping on the potential train towards pan-Africanism being realized in practice (at least on economic terms).

Generally, the common observation is that the bodies of literature covering this subject consists predominantly of research that was carried out in the early and late nineties. This can either be considered as beneficial or a flaw in the vast study on the creation of a ‘United States of Africa.’ On the plus side, it is equally vital to understand that the concept of Pan-Africanism, which is at the crux of creating a unified Africa was more popular many years ago and it allows readers or scholars to engage in and appreciate the true meaning of Pan-Africanism from the perspective of the individuals that advocated for it on the continent. In the same vein, the fact that most studies on Pan-Africanism as a tool to unify the continent are not as recent or up to date with current African political and economic affairs, past studies should be criticized and scrutinized to display the present realities of the continent. That is to say, the bodies of literature mainly speak to past perceptions and aspirations and not necessarily to how it has changed currently or in modern-day discourses, which is an evident flaw. Given this, by drawing from contemporary scholarship on, and elite perceptions of “Pan-Africanism” and the African Union, this research aims to better understand the pathways and challenges to creating a United States of Africa. In Chapter One, this

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<sup>2</sup>NEPAD: The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). It was ratified by the African Union in 2002 in Durban, to deal with Africa's development problems in a new paradigm. The main objectives of NEPAD have been to reduce poverty, put Africa on a sustainable development path, halt the marginalization of Africa, and empower women. The Partnership provides a comprehensive, integrated development plan that tackles key social, economic and political principles for the continent.

research will entail a historical analysis of Pan-Africanism as a concept and a movement. Chapter two will provide an account on the perceptions of bureaucrats working with the Africa Union, specifically regarding how they perceive greater integration and the United States of Africa. Lastly, in chapter three, I will be discussing and providing a policy analysis on existing attempts at integration. In these chapters, I will begin to unveil and shed light on the three operating hypotheses previously mentioned.

## Chapter 1

### The Evolution of the Concept of Pan-Africanism

African nationalism is meaningless, dangerous, anachronistic, if it is not, at the same time, Pan-Africanism.  
- **Julius Nyerere**

#### ***Why Pan-Africanism?***

In an attempt to carry out this research, there are certain terms, like the word Pan-Africanism, that will be frequently referred to in the text and these words are paramount to understanding this topic, hence the need to define these terms for the reader to grasp the contexts in which they will be used in the entirety of the research. The term Pan-Africanism - multifaceted in nature - is probably one of the few concepts in history that is difficult to define. This is because the term has been defined to mean many things since it was popularized in the early 19th century. It is also important to note that because of the interchangeable character of the term Pan-Africanism, it can also be used to describe both African socialism, nationalism or democracy (Shivji, 2006). “The term “nationalism” or “socialism” might seem western; yet what they denote in Africa is not derivative but an inherently African development (which, they may concede, has been stimulated by the experience of the West): hence “African nationalism,” which is equated with Pan-Africanism and “African Socialism,” which is like African democracy” (Crutcher, 1966). Since the conception of the phenomenon, the concept has unfolded over time to mean different things to diverse sets or groups of individuals.

The concept of Pan-Africanism; which could mean anything from the collective recognition of one’s African heritage to the political and socio-economic union of all African people, has been at the forefront of Africa’s independence as a guiding ideology. Still, the interpretation of the concept is open to however an individual chooses to interpret its core values. For this reason, the literature on the underpinning principles of the concept tends to disagree due

to the fact that the term has evolved and morphed to mean different things at certain periods in history regards to the context or geographical location it is applied to.

According to Merriam Webster and popular definitions of Pan-Africanism, an ideology, is defined as “the political union of all African nations.” For the purpose of this research, this definition limits and singles out other factors such as the economic and social factors that play into idealizing continental integration. Although this definition speaks explicitly to political integration, for the purpose of this research the 'union' is not limited to only the political aspect as it also involves driving social and economic unity across the continent. Differently, it can be defined to insinuate unifying the continent in ways that imagined communities no longer exist, nationalities or regional blocs are no longer capitalized upon and borders are dissolved. Consequently, allowing for the emergence of a 'United States of Africa' where all inhabitants identify as 'Africans' as opposed to associating with one's nationality. In the African context, Tim Murithi describes Pan-Africanism best - as a concept or movement that “seeks to respond to Africa’s contemporary crises of post coloniality illustrated most starkly by underdevelopment” (Murithi, 2005). The fluidity of the concept Pan-Africanism makes it somewhat difficult to pinpoint its purpose for the continent, nonetheless, for this study, Pan-Africanism should be understood from the perspective of the definitions provided above.

*Reduction in the meaning of Pan-Africanism:*

The difficulty in attaining a United States of Africa originates from the shift and difficulties in the ways in which the concept of Pan-Africanism is conceived today in the theoretical context and also in the lingo of African political and economic development. Specifically, Pan-Africanism has changed over time to be understood from just being used to push a racial, political and or economic agenda. Precisely, looking at the idealization of the concept on the continent, the concept of Pan-Africanism has been envisioned as a political tool to unify the continent, to one that is determined through economic approaches. Pan-Africanism in the context of unifying Africa has shifted from a political approach to an economic policy.

Pan-African scholars have contended that the initial goal for the propaganda of this philosophy was mainly concerned with race, precisely, during the age of slavery and the poor

treatment of blacks in the United States. Drawing the attention of the plight of African and African Americans based on the racial treatment they were receiving in the United States, at the same time, forcing African Americans to identify with their lineages by means of this philosophy. In doing so, it also helped connect them with the struggles of Africans on the continent as they were experiencing colonialism. From the recognition of the racial solidarity of African Americans and Africans in the diaspora and within the continent, Pan-Africanism then deviated towards enabling the freedom of African states and the abolition of colonialism across the continent. DeLancey (1996) describes Pan-Africanism best; in an article, Pan-Africanism is said to have undergone certain phases. Thus, the “phases of Pan-Africanism; American reaction to racism, the drive for African independence and the dream of continental unity” (DeLancey 1996). It is from the latter phase that the likes of Kwame Nkrumah began to propose the ideology on the continent and with the promotion of Pan-Africanism in Africa, the ideology took a turn towards the political integration of the continent and the liberation of Africans from colonization.

### ***Pan-Africanism in the Diaspora***

The root of Pan-Africanism or its major influencers is still highly debated in the Pan-African literature. Even within the continent, many African scholars pay homage to the likes of Du Bois as the mastermind behind Pan-Africanism. Without a doubt, Pan-Africanism did not originate solely from the continent of Africa but was influenced by the struggles faced by black people around the world, igniting the first conference in 1900 - set-up with the goal to redeem the political, economic and social freedom of blacks all over the world. It is because of this recognized struggle that the general understanding of the concept Pan-Africanism is immediately likened to and reduced to the issue of race (collectively identifying as being black or having black roots/origins).

It was during this era that the world experienced a great wave of black movements. One is the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the largest and most influential black movement in America (perhaps in the world), spearheaded by Jamaican born civil rights activist and Pan-African; Marcus Garvey, or as habitually addressed, a militant or Black/Negro 'Moses.' He was especially known in the U.S for his profound and controversial political stance on issues concerning the black race. With the UNIA beneath his wings, Garvey used the association as a medium to advocate for the political and economic needs of black people in America. Garvey prided himself with ensuring that blacks within the diaspora (the U.S specifically) were equally proud of their race irrespective of the inequalities. In other words, Garvey's fundamental goal was to promote black or negro pride.

At this stage in history, although it was not coined as Pan-Africanism; instead 'Garveyism' (Clarke, 1973), was mostly used, the importance of race and unity between peoples of the same race - facing the same racial, economic and political impediment within the US (and abroad) - was the focus of the UNIA. Remarkably, his influence did not stop within the borders of the United States, Garvey's power was felt and his doctrines were heard all over the world. Acknowledging his global reach, he placed himself at the forefront of not only driving for the unification of blacks in the United States, but also for the emancipation of blacks in Africa. What was seen as most prominent and profound during his 'militant' reign were his thoughts on the repatriation of blacks in the diaspora back to Africa (Fergus, 2010) which he attempted to facilitate through his Black Star line which he founded in the early 1900s. Amongst other "profound" ideas that Garvey created and endorsed, he was also a proponent of the idea behind the creation of a United States of Africa, expressed in his infamous poem "Hail, United States of Africa" - an idea that would later influence pan-Africanism in Africa.

Garvey was a firm believer in restoring blacks in the United States back to their motherland or generational place of origin (Fergus, 2010). His efforts were not frivolous considering he had the strong backing of his followers; most of whom were members of the UNIA. With his “back to Africa” movement, he had already put in works for the repatriation of blacks back to Liberia. Although the “back to Africa” (Clarke, 1973) movement proved to not be as profitable and thriving as Garvey had hoped for, from his ways of thinking about Pan-Africanism or Garveyism, it is evident that race and the unification of blacks were at the hub of these ideologies.

On the other hand, as aforementioned, there were other Pan-African or civil rights activists that were less erratic and militant. A prime example is Web Du Bois, also known as the solon of contemporary Pan-Africanism who differed greatly from Garvey. Many scholarly texts often portray a united front between Garvey and Du Bois, almost as if they were two men who shared the same ideas. Still, scholarly works tend to omit the fact that Garvey and Du Bois, (two men who are very much important to the Pan-African dialogue and the history of civil rights), they did not see eye-to-eye on several things particularly including their methods in how they sought to handle the racial discrimination blacks were facing. Because of this, it is important to understand who W.E.B Du Bois was, his opinion on the concept Pan-Africanism and the techniques he chose to use to alleviate blacks/Africans from their oppressed position on the continent and in the United States (perhaps globally).

Du Bois, though a proponent of Pan-Africanism or in simpler terms, the alleviation of blacks from slavery or socio-economic and political oppression in the U.S and Africa, he did not think of African unity or freedom in the ways that Garvey envisioned. “It was Du Bois's view that the Pan African Movement was not a scheme to transplant the great masses of Afro-Americans into Africa” (Mboukou, 1983). That is to say, Du Bois believed in emancipation but he did not completely agree with the unification of Africans in Africa and Africans/blacks in the diaspora.

He held this verdict primarily because he presumed that the African continent needed to undergo civilization prior to enabling the Pan-African dream (benefitting both Africans in the diaspora and the continent). In view of this, Du Bois was very much critical of Marcus Garvey and his movement. He also questioned significantly his credibility and the logic behind his way of thinking (Mboukou, 1983).

Knowing this, when the idea of Garvey's "back to Africa" movement was being popularized, Du Bois did not favor the idea as much, and this was for a good reason. "DuBois never argued for the inauguration of self-government for black Africans during the 1919-1927 Pan African Congresses, although ultimately he did have this in mind, and demanded it. DuBois specifically stated that "the principle could not be applied to uncivilized peoples. Undoubtedly DuBois was imbued with the notions of "civilizing mission" and "modernizing Black Africa," as demonstrated in his concept of the relations between Black Africans and Afro-Americans" (Mboukou, 1983). To an extent, Du Bois' concerns at the time were laudable, given that the Pan-African dream could not be established right off-the-bat and Africans needed to task or equip themselves with strategies that would help the continent develop without the influence of external parties - former colonial powers.

Most importantly, one of the reasons why Pan-Africanism took shape to focus primarily on the concerns of Africans within the continent was the "savior syndrome" blacks in the diaspora had towards Africa and Garvey and Du Bois were both plagued with this condition. Yes, without a doubt these two men went down in history as a few out of many civil rights activists and Pan-Africans, prioritizing themselves only with the issues and injustice challenging the black race. Nonetheless, they both felt that they could save Africa. In other words, with Garvey, he had already claimed himself as the 'Negro Moses,' and with his Pan-African agenda, he craved to be at the



forefront of dictating the progress of Africa - he wanted to see to it that he was the leader of all Africans or blacks (Mboukou, 1983).

In the same vein, Web Du Bois too assumed that it was critical to send technocrats or learned individuals to the continent because Africans were less educated or uncivilized, needing to be redeemed with the aid of well-learned African men from outside the continent before any prospects of unification within the continent could take place (Mboukou, 1983). "The Pan African Movement was only to be an organization of "talented" blacks, especially those from the United States. These Blacks would fight for civil and political rights in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa" (Mboukou, 1983). It is because of this very problem, amongst others, that allowed Pan-Africanism to contour in ways that singled out just an emphasis on the black race but focusing chiefly on the economic and political unity of Africa - profiting Africans within the continent. Africans within the continent began to separate themselves from blacks in the diaspora whom they perceived as not authentically Africans, underlining the difference in their racial needs and their reasonably differed socio-economic and political needs due to their varying geographical locations.

On the contrary, Du Bois was also a significant figure in modern Pan-Africanism, mainly in assisting certain African leaders in the early 1920s with gaining African independence and the initiation of the Pan-African congresses. Likewise, he prided himself with highlighting the need to dismantle the colonial system. Just like Garvey and the political African leaders that began to sprout during this time, he believed that it was paramount for Africa to rid itself of colonial rule. This was another set goal of the Pan-African congresses - most especially the fifth congress - drawing up of "resolutions concerned primarily with the political, economic and social development of Africa for the benefit Africans" (Rogers, Ben, 1955). The initiation of these Pan-African congresses, each having different objectives, inspired several blacks all over the world,

particularly Africans. These congresses enabled dialogues amongst various black elites, “discussing the problems of their race” (Rogers, Ben, 1955), in turn, allowing for resolutions to be drawn up, and much later, blueprints for the decolonization of Africa.

### ***Pan-African Congresses***

#### *i. 1919*

The first congress was held in Paris (1919). This congress was not as publicly accepted as the following congresses. Although granted the permission of the French prime minister the congress took place, in consideration of that the organizers would not publicize the event - bearing in mind how controversial the topics raised by the Pan-African movements were. “The idea of Pan-Africanism was so strange that it seemed unreal and yet at the same time perhaps potentially dangerous” (Nkrumah, 1963). Nonetheless, it did occur and set the stage for conversations - amongst educated blacks all around the world - on the disparities that came with their racial identity in their respective home countries. According to Kwame Nkrumah, the first congress was successful enough that several resolutions were drafted, one being the global call for the protection of people of color (blacks) or descendants of Africa (Nkrumah, 1963). Even though none of these proposals were put into action, it disclosed the global plight of blacks around the world (Nkrumah, 1963) and set the ball rolling for the continuation of several other congresses.

#### *ii. 1921*

The second congress was held in London and Paris in 1921 like the first one was not as specific to the African issue, that is, the issue of race, political and economic freedom in Africa. Instead, the proposals drafted during this congress highlighted the need for the social, economic and political equality of all black people. “In a Declaration to the World, drafted at the closing session, it was stated that ‘the absolute equality of races, physical, political and social, is the founding stone of world and human advancement.’ They were more concerned in those days with social than with political advancement, not yet recognizing the pre-emption of the latter in order

to engage the former” (Nkrumah, 1963). Also, the fact that the Congress and the proposals made were mainly concerned with social improvement, it ignored the political need within the context of the continent of Africa. During this period, African states were seeking full political autonomy from colonization and imperialism and as a result of the stress on social improvement, it did not suit the approach Africans saw as best fitting with their understanding of Pan-Africanism. To reiterate, this conference did not truly represent the African opinion seeing as it was not specific to the issue facing the continent of Africa. Instead, looking at Pan-Africanism from a universal perspective, which is not problematic, however, flawed in the sense that it introduces a one size fits all approach - a common avenue that typically fails when executed.

### *iii. 1923*

In 1923, the third conference took place sequentially in London and Lisbon. It was during this conference that the agendas started to stir towards the direction of the political improvement of blacks, exclusively, the political freedom of Africa, the elimination of colonial governments and the creation of African governments (Nkrumah, 1963). However, as with the first two congresses, their agendas were not effectively put into action. But it did gain international attention due to the issues that were discussed. Most especially, by cause of the matter of political improvement becoming more apparent (Nkrumah, 1963).

### *iv. 1927*

Four years after the third congress, the fourth Pan-African conference took place in New York (1927) (Rogers, Ben, 1955), but was ineffective due to the lack of funding for the Congress. The failure of the Congress, gave way for other organizations to take initiatives to form other conferences, further seeking to speak to the African continental issues. An example is the International African Service Bureau in 1937 with its main objective being to push forward the

Pan-African agenda and alliance amongst Africans within the continent and in the diaspora (Nkrumah, 1963).

*v. 1945*

Unsurprisingly, it took 26 years - since the first Pan-African congress - for it to truly take the course of challenging and solving the African problem. “Instead of a rather nebulous movement, concerned vaguely with black nationalism, the Pan-African movement had become an expression African nationalism” (Nkrumah, 1963). The fifth congress which took place in Manchester, England in 1945, following the end of World War II was the true cornerstone of Pan-Africanism within the continent, concerned largely with Pan-Africanism and African nationalism (Nkrumah, 1963). The fifth Pan-African congress was held by young African men preparing to return to the continent with the intention to free Africa from imperialism and launch the Pan-African movement in the realization of African nationalism (Clarke, 1973). “For the first time the necessity for well-organized, firmly knit movements as a primary condition for the success of the national liberation struggle in Africa was stressed” (Nkrumah, 1963).

