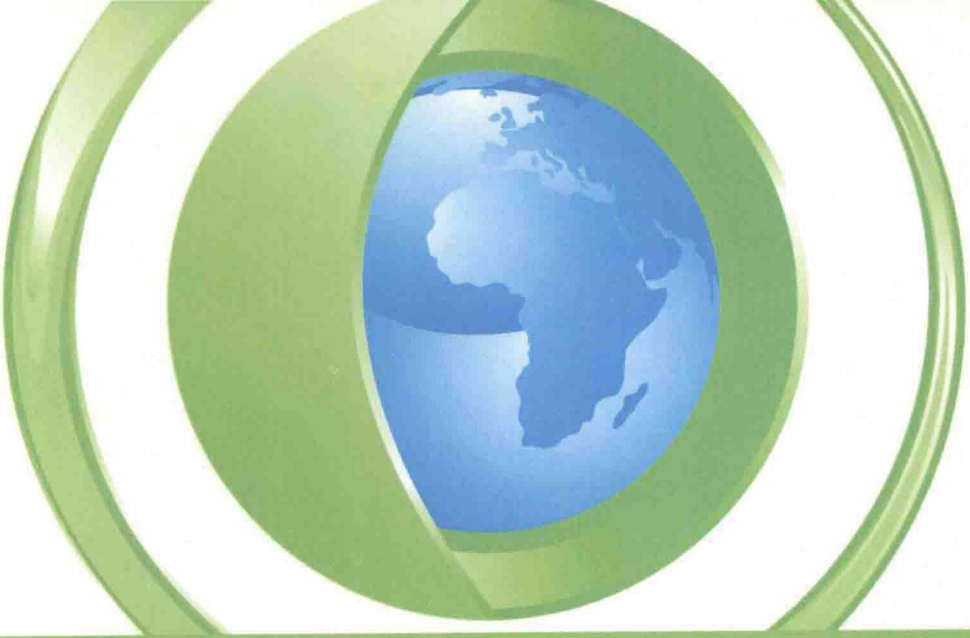

Abdi Zenebe

The African Unification Agenda

Significance and Dynamics of African Unity

VDM
Verlag
Dr. Müller

Abdi Zenebe

The African Unification Agenda

Significance and Dynamics of African Unity

常州大学山书馆
藏书章

VDM Verlag Dr. Müller

Impressum/Imprint (nur für Deutschland/ only for Germany)
Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.
Alle in diesem Buch genannten Marken und Produktnamen unterliegen warenzeichen-, marken- oder patentrechtlichem Schutz bzw. sind Warenzeichen oder eingetragene Warenzeichen der jeweiligen Inhaber. Die Wiedergabe von Marken, Produktnamen, Gebrauchsnamen, Handelsnamen, Warenbezeichnungen u.s.w. in diesem Werk berechtigt auch ohne besondere Kennzeichnung nicht zu der Annahme, dass solche Namen im Sinne der Warenzeichen- und Markenschutzgesetzgebung als frei zu betrachten wären und daher von jedermann benutzt werden dürften.

Coverbild: www.ingimage.com

Verlag: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG
Dudweiler Landstr. 99, 66123 Saarbrücken, Deutschland
Telefon +49 681 9100-698, Telefax +49 681 9100-988
Email: info@vdm-verlag.de

Herstellung in Deutschland:
Schaltungsdienst Lange o.H.G., Berlin
Books on Demand GmbH, Norderstedt
Reha GmbH, Saarbrücken
Amazon Distribution GmbH, Leipzig
ISBN: 978-3-639-26330-5

Imprint (only for USA, GB)
Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek: The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.
Any brand names and product names mentioned in this book are subject to trademark, brand or patent protection and are trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective holders. The use of brand names, product names, common names, trade names, product descriptions etc. even without a particular marking in this works is in no way to be construed to mean that such names may be regarded as unrestricted in respect of trademark and brand protection legislation and could thus be used by anyone.

Cover image: www.ingimage.com

Publisher: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG
Dudweiler Landstr. 99, 66123 Saarbrücken, Germany
Phone +49 681 9100-698, Fax +49 681 9100-988
Email: info@vdm-publishing.com

Printed in the U.S.A.
Printed in the U.K. by (see last page)
ISBN: 978-3-639-26330-5

Copyright © 2010 by the author and VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft & Co. KG and licensors
All rights reserved. Saarbrücken 2010

Dedicated to:

Those who struggle against injustice and exploitation

Acknowledgment

How perfect Allah is and I praise Him by the amount of His creation and His pleasure, and by the weight of His throne and the ink of His words.

I am highly indebted to the two most important women in my life: my mothers Kedisha and Kebisha and my father Zenie for being there for me through out my life and for giving nothing but their best. I would like to take this chance to extend my gratitude to my advisor Professor Kay Mathews for his consistence, patience and wisdom in guiding me through this work. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Tim Murthi for sharing his invaluable experience with me.

I would like to thank my friends Fikre, Bresha and Misgina for helping and encouraging me though out my study. I would also like to thank my little sister Hena and brother Sami for constant moral support.

