

Title: Understanding African Integration from African theoretical perspective

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Abstract

Inquiry into regional integration has recently created the attention particularly of social scientists and policy makers into this new field of knowledge with emphasis on European integration as the best existing model of integration. This has consequently led to the development of theories and concepts that explain the philosophical ideologies of regional integration from the perspectives of European integration. While these theories have been borrowed heavily to explain integration across the globe, there are certain specific African theories that best explain African integration since independence to date. This paper hopes at using these African perspectives to explain African integration. The inspiration from this paper is to help understand what regional integration in Africa is and what fundamental ideologies explain regional integration in Africa. It must be emphasized that this paper seeks to analyze two important African ideologies (Pan Africanism and African Renaissance) that promote and explain regional integration in Africa. While Pan Africanism sought to promote African unity through political liberation of African states from colonialism and slave trade, African Renaissance goes beyond political liberation to chart the path of Africa's economic, socio-cultural and political development advanced by globalization and technology for Africa unity.

Keywords: Pan Africanism, African Renaissance, African Union, regional integration, regional economic communities, globalization, technology.

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Introduction

Why is integration necessary and what is the rationale behind integration. The definition of African Development Bank (AfDB) on integration gives a gist of the need for integration. According to AfDB (2010, cited in Economic Commission for Africa, 2010), regional integration is defined as an outcome of cooperative arrangements and processes, the implementation of intergovernmental policies, treaties and market-led processes which provides the platform for economies within a region to become more closely interlinked and connected. This definition of regional integration considers integration as an end product rather than a means to an end. It also looks at integration from both political and economic perspectives.

However, in the view of Biswaro (2011), regional integration is both a means/process and an end state with an intergovernmental organization which represents three or more countries with a mandate to pool resources together in order to create a larger and opened economy that seeks to benefit member countries. According to Deen-Swarray, Adekunle & Odularu (2014), regional integration is necessary and essential for markets building and the creation of economies with a corresponding increase in opportunities for growth and development as well as attracting financial investment. For Hartzenberg (2011), regional integration is essential as a rational response to the many challenges faced by continents particularly those with numerous smaller economies and fragmented/landlocked countries. The rationale of integration is synonymous with organization, where different parties come together, pool their resources together in order to achieve a common purpose.

Initially, the proponents of integration were deeply rooted to the political and economic ideologies of integration. This can be best understood with the European Union (EU) as a model and an example. With EU as an integration model, several integrations have emerged across the globe. Regional integration in Africa (African Union, AU), Associations of South East

Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Asia, NAFTA and MERCOSUR in Latin America (Biswaro, 2011; Kingah, personal communication, May 5, 2017) are good examples.

While integration in Africa was more politically-inclined than economic (Nkrumah, 1963), that of MERCOSUR in Latin America had more economic orientation (Biswaro, 2011) than political. In an attempt to find explanation for the political-economic preference for integration, it can be argued that the historical or past experiences (Slocum & Van Langenhove, 2004) prior to integration might have influenced the choice of either political or economic orientation of integration. For instance, in the case of Africa, Nkrumah (1963) opined that “our cruel past and the present intricacies have drummed home the conviction that Africans cannot trust in anyone except in themselves and their resources”. Thus, colonial experiences reminded Africans the need for political freedom to precede economic emancipation (Nkrumah, 1963). This therefore explains why integration in Africa was politically oriented than economical.

The need for a United Africa, according to Nkrumah was felt in the early days of post-colonialism and independence. Nkrumah believes African Unity was necessary to fortify the political and economic stability of Africa from any other form of imperialist rule (Nkrumah, 1963). On the eve of Ghana’s Independence (6th March, 1957), Nkrumah rightly stated that “the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up to the total liberation of the African Continent”. Thus, Nkrumah echoed the need for the political freedom of African states which was necessary for the larger African integration. Consequently, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in 1963 at a Summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to spearhead the integration of Africa (Nkrumah, 1963). In 2002, the nomenclature of OAU was changed to African Union (AU) with a more penchant objective of ensuring proper integration and finding solutions to the challenges that have bedeviled the continent.