During this conference, the key issues addressed included a combination of constitutional changes and universal suffrage - in turn, political improvement. “There were to be variations from territory to territory to the differing circumstances. The fundamental purpose was identical: national independence leading to African unity” (Nkrumah, 1963). Du Bois was beckoned by the young African Pan-Africans with George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah being the prime organizers. This invitation was extended with the hopes to discuss the future of Pan-Africanism on the continent, in other words, breaking ground for the concept of Pan-Africanism to be brought to life. At the commencement of the Congress, Du Bois was made the chairman of the Congress making him central to the Pan-African movement on the continent and equally important to the African Pan-Africans of that generation.

On witnessing the struggles of blacks in the United States, given this pedestal, Du Bois then extended, internationalized and globalized Pan-Africanism based on the international struggles of black people again overriding the authenticity of Pan-Africanism to the socio-economic and political struggles of Africans within the continent. It is irrefutable that blacks all over the world were facing the same racial discrimination, per contra, because of the varying geographical locations and the ways in which one's location brings about varying challenges between Africans in the diaspora and the continent, Pan-Africanism had to take shape to specifically fit to what Africans in Africa and in the diaspora were facing respectively. This again denotes the differences between Africans in Africa and the diaspora which goes beyond just the racial aspect. Pan-Africanism shifted from being “referred to as ‘racialistic’ to ‘state-centric’ or ‘institutional’ Pan-Africanism” (Edozie and Gottschalk, 2014). For this reason, we start to witness the changes in the perception of the term through - the political messages and actions combined with the understanding of the concept on the continent by political thinkers. As a result, in Africa the concept of Pan-Africanism took a turn to suit the struggles Africans on the continent were facing - with regards to pushing for political and economic autonomy and the unification of all African states, in other words, African nationalism, the Federation of African states and or the United States of Africa and the list of potential categories goes on.

### ***Wave of Pan-Africanism in Africa***

Inasmuch as the history of Pan-Africanism outside the continent is important, it is eminent to look into the ways in which Pan-Africanism took form and fully impacted the political lingo in Africa. Precisely, it is fundamental to acknowledge how certain elements in the concept of Pan-Africanism was first realized following the alleviation of the Gold Coast, now known as Ghana, from colonization through Kwame Nkrumah. From this point on, Kwame Nkrumah became one of the forefathers of Pan-Africanism in Africa shifting his main goal (despite achieving

independence for Ghana), to gaining autonomy for the collective - for all Africans within the continent and also in the diaspora (Edozie and Gottschalk, 2014). Hereafter, Africans began to witness Pan-Africanism take charge on the continent. Also, how Pan-Africanism in West Africa too helped influence other nations in distinct regions of Africa to realize the power in the idea of Pan-Africanism, not only for their nations good but also for the betterment of all Africans.

Apart from the few conferences held overseas to discuss the injustice and crimes against black people, as previously mentioned, the conference that spiraled the hunger for political freedom on the continent was the fifth congress whereby African Pan-Africans discussed the political, economic and social future of the continent in conjunction with using Pan-Africanism as an engine to accomplish this goal. Plus, looking beyond just the racial context also succumbing to African nationalism and Pan-Africanism within the context of Africa, several other conferences were held in Africa to put into action the discusses agendas during the conference. This meant that Africans were finally moving towards ensuring the complete freedom from and insubordination to colonial rule. Even more so for the countries that were still under the gruesome colonial and imperialist rule of the west, and then achieving the ultimate goal; continental (African) unity. Because the conferences that spiraled within the continent initially started off in the Western region of the continent, it was only concerned with freeing the West African region from colonialism, but with time, the wind of change was felt in other regions of the continent through the extended influence by virtue of the tutelage of the prime African Pan-African during this time. As a result, the conferences that were held started to move towards prioritizing not only political freedom for each African state but also Africa's unification, finally depicting the essence of having an 'African personality or identity' at the core of Pan-Africanism (Clarke, 1973). To name a few of the steps taken by African Pan-Africanists towards African nationalism; the West African National Secretariat, West African Conferences held in London, the United Gold Coast Convention,

Independent African States conferences, All-African Trade Union Federation (1959), conferences held between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups and so on.

***Seek First the Political Kingdom: Kwame Nkrumah and the Journey Towards African Unity***

Pan-Africanism on the continent can be described to have had two different stages. The first stage of Pan-Africanism in Africa as aforementioned was primarily concerned with independence for all African nations from colonialization. On the other hand, the second stage of Pan-Africanism began to focus more on the political unification of the entire continent. A popular phrase, Seek First the Political Kingdom is often used to address the drive for political unity across the continent because “political restrictions lead to economic disabilities” (Ali, 1959). Thus, the emphasis on seeking first the political kingdom within the Pan-Africanism movement in Africa has always been the most important component of the concept and it is for this reason that Nkrumah relentlessly stressed in his writings and speeches that true freedom from imperialism for the African states and the continent in general, could not or would not become a reality without political unification. The idea that political unity would at the same time determine socio-economic growth on the continent is indeed persuasive and credible as without political unity amongst these nations or a level of political agreement between African heads of states, socio-economic growth for the continent will seem like a herculean task and could potentially become unfruitful - as we will see in the later text with the new political and economic policies that have come to be since the wave of independence and the reduced relevance of pan-Africanism on the continent.

Kwame Nkrumah, a Ghana native, was, in fact, a man beyond his time. As a focused, political thinker who was determined to see colonial rule in Africa end, and for all Africans to finally reap the true benefit of political, economic and social freedom, he strongly believed that pan-Africanism - finally being where it truly belonged post- the fifth congress - was the key to

totally liberating the continent and the creation of a United African States. He dreamt and longed for a unified future for the continent, a future where all the African countries would have recuperated from the economic exploitations carried out within their respective territories by the colonizers, and more paramount, a politically united Africa (Nkrumah, 1963).

One of the many infamous writings by African Pan-Africans concerning Pan-Africanism and African nationalism is Kwame Nkrumah's *Africa Must Unite* (1963) which is more or less a 'Pan-African doctrine' that many African leaders today can refer to as a manual for amending the current social, political and economic situation on the continent. Considering the fact that not much has changed since its publishing in 1963, the problems addressed by Nkrumah in the book are still prevalent. The key point in the entirety of this book was the need for continental unification. Continental unification to Nkrumah meant not only political progress in Africa but also a step towards social and economic headway for all of Africa. That being said, it was important for all Africans and the time to respond to Nkrumah's clarion call to seek first the political kingdom.

In *Africa Must Unite*, writing during the period of colonialization and the initiation of decolonization in some African states, Nkrumah stated that there is was ongoing a wind of change occurring on the continent, one that is unnatural and powerful enough to erode old order (Nkrumah, 1963). "Africans felt more strongly and more strongly, the need to join hands because their interest is common and there are numerous bonds of history and culture that join them together. Negritude of the African personality, and even more of a mighty Pan-African federation" (Ali, 1959). This same wind of change is still felt on the continent as many African states are still undergoing economic exploitations prompting institutions like the African Union to refer back to the idea of reunifying the Pan-African dream idealized by African forefathers with the modern dream of attaining development on the continent. In other words, reshaping, reimagining and reminding Africa of its continental goal and identity.



What is bizarre today is that many Africans tend to ignore that in the past there were indeed successful attempts to initiate continental unification, spearheaded by some African states namely; Ghana, Guinea, and Mali (Kurtz, 1970). Post-independence by working with other independent states, Kwame Nkrumah ensured that he pushed the Pan-African agenda hence forming the amalgamation of the first United African States (UAS). The union was first accomplished by Ghana and Guinea with Mali joining afterward in 1960, almost two years after the Ghana-Guinea union. “The first step towards African political union was taken on 23 November 1958, when Ghana and the Republic of Guinea united to form a nucleus for a Union of African States” (Nkrumah, 1963). The mere fact that this union existed set the tone for the need for African states to unite first politically and then economically. Obviously, the union is non-existent today, notwithstanding, it is necessary to take account of its usefulness in Africa’s history. Especially since the union set the precedence for the creation of a politically unified continent, also creating policies that could have been implemented holistically.

In spite of the various attempts to unify the continent by Nkrumah and his counterparts, by working with the Casablanca and Monrovia groups in an attempt to finally move towards complete political unification, this union did not come into being. Alternatively, the Organization of African Unity was created, still underlining the goals of Pan-Africanism, though, not fully fulfilling the needs of the movement across the continent. In 1963, Addis Ababa, African pan-Africans gathered to discuss how the continent could prosper politically, socially and economically under a guiding institution or the Charter of African Unity. Following the creation of the OAU, the establishment of regional blocs, now RECs, would begin to determine the relevance of Pan-Africanism on the continent and the steps towards continental unification.

Undeniably, the evolution of the concept Pan-Africanism, the disagreements on what it truly means and how it is being conceived today helps to shape the success or failure of the

ambitious idea of a United States of Africa. In order for Pan-Africanism to be successfully put into practice, Africans must understand what the philosophy means and then re-interpret and re-integrate the ideas especially concerning using the concept as a means to achieve continental integration as it was sought after by some of the strongest Pan-African political thinkers the continent has ever produced (at the time the ideology was most ubiquitous), then apply it to the current socio-economic and political situation in Africa.

Visibly, Africa has faced many difficulties that have hindered political, social and economic stability on the continent. As a result, setting the mood for total liberation and the unification of the continent was quintessential to overcoming the trials and tribulations that Africans and African states have and continue to undergo. With the conception of Pan-Africanism as a stepping stone to achieve political and economic unity, the various adversities that the African continent has faced create opportunities for success and success for the continent lie in accepting an ideology that would guide the continent towards complete political and economic unity. This was the vision Kwame Nkrumah and many other African Pan-Africanists had, so what has happened since independence?

### ***Symbolic Pan-Africanism & Threat to State Sovereignty***

#### *Sovereignty Concerns*

The establishment of the African Union exemplifies how the Pan-African ideology is widely accepted but is yet to be put into practice. Because of this, putting it into practice also poses a threat to state sovereignty and the political survival of African heads of states.

The idea of African nationalism has since then been truncated by the creation of the Organization of African Unity. “The achievement of African political unification would radically diminish if not remove the authority now enjoyed by the heads of many modern African states... their supreme authority would have been superseded” (Crutcher, 1966). The OAU’s existence was enough evidence to Africans and the international community the rift between African federalists

(Casablanca group) and moderates (Monrovia group), their different views on the issue of African nationalism and the ultimate goal being the political kingdom. The members of the Casablanca group were strong proponents of seeking first the political kingdom, being that everything else good will come from it (the eventual creation of a United States of Africa and the socio-economic and political prosperity of the continent). Members of the rival group; Monrovia, on the other hand, thought it was best to guide jealousy their newly gained independence, maintaining their autonomy and sleeping with the enemy (former colonial administration) instead of dealing with their political and economic shortcomings.

Alternatively, if it was not for their clashing views on how best to unify Africa, the OAU (later changed to the African Union in 2001 due to the inefficiency of the institution, and the safeguarding of the sovereignty of newly independent states regardless of the influence of the organization), would have been orchestrated as the continental governing body for Africa. That is, if it were not for the estrangement between these two groups and their different perceptions on how Pan-Africanism should influence Africa's future, the OAU could have cemented Kwame Nkrumah's dream of a United States of Africa. "The state-driven process through the OAU has gone its course from 1963 to 2001 and another state-driven process has emerged through the AU/NEPAD process" (Muchie, 2004). With the shift in the role of Pan-Africanism in the performance or autonomy of the African Union, African states were once again enticed by neocolonialism (Mkandawire, 2011), further deepening colonial ties and the dependency of African states. It is for this reason, post-independence, Nkrumah describes African elites as being "neo-colonized," painting them as Africa's immediate enemy and Western influence or neocolonial ties with the West as the continent's major enemy both needing African unity as the weapon used in combating their agendas (Herve, 1973). The former needing to be "neutralized" first, then the latter, eradicated completely, in order to fulfill African socialism (Herve, 1973).

Between the years 1999 to 2001, the African Union was created as a metamorphosis from the Organization of African Unity.<sup>3</sup> This transition was successfully executed during the Declaration of Sirte. The Declaration of Sirte was adopted with the intention to hasten continental integration, with a focus on economic integration on the continent (Buyoya, 2006). This change made the AU stand out from the OAU that was primarily concerned at the time with the liberation struggle ongoing on the continent at the time. Irrespective of this significant difference, it would be naive to state that the AU's purposes are completely distinct from that of the OAU's (Buyoya, 2006). The vision of the African Union; "an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena" (African Union), in itself shows that there are little to no discrepancies from the vision of the OAU.<sup>4</sup>

The change in the title and functions of the organization is a representation and interpretation of the biblical parable about putting new wine in old bottles. "Neither do people pour new wine into old wineskins. If they do, the skins will burst; the wine will run out and the wineskins will be ruined. No, they pour new wine into new wineskins, and both are preserved" (Matthew 9:17). This verse is self-explanatory and even more so, it is ever glaring when paralleled with the challenges to steer Africa towards political and economic prosperity that has ensued since the African Union. Subsequently, the idea of a United States of Africa is called to question.

The current state of the African Union depicts how the institution has slightly aberrated away from the Pan-African ideal but has also conceded to Western influence. This is most

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<sup>3</sup>Buyoya (2006) discusses the AU's approaches to differ from the OAU by adopting three initiatives centered around economic integration, foreign investments, public participation and gender inclusivity. "the first approach is an integrative process that will move Africa from a condition in which states defend only their own political and diplomatic interests to a condition of true economic integration. The second approach is a step toward ensuring that the framework for public debate is open and inclusive of the whole continent, including women and civil society. The third is that of give and take, making overtures to other non-African regional and international organizations, such as the international aid community and foreign investors."

<sup>4</sup>Since its conception, the African Union functions now because it consists of various organs, each having different tasks, that altogether work towards the vision of the organization. The organs are; the Assembly of the Union, the Executive Council, the Pan-African Parliament, the Court of Justice, the Commission, the Permanent Representatives Committee, the Specialized Technical Committees, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council, and the Financial Institutions (Constitutive Act of the African Union).

transparent with how the AU handles its political and economic activities on the continent, the lack of interference regarding the social injustice, political corruption, and economic downfalls or recession's persisting in African states, and significantly, because it chooses to respect the sovereignty, African states remain unchecked and unsanctioned. All of which contribute to slow development.

In the Pan-African discourse, the African Union has been researched as an institution created to embody the aspirations of Pan-Africanists for the continent; “a renaissance of Pan-Africanism” (Matthews, 2005), the brainchild of Pan-Africanism. “The elite through the OAU recruited paradoxically and somewhat offensively a rhetorical 'Pan-Africanism' that tried to ennoble the fraternity of post-colonial heads of states as an expression of Pan-African celebration and solidarity” (Muchie, 2004). The symbolic and constitutional representation of the African Union cannot be asserted as being mutually exclusive from the theory of state sovereignty. In view of this, this research intertwines the African Union as a regional or continental body that has the ability to grant the practice of Pan-Africanism on a grand scale and a perpetrating threat to state sovereignty.

In addition, it can also be theorized that despite this fact, state sovereignty reigns supreme in Africa and the African Union, regardless of the fact that it embodies a symbolic representation of Pan-Africanism does not bear enough power to command how African leaders choose to dictate the future of their nations and choose to overlook the grand schemes of thing - which in this case is path towards the United State of Africa. Accordingly, it is not enough to assert that the African Union (as an embodiment of Pan-Africanism) will successfully achieve the vision of Pan-Africanism, thus why this theory is relevant to the discussions on this topic.

Today, with the establishment of the African Union as a continental "governing" body that ensures the solidification of state sovereignty, Pan-Africanism has been reduced to plainly being

institutionally represented. Although the African Union is considered as a reincarnation of Pan-Africanism or commended for reviving Pan-Africanism on the continent, it is merely institutional Pan-Africanism, in turn, showing proof of its limitations. With the African Union's existence as a metaphorical illustration of the concept, the perception of pan-Africanism has changed to one that does not connote an active move towards the suggested continental integration as the discourse in contemporary Africa has moved away from the idea of politically unifying the continent.

Also, considering that there are no colonial powers to rid themselves of, many Africans no longer associate modern day Pan-Africanism in the same way it was applied in the past. In other words, Pan-Africanism is no longer prized in the hearts of the general African public and African leaders in the context of fighting for a particular cause; liberation and freedom towards a unique goal - a United States of Africa. But, with the rise and emphasis on political survival within the continent, perhaps Africans need to begin to think about decolonizing themselves from their current heads of state who are at forefront of decimating and infringing on the progress of political and economic integration - which could potentially be a bonus for the socio-economic well-being of the African population.

