# *Le* *The* *Bulletin*

## Panafricanism At The Service of African Integration:
## A Myth or A Reality?

## Le Panafricanisme au Service de L'intégration Africaine:
## Un Mythe ou une Réalité?

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# The Bulletin of the Friday of the Commission

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# Le Bulletin des Vendredis de la Commission

**PANAFRICANISM AT THE SERVICE OF AFRICAN INTEGRATION: A MYTH OR A REALITY?**

**LE PANAFRICANISME AU SERVICE DE L'INTEGRATION AFRICAINE: UN MYTHE OU UNE REALITE?**
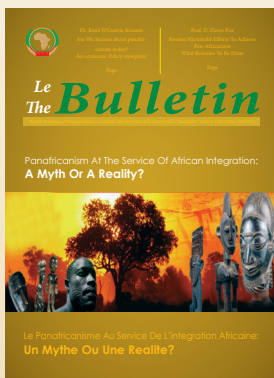
**Newsletter VOL.5 No.2 May 2013**

A publication of the African Union

**« Fridays of the Commission »**
**Conferences-Debates**
**Every Last Friday of the Month**

Fridays of the Commission offers to the staff of the Commission, African diplomats grouped within the Permanent Representatives Committee, the staff of United Nations institutions in Addis Ababa, a real opportunity to meet and share information on the various problems related to the socio-economic, political and cultural development of Africa.

Practical organization:

The forum will be held on the last Friday of the month in the form of conference-debates on a current theme.  The theme will be carefully chosen with the speaker/orator. All speakers are requested to submit written presentations to the Department of Economic Affairs one week prior to the conference to allow for translation into English and French, a wide distribution after the conference and possibly publication in the Bulletin of the African Union.

During the conference, the speaker will be assisted by two moderators.  The latter will in turn make a summary on the day's theme following the main speaker's presentation after which the floor will be open for discussions.  There will be interpretation into French and English during the conference-debates in order to allow for wider participation.

Choice of theme:

The choice of theme falls within the purview of the Commission.  However, the designated speaker has some latitude to amend in accordance with his competence and interest in the development of the theme selected.

# Foreword

**Dr. Anthony Mothae Maruping**
Commissioner, Economic Affairs | Commission of the African Union

Yesterday, the Pan-Africanist movement driven by W.E.B. DU BOIS, M. Garvey, K. Dunham, K. Nkrumah, was the base, indeed, the main lever for the liberation of Africa from the yoke of colonialism and the segregationist regime of apartheid. Then, PanAfricanism was the flame that enlightened the African leaders in the implementation of integrating structures of the Continent, today, embodied by the African Union. Yes, PanAfricanism emerges as the source of moral virtues from which contemporary leaders are drawing inspiration to guide their actions to achieve Regional and Continental unity and solidarity. The sons and daughters of Africa rely on Pan-Africanism to consolidate and maintain in a permanent manner the secular bonds of unity, solidarity and living together inherited from successive generations.

Pan-Africanism, therefore, imposes itself for the African peoples, as an action or a permanent benchmark, an inexhaustible source of moral inspiration and an inter-generational unifying symbol. The Fiftieth anniversary of the OAU / AU, under the theme of "Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance" constitutes, therefore, a symbol. This is a sign that contemporary Africa needs to be reborn and bounce in an extremely difficult global environment, where fierce interstate competition leaves no room for the weak. Thus, in the next few years or decades, Africa has a moral and political obligation to lean on to PanAfricanism to create a place in the community

Hier, le mouvement panafricaniste impulsé par W.E.B. Dubois, M. Garvey, K. Dunham, K. Nkrumah, etc. a été le socle, voire le principal levier de la libération de l'Afrique du joug du colonialisme, puis du régime ségrégationniste de l'apartheid. Par la suite, le panafricanisme a constitué la flamme qui a éclairé les dirigeants africains dans la mise en place des structures intégratrices du continent, aujourd'hui incarnées par l'Union africaine. Le panafricanisme se révèle ainsi comme la source de vertus morales auprès de laquelle les dirigeants contemporains s'abreuvent pour orienter leurs actions vers l'atteinte de l'unité et de la solidarité, aussi bien à l'échelle régionale que continentale. Les filles et les fils du continent s'appuient sur le panafricanisme pour consolider et entretenir en permanence les liens séculaires d'unité, de solidarité et de vie communautaire, hérités de génération en génération.

Pour toutes les populations du continent, le panafricanisme s'impose par conséquent comme un recours ou un repère permanent, une source d'inspiration morale inépuisable, et un symbole unificateur intergénérationnel. Dans ce contexte, la célébration du Cinquantenaire de l'OUA/UA, sous le thème «Le Panafricanisme et la Renaissance africaine», constitue tout un symbole. C'est en effet le signe que l'Afrique contemporaine en a besoin pour renaître et rebondir dans un environnement mondial extrêmement difficile, où l'âpreté de la concurrence entre États ne fait pas de place aux faibles. Pour les prochaines années ou décennies,

of Nations, and to mobilise its sons and daughters to take up all the challenges of diverse nature that stand in the way of its integration and its economic and social progress. In this perspective, we wish to call for the resurrection or the emergence of economic Pan-Africanism. The PanAfricanism we dream of is one which walks on its two feet, namely, the political PanAfricanism which gave independence and sovereignty to Africa and the economic PanAfricanism, which deserves to be revitalized to guarantee to Africa as a whole, its economic emancipation. Economic PanAfricanism, if it were fully realized, would mean an Africa that ensures its food and financial self-sufficiency, an economically integrated Africa where Africans move freely from one country to another to develop their individual and collective opportunities, an Africa whose voice is heard and respected in global economic governance, an Africa where resources are exploited by Africans for Africans and an Africa where sovereignty is merged into one (in the spirit of shared sovereignty) to provide some content and to be better protected and better defended.

In sum total, an economic PanAfricanism, flourishing alongside a political Pan-Africanism, will give to PanAfricanism its full meaning and lead Africans to grant it the functions of an eternal guide in the reality of their daily life. De facto, PanAfricanism stands as an umbrella that protects Africa against all bad weather, and enables it to renew permanently, faith in its future and believe in the culmination of a brighter more prosperous destiny.

*Dr. Anthony Mothae Maruping*
*Commissioner, Economic Affairs*
*Commission of the African Union*

l'Afrique a l'obligation morale et politique de s'adosser au panafricanisme afin de se faire une place dans le Concert des Nations et de mobiliser toutes ses filles et tous ses fils en vue de relever les divers défis qui se posent et qui entravent l'intégration et le progrès économique et social du continent. C'est le lieu d'en appeler non seulement à la relance du panafricanisme politique, mais aussi à l'émergence du panafricanisme économique.

Le panafricanisme dont nous rêvons tous est celui qui repose sur tous ses deux piliers, à savoir le pilier politique, qui a conféré l'indépendance et la souveraineté à l'Afrique, et le pilier économique, qui mérite d'être renforcé pour garantir à l'ensemble du continent son émancipation économique. Le panafricanisme économique, s'il était effectif, signifierait alors une Afrique qui assure son autosuffisance alimentaire et financière; une Afrique économiquement intégrée, dont les populations circulent librement d'un pays à l'autre pour tirer parti des opportunités individuelles ou collectives qui s'offrent; une Afrique dont la voix est écoutée et respectée dans la gouvernance économique mondiale; une Afrique où les ressources sont exploitées par les Africains et pour les Africains eux-mêmes; une Afrique où les souverainetés fusionnent (dans l'esprit bien compris des souverainetés partagées) pour avoir un même contenu et garantir ainsi une meilleure protection et une meilleure défense.

En somme, un panafricanisme économique épanoui, à côté du panafricanisme politique redynamisé, donnera tout son sens au concept de panafricanisme et conduira les Africains à lui concéder les attributs d'un guide éternel dans la réalité de leur vie quotidienne. Le panafricanisme est donc le parapluie qui doit mettre l'Afrique à l'abri de toutes les intempéries et lui permettre de renouveler la foi en son avenir et de croire en l'aboutissement inéluctable d'un destin plus porteur, plus prometteur et plus prospère.

*Dr. Anthony Mothae Maruping*
*Commissaire, Affaires Economiques*
*Commission de l'Union Africaine*

# contents

## THE FUTURE OF AFRICA IN THE NEXT 50 YEARS: WHAT CAN BE THE CONTRIBUTION OF PANAFRICANISM?

## L'AVENIR DE L'AFRIQUE DANS LES 50 PROCHAINES ANNÉES : QUELLE PEUT ÊTRE LA CONTRIBUTION DU PANAFRICANISME ?

*Le panafricanisme constitue le patrimoine commun des Africains et une valeur morale leur permettant d'entretenir l'espoir d'une vie meilleure et de résister aux chocs divers et variés du monde moderne.*



**Dr. René N'Guettia Kouassi,** *Director of Economic Affairs Department of the African Union Commission*

What will be the position of Africa at the end of the next 50 years? What will the continent look like? Will Africa be then a developed Continent that has managed to find effective and lasting solutions to its current problems? Or will Africa be rather a more impoverished continent and ravaged by the various endless conflicts? It will take a very clever person who can answer, today, with certainty, these questions. The Experts in long term planning are also unable to use their knowledge, indeed, argue with ease and confidence, about this matter. To reply with certainty to the questions about the future of Africa in 50 years, seems to be a pipe dream or, indeed, a challenge. In this movement of collective dream or the quest for a truth to be discovered in 2063, the elements that follow can be highlighted.

Quelle sera la position de l'Afrique au terme des 50 prochaines années ? À quoi ressemblera le continent ? L'Afrique sera-t-elle alors un continent développé, qui aura réussi à trouver des solutions efficaces et durables à ses difficultés actuelles ? Ou l'Afrique sera-t-elle plutôt un continent plus appauvri et plus meurtri par diverses séries de conflits interminables ? Bien malin qui pourrait, aujourd'hui, répondre avec certitude à ces différents questionnements. Les spécialistes en planification de long terme sont également dans l'incapacité d'exercer, voire de faire valoir avec aisance et assurance leur science à ce sujet. Répondre avec certitude aux questionnements sur l'avenir de l'Afrique dans 50 ans semble relever d'un rêve chimérique, voire d'une gageure. Dans cette mouvance de rêve collectif ou de quête d'une vérité à découvrir en 2063, les éléments qui vont suivre peuvent être mis en exergue.

1. The original document is in French

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In 2063, Africa will have effectively established the African Economic Community, the final stage of the Abuja Treaty, considered today as the real dashboard for the implementation of the Regional and Continental integration Agenda. In other words, Africa will already have its single currency, its PanAfrican Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, its Monetary Fund its Court of Justice, in addition to having other institutions of various kind which will confirm its unity, full independence and its influence across the world. Africa will be a country-continent, symbol of the success of its economic and political integration. The United States of Africa will be already a reality that will give the Continent the status if an indispensable partner in the joint management of world affairs. its In 2063, Africa will be the largest workshop in the world, as well as the undisputed engine of world growth, through orders and exports.

In 2063, national borders will be mere good old memories. The obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital will no longer exist. The unity of the Continental Army, which will already an achievement, will be a major asset to help guarantee the security of Africa, country-continent and contribute to the pacification of the world. But what should be done to make this vision of Africa for the next 50 years move from the drawing board to the realm of reality? In other words, what is to be done so that the Africans, born after 2063, find a country-continent, which is developed, united and independent, which shoulders co-responsibility and co-management of world affairs? Can Pan-Africanism still continue to enlighten Africa on its path of integration? *The adherence to PanAfricanism should be maintained at any time and at the same time, by all Africans.* And rightly so. This school of thought has been a source of inspiration for the Founding Fathers of modern Africa in their historical struggle for the economic,



MALCOLM X

**Les États-Unis d'Afrique seront déjà une réalité qui fera accéder le continent au statut...**

political and cultural development of the African peoples.

En 2063, l'Afrique aura déjà effectivement mis en place la Communauté économique africaine, étape ultime du Traité d'Abuja considéré aujourd'hui comme le véritable tableau de bord de la mise en œuvre de l'Agenda de l'intégration régionale et continentale. En d'autres termes, l'Afrique aura déjà sa Monnaie unique, son Parlement panafricain élu au suffrage universel, son Fonds monétaire et sa Cour de justice, en plus d'être dotée d'autres institutions de nature variée qui consacreront son unité, son indépendance totale et son rayonnement à travers le monde. L'Afrique sera un pays-continent, symbole du succès de son intégration économique et politique. *Les États-Unis d'Afrique seront déjà une réalité qui fera accéder le continent au statut de partenaire incontournable dans la cogestion des affaires planétaires.* En 2063, l'Afrique sera le plus grand atelier au monde, ainsi que le moteur incontestable de la croissance mondiale, de par ses commandes et ses exportations.

En 2063, les frontières nationales ne seront plus que de bons vieux souvenirs. Les obstacles à la libre circulation des personnes, des biens, des services et des capitaux n'existeront plus. L'unité de l'armée continentale, qui sera déjà un acquis, constituera un atout majeur permettant de garantir la sécurité de l'Afrique, pays-continent, et de contribuer à la pacification du monde. Mais que faire pour que cette vision de l'Afrique pour les 50 prochaines années passe de la table à dessins au domaine de la réalité ? En d'autres termes, que faire pour que les Africains qui naîtront après 2063 trouvent en place un pays-continent développé, uni et indépendant, qui assume la coresponsabilité et la cogestion des affaires planétaires? Le panafricanisme peut-il encore continuer à éclairer l'Afrique sur la voie de son intégration ?

W.E.B Du Bois


Katherine Dunham


MARCUS GARVEY
"A PEOPLE WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR PAST HISTORY, ORIGIN AND CULTURE IS LIKE A TREE WITHOUT ROOTS"
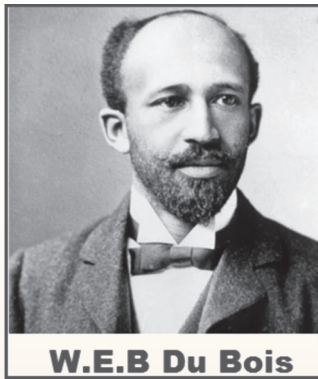
Still today, this historic movement is a landmark and continues to enlighten many African leaders in the development of their political, economic and social projects. Its main promoters go back to Dubois, Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, who laid the foundations. Since then, the concept of "PanAfricanism" has become a leitmotiv in the economic and political speeches of the leaders of the Continent. The concept of "PanAfricanism" is present even in the cultural circles where academics, writers and artists use it to feed into or illustrate their works. Today, it is as if being PanAfricanist is to be a "real and good African." In contrast, displaying one's "anti-Africanism" is to show lack of love for Africa, thus appearing, for some countrymen, to be a friend of imperialists or those who harbourill feelings contrary to the dignity and the independence of the Continent.
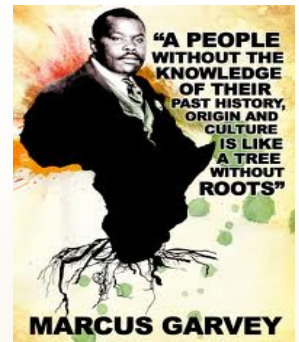
Even today, we are unanimous in recognising the major role played by the Pan-Africanist school of thought which was the main driving force behind the anti-colonial struggles that led to the total liberation of Africa and the irreversible victory against the segregationist apartheid regime in South Africa. Pan-Africanism, therefore, served as a compass or dashboard to the justice, peace, freedom and political and economic emancipation loving African peoples. However, this unanimity disappears when, we need to know if the Pan-Africanism, as experienced today, has the capacity to lead Africa to make important qualitative leaps enabling it to take up the challenges of the contemporary world. In other words, can contemporary Pan-Africanism still whip up the pride of Africans? Can it get them to excel, to boost their desire to be free of poverty and misery?

**The adherence to Pan Africanism should be maintained at any time and at the same time, by all Africans.**

*L'adhésion au panafricanisme devrait être conjuguée, en tout temps et en même temps, par l'ensemble des Africains*. Et pour cause. Ce courant de pensée a constitué une source d'inspiration inépuisable pour les Pères fondateurs de l'Afrique moderne dans leur lutte historique pour l'épanouissement économique, politique et culturel des peuples africains. Aujourd'hui encore, ce mouvement historique fait date et continue d'éclairer nombre de dirigeants africains dans l'élaboration de leurs projets politiques, économiques et sociaux. Ses principaux animateurs remontent à W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Malcom X et Katherine Dunham qui en ont jeté les fondations. Depuis lors, le concept de «panafricanisme» est devenu un leitmotiv dans les discours économiques et politiques des dirigeants du continent. Le concept de «panafricanisme» s'invite même dans les milieux culturels où universitaires, écrivains et artistes s'en servent pour alimenter, voire illustrer leurs œuvres. Aujourd'hui, tout se passe comme si être panafricaniste, c'est être un «vrai et bon Africain». *A contrario*, afficher son «anti-panafricanisme», c'est montrer son désamour pour l'Afrique, passant ainsi, pour certains concitoyens, pour un ami des impérialistes ou de tous ceux qui nourrissent des velléités contraires à la dignité et à l'indépendance du continent.

De nos jours encore, l'on est unanime à reconnaître le rôle majeur joué par le courant de pensée panafricaniste qui fut le principal moteur des luttes anticoloniales ayant abouti à la libération totale de l'Afrique et à la victoire irréversible contre le régime ségrégationniste de l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud. Le panafricanisme a donc servi de boussole, voire de tableau de bord aux peuples africains épris de justice, de paix, de liberté et d'émancipation politique et économique. Toutefois, cette unanimité disparaît

Can it get them to trace their own way to growth and development contributing to inclusion and to break away from economies characterised by shortages and inequalities and renew with the abundance and prosperity for all? Finally, can the Pan Africanism, like yesterday, lead Africans to silence national egoism to embark resolutely on the path of building a united, prosperous, peaceful, politically and economically integrated and socially inclusive Africa? Can the African leaders of our time, as well as contemporary opinion makers, keep alive the flame of PanAfricanism, bequeathed by the Founding Fathers of modern Africa, in order to lead the peoples to bold adventures that allow us to dream?

To reply today with certainty to all these questions is to engage in a very complicated game, more especially as the answers depend on variables, essentially, beyond the control of Africa itself, Africans and their leaders. It only remains to make a wish, inviting Africans of all social classes, to own the Pan-Africanist thought, to revitalize it and use it as a moral and political weapon to take up all the challenges of today and tomorrow.

Yesterday, Pan-Africanism gave concrete form to the African awakening, pride and esteem to win victories on the freedom, sovereignty and independence fronts. This is why today Pan Africanism is the common heritage of Africans and a moral value that enables them to keep alive the hope for a better life and resist the many and varied shocks of the modern world. Tomorrow, Pan Africanism will also be the moral virtue that will enhance African unity and enable the Continent to overcome the divisive tendencies. This means that the Pan Africanism will remain the hope of salvation, indeed, the indispensable tool box for future generations to preserve the African unity and citizenship.