The achievement of some level of political freedom from imperialist rule through independence of most African states and the formation of OAU paved way for economic integration in Africa.

However the Lagos Plan of Action adopted by Heads of States in April 1980 (Hartzenberg, 2011; Biswaro, 2011), Abuja Treaty (June, 1991) and the Sirte Declaration (9th September, 1999) contributed immensely to economic integration in African through the creation of Africa Economic Community (AEC) and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) respectively (Biswaro, 2011).

Consequently, several economically integrated regions have emerged in Africa. Pertinent among them are EAC (East African Community), CEMAC (Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa), COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa), SADC (Southern African Development Community), AMU (Arab Maghreb Union), CEN-SAD (Community of Sahel-Saharan States), IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) (Biswaro, 2011; Deen-Swarray et al, 2014; Ranganathan & Foster, 2011; AU, 2014). Though, there are several regional and sub-regional entities, African Union however recognizes the above mentioned eight major RECs as the building block for Africa Economic Community (AU, 2014; Ndomo, 2009).

Why African perspectives?

Giddens (cited in Biswaro, 2011) expresses that since Durkheim era, social scientists have conceived social integration as the basic principle of social behaviour. Hence, common history, common language and culture as well as values and norms are essential elements of social behaviour and social integration (Smith, 1991, cited in Biswaro, 2011). Inquiry into integration has recently attracted the attention of social scientists and policy makers to understand the frontiers of this new field of inquiry (Biswaro, 2011), particularly from the perspectives of European integration.

Consequently, inquiry into regional integration with emphasis on European integration has given rise to theories and concepts that help explain and understand regional integration. Integration theories, according to Biswaro can be political and/or economic (Biswaro, 2011). These group of theories explain the economic and political ideologies of integration. Pertinent integration theories include liberal intergovernmentalism (Moravcsik, 1998), realism, neofunctionalism and the concept of spill-over (Haas, 1961; Haas and Schmitter, 1964; Lindberg, 1963; Haas, 1967), economic integration/economic convergence (Biswaro, 2011).

According to Laursen (2008), regional integration theories were developed to understand and explain European integration. Laursen (2008), however opines that these theories can be applied in the context of other regional integrations. This explains why African integration which was initially upheld by the pillars of Pan Africanism for a politically integrated African continent is now been championed and influenced by the European economic model of integration. According to S. Oginni (personal communication, July 25, 2017) "...the foundation of integration in Africa seems to be political but the model adopted does not follow this; rather the EU model of custom union theory has been applied (based on Abuja Plan of Actions). This may explain why integration in Africa has been slow; it was conceived based on political perspectives but its process has been rhetorically political and unrealistically economical"

While these theories have been borrowed heavily to explain integration across the globe, there are certain specific Africans theories that appropriately explain African integration since independence to date. This papers seeks to use these African perspectives to explain African integration. The inspiration from this paper is to better understand what regional integration in Africa is and what fundamental ideologies explain regional integration in Africa. It must be emphasized that the thrust of this paper seeks to analyze two important African ideologies (Pan Africanism and African Renaissance) that promote and explain regional integration in Africa. Again, this does not indicate that these two are the only ideologies underpinning African

integration, as S. Kingah (personal communication, May 5, 2017) asserts that African Marxists and socialists, negritude, liberal cosmopolitan and centrist liberals can also be used to explain and understand regional integration in Africa. However, Pan Africanism and African Renaissance underpin the historical and current context and phenomena of African integration respectively.

The choice of Pan Africanism and African Renaissance is to put African integration within the lenses and perspective of the African landscape prior to and post independence as well as current and emerging African conditions. Pan Africanism takes into cognizance the Africa before and immediately after independence while African Renaissance looks particularly at the current Africa with emphasis on the impact of globalization, liberalization, privatization, technological advancement and the global political system and order. African Renaissance also anticipates the future of Africa (the Africa we want) as stipulated in Agenda 2063 (AU, 2014). Notwithstanding, this does not imply that both Pan Africanism and African Renaissance are mutually exclusive. They are rather mutually reinforcing and complement each other to sustain, explain and understand African integration.