To remain stagnant in terms of economic and political growth, Africans and African leaders are choosing to remain disintegrated, constantly being prone to the perils of neocolonialism (Nkrumah, 1963). Modern-day Africa is now confronted with neo-colonialism and the dream to attain Pan-Africanism will continue to appear as a far-fetched plan unless African governments are willing to decolonize their political structures and civil society, also accepting certain principles on Pan-Africanism that were rigorously and universally preached upon by the likes of Kwame Nkrumah. To counter this stagnation, Africa needs to be organized into a political union (Nkrumah, 1963). African nationalism needs to occur, cohesively dictating the pace of political and economic growth in each Africa state. It has been over 60 years since the African states gained

independence through the Pan-Africanism movements. Yet, Pan-Africanism has not entirely played out in Africa as the very struggles and oppression that were fought against are still parasitic to the true political, social and economic freedom of the continent. “In a classical term, imperialism depends on the colonial rule as the main form of political and economic control. Neo-imperialism is about domination without necessarily having physical control” (Lumumba-Kasongo 2011). The dangers of neo-Imperialism or neo-colonialism that Kwame Nkrumah warned African states against has crept its way into Africa by the way of globalization which in turn, entices and influences the political and economic actions taken by African states.

Not only do African states depend on financial assistance from the West, but the African Union also relies profoundly on monetary contributions from powerful countries outside of the continent. These countries pump money into the institution in the guise of enabling the 'toothless bulldog' (AU) to have a footing within the continent and the international community when in actuality it gives the Western powers a free pass to mark their political and economic footprints on the continent. “Perhaps most importantly, neocolonialism involves the ability for external exploitation to exist alongside all outward trappings of constitutional sovereignty. Indeed, the neocolonial formula Nkrumah developed included a complicit role of the official institutions and stewards of the states in aiding in easing extra colonial systems of domination” (Young, 2010). It is already apparent the disadvantages of aid from the West to African states. Not only did Nkrumah refute this dependency but contemporary economists like Dambisa Moyo has also written intensively on the detrimental effects of aid from the West to the continent. “Africa has not yet fully owned the power to design its free future without European interference, either through charity or conditionality” (Muchie, 2004). Yet, despite the warnings, African states remain heavily dependent on their colonial linkages to the west for financial support.

Moreover, neo-colonialism has also allowed for other growing powerhouses; China and India, within the international community to have strong holdings in African states. Going by Immanuel Wallenstein's *World Systems Theory*, African states are considered to be economically, socially and politically located in the periphery. Bearing this in mind, the African continent is susceptible to interference from core states (Western influence). "What is most at stake in Africa is the vast resources which have from time immemorial been of high importance to wealthy nations usually for the purpose of extortion which in turn affects economic growth the underdeveloped world. Slow economic growth then requires assistance, mostly financial from core states and transnational financial institutions who then introduce Eurocentric structural adjustment programs and provide aid assistance, again, immortalizing dependency" (Adesola Adeyemo, 2017). Despite the fact that colonization ended several years ago, economic exploitation is still happening in Africa.

What is most ironic and contradictory of it all is both the whopping \$200 million brand new African Union building funded and constructed by the Chinese government and the recently inaugurated Julius Nyerere Peace and Security building funded by the German government, estimated to have cost Germany an unbelievable 31 million Euro to build. These two buildings have been described as merely a generous contribution to the organization, showing both countries solidarity and support. However, it is known that nothing comes for free or without an expected return. In other words, without some expected level of influence from either the Chinese or German government in the AU's decisions. "Neocolonialism provides an effective framework for reflecting on the current state of the unification debate and identifying some of the observable trends that now portend to define that discussion" (Young, 2010). It would behoove African leaders, and those who hope for a better future for the continent that instead of having their arms stretched out to the West every now and then for aid, the intentionality needs to be questioned first,



if not Africa's economy will continue to be demoralized (Ferguson, 2007), remain in the cycle of constantly being depicted as a continent of catastrophe and the White Man's Burden.'

Similarly, Achilles Mbembe in his popular work titled *On the Post Colony*, he theorizes and depicts postcoloniality in Africa. In his writing, he asserts Pan-Africanism as a remedy to the effects of postcoloniality on the continent. Furthermore, he introduces the commandment defining it has to have three characteristics; "a regime departing away from the common law, on privileges and impunity and the absence in differentiating between ruling and civilizing" (Mbembe, pg. 29-31). These characteristics he suggests has been the methods applied by African heads of states post colonialism in ruling civil society. In relations to Pan-Africanism in Africa, the commandments being applied in the political framework of many, if not all African states, hinders Pan-Africanism from flourishing in the sense that it focuses more on the political survival of African heads of states, whilst simultaneously decreasing the political will to take action towards securing a Pan-African continent.

In the same vein, Quijano and Ennis in *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America* describe the ineptitude of colonized nations or continents to completely rid and strip themselves from western influence. Although they write concerning Latin America, their theory on postcoloniality and ties between former colonies and former colonial powers applies to the current situation in Africa. "Colonization in a nutshell arrested and unraveled African civilization, imposed Western imperial structures on Africa, and in the process, produced deleterious distorting, disorienting and disarticulating effects on the entire political, social, legal and economic structures of societies" (Omeje, 2018). Post colonialization, as much as the advocates of African nationalism attempted to build a continent for the African people, there are clear remnants of colonial institutions or systems of government and or governing civil society that have been incorporated with modern African political frameworks.

Kenning this, because political institutions in Africa have been constructed utilizing former methods applied by former colonial administrations, there are visible repercussions, especially in the political and economic sphere. This is also a result of the 'umbilical' cord between western powers and the continent of Africa that refuses to be cut. “Europe’s hegemony over the new model of global power concentrated all forms of the control of subjectivity, culture, and especially knowledge and the production of knowledge under its hegemony” (Quijano and Ennis, 540). For this reason, Pan-Africanism in Africa, years after the independence of African states from colonial rule, has been affected by this umbilical cord. “The hegemonic powers have changed, but the hegemonic control over Africa remains the same” (Muchie, 2004). For African nationalism to take its true and full course, this means that it would have to come in close contact, in conflict, or intertwined with the *coloniality of power*.

Without digressing from the topic at hand, these examples certainly show some level of clenching unto colonial influence by African states. At the same time, these major western country donors have a significant political influence on many African states. France is a prime example - considering that many African nations in the CFA franc zone are francophone states. Hence intensifying the economic and political impact the country has on certain states. In the same vein, in the wake of Agenda 2063, AfCFTA and the need to re-integrate the Pan-African goals, with BREXIT and the current state of the European Union, the chances of politically unifying the continent of Africa is slim, allowing for the political will of African heads of state to remain stagnant and in some case, entirely unwilling to adhere to integration policies adopted by the African Union. Differently, seeing as BREXIT has played out for the EU, African heads of states are increasingly becoming reluctant to merge into an economic union.

### **Key Findings:**

- In this chapter, both operating hypotheses A and C are reasserted based on the findings.

- Specifically, the reduction in the meaning of Pan-Africanism which argues that a United States of Africa has not yet been achieved because of the plurality of the concept/movement and how it is and has been applied by various generations.
- The concept of pan-Africanism has shifted from being a racial objective to a political goal and now an economic objective.
- At the dawn of the African Union up until today, the hypothesis is valid as pan-Africanism has been applied differently – now emphasizing and prioritizing economic integration over political integration. Whether this prioritization will yield positive results for the continent is still to be determined seeing as there are still external (western powers) and internal (African states sovereignty concerns) parties hindering the successful implementation of economic (and political) integrative policies.

## Chapter 2

### Perception of Pan-Africanism in Contemporary Africa

Unity will not make us rich, but it can make it difficult for Africa and the African peoples to be disregarded and humiliated. And it will, therefore, increase the effectiveness of the decisions we make and try to implement for our development.

My generation led Africa to political freedom. The current generation of leaders and peoples of Africa must pick up the flickering torch of African freedom, refuel it with their enthusiasm and determination, and carry it forward.  
- ***Julius Nyerere***

As discourses on Pan-Africanism continues to storm the continent, be it in policies made at the supra-governmental level (by the African Union), nationally in the various African countries, or amongst specific Pan-African enthusiast groups within local communities - these policies show how the perceptions of Pan-Africanism in contemporary Africa has changed from how it was perceived when Pan-Africanism movements were rampant on the continent. Consequently, several questions arise; how do Africans regard Pan-Africanism in modern day Africa? How relevant is Pan-Africanism today to the socio-economic and political concerns of the continent? How popular and or relevant is the concept of a United States of Africa to Africans today? When studying socio-economic and political progress on the continent, past and current researches and scholarly works often deviate away from using Pan-Africanism as a mechanism to outline the socio-economic or political trends on the continent. That is, the efforts towards bettering the socio-economic or political fabric of the continent are often not viewed from a Pan-Africanism lens.

At the same time, because of the ambiguity of a United States of Africa, there are not many scholarships covering the topic, let alone, attitudes from African citizens on the topic of continental integration in Africa. Scholarships on this issue are usually not people-centered enough and that is a flaw when trying to understand the true nature of Pan-Africanism today as it affects the people mostly. If anything, minimal attention is placed on the enthusiasm of African citizens regarding this issue. Similarly, results usually stem from a pessimistic view as opposed to showing optimism

from the general “public.” In retrospect, in an attempt to evaluate the research question appropriately, one must question how African citizens perceive Pan-Africanism. For this study, I suggest that it is critical to get the opinion of African citizens (regarding the topic at hand) to facilitate putting the puzzle together. I chose to pursue interviews on the contemporary attitudes and perceptions of African citizens because it helps to gain more insight on their attitudes concerning a more unified Africa which is also fundamental to understanding how realistic a continentally unified Africa is to African citizens who are not necessary in a place of decision-making power. Although the interviewees are bureaucrats/elites working for the African Union, I also maintain that they represent the voice of African citizens, seeing as many of them are not necessarily in positions that possesses significant decision-making power. Irrespective, of this, I chose the participants of the study because I suggest that their occupation and familiarity with the ongoing activities of the institution -African Union, equips them with viable knowledge that can be insightful, surprising and or supportive to the findings and claims of this research. Similarly, regarding the importance of the publics attitudes towards integrative strategies, the African Union too has acknowledged the importance of including the voice of African citizens to matters concerning continental integration.

These interviews were carried out on African bureaucrats working with the African Union. Precisely, looking at how staffs of the African Union conceptualize the pan-African dream years after Nkrumah’s failure to unify the continent. The selected group of participants were specifically chosen given their position in the African Union and their hands-on experience with how the organization does (or does not) use the philosophy of Pan-Africanism to guide the policies created and generally to help shed light on the research question which asks why Pan-Africanism is yet to be put into practice. Another goal of interviews is to confirm the hypothesis that Pan-Africanism

has shifted from a political agenda to one that is fueled by economic policies or attaining continental economic progress.

In order to derive information regarding the general perception of the configuration of a United States of Africa in modern-day Africa, a series of interviews were carried out asking a range of questions (see appendix). The questions asked during the interviews pertained to, inter alia, how they define Pan-Africanism, unity and continental integration, inspirations to work with the African Union, identity, and the creation of a United States of Africa. During the process of these interviews, three recurring themes were identified in the responses. The recurring themes are; Pan-Africanism/continental integration/unity and economic integration. These two different codes will verify the data and the changing narrative in the Pan-African discourse in contemporary Africa.

### ***How African Union Diplomats Perceive Pan-Africanism in Modern Day Africa***

#### ***Pan-Africanism, Continental Integration and Unity:***

Over the past years, the definition of Pan-Africanism has changed to mean different things, ranging from a racial objective to a political and or a socio-economic goal to promote greater unity on the continent of Africa. This theory is one of the foundational theoretical frameworks this thesis explores - by looking into the diverse ways in which Pan-Africanism is conceived and how that has, in turn, affected attaining a United States of Africa. Because of this theory, it can be hypothesized that this is the same reality in modern times - by virtue of the fact that the term Pan-Africanism means different things to diverse groups of people. Others emphasize the social aspect of Pan-Africanism - relating it to a common cultural identity, some idealize the concept as a common economic target, whilst very few envisage Pan-Africanism as having a political purpose.

The three terms; Pan-Africanism, continental integration and unity, I find useful to categorize together as these words can be used interchangeably when referring to the creation of a United States of Africa. Scholarly works often downplay the popularity of the philosophy on the continent and the preparedness and willingness of Africans to accommodate creating a more integrated continent. The information drawn from the interviews has shown the growing support for continental integration, and similarities in the popular ways that pan-Africanism continues to be grasped (specifically by looking at how bureaucrats of the African Union, given their line of work, define the concept).

Scholarships often tend to associate Pan-Africanism as a concept of emotions because it resonates with the age of colonialism and stems from a place of passion (Mkandawire, 2011). It is often associated to have been influenced by the emotional impulse that led to the Pan-African movements in the past. When asked what Pan-Africanism meant to them, one of the respondents (interviewee 1) defines Pan-Africanism as;

“...the spirit of the love and commitment for everything that will make Africa better by all means possible, upholding African values and preserving where you live.”

Hence, this definition of Pan-Africanism speaks to the emotional aspect of the concept. The words “love” and “commitment” give meaning to the seriousness and sentimental meaning of the concept of Pan-Africanism to Africans. It is a commitment, one’s passion to ensure that Africa is rejuvenated by all means necessary. Other ways in which the ideology of Pan-Africanism is defined by participants shed light on the specificity of a “common interest” for all Africans regardless of the jeopardized state in which the continent is - provided the balkanization of the continent. Interviewee 2 says;

“Pan-Africanism means a common front for all Africans irrespective of your geographical locations. Free of entry across nations, common market, currency, etc.”

Similarly, studies on Pan-Africanism often discuss the importance of crystallizing the diaspora and Africans on the continent to configure a united Africa given the concept stemmed from the diaspora. Different to the aforementioned, there is also an emphasis on the relationship between Africans on the continent and in the diaspora. The term unity is crucial to the philosophy of Pan-Africanism as it is at the nitty-gritty of enforcing continental integration. When asked what Pan-Africanism meant, interviewee 3 replied;

“that is a movement of bringing African descents together by building a bond of unity and solidarity among them. It also means oneness and speaking in one voice.”

Likewise, another participant as well spoke on the value of increased unity on the continent. The ability for the continent to be “combined as one,” “to speak in one voice, to have a common goal, to achieve things together and to ensure the peace within the Africans.” Reiterating the collective interest of all Africans and people of African descent to attaining the said unified continent.

Pan-Africanism is definitely on the horizon in Africa and the bureaucrats have visions to see Pan-Africanism materialize on the continent. The popular vision captured from the interviews is the call for the idea of a United States of America to be revisited. Articles on modifying the continent into a United States of Africa seldom bring light to the enthusiasm on the continent to actually see this vision become a reality. From the interviews, the respondents show an interest in revitalizing this idea. Particularly as the African Union moves towards further integration on the continent. To capture their perceptions on this issue, respondents were asked what their vision for Pan-Africanism in Africa is and all of the participants agreed on seeing a United States of Africa “emerge with preservation of its cultures and values,” and “seek avenues to preserve African values and be each other’s keeper.”

In addition, in the first chapter, I suggest that Pan-Africanism has moved towards an economic direction. One of the participant's visions for Pan-Africanism in the coming years



explains wanting to see the concept being realized on economic terms (another reappearing theme derived from the interview that will also be discussed in the following texts), interviewee 4 states her vision for Pan-Africanism as one in which;

“Barriers in terms of trade between African countries will be removed and African will be able to compete effectively in today’s global marketplace.”

Continental integration is another term encompassed under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism. Continental integration speaks specifically to the goal of the Pan-African movement. This has also been identified as an agenda of the African Union, employing the philosophy of Pan-Africanism to ensure continental integration either politically or economically or a combination. Apparently, when discussing continental integration, scholars often indicate the inclusion of both political and economic policies to help guarantee the integration of the continent for the greater political and socio-economic good of the continent. This is mostly done by analyzing Pan-Africanism as a tool to generate trade, the free movement of people, goods and services and the dismantling of borders. To support this information, one of the participants (interviewee 5) recognizes the interconnectedness of continental integration to the Pan-African dream, signifying it as;

“the collaboration of countries to work towards common social, political and economic interest by breaking the barriers in order to allow the free movement of goods and services within the African Continent.”

In addition, interviewee 3 shared their views on continental integration as;

“African countries working together toward the common goal; this can cover trade between countries, sharing resources and making common decisions to develop the continent.”

Furthermore, the data derived from the interviews not only show an increasing support for continental integration but also highlight the difficulties in achieving this goal. It can be looked at from a spectrum; on the far left there are those who propagandize the feasibility of a United States of Africa with no obstacle, on the extreme right - falls individuals of the opinion that it will be an

unattainable objective given the many obstacles and lastly, in between lies those of the opinion that it is feasible but also confirm that achieving the goal will not be an easy process.

Coupled with the above, from a more Pan-African enthusiast point of view, one of the participants who would fall on the extreme left of the spectrum (described above) vehemently guarantees that there are absolutely no obstacles to achieving a United States of Africa, rather, suggesting that there are steps that need to be taken to achieve continental unification. Examples of the proposed suggestions include;

“Leaders who are ready to integrate and champion the dream, a network of roads that are accessible to safely travel across countries on the continent, and, free entry (removal of visa requirement of all Africans).”