> Hier, le panafricanisme a donné corps au sursaut africain, à la fierté africaine et à l'amour propre…

lorsqu'il est question de savoir si le panafricanisme, tel que vécu aujourd'hui, a la capacité de conduire l'Afrique vers d'importants bonds qualitatifs lui permettant de relever les défis du monde contemporain. En d'autres termes, le panafricanisme contemporain peut-il encore fouetter l'orgueil des Africains? Peut-il les amener à se surpasser, à doper leur volonté de s'émanciper de la pauvreté et de la misère? Peut-il les amener à se frayer leur propre chemin vers une croissance et un développement concourant à l'inclusion et permettant de rompre avec des économies caractérisées par des pénuries et des inégalités, et de renouer avec l'abondance et la prospérité pour tous? Enfin, le panafricanisme peut-il, comme hier, conduire les Africains à taire les égoïsmes nationaux pour s'engager résolument dans la voie de la construction d'une Afrique unie, solidaire, prospère, paisible, politiquement et économiquement intégrée et socialement inclusive?

Les dirigeants africains de notre époque, de même que les façonneurs d'opinion contemporains peuvent-ils entretenir la flamme du panafricanisme transmise par les Pères fondateurs de l'Afrique moderne, pour conduire les peuples dans des aventures courageuses qui permettent de rêver?

Répondre aujourd'hui avec certitude à toutes ces interrogations, c'est se livrer à un jeu extrêmement complexifié, d'autant plus que les réponses dépendent de variables qui échappent, pour l'essentiel, au contrôle de l'Afrique elle-même, ainsi que des Africains et de leurs dirigeants. Il ne reste plus qu'à émettre un vœux, en invitant les Africains, toutes classes sociales confondues, à s'approprier le courant de pensée panafricaniste, à le revitaliser, et à en faire une arme politique et morale pour relever tous les défis d'aujourd'hui et de demain.

*Hier, le panafricanisme a donné corps au sursaut africain, à la fierté africaine et à l'amour propre africain pour remporter des victoires sur les fronts*

Africa, today, has the imperative duty and a moral obligation to keep alive the flame of Pan Africanism and ensure that it enlightens all social strata. The Continent must help inculcate in the minds of peoples the virtue of Pan-Africanism. It is at this price, and only at this price, that Pan Africanism will still serve as a beacon for all those who are responsible for driving the economic and political integration agenda of the Continent.

*Africa, today, has the imperative duty and a moral obligation to keep alive the flame of Pan Africanism and ensure that it enlightens all social strata. …*

de la liberté, de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance. C'est ce qui fait qu'aujourd'hui, le panafricanisme constitue le patrimoine commun des Africains et une valeur morale leur permettant d'entretenir l'espoir d'une vie meilleure et de résister aux chocs divers et variés du monde moderne. Demain, le panafricanisme sera également la vertu morale qui renforcera l'unité africaine et qui permettra au continent de surmonter les velléités divisionnistes. C'est dire que le panafricanisme demeurera la planche de salut, voire la boîte à outils incontournable et même indispensable pour les générations futures pour préserver l'unité et la citoyenneté africaines.

*L'Afrique d'aujourd'hui a donc l'impérieux devoir et l'obligation morale d'entretenir la flamme du panafricanisme et de veiller à ce qu'elle éclaire toutes les couches sociales.* Le continent doit aider à inculquer dans l'esprit des peuples la vertu panafricaniste. C'est à ce prix, et à ce prix seulement, que le panafricanisme pourra encore servir de phare pour tous ceux qui ont la responsabilité de piloter l'agenda de l'intégration économique et politique du continent.

# Quote

*"We are all agreed that the time for palaver has come to an end, that it is time to take action; that the time when our brothers fought alone has come to an end and that from now on, independent Africa must help its brothers in countries that have not yet achieved their independence"*

**Julius Nyerere**, *president of Tanzania, 1961-1985"*

# Zoom on the Conference / debate
# Zoom sur la Conférence/ débat

**PANAFRICANISM AT THE SERVICE OF AFRICAN INTEGRATION: A MYTH OR A REALITY?**

**LE PANAFRICANISME AU SERVICE DE L'INTEGRATION AFRICAINE: UN MYTHE OU UNE REALITE?**

*Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

*10may/ 10 Mai 2013*

*"Here at last is a much-cherished dream come true-the dream of a conference that brings together fraternally all the Heads of States of State of independent African States. This is a giant step forward. You will agree with me, we do not have the right to fail. We must now realize this dream come true; otherwise, we will have betrayed our respective peoples and Mother Africa."*

*« Voici enfin vécu ce rêve longtemps rêvé: celui d'une conférence qui réunirait,  fraternellement, tous les chefs d'Etats indépendants d'Afrique. C'est un grand pas en avant. Vous êtes d'accord, nous n'avons pas le droit d'échouer. Ce rêve vécu, nous devons maintenant le réaliser sous peine de trahir et nos peuples respectifs, et l'Afrique-Mère.»*

**Léopold Sédar Senghor,**
*President of Senegal*

# KWAME NKRUMAH'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PAN-AFRICANISM
## WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

*By D.ZIZWE POE,*
*Interim Assistant Vice President for*
*Enrollment Management Associate Professor*
*of History and Political Science*

## Executive Summary

### The Pan-African Nationalist Perspective on What Must Be Done: Inspired by the Lessons of Kwame Nkrumah

The following is a summary of a presentation given at the African Union (AU) headquarters on 10 May 2013. The presentation offered a description of Pan-Africanism, inspired by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's works, which was rooted in the historical tradition of African liberation and directed toward improving the lives of the masses of Africans at home and abroad. The primary summary presented to the conference participants was that the AU leaders must rescue and resurrect the African intelligentsia to place them in the service of organizing the African populace. The presenter made recommendations to help the AU raise funds for its projects from African sources and thereby cut its dependency on foreign 'aid'.

# Introduction

**T**his presentation moves in a circle. First the reader will be shown the unique contributions that Kwame Nkrumah made to contemporary Pan-Africanism and the Pan-African nationalist movement, formerly known as the African Unity Movement (AUM). Immediately after that revelation, a contemporary description of Pan-Africanism in 2013 follows. Then the presentation delivers a dialectical historical presentation of the interaction between the AUM and the African Liberation Movement (ALM). Finally, some present day challenges and recommendations are illuminated for the African Union and Pan-African nationalists. Nkrumah made six unique achievements in his contributions to Pan-Africanism and they are repeated here for the reader to have a deeper insight into Nkrumah's perspective.

i.  **Nkrumah linked the traditions of Africa's regional nationalisms with Pan-African nationalism.**

   a) He contested traditional 'hard' borders in Ghana;
   b) He contested regional borders, especially so-called 'South of the Sahara' borders;
   c) He contested state borders as temporary phenomena.

ii. **Nkrumah initiated and developed the first Pan-African liberated state in modern history.**

   a) It was committed openly to the liberation of all of Africa from colonialism
   b) It was committed to protecting all Africans – worldwide
   c) It was committed to alleviation of human sufferings everywhere
   d) It was committed to the assertion of an African Personality in world affairs
   e) It was committed to the formation of a United States of Africa.

iii. **Nkrumah elevated Pan-African agency from non-statal organizations to the level of nation-states.**

   a) From African Intelligentsia organizations, journalist organizations and community service organizations to Pan-African organizations
   b) From Pan-African organizations to liberation movements
   c) From liberation movements to African states
   d) From African states to 'African Union States'

iv. **Nkrumah developed the notion of socialist African union as the optimal zone for the African**

personality, genius, community and agency.

   a) Nkrumah rebelled against capitalist organization as incapable of providing for the masses of Africans
   b) Nkrumah advocated socialist developmental planning and policies
   c) Nkrumah synthesized socialist governance with African communal governance

**v. Nkrumah offered a formal philosophy to defend the ideology of the African revolution.**

   a) Nkrumah offered ideological training as a unifying and qualifying force within society
   b) Nkrumah offered a philosophical formula that sought the optimization of positive agency at the individual and collective levels.

**vi. Nkrumah initiated the first African state sponsored effort for Afrocentric research in Ghanaian institutions of higher education, media outlets, and the *Encyclopedia Africana*.**

## 2013 PAN-AFRICANISM:
## The four essential aspects Pan-Africanism in 2013

1) **LIBERATION:** One of the essential aspects of Pan-Africanism is the total liberation of Africans from harmful parasites, be they internal, external

or a collaboration of the two. When one thinks of parasites, natural pests such as the tsetse fly and the mosquito come to the mind's eye. These creatures have brought disease and death to the human environment. The ability to combat these pests, however, depends on the social situations in which the African communities find themselves. Sometimes customs and traditions that predate medical discoveries work to hamper pest eradications. In these situations ossified and outdated practices collaborate, albeit unknowingly, with the parasites. Innovative practices informed by scientific awareness can improve the combat abilities of Africans against these villainous bloodsuckers.

The natural parasites mentioned above have caused much human grief but not as much as the economic parasites that have siphoned wealth from the African People with little to no recompense. Economic parasites are usually global businesses that seek endless profits with little regard to the resulting depravation of host populations affected by parasitic penetration. Cultural agents tasked with reducing the host populations' ability to resist frequently precede this penetration. Multi-national companies and their owners have grown obscenely obese on African resources while the misery index in Africa has risen from the resulting alienation of Africans from Africa's resources. External agents are not solely responsible for this tragedy. History has revealed both naïve and conscious collaboration of economic class allies residing in Africa with the plunder of

international bloodsuckers of the comprador capitalists. Pan-Africanism means liberation from all of these life negating parasites be they biological or sociological; internal, external, or a

collaboration of both; outdated traditions that weaken African resistances; and irresponsible innovations that only breed fruitless futures. Pan-Africanism means freedom from all of these things that threaten the well-being of the African People and persons.

**2) UNIFICATION:** The tendency to unite beyond local borders to improve life has been recorded in African culture as far back as the uniting of small nations along the Nile river in ancient times. Through unity Nile valley inhabitants were able to harness the ferocious power of the annual Nile flood and turn a potentially tragic force into a life giving ally. Similar advantages resulted from other African mega-states like ancient Ghana, ancient Mali and Songhai. The Zimbabwes of old and the Kiswahili federation also reflected this cultural trend uniting local agencies to magnify the People's collective power. This cultural trend toward optimizing agency led to the modern Pan-African unity movements.

The African Unity Movement charged participating members at the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester England to organize Africans for liberation from European imperialism. W.E.B. DuBois was at the co-convener of that conference with Kwame Nkrumah. DuBois authored a document encouraging the European colonial powers to honor their anti-fascist claims and

release the colonized populations from enslavement. Nkrumah, on the other hand, authored a document that called for the colonized to organize and cast off their chains of oppression.

*Nkrumah called for a United States of Africa, led by an "All-African Union Government"* (Class Struggle in Africa, pages 60, 83, and 88). This Pan-African Nation-State would provide an organic union, which Nkrumah saw as a requirement for the 'total liberation of Africa'.

African unification requires some basic minims, such as ideologically committed political cadres with effective skills; technical cadres that adapt techniques and technologies to the needs humanity; and an informed citizens with Pan-African identity as their prime identity. At the level of institutions, African unification requires at minim, a People-centered Pan-African police and military apparatus. All Pan-African nationalists have expressed a common currency and a unified foreign policy as required instruments of African unity since the time of Nkrumah.

## Nkrumah called for a United States of Africa, led by an "All-African Union Government

African unity has to have social benefits for its members who sacrifice for its establishment. Therefore, the Pan-African nation has to provide quality health care and quality nutrition for all of its citizens. It also has to sponsor quality cultural transmission and occupational training through subsidized education. African unity has never negated

the diversity within the Pan-African world. In fact, the Pan-African nation-state has to provide protection of healthy diversity against chauvinist terror. This last item requires the innovative organization of citizen participation in governance at all levels.

**People's Class Centered Economy:** The unified liberation of the African nation requires an economic model that orients Africa's resources toward the use of Pan-African well-being. The promotion of an economic system that ensures social and human well-being is diametrically opposed to 'comprador capitalist' ventures in Africa and necessitates the eradication of human exploitation. The Pan-African nation-state is by definition a political organization that ensures egalitarian opportunity in wealth generation through strategic planning for the Pan-African citizenry and coordinates mass participation in poverty reduction. Furthermore, the United States of Africa requires Pan-African and intra-African trade, travel, and a viable communication infrastructure.

### Looking Back to See Ahead

A little more than 60 years ago, a man that the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) African listenership would later vote as 'the African of the Millennium', declared to a rousing crowd of delegates from independent territories, dependent territories, and observers that, *"This decade is the decade of African Independence. FORWARD THEN TO INDEPENDENCE, TO INDEPENDENCE NOW, TOMORROW, THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA"* (Meyer p. 51). The year of the declaration was 1958 and the location was Accra, Ghana. The person making the declaration was none other than Kwame Nkrumah as he was wrapping up his opening address to the First All-African People's Conference. Nkrumah continued in that conference to urge the delegates to return to their respective territories, unite broadly, and prosecutes speedy liberations. Such liberations, urged Nkrumah, should be followed by the consolidating force of African union. During that decade, from 1958 through 1968 more than two thirds of the African states declared their independence.

Independence may seem like a cut and dry concept unto itself yet it is a relative concept describing the relationship of one entity with another. In academic environments independence is a term that is most often used to describe the relationship between a particular nation state and European imperialism. Such a Eurocentric focus misses the essential character of African independence, which is the Pan-African interdependence of

> This decade is the decade of African Independence. forward then to independence, to independence now, tomorrow, the united states of Africa"

the African parts. Kwame Nkrumah stressed this point at the First All-African People's Conference: Our enemies are many and they stand ready to pounce upon and exploit our every weakness. They tell us that this particular person or that particular country has greater or more favorable potentialities than the other. They do not tell us that we should unite; that we are all as good as we are able to make ourselves once we are free. Remember always that you have four stages to make:

1. the attainment of freedom and independence;
2. the consolidation of that freedom and independence;
3. the creation of unity and community between the free African states
4. the economic and social reconstruction of Africa."

(GP/A1670/5,500/6/61-62 page 5)

Those comments were made at a time when African independence was being shaped and reshaped through the political contests of debate and war. For Nkrumah and other Pan-African nationalists African independence was a component part of Africa's destiny it depended on political and economic unification of Africa. African independence clearly insinuated the choice []of Pan-African interdependence or continued dependence on foreign imperialism.

*The Pan-African nationalist view on African independence and the Eurocentric view offer a valuable method...*

The debate between *the Pan-African nationalist view on African independence and the Eurocentric view offer a valuable method for interpreting the modern political and economic reality in Africa today.* There is of course a temptation to recount the brilliant and gallant struggles of political parties and armed liberation movements as they engaged the evil forces of the empire but such an effort is akin to describing a marriage by presenting a photo album of the wedding. The album only displays the extent of euphoric hope and celebration and at best records the vows. If the marriage has soured because of some abandonment of vows the album appears as a sad reminder of a dream deferred. This metaphor is painfully apt in illuminating African independence. It is hoped, therefore, that this discussion will have a remedial effect similar to the marriage counselor that reminds the once optimistic couple of the progeny they had hoped to engender through their union. Like that metaphoric counselor it may be necessary to resurrect the vows that were to secure the union, in this case the productive liberty of African independence. In 1994 Nelson Mandela was elected president of South Africa. For the political novice, this signal event marked the end of the European imperial era in Africa. More informed observers claimed that the era of neocolonialism had already entrenched itself in the African continent and that Mandela's election

victory was a mere smokescreen. Many a heated debate has taken place over the results of the independence movement in Africa during the second half of the Twentieth century. *The experiences of African People since 1958 have proven that African independence requires the functional interdependence of the African masses within the African continent in cahoots with their dispersed relations abroad.* By functional interdependence, or unity, the author means the willful organization of Africa's resources, natural and human, by Africans and for the African masses, with the interest of humanity in mind according to an African worldview. All else, in these first few decades of the twenty-first century, is neocolonialism. All is not doom and gloom but the sad reality today is that contemporary claims of widespread African liberty are ruses of neocolonial propaganda. A closer inspection of the facts and their subtext reveal the illusions being used to hypnotize a generation into a friendly fascism. Some review of the lingua franca used to discuss African independence is useful and reveals relations of the actors in the ongoing global conflict between imperial centers and colonial appendages. Significant terms include: sovereignty, nation-state, sham-independence, neocolonialism, and Pan-African nationalism. Calibrating these terms allows one to render the available mountains of data useful for assessing the present state

*African independence requires the functional interdependence of the African masses within the African continent...*

of African liberty and perhaps construct a voice to predict its future. The concept, 'sovereign nation-state', for example, needs contextualizing in this era of growing global interdependence. At first glance the concept evokes images of a monarchical government from a nostalgic period. The intended use of the concept, however, is a polemic reference to foreign rule. To avoid confusion the reader should accept 'foreign' to mean 'non-African' for the remainder of this writing. References to 'sovereign nation-states' in discussions about African independence are references to liberation from colonial rule and could imply a broad array of government paradigms. The dimensions of African sovereignty are multifaceted but those most frequently mentioned are the political and economic ones. The pundits that rendered descriptions of world affairs during the second half of the twentieth century are responsible for this orientation. The era they described was marked by continuous wars of imperial competition and international conflicts compounded by melodramatic class struggles between annexed populations and imperial metropolises. In short, it was a time of wars and rumors of wars. In retrospect, empires built under the leadership of capitalist classes have war as a permanent character of their modus operandi. War, therefore, did not distinguish this historical epoch but the nexus of conflict did. The conflagrations appeared to reach such a crescendo that

populations under colonial control were finally able to assert their own collective agency for liberation in contrast to the collective agents established by imperial centers. States emerged as the preeminent faces of collective agents; subsequently political discourse employed the language of state relations. Implicit in those state relationships were class antagonisms reflecting the competition for real and imagined wealth. For this work, the term, 'class' is used in the way that Kwame Nkrumah used it in his text, *Class Struggle in Africa* (1968), in which he said, "*a class is nothing more than the sum total of individuals bound together by certain interests which as a class they try to preserve and protect.*" (Page 17) The claim by some political-economists that 'states' are machines ultimately working to protect the interests of ruling classes that validate them is also accepted in this work. Discussions about 'African independence' necessarily involve the relationships between states but state relations do not sufficiently describe the relations between African nations and global capital. Concretization of the terms, 'sham-independence', 'neocolonialism' and 'Pan-Africanism' best enable an understanding of the conditions and exigencies of post-liberation realities. The first two of these concepts was thoroughly described by Kwame Nkrumah in his text, *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* (1968). He described a territory experiencing 'sham-independence' as one

that continued to be exploited economically by alien interests "intrinsic to the world capitalist sector" (page 8). Nkrumah used the synonym, 'client state', an early twentieth century term for states subordinate to more powerful states when referring to these pseudo independent territories. Sham-independence was the artifact generated by the process of neocolonialism. It was the 'empire striking back' with a lick that negated the final ingredient required for any meaningful movement of African independence, 'Pan-Africanism' or more accurately, Pan-African nationalism. Without this Pan-African realignment of African polities independence quickly mutated into a sham reality and similar patterns of colonial interdependence emerged in more insidious ways than the earlier model. Pan-African nationalism offered an identity and structure to nurture African independence. It was a nationalism that sought to prioritize African agency at an optimal level of the African continent reflecting the productive potential of contemporary world-powerful mega-states. Such nationalism, however, should have been rooted deeply in the ideology of liberation movements in order to flower in the post liberation era. The social engineers of the imperial order recognized this ideology as a lethal threat to capitalists' interests and induced independence in territories prematurely so as to abort the Pan-African nationalist movement. Neocolonialist architects