It must be emphasized that the focus of this paper is to understand African unity and integration from the lenses of two essential African ideologies that are paramount in explaining the ‘what’ and ‘why’ of African integration. The paper does not attempt to model African integration by looking at the economic, social and cultural aspects/components of regional integration in Africa. In effect, the paper poses the following question: what African ideologies best explain African unity and integration taking into cognizance the historical and current/emerging context of Africa? In line with this, the sections that follow will attempt at discussing the ideologies of African integration from the African theoretical perspective taking into consideration pan Africanism and African renaissance. Before moving further to Pan Africanism and African

Renaissance, there is the need to clarify the methodological approach adopted in carrying out this desktop study.

Methodology

The study aimed at explaining African unity and integration from two essential African ideologies (Pan Africanism and African Renaissance). By doing so, it was essential to understand the historical context of Africa prior to and after independence. As such, a qualitative desktop review of secondary materials was adopted in carrying out this study. Materials used for the study comprised of both published and unpublished such as journal articles, OAU/AU (Charter, Constitutive Act, Declarations and reports) and books.

Both manual and electronic search was carried out to retrieve the materials for the study. Manual search for materials that were pertinent to the content of the study was carried out in the library. For electronic search, this was done with the aid of the internet and using Boolean Operators such as AND, OR and NOT to search for relevant materials with keywords such as Pan Africanism, African Renaissance, African Integration, African Unity and African ideologies for African unity. Initial skimming of retrieved materials was done, which led to the grouping of materials into relevant and irrelevant based on the content and context of the study. Relevant materials were later reviewed and used for the study.

Pan Africanism

Pan Africanism is premised on obtaining political integration through emancipating all states and individuals on the African continent from the barbaric acts of colonialism and imperialism (Nkrumah, 1963; Lumumba-Kasongo, 1994; Mazrui, 2010; Muiu & Martin, 2009; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a; Abdul-Raheem, 1996; Rediker, 2013). In an attempt to give a definition to Pan Africanism, Lumumba-Kasongo (1994, p.109) asserts that "...Pan Africanism is an international phenomena that sought to contest the articulation and projection of Euro-

American power and interest at the expense of black people”. The internationalization of Pan African stems from the fact that it sought to fight for not only Africans in African but all black race around the world. This explains why Pan Africanism cannot be explained without making mention of eminent Pan Africanists such as Kwame Nkrumah, Marcus Garvey, William E.B. Du Bois and Henry Sylvester-Williams among others (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a; Nkrumah, 1963). This also explains why Pan African movement was started outside Africa before it was finally brought to Africa by Kwame Nkrumah (Nkrumah, 1963).

Pan Africanism sought to empower the black race through emancipation from excessive control and manipulation by foreign powers and states as well as counter the hegemonic exploitation of black people by the Euro-American powers and states (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). To some extent, Pan Africanism achieved its objective through the independence of African states, however it failed to prevent the hegemonic control of Euro-American world. It also failed to empower black race as overdependence on foreign states particularly Euro-American states aggravated after independence, as witnessed in Africa currently. Grosfoguel (2007) expresses similar concern. According to Grosfoguel, while Pan African movement brought independence to Africa, it neither resulted in a new postcolonial African nor postcolonial world (Grosfoguel, 2007)

Transatlantic slave trade, colonialism, apartheid, imperialism, neocolonialism and coloniality are the forces and factors that triggered and provoked Pan Africanism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b). Thus, black people were subjected to these cruelties that hunted the black race, deprived them of any sort of development, innovation and creativity. Under these conditions, the black race was regarded as inferior being. Thus racism and racial discrimination was at its peak under these conditions and hence helped to promote these conditions (De Souza Santos, 2007).

Highlighting the conditions under the hegemonic Euro-American world order, De Souza Santos (2007) opines that “... abyssal thinking with two abyssal lines classified race into “zone of

being” and “zone of non-being”. Hence, black people were identified with the “zone of non-being” which symbolized inferiority while Euro-Americans were tagged with the “zone of being” which was an emblem of superior beings. Owing to these conditions, thinking and world order, Pan Africanism sought to right these wrongs and emancipate the black people who were tagged as inferior beings. The ideologies and philosophies of Pan Africanism were manifested, evidenced and voiced out at the Pan African Congresses/Conferences with the first conference organized in 1900 (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b; Adi & Sherwood, 2003).