Although the participant’s confidence in the materializing of the idea oversimplifies the matter at hand, giving suggestions to achieve the United States of Africa evidently shows that as much as Pan-African enthusiasts believe strongly in the easy implementation of this Pan-African dream, one cannot deny the fact the ambiguity of the idea makes putting pan-Africanism in practice somewhat at a disadvantage to becoming a reality. Nonetheless, the participants' optimism in the accommodation of continental integration gives hope that the Nkrumah’s Pan-African dream is not dead yet and that there are individuals who do not second guess the feasibility of a United States of Africa seeing as many individuals tend to look at the concept from a pessimistic view.

As inscribed in many studies carried out on conceptualizing a more unified continent and as discussed in chapter one, pertaining to the worries of the Pan-Africanism movement at the time when it was more active, some of the identifiable obstacles to boosting the integration of the continent stems from the *coloniality of power*, the ongoing ties with and influence from former colonial powers and the threat of a unified continent to state sovereignty.

Interviewee 1:

“Yes, I am in support of the argument because it will foster unity and make Africa believe in herself rather than depending on other continents for survival. With collective efforts

and joining of hands together, the United States of Africa will benefit a lot in term of social, political and economic among themselves because Africa Continent is well endowed with both human and natural resources. The obstacles are to the different former colonial masters and over-dependent of western countries for aids. Fear of countries losing their sovereignty and political dominance and influence.”

Interviewee 2,

“I believe that African countries are stronger together. They are currently too small, and too weak to compete effectively in today’s global marketplace. Scale matters. With scale, you consolidate resources, reduce costs, project power, attract talent, and drive innovation. This needs a continent level effort.”

In the same light another participant (interviewee 3) went ahead to elaborate their position on a more unified continent and the pros and cons stating;

“As you and I may be aware of proverbs that relate to the subject of combined efforts, let me quote J.K Rowling’s to make my point; “we are only as strong as we are united as weak as we are divided.” She goes on to say “positive benefits will outweigh the negative outcome of being a United States of Africa. There are two main obstacles of the unification of Africa in my view; a colonial mentality that still exists amongst us and the willingness of the western powers/those having a strong interest in Africa.”

Correspondingly, political and cultural issues challenge strategies to successfully integrate Africa (interviewee 3);

“On the other hand, there are still some obstacles, political and cultural integration are prerequisite to the success of integration. Leaders who are driving the integration need to address the political differences and different education systems in order to put resources together and work as one people.”

What was interesting to find during the interviews was how these representatives of the African Union also confirmed the organization as an embodiment of philosophy of Pan-Africanism, “a continental organization that is working towards the unification of all Africa countries and also ensure there is peace in the continent.” Some also describe the institution as one that “drives the African integration and development process” on the continent, both important to the Pan-African ideology.

Other complimentary comments from interviewee 4 include;

“The institution is working rigorously by engaging in consultation and deliberation with its member states. In January this year, about 23 African countries have signed a treat for a single continent air travel market. This ought to create a single air transportation market across Africa. AU has been trying significantly in realizing the dream of Pan Africanism. It is projected that by 2063, the set objectives will be achieved.”

The African Union is undoubtedly fundamental to achieving a more unified continent and for the participants to validate the purpose of the organization. The statement goes to show the ongoing perceptions of the AU as the key to making continental integration a reality on the continent. Also, there is often the dilemma regarding how prepared African citizens are for continental integration and there are differing opinions. One side informs or forms the opinion on the unlikelihood for Africans to easily conceive the realization of a United States of Africa for reasons ranging from specific political and socio-economic concerns facing their respective countries.

Interviewee 5;

“I can say 50/50. In my view, half of the people seem to be prepared, and the other half needs to be convinced in order to change their mindset towards uniting the continent. The strong belief of sovereignty may slow down this process or preparedness.”

The other side, as confirmed in the series of interviews, contradicts the idea that Africans are not prepared. Most of the participants were very much optimistic about the perceptions of the general public, claiming that with the readily available access to information about Pan-Africanism and the organization's efforts to promote continental integration, African citizens are without a doubt prepared and willing to accept the formation of a more unified continent. A respondent affirms; “Yes, Africans are prepared, people are enlightened and know the importance that unity will bring to Africans. With robust consultative, the Unification of Africa is achievable.”

Additionally, in response to the readiness of Africans to the creation of a United States of Africa, interviewee 6 states;

“Yes, we are preparing for United States of Africa, African Union is a common voice for us, with numerous talented men and women. The unification is a gradual process, changing

the orientation and mindset of member states, setting goals to be debated at various member states assembly and coming up with a total package, it takes time but we are getting there.”

Collectively, the respondents agree that the unification of Africa will be beneficial for all; politically, economically and socially. Categorically, some of the benefits are distinguished as technology transfer, job creation which will in turn drive GDP up, reservation of foreign currency and a decrease in development costs.

### *Economic integration*

In recent times, more scholarships have identified the shift from a political agenda to an economic policy executed by the African Union. Scholars now disregard the political goal of the philosophy is that it poses as an unrealistic goal to attain acknowledging that the continent is divided into different countries and further broken down into regional economic communities (RECs). Economic integration, on the other hand, has been promoted as the most logical method for pursuing a more unified continent.

In agreement with the scholarships on economic policies in line with have been put in place to pave the way for a more unified Africa, during the interview, participants drew up other ways in which continental integration has taken a turn to suggest more of a focus on economic unity. Some of the conventional ways discussed include free entry, dissolved borders, establishing a common currency, common passport, and “united efforts in addressing socio-economic challenges of African nations” states one of the interviewees. This economic approach is also evident in the works of the African Union with the recent AfCFTA which the respondents discuss extensively providing both the advantages and disadvantages of the economic policy and how realistic it is to achieve the Pan-African dream. Besides the AfCFTA, the current RECs are also discussed by; scholars and the respondents respectively, as successful economic integrative strategies employed by the African Union to expediting continental integration.

Regarding the AfCFTA, respondents see this economic policy as a step in the right direction in safeguarding a more unified Africa. Yet, considering that the AfCFTA, if ratified, would make Africa the largest Free Trade Area in the world, participants showed both skepticism and relief that there is (finally) an economic instrument that will put the continent on the rise. Supporters of the AfCFTA claim that it will collectively benefit every nation on the continent, however, economists, likewise almost all of the participants affirm during their interviews the obvious disparity in the economic benefits each country will gain. One of the respondent's remarks that "it is understandable that there are some major players in the African economy, but the good of all should come first then the individual comparative advantage of each country."

Interviewee 2;

"it will bring a more unified continent; most member states have advanced technology, with the free trade agreement, exchange in knowledge and technical know-how will emanate that will improve other states, tourism will increase thereby bringing revenue. There will be also more cultural awareness among nations. Inter-marriages will increase, that will help to minimize tribal wars."

A third interviewee says;

"Yes, it can lead to a unified continent. The institution has a lot of work to do. It has to ensure that there are balances on issues of trade within the continent because some countries have comparative advantages over others in terms of labor, technology know-how, natural resources etc. Some counties have not signed the trade treat maybe because of fear of an influx of people that will have an effect on their security and other factors. The commission has to let its members know that the benefits of ACFTA outweigh its disadvantages. The trade within the continent will make money to be retained in Africa. This will also eradicate economy and political dependence on Western World."

Another, when questioned on whether the AfCFTA, could lead to a more unified continent interviewee 4 responded;

"As you and I couldn't agree more, no development without a strong economy and development can reach the desired level when the country or continent is trading with bigger economies which have a very strong competitive advantage. AfCFTA will help the continent to gain a competitive advantage over the other players. This will strengthen its bargaining power, keep the money on the continent, as job market will increase. In retrospect, the countries will feel more unity."

In addition, a close analysis of the responses from the interviews shows a commonality in how the interviewees perceive the obstacles to the AfCFTA and what that could potentially mean for Pan-Africanism to be put into practice. Recent articles on the AfCFTA have shown reluctance to fully embrace the agreement as one that will project positive outcomes, hence, the interviewees have also shared their views on the challenges currently facing the full adoption of the agreement. The common obstacles discussed were; financial capital to catalyze the agreement, security concerns, lack of infrastructure in some countries, slow technological advancement, competition between power holding countries.

Interviewee 1 elaborates on the obstacles and fears for the hindrance of the AfCFTA coming into being;

1. "High competition of the big market economies which are not ready to give up on Africa because its population is a huge market for their goods produced cheaply. Also, these larger markets take advantage of Africa and market it as a dumping ground! Sad!

2. "Africa's shortage of highly skilled labor is an obstacle to AfCFTA's complete implementation.

3. "Low technology is another factor that will hinder AfCFTA's faster and full implementation"

Interviewee 5 explicitly stated;

"Difference in political ideologies and the fear of dominance by fellow African Countries. Socio-cultural differences among Africa countries may affect the markets within the continent. There is a need for good transport networking to connect African countries together without this movement of goods and services will be hindered. Border security because of fear of being attacked by external forces and also to control the influx of coming people into their countries. Over-reliance on foreign aids and supports from foreign countries."

#### *Cultural/Ethnic Diversity:*

From the information gathered from the interviews, what was most interesting to find was that one out of all the respondents hinted to socio-cultural concerns coming in conflict with the Pan-African agenda. In the data collated, there is little to no information on the issue of diversity and how that truncates the making of a United States of Africa. This finding is most intriguing because the majority of the literature on the formation of a politically integrated continent often

insist on the unrealistic nature of the idea because of how diverse the continent is. Whenever there are efforts made to hasten the Pan-African dream, antagonists of the pan-African philosophy are always quick to discredit the idea, throwing in the cultural or ethnic diversity argument.

The power in which cultural diversity holds is unquestionable. Typically, in the case whereby it truncates national identity. In essence, cultural diversity within a state can be both a blessing and a burden as it could either bring forth stronger solidarity and respect for the varying cultural identities or it could weaken and threatens solidarity. Relating to this research, this theory (the theoretical framework I (b)) is vital to unraveling the underlying factors that contribute to the failure of Pan-Africanism, recognizing the diverse nature of the continent and the potential for a catastrophe to play out assuming continental integration occurred.

Cultural and ethnic diversity is undeniably one of the reasons why many African nations are failed states today. Most if not all African nation has experienced some form of cultural clash that has led to ongoing conflicts and xenophobia which in return has stumped economic and political changes. Now imagine the continental implication. In as much as this research is inclined to support the beliefs of Kwame Nkrumah who strongly presumed that cultural diversity would not be a hindrance owing to the fact that Africans all share a ‘common African identity’. At the same time, there is not enough empirical information and real-life examples to support this idea on a continental scale. Therefore, the dominant rhetoric of this theory centers around the impracticality of Pan-Africanism in practice because of the diversity of the continent.

A popular rhetoric in Pan-African studies and continental integration discourse especially in a culturally, politically, economically diverse continent, typically concerns the inevitability of Pan-Africanism or continental integration to fail and not reach its potential. Regarding culture, oftentimes this conclusion has been refuted as a few schools of thought have suggested that the diversity of the continent does not hinder Pan-Africanism from flourishing on the continent as it



has promoted increased tolerance amongst many Africans. Paradoxically, maintaining the sovereignty of nation-states poses more of a threat to African continental integration reaching its full potential as it only allows for increased hostility, and impoverishment in Africa (Matthews, 2005). This affirms Kwame Nkrumah's proposition (amongst other political thinkers) who strongly asserted that diversity is not an encumbrance to Pan-Africanism. In *Africa Must Unite*, distinctively in chapter fifteen entitled 'African unity,' Nkrumah emphasizes that what unifies the continent is the identification of all peoples as Africans which subdues all differences that may exist.

"I am convinced that the forces making for unity far outweigh those which divide us. In meeting fellow Africans from all parts of the continent I am constantly impressed by how much we have in common. It is not just our colonial past or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something which goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a sense of oneness in that we are Africans. In practical terms, this deep-rooted unity has shown itself in the development of Pan-Africanism" (Nkrumah, 1963).

Overlooking the notion of Pan-Africanism and the validity of the philosophy with the excuse of its lack of acknowledgment for the diversity of the continent stems from the "fear of the unknown" or rather "Africa's fear of itself." (Matsinhe, 2011). I suggest that this fear of the unknown emanates from Africans who fear not knowing how a United States of Africa will play out and the fear of being outnumbered by the "other," ergo, the discomfort with the idea. Arjun Appadurai in *Fear of Small Numbers* explains the resentment that often arises within a community or a nation notably when the majority group begins to feel outnumbered by a minority group. The disconnect between the majority and the minority, therefore forms a wedge between these groups, fueling gruesome ethnic conflicts. Africans fear the aftermath of a United States of Africa and the complexities and challenges that come with it. Because of this, many Africans would rather comfort themselves with nationalism, playing into the hands of those who stand to benefit the most from a divided Africa.

In support of Nkrumah's claim, non-African scholars have acknowledged through their research that tribalism at the national level, during the period of emancipation was not entirely a barrier to national unity as states were able to form under one national identity despite the glaring different ethnicities (Bascom, 1962). Again, proponents for continental integration, irrespective of diversity reiterate the notion of colonialism still existing in modern day Africa by virtue of the arbitrary borders that were not designed by Africans themselves but by the Western colony, hence, continental integration will symbolize doing away with this colonial creation. In contrast, other scholarly works on cultural diversity within the continent have realized and expressed the lack of cultural solidarity within nation-states. Because of this, scholars fear that the mass incorporation of the diverse cultures under a 'United States of Africa' will provoke one of the most gruesome ethnic/cultural genocides the world would have ever witnessed (International Organization, 1962).

As previously stated, one of the main arguments against continental unification in Africa is the diversity of the continent in terms of different races, cultures or ethnicities and languages which Nkrumah describes as the key ingredients to unity (Nkrumah, 1963). Further, those who contest the idea of a politically unified Africa, the idea is often countered on the basis that it infringes on state sovereignty and overlooks the diverse identities prevalent on the continent. First, regarding identity, Nkrumah detested the idea that African unity could be impeded because of the diversity of the continent. Kwame Nkrumah was popularly known for resenting colonialism, particularly the ripple effects of colonial rule on the continent. Colonialism, he argued, brought about a realization of difference amongst Africans which in turn re-imagined ethnicity and heightened ethnic, religious, political, gender, and racial conflicts across the continent. Because of the realization of these differences, particularly through the distribution of power to particular groups during the colonial regime, colonialism is also responsible for the re-imagination of people into nations (Nkrumah, 1963).

Relating to Benedict Anderson's theory in his famous book *Imagined Communities*, colonialism introduced gave birth to the socially constructed nature of nations within Africa, through the Scramble of Africa which intentionally divided Africa with the intention to solely extort the continent of its raw materials and its maintenance during colonialization and post-colonialization. "The territorial boundaries dividing us were fixed a long time ago, often quite arbitrarily by colonial powers" (Nkrumah, 1963). Communities in Africa have now been imagined into a nation based on how people within a community identify themselves through certain nationality indicators, under a given nation; an imagined political community. "Colonial authorities placed undue emphasis on land instead of such integrative variables like economic ties, inter-group consanguinity, and cultural cutting loyalties" (Okpey Ochayi, 2007/2008) Because of this, Nkrumah believed that pan-Africanism was the key to unlocking the continent from its arbitrariness and colonial construction and at the same time unlocking the continents potentials through the creation of a single political and economic African government which he believed would undoubtedly re-imagine Africa to what it was prior to the balkanization of tribalism, racism, gender inequality, economic and political division (Charles Quist-Adade and Vincent Dadoo, 2015).

Hence, to argue that the diverse cultural identities will prevent a politically unified continent is ignorant of Africa's history (prior to its influence and occupation by imperialists). Bearing in mind that our current societies were imagined by colonial powers, some historical works have proven that Africans existed amicably with one another prior to colonialization. Colonialization without a doubt intensified racial and ethnic identities within the continent causing rifts amongst the various groups. A prime example is the Hutus and Tutsis of Rwanda two groups that have been studied to have lived cohesively in peace several years before being occupied by Belgium. Coupled with the fact that during the creation of the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union, each

state was allowed the privilege to national identity which was undeniably prosperous during the union. Again, this was not seen as an obstacle to the establishment of the unification of these African states. This is not to deny the fact that many African states have split, like Sudan and South Sudan, or many countries have not experienced ongoing ethnic conflicts, however, Africans and African leaders need to look beyond the somewhat trivial ethnic argument as a barrier to a politically unified continent, because continental unification for the continent does necessarily mean that the diversity of the continent will be ignored when policies are being drawn.