> *A class is nothing more than the sum total of individuals bound together by certain interests which as a class they try to preserve and protect.*

casted, coached, and encouraged micro-nationalists giddy to play leading parts in remakes of earlier failed acts of governance. These B-actors, buffered by major financing, outnumbered and outmaneuvered the Pan-African nationalists supplanting the era of African unity with the era of neocolonialism. The United States of Africa was slowed by the creation of 'procrastinated states' of Africa led by gradualists as leaders. The imperial act of colonizing Africa employed a matrix of ideological and cultural manipulation through state relations. African independence has been a dialectical product of state created nations often referred to as, 'nation-states'. Historically states have been conceived of as of national developments to resolve class relations. Africa nations, however, experienced a deliberate disintegration of its states at the hands of colonial agencies. National states that did not cooperate with the intrusive imperial order were dismantled and replaced with cooperative ones. States, therefore, became the products of their sponsoring classes often contained in foreign designed national boundaries. In the post-colonial era the boundaries were predominantly products of neo-colonial 'balkanization'.Balkanization is a process of consciously dividing nations into micro-nations to weaken them so as to render them controllable by the sponsoring forces of fission. This process earned its name from its early twentieth century manifestation and has been used repeatedly by controlling nations to subdue those beyond their

borders. The European colonial powers used this maneuver as they feigned the granting of independence to their African colonies. Africa was coordinated by less than ten administrations at the beginning of the twentieth century but was divided into over 50 administrations by the end of the twentieth century. This was all done in a century in which increased productive capacity required larger centrally organized populations with streamlined utilization of strategic resources. African mineral resources enriched Europe and Asia but the profits escaped the coffers of the African masses while redundant bureaucracies exhausted African reserves. Some of the bureaucracies that emerged in the balkanized states found it opportune and preferable to join European controlled associations and communities. Once associated with previous colonial overlords the Balkanized states and their ruling classes are recolonized. Balkanization has proven to be an effective tactic of neocolonialism. In the neocolonial era imperial plunder yields higher profits and inflicts relatively greater suffering than the primitive colonial era. Essential elements of neocolonialism are: 1) wealth siphoning through the profit drain of finance-capital intensive operations; 2) interlocking military relationships; and 3) mass psychological manipulation through value orientation. Structurally the neocolonial era is marked by unprecedented cooperation among former competitive colonial states and increasing monopolization and consolidation of capitalists operations. Simultaneously, neocolonial propaganda is generated to intensify balkanization in the neocolonial appendages. Such a situation, if

left to fester, may lead to an inevitable conflict reminiscent of the great world conflicts of the twentieth century. Without an authentic African independence a horrifying image is constructed of an imperial incubus draining the life blood of its African hosts and then fretting for its own insatiable existence and feeding on itself as the hosts run out of blood to supply.

The struggle for African independence was first and foremost a contest of classes within and between nations. Classes in African colonies, normally in tension, temporarily united to oppose foreign nationals during the highpoints of independence efforts. Internal class conflict was submerged in an effort to subdue 'a common enemy'. This has occasionally been explained as a betrayal, albeit temporary, of class allegiance between merchant classes within the colonies and capitalist classes indigenous to the metrepoles. Was the decade of African Independence an overall class betrayal or, as hindsight suggests, a modification of relations between these private-profit oriented classes as partnership renegotiations. Time would constantly change the relationship between the partners in particular and between Europe and African in general. Every European country that participated in the so-called 'carve up' of Africa at the end of the nineteenth century had to readjust its

\relationship with their previous wards by the end of the twentieth century.

## Ascendancy of the Pan-African nationalists

*Nkrumah began planting the seeds of African unity among future African heads of state before he left Europe.* He organized with African intelligentsia studying or working in England and France in the years between 1945 and 1947 promoting the agenda of Pan-African liberation.

*Nkrumah began planting the seeds of African unity among future African heads of state ...*

Following the general strategy laid out at the 1945 Pan-African Conference in Manchester, Nkrumah accepted an invitation from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) to return to what was then called the colony of the Gold Coast and organize the masses in support of the UGCC's gradual independence efforts. Nkrumah utilized this invitation to speed up the demand for independence and eventually split with the UGCC to form the Convention People's Party (CPP) and from then on he used that party as the primary vehicle to launch Pan-African nationalism from Ghana. As the masses of women, workers, ex-soldiers, students and youth elevated Nkrumah into the higher ranks of government leadership in the Gold Coast colony he prepared the groundwork to summons his cadre that were committed to the strategy of Pan-African nationalism. After being elected to head government business, Nkrumah traveled to England and the United States

of America (USA). In both directions of his journey he met with his Pan-African cadre in England. While in the USA to receive an honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, Nkrumah expanded his trip to include Chicago and New York City where he invited supporters of African liberty and unity to support these efforts from Ghana upon its independence.

The Pan-African nationalists organized a two prong approach toward consolidating the independence of Africa. On one hand alliances would be formed between newly liberated states as a core of the United States of Africa and liberation movements would be encouraged to link unity intrinsically into their efforts for territorial liberty. For this latter group *Nkrumah encouraged not only unity within an African Union but also functional unity among the factions of freedom fighters within their territories.* On the other hand, states that were already independent were to be drawn into conferences that would draft pacts and encourage their voluntary allegiance to the formation of an African Union. Upon Ghana's declaration of independence a series of important meetings were organized:

> *Nkrumah encourage not only unity within an African Union but also functional unity among the factions of freedom fighters within their Territories.*

First Conference of Independent African States – held in Accra, Ghana from the 15th through the 22nd of April, 1958. This conference was attended by representatives from Ghana, Guinea, Egypt, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia. Six of these eight states were independent before Ghana but did not possess the Pan-African consciousness to launch this type of meeting. Liberia, for its part, would come explicitly for a go-slow approach toward unity in the near future. South Africa was invited but refused because of its racist leadership and its disdain for the other independent African state. Eventually most of Africa would consider South Africa to be a pseudo independent state because of its racist settler-led government and draconian treatment of the autochthonous population. The conference was able to forge agreements on the need for a unified foreign policy characteristic of an African personality and a unified African policy to handle disputes peacefully. The collective support for Algeria's war of liberation was commonly agreed upon.

This conference was followed by a series of similar conferences with the aim generating unified action among freedom fighters, union organizers, journalists, and women throughout the African continent. These segments were seen as key agents of African liberation and the Pan-African nationalists wanted to ensure that the groundwork of their unified action was laid.

An additional factor that assisted the initial effectiveness of the Pan-African nationalists in the African Liberation Movement was the rearguard confusion taking place in the colonial metrepoles. Class struggle in the

metrepoles was threatening the internal stability of the capitalist societies and reducing the united efforts of their societies to execute the maintenance of empire. The mounting devastation from wars around the globe reduced the confidence of the European masses in their home countries. Additionally, the wars to keep the Asian colonial territories subdued were not going well. For many of the youth and the intelligentsia in the metrepoles alternatives to the conservative capitalist order began to be worth investigating. The disenchanted were on the verge of forming '5th columns' within the European countries. In the United States of America college students, high school students, and non-white groups, especially African descendents were, offering a similar level of disturbance. Some attention had to be focused internally to consolidate the imperial centers. This provided breathing space for Pan-African nationalists within the African Liberation Movement.

The existence of the USSR and Socialist China provided alternative models for economic interdependence in the global reality. The productive capacities of the populations in these societies impressed those that observed them in the colonies. Both nations showed that socialist organization allowed for the rapid transformation of underdogs in the global arena to world powers. This vision was liberating and revealed the viability of non-capitalist methods of organizing economic life. Such a vision unraveled another thread of colonial dependence.

To a rising generation of intelligentsia the inherent competition of capitalist economies began to be viewed as an economic model too precarious and haphazard to provide for the needs of the African masses. African liberation movements began to advocate their preference for socialism over capitalism. Their preferences were also influenced by the assistance that liberation movements began to receive from the Socialist Bloc.

Revolutionary activity throughout the globe directly affected African politics and trade. The Bandung Conference of 1954 gave a serious impetus to the African liberation movements and early independent African states. The liberation movements through

*The shrewdness of the imperialist powers deserves acknowledgement.*

out Asia spread a contagious encouragement to other non-European peoples fighting to dislodge themselves from imperialist control.

Pan-African nationalists asserted socialist organization as a forgone conclusion for African independence. Such an outlook was seen to be in line with the communal and humanist past of African tradition. A debate in the liberation movement surfaced contrasting African socialism with scientific socialism. Divisive or not, the former

colonial powers were disturbed by any consideration of socialism of all stripes.

*The shrewdness of the imperialist powers deserves acknowledgement.* After recognizing the revolutionary fervor of the African Unity movement and its orientation of the African Liberation Movement the imperialist powers developed a strategy to survive the declaration of African Independence. The strategy was to join the liberation movement by 'granting independence' to prevent the act of seizing of independence. That strategy slowed the momentum of the African Unity Movement and bogged it down into a quagmire of gradualism allowing the colonial operations to regroup, retool, and resurface in more subtle and obscure ways.

Colonial forces also observed the proposals within the liberation movement to obliterate colonial borders. Pan-African notions of nationhood provided opposing notions of sovereignty to irredentist and colonial notions of nationhood. The colonial forces could not sit idly by and allow the Pan-African nationalists to continue in the leadership of the African Liberation Movement so they joined, provoked, and arrested the movement. In 1960, France pushed the reluctant leaders of its colonies out kicking and screaming.

England, after careful observation and careful regrouping encouraged the remainder of its colonies without settlers to change their relationship with the metropolis. All that was required was the acceptance of old colonial borders and in some cases increased atomization as was the case with Nigeria's regional solution. In the matter of a few years the African Liberation Movement was dominated by members that challenged the Pan-African Nationalists and thereby challenged the African Unity Movement.

## Assessing African Independence

One of the shrewdest implements of neocolonialism was the employment of structural adjustment programs (SAPs). These programs were policy appendages that often accompanied aid packages from financial institutions controlled by former colonial powers conspiring with the United States of America. Initially SAPs required three conditions of grant or loan recipients: (1) reduction of social services provided by governments, (2) removal of tariffs and customs charged on foreign products, and (3) devaluation of the recipient's currency. Items 2 and 3 were said to encourage trade and investment while item 1 was said to be part of prudent government spending. In reality the three conditions reduced the ability of Independent States to improve the lives of their populations while simultaneously improving the trading positions of non-African business interests. The SAPs were not the strings attached to foreign financial

*Using the protective shelter of a United States of Africa the African Personality can positively impact the global world order in the interest of the masses of humanity.*

aid, they were the chains.

## The African Liberation Movement and the African Unity Movement

The conflict between the African Liberation Movement (ALM) and the African Unity Movement (AUM) illuminated the arrest of the African revolution. While former colonial powers benefited from the stall but they were not the sole cause of the drag on complete liberation. Some African politicians rue the day that direct European tutelage would cease and openly complained that such a departure was premature. Those politicians were predominantly but not solely aligned with the Paris connection. For these Africans even speedy liberation was problematic. However, behind the times they appear to have been, they did share one prognosis with Nkrumah that relatively small, non-viable states declaring independence in the latter part of the twentieth century could not fare well without a secure umbrella of an overarching protector. For the conservative minority that protector was preferably France, England, the United States of America, or some combination thereof. For Nkrumah and his like-minded associates that protector had to be an African Union allied with the global forces of anti-imperialists. The third perspective, the one that became the dominant one by the end of the decade of African liberation, was

*Collective memory is the fundamental lodestone of collective consciousness and collective consciousness is the steering force of human progress.*

the one that advocated speedy liberation from colonialism and gradual unification. Clearly then, the idea of Pan-Africanism and its corollary, Pan-African nationalism, was not a unanimous idea among the leadership of African freedom fighters and politicians during the decade of African liberation. The idea had not been automatic for Nkrumah. Nkrumah's global experiences and relationships clarified the necessary connection of the two movements along with the essential requirement of the non-capitalist development for African society. Nkrumah once considered a federation of African regions. He would later reconsider that arrangement correctly predicting that it would bring about an unnecessary ossification of regional loyalties, slowing continental African unity.

During the earlier phases of the African liberation decade, Nkrumah and other Pan-Africanists were optimistic that some form of African interdependence would replace the irrational and anti-People organization of Africa that was characteristic of the colonial era. They did not want to leave the recognition of the liberation-unification connection to chance discovery, however. Conference after conference was held, with various levels of collective African agents invited so as to drive home the point of the required step for greater unity as insurance for genuine liberation from colonial forces.

This Pan-African nationalism that characterized Nkrumah's idiosyncratic

approach as an African independence freedom fighter and later head of state deserves careful inspection. Nkrumah knew that his ideological association with the Pan-African movement was not an automatic trait of the African Liberation Movement. He had experienced petty micro-nationalism, a form of tribalism, between African students from different colonies when he matriculated at Lincoln University in the 1930s. He spoke on the conflict in his *Autobiography.* He would experience the resistance to African unity again as the struggle to unite independent African states got underway.

> *we could do bad all by ourselves*

While the desire for speedy liberation became a common sense quest among most leaders of the African Liberation Movement the required linkage to a new African Union escaped many. African unity was accepted as a tactical necessity to support the liberation movement but was not broadly accepted as an exigency for sustained independence of African territories. Nkrumah and other Pan-African nationalists postulated that speedy liberation required speedy unity for consolidation but their arguments did not win over the majority of the new heads of state nor their organizations. A compromise gave rise to an organization

known as the Organization of African Unity[i].

The Pan-African movement threatened the development of capitalist imperialism in Africa by redirecting the resources of Africa for the development of the African masses. Serving the needs of the African masses was never the goal of European imperialism regardless of propaganda to the contrary. The true intentions of the imperialists are clear when one observes their response to Pan-African nationalists and plans for African unity. In the face of gaining popularity for rapid unification, the global capitalist agents accelerated neo-colonial developments. Their first strategic goal was to ensure the slowing of the African revolution. Resistance to Pan-African nationalism did not only come from the colonialists and neocolonialists. The perceived nationalist interests of the USSR, combined with Marxist dogma, caused its leading party to resist Pan-African nationalism. Conflict between China and the USSR, caused by their ideological disagreements, took on the form of proxy conflict in African territories attempting to achieve or consolidate independence. These challenges from the Socialist Bloc often led to a reduction in material support to the Pan-African nationalists that attempted to tow the 'non-aligned' position.

Besides the external challenges to the establishment of liberation and unity and having a more retarding impact on the African revolution were challenges of petrified micro-nationalism, nostalgic irredentism, and concealed imperialist maneuvers of intelligence agencies. Nkrumah's premonitions were ringing true. The African intelligentsia has been

saturated with counter-productive self-identifications and these were guiding, or misguiding, their political actions. In the face of general continental disorganization and OAU ineffectiveness, some local groups operating under the notion of '*we could do bad all by ourselves*', advocated war if their pre-colonial borders and political structures were not reinstated. The military technology of imperialists increased their ability to spy and to wreak havoc in African societies not under favorable leadership. Pan-African nationalists remained favored targets for annihilation.

'Aid' organizations launched a new and insidious attack on African identity by reversing their policy on reducing expenditures in education for African youth. In some cases, grants and loans required set asides for education programs that would used approved curricula. The imperialists were going directly for the hearts and minds of the Africans and attempting to bypass their government spokespersons. In line with this approach active 5th columns were encouraged under the guise of 'Non-Government Organizations'. These organizations could funnel monies from capitalists without the oversight of African governments. While the original aim was to limit the effectiveness of Pan-African nationalists, the attack widened to weaken all African sovereignty not in line with neocolonialism. The era of digital communication ushered in a level of

imagined. An assessment this development's impact on African youth, in terms of identity formation, is urgently needed.

## Pan-African Personality on World Affairs:
### *The intentional utility of the United States of Africa*

Africa, the richest continent on the face of the earth yields its riches only through the great collective effort of human organization. Africa's strategic minerals require the accumulated technique and appropriate technology that is accessible only to massive and optimal social organization. To maximize the value of these minerals an even higher level of technique and technology is required for finished processing. This all presupposes major organization of labor and capital. The same needs are required to yield the potential of Africa's flora, fauna, and energy sources. In the hands of a united Africa, even the Sun, rivers and wind provide energy to life of the African masses.

On the other hand, without a United States of Africa the African masses suffer as victims from all and sundry parasites. Bloodsuckers, from mosquitoes to foreign imperialists, inject all types of deadly diseases into Africa. Without the edification of

*Our immediate practical challenge is our mis-organization in the face of encroaching global interests.*

31

functional unity strategic minerals become lethal materials that kill the populations that touch them 'blood diamonds', 'war causing coltan', and ecologically destructive petroleum. Without proper continental unity even the Sun, the rivers, and the winds become forces of death. The edifice of the African nation must make the African continent more 'user friendly' for its inhabitants. The collective intellect of the United States of Africa could rationalize the resources of Africa to eradicate scarcity and provide for the needs of humanity, beginning with the Africans. Solar power and hydroelectric power alone could provide the energy needs for the African masses to be on par with the so-called super nations of today. With the building of the United States of Africa there will no longer exist the concept of a 'land-locked nation' or a non-viable balkanized territory. The bountiful wealth of the continent could allow the common African to take on the higher level challenges of human development and peaceful coexistence with the problems of basic survival long put to rest. The protective shadow of a united African nation would extend beyond the borders of Africa and hover over the African citizen and affiliate in every part of the world. These emboldened African members would reflect a new sense of security against all threats of arbitrary mistreatment and danger. A powerful African nation bolstered by the principles of

*The utility of a United States of Africa has global implications and should be a welcomed development by People's classes throughout the world.*

right ordering, righteous order, and justice will engender powerful Africans that will counter disharmonious behavior inside and outside of Africa. In this way the edification of the African Nation will contribute an incubating environment for the African Personality. Such a state will allow the African Personality to develop in ways that Kwame Nkrumah envisioned it. *Using the protective shelter of a United States of Africa the African Personality can positively impact the global world order in the interest of the masses of humanity.* The utility of the edification of the African nation will affect the global world order dialectically. On one hand such an edifice will liberate the will and genius of the African masses. On the other hand, this liberated African Genius will contribute greatly to the improvement of human culture in general by expanding the technique and knowledge base of humanity. The world is currently in awe of gadgetry and ignorant of life bearing traditions. Old discoveries are overlooked by the ignorance of arrogance and the arrogance of ignorance. This imbalanced gnosis has the potential of threatening human survival. The historical depth of the African experience has the potential of enriching the self-awareness of humanity. The resurrection of ancestral respect and ecological reciprocity, resident in the general culture of the African masses, can imbue the contemporary intellect with the wisdom of collective memory. *Collective memory is the fundamental lodestone of*

*collective consciousness is the steering force of human progress. The utility of a United States of Africa has global implications and should be a welcomed development by People's classes throughout the world.*

Finally, the utility of an African Nation united across African regions and organized in unified states, has the ability to fortify African liberty by shoring up African agency at all levels, the personal, the familial, the local, the micro-state, the regional, and the abroad. Such an edifice will instill hope and a sense of security in all its members and affiliates while it receives respect and deference from its peers and adversaries. This is the real meaning of African Independence to Pan-African nationalists.