Henry Sylvester-Williams’ contribution to Pan Africanism paved way for and gathered the momentum for preaching Pan Africanists ideologies. In 1900, he spearheaded the first Pan African Congress after recognizing the racist and brutal treatments meted out to the blacks in London as well as Euro-America dominance and manipulation on the African continent (Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). The 1900 Pan African Congress sought to create global attention of the conditions of the black race and hence, called for the need for global efforts to protect Africans (Padmore, 1972, cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a) while at same time named and shamed the activities of the Euro-American powers in Africa. Integral to African integration, the Pan Africanists at the Congress discussed several issues such as self-government, independence of African states, an end to colonialism and imperialism, socio-economic and political condition of the African people and the spread of Christianity in Africa (Adejumobi, 2001).

However, Pan African movement halted for about two decades until 1919 when William E.B. Du Bois took the mantle from Henry Sylvester-Williams to organize the second Pan African Congress. Du Bois emphasized that for the black race to gain freedom from racial discrimination and treatment, there was the essential need to reclaim black identity, black history and root as well as been proud of their blackness (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). This call by Du Bois clarifies the assertion of Woodson (1933) that Africans are to blame for the

marginalization of the black race. In the introductory part of his book (*Miseducation of the Negro*), Woodson opined that blacks were not interested in their own culture and identity (Woodson, 1933).

Consequently, the momentum for Pan African Congress picked up after the second congress in Paris which led to successive Pan African Congresses, which also eventually led to the formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, as the continental body to spearhead African integration (Nkrumah, 1963; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a; Adi & Sherwood, 2003; Murithi, 2009). It must be emphasized that since the first congress in 1900, successive congresses were organized outside Africa by Africans in the diaspora until 1958 when Kwame Nkrumah organized the first ever Pan African Congress on the African soil in Accra, Ghana (Nkrumah, 1963).

Prior to this, Kwame Nkrumah became the principal advocate of Pan Africanism after the 1945 monumental Pan African Congress in Manchester (Nkrumah, 1963; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). The 1945 Pan African Congress marked a landmark in Pan African history since it was the first time Pan African Congress received large attendance from Pan Africanists both in African and the diaspora (Nkrumah, 1963; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a). It was also the first time Pan Africanists unanimously agreed and made a bold statement and commitment to reject colonialism (Nkrumah, 1963; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a; Adejumobi, 2001). In addition, the 1945 Pan African Congress was organized concurrently when Euro-American powers had also met to determine Africa's future (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a).

While Euro-Americans were planning Africa's future, Africans were themselves deciding their own future in their own land through series of Pan African Congresses between 1958 and 1963 championed by Kwame Nkrumah and other Pan Africanists. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2013a), the 1958 Pan African Congress and successive ones were dominated by "...decolonization of Africa, unification of African states and the formation of United States of

Africa”. Thus, Pan African ideologies and philosophies, manifested through Pan African Congresses explain vividly the what, why and how of African integration. According to Esedebe (cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a), “...Pan Africanism is a protest against Euro-American racism against black people in the diaspora and on the African continent; Pan Africanism as a space for waging anti-colonial struggles; Pan Africanism as a quest for African unity”. For Geisis (cited in Oginni & Moitui, 2016), Pan Africanism is an ideology embed in: cultural unity of Africa, political independence of African states and propagation of African and Afro-American eruditeness and intelligentsia as homogenous.

Asare-Nuamah & Arhin Mensah (in press) argue that Pan Africanism recognized that, an end to black enslavement would serve as the beginning of black man’s development, hence all efforts were made to ensure that the barbaric practices of slave trade, colonialism and imperialism were brought to an end in Africa. As the continental body to spearhead African integration, the African Union Echo (2013) propagates Pan Africanism as an indigenous ideology and movement for the solidarity of Africans across the world. In line with this, Pan Africanism preaches the ideology that African unity is no doubt essential for political, economic and socio-cultural development of Africa. Africa Unity, according to Oginni & Moitui (2016) will give a common voice to address the common challenges of the continent. Nevertheless, as stipulated by Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2013a) Pan African unity suffers from nationalism and state sovereignty of independent African states and their leaders.