In essence, the intention is to establish an African personality through African nationalism that will be to the betterment of the individual (African) and the continent as a whole. As Nkrumah eloquently stated, irrespective of our differences, the elements of what unite are more significant than whatever is composed as factors that divide us. Using diversity as a reason why political integration should not occur will continue to be at the disadvantage of Africans and Africa in general. A recent research carried out by Afrobarometer following Morocco rejoining the African Union, specifically looking into how accepting Moroccans are towards other Africans, the data shows that Morocco ranks the highest in terms of the least welcoming African country.<sup>5</sup> According to Afrobarometer, “significant minorities say they would “somewhat dislike” or “strongly dislike” living next-door to people of a different religion (33%), people of a different ethnicity (26%), and foreign workers and immigrants (33%) – about two to three times average levels of intolerance across surveyed countries.” The findings from this data depicts the clear challenges towards approaches to secure a more unified continent seeing as certain countries like Morocco have citizens that are xenophobic, further hindering attempts to pursue free movements of people within Africa. That is to say, the clear xenophobia or African on African hatred or resentment based on

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<sup>5</sup>Afrobarometer. “Rejoining the AU, Moroccans bring decidedly mixed attitudes toward regional integration” <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad137-rejoining-au-moroccans-bring-decidedly-mixed-attitudes-toward-regional-integration>

the differing cultures and ethnicities (religion included) obstructs the possibilities of establishing an integrated continent.

For the philosophy of a United States of Africa is put into practice in its full form i.e. by eradicating borders inherited during colonialism and changing African citizen's identities, Africans might have to start imagining themselves differently. Simply put, through 'de-ethnicizing' or 'denationalizing' processes (Ladun, 1974). Depending on the approach utilized by the African Union in reaching continental integration, Africans might have to sway away from having to introduce oneself based on their given nationality to simply identifying as an African, implying a common identity. It is this tactic, amongst other actions that have to be taken to configure a united Africa that scares many citizens - seeing as most Africans pride themselves based on their national identity first, then their common identity as African second. Hence, this begs the question of whether throwing out 'ethnic' or 'national' markers is an effective mechanism that will truly support the Pan-African dream.

Beyond the concerns regarding identity, others add that the cultural diversity at a national level has contributed to the lack of political and economic progress and wonder how that would play out if a United States of Africa became a reality. Specifically, scholarly works on cultural/ethnic diversity express how diversity has from time immemorial been a barrier to the success of economic policies which in turn affects economic growth (Easterly and Levine, 1997). With that being said, on a continental scale, scholars worry that the same issue will happen whereby economic integrative policies will only be great on paper and not in practice and continental progress, in general, will be truncated and worsened under a United States of Africa.

Essentially, the formidable United States of Africa will definitely bring into question one's identity. In the process of conducting the interviews, this very issue of identity was captured during the interviews. When questioned on how they would identify themselves, some respondents

acknowledged being African second and for example, Ethiopian first; I still identify myself according to my nationality as I aim to change my mindset.” To oppose this statement, another respondent strongly states always introducing themselves as African first. Interestingly, interviewee 1 claimed to not fall on either of the spectra addressing their identity as a secular humanist;

“I am Secular Humanist and advocate principle which makes larger group beneficial with equality. Thus, human first and then African.”

Interviewee 2;

“If I am in Africa, my best way of identity is my nationality that makes it easy for anybody to identify me. If I am on another continent, I will identify myself as an African”

Clearly, identity is to an extent an issue. Further, as previously mentioned, in relation to cultural and ethnic diversity as a stumbling block to continental integration, none of the interviewees saw it fit to mention it as a challenge, thus, one might conclude that there is a changing focus on the more relevant factors contributing to the slow implementation of continental integration.

### **Key Findings:**

- Public attitudes towards the integration of Africa has been changing overtime. Given the information derived from the interviews, it is clear that there are still some who are clenching unto the fact that a United States of Africa or a more unified continent is a mirage - considering the various obstacles – i.e. the diversity of the continent. Nonetheless, there is still hope!
- Unexpectedly, the perceptions and attitudes of the interviewees showed increasing support for the idea of more unified continent, especially for the economic prosperity of the continent and African citizens.
- As a result, in this case, the reduction in the meaning of pan-Africanism and what it means to African citizens in contemporary times has proven to have shifted towards attaining economic integration.

### Chapter 3

#### **Pan-Africanism in Policy: *A United States of Africa?***

It is clear that we must find an African solution to our problems, and that this can only be found in African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world.

- **Kwame Nkrumah**

#### ***Seek Ye First the Economic Kingdom: Shift to Economic Policies from a Political Approach***

How can Pan-Africanism be best put into practice instead of just being institutionalized?

“To guarantee Africa’s security in the emerging new world order, the continent needs to transform the intellectual idea of Pan-Africanism to political, economic and military reality. African leaders, like their counterparts in Europe, must vigorously pursue the unity of the continent in all areas, especially economic and political” (Bekerie, 1998). Evidently, Africa has stepped away from the liberation struggle. Thus, the African Union since its conception has taken several steps towards guiding and establishing its fundamental values. In chapter one, the adoption of the African Union from the OAU was described as an epitome of the Pan-African ideal. In fact, this is still true, however, it is important to highlight that since the institution came into being, the African Union’s agenda has changed, showing how Pan-Africanism in practice has changed over time. Because of this, the African Union has taken a more economical direction to secure unification on the continent.

For one, we know that Pan-Africanism isn't entirely non-existent on the continent it has metamorphosed into the final stage. Considering the agents of destruction; neocolonialism or globalization, that the continent now has to battle with, the logic behind choosing an economic unification method as opposed to a political approach first is understandable. Because of this, the mantra has changed to ‘Seek Ye First the Economic Kingdom and all shall be added to it.’

Some of the initiatives taken by the AU has been successful, whilst others have not been fruitful. African states, particularly heads of states need to come together and revive Pan-Africanism with full-force since that is the only way the continent of Africa can finally begin to reap economic growth. Otherwise, African development will remain a phantasm. Further, there is the need for “a moment of deep African intellectual and political reflection on the political journey traveled since the 1960s, as well as time for well-thought-out forecasting beyond the ‘murky’ present into the ‘mysterious’ future” (Ndlovu, 2012). Although political unification is still at the bedrock of Pan-Africanism and the “ultimate” goal of the African Union - as it will be discussed in the coming sections as seen in Agenda 2063 - Pan-Africanism in policy is now being executed in amending Africa’s economic future. The African Union has worked towards economic unity and firming Pan-Africanism in several ways, but for the purpose of this research, the following methods; regional blocs, Agenda 2063, ACFTA will be focused on significantly.

On the economic front, scholars address the diverse economic and political situations in African nations as a stumbling block to continental integration. Most importantly, since the end of colonization, African nations have gotten the time to develop their individual national identities by establishing political institutions and economies that best suits their respective economic (natural resources) and political capacities. Similarly, with time, the continent has experienced the inauguration of regional economic blocs that have proven to be a success and failure in contributing to the continent’s development history (Luke, 1986). The ability for regions on the continent to create these economic blocs and work cohesively in advocating for development, scholars’ access to be an indicator that Pan-Africanism in terms of promoting economic integration can work. On the contrary, other academics hold a bone of contention with this idea, acknowledging the non-fulfillment and weakness of economic regional blocs today.



Coupled with the above, comparative studies on African integration have also cited instances whereby an attempt to create a ‘Union of African States’ has failed. Ghana, Guinea, and Mali’s attempt and failure in making this work in the past has shown yet again that diverse nations cannot collaborate or unify under one government even under a supposed ‘African’ identity that unifies them or relative economic and political frameworks. Further, contributing to the opposing side of African integration or Pan-Africanism on the continent by virtue of the immense diversity (International Organization, 1962). The same issue of economic and political diversity has also hindered economic continental progress or amalgamation following the adoption of the following; “OAU’s 1980 Lagos Plan of Action; 1991 Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC); and the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) adopted by the African Union” and other economic centered policies adopted by the African Union (AU) (Akudo and Okeke-Uzodike, 2016). Seeking first the economic kingdom, scholars contend is the gateway to a more unified Africa. For this reason, it is important to highlight the pros and cons of each economic initiative proposed by the union.

### ***Regional Economic Communities (RECs)***

Recognizing the change in Pan-African mantra across the continent, it is evident that the economic turn from seeking first the political kingdom was initiated or came about with the creation of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). Regional integration is arguably the most popular method employed by neighboring states within a region of a continent to unify each nation under an economic and political bloc (Gibb, 2009). With the founding of the OAU (one of the organizations somewhat successful approach to unifying the continent, although not on a large scale, due to the conflicting philosophy is between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups mentioned in the first chapter) regional bloc otherwise known as the RECs were set up on the continent to promote regional economic, social and political progression. This was achieved

through the African Economic Community treaty also known as the Abuja Treaty established in 1991. But the RECs did not start functioning in full force until three years after the adoption of the treaty. Throughout its conception, the goal of this treaty was to eventually organize a common African market for the continent or in achieving the aims of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

By having economic communities in each region (with some overlapping memberships) the main focus at the initiation of the RECs<sup>6</sup> was to first build regional common markets to promote intra-regional trade, sometimes forming regional political and military alliances, all of which are steps in the direction of eventually making an African Common Market and a single monetary union for the continent. Essentially, the RECs were created to boost intra-African integration. The African Economic Community, an organ of the African Union established six stages for each regional economic bloc to achieve in a given number of years (34 years). The various expected stages are enlisted in figure 1. These RECs are seen as the building blocs to the African Unions six stage to continental economic integration. Each bloc has had its fair share of up and downs, and regarding the stages, many, if not all of the RECs are behind on finalizing the six stages envisioned as steps towards the final creation of the AEC. Bearing this in mind, it is obvious that inasmuch as Pan-Africanism still shapes the decisions and treaties or policies created by the African Union, the final stage that would create a single market (African Economic Community) has not yet been implemented, due to the varying stages that each REC has reached. Again, hindering the chances of the continent to be unified into a United States of Africa.

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<sup>6</sup>In the process, the Abuja treaty created eight RECs; Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC).

**Figure 1: Abuja Treaty Establishing the African Community 1991**

Phases	Duration	Key milestones
<b>First stage</b>	1994–1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strengthening of existing regional economic communities; establishing new regional economic communities in regions where they did not exist previously</li> </ul>
<b>Second stage</b>	1999–2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stabilization of tariff and non-tariff barriers, customs duties and internal taxes in each regional economic community</li> <li>Schedules for the removal of such barriers</li> <li>Harmonization of customs duties</li> <li>Strengthening of sector integration</li> <li>Coordination and harmonization of the activities of regional economic communities</li> </ul>
<b>Third stage</b>	2007–2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishment of a free trade area and customs union in each regional economic community</li> </ul>
<b>Fourth stage</b>	2017–2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Coordination and harmonization of tariffs and non-tariff systems among regional economic communities, leading to a continental customs union</li> </ul>
<b>Fifth stage</b>	2019–2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Common sector policies</li> <li>Harmonization of monetary, financial and fiscal policies</li> <li>Free movement of persons and rights of residence and establishment</li> </ul>
<b>Sixth stage</b>	2023–2028	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>African Common Market</li> <li>Pan-African Economic and Monetary Union</li> <li>African Central Bank</li> <li>Pan-African Parliament</li> <li>Development of African multinational enterprises</li> </ul>

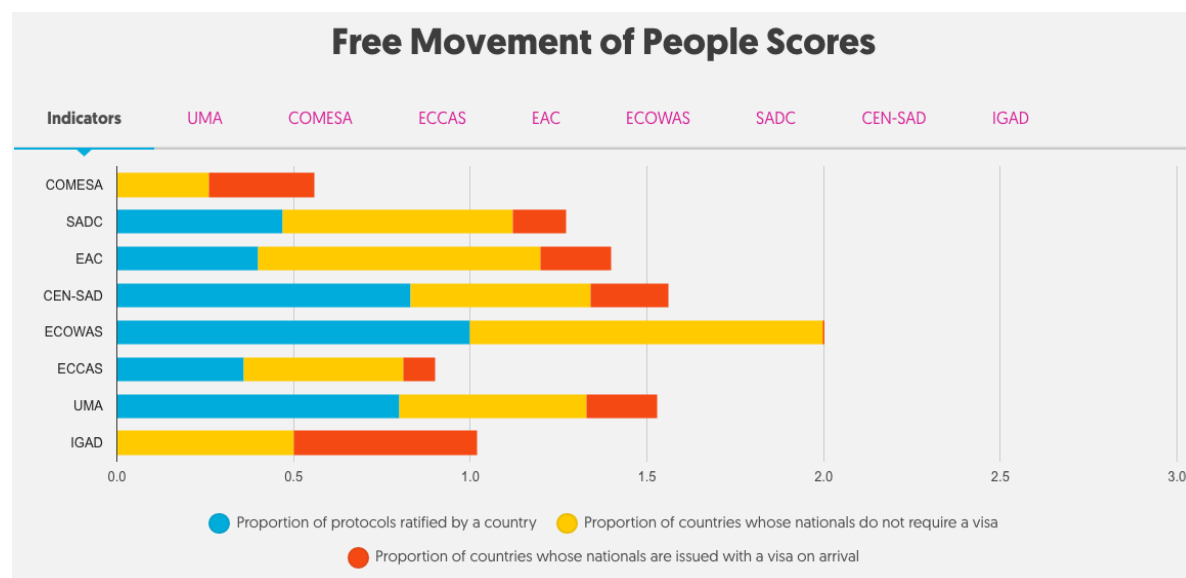
Source: ECA adaption of the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (June, 1991)

(Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa UNECA)

For the purpose of this research it is important to look how each REC has been performing economically, the economic impact they have made particularly in promoting economic integration within their respective regions. There are several indicators that can be utilized as measures of progress - notably in performing in accordance to promoting integration regionally and continentally. These indicators are, inter alia, regional infrastructure, trade integration, productive integration, financial and macroeconomic integration, and free movement of people (African Regional Integration Index). The following figures depict the signs of progress made by

each REC in the respective areas of regional infrastructure, trade integration, productive integration, financial and macroeconomic integration, and free movement of people.

**Figure 1.1: Free Movement**



(Source: African Regional Integration Index)

Regional communities within the continent continue to make efforts towards ensuring the free movement of people. Given that all RECs have put in place policies that will foster free movement within their regional area, the chart below from the African Regional Index shows which region performs better and the regions that need to improve. Although this looks at the regions holistically, this should obviously do not suggest that all the countries within a specific regional community are enforcing the policy appropriately. The scores are as a result of specific countries (as seen in figure 1.7) that are exceeding above others, pushing the outlook of the region to look more productive than others in the context of how liberal they are with the free movement of people. From the chart, looking at the indexes provided; proportion of protocols ratified by a country, proportion of countries whose nationals do not require a visa and the proportion of countries whose nationals are issues with a visa on arrival, ECOWAS scores the highest in both

the proportion of protocols ratified by a country index (1.0) and the proportion of countries whose nationals do not require a visa index (1.0). Other regional communities have equally made progress, but results are slow and full corporation regarding authenticating the free movement of peoples within each region has yet been achieved. Again, this is a classic case of policies being great on paper but not put into action as with other Pan-African influenced policies created by the African Union and its sub-organs.

In support of the information above, data from the Afrobarometer on regional perceptions on the free movement of people also shows how perceptions in the various regions impedes on the success of increased intra-African mobility. In the research carried out in 2015 regarding support for free movement across borders, the results from Afrobarometer highlights the following regionally; West Africa: 66% were in favor of free movement across borders and 29% were in support of limiting cross border free movement of people and goods, East Africa: 64% for free movement and 26% against free movement, Central Africa: 44% for free movement and 43% against free movement, Southern Africa: 51% for free movement and 42% against free movement, North Africa: 38% and 49% against free movement.<sup>7</sup> Despite the year in which the study the research was carried out, in comparison to the figure above, the interpretation of the information both from Afrobarometer and the African Regional Integration Index both show the limited interests to promote free movement of goods and people inter-regionally and within the continent as a whole.

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<sup>7</sup>Afrobarometer. "Regional Integration for Africa: Could Stronger Public Support Turn Rhetoric into Reality?" <http://afrobarometer.org/publications/ad91-regional-integration-africa-could-stronger-public-support-turn-rhetoric-reality>

**Figure 1.2: Trade Integration**

(Source: African Regional Integration Index)

Trade integration within RECs is at the kernel of the African Economic Community Treaty and the current African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA). Without the harmonization of trade within regions (intra-regional trade), an intra-African trade will be difficult to achieve, businesses will deplete or suffer and incomes too. As regional communities work towards completing the required six stages in the AEC treaty, boosting intra-regional trade is amongst the top priorities, however, one might find that irrespective of the binding AEC Treaty, RECs have been moving particularly slow with this specific agenda.

If anything, intra-regional trade has been particularly difficult for certain RECs to employ. As a result, economists have studied and shown statistics proving the minimal or lack thereof, of successful intra-regional trade on the continent. Inclusively, Gibb (2009) theorizes that the modelling of regional communities after western forms of regional frameworks (Eurocentric methods) equally contributes to the failure of these regional communities. Statistics on intra-regional and or intra-African trade has shown that Africa trades more with the outside world than it does with itself. Another reason why intra-regional and intra-African trade has not been as

successful as other continents around the world is that many African countries are in several other REC. In other words, the overlapping of countries in each REC, and the extra trade barriers that these countries with multiple memberships face concurrently contributes to slow trade flows, limited economic gains, and more losses.