Last but not least. I would like to thank Husnia and my wife Nuresebah for typing this paper.

试读结束，需要全本PDF请购买 www.ertongbook.com

Acronyms

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

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgment iv

Acronyms v

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction 1
1.1 Background 1
1.2 Statement of the Problem 2
1.3 Hypothesis 4
1.4 Research Question 4
1.5 Objectives 4
1.6 Significance of the Study 5
1.7 Methodology and Methode 5
1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study 6
1.9 Organization of the Study 6

CHAPTER TWO

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review 8
2.1 Conceptual Framework 8
2.1.1 Ideology of Pan-Africanism 9
2.1.2 African Renaissance 14
2.2 Literature Review 18
2.2.1 Pan-Africanism 19
2.2.2 African Renaissance 25

CHAPTER THREE

Significance and Dynamics of African Unity 34
Introduction 34
3.1 Significance of African Unity 35
3.1.1 Economic Significance 35
3.1.2 Political Significance 38
3.1.3 Military Significance 41
3.1.4 Cultural Significance 42
3.1.5 Global Significance 43
3.1.6 The Need for African Unity 44
3.2 Factors Promoting African Unity 48
3.2.1 Historical Heritage 48
3.2.2 Shared Values 49
3.2.3 Common Interests 49
3.3 The Case Against African Unity 50
3.3.1 Nationalism 50
3.3.2 Diversity 52
3.3.3 Limited Communication 54
3.3.4 Ideological Dependency 54
3.3.5 Poor Economic System 55

CHAPTER FOUR

Attempts at African Unity: Overview 57
Introduction 57

4.1 Early Years of Independence and African Unity 58
4.1.1 From 1957-1962 58
4.1.2 Organization of African Unity 67
4.1.3 African Union 71
4.1.4 African Union's Prposeal for Continental Government 73
4.1.5 African Economic Community 74
4.2 Regional Economic Communities 74
4.2.1 East African Community (EAC) 75
4.2.2 Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) 78
4.2.3 The Economic Commmunity of West African States (ECOWAS) 79
4.3 Challenges to Regional Integration in Africa 81

CHAPTER FIVE
Challenges and Opportunities 86
5.1 Challenges 86
5.1.1 External Challenges 86
5.1.1.1 Colonial Legacy 87
5.1.1.2 Dependency 88
5.1.1.3 International Regionalism 91
5.1.1.4 Debt Crisis 96
5.1.2 Internal Challenges 97
5.1.2.1 Lack of Political Will 97
5.1.2.2 Absence of Peace and Stability 100
5.1.2.3 Institutional Weakness 101
5.1.2.4 Socio-Economic Challenges 104
5.1.2.5 Lack of Implementation 106
5.2 Opportunities 107
5.2.1 Liberation of South Africa 107
5.2.2 New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) 109
5.2.3 African Union 110
5.2.4 AU's Proposal on United State of Africa 111
Conclusion 115
Bibliography 122

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background

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

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

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

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

1.2 Statement of the Problem

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

The leading concepts i.e. Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance aim at clarifying such misconceptions about the African unity ideal. The other major controversies revolve around the feasibility of African unity ever becoming a reality. Afro-pessimists in this regard out rightly reject the possibility of a unified Africa ever becoming a reality. Therefore, they consider the struggle for African unity destined to fail. However, opponents

试读结束，需要全本PDF请购买 www.ertongbook.com

of the African unity ideal often fail to provide alternative pragmatic development strategy for Africa. Nevertheless, African unity is expected to rally Africans together against their common enemies i.e. poverty, over dependency, neo-colonialism, conflict, foreign intervention etc. It also urges Africans to develop their own developmental agenda and eradicate the tradition of dependency.

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

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

1.3 Hypothesis

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

The hypothesis of this study is

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

1.4 Research Question

This study attempts to answer the following question:

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

1.5 Objectives

The main objectives of this study are:

- To address the importance of African unity in contemporary Africa.
- To study the evolution of African unity.

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

1.6 Significance of the Study

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

1.7 Methodology and Methods

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

The preferable method for this research is largely qualitative method. This is in one hand due to the limited availability and unreliability of the quantitative sources in many areas in Africa. In the other hand, the

qualitative method will enable to analyze a wide range of areas. However, quantitative methods are also used. Most of the sources for the research are secondary with a few primary sources. The secondary sources used in the study include books, journals, and unpublished documents.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

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

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

1.9 Organization of the Study

This study attempts to address the importance of unification in Africa. The study is divided into five main chapters. The first chapter deals with

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

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

CHAPTER TWO

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Pan-Africansim and African Renaissance

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

Most of the 'ingredients' for unity are contained in Pan-Africanism. Among these according to Nkrumah "the sense of one-ness in that we are Africans" (Nkrumah, 1963: 132) is an important element. In addition to common economic interest as Mazrui articulated Africa Unity is "the ultimate inspiration behind Pan-Africanism [in] a desire to see Africa

试读结束，需要全本PDF请购买 www.ertongbook.com