## Remaining Challenges

A remaining challenge is regional gradualism versus rapid continental union governance. The superpowers plan to use Africa to feed the world, provide the world water, provide the world energy, and strategic resources. How will their plan benefit Africans? Will their plan benefit Africans? What is Pan-Africa's plan?
This is the time to reduce waste. Regional associations and micro-Nation-states generate a redundancy of civil service agencies, causing needless waste in a time of contrived scarcity. Continental Union Governance offers the possibility of consolidating resources and reducing wastage. The African masses should

*immediate ideological challenge is the self-identity of our leadership and out intelligentsia.*

redundant civil bureaucracy.
Our immediate ideological challenge is the self-identity of our leadership and out intelligentsia. *Our immediate practical challenge is our mis-organization in the face of encroaching global interests.*

## Practical Suggestions:

### *Contemporary recommendations on integrating local regions into the African Nation*

The materials from which the African national edifice may be erected are already in the landscape. Nkrumah gave a shining model of this in his *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* (1968) in which he recommended using the migrant laborers in Southern Africa as conduits of information. If this approach was updated it might suggest enrolling and retraining ex-child soldiers as honorable members in African Union peace keeping forces. The African Union might immediately be strengthened by adopting these unfortunate members of African societies made into orphans by social calamities. Offer education, skill training and opportunities to these so-called orphans and make them children of the African Nation. The African Union should consider institutionalizing its outreach to the youth through communication cafes to be constructed in every nook and cranny of the continent.

Sponsorship or co-sponsorship might also be employed in staging entertainment that would elevate the message of African

nationalism. The African Union should replace those foreign interlopers that use African youth for their insidious designs and recruit African youth for civic projects in parts of the continent that they are not familiar with. The fundamental message here is to inspire African unity through the up and coming generation of African youth. Turn the calamity of commercial war into the opportunity of civic service.

Those African descendants that have been scattered to the four corners of the Earth as a result of the enterprise of slavery, yet still identify with their African ancestors, should be formally deputized as diplomats of the African nation. The African Nation should use the global outposts that they have dedicated to the advancement of African culture. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) should be encouraged to set up programs cooperatively structured by the African Union educators and HBCU trustees to formulate curricula that would support the rapid development of a United States of Africa. Structure these outposts to be centers of 'revolutionary outsiders', as Nkrumah referred to them. Let these African citizens and African affiliates support Africa's interests abroad. Turn the ancient calamity of enslavement into an opportunity for strengthening the edifice of African unity. The foremost building material for the United States of Africa is the will of the African masses! This will, while necessary, is insufficient if stalled by local and regional state rulers with opposing agendas and bloated identities. When the will for unity is reconciled and

shared by all necessary levels of African agency the African masses will be empowered to rapidly transform African culture into an adhesive material cementing African unity. The technique and technology that will enrich this cohesion will be reflected in cross-continental communication and transportation networks rapidly supporting the increased familiarity of the African masses with themselves. These systems will facilitate the life flow of blood for the living African nation – or to be loyal to the metaphor previously used – they will provide the plumbing and energy conduits for the edifice of the United States of Africa. The creation of a United States of Africa can never be an arbitrary nor passive act. The establishment of such an edifice is a threat to many parties. Many interlocking concerns continue to amass wealth by African disunity. Some of the internal wars in Africa are sponsored by multinational businesses that use the confusion caused to siphon resources out of Africa without African governmental regulation. This is just a more gangster version of the Structural Adjustment Programs that were encouraged by lending agencies a generation or two ago. The short-sightedness of African regional and state governments that went along these various forms of resource rape were in outright opposition to a United States of Africa. The ideological descendants of these capitulating forces are still opposed to a United States of Africa. For every proposal that surfaces encouraging the rapid expedition toward effective African unity a counter proposal have been advanced by the 'Anti-People's class' to call for a go-slow

approach or an effort to reunite with the former forces of colonialism through some form of so-called partnership. War is politics with guns and politics is war without guns. The African Union may not be positioned to unite Africa through warfare. Sadly, that is how unity is often accomplished in the modern era. If war is to be avoided, however, and political means remain the choice to be employed the African Union will have to realize that politics involve the conscious use of economics. Nkrumah sought the political independence of Ghana so that he could use its economic resources for African liberation. Independent states that remain committed to the unity of Africa are going to have to continue marshaling their resources toward such an end. Local and regional areas that are not responding quickly enough to African unity may be open to a number of services discussed below.

Micro-national areas might allow the African Union to build transportation systems through their territories if the benifit of such systems could be projected as advantageous to local business interests – who would then pressure local politicians. Unlike colonial agencies which built systems to expedite the removal of Africa's resources, the direction of African Union systems would be to facilitate intra-African relations. The transportation systems could be rail, airlines, busses, and/or boats depending on the locale and the resources allocated by the Union. One of the most important services that might be offered through these transportation systems could be a delivery service established to support the rapid flow of regional goods to distant regions accross the continent. This would

be an enticing service for small local businesses that could benifit from this innovation of infrastructure. The caveat for these transportation systems is that they would be patrolled and administered by an authority established through the African Union. Within these systems the African Union could establish 'public transportation vehicles' employing the latest 'green' technology and serve as communication compliments to the African masses by liberal posting of African unity information.

Another effort that local areas might allow, since it would free up revenue, are on-sight **African Union certified educational institutions.** These institutions could start at the collegiate level and progress to the secondary level over time. A complement to this program could be the establihsment of flagship training institutes in 'African Union liberated states' (states in which the society is outwardly support of a United States of Africa) intended for training civil servants on African Union scholarships to be redeployed in their local area of origin. Both of these institutional approaches could advocate the African Personality and the benifits of unity. The flagship institutes would introduce social integration through certified cadres of civic engineers. This approach would be generational and a worthwhile peaceful effort. As these institutions succeed other social services could be structured with a similar delivery service. Education should be first because it builds citizenship at the level of ideology.

Another effective way for the African Union to win the hearts and minds of the African masses is through **television, radio, and other communications media**. This

approach could be designed for the areas in Africa that have not made the transformation to a 'digital-only' system. Those televisions that still respond to 'air-wave signals' and can be modified to run off of solar or alternate current offer an opportune avenue for African Union information. Better yet, the radio is still a usefull tool for African Union information distribution. African Union programs could also use the medium of entertainment to educated through these media. In those urban areas and suburban regions where electricity and internet connections are plentiful the African Union might establish free internet cafes in strategic locations (university campuses, postal centers, etcetera).

An **African Youth Corp** should be high on the agenda of the African Union as an appealing service to local regions. Such a service would work in two directions. First it could provide training in a variety of skills to local populations that might otherwise be idle if they are not on farms and thereby creating a drag on a local economies. Secondly, it could provide a service to local regions that apply for assistance from the African Union. The rational use of African labor, if closely monitored and justly rewarded, would prove the worth of African unity in a practical and immediate way.

Finally, and this may be the most challenging area to master, the African Union could elevate the value of African unity through the spiritual medium of elders and ancestors. This is not a mystical concept but simply an effort to resurrect the unity concept in the historical consciousness of African local regions. The

edifice of the United States of Africa has to be rooted in the deep memory of the masses if it is to effective. How does one elevate the value of African unity in the historical consciousness of the masses? To do this the African Union has to collect the local histories of regional populations and recognized the actors and story lines that elevate the value of social unity. This information should be centralized and distributed in appropriate African Union curricula. Dramatic presentations could be constructed and presented to illuminate the themes of unity that are derived from the People's memory. Another approach to elevating the value of unity is to grant rewards to those elders in communities that show exemplary efforts to unite the local community around African Union projects and programs. A fraternity of sorts should be established with these elders and they should be organized as a significant force on the African continen As this fraternity (which must be opened to both sexes) shapes up the African Union might consider constructing an election of sorts that allows mass participation of adults. The elected elders would be transferred to areas elsewhere in Africa to act as an 'AU resident advisors among elders' for a select period of time at the cost of the African Union. The above mentioned ideas may seem ambitious but only if one forgets that the alternatives are continued disintegration or civil war. The options are few and it should now be obvious that unregulated capitalist enterprises are metaphorically termites eroding the structural edifice of African unity. Pan-African nationalists and well wishers for genuine African independence should remember and be encouraged by the

worldwide promoters of humanism and ecological balance for they offer a more positive regenerative potential for the United States of Africa than the previous paradigms of capitalist imperialism.

## conlusion

The phenomenon of African Independence can only be grasped if the perineal interdependence of local African micro-states is illuminated. African Independence was always relative to African local reality and usually safeguarded by some overarching option to coalesce on a central level. Uniting was a flexible option used to overcome obstacles larger than the abilities of local communities to handle.

With the advent of foreign colonialism the optimal level of response to mass exploitation and oppression was continental and global. Earlier attempts had spurts of success but imperialist forces readjusted their methods of political control and resource extraction by corrupting or circumventing African governments.

Today, African governments are still trying to assert their usefullness to the African masses. The machine of governance, the state, was secured from foreign colonialism but the spirit of the nation, the hearts and minds of the masses still remains to be tackled. This is the remaining exigency of African Independence for until it is obtained the securing edifice, the United States of Africa, cannot be constructed.

## End Note

Some have attributed the OAU to Kwame Nkrumah but in fact the OAU was formed as a counter proposal to Nkrumah's recommendation for an African Union as advocated in his text, *Africa Must Unite.* That text was written and distributed to the heads of state prior to the OAU's founding meeting in an effort to persuade the leaders to take a more resolute path of political union. To dampen these Pan-African efforts all but two delegations voted for a more gradual approach toward African unity. The utter ineffectiveness of the gradual approach would lead to a constitutional upheaval of the organization in 1999.

# Quote

*"Africa will only succeed in catching up with other continents on the path of progress if it enjoys peace peace within and peace with the external world."*

*« L'Afrique ne pourra rattraper les autres continents sur le chemin du progrès que si elle jouit de la paix, paix à l'intérieur, paix avec le monde extérieur.»*

**Felix Houphouet-boigny,**
*President of Côte d'Ivoire*

*This note offers a description of Pan-Africanism, inspired by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, which is rooted in the historical tradition of liberation and presently directed to the improvement of the lives of the masses of Africans at home and abroad.*

*By D.ZIZWE POE*

1) Pan-Africanism 2013 has four essential aspects:
    a. Total liberation from all harmful parasitic forces:
        i. Internal, external, and collaborative
        ii. Ossified traditions, irresponsible innovations, and fruitless futures
    b. Organic unification of a Pan-African Nation-State:
        i. Served by ideologically committed political cadres with effective skills;
        ii. Served by technical cadres adapting techniques and technologies to the needs humanity, especially Africans;
        iii. Protected by informed citizens with Pan-African identity as their prime identity
        iv. With an People-centered Pan-African police and military apparatus
        v. With a unified foreign policy;
        vi. With a common currency;
        vii. State protection of healthy diversity against chauvinist oppression and terror;
        viii. Provision of quality health care for all citizens;
        ix. Provision of quality nutrition for all citizens;
        x. Provision of quality cultural transmission and occupational training through government sponsored and subsidized education;
        xi. Innovative organization of citizen participation in governance at all levels
    c. Development of an economic model that orients Africa's resources toward the use of Pan-African well-being:
        i. Promotion of economic systems that ensure social and human well-being;
        ii. Eradication of 'comprador capitalist' ventures in Africa;
        iii. Mass participation in poverty reduction;
        iv. State support for Pan-African and intra-African trade, travel, and communication infrastructure;
        v. Ensuring egalitarian opportunity in wealth generation through strategic planning for the Pan-African citizenry.
    d. The assertion of the Pan-African Personality on World Affairs
        i. Secure a permanent seat on the UN Security Council with veto power
        ii. Establish a powerful voice with all international financial institutions
        iii. Establish a respectable position with all states in the world
        iv. Assert the Pan-African culture throughout the planet.

2) Nkrumah described the Pan-African movement as a part of the African Personality. As such, its impact on world affairs was regulated by the political and economic condition of the 'African nation'.
    a) Nkrumah was an advocate of Pan-African nationalism. He used his political position to advocate for the unity of liberated African states and their populations.
    b) For Nkrumah, sustained African liberty required organic African unity in which the masses of Africans were organized into one supra-state as the central protector of sovereignty.

c)   The above points are still valid as seen by today's current events.

3)   Nkrumah's 6 (still needed) Unique Achievements

   i. Nkrumah linked the traditions of Africa's regional nationalisms with Pan-African nationalism.
        a)   He contested traditional 'hard' borders in Ghana
        b)   He contested regional borders, especially so-called 'South of the Sahara' borders
        c)   He contested state borders as temporary phenomena
   ii. Nkrumah initiated and developed the first Pan-African liberated state in modern history.
        a)   It was committed openly to the liberation of all of Africa from colonialism
        b)   It was committed to protecting all Africans – worldwide
        c)   It was committed to alleviation of human sufferings everywhere
        d)   It was committed to the assertion of an African Personality in world affairs
        e)   It was committed to the formation of a United States of Africa.
   iii. Nkrumah elevated Pan-African agency from non-statal organizations to the level of nation-states.
        a)   From African Intelligentsia organizations, journalist organizations and community service organizations to Pan-African organizations
        b)   From Pan-African organizations to liberation movements
        c)   From liberation movements to African states
        d)   From African states to 'African Union States'
   iv. Nkrumah developed the notion of socialist African union as the optimal zone for the African personality, genius, community and agency.
        a)   Nkrumah rebelled against capitalist organization as incapable of providing for the masses of Africans
        b)   Nkrumah advocated socialist developmental planning and policies
        c)   Nkrumah synthesized socialist governance with African communal governance
   v. Nkrumah offered a formal philosophy to defend the ideology of the African revolution.
        a)   Nkrumah offered ideological training as a unifying and qualifying force within society
        b)   Nkrumah offered a philosophical formula which sought the optimization of positive agency at the individual and collective levels.
   vi. Nkrumah initiated the first African state sponsored effort for Afrocentric research.
   vii. Each of these accomplishments need to be updated to ascertain which ones are still valid goals as well as what the experiences of a half of century have revealed about each.

4) Remaining challenges: Regional Gradualism versus Rapid Continental Union Governance

   a)     The plan of the superpowers is to use Africa to feed the world, provide the world water, provide the world energy, and strategic resources. How will this plan benefit Africans? Will this plan benefit Africans? What is Pan-Africa's plan?

   b)    The limitations of each of the 54 'micro-nations' as independent agents is common knowledge, especially in the area of state stability. The fragility of regional configurations has also been revealed in trans-African relations. Finally, there is not one of the 54 'micro-nations in Africa that can dream of 'peer' relationships with the super-powers or the organizations based in those super-powers.

   c)     Regional associations and micro-Nation-states generate a redundancy of civil service agencies, causing needless waste in a time of contrived scarcity. Continental Union Governance offers the possibility of consolidating resources and reducing wastage.

   d)     Continental Union Nation-state will improve the African economic position in the face of global super powers and global institutions.

5) The Immediate Challenges We Face

        a.   Ultra-Conservatism - The immediate challenge Pan-African Nationalists face comes from micro-National state conservatives that are opposed to preeminence of a continental nation-state.
        b.   Gradualist Approach Toward Pan-African Unity - Regional and gradual options are subtle steps to resist the transformation of African polities into one supra-national state. These options will become ossified.
        c.   The African masses are being held back by their civil bureaucracy.
        d.   Our most immediate ideological challenge is the self-identity of our leadership. Our most immediate practical challenge is our mis-organization in the face of encroaching global

# L'INTÉGRATION AFRICAINE : 50 ANS APRÈS, QUEL BILAN ?

## AFRICAN INTEGRATION: 50 YEARS AFTER, THE STATE OF PLAY

*By Dr. Rene N'Guettia Kouassi,*
*Director of Economic Affairs Department*
*African Union Commission*

Au moment où les dirigeants africains s'apprêtent à célébrer le cinquantenaire de l'intégration africaine, il est tout à fait légitime que les filles et fils du continent, toutes classes sociales confondues, s'interrogent sur les acquis de l'intégration, ses défis et ses perspectives. Où en sommes-nous, après plus d'un demi-siècle d'efforts d'intégration ? Les résultats obtenus sont-ils à la hauteur des attentes, voire des ambitions initiales ? Les acteurs du processus d'intégration ont-ils oui ou non joué à fond le rôle qui leur revient ? Quels sont les acquis réels ? Quels sont les défis à relever ? Et quelle thérapie adopter pour y remédier de manière efficace et durable ? Après 50 ans d'efforts entrepris d'abord au sein de l'Organisation de l'Unité africaine (OUA), puis au sein de l'Union africaine (UA), les Africains peuvent-ils être fiers des résultats obtenus ? Gardent-ils toujours espoir de voir un jour leur continent économiquement et politiquement intégré ? Ou bien sont-ils plus nombreux à être pessimistes et à craindre que cet espoir s'estompe de plus en plus et que le rêve d'un pays-continent uni et prospère ne se concrétise jamais? Ces questionnements, tous fondés, méritent une analyse pour mieux cerner la problématique de l'intégration, sous tous ses aspects, et pour mieux formuler les réponses aux défis qui se posent et mobiliser les Africains, afin de trouver au sein du continent tous les leviers de commande des processus d'intégration régionale et continentale. Mais avant cela, il serait sans doute utile de mettre en lumière certaines questions qu'on pourrait qualifier de *«questions pendantes»* et qui ont certainement eu un impact positif ou négatif sur le processus d'intégration en Afrique.

At a time when African leaders are preparing to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of African integration, it is quite appropriate that questions should be raised by the sons and daughters of the Continent, irrespective of social class, on the achievements of integration, its challenges and prospects. Where are we after more than half a century of integration efforts? Have the results obtained met expectations or been in keeping with the original goals? Have the stakeholders of the integration process fully played their role? What are the real achievements? What are the challenges to be addressed? What approach should be adopted to overcome them in an effective and sustainable manner? After fifty years of efforts invested, first within the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and subsequently within the African Union (AU), can Africans be proud of the results achieved? Do they still have the hope of one day seeing their Continent economically and politically integrated? Or is an increasingly large number becoming pessimistic, and fearing that the hope is gradually fading away, and that the dream of a united and prosperous continent-country will never become reality? The questions are all well founded, are worth analysing in order to better grasp all the aspects of integrations issues, thus being in a better position to formulate responses to the challenges arising and mobilize Africans, to find within the Continent, all the controls for the regional and continental integration processes. However, before that, it would doubtless be appropriate to highlight a few issues that could be described as *"outstanding issues"*, and which clearly have a positive or negative impact on the African integration process.