The combination of the rampant nature of Africa's trade with the countries outside of its borders (an example being the EU's Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA's)) and the overlap of membership by countries in the various RECs - this situation is known as the *spaghetti bowl* phenomenon (Bhagwat, 1995) coined by Jagdish Bhagwati. Basically, in this context, the spaghetti bowl phenomenon implies that for intra-regional or intra-African trade is to bear fruits on the continent, the prevalence of preferential trading (preferential trading areas - PTA) (Mkandawire, 2011) with countries beyond Africa's border and with countries owning membership in more than one RECs, needs to be brought to a minimum or reevaluated in a way that Africa's economic growth is favored overall.

In figure 1.2, based on the level of customs duties on imports, a share of intra-regional goods exports (% GDP), a share of intra-regional goods imports (% GDP) and share of intra-regional goods trade (% total intra-REC trade), intra-REC trade is relatively slow. On a scale of 0-4, 4 being the highest performing score, the highest performing REC, the EAC scores a total of 2.41 out of 4. According to the Africa Regional Integration Index, out of the 55 countries on the continent, there is only a "total of 35 high performing countries across the eight RECs on trade integration" (Africa Regional Integration Index). From the results, it shows how tariffs, non-tariff measures, and other initiatives or policies carried out to limit trading amongst African states is hampering the success of intra-regional trade in Africa.

Reshaping the trade policies on the continent is unquestionably the key to unlocking Africa's economic potential. When this occurs, African states that typically fall-behind or have

limited access to expanding their economies due to the lack of connectivity or trade with other larger African economies, they will, in turn, be able to tap into the benefits of having an interconnected trade agreement or policy. If the EAC; comprising of mostly small states can perform the highest in trade integration by adopting strategies that are bettering intra-REC trade, then the bigger economies in other RECs can follow suit. Luckily, with the AfCFTA on the horizon, Africa can finally get the chance to redeem herself and landlocked or countries with smaller economies can begin to see socio-economic growth in their countries.

Inclusively, figure 3 depicts the outcomes of trade in each REC. From the figures, it shows again the negative effects of not having intra-regional trade work effectively. Africa Regional Integration Index declares the results as being caused by the lack of industrialization in these REC. A solution proposed by the Africa Regional Integration Index is a “made in Africa” brand to foster cheap prices for African goods for Africans (Africa Regional Integration Index). “Productive integration matters for creating an economic base that is more resilient to shocks and more diverse, but also for building a more skilled regional labor force that adds value to goods and services while raising people’s incomes on the ground. That includes opportunities with mining and manufacturing that are now shifting to Africa’s advantage” (Africa Regional Integration Index). When productive integration is nonexistent or limited, economic growth is at the same time negatively affected.



**Figure 1.3: Productive Integration**

(Source: African Regional Integration Index)

Similarly, infrastructure is undeniably important to facilitating economic growth. Without proper infrastructural methods in place, a country, city or state cannot flourish well. In this context, regionally, data derived from the Africa Regional Integration Index on regional infrastructure, again shows efforts but still some setbacks and room for improvement. “Regional hubs, as well as small or landlocked countries, have a lot to gain from promoting infrastructure to boost economic growth. Both traditional and new funding partners are continuing to invest in Africa’s infrastructure at regional level. To power the continent’s energy needs and build first-class networks, regions and countries need to encourage stronger ownership and involve the private sector” (Africa Regional Integration Index).

Certainly, regional infrastructure is by far the most efficient index given that many African states with each RECs has taken the task to build infrastructure within their territories. This includes, water and sewage facilities, internet connection, electricity, railroads, highways and so on. In regard to the information in figure 1.4, the African Regional Integration Index specifically look at the following infrastructure indexes; electricity, ICT, transport and sanitation. From the

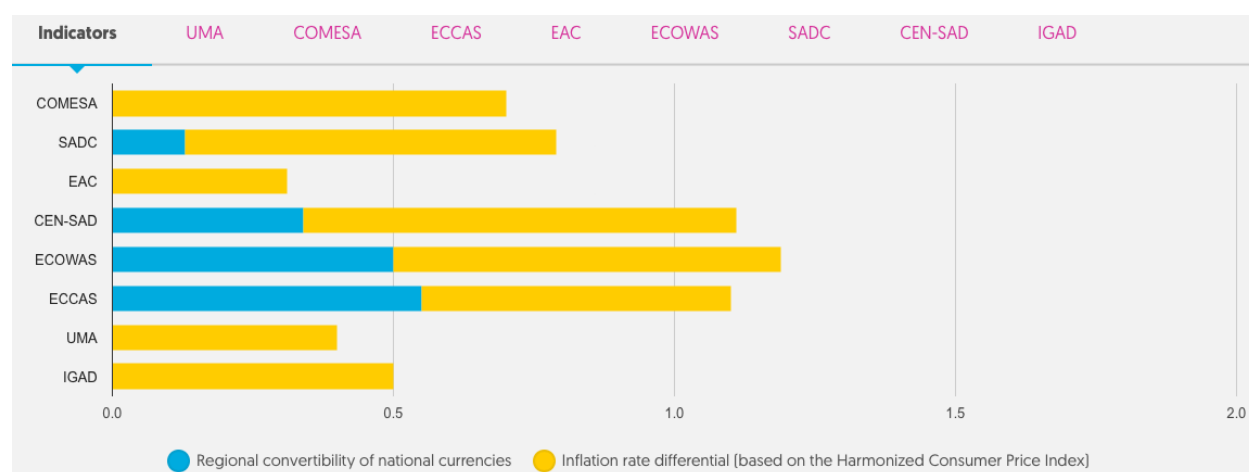
graph, the IGAD is noted to be flourishing better than other RECs (Africa Regional Integration Index). Evidently with the low results seen in figure 1.4, low regional infrastructure will simultaneously affect intra-African trade. It is bound to be trump efforts to improving continental economic growth as economic integration relies relentlessly on the interconnectedness of the continent which can be facilitated by regional infrastructures.

**Figure 1.4: Regional Infrastructure**



(Source: African Regional Integration Index)

**Figure 1.5: Financial and Macroeconomic Integration**



(Source: African Regional Integration Index)

The data in figure 1.5 depicts information pertaining to the flow of cross-border capital in the regional communities. Evaluating the regional convertibility of national currencies and the inflation rate differential (based on the Harmonized Consumer Price Index). Both vital to the goal of proliferating an African Economic Community, specifically an African Monetary Union. The Africa Regional Integration Index concludes that although all the RECs are lagging behind in pushing for financial and microeconomic integration within their specific niches, ECOWAS seems to be doing better off when combining both index scores.

However, by solely looking at the regional convertibility of national currencies index, ECCAS, a regional union of Chad, Central African Republic, Congo, performs higher than other RECs. The progress in securing financial and microeconomic integration in this region is evidently because of the CFA mainly used in francophone West African countries and parts of Central Africa, making for cross-border financial flows, considering the high percentage in the convertibility of the CFA. Generally, because of the lack of convertible currencies across the continent, if adjustments are not made in each region to adjust expand regional financial centers, making exchange rates available across the continent and efforts to subsidize inflation, the dream of becoming an economic union will continue to be truncated because of the lack of financial and microeconomic integration, not only in the respective RECs but also, looking outwardly, it affects the entire continents financial capabilities and will continue to do so in the coming years.

### ***Agenda 2063: Africa We Want***

Unlike the regional blocs, Agenda 2063 takes a more holistic (political and economic) approach to solidify continental unification. “Agenda 2063, rooted in Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance, provides a robust framework for addressing past injustices and the realization of the 21st Century as the African Century” (African Union; Agenda 2063). First, 2063 seems like a long shot for the union to achieve the listed goals which will be discussed later. Most of the masterminds

behind Agenda 2063 would not be alive to confirm if it was successful or not. Furthermore, with the varying agendas that each AU chairperson brings to the table, who is to say that the complete goals will be achieved and that personal goals would not be proposed. Again, without digressing, in Agenda 2063, the African Union has itemized seven African aspirations that it hopes to implement by 2063. The aspirations are;

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
  2. An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance;
  3. An Africa of good governance, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
  4. A peaceful and secure Africa;
  5. An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics;
  6. An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children; and
  7. Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner
- (Source: African Union: Agenda 2063)

Undoubtedly all the aspirations are important. But, pertaining to the topic of this research, the most important aspirations are aspirations 2,<sup>8</sup> 5,<sup>9</sup> and 7.<sup>10</sup> These aspirations are significant

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<sup>8</sup>Specifically, sub-clauses 19-22 and 24, in brief, state that;

19. Since 1963, the quest for African Unity has been inspired by the spirit of Pan-Africanism, focusing on liberation, and political and economic independence. It is motivated by development based on self-reliance and self-determination of African people, with democratic and people-centered governance.

20. We aspire that by 2063, Africa shall: Be a *United* Africa; have world-class, integrative infrastructure that crisscrosses the continent; have dynamic and mutually beneficial links with her Diaspora; and be a continent of seamless borders and management of cross-border resources through dialogue.

21. Africa shall be an integrated, united, peaceful, sovereign, independent, confident and self-reliant continent.

22. Africa will witness the rekindling of solidarity and unity of purpose that underpinned the struggle for emancipation from slavery, colonialism, apartheid and economic subjugation. By 2020 all remnants of colonialism will have ended and all African territories under occupation fully liberated. We shall take measures to expeditiously end the unlawful occupation of the Chagos Archipelago, the Comorian Island of Mayotte and affirm the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara. All kinds of oppression including gender, racial and other forms of discrimination will be ended.

23. The political unity of Africa will be the culmination of the integration process, which includes the free movement of people and the establishment of continental institutions, leading to full economic integration. By 2030, there shall be consensus on the form of the continental government and institutions.

24. Africa shall be a continent where the free movement of people, capital, goods, and services will result in significant increases in trade and investments amongst African countries rising to unprecedented levels, and in the strengthening of Africa's place in global trade. (Agenda 2063: Aspiration 2:19-24)

<sup>9</sup>40. Pan-Africanism and the common history, destiny, identity, heritage, respect for religious diversity and consciousness of African people's and her diaspora's will be entrenched.

41. We aspire that by 2063: Pan Africanism will be fully entrenched; the African Renaissance has reached its peak; and our diversity in culture, heritage, languages, and religion shall be a cause of strength, including the tangible and intangible heritage of Africa's island states. (Agenda 2063: Aspiration 5:40-41)

<sup>10</sup>59. Africa shall be a strong, united, resilient, peaceful and influential global player and partner with a significant role in world affairs. We affirm the importance of African unity and solidarity in the face of continued external interference including, attempts to divide the continent and undue pressures and sanctions on some countries.

60. We aspire that by 2063, Africa shall be: a major social, political and economic force in the world, with her rightful share of the global commons (land, oceans, and space); an active and equal participant in global affairs, multilateral institutions, and a driver

because of the sub-clauses indicated in Agenda 2063. For this reason, one must dig deeper into these sub-clauses and examine how pragmatic they are - bearing in mind that there are just 45 years left for the Agenda 2063 to be fully considered and being put into practice completely, in reality, and broadly on the continent.

Further, aspiration 6 of the agenda states that it will be people-centered, however, how many Africans are aware that the Agenda 2063 exists? The answer? Not many. In the entire 55 countries that exist on the continent, there are too many African citizens that are unaware of this agenda, especially concerning what it entails. Many Africans are too engulfed with their own national and regional politics that some are completely blind sighted to the policies that the African Union has adopted to accomplish Nkrumah's vision.

So how will the African Union guarantee the full participation of all Africans in designing an Africa that "we" want? How many African heads of states have been promoting the Agenda 2063 as their own national goals as an obligation to continental progress? Again, not so many and this is why many policies tend to fail on the continent. When documents are created, not promoted or made readily available to all African citizens, there's bound to be resistance. As representatives of the African Union, heads of states need to take the path of expressing their commitment to ensuring that all the aspirations of the Agenda 2063 are met, also adopting and putting into consideration some, if not all of these aspirations into their national agendas.

From the sub-clauses, it is apparent that Agenda 2063 was developed incorporating the previous goals of the former Pan-African movement that soared the continent in the early nineties. The keywords and phrases like a "united Africa," "a continent of seamless borders," "links with her Diaspora," "an integrated, united, peaceful, sovereign, independent, confident and self-reliant

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for peaceful co-existence, tolerance, and a sustainable and just world; and fully capable and have the means to finance her development. (Agenda 2063: Aspiration 7:60)

continent,” are all encrusted in the aims of Pan-Africanism and are all what Nkrumah called for during his time. Obviously, the African Union is responding to the late call for an all united continent, nonetheless, when questioning if Pan-Africanism still lives on, on the continent, as seen in aspiration 5, sub-clause 41. With Agenda 2063 in the works, Pan-Africanism is still as relevant as it was to the development of the continent several years. Still, development has taken the path of first securing economic progress in all African countries.

Agenda 2063 is definitely a wakeup call for the continent and heads of state, particularly those who have a hand in degrading of their respective countries. It is a wake-up call because it reminds Africans of the light at the end of the tunnel. It reminds Africans of the potential of the continent. Most importantly it reminds us that for Africa to completely undergo a full makeover, it depends not only on the political will of heads of state but also on the joint approval of all African states to march towards creating - if not a political unification (although it is the end goal of the agenda) but a strong economic union through increased intra-continental activities that will pull in significant economic opportunities for all Africans.

At this point, in as much as all African states have their own sovereignty, it would be stupendously selfish of heads of state to purposely hinder the productivity of the various policies created by the AU to integrate the continent. A single-minded approach towards development as opposed to a unified approach, especially seeing how Africa, a continent with great potential has suffered severe setbacks for decades would be a callous move. For progress on the continent, for Africa to truly “move forward,” it relies on the cooperation and unity of all African states and this is where the newly developed African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) becomes most relevant.

### *African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)*

Taking into account the newness of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), what is glaring from previous studies on economic integration in Africa is that most of the research speak to economic policies that were created several years ago or economic aspirations from the past, specifically, policies made to promote regional economic integration. So, what makes it different and unique to other policies drafted and implemented in the past? With the AfCFTA on the horizon - mirroring other existing trade unions in the world, the first of its kind on the continent, (potentially the largest in the world), if implemented appropriately this would push Africa's economic contribution and potential to be 90% higher than it currently is. By increasing intra-African trade, African states in cohesion with the trade act, the most gain would be for the continent.

On the contrary, since the adoption of AfCFTA, naysayers in recent researches on the agreement continues to trivialize the prospective positive outcomes that could be made from being a part of the agreement as signatory state. Instead, because the AU has a long history of unsuccessfully materialized policies, coupled with the fact that this is a grand approach towards continental economic integration, there is the tendency to overemphasize the social, political and economic implications for each signatory state. This, in turn, has become the basis of the argument of some African states that are yet to become signatories of the agreement. Accordingly, the most important questions then become; what are the gains from participating in the AfCFTA as an African state? Essentially, why should African states participate? To derive answers, a proper economic analysis of the AfCFTA is needed for a better understanding of whether the AfCFTA will truly lead Africa to realize one of the many goals of Pan-Africanism. Further, one has to

outweigh and understand what the pros and cons of the AfCFTA - are an additional puzzle to the concept of Pan-Africanism and its holistic approach. Given this, what is the AfCFTA?<sup>11</sup>

There are several obstacles in the way of the full implementation of the AfCFTA. These obstacles range from political to economic, at the same time affecting the legal aspect. The current and most glaring challenge facing the AfCFTA is the limited political will from some African states who are unwilling to comply as signatory states by fully entrenching the agreement into their national policies - giving way for the goals of AfCFTA to be realistically achieved. Another obstacle is the monitoring of the African Union over signatory states and how they are abiding by the policies and meeting the requirements of the agreement. Knowing this, to safeguard the gains of the AfCFTA, the African Union will need to scrutinize and strictly monitor how African states are integrating and implementing the AfCFTA.

Hypothetically, the goals listed above can be idealized as the proposed benefit from participating in the AfCFTA. Especially seeing as having a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of business persons and investments have worked out for continents like Europe and the North American Free Trade (NAFTA). As much as I do not support the one size fits all approach by mirroring already existing continental free trade areas, if Africa is to succeed, heads of states need to look at the prosperity of countries like the United States of America and how the country has grown economically overtime with the benefit of having multilateral free trade set in place.