In giving explanation to the nationalistic and state sovereignty assertion by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a), the writer argues that the failure of Pan African leaders to form the United States of Africa was a clear indication that Pan Africanism was at the verge of collapse. It also signaled that the political unity of Africa as championed by Pan Africanism was far from been achieved. Hence, states became more conscious of the need to protect their individual national sovereignty at the expense of a continental unity (Söderbaum cited in Fongot Kinni, n.d.). In addition, the

non-interference clause enshrined in the OAU Charter (Appiah, 2015; Fongot Kinni, n.d.) by these same Pan African leaders gave a protective coat to shield them while promoting their parochial interest or the so-called national sovereignty. Hence, it no surprising that, that bond of unity among African states prior to independence somehow collapsed soon after independence owing to the individualistic, nationalistic and state sovereignty of African leaders. In addition, the slow quell of the spirit of Pan Africanism may also explain why current efforts towards regional integration in Africa have followed the European model of economic integration, relegating political emancipation and unity of Africa, which in reality is exactly what is need to unite the continent.

African Renaissance

Aime Cesaire, cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012), stipulates that:

a civilization that proves incapable of solving the problems it creates is a decadent civilization. A civilization that chooses to close its eyes to its most crucial problems is a stricken civilization. A civilization that uses its principles of trickery and deceit is a dying civilization.

From the quote above, it is evident that in order not for Africa to be a stricken continent/civilization, there was the need for Africans to determine their own future by finding internally generated solutions to their challenges. In addition, Dambisa Moyo's revelation of the failure of foreign aid to address African challenges also reiterates the need for African solutions to African problems (Moyo, 2009). Hence, African Renaissance (AR) envisaged that Western assistance has failed Africa and there was therefore the need for Africans to look within for solutions to African challenges as posited by Agenda 2063 (AU, 2014).

While political emancipation was the underlying factor for Pan Africanism, African Renaissance goes beyond political integration to include economic integration taking into

considerations issues such as economic growth, trade, peace and security, education, scientific and technological advancement, African values among others. It also incorporate other essential political values such as democracy, human rights, rule of law, free and fair regular elections among others.

African renaissance is based on the ideology and realization that Africans are responsible for their own destinies and hence must internally find solutions to the numerous challenges that have bedeviled the continent. This affirms and confirms the call by Nelson Mandela that

We must face the matter squarely that where there is something wrong in how we govern ourselves, it must be said that the fault is not in our stars but in ourselves.

We know that we have it in ourselves, as Africans, to change all this. We must assert our will to do so – we must say that there is no obstacle big enough to stop us from bringing about an African renaissance (Mandela, 1997; Obonye, 2012, cited in Oginni & Moitui, 2016).

African renaissance stems from the fact that Africans have since independence depended solely on external assistance for their needs and problems (Oginni & Moitui, 2016; Moyo, 2009; Nkrumah, 1963).

Paradoxically, Africa is blessed with more resources than any other continent, yet it faces more challenges in addressing its problems (Kinni, 2017; Nkrumah, 1963). In addition, Africa's rich resources promote development in the developed world at the expense of the African people (Nkrumah, 1963; Brune, 2014). Echoing the role of foreign aid in Africa, Moyo (2009) clearly reveals that foreign aids are in themselves deathtrap for African as foreign aids have worsened the woes of Africans than helping solve their problems. According to Moyo (2009), prior to aid in Africa, some countries such as Ivory Coast performed better economically than after foreign aid became the order of the day in Africa. In addition, foreign aid has also increased corruption

and unaccountable expenditure/governments in Africa (Moyo, 2009). These among other reasons drummed home the conviction that Africans must find internal means of solving their problem since over dependent syndrome discourages creativity, innovation and problem solving. This does not however conclude that foreign aid is totally destructive as the Marshal Plan of Action contributed immensely to the reconstruction of European countries.