## CLARIFIER LES QUESTIONS TABOUES

Aujourd'hui, à l'orée de ce cinquantenaire, il ne doit pas y avoir de questions taboues. Toutes les questions méritent d'être posées et même doivent être posées. Et des solutions efficaces et durables doivent leur être trouvées. Au nombre de ces questions dites taboues figurent l'approche de Nyerere et celle de Nkrumah. Laquelle des deux approches semblait mieux répondre aux besoins d'intégration du continent ? En d'autres termes, quelle est celle qui aurait pu ou qui recelait en son sein des ingrédients susceptibles de garantir le succès de l'Afrique dans ses efforts d'intégration économique et politique ?

Pour mémoire, il convient de rappeler qu'au moment du choix de la démarche à adopter pour intégrer économiquement et politiquement l'Afrique, deux écoles de pensée s'étaient affrontées : la première, attribuée à l'aile dite radicale du panafricanisme, était pilotée par le Père Fondateur du Ghana, le Dr K. Nkrumah[1], tandis que la deuxième, présentée comme celle des modérés, était conduite par le Père Fondateur de la Tanzanie, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere[2].Le Président J. Nyerere de la Tanzanie, chef de file de la deuxième école de pensée, était un fervent adepte de l'approche des petits pas. Il défendait farouchement la démarche dite «progressive», encore appelée «approche par le bas», qui consistait à bâtir l'intégration continentale à partir du niveau régional. Ainsi les diverses régions du continent, par l'entremise des Communautés économiques régionales (CER), devaient d'abord œuvrer à leur intégration et à leur développement, avant que l'on envisage ensuite l'intégration à l'échelle continentale. Cette approche l'a emporté sur l'école de pensée radicale et a inspiré tous les efforts entrepris jusque-là pour promouvoir l'intégration régionale et continentale. Nyerere a-t-il eu raison ? A-t-il eu tord ? La célébration du cinquantenaire de l'UA offre une opportunité pour tenter d'y répondre.

Quant à la démarche du Dr K. Nkrumah, elle consistait à passer tout de suite, ici et maintenant, à l'intégration économique et politique des États déjà indépendants pour former les États-Unis d'Afrique.

## CLARIFYING TABOO ISSUES

Today, on the eve of the Fiftieth Anniversary, there should be no issues that are taboo. All issues deserve to be tabled and effective and sustainable solutions should be found to them. Among these taboos are Nyerere and the Nkrumah approaches. Which approach appears to be more appropriate to meet the Continent's integration needs? In other words, which approach could have ensured, or held elements that could guarantee Africa's success in its economic and political integration efforts?

It should be recalled that at the time of selecting the approach to be adopted for Africa's economic and political integration, there were two schools of thought: the first, attributed to what was termed the radical wing of pan-Africanism, spearheaded by the Founding Father of Ghana, Dr. K. Nkrumah[3], while the second, presented as that of the moderates, was led by the Founding Father of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere[4]. President J. Nyerere of Tanzania, the champion of the second school of thought, was a fervent proponent of the "step-by-step" approach. He was a staunch defender of the "progressive" approach, also known as the "bottom-up approach", which consisted in building continental integration starting from regional level. Thus, various regions of the Continent, through the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), were first to work towards their integration and development, before envisaging integration at continental level. That approach prevailed over the radical school of thought, and inspired all the efforts undertaken to date to promote regional and continental integration. Was Nyerere right or was he wrong? The celebration of the Fiftieth anniversary of the African Union provides an opportunity to attempt to answer that question.

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[1]Cette école de pensée était composée, entre autres, de Dr K. Nkrumah, Sekou Touré (Guinée), Modibo Keita (Mali). Elle était considérée comme «radicale», cf. A. Oloo (2007); M. Kassé (2007).

[2]La deuxième école de pensée, conduite par M. J. Nyerere, comprenait, entre autres, T. Balewa (Nigeria); W. Tubman (Libéria); L.S. Senghor (Sénégal); F.H. Boigny (Côte d'Ivoire).

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3 That school of thought included, among others, Dr. K. Nkrumah, Sekou Touré (Guinea), Modibo Keita (Mali).It was regarded as «radical», cf. A. Oloo (2007); M. Kassé (2007).

4 The second school of thought, led by M. J. Nyerere, comprised, among others, T. Balewa (Nigeria); W. Tubman (Liberia); L.S. Senghor (Senegal); F.H. Boigny (Côte d'Ivoire).

Pour le Président Nkrumah, si cela ne se faisait pas maintenant, les micro-souverainetés des micro-États indépendants deviendraient demain un véritable handicap entravant le succès de l'intégration économique et politique du continent. Entre autres, K. Nkrumah proposait de mettre tout de suite en place une armée panafricaine, de créer une monnaie unique africaine, etc. Les appréhensions de Nkrumah à l'époque étaient-elles justifiées ? Nkrumah avait-il raison? Avait-il tord? Pour ces questionnements également, le bilan du cinquantenaire devrait couvrir tous les aspects, aussi bien théoriques que pratiques. L'approche Nyerere ou plutôt l'approche Nkrumah ? Ce débat mérite d'être tranché une fois pour toutes, ce qui aurait l'avantage de poser un bon diagnostic et de conduire à la formulation de politiques d'intégration plus cohérentes, plus ambitieuses, plus pragmatiques et plus efficaces.

Par ailleurs, une autre question qui mérite une solution concerne l'opposition entre les pro-capitalistes et les pro-socialistes. Cette opposition revêtait plutôt l'allure d'une confrontation idéologique entre le courant capitaliste et le courant socialiste. Le premier courant, incarné par des pays comme la Côte d'Ivoire, le Kenya et autres, recommandait l'économie de marché comme la meilleure voie vers l'émancipation des peuples africains. Selon ce courant, le capitalisme, quelle que soit sa forme, présentait tous les atouts pour accélérer le développement économique et et social des pays africains. Les dirigeants politiques de l'époque comme F.H. Boigny (Côte d'Ivoire), le Roi Hassan II (Maroc), H. Bourguiba (Tunisie) etc., étaient les chantres d'une telle démarche. Ont-ils eu raison ? Ont-ils eu tord ? Ici encore, ces interrogations nécessitent des réponses, à la faveur de l'établissement du bilan du cinquantenaire de l'UA. Quant au deuxième courant, celui des pro-socialistes, il présentait le socialisme comme la philosophie à adopter, le chemin à suivre pour parvenir au développement et au bien-être des populations africaines. Ici, le socialisme inspiré du bolchévisme de l'ex-Union soviétique, était censé libérer les Africains de l'exploitation et de la domination de l'Occident, bastion incontesté du capitalisme. Au nombre des dirigeants africains porteurs de cet espoir figuraient, entre autres, J. Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Nasser, K. Nkrumah, etc. Ont-ils eu raison ? Ont-ils eu tord ? Ici également, la mise en œuvre des politiques dites

With regard to Dr. K. Nkrumah's approach, it consisted in going immediately, there and then, from the economic and political integration of already independent States to forming the United States of Africa. President Nkrumah understood that if it was not carried out immediately, in future the micro-sovereignty of micro-States would become a real obstacle to the success of the Continent's economic and political integration. Among other things, K. Nkrumah proposed the immediate establishment of a pan-African army, as well as the creation of a single African currency, etc. Were Nkrumah's fears at the time justified or was he wrong? The stock-taking of the fiftieth anniversary should also cover all aspects, both the theoretical and the practical, of these questions. The Nkrumah approach rather than the Nyerere approach? The issue should be resolved once and for all, thus providing an adequate diagnosis, leading to the formulation of more consistent, ambitious, pragmatic and effective integration policies.

Furthermore, another issue that should be resolved is the opposition between the pro-capitalists and the pro-socialists. This opposition appears to be more of an ideological confrontation between the capitalist and the socialist movements. The first movement, embodied in countries like Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya, among others, recommended the market economy as the best means of emancipating African people. According to that movement, capitalism, in any form, had all the advantages for speeding up the socio-economic development of African countries. The political leaders of that era such as F.H. Boigny (Côte d'Ivoire), King Hassan II (Morocco), H. Bourguiba (Tunisia) etc., were the eulogists of such an approach. Were they right or wrong? Here again, these are questions which require answers, thanks to the stock-taking of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the African Union. The second movement, that of the pro-socialists, presented socialism as the philosophy to be adopted, the way forward in order to achieve development and the wellbeing of African populations. Here, the socialism inspired by the bolshevism of the former Soviet Union was meant to free Africans from the exploitation and domination of the West, the undisputed bastion of capitalism. The African leaders who were instilled with that hope, included, among others, J. Nyerere, Sekou Touré,

socialistes mérite une analyse minutieuse.

## Pourquoi est-il important de répondre aux questions taboues ?

Il convient de souligner que l'Afrique a souffert du débat sur l'école de pensée de Nyerere ou plutôt celle de Nkrumah, ou sur le courant des pro-capitalistes ou plutôt celui des pro-socialistes, avec comme conséquences des divergences qui ont eu un impact sur le développement et l'unicité du continent. Cela mérite d'être pris en compte dans le bilan d'un demi-siècle d'efforts d'intégration. Initialement, l'école de pensée de Nyerere a triomphé de celle de Nkrumah. En 2007, au Sommet d'Accra, à l'issue d'un débat houleux, mais riche d'enseignements sur l'état de l'intégration africaine, la philosophie de Nyerere a dominé, une fois encore. À l'issue de ce débat, les dirigeants africains ont trouvé un consensus sur la nature de l'Afrique à bâtir : les États-Unis d'Afrique. Ils ont tous reconnu la nécessité de bâtir les États-Unis d'Afrique, mais cela devait se faire de manière progressive, lentement, mais sûrement, en s'appuyant sur le succès des CER. Toutefois, les acquis en matière d'intégration régionale et continentale, les défis rencontrés, les contraintes liées à la mondialisation, etc., n'invitent-ils pas à un réexamen de l'approche retenue ? N'appellent-ils pas à revisiter l'approche dite *«radicale»* pour y puiser des outils, voire des ingrédients susceptibles de produire un effet induit considérable sur le processus d'intégration africaine ?
Pour notre part, nous estimons qu'il est grand temps de réconcilier les deux approches, de façon à trouver entre elles un équilibre réaliste pour mieux appréhender la problématique de l'intégration continentale. Nyerere et Nkrumah ont été deux illustres fils d'Afrique. Ils ont eu chacun un profond amour pour leur continent et ont consacré l'essentiel de leur vie à son émancipation. Par conséquent, trouver un équilibre réaliste entre les visions qu'ils ont eu à incarner pourrait contribuer à crever l'abcès et à accélérer le rythme de l'intégration continentale. Si ce débat n'était pas définitivement tranché, les générations africaines, celles d'aujourd'hui et de demain, peineraient pendant longtemps encore à réaliser le rêve des États-Unis d'Afrique, dont la concrétisation est l'attente de toutes les filles et de tous les fils du continent.

Nasser, K. Nkrumah, etc. Were they right or wrong? Here also, the implementation of socialist policies should be meticulously analyse

## Why is it important to resolve the taboo issues?

It should be pointed out that Africa suffered from the debate over the Nyerere or Nkrumah school of thought, or the pro-capitalist or the pro-socialist movement, resulting in divergences that had an impact on the Continent's development and unity. This should be taken into account in the review of a half century of integration efforts. Initially, the Nyerere school of thought prevailed over that of Nkrumah. In 2007, at the Accra Summit, at the end of a debate that was fierce, but rich in lessons, on the status of African integration, Nyerere's philosophy dominated once again. Following that debate, African leaders reached a consensus on the type of Africa that should be built: the United States of Africa. They all recognized that there was a need to establish the United States of Africa, but it should be carried out progressively, slowly but surely, based on the success of the RECs. However, the achievements in the area of regional and continental integration, the challenges encountered, the constraints linked to globalization, etc., require that the approach adopted be reconsidered. The *"radical"* approach should be revisited in order to obtain tools or elements from it that could produce a considerable spillover effect on the African integration process.

For our part, we feel that it is high time the two approaches were reconciled, in order to find a realistic balance between them so as to better understand the problems of continental integration. Nyerere and Nkrumah were two illustrious sons of Africa. They each had a profound love for their continent, and devoted the better part of their lives to its emancipation. Consequently, finding a realistic balance between the visions they embodied, could contribute to getting to the bottom of the issue and speeding up the pace of continental integration. If the debate is not resolved once and for all, present and future generations of Africans will continue to struggle for a long time in order to realize the dream of the United States of Africa, whose fulfilment is the hope of all the sons and daughters of the Continent.

Par ailleurs, le débat entre pro-capitalistes et pro-socialistes doit trouver un épilogue. Les regroupements des pays africains autour des idéologies capitaliste et socialiste ont, indubitablement, affecté l'unité continentale. Le comble est que ni les pro-capitalistes, ni les pro-socialistes n'ont jamais pu réunir les conditions indispensables à l'éclosion de leur choix idéologique. Les «capitalistes sans capitaux» et les «socialistes sans richesses à partager» sont ainsi devenus des clichés prisés par bon nombre d'humoristes.

Aujourd'hui, avec la domination sans partage de l'économie de marché, symbolisée par la mondialisation, quel dirigeant africain pourrait encore se prévaloir du socialisme ? Tous les pays africains, quelle que soit la nature des régimes au pouvoir, recourent aux Institutions de Bretton-Woods, et particulièrement au FMI dont les conditionnalités des prêts n'autorisent guère la mise en place d'une économie socialiste. Et si l'on devait même évaluer le passé, l'on pourrait avancer, sans parti pris, que les dirigeants pro-capitalistes ont peut-être mieux positionné leurs pays sur la voie du progrès social, avec des performances historiques, devenant même des repères indiscutables, voire des références pour la classe politique, toutes idéologies confondues, en fait de véritables icônes en Afrique. Si tel est effectivement le cas, cela devrait se traduire par la reconnaissance historique de ces dirigeants dans les annales de l'Union africaine. Car aujourd'hui, l'on a pris l'habitude de ne célébrer à l'Union africaine que les figures historiques de l'aile dite «radicale» du Panafricanisme, oubliant les autres qui ont pourtant posé des actes et réalisé des œuvres faisant date, et qui ont positionné leurs pays sur la voie communément empruntée aujourd'hui par la quasi-totalité des pays et des régions du monde, à savoir la voie de **l'économie de marché, certes sous des formes variées et diverses,** comme mode de production, de distribution des richesses et d'épanouissement de l'être humain. La célébration du cinquantenaire, avec le bilan qui l'accompagne, mérite que cet oubli de l'histoire soit corrigé et que les valeureux dirigeants d'Afrique, indépendamment de leurs visions, soient reconnus comme tels et célébrés. Cet inventaire de l'histoire mérite d'être fait pour inspirer les dirigeants d'aujourd'hui, tout comme ceux de demain.

Après ce bref rappel historique, il est légitime d'identifier les acquis de 50 ans d'intégration, de mettre en lumière les défis, et d'indiquer la voie à suivre.

Moreover, the debate between pro-capitalists and pro-socialists should come to an end. The rallying of African countries around capitalist and socialist ideologies has undoubtedly affected the Continent's unity. The worst thing is that neither the pro-capitalists nor the pro-socialists have ever been able to establish the requisite conditions for the emergence of their ideological choice. The "capitalists without capital" and the "socialists without wealth to share" have therefore become stereotypes that are a source of humour for many comedians.

Today, with the monopoly of the market economy, symbolized by globalization, which African leader can still pride himself on socialism? All African countries, regardless of the type of regimes in power, have recourse to the Bretton Woods Institutions, particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF), whose conditionalities for loans leave no room for a socialist economy. If the past was to be assessed, it could be said, without being biased, that the pro-capitalist leaders were better able to position their countries on the road to progress, with remarkable performances, even becoming undisputed benchmarks or references for the political class, irrespective of ideology, indeed, real icons in Africa. If that is actually the case, it should be reflected in the historical acknowledgement of those leaders in the annals of the African Union. Nowadays, we have developed the habit in the African Union of only lauding the historical figures of the «radical» wing of Pan-Africanism, forgetting the others, though they carried out actions and realized works that are noteworthy. Their actions and works positioned their countries on the path commonly trodden today by virtually all countries and regions of the world, namely, that of **market economy, in diverse forms,** such as production mode, that of distribution of wealth and full development of human beings. The celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary, together with its accompanying stock-taking exercise, should be an opportunity for this historical omission to be rectified, and the valiant African leaders, independently of their vision, be recognized and feted. The inventory of history is worth undertaking in order to inspire the present and future leaders.

After the brief historical recap, it is appropriate to identify the achievements of fifty years of integration, highlight the challenges, and indicate the way forward.

# 50 ANS D'INTÉGRATION : LES ACQUIS

Ils sont nombreux, les acquis en matière d'intégration en Afrique. Mais la faible cadence de l'intégration et la pauvreté rampante au sein de la majeure partie de la population africaine occultent pratiquement ces acquis. Et pourtant, ils existent.

## Les initiatives stratégiques

Tout le monde est unanime à reconnaître que s'agissant des initiatives stratégiques concourant à l'intégration, l'Afrique, à travers l'Union africaine, a été extrêmement prolixe. De nombreuses initiatives ont été lancées pour favoriser l'intégration du continent. L'OUA, créée en 1963, a élaboré une série de projets intégrateurs dont les plus significatifs se structurent autour du Plan d'Action et de l'Acte final de Lagos (1990); du Traité d'Abuja instituant la Communauté économique africaine (adopté en 1991 et entré en vigueur en 1994); de la Déclaration de Sirte (1999) visant à raccourcir le délai prévu pour la réalisation de la Communauté économique africaine (AEC); et de l'Acte constitutif de l'UA (2000), texte fondateur de l'UA (créée en 2001 et lancée en 2002).Avec son avènement en 2002, l'UA, par l'entremise de son organe exécutif, la Commission, a lancé diverses initiatives à caractère intégrateur, tel que cela ressort clairement du tableau 1 ci-dessous.

## Les succès de la mise en œuvre du Traité d'Abuja

Ces succès ne sont pas homogènes d'une CER à l'autre. L'hétérogénéité des avancées semble traduire le différentiel de volonté politique qui existe entre les dirigeants des régions africaines.

### Au niveau de l'intégration proprement dite

Si l'on se réfère à la trajectoire de B. Balassa (1982), force est de reconnaître qu'après 50 ans d'efforts d'intégration, la plupart des CER sont dans la phase de l'union douanière. Celle-ci est effective à la Communauté des États de l'Afrique de l'Est (CAE), et entre certains pays de l'espace COMESA. Dans la zone CEDEAO et dans d'autres espaces intégrateurs, l'étape de l'union douanière est théoriquement acquise, mais tarde à se traduire dans les faits.

# 50 YEARS OF INTEGRATION: ACHIEVEMENTS

Much has been achieved in the area of integration in Africa. However, the slow pace of integration and the rampant poverty among the majority of African people has virtually overshadowed these achievements. Nonetheless, they do exist.