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<sup>11</sup>Create a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of business persons and investments, and thus pave the way for accelerating the establishment of the Continental Customs Union and the African customs union. Expand intra African trade through better harmonization and coordination of trade liberalization and facilitation regimes and instruments across RECs and across Africa in general. Resolve the challenges of multiple and overlapping memberships and expedite the regional and continental integration processes. Enhance competitiveness at the industry and enterprise level through exploiting opportunities for scale production, continental market access and better reallocation of resources.  
(African Union - African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA))



While, the United States' (U.S) multilateral free trade agreement is quite different from the AfCFTA considering that the U.S is a country and Africa is not a country, yet, when evaluated based on the number of states within the nation and the ways in which multilateral free trade has influenced economic growth in each state and the country as a whole, strategies used in the US can be borrowed into by the AU (with caution knowing the difference between the U.S and Africa). As the adage goes, Rome was not built in a day, hence, at the initial start of putting the AfCFTA in practice, there is the possibility for setbacks to be experienced in each country. Nevertheless, when weighing out the outcome, the long terms effects should be favored over the short-term outcomes. As long as the agreement is coordinated appropriately, the long-term outcome will, without questions skyrocket Africa's economic potential. That is, make Africa an international economic powerhouse. For this to be the expected outcome, the agreement needs to be fueled by the unwavering political and economic cooperation of all African states.

Although the disadvantages should not be overlooked, the successful implementation of a single continental market in certain regions has put participating countries at the forefront of the international community. Today, the members of some of the existing continental markets are amongst of the most economically powerful nations in the world. Based on this, why then should Africa hesitate in forming the largest Free Trade Area since the formation of the World Trade Organization (WTO)? By liberalizing intra-African trade and abolishing non-tariff barriers by 90%, economists have argued that this will not inhibit, but boost continental economic gains that have been previously hindered - through the use of rigid trade measures put in place to intentionally limit imports and exports by certain African states. During the summit organized in Kigali by the AU to discuss the AfCFTA, it was estimated that the liberalization of non-tariff barriers on trade will raise intra-African trade by 53.2% by the year 2022. There is also an expected double in the estimated growth if all non-tariff barriers are weeded out. Additionally, if this should be

established as the norm for all African states, the UNCTAD estimates that Africa could potentially acquire “\$3.6 billion in welfare through a boost in production and cheaper goods” (UNCTAD). Again, this is fundamental to the Pan-African agenda, especially Nkrumah’s dream for Africa’s economic growth - as it is well known that it is because of the influence of colonialism that many African states today still continue to limit trading activities with one another.

Per contra, as great as this sounds on paper or as an ideology, so to speak, what is most important here is how a Pan-African approach to economic development can be beneficial to all African states. One of the glaring implications of being a signatory to the AfCFTA is that not all fingers are equal. This basically means that the economic potential of each African state differs from one to another. Seeing as the main aim is to enhance intra-African trade, some countries are better equipped with businesses and infrastructures that would better facilitate trade within the continent. Scholarships on the AfCFTA have argued that the benefits of the agreement would not be felt equally by all African states. On one hand, some countries are resource-rich and on the other, some are lagging behind or experience slow incremental economic growth because they are not as resource-rich as their counterparts.

Already, in the international community, we are witnessing the varied levels of economic growth being experienced in core states (developed), semi-periphery (developing) and periphery states (underdeveloped) because of the unequal dispersal of global wealth. Given this, economists fear that if the AfCFTA is implemented, because of the varied levels of development the effects will be felt differently by each country at different stages of development. Definitely risks for individual countries when tariffs are eliminated exist, but in the long run, losses from tax revenues will be replaced and market expansion will occur. A study on the cut of tariffs in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1998-2013 carried out UNCTAD validates this argument.

Economically speaking, looking at the projected short-run outcome, the economic gain will most likely be felt more by countries with a higher level of competitiveness - Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa. Also, economic loss will be felt more by economically weak states or states with lower levels of competitiveness, for example, landlocked states. In other words, countries with small economies than the former countries. The loss will be felt more by countries that fall under these categories because of the tariff cuts which many countries rely on for revenue. Recognizing the uneven benefits from country to country, equality should be promoted.

Although the aforementioned is relatively true, a counter-argument to this claim is that because the AfCFTA aims to re-address and reorganize Africa's intra-trade and trade with the international community, all member states of the AU and signatories of the agreement will have an equal voice when global markets approach the continent for economic dealings and even intra-African trade deals. By using the one voice approach, all members will be able to guarantee the equal gains of each African state. Put differently, as opposed to having world powers impose on how trade deals should be handled on the continent, Africa will now have the power to dictate which deals are most beneficial and how they should be implemented. In doing so, by approaching economic integration on an equal plane, it is guaranteed to invigorate Africa's buyer and supplier bargaining power. This approach towards establishing a single continental market will also allow for the increase of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). If the agreement is carefully implemented, Africa will become even more attractive to foreign investors for economic dealings aiding the bolstering of economic growth on the continent.

Another advantage that Africa is fated to receive from the AfCFTA is the reduction of input cost. With reduced import cost, already existing businesses and the ones that will merge into the market will experience a decrease in the cost of production. When the cost of production is reduced, economic growth is projected to occur. Along the same line, when a continental free trade

area is in place, the goods and services produced will also be brought to consumers at lower prices. In addition to this, the high levels of poverty in Africa are not unknown, knowing this, by being a signatory to the AfCFTA, participating African countries secure the destinies of their citizens. That is, continental free trade in Africa is expected to reduce the levels of poverty in each participating country. Increased economic opportunities simply imply that citizens can take part in the economies of their respective countries, with increased job creation, in turn, shrinking poverty and bettering the standard of living in each country.

Likewise, a current problem facing many African economies is the prevalence of informal markets and or informal cross-border trade; the act of having legitimately produced goods and services imported and exported through illegitimate methods because of existing economic policies or regulations set in place by the government of a given African state or states (Ogalo, 2010). These activities “often go unrecorded or incorrectly recorded into official national statistics the trading countries” (Ogalo, 2010). If the AfCFTA is efficiently incorporated in the respective African states, it presents opportunities for informal cross-border trading activities to be halted, by not only promoting a more legal route of cross-border trade, but also allowing informal traders or small-scale traders who engage in informal cross-border trade to formally participate in their country’s economy with the existence of reduced tariffs or government regulations. Essentially, the AfCFTA provides an avenue for new markets to be created, whereby small or medium businesses (SME’s) can partake in. “Productive economic gains will be achieved in our economies if by transferring production from low-productivity informal firms to more productive formal firms or by facilitating the formalization of informal firms” (Ogalo, 2010). Further, it allows for the misplaced revenues from these activities to finally be accounted for and beneficial to the given trading African state, allowing for economic growth (Ogalo, 2010).

Inclusively, to ensure that the AfCFTA is implemented in every country, the body of the agreement can serve as a guiding tool for each REC to weave into the existing policies within each respective REC. Although this would imply that the AU will have to maintain RECs even with the full implementation of the agreement. Because of this, to fully put the AfCFTA into action, the AU has to consider working on ways to create a single market with or without the RECs. How can the agreement work in the absence of or when it overrides the existence of RECS? One solution to this issue is for the AU to push for the RECs to converge into CFTA. This means the total demolition of the RECs. The only downfall to this becoming a reality is the fact that the six stages that were created during the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa which included the eventual creation of an African Common Market, have not been reached by all the RECs, not to talk of how difficult eliminating RECs would be.

Also, since the topic of a continental free trade arose, critiques of the AfCFTA is that it is more of a 'process-based' agreement, that is, it predominantly focuses on eradicating tariffs seeing that the AfCFTA requires more than just tariff reduction or elimination. Knowing this, a suggestion to ensuring that the agreement is well executed, heads of states also need to approach it with the aim to provide clear development progress. In other words, a combination of both a process-based approach and having a development focus. In the same vein, for the AfCFTA to work, there is a need for the collective economic strength of all African states, in cooperation with the private sectors residing in each state. The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) not only proves that Pan-Africanism is still in high spirit on the continent, but it also shows how Pan-Africanism is being woven into policies. In essence, we are witnessing Pan-Africanism being put into practice.

### ***State Sovereignty as an Obstacles to the AfCFTA***

Generally, with every policy created by the African Union that defies the norm, there is bound to be pushbacks. With the AfCFTA in motion, since March 1, 2018, the agreement has received criticism from heads of states. As much as the agreement has been labeled as historical for the continent, from the onset, heads of states from South Africa and Nigeria, to name a few, refused to sign the agreement, leaving only 44 countries; from the said date, as signatories of the agreement. President Buhari of Nigeria refused to sign because he wanted to consult with stakeholders. The president of South Africa; President Cyril Ramaphosa, on the other hand, did not sign immediately based on the need to firm up certain legal procedures. Given that these two countries are amongst Africa's biggest economies, contributing to 50% of the continent's economy, not being signatories to the agreement, hinders the possibilities of making the economic bloc a successful one. In as much as the presidents might have their country's economy in their best interest, one cannot deny the influence of wanting to maintain state sovereignty and dictating the economic growth of one's country without being tied down to a continental objective.

By seeking first, the economic kingdom, the African Union also hopes to initiate other strategies to boost Africa's economic and political integration is to create a common currency. Although this is less discussed because of other pressing issues at hand like the AfCFTA which, given its full-fledged implementation will give way to the creation of an African currency. Creating a currency that unifies a region is not a new phenomenon on the continent. For example, with ECOWAS, it is projected that the members of this REC are seeking to initiate the ECO, a currency that is expected to be used in all member states of ECOWAS. The ECO, unlike the CFA Franc, will not have any attachment with or be regulated foreign currencies, making it authentically African. Like ECOWAS, other REC has also started talks to create their own common currency. Recognizing that certain RECs are pushing towards establishing a common currency, definitely

shows that the Pan-African dream is not completely dead. Yet, seeing as ECOWAS is moving towards adopting the eco, possibly by 2020, it might come in conflict with the common currency the African Union intends to disperse across the continent and emphasizing the importance of the currency by making an African Monetary Union.

Recall in figure 1.5 where currency convertibility was measured, if the African Union can successfully implement a common currency, this could skyrocket Africa's currency convertibility internationally. Another objective on the Pan-African agenda of the African Union is creating a single transportation. Again, like the common currency, this is less spoken about in research and academic scholarships. Hence, the single transportation idea is rather ambiguous and open to interpretation; either an African air service or an African railway transportation service. What it could also mean is the interconnectedness of transportation services in Africa. Like the Chinese One Belt One Road initiative, the African Union can construct a similar plan to again foster the AfCFTA and the economic growth of the continent.

### ***African Passport***

In the year 2016, the African Union established the African passport with the intention to later implement it on a continental scale. Whereby all Africans would be in possession of the document, allowing them to travel to any African country without any visa hassle, with ease. Of course, this is an amazing idea to push forward the Pan-African Agenda 2063 knowing its potential to increase continental integration within Africa. “The Commission has to put in place an implementation roadmap for the development of a Protocol on the Free Movement of persons in Africa by January 2018, which should come into immediate effect in the Member States, in line with the continental transformation framework, Agenda 2063” (African Visa Openness Report 2017). Currently, the passport has been dispersed only to heads of states and diplomatic officials and one can only wonder when African citizens will get their own copies. The African Union aims

to have the common passport issued to African citizens now by 2020. However, not to sound pessimistic, knowing how the implementation of policies created by the institution tends to be delayed and the current statistics on visa openness within the continent, the release date could potentially be pushed back a couple of years. Another question to ask is what happens to the national or regional passports that African citizens within each regional bloc currently hold?

Despite the slow implementation of the African passport - due to many African states impeding on the 'borderless Africa' initiative by creating a strict border and visa policies, kudos must be given to the African Union for finally; after over sixty years, creating a passport that would create various opportunities for Africans to travel. The initiative, though a copy of the European Union passport (issued to EU citizens within the European Economic Area to freely travel around the Schengen area), it brings to light other issues like the weak intra-trade system within the continent and the fact that it is easier for western citizens to travel around the continent than it is for African citizens themselves.

In the same vein, a common passport could potentially address Africa's dire migration (voluntary migration) and or refugee (forced or involuntary migration) crisis. With violence ensuing in many African states, the migration crisis in Africa is ridiculous. Not to trivialize the migration issue in Africa and assume that a common passport would solve the problem of migration and violence inflated by immigration. Yet, beyond doubt, the availability of an African passport will promote free movement and allow individuals and families to easily find refuge in neighboring countries that are more stable than their home countries. Of course, this has a plethora of concerns associated with it, in terms of the fear of overpopulation in countries that are already struggling with population problems or the over-crowdedness of major economic cities. Still, the array of opportunities for safety and economic opportunities should not be neglected - as it is not only beneficial to the individual commuting but also the host country when skills and talents are



allowed to flow into the country. “Large migrant populations spur economic diversification, private-sector development, and value-added production. Moreover, migrants spend about 85% of their earnings domestically. That infusion of capital adds to destination countries’ tax base and boosts local consumption” (Kituyi, 2018). That goes to say that the African passport can be well enforced and adopted by all the 55-member states of the African Union without undermining the security of the nation-state. For these reasons, amongst others, promoting the African Passport will set the ball rolling towards finally enabling Pan-African unity.

As previously stated, improved visa policies will have to be taken into account for the African passport to fully bear fruits, considering that many African states employ the use of visas - because the majority economically benefit from the capital gained from the issuance of visas to foreigners. As Agenda 2063 aspires to eradicate colonial inherited borders, some African states, instead of completely eradicating visa entry requirement for other African citizens, they have chosen the route of permitting visa upon arrival for African travelers. Although this is not necessarily a major step in the direction of freeing borders, bearing in mind that visa upon arrival in some of these countries is neither guaranteed, irrespective, it is obvious that the Pan-African ‘unity’ wave is working its way into policies established by some of the member states of the African Union.

Over time, visa openness in Africa has changed, some for the good and some with further restrictions. Utilizing the data derived from the 2017 Africa Visa Openness Index; a report carried out in analyzing the level of visa openness in Africa, specifically looking at three index category indicators; visa required, visa on arrival and no visa. For example, the “number of countries from whose citizens a visa is required as a % of the total number of countries” (African Development

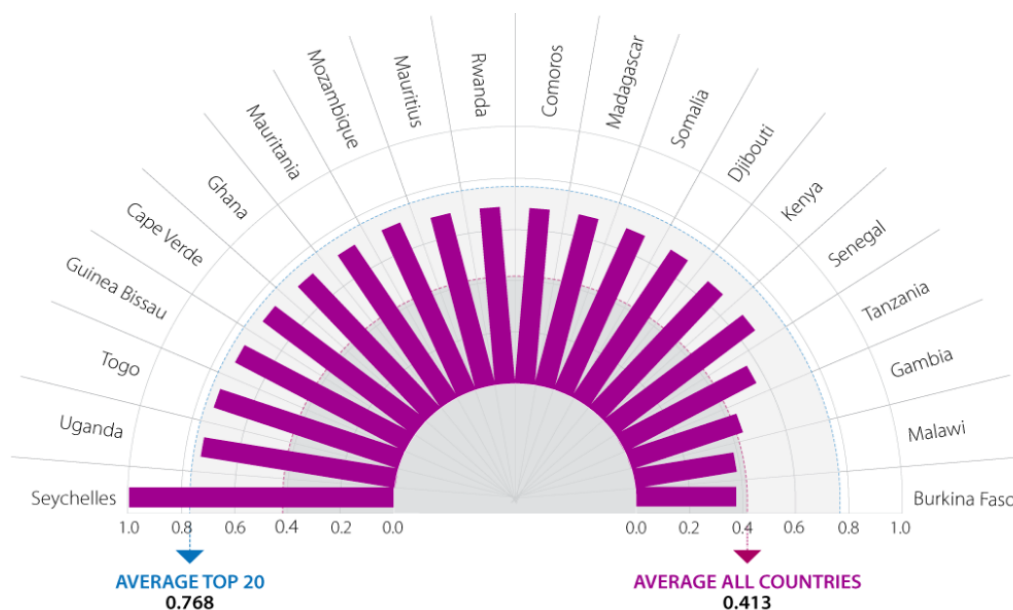
Bank). Further using a scale of 0 - 1, 0 being the least open (visa required) and 1 being the most open (no visa) country, these scores determine how each country is ranked.<sup>12</sup>

In 2016, according to the African Development Bank (AfDB), as seen in the graph below the top 10 countries scoring and ranking the highest by demanding less requirements from visitors travelling into their country includes; Seychelles (1,1) Uganda (0.867,2) Togo (0.859,3) Guinea Bissau (0.852, 4), Cape Verde (0.844, 5), Ghana (0.833,6), Mozambique (0.83,7), Mauritania (0.83,7), Rwanda (0.807, 9), and Mauritius (0.807, 9). Visa openness does not necessarily indicate that the country will experience a rapid rise in its economy - at least based on current findings. That is, there is not always a positive correlation between visa openness and economic growth. In some cases, there is, but not in all situations as many of the listed African states still experience ongoing economic problems and or slow economic growth. On an individualistic scale, visa-openness has not shown as many economic growth results, however, once visa openness in all African states is scaled at 0, the holistic economic benefits will be enormous, when coupled with the recent African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). Nonetheless, the benefits should not be understated.

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<sup>12</sup>Africa Visa Openness Index Formula: **A country's score** is calculated by adding the results from all three indicators; (% of visa required x 0) + (% of visa on arrival x 0.8) + (% of no visa x 1) = country visa openness score (African Development Bank).