Though, the concept, African renaissance, seems more modern and its usage has gained popularity in modern times, it is asserted that African renaissance had been used by Cheikh Anta Diop in his book *Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in culture and development, 1940-1960* (Diop, 1996; Makalela & Sistrunk, 2002). In this book, Diop provided a practical and systematic approach to Africa's development (Diop, 1996; Makalela & Sistrunk, 2002). Diop also emphasized the role of African culture in promoting African development and African Unity (Diop, 1996; Makalela & Sistrunk, 2002). Diop's hope was that through his book, Africa's development can be promoted and predicted and African unity achieved (Makalela & Sistrunk, 2002).

Makalela & Sistrunk (2002), however opine that Diop's effort became fruitless as it failed to get the needed attention from African scholars and leaders. According to them, "[o]ne of the less recognized works in African scholarship remains the sterling work of Cheikh Anta Diop", making reference to his book on African Renaissance. However, the modern usage of the concept is associated with Thabo Mbeki (former President of South) in his Speeches in 1997, 1998 and 1999 when he reiterated the essence of African Renaissance for remapping Africa on the global political and economic landscape amidst globalization and technological advancement.

Oginni and Moitui (2016) anticipate that African Renaissance is essential for Africa's development as it seeks to reconstruct Africa's history from mere followers to powerful economic and political global player. Implicitly, like Pan Africanism, African Renaissance

aspires to make Africa great in order to contest and challenge the economic and political hegemony enjoyed, championed and professed by the Euro-American world system. But one would ask, why African Renaissance in the 21 Century?

The illustrations given by Mbeki (1997; 1998; 1999) and Oginni & Moitui (2016) provide concrete evidence and responses to the need for African Renaissance in the era of techno-global (technology and globalization) world system. Mbeki anticipated that globalization and technology will have a spillover effect in economic and political advancement through innovative opportunities (Mbeki, 1997; 1998; 1999). According to Oginni & Moitui (2016), globalization and technological advancement have brought structural transformation in the global political and economic system.

Technology and globalization have resulted in new ways of: doing things, thinking and governance (e-governance, e-government, e-participation among others). It has also resulted in the interconnectedness of diverse and unconnected economies and shaped the frontiers of knowledge, society, culture and government. It can therefore be argued that economies cannot effectively develop without the interplay of globalization and technology. Hence, Africans through African Renaissance must rebrand, reconstruct, reinvigorate and re-strategize their economies, society, culture, politics and philosophies to take advantage of the wind of globalization and technology. In addition, Africa is said to have a fragmented economy (Deen-Swarray et al, 2014; Ranganathan & Foster, 2011) and hence, interconnectedness of African economies can be promoted through technology and globalization (World Bank, 2010; Deen-Swarray et al, 2014; Ranganathan & Foster, 2011). However, caution must be taken with respect to the strategy to be adopted as globalization and technology are the footprints of imperialists and neocolonialists Euro-American world.

Pan Africanism and African Renaissance: Some loopholes

There is no doubt that Pan Africanism was necessary to usher Africa into a new dawn of self-reliance and self-rule (Nkrumah, 1963). Pan Africanists proposed for the need for Africans to be chancellors of their own universities or masters of their own affairs. For Pan Africanism to achieve its desired objective of emancipating the African continent and promoting development of Africa, it required strong leadership and institutions necessary to usher in the desired aspirations of Pan Africanism. However, Pan Africanism failed to ensure the kind of leadership and institutions needed to bring into reality the emancipation and development of Africa. There is little or no evidence that suggests that Pan Africanism championed a particular kind/style of leadership and institutional setup. The failure of Pan Africanism to promote the required leadership and institutional setup partly explains why soon after independence, Pan African freedom fighters (African leaders) became thorns in the flesh of their own citizens as amplified through corrupt governments, excessive control, abuse of human rights, mismanagement of state resources and coups (Gilley, 2010). This situations persisted in Africa until the early 1990s when the wave of democratization and the quest for democracy swept through Africa.