## Strategic Initiatives

It is unanimously recognized that Africa, through the African Union, has been extremely prolific in the area of strategic initiatives geared towards integration. Many initiatives have been launched to promote the Continent's integration. The OAU, which was established in 1963, elaborated a series of integrating projects, the most significant of which were structured around the Plan of Action of the Final Act of Lagos (1990); the Abuja Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (adopted in 1991 and entered into force in 1994); the Sirte Declaration (1999) aimed at reducing the timeframe for the realization of the African Economic Community (AEC); and the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2000), the founding text of the African Union (established in 2001 and launched in 2002). After its inception in 2002, the AU, through its executive organ the Commission, launched various initiatives for integration, as is clearly shown in the table below.

## Successes in the implementation of the Abuja Treaty

The successes vary from one REC to the other. The heterogeneous progress seems to reflect the differential in political will that exists between the leaders of African regions.

### In terms of actual integration

If we refer to the trajectory of B. Balassa (1982), it must be acknowledged that after fifty years of integration efforts, most of the RECs are in the customs union stage. This is effective in the East African Community (EAC), and among some states in the COMESA space. In the ECOWAS region and other integrating spaces, the customs union phase is theoretically established, but is yet to be applied in practical terms.

**Tableau 1 :**       **Projets intégrateurs initiés par l'UA au titre des quatre piliers de son Plan stratégique**

| Pilier 1 | Pilier 2 | Pilier 3 | Pilier 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paix et Sécurité | Intégration, Développement et Coopération | Valeurs partagées | Renforcement des Institutions et des Capacités |
| • Mise en place et fonctionnement d'un système d'alerte rapide des conflits (SARC) | • Programme pour le développement des infrastructures en Afrique (PIDA) | • Charte africaine de la démocratie, des élections et de la gouvernance (2007) | • Banque centrale africaine, basée à Abuja, au Nigeria |
| • Programme des frontières de l'Union africaine (AUBP) | • Programme détaillé pour le développement de l'agriculture en Afrique (PDDAA) | • Convention de l'Union africaine sur la prévention et la lutte contre la corruption (2003) | • Banque africaine d'Investissement, basée à Tripoli, en Libye |
| • Initiative africaine de solidarité (L'Afrique aide l'Afrique) | • Deuxième Décennie de l'éducation<br><br>• Plan d'action africain consolidéde la science et de la technologie | • Charte africaine sur les valeurs et les principes du service public et de l'administration | • Le Fond monétaire africain, basé à Yaoundé, au Cameroun |
| • Programme de reconstruction et de développement post-conflit (PCRD) | • Décennie de la Femme africaine<br>• Fonds pour les femmes africaines pour soutenir l'entreprenariat féminin | • Protocole à la Charte africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples, relatif aux droits de la femme en Afrique | • La Cour africaine de justice, basée à Arusha, en Tanzanie |
| | • Plan d'action pour le développement industrielaccéléré de l'Afrique | | • Parlement panafricain, basé à Johannesburg, en Afrique du Sud |
| | • Programme minimum d'intégration (PMI), dont le premier Plan d'action est estimé à environ 110 millions de dollars | | • Conseil économique, social et culturel (ECOSOCC) |
| | • Programme en faveur de la jeunesse | | |
| | • Charte africaine de la statistique | | |
| | • Stratégie d'harmonisation des statistiques | | |

*Source : R.N. Kouassi (2012).*

**Table 1: Integrating Projects Initiated by the AU under the Four Pillars of its Strategic Plan**

| Pillar 1 Peace and Security | Pillar 2 Integration, Development and Cooperation | Pillar 3 Shared Values | Pillar 4 Institution and Capacity Building |
|---|---|---|---|
| • Establishment and operationalization of a Conflict Early Warning System (CEWS) | • Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) | • African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007) | • African Central Bank based in Abuja, Nigeria |
| • African Union Border Programme (AUBP) | • Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) | • African Union Convention on Preventing and Combatting Corruption (2003) | • African Investment Bank based in Tripoli, Libya |
| • African Solidarity Initiative (Africa helping Africa) | • Second Decade of Education for Africa<br><br>• Africa's Science and Technology Consolidated Plan of Action | • African Charter on Values and Principles of Public Service and Administration | • African Monetary Fund based in Yaoundé, Cameroon |
| • Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Programme (PCRD) | • African Women's Decade<br>• African Women's Entrepreneurial Fund | • Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa | • African Court of Justice based in Arusha, Tanzania |
| | • Action Plan for the Accelerated Industrial Development of Africa | | • Pan-African Parliament based in Johannesburg, South Africa |
| | • Minimum Integration Programme (MIP), whose first plan of action is estimated at about 110 million dollars | | • Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) |
| | • African Union Youth Programme | | |
| | • African Charter on Statistics | | |
| | • Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa | | |

*Source: R.N. Kouassi (2012).*

Par ailleurs, il est important de souligner que la CAE a même franchi l'étape du marché commun et s'emploie actuellement à réaliser une fédération politique et à créer sa monnaie unique. Par rapport à l'union douanière, il convient de rappeler que le Traité d'Abuja, feuille de route majeure de l'intégration africaine, l'envisage à l'échelle régionale au plus tard en 2017, et à l'échelle continentale au plus tard en 2019. Dès lors, les résultats déjà enregistrés par les CER pour y arriver portent à croire que, toutes autres choses étant égales, l'étape de l'union douanière sera certainement franchie à la date butoir indiquée dans ledit Traité. Le Traité d'Abuja envisage également l'avènement de la Communauté économique africaine (AEC) à l'horizon 2028 ou au plus tard en 2034. L'AEC est considérée comme l'étape ultime, voire la phase d'aboutissement de l'intégration continentale. Cette étape devrait être symbolisée, entre autres, par la création de la monnaie unique africaine, la mise en place d'un parlement panafricain élu au suffrage universel, l'établissement d'institutions financières solides; la libre circulation des personnes, des biens, des capitaux et des services, etc.

*Au chapitre de la dotation en capacités institutionnelles*

Le lancement de l'UA en 2002 a contribué à l'avènement de plusieurs institutions panafricaines au nombre desquelles figurent les suivantes :

i.  Le Conseil de Paix et de Sécurité (CPS), dont le rôle dans la prévention des conflits, l'extinction des foyers de guerre, la consolidation de la paix, et la reconstruction des pays sortant de conflit, est hautement apprécié de tous;
ii. La Cours africaine de Justice (à Arusha, en Tanzanie);
iii. La Commission africaine de Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples (à Banjul, en Gambie);
iv. La Banque africaine de Développement (BAD), créée en 1963 à Khartoum, au Soudan, et basée à Abidjan, en Côte d'Ivoire;
v.  Le Parlement panafricain (PAP), en Afrique du Sud, qui est dans une phase transitoire, avec des membres désignés et non élus comme il est suggéré dans l'étape ultime du Traité d'Abuja;

Furthermore, it is important to point out that the EAC has even reached the common market stage and is currently working to achieve political federation and establish a single currency. With regard to customs union, it should be recalled that the Abuja Treaty which is the major roadmap for African integration, envisages it at regional level by 2017 at the very latest, and at continental level by latest 2019. The results achieved by the RECs towards its achievement therefore seem to indicate that all other things being equal, the customs union stage will certainly be attained by the deadline fixed in the Treaty. The Abuja Treaty also envisages the advent of the African Economic Community (AEC) by 2028 or 2034 at the very latest. The AEC is considered as the ultimate stage for the achievement of continental integration. That stage should be symbolized, among other things, by the establishment of a single African currency, the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament elected by universal suffrage, the establishment of sound financial institutions, free movement of persons, goods, capital and services, etc.

*In Terms of Institutional Capacity Building*

The launching of the African Union in 2002 contributed towards the establishment of several pan-African institutions, including the following:

i.  The Peace and Security Council (PSC), whose role in conflict prevention, neutralizing potential sources of war, consolidation of peace and reconstruction of countries emerging from conflict, is highly appreciated by all;
ii. The African Court of Justice (in Arusha, Tanzania);
iii. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (in Banjul, The Gambia);
iv. The African Development Bank (AfDB), established in 1963 in Khartoum, The Sudan, and based in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire;
v.  The Pan-African Parliament (PAP), in South Africa, which is in a transition phase, with members appointed rather than elected as was proposed in the final stage of the Abuja Treaty;
vi. The on-going establishment of the three financial institutions provided for under Article 19 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, namely the African Monetary Fund (in Yaoundé, Cameroon), the African Investment Bank (in Tripoli, Libya); and the African Central Bank (in Abuja, Nigeria).

vi. La création (en cours) des trois institutions financières prévues à l'article 19 de l'Acte constitutif de l'UA, à savoir le Fonds monétaire africain (à Yaoundé, au Cameroun), la Banque africaine d'Investissement (à Tripoli, en Libye); et la Banque centrale africaine (à Abuja, au Nigeria).

*Au niveau du partenariat avec le reste du monde*

En 50 ans d'efforts de développement et d'intégration, l'Afrique n'est pas restée autarcique. Loin s'en faut; elle a diversifié son partenariat avec le reste du monde. Aujourd'hui, en sus de ses relations privilégiées avec l'ex-métropole, l'Afrique, par le truchement de la Commission de l'UA, a noué divers partenariats stratégiques avec le reste du monde. Les partenariats suivants sont assez illustratifs de cette nouvelle donne :

- Partenariat Afrique-Europe;

- Partenariat Chine-Afrique;

- Partenariat Inde-Afrique;

- Partenariat Corée du Sud-Afrique;

- Partenariat avec le Japon, symbolisé par la Conférence internationale de Tokyo pour le développement de l'Afrique (TICAD);

- Partenariat Afrique-Turquie;

- Partenariat Afrique-Amérique du Sud;

- Partenariat Afrique-États-Unis d'Amérique.

Toutefois, les succès susmentionnés, s'ils restent encourageants, ne cachent pas les difficultés, voire les domaines où l'Afrique peine encore à donner un coup d'accélérateur à son processus d'intégration. Aujourd'hui encore, d'énormes obstacles subsistent et persistent dans le temps. Ces obstacles, essentiellement endogènes, risquent, si l'on n'y prête attention, d'handicaper structurellement l'Afrique, pendant longtemps encore, dans ses efforts d'intégration économique et politique.

## CE QUE L'AFRIQUE N'EST PAS PARVENUE À RÉALISER EN 50 ANS

*In Terms of Partnership with the Rest of the World*

Africa has not remained self-sufficient during fifty years of integration efforts. On the contrary, it has diversified its partnership with the rest of the world. Today, in addition to its privileged relations with its former metropoles, Africa, through the AU Commission, has built various strategic partnerships with the rest of the world. The following partnerships are representative of this new order:

- Africa-Europe Partnership;

- China-Africa Partnership;

- India-Africa Partnership;

- South Korea-Africa Partnership;

- Partnership with Japan, symbolized by the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD);

- Africa-Turkey Partnership;

- Africa-South America Partnership;

- Africa-United States of America Partnership.

However, although the above successes are encouraging, there are difficulties or areas where Africa is still struggling to give an additional boost to its integration process. Today, huge obstacles persist in time. The obstacles, which are essentially endogenous, could, if precautions are not taken, structurally handicap Africa for a long time to come, in its economic and political integration efforts.

## WHAT AFRICA HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ACHIEVE IN 50 YEARS

Africa is still struggling in many areas. However, for the purposes of this document, we will limit ourselves essentially to the following:

### *Free movement of persons is not yet a reality*

After more than fifty years of integration efforts, Africans still cannot move freely within their own continent. The entry and exit visas required by most countries are the main cause. Today, with the exception of the ECOWAS region where citizens have the right to come and go, simple on presentation of a

L'Afrique peine encore dans de nombreux domaines. Mais pour les besoins du présent document, nous nous limiterons essentiellement à ceux qui vont suivre:

### La libre circulation des personnes n'y est pas encore une réalité

Après plus de 50 ans d'efforts d'intégration, les Africains ne sont toujours pas libres de circuler à travers leur propre continent. Les visas d'entrée et de sortie exigés par la plupart des pays en sont la principale cause. Aujourd'hui, exception faite de la zone CEDEAO où les citoyens ont le droit d'aller et venir, sur simple présentation d'une carte nationale d'identité, tous les autres pays du continent exigent encore des visas d'entrée et parfois de sortie aux autres Africains qui ne sont pas leurs ressortissants. La question de la migration ne doit pas se poser seulement en direction des pays développés. Elle doit se poser aussi au niveau des pays africains. Pour un citoyen africain lambda, se rendre dans un autre pays africain (en dehors du sien) s'apparente à un parcours du combattant. Alors que la libre circulation des Africains au sein de leur continent constitue la manifestation, voire la démonstration la plus visible d'une intégration réussie. Chanter ubi et orbi que l'Union africaine est une union des peuples africains, alors même que ces peuples ne sont pas libres d'aller et venir dans l'espace géographique du continent, constitue une contradiction flagrante.

### Le Financement des projets intégrateurs provient, dans son essentiel, de l'extérieur

Après un demi-siècle d'efforts d'intégration et d'autonomie en matière de conception, d'élaboration et d'application de stratégies et de politiques économiques, le fardeau financier de l'intégration africaine repose toujours sur les partenaires au développement de notre continent. L'Afrique n'est pas encore parvenue à exercer son autonomie vis-à-vis des sources de financement de sa croissance et de son développement. Les CER et l'UA recourent jusque-là aux apports extérieurs pour traduire dans la réalité l'essentiel de leurs programmes. Le tableau 2 ci-dessous, qui présente succinctement le budget programme de la Commission de l'UA, est assez révélateur du poids croissant des sources extérieures dans le financement des projets intégrateurs en Afrique.

stratégies et de politiques économiques, le fardeau financier de l'intégration africaine repose toujours sur national identity card, all other countries of the Continent still require entry visas, and sometimes exit visas, for other Africans who are not citizens of their country. The issue of migration should not arise only to developed countries. It should also be raised at the level of African countries. For an ordinary African citizen, travelling to another African country resembles an obstacle course, whereas free movement of Africans within their Continent constitutes the manifestation or even the most visible demonstration of successful integration. Announcing to the world that the African Union is a union of African peoples when those same people are not free to come and go within the Continent's geographical space, is an obvious contradiction.

### The bulk of funding for integrating projects comes from outside the Continent

After half a century of integration efforts and autonomy in terms of design, elaboration and application of economic strategies and policies, the financial burden of African integration still rests on our Continent's development partners. Africa has not yet been able to exercise autonomy with regard to sources for funding its growth and development. Up till today, the RECs and the AU have recourse to external inputs to translate most of their programmes into reality. Table 2 below, which briefly presents the programme budget of the AU Commission, clearly reveals the increasing weight of external sources in financing integrating projects in Africa.

**Tableau 2 : Sources du budget programme de l'UA et de ses différents organes (en millions de $EU)**

| Années _____ Source du budget | 2008 (%) | 2009 (%) | 2010 (%) | 2011 (%) | 2012 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| États membres | 14.7 (31%) | 11.3 (16%) | 11.2 (8%) | 10.2 (7.1%) | 7.6 (5%) |
| Partenaires au développement | 32.4 (69%) | 57.4 (84%) | 133.7 (92%) | 134.2 (92.9%) | 151.7 (95%) |
| Total | 47.1 (100%) | 68.7 (100%) | 144.9 (100%) | 144.4 (100%) | 159.3 (100%) |

*Source : R.N. Kouassi (2012)*

**Table 2: Sources of the Programme Budget of the AU and its Different Organs (in millions of US$)**

| Years _____ Budget Source | 2008 (%) | 2009 (%) | 2010 (%) | 2011 (%) | 2012 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Member States | 14.7 (31%) | 11.3 (16%) | 11.2 (8%) | 10.2 (7.1%) | 7.6 (5%) |
| Development Partners | 32.4 (69%) | 57.4 (84%) | 133.7 (92%) | 134.2 (92.9%) | 151.7 (95%) |
| Total | 47.1 (100%) | 68.7 (100%) | 144.9 (100%) | 144.4 (100%) | 159.3 (100%) |

*Source: R.N. Kouassi (2012)*

En dépit de l'immensité de ses ressources naturelles, l'Afrique n'arrive toujours pas à s'émanciper de l'implication excessive des partenaires dans le financement de son développement. À l'heure du bilan de 50 ans d'autonomie relative, les dirigeants africains doivent revisiter leur approche, voire leur vision de l'appropriation par l'Afrique de son destin. Trouver au sein de l'Afrique les leviers essentiels du financement des projets intégrateurs à l'échelle régionale et continentale fait partie de cette exigence d'appropriation. Refuser d'adhérer à cette logique reviendrait à confier l'Afrique et son destin aux partenaires extérieurs. Si tel devait être la règle, que deviendraient les souverainetés nationales tant jalousement entretenues ?

### Les micro-souverainetés ont la vie dure en Afrique

Les souverainetés nationales résistent encore à l'usure du temps. Et ce, en dépit de l'adoption et de la ratification, par les États nations, de nombreux traités, déclarations et décisions dont la mise en œuvre appelle à une cession partielle des souverainetés nationales aux institutions régionales et continentales. Le Traité d'Abuja, par exemple, largement ratifié par tous les pays, invite à mettre en place une union douanière, symbolisée par un tarif extérieur commun, et à adopter une monnaie unique. Dans cette perspective, il est tout à fait impossible qu'un pays appartienne à deux unions douanières et que deux monnaies circulent dans son espace géographique. En s'inscrivant donc dans la logique de la monnaie africaine, les pays acceptent de facto à transférer une partie de leur souveraineté à l'organisation continentale chargée de piloter ce projet. Et pourtant, la conservation des souverainetés nationales s'avère aujourd'hui comme un des handicaps majeurs entravant le processus d'intégration régionale et continentale. Le repli sur soi semble devenir la règle qui tend à se généraliser en se renforçant, sous l'effet des crises économiques systémiques qui secouent l'économie mondiale depuis 2007. Comme corollaires à cette situation, les décisions prises à l'échelle nationale et continentale ne sont pas intégrées dans les législations nationales pour une mise en œuvre harmonieuse. De même, les institutions d'intégration souffrent d'un manque d'intérêt de la part des dirigeants africains plutôt enclins à s'appesantir sur le desserrage des contraintes domestiques.

### L'unité continentale porte toujours les marques des antagonismes linguistiques hérités de la colonisation

In spite of its wealth of natural resources, Africa is still unable to free itself from the excessive involvement of partners in funding its development. At the time of reviewing fifty years of relative autonomy, African leaders should revisit their approach, or their vision of Africa taking charge of its future. Finding the essential levers for financing integrating projects at regional and continental levels is part of the ownership requirement. Refusing to adhere to this logic would be tantamount to entrusting Africa and its future to external partners. If that should be the case, what would become of the sovereignty that has been so jealously guarded?

### Micro-sovereignty still prevails in Africa

National sovereignty has stood the test of time, despite the adoption and ratification by Nation States of numerous treaties, declarations and decisions whose implementation calls for the partial transfer of national sovereignty to regional and continental institutions. The Abuja Treaty for instance, which was widely ratified  by all countries, calls for the establishment of a customs union, symbolized by a common external tariff, and for the adoption of a single currency. In that context, it is absolutely impossible for a country to belong to two customs unions and for two currencies to circulate in its geographical space. Therefore, in line with the establishment of an African currency, countries should de facto agree to transfer part of their sovereignty to the continental organization in charge of steering the project. Yet, the conservation of national sovereignty is now proving to be one of the major obstacles to the regional and continental integration process. Turning in upon oneself appears to have become the rule, a trend which is becoming generalized under the effects of the systemic economic crises that have shaken the global economy since 2007. As a result of the situation, decisions taken at national and continental levels are not integrated into national laws for smooth implementation. In addition, integrating institutions suffer from lack of interest on the part of African leaders who tend to focus more on easing domestic constraints.

### Continental unity is still marked by linguistic antagonisms inherited from the colonial era

Today, Africa has regained its full autonomy and its independence, which in the past was appropriated by its former colonial masters.

Aujourd'hui, l'Afrique a recouvré toute son autonomie, voire son indépendance naguère confisquée par ses ex-colonisateurs. Et pourtant, jusqu'à ce jour, les langues héritées de la colonisation ne finissent pas de diviser l'Afrique. Tout se passe comme si les Anglais, les Français, les Espagnols et les Portugais se livrent une bataille hégémonique, par l'Afrique interposée. Cette division linguistique a même marqué les esprits des Africains pour devenir une véritable barrière au succès de l'intégration économique et politique du continent. Il est donc temps et même grand temps de résoudre cette équation linguistique pour bâtir l'«africaphonie» autour d'une langue africaine. L'ex-Président du Mali, le Professeur A.O. Konaré, durant son mandat à la tête de la Commission de l'UA, avait proposé que le swahili[5] soit enseigné partout en Afrique pour devenir la langue officielle des Africains. Il est même parvenu à faire accepter le swahili comme une des langues utilisées à l'occasion des Sommets des Chefs d'État et de Gouvernement. Cette idée chère au Professeur Konaré mérite l'attention des organes de décision de l'Union africaine. Si elle était admise, après une ou deux générations, elle pourrait constituer le fondement de cette «africaphonie». Déjà, le swahili s'impose même comme une langue officielle au Kenya, en Tanzanie et à l'Est de la République démocratique du Congo (RDC). Des observateurs affirment même que les succès enregistrés sur les fronts de l'intégration par la Communauté de l'Afrique de l'Est sont en partie dus au swahili, en tant que langue en partage dans les pays membres. Les citoyens africains pourraient un jour se targuer d'être «africaphones». L'unité continentale cesserait donc de souffrir de l'impact des querelles linguistiques dont les origines sont exogènes au continent.

### Les statistiques, une priorité reconnue, mais négligée

Jusqu'à ce jour, les statistiques africaines sont hétérogènes d'un pays à l'autre, d'une région à l'autre. Chaque pays produit ses statistiques qu'il collecte et diffuse comme il l'entend. Il en est de même pour chaque région. Les méthodes de production, les normes et les nomenclatures sont loin d'être homogènes. En raison de cette situation

Yet, to date, the languages inherited from the colonial era continue to divide Africa. Everything happens as though the British, the French, the Spanish and the Portuguese were wagging a hegemonic war through Africa. The linguistic division has marked the spirits of Africans to the extent of becoming a real obstacle to the success of the Continent's economic and political integration. It is therefore high time that the linguistic problem was resolved in order to establish "Africaphony" based on an African language. The former President of Mali, Professor A.O. Konaré, during his term of office at the helm of the AU Commission, had proposed that Swahili[6] should be taught throughout Africa thus becoming the official language of Africans. He was able to have Swahili accepted as one of the languages used during the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. This idea, which was cherished by Professor Konaré deserves the attention of the decision-making organs of the African Union. Should it be accepted, after one or two generations, it could serve as the basis for "Africaphony". Already, Swahili has gained dominance as the official language in Kenya, Tanzania and in the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Observers state that the success recorded in the area of integration by the East African Community is partly due to Swahili as a common language shared by member countries. African citizens could one day pride themselves on being "Africaphones". Continental unity will then cease to suffer from the impact of linguistic disputes which originate from outside the Continent.

### Statistics, an acknowledged but neglected priority

Up to the present day, African statistics vary from one country to the other and from region to region. Each country produces its own statistics, which it collects and disseminates as it pleases. The same applies for every region. The methods of production, standards and nomenclature are far from being homogeneous. As a result, economic and social aggregates, as well as other indicators are not comparable in time or space. Furthermore, economic and political policy makers, researchers, academics and users of statistics in Africa, only use secondary statistics generally produced by the Bretton Woods Institutions. Africa elaborates its

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[5]Le swahili est parlé dans les pays suivant : Tanzanie, Kenya, l'Ouganda, Rwanda, Burundi et l'Est de la RDC.

[6] Swahili is spoken in the following countries: Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and in the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

,les agrégats économiques et sociaux et autres indicateurs ne sont comparables ni dans le temps, ni dans l'espace. En outre, les décideurs économiques et politiques, les chercheurs, les universitaires et autres utilisateurs de statistiques en Afrique n'utilisent que les données secondaires produites généralement par les Institutions de Bretton-Woods. L'Afrique élabore ses politiques publiques et privées, évalue ses performances économiques, appréhende ses indicateurs sociaux, etc. en se basant sur les statistiques produites hors du continent. En d'autres termes, elle continue d'utiliser les outils extérieurs pour évaluer ses faits sociaux et sociétaux, et ses phénomènes endogènes. Or, comme le suggèrent certains observateurs, les statistiques véhiculent toujours le message de celui qui les a produites. Dans cette perspective, l'on peut attribuer à l'Afrique tous les maux planétaires, sans qu'elle soit capable de soutenir valablement la moindre contestation. Et pour cause, l'Afrique n'a pas la latitude de produire ses propres statistiques pour en démontrer le contraire ou pour réfuter les maux qu'on lui fait porter, parfois à son corps défendant. Et là où le bât blesse, c'est que l'Afrique ne dispose pas de données fiables, comparable dans le temps et dans l'espace, produites par elle-même pour réaliser ses prévisions conjoncturelles, dans tous les domaines de la vie économique et sociale. Aussi, adopte-t-elle continuellement des traités, des programmes et des projets dont le suivi et l'évaluation nécessitent la production des statistiques spécifiques que l'on ne retrouve point dans les recueils habituels de statistiques que les partenaires ont la générosité de mettre à sa disposition.

Pour apporter une solution efficace et durable à cette déplorable situation, la Commission de l'Union africaine, par l'entremise du Département des Affaires économiques, a fait adopter par les Chefs d'État et de Gouvernement la Charte africaine de la Statistique et la Stratégie d'harmonisation des Statistiques. La ratification de la Charte sur laquelle repose la Stratégie n'implique aucun coût financier. Mais au moment de la finalisation du présent document, sept pays seulement sur 54 avaient déjà ratifiée ladite Charte. Or, les procédures en vigueur à l'UA n'exigent que 15 ratifications pour que tout texte soumis à ratification entre en vigueur. Les multiples appels lancés par les présidents successifs de la Commission en faveur de la ratification de la Charte africaine de la Statistique sont jusqu'aujourd'hui restés vains.

*L'Afrique commerce toujours peu avec elle-même*

public and private sector policies, evaluates its economic performances, and assesses its social indicators, etc., on the basis of statistics produced outside the Continent. In other words, it continues to make use of external tools to evaluate its social and societal facts as well as its endogenous phenomena. However, as suggested by some observers, statistics always bear the message of those that produce them. Consequently, Africa can be attributed all the ills of the world without being in a position to sustain any valid protests. And with good reason because Africa does not have the latitude to produce its own statistics in order to prove the contrary or to refute the ills it is said to bear, often unwillingly. Where the problem lies is that Africa does not have reliable data that is comparable in time and space, produced by Africa in order to make its conjunctural predictions in all areas of economic and social life. It therefore repeatedly adopts treaties, programmes and projects, whose monitoring and evaluation require the production of specific statistics which can usually not be found in the standard statistics collections which the partners have the generosity to make available.

In order to find an effective solution to this deplorable situation, the African Union Commission, through its Economic Affairs Department, had the African Charter on Statistics and the Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union. The ratification of the Charter on which the Strategy is based has no financial implications. However, at the time of finalizing this document, only 7 out of 54 Member States had ratified the Charter. According to the procedures in force in the African Union, 15 ratifications are required in order for a text submitted for ratification to enter into force. Many appeals have been made by successive Chairpersons of the Commission to promote the ratification of the African Charter on Statistics, which to date have been in vain.

### *Intra-African Trade is still poor*

Intra-African trade amounts to approximately 12% of the volume of the Continent's trade with the rest of the world. In other words, more than 80% of its trade is carried out with countries outside its geographical space. Much has already been written and said about resolving the issue of the low volume of intra-African trade. The solutions proposed have been updated frequently,

Le commerce intra-africain se chiffre aujourd'hui à environ 12% du volume des échanges du continent avec le reste du monde. En d'autres termes, plus de 80% de ses échanges se font avec les pays situés hors de son espace géographique. Beaucoup de salive et beaucoup d'encre ont déjà été consacrés à la résolution de la problématique du faible volume des échanges intra-africains. Les solutions suggérées ont été plusieurs fois mises au goût du jour. Et pourtant, le commerce entre pays africains ne parvient toujours pas à atteindre un niveau appréciable, voire acceptable. Le leitmotiv des causes du faible niveau du commerce intra-africain résiderait, selon les analystes, dans la similitude de la structure des économies africaines et surtout dans la nature des exportations africaines : très peu transformées et essentiellement agricoles. Cependant, il est à noter que l'Afrique ne peut pas de la sorte maximiser les gains tirés du commerce international. Certes, tout le monde est unanime qu'il faut accroître les exportations. Mais les exportations non transformées produisent un impact très limité sur le reste de l'économie d'une nation donnée. Quand la Chine, l'Inde, le Brésil, etc. exportent, ce sont des biens industriels à très grande valeur ajoutée. L'impact produit sur les économies de ces pays est immense, en termes de création d'emplois, de génération de revenus et de profits, de compétitivité, et d'accroissement du bien-être des populations. De telles exportations sont de nature à consolider une économie et à la tirer vers la phase de l'émergence. Cet état de fait interpelle tous les décideurs économiques et politiques africains. Il les invite à prioriser l'industrialisation des économies africaines, sans laquelle l'Afrique restera, pendant longtemps encore, dans une posture d'assistée permanente.

Finalement, l'Afrique célèbre certes le cinquantenaire de son intégration, mais elle est loin d'atteindre son objectif de devenir un pays-continent économiquement et politiquement intégré. Beaucoup a été dit. Beaucoup a été fait. Beaucoup est en train d'être fait. Mais l'immensité de ce qui reste à faire invite à redoubler d'efforts et à clarifier les sujets dits tabous qui ont jusque-là un impact négatif sur l'unité continentale. De ce point de vue, l'on doit lucidement trancher les visions conflictuelles de Nkrumah et de J. Nyerere, en trouvant un équilibre réaliste entre elles pour mieux servir la cause de l'intégration continentale. Aussi, le triomphe sans partage de l'économie de marché, depuis la chute du mur de Berlin, appelle-t-il à taire, à jamais, les oppositions de nature idéologique qui ont produit des marques sur la façade de l'intégration continentale.

yet trade between African countries has still not reached a substantial or even an acceptable level. The underlying causes of the low level of intra-African trade reside, according to analysts, in the similarity of African economic structures and above all in the nature of African exports: very little processed and essentially agricultural products. It should however be noted that in this way Africa cannot maximize the benefits derived from international trade. Admittedly, it is unanimously agreed that exports should be increased, but unprocessed exports produce an extremely limited impact on the rest of the economy of a given nation. When China, India, Brazil, etc. export, they export industrialized goods, with extremely high added value. The impact produced on the economies of those countries is immense in terms of job creation, generation of revenue and profits, competitiveness, and increasing the wellbeing of the people. Such exports are of a type that can consolidate an economy and steer it towards the emergence phase. This state of affairs poses a challenge to all African economic and political decision-makers. It requires that they prioritize the industrialization of African economies, failing which Africa will remain for a long time to come, in the state of a continent permanently needing assistance.

Finally, while Africa is celebrating fifty years of integration, it is still a long way from achieving its objective of becoming an economically and politically integrated continent-country. Much has been said and much is being done, but the immensity of what is left to be done calls for a redoubling of efforts and the clarification of issues considered as taboo, which up till now have had a negative impact on the unity of the Continent. In that context, the conflicting visions of Nkrumah and J. Nyerere should be clearly resolved, by finding a realistic balance between the two visions in order to better serve the cause of continental integration. The unchallenged triumph of the market economy since the fall of the Berlin Wall calls for a definitive end to the ideological oppositions which marked the face of continental integration. Today, the whole world is pro-capitalist, including the China of Mao Tse Tung. Elements of capitalism are used by all economies at global level, to cater for the happiness and wellbeing of the people. The increasing dominant role of the Bretton Woods Institutions, particularly the IMF, in those economies is a rather edifying illustration.

In taking stock of the past fifty years and opening up new perspectives for the next half century, Africa,

Aujourd'hui, le monde entier est pro-capitaliste, y compris la Chine de Mao Tsé Toung. Les ingrédients du capitalisme sont utilisés par toutes les économies, à l'échelle planétaire, pour procurer bonheur et bien-être à leurs populations. Le rôle de plus en plus prépondérant des Institutions de Brettons-Woods, et particulièrement du FMI, dans ces économies en est une illustration assez édifiante.

Faisant donc le bilan des 50 dernières années et ouvrant de nouvelles perspectives pour le prochain demi-siècle, l'Afrique, à travers ses dirigeants et l'ensemble de ses filles et de ses fils, doit accepter de se projeter dans l'avenir, avec une nouvelle vision plus cohérente, plus pragmatique, voire plus réaliste. Pour ce faire, elle doit s'autoriser un droit d'inventaire dont le but est d'éviter les erreurs du passé pour mieux gérer le présent et mieux maîtriser le futur. Car comme le suggère Aimé Césaire, «le plus court chemin qui mène vers l'avenir passe par le passé».

Une fois le diagnostic ou l'inventaire bien fait, le cap doit être mis sur la réalisation des objectifs suivants :

- Nourrir les populations africaines à partir de l'agriculture africaine;
- Réussir à tout prix l'intégration économique et politique;
- Partager les souverainetés nationales pour mieux construire la souveraineté africaine, lui donner un véritable contenu et mieux la défendre;
- Se doter, en la généralisant, d'une culture du respect de la parole donnée, voire d'une culture de la mise en œuvre des décisions prises;
- Emmener les citoyens africains à penser d'abord Afrique (comme un pays-continent) avant de penser «micro-pays»;
- Industrialiser l'économie africaine;
- Maîtriser la science et la technologie, à travers

through its leaders, and all its sons and daughters, should resolve to cast itself into the future, with a new vision that is more consistent and pragmatic, as well as realistic. In order to do so, it should give itself the right to inventory with a view to avoiding past errors so as to better manage the present and control the future. For, as suggested by Aimé Césaire, "the shortest road to the future is always the one that goes through the past".

Once the diagnosis or the inventory has been well carried out, the course should then be set towards the attainment of the following objectives:

- Feed African populations through African agriculture;

- Successfully complete the economic and political integration process at all costs;

- Share national sovereignty in order to facilitate the establishment of African sovereignty, give it real substance and better protect it;

- Endow the Continent, by generalizing it, with a culture of keeping our word, that is, a culture of implementing decisions taken;

- Encourage African citizens to think Africa first (as a continent-country) before thinking «micro-country»;

- Industrialize the African economy;

- Master science and technology through education and training of the sons and daughters of the Continent;

- Find within Africa the mechanism for financing its growth and development;

- Conciliate the Continent over the ashes of tribalism, ethnocentrism and religious sectarianism;

- Rationalize partnership with the rest of the world;

- à travers l'éducation et la formation des fils et filles du continent;
- Trouver au sein de l'Afrique le mécanisme de financement de sa croissance et de son développement;
- Pacifier le continent sur les cendres du tribalisme, de l'ethnocentrisme et du confessionnalisme religieux;
- Rationaliser le partenariat avec le reste du monde;
- Adopter et vulgariser les vertus de la bonne gouvernance économique et politique.

D'autres diraient que les recettes proposées (elles ne sont pas exhaustives) sont déjà connues. À ceux-là nous rétorquons en arguant que tant que l'Afrique n'est pas sortie de l'ornière du sous-développement chronique, de la pauvreté et de la misère, ces recettes restent d'actualité. Et tant qu'elles sont d'actualité, l'on ne doit pas se lasser de les rappeler, de les répéter et de susciter une mobilisation d'opinions autour d'elles. Car, comme le dit l'adage, «tant que l'on continue de marcher, les bras ne cessent de balancer».

- Rationalize partnership with the rest of the world;
- Adopt and popularize the virtues of good economic and political governance.

Some might say that the formulas proposed (they are not exhaustive), are already well known. Our response to them is that as long as Africa has not extricated itself from the rut of chronic under-development, poverty and misery, the formulas remain valid. In addition, as long as they remain valid, we should continue to recall and repeat them, and mobilize the public over them, for there is an adage which says that as long as we continue to walk, the arms will continue to swing.

# Quote

*" I do not see how African States would be secure is their leaders, that is we, are not convinced that Africa's salvation lies in Unity(...). For, unity is strength and, this is my observation, African States must unite or otherwise sell themselves to imperialists and colonialists (...) Our current problems cannot be solved through sporadic actions or through pious resolutions. Nothing less than action for a United Africa is needed"*

*« Je ne vois pas comment les Etats d'Afrique seraient en sécurité si leurs chefs, dont nous-mêmes, n'avons pas la conviction que le statut de l'Afrique est dans l'unité (...) Car l'union fait la force et, je le constate, les Etats Africains doivent s'unir ou alors se vendre aux impérialistes et aux colonialistes (...) Nos problèmes actuels ne peuvent être résolus par des actions sporadiques, ni par de pieuses résolutions. Il ne faudra rien moins que l'action d'une Afrique Unie »*

**Kwame Nkrumah,**
*President of Ghana*

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# Quote

*"The challenges and opportunities that open before us today are greater than those presented at any time in Africa's millennia of history. The risks and the dangers that confront us are no less great. The immense responsibilities that history and circumstance have thrust upon us demand balanced and sober reflection. If we succeed in the tasks that lie before us, our names will be remembered and our deeds recalled by those who follow us. If we fail, history will puzzle at our failure and mourn what was lost"*

**His Majesty Haile Selassie I,**
*Emperor of Ethiopia*

"The issue of identity is the issue of seeking life so that there is no best time rather than today" look African migrants, illegal human traffic, unskilled, well educated (brain drain), civil war, corruption, improper use of its resource...these well manifest what devil committed to day in civilized and systematized manner' We invite ourselves to be slave voluntarily to repeat history, stand for change, wake up from white's magic"

Haimanot Atinkut,
*MA student Center for Environment and Development studies, Addis Ababa University*

## ADOPT THE LION ("SIMBA")* AS THE SYMBOL OF THE AFRICAN RENNAISSANCE!

Africa lags behind other continents and regions in most development indices; among other serious concerns. Therefore, there is urgent need for a rallying symbol that adequately reflects the continent's 'new' resolve and commitment to decisively extricate herself from such shameful reputation and henceforth take on her global competitors with the ferocious zeal of the African Lion! This zeal should manifest itself especially in the field of scientific research and responses to our innumerable challenges. Where others have 'already invented the wheel', we should strive to excel in the use of such 'wheels'! Otherwise, even within the same spirit, we should strive to modify their inventions to suit our challenges and the peculiar circumstances in which we exist.

It is well-known that formally or informally, other continents and regions have rallying symbols. Examples include: Tigers for the Asians; the mystical Dragons for Chinese communities wherever they exist; the Polar Bear for the Russians; the Eagle for the United States of America; the Kangaroo for the Australians; the Reindeer for Europe; etc. And the symbolisms have worked!

Throughout Africa, the Lion is well-known and all schools (wherever they exist) teach about the might of that Powermatic animal! The Lion is feared, respected, idolized, revered and is thus a powerful symbol that can and should be used to galvanize and imbue the entire continent with a mission to be 'different' in the next 50-plus years; indeed forever!

The next phase in international interactions could be hall-marked as the Age of the *African Simba*! The numerous 'partnerships' we engage in today could be pursued differently under this new identity!

*Allutta continua! Viva Africa!*

Martinez Arapta Mangusho

# Dossier

**Africa Governance Institute**

**WHAT FUTURE FOR THE JOINT AFRICA-EU STRATEGY?**
**AGI Presentation at the African Consultative Meeting on the Future of the Africa-EU Partnership**

**QUEL AVENIR POUR LA STRATEGIE COMMUNE AFRIQUE-UE ?**
**Contribution de l'IAG à la Réunion de Réflexion Africaine sur le Futur du Partenariat Afrique-UE**

## INTRODUCTION

**a –** The Africa-EU dialogue, initiated in April 2000, matured into a partnership with the adoption of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) at the December 2007 Lisbon Summit. The joint strategy is the global framework for relations between the two continents. It has, in this respect, marked a change in their relations. Carved in the principles of African unity, interdependence between Africa and Europe, ownership and joint responsibility, the strategy was aimed at generating a new impetus in Africa-EU relations by going beyond aid to place emphasis on the political dimension of relations between the two parties.

**b -** The joint strategy comprises eight (8) partnership areas: i) peace and security; ii) democratic governance and human rights; iii) trade, regional integration and infrastructure; iv) the millennium development goals (MDGs); v) energy; vi) climate change; vii) migration, mobility and employment; and viii) science, knowledge societies and space. Successive action plans have been developed for the implementation of the joint partnership strategy: the first was adopted at the Lisbon Summit, and the second at the 3rd Africa-EU Summit in Tripoli, Libya in November 2010.

**c -** Five years after adopting the JAES in 2007, as we prepare for the upcoming 4th Africa-EU Summit scheduled to take place in early April 2014 in Belgium, it is time for the two parties to reflect thoroughly together on where their partnership stands today, its content and value added, its implementation - including the

## INTRODUCTION

**a-** Engagé en Avril 2000, le dialogue Afrique-UE s'est concrétisé en partenariat à travers l'adoption de la Stratégie commune Afrique-UE (SCAU) au sommet de Lisbonne en Décembre 2007. La stratégie commune constitue le cadre global des relations entre les deux continents et, à ce titre, a marqué un changement dans leurs relations. Basé notamment sur les principes de l'unité de l'Afrique, l'interdépendance entre l'Afrique et l'Europe, l'appropriation et la responsabilité conjointe, la stratégie visait à donner à la relation Afrique-UE une dynamique novatrice en privilégiant une dimension plus politique dans les relations entre les deux parties au-delà de l'aide classique (*« beyond aid »*).

**b-** La stratégie commune se compose de huit (8) domaines de partenariat: i) paix et sécurité; ii) gouvernance démocratique et droits de l'homme; iii) Commerce, intégration régionale et infrastructures; iv) Objectifs du Millénaire pour le développement (OMD), v) Energie; vi) Changement climatique; vii) Mobilité de la migration et de l'emploi, et viii) Science et Société de l'information et de l'espace. Elle a été mise en œuvre au moyen de plans d'action successifs: le premier a été adopté lors du Sommet de Lisbonne, et le second à l'occasion du 3e Sommet Afrique-UE à Tripoli en Libye en Novembre 2010.

**c-** Cinq ans après son adoption en 2007, et en préparation du prochain 4e sommet Afrique-UE qui se tiendra en Belgique début Avril 2014, le temps est venu pour les deux parties d'avoir une réflexion approfondie et

challenges associated with financing and stakeholder engagement, its relevance to Africa's current realities and priorities, and its future as a whole. With this in mind, the African Union Commission and European Union Commission, at the end of their 6th joint meeting held on 25 and 26 April 2013 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, decided to convene a joint retrospective and prospective consultative session on the Africa-EU partnership on 20 and 21 June 2013. This paper attempts to contribute ideas to Africa's consultative session on this matter. It is intended to provide input to the discussions with our European partners.

## I-      CONTEXTUAL CHANGES

**d -** There has been a dramatic change in the context that witnessed the adoption of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy. Some very knowledgeable observers even see it as a "radical shift in positions"7 between the two continents.

**e -** On one hand, Africa is seeing unprecedented growth (GDP increased 4.8% in 2013 and 5.3% in 2014, averaging 5.1% since 2007). Thanks to foreign investment and remittances, external financial flows to Africa reached new heights in 2012 at USD 186.3 billion after a first record in 2011. Official development assistance (ODA) is no longer the main source of external funding in Africa and countries are improving their economic and financial governance, as evidenced by their resilience to external shocks from the global financial crisis. The mining and environmental sector is booming. It is expected to develop further as Africa pursues social and economic transformation through industrialization, regional integration and infrastructure development[8]. Africa's transformation is driven by a population that is extremely young (the second in the world), increasingly educated,

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[7] H.E. Abdoulie Janneh, AGI Governing Board Chairman, interviewed on *'What future for Africa-EU relations',* Dakar, 8 May 2013

[8] See, especially, the draft report on *'Africa Vision 2050, 'realizing the continent's full potential',* developed by the Emerging Markets Forum at the request of the AUC and ECA and finalized with input from AGI; the ECA Economic Report on Africa 2013, entitled *'Industrializing for growth, jobs and economic transformation'*; AfDB's 2013-2022 Strategy, entitled *'At the centre of Africa's transformation';* the African Progress Panel's 2012 report, centred on extractive industries; the Ibrahim Report on Governance in Africa 2012; AGI Newsletter, May 2013, Editorial; ….

partagée sur l'état de leur partenariat à ce jour, son contenu et sa valeur ajoutée, sa mise en œuvre – y compris les difficultés relatives à son financement et à l'engagement des parties prenantes, sa pertinence par rapport aux priorités et réalités actuelles de l'Afrique et, de manière plus générale, son devenir. C'est dans ce contexte qu'au terme de leur 6è réunion commune tenue les 25 et 26 Avril 2013 à Addis Abéba en Ethiopie, les deux Commissions (Commission de l'Union Africaine et Commission de l'Union Européenne) ont décidé de convoquer une session de réflexion rétrospective et prospective commune les 20 et  21 Juin 2013 sur le partenariat Afrique-UE.  La présente note s'inscrit dans ce contexte et participe de la réflexion Africaine sur cette question. Elle a pour but d'alimenter les échanges avec les partenaires Européens.

## I-      LE CHANGEMENT DE CONTEXTE

**d-** Le contexte marquant l'adoption de la stratégie commune Afrique-UE a radicalement changé, au point que certains observateurs très avertis n'hésitent pas à évoquer un « *basculement radical des positions »[9]* entre les deux continents.

**e-** D'un côté, l'Afrique connaît une dynamique de croissance positive sans précédent (4,8% de croissance du PIB en 2013 et 5,3% en 2014, pour une moyenne de 5,1% depuis 2007). Après un premier record en 2011, les apports financiers extérieurs ont atteint de nouveaux sommets en 2012 en s'élevant à 186,3 milliards de dollars US, tirés par les investissements étrangers et les transferts des migrants. L'aide publique au développement n'est plus la principale source de financement extérieur pour l'Afrique. La gouvernance économique et financière des pays du continent continue de s'améliorer comme le montre leur capacité à résister aux chocs exogènes liés à la crise financière internationale. Le secteur des ressources minières et environnementales est en plein essor et devrait connaître une accélération de l'exploitation de son potentiel avec l'engagement de la transformation

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[9] S.E.M. Abdoulie Janneh, Président du Conseil d'Administration de l'IAG, entretien sur *'Quel futur pour la relation Afrique-UE',* Dakar, 8 Mai 2013.

and believes it has a future in Africa[10]. Progress has been observed also in political governance: elections are now accepted by all as the means of gaining power (Egypt, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Kenya...); efforts continue to be made to institutionalize the APRM (a unique and innovative governance assessment mechanism, which, in ten years of existence, has seen 33 countries accept voluntarily to work with its evaluators, and now has a new internal governance framework)[11]; several AU legal instruments have entered into force (such as the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance); and the African Governance Architecture and the African Governance Platform are now established.

**f -** On the other hand, Europe is facing a severe financial crisis; escalating public debt in its member states; budget cuts in each and every field; growing unemployment (especially among the youth); tax evasion coupled with corruption in alarming proportions; and a devastating tide of Euroscepticism and europessimism. The Old Continent lacks leadership and a vision for the future. It is wrestling to reconcile its interests and its values. In light of these challenges, there is a risk - confirmed by several national policies and guidelines adopted at European level - that Europe may "focus on itself and on its emergencies, as well as strengthen its external barriers "[12].

**g -** At institutional level, two major changes occurred recently in the Africa-EU partnership framework: the European External Action Service led by Catherine Ashton was created in 2011, and a new African Union Commission led by Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma was elected in 2012. These European and African institutional processes have an impact on strategic thinking around the Africa-EU Partnership, on either

économique et sociale du continent (à travers son industrialisation, le renforcement de l'intégration régionale et le développement des infrastructures)[13]. Cette dernière est poussée par une population extrêmement jeune (la deuxième au monde), de plus en plus scolarisée et qui croit dans son avenir en Afrique[14]. Enfin, la gouvernance politique de l'Afrique connaît aussi de nombreuses avancées traduites notamment par la systématisation des élections comme mode d'accession au pouvoir (Egypte, Sénégal, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Kenya,...) ; la poursuite de l'institutionnalisation du MAEP (mécanisme unique au monde et novateur d'évaluation de la gouvernance qui célèbre en ce moment ses dix ans, concerne désormais 33 pays volontaires et s'est doté d'un nouvel encadrement de gouvernance interne)[15] ; l'entrée en vigueur de plusieurs instruments juridiques de l'Union Africaine (telle la Charte Africaine de la Démocratie, des Elections et de la Gouvernance) ; le lancement de l'Architecture Africaine de Gouvernance et de la Plateforme Africaine de Gouvernance.

**f-** De l'autre côté, l'Europe connaît une crise financière sévère ; une dette galopante de ses Etats ; des coupes budgétaires dans chacun et dans tous les domaines ; la croissance du chômage (notamment des jeunes) ; une évasion fiscale et une corruption alarmantes ; une vague stupéfiante d'euroscepticisme et d'europessimisme. Le Vieux Continent est en manque de vision pour l'avenir et en manque de leadership. Il se heurte à la difficulté de concilier ses intérêts et ses valeurs. Face à ces défis, le risque - confirmé par plusieurs orientations nationales et politiques adoptées

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[10] On this data, see the 2013 Edition of the African Economic Outlook.

[11] With the arrival of H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia, at the helm of the Forum of Heads of State and Government and Barrister Akere Tabeng Muna at the head of the Panel of Eminent Persons at the close of the 19th Forum of Heads of State and Government that took place in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) on 26 May 2013, on the sidelines of the 21st ordinary session of the African Union.

[12] Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, AGI Interim Executive Director / Director, UNIDEP, interview on *'What future for Africa-EU relations'*, Dakar, 20 April 2013.

[13] Voir notamment, le projet de rapport sur *'la Vision 2050 de l'Afrique, 'réaliser pleinement le potentiel du continent'* réalisé par le Forum des marchés émergents à la demande de la CUA et de la CEA et à la finalisation duquel l'IAG participe ; le Rapport Economique sur l'Afrique 2013 de la CEA, intitulé *'l'Industrialisation au service de la croissance, de l'emploi et de la transformation économique'* ; la Stratégie 2013-2022 de la BAD, intitulée *'Au centre de la transformation de l'Afrique' ;* le Rapport 2013 de l'African Progress Panel, centré sur les industries extractives ; le Rapport Ibrahim sur la Gouvernance en Afrique 2012 ; AGI Newsletter, May 2013, Edito ; ....

[14] Voir sur ces données, l'Edition 2013 de l'African Economic Outlook.

[15] Avec l'arrivée à la présidence du Forum des Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernements de S.E.Mme. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf – Présidente du Libéria, et de Maître Akere Tabeng Muna à la tête du Panel des Personnalités Eminentes à l'issue du 19è Forum des Chefs d'Etats et de Gouvernements tenu à Addis Abéba (Ethiopie) le 26 Mai 2013, en marge du 21è Sommet de l'Assemblée de l'Union Africaine.

partner's approach, as well as on their commitment to go resolutely towards a more political, concrete and less technocratic relationship.

**h -** Finally, there are new global players, such as Brazil, China and India that offer Africa new opportunities for Africa's development and propose other forms of partnership that focus on trade, investment and geopolitics not official development assistance.

**i -** These contextual changes hit the very foundations of Africa-EU relations. For Africa, the focus now is to sustain positive growth by improving trade, job creation, regional integration and governance to achieve economic and social transformation for inclusive and sustainable development in an environment of peace and security. Africa also has to tackle the major difficulties it is still facing[16] despite its good performances, such as: endemic poverty and inequality; continued dependence on aid to finance development in some countries; stagnating employment-to-population ratio (60% in 2011 against 59% in 1999); corruption; poorly institutionalized culture of democracy; emergence of new security threats; the fight against illicit financial flows and mobilization of domestic resources to finance economic and social transformation. Europe, on its side, needs to redesign its strategies for development cooperation so it can do more (or at least as much) with fewer resources and improve the effectiveness of development aid, which is bound to go down. For several years now, many have been questioning the effectiveness and impact of traditional aid. Alongside, there is awareness that donor-recipient relationships may undermine the development of a stable partnership of equals between Africa and the EU. The concerns on both sides differ and can be seen in terms of a cognitive dissonance. In any case, Africa and Europe agree that redefining the traditional models of cooperation is the way forward.

## II- THE INERTIA OF THE JAES

au niveau européen - est celui d'un *« recentrement de l'Europe sur elle-même et sur ses urgences, ainsi que d'un renforcement de ses barrières externes »*[17].

**g-** Au plan institutionnel, le cadre des relations Afrique-UE a été marqué par deux récents changements majeurs : la création en 2011 du Service Européen pour l'Action Extérieure dirigé par Mme Catherine Ashton, et l'élection en 2012 d'une nouvelle Commission de l'Union Africaine dirigée par Mme Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. Ces dynamiques institutionnelles européenne et Africaine impactent nécessairement la réflexion stratégique sur le partenariat Afrique-UE, sur l'approche de chaque partenaire ainsi que sur sa volonté de se tourner résolument vers une relation plus politique, concrète et moins technocratique.

**h-** Enfin, il faut noter l'émergence de nouveaux acteurs globaux : le Brésil, la Chine, et l'Inde qui représentent de nouvelles opportunité pour l'Afrique émergente et mettent en avant de nouvelles formes de relations accordant la priorité au commerce, aux investissements et à la géopolitique plutôt qu'à l'aide publique au développement.

**i-** Ce changement de contexte ébranle forcément les fondements mêmes de la relation Afrique-UE. Pour l'Afrique, l'enjeu est désormais de soutenir la dynamique de croissance positive à travers le renforcement du commerce, la création d'emploi, l'intégration régionale et la gouvernance afin de parvenir à une transformation économique et sociale gage d'un développement inclusif et durable dans un environnement de paix et sécurité. Par ailleurs, il est question de résoudre les défis majeurs qui subsistent[18] malgré ses bonnes performances : la persistance de la pauvreté et des inégalités, la continuation de la dépendance à l'aide pour le financement du développement pour certains pays, la stagnation du ratio emploi-population (60% en 2011 contre 59% en 1999), la corruption, la faiblesse de l'institutionnalisation de la culture démocratique, l'émergence de nouvelles menaces sécuritaires, la mobilisation

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[16] See, Overview of the 2014-2017 Strategic Plan, African Union Commission, May 2013.

[17] Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, Directeur Exécutif a.i. de l'IAG/Directeur de l'UNIDEP, entretien sur *'Quel futur pour la relation Afrique-UE'*, Dakar, 20 Avril 2013.

[18] Voir, Overview of the 2014-2017 Strategic Plan, African Union Commission, May 2013.

**j -** When Europe and Africa launched their political and strategic partnership in 2007, it was very ambitious. Its distinctive and value-adding edge over other instruments was that it sought to deal with Africa as one entity, to adapt and reform instruments for cooperation so that they respond to the new geopolitical and economic situation in Africa, to support continent-wide regional integration (with Regional Economic Communities serving as the building blocks), and finally to support sustainable development in Africa within an increasingly globalized context.

**l -** The partnership provided an equally ambitious institutional framework to support the implementation of the Joint Strategy and Action Plan. It includes: the AU/EU Summits (every two years); ministerial meetings/Troika meetings; the meetings of the two Committees; the Joint Task Force (JTF); the Informal Joint Expert Groups (IJEGs); parliamentary dialogue (European parliament and PAP); the Europe-Africa policy research network; and civil society organizing committees.

**m -** A technical evaluation of the Joint Strategy and its institutional framework, conducted in October 2009 to update African and European stakeholders on the progress made so far, found that the joint strategy had not fulfilled all of its potential in terms of lifting Africa-EU relations to a strategic level. The first action plan failed to meet expectations (especially, but not exclusively, on the African side), owing to obstacles that came from institutional weaknesses, the lack of political will and leadership, the absence of full Member State involvement in the process, the imbalance in support for implementation, and the evolution of socio-economic imperatives in Africa and Europe respectively.

**n -** The evaluation also found that: few political decisions were operationalized; that stakeholders had unequal levels of involvement;

des ressources intérieures et la lutte contre les flux financiers illicites pour financer la transformation économique et sociale. Du point de vue européen, il s'agit de reformuler les stratégies de coopération au développement de manière à faire plus (ou au moins autant) avec moins de ressources et améliorer le rendement de l'aide au développement dont le volume est au demeurant voué à diminuer. Cette perspective est renforcée par le fait que, depuis plusieurs années, on constate une remise en cause de l'efficacité et de l'incidence de l'aide traditionnelle