**Figure 1.6: Africa Visa Openness Index**

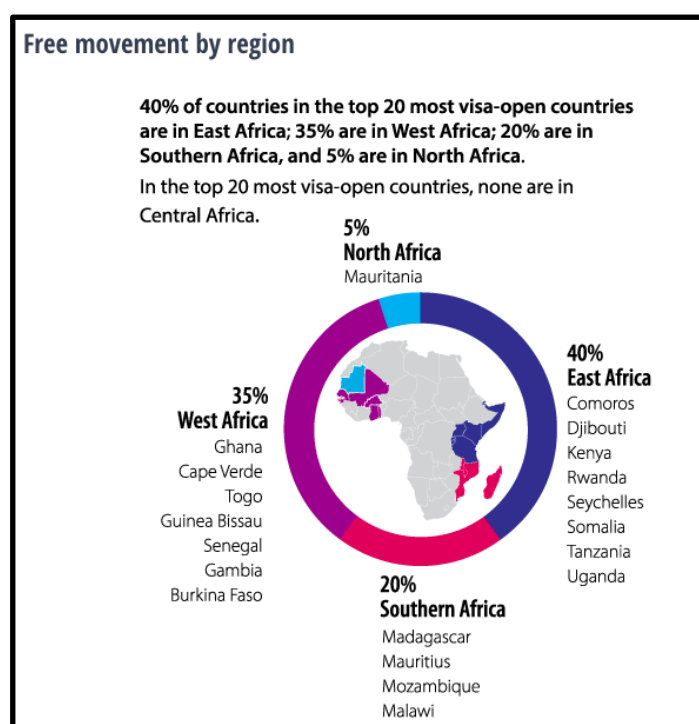


(Source: African Development Bank)

With Agenda 2063 on the horizon, again looking into the regions, from a report carried out in 2016 by the African Development Bank, figure 1.7 below shows which regions are doing better in promoting free movement of African people. From the results, there is clearly still a lot more work to be done in each region. It is unsurprising that the East African region outshines the other regions considering the efforts made by countries like Rwanda and Kenya in limiting the extraneous hurdles Africans face when visiting their countries by adopting visas on arrival. Likewise, in West Africa, progress is being made; mainly in the countries depicted in the figure, given the bolstering of the Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment established in 1979 (African Visa Openness Report 2017). It is also rather unfortunate, yet understandable, that the so-called African powerhouses - South Africa and Nigeria, have not made significant changes to loosen the requirements for entry into their countries. “Many of the continent’s regional and strategic hubs continue to have restrictive visa policies” (African Visa Openness Report 2017).

In contrast, it is “Africa’s small, landlocked and island states that are more open, also promoting trade links with their neighbors” (African Visa Openness Report 2017). This is expected seeing as these economic powerhouses on the continent might face certain economic setbacks with the immediate implementation of visa openness. But who is to say that the economic gains will not outweigh other forms of losses typically suggested by politicians and African citizens in like manner who are usually anti-integration?

**Figure 1.7: Free Movement by Region**



(Source: African Development Bank)

Similarly, by promoting free movement, the likelihood of the positive economic contributions exceeding the social and perhaps political implications should be prized more. “If pro-migration policies are adopted, Africa’s per capita GDP could increase 61% by 2030 – to about \$3,250. In other words, intra-Africa migration is not only a human and social phenomenon; it is also a vital ingredient of growth” (Kituyi, 2018). On the continental front, eradicating rigid visa

policies will be greatly propitious to intra-regional (and then intra-African) trade within the continent. From studies based on movements of people in Africa - comparing and contrasting countries with less strict free movement policies with countries with more confined policies, results have shown that labor plasticity contributes to economic progress and when applies continentally. When labor mobility is no longer obstructed by ludicrous visa policies in Africa, the economic gains from a more integrated continent, particularly in regard to the obliteration of borders, will be colossal. Knowing this, African heads of states need to begin to see the benefits of enforcing free movement policies. Supporting Africans to move freely will without a doubt advance the continents regional integration efforts and promote human capital (African Visa Openness Report 2017). In such a situation, various sectors such as tourism, trade, and investment on the continent will begin to see major changes individually and in unison (African Visa Openness Report 2017).

### **Key Findings:**

- Presently, it is clear that the African Union has been making significant efforts to secure economic integration within the continent. Truly, the *mantra* has shifted, and increasing the continent's economic gains is now at the heart of how the African Union chooses to manifest the pan-African ideal.
- As a result, the AfCFTA, the African Passport and the African Economic Community – amongst other economic approaches to unify the continent - are amongst the top (economic) priorities of the African Union as of now.
- The African Union has chosen to focus on trade – including the free movement of people as a means to attain cohesion or unity on the continent.
- Despite the lack of support of continental integration in Africa, the steps being taken by the African Union shows a clear interest in integrating the continent - if not politically, then economically.
- Economic unification despite slow, it is gradually germinating on the continent.

## Chapter 4

### Book Ending

What if everyone became increasingly curious about rethinking the conceptualization of A United Africa? It is in the best interest of every African that Africa truly rises from being the smirk of the world. That is, the progress of the continent should be in the best interest of all African scholars. Particularly in terms of the socioeconomic and political future of the continent. The concept of Pan-Africanism and a 'United States of Africa' - both uniquely complex in their own ways, - are key concepts that need to be constantly associated in discussions regarding the growth of the continent. Despite the fact that the concept of Pan-Africanism was administered years ago, its core values can still be used and are still being used to shape what political and economic growth on the continent looks like. Mainly as it was promoted by the likes of Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, and Julius Nyerere in the past and in more contemporary times by Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe. Pan-Africanism can remind Africans of what and how Africa should be. Africans today need to keep asking 'what if' questions. What if colonialization never happened? What would Africa look like today? To answer these questions, it can be theorized that the continent of Africa could have slowly taken the form to become a United States of Africa - without any form of balkanization - a contributing factor to the tumored political, social and economic growth of the continent.

At the beginning of this thesis, I proposed the research question; how do contemporary understandings of Pan-Africanism and the African Union help us to better understand the challenges and possibilities for a United States of Africa? Based on the findings, there are two conclusions that can be drawn; the first being that yet again Africans have reached a dead-end and pan-Africanism – in terms of enforcing political and economic integration - will not be fulfilled due to the sovereignty concerns, external and internal influences and the diverse nature of the

continent. The second conclusion is that pan-Africanism is taking aggressively form and is evident on the continent based on the activities of the African Union. The former conclusion seems to weigh more seeing as several approaches taken by the African Union has been affected or downplayed by these factors. Given these factors, the possibilities of a United States of Africa may continue to pose as a mirage or a façade. Irrespective of this, based on the economic policies and information provided above, there are prominent opportunities for the idea of a United States of Africa to materialize.

Concerning the latter, Pan-Africanism is on the rise in Africa. It is indeed beautiful to witness how the African Union is finally taking charge of driving for the progress of Africa, especially in the least conventional ways known to the continent. It has taken so many years since the publishing of *Africa Must Unite* and since Kwame Nkrumah including other Pan-Africanists called for the economic and political unification of the continent. Although the policies currently going through and being processed by the African Union do not explicitly state or affirm the creation of a United States of Africa, due to the ‘sensitivity’ of the topic. Still, with Agenda 2063 and the AfCFTA and all that these bodies of works entail, the undertones show a clear move towards both the economic and political unification of the continent. In order to achieve this (based on the report provided in chapter three), what is most needed for Africa to truly succeed and for Africans to get and design the Africa that “we want,” is strengthened political will. Heads of states need to remove the scales from their eyes, abandoning their personal goals for the greater continental goal. With political will, this will in turn push for and empower the economic strength of the continent. The socio-economic situation in Africa is in dire need of revamping. The socio-economic life of Africans needs to be rejuvenated, and this can only be achieved if African states capitalize on their unified economic strengths.

An important question to ask is whether Pan-Africanism will continue to live on symbolically by the African Union? Evidently, based on the policies provided by the African Union, this is not the ultimate intent and one can only be hopeful that this will not be the case. Regarding this, Africans can only be hopeful as it would only mean that instead of taking a step forward, the continent would be taking several steps back, again impeding on any kind of growth, obliterating progress made towards the decolonization of neo-colonial regimes or policies in Africa (Mkandawire, 2011). Rather than just putting out processes (process-based approaches) to achieve political, economic and social progress, an emphasis needs to be placed on producing results (development-based approach). The African Union needs to step out of all 'talk and no action' stereotype because time is of the essence. Particularly as the success of the agreements and policies discussed in the previous chapter are fundamental to ameliorating the (African) human life. Definitely, the African Union will be faced with political challenges from heads of states that will refute specific attempts to unify the continent. Notwithstanding, by empowering institutions like the Pan-African parliament; bestowed the responsibility of ensuring the full economic and to an extent political unification of the continent, the steps taken by the African Union can be gas-lighted if the Pan-African parliament is allowed to exercise its full-blown legal rights.

The RECs, though great in analyzing how regional harmonization works, it is a gradualist approach towards what Nkrumah envisioned for Africa (Luke, 1986). It is now the time for all African states - sovereignty aside and other distractions (that can be presented as a hindrance to the political and economic unification) cornered, to implement the African Economic Community (AEC). This is the best opportunity for Africa, as the European Union is currently being shaken by BREXIT and the current political climate in the United States under President Donald Trump. A continental government, be it the African Union transforming into a governmental body for the continent is important, now, more than ever. African citizens have suffered greatly for far too long



for African leaders to continue sitting arms crossed in their air-conditioned and lavishly built homes - without having to worry about any socio-economic impediment in their lives - to not take any action or shun the responsibility of moving towards an African Economic Community. The AEC will then guarantee the political and economic union of the continent. It is high time that they grab the opportunity presented to them now to change the narrative of Africa, putting African citizens first, acknowledging that increased continental economic integration will do more good than harm to Africans.

As the African Union sets the precedence for integration for Africans within the continent, other methods need to be considered regarding ways to unify or include Africans of the diaspora (West, 2005). During the period of slavery or the colonialization of Africa and the ongoing racial struggle in the diaspora, Africans within the continent and those overseas made attempts to cater to one another's need. Of recent, the African Union has recognized incorporating the diaspora in its integration plans. But, if and once a United States of Africa is eventually created, how will the diaspora be included? (West, 2005). The most logical approach to including the diaspora is by making way for increased economic cooperation with countries; like Haiti for example, to contribute to and also gain from economic union with the continent of Africa. One way to accomplish this is to provide conditional citizenship to Africans in the diaspora which will add to Africa's need to expand economically. Creating a United States of Africa is a herculean task enough, that an attempt to further expand into countries that diasporans exist in could potentially complicate matters, hence, the non-governmental approach towards inclusion. Arguably, doing the opposite will draw issues with what or who is authentically African - rather issues with identity OR what being an African truly means. It could also encourage a rift between Africans in the continent and Africans of the diaspora.

A United States of Africa being realized could be the ultimate development booster for the continent. Seeing as conflicts are surging here and there in Africa (primarily influenced by corrupt political regimes), rebellions against the socioeconomic situation in the particular states, food insecurity, oppression against certain religious groups, sexuality, and so on, a U.S of Africa, if modeled right would address the insecurities affecting the African population. Unifying African foreign/internal policies, creating a common economic or financial market, establishing a common monetary union and currency, capitalizing on dissolving borders and empowering a common military, all of these strategies have the capability of strengthening the deficiencies of the continent.

The goal of this research is not to claim that achieving this will be an easy feat, on the contrary, it is clear that an attempt to achieving this on a continental scale will be faced with political, social and economic challenges. Certainly, it might even take additional years to the anticipated 2063 goal, yet, this should not hinder the African Union's attempt to seeing to it that Agenda 2063 is carried out effectively by the given year. In turn, this will mean that the African Union will need to have a sturdier footing on the continent, enforcing stricter rules and sanctions on countries that are thwarting socio-economic and political growth in their respective countries, Agenda 2063 and other policies to follow. This implies that the African Union will have to contest with state sovereignty. Again, this might pose difficult, but given the task at hand and Africa being a ticking time bomb waiting to blow up in all our faces, it is inevitable and at the same time pertinent to the Pan-African goal. 'Africa rising' has been the narrative for years now, but can Africa really be classified as rising? For Africa to truly rise, a firm political and most specifically an economic empire needs to be built and this can and will be accomplished with the AfCFTA.

If all the aspirations of Agenda 2063 are met, another task on the horizon is that a new political map will have to be drawn up if the 'seamless borders' agenda is to be taken upon.

Colonization brought about the balkanization of Africa, hence, true decolonization of Africa today will mean re-organizing and reconnecting Africa in ways that will eliminate the enshrined neocolonial impacts and former colonial influence, such as balkanization (Ladun, 1974). Scholars might call this unrealistic, however, de-balkanizing Africa can also go hand in hand with the African Union's goal facilitate the freedom of movement of Africans and also contribute to mobilizing better trade integration on the continent. Though it seems ambitious to achieve, exterminating borders on the continent will be a symbolic move, witnessed on an international platform, showing Africa truly rising, rising from remnants of colonialization.

In conclusion, hopefully, this research will contribute to the theoretical bodies of work that concern the concept of Pan-Africanism and how it has changed over time. Considering the new findings that are not largely discussed in modern texts concerning Pan-Africanism, it is much clearer now the emphasis on economic integration. Because of this, for the African Union's policies to prosper, especially towards unifying the continent, the organization should focus more on economic unification than political. This is because political unification attempts have proven to be more controversial than economic unification policies have been, in the past and presently. Also, empirically, this will research will show the challenges to putting the concept into practice on the path of creating a U.S Africa and contribute to the integrative policies on the continent by suggesting ways in which the institution of the African Union specifically can work around achieving a successful integration. Conclusively, the information garnered confirms the operating hypotheses described in the earlier texts. At the same time, it draws attention to the efforts being made by the institution.

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## Appendix

### **Interview on the Conceptualization of Pan-Africanism, Continental Integration, and the African Union:**

1. What is your nationality?
2. What is your position at African Union?
3. What inspired you to join the African Union?
4. Are you familiar with the term Pan-Africanism?
5. What does this the term Pan-Africanism mean to you? What do you think Pan-Africanism is?
6. Would you affiliate/consider yourself as a Pan-African?
7. How would you identify yourself? As an African first or according to your nationality?
8. How would you define unity (specifically, African unity)?
9. What comes to mind when you hear the phrase “continental integration?” What is your vision for Pan-Africanism in Africa?
10. Popular African pan-Africanists have argued that the unification of the continent will be beneficial for all Africans, what is your take on this argument? Are there potential social, political and economic consequences or benefits? Is it a far-fetched idea? What obstacles might occur in the process of making African unification a reality?
11. Are Africans prepared for a United States of Africa?
12. Tell me about the mission of the African Union...
13. Considering the mission of the institution, how successful has the African Union been in achieving its set goals? How has the African Union helped in realizing the dream of Pan-Africanism? In other words, as an embodiment of Pan-Africanism or a continental body that is meant to unify Africans politically, economically and socially, how successful has the AU been in achieving this?
14. In March, the African Union drafted the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA) with the aim to empower the continent through; allowing the free movement of people, venturing towards establishing a single market in order to solidify the economy of the continent and most importantly, promoting trade within the continent. However, since its adoption, only forty-four countries signed on to the agreement. What do you think about the free trade agreement? Could this potentially lead to a more unified continent?
15. What are the obstacles of the ACFTA amongst African countries?

### **Refer to the specific goals of the CFTA - Continental Free Trade Area below:**

- Create a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of business persons and investments, and thus pave the way for accelerating the establishment of the Continental Customs Union and the African customs union.
- Expand intra African trade through better harmonization and coordination of trade liberalization and facilitation regimes and instruments across RECs and across Africa in general.
- Resolve the challenges of multiple and overlapping memberships and expedite the regional and continental integration processes.
- Enhance competitiveness at the industry and enterprise level through exploiting opportunities for scale production, continental market access and better reallocation of resources

### **Additional Questions from Afrobarometer:**

**Regional integration for Africa: Could stronger public support turn ‘rhetoric into reality’?  
Afrobarometer Questionnaires:**

**Support for free cross-border movement of people and goods:**

Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

**Statement 1:** People living in (region) should be able to move freely across international borders in order to trade or work in other countries.

**Statement 2:** Because foreign migrants take away jobs and foreign traders sell their goods at very cheap prices, governments should protect their own citizens and limit the cross-border movement of people and goods.

**16. How would you define citizenship?**

In your opinion, how easy or difficult is it for people in (region) to cross international borders in order to work or trade in other countries, or haven't you heard enough to say?

**Regional Role in Protection of Democracy and Human Rights:**

Which of the following statements is closest to your view?

**Statement 1:** The governments of each country in (this region) have a duty to try to guarantee free elections and prevent human rights abuses in other countries in the region for example, by using political pressure, economic sanctions or military force.

**Statement 2:** Each country in this region should respect the independence of the other countries and allow them to make their own decisions about how their country should be governed.

**Perceived utility of African Union and RECs**

Respondents were asked:

In your opinion, how much (does the regional organization for your region) do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say?

In your opinion, how much the African Union do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say?