It was at this same period that African Renaissance resurfaced to boost Pan Africanism while promoting economic, political and social development of Africa amidst globalization and technological advancement (Gilley, 2010; Diop, 1996; Mandela, 1997). African Renaissance took a center stage of the political landscape in Africa in the 1990s. It sought to strengthen the tenets of democracy and good governance in African while championing innovative and entrepreneurial ideas for Africa's economic growth and development (Mandela, 1997; Diop, 1996; AU, 2014). However, Gilley (2010) reveals that African Renaissance has failed as heightened political instability and conflicts (cross border, ethnic, inter and intra state) in Africa are clear indications that African Renaissance has failed.

In addition, socio-economically, hunger, malnutrition, infant and maternal mortality, prevalence of HIV/AIDS and poverty have increased in Africa particularly after the millennium in addition to the impact of climate change in Africa (Gilley, 2010). Gilley (2010) posits that African Renaissance has failed to prevent these incidences in Africa. While the author agrees with Gilley to the point of these incidences been rampant in Africa, the author equally argues that the prevalence of these incidences does not automatically indicate the failure of African Renaissance as the world in general is facing a critical situation posed by terrorism and climate change which have increased vulnerability particularly in developing countries. In addition, African Renaissance is not time bound and hence it is premature to conclude that African Renaissance has failed. Notwithstanding, African Renaissance remains at the level of the African Union with little or no effort to streamline it down to the national and local levels. In effect, national and local policies do not somehow align with the aspirations of African Renaissance. Again, nationalism and state centric governance structures also hinder the effective integration of African Renaissance into national and local policies.

Notwithstanding, as revealed by the AU in its Agenda 2063, both Pan Africanism and African Renaissance have been integrated into the Agenda 2063 to complement each other in order to ensure that the desired objectives of the Agenda are achieved. While this is not the focus of this paper, it is essential to ascertain the extent to which Agenda 2063 can effectively and efficiently promote Pan Africanism and African Renaissance as two essential African ideologies necessary for African integration and development.

Conclusion and recommendations

In a world governed by hegemonic Euro-American powers and characterized by paternalistic, imperialistic, neocolonialism, prebendalism, deceit and trickery, it is essential that Africans determine their own fate to chart the kind of development they want as enshrined in Agenda 2063. Recalled from Nkrumah (1963), Africans cannot trust in anyone except in themselves

and their resources. Africa is the world richest continent in terms of natural resources possession, however these resources are more often than not used for the enrichment and development of foreign states other than African states as observed in the era of colonialism and post colonialism.

Colonialism, slave trade, imperialism, excessive control and overexploitation of Africans by Euro-Americans called for the need for Africans to unite and have a common voice in addressing common African challenges. Hence, the quest for African unity was propagated through African ideologies such as Pan Africanism and African Renaissance. Pan Africanism, the mother of African integration ideologies sought to promote political integration of Africa (African Unity) through the abolition of slave trade, colonialism, apartheid and imperialism perpetuated by Euro-American nations that have derailed the continent from development. Pan Africanism as an ideology was manifested through Pan African Congresses that sought to grant political independence to Africans for the gradual integration of the continent.

African Renaissance on the other hand, though championed by Cheikh Anta Diop for the cultural development of Africa in the 1940s and 1960s, it failed to get the needed attention from African scholars and leaders. However, at the entry of the Millennium (1997, 1998, 1999), African Renaissance resurfaced as powerful ideology for Africa's development and integration in a techno-global world system. Championed by Thabo Mbeki, African Renaissance seeks to promote economic, political and socio-cultural development of African through globalization and technological advancement. Like Pan Africanism, African Renaissance has a long term goal of promoting and achieving an integrated and united African front.

With such noble ideologies to promote African integration, nationalism and strong state sovereignty hinder the achievement of a United Africa. Hence, there is the need to promote mass education of these ideologies and their objectives at all levels of African societies in order to ensure societal acceptance and ownership of African integration. This will also help to do

away with the top-down approach of African integration where only state governments/actors are involved in the process of African integration. In addition, there is the need for African integration proponents to reinvent the wheel of African integration from compulsory integration to voluntary integration. Observations show that while some states are in strong support of African integration, there are however states that are reluctant in championing the course of African integration. Hence, there is the need to reconsider the model of integration by having a look at the approach that lead to what we have as the United States of America rather than the bigot penchant for the European integration model which in effect has not led to the kind of desired integration in Africa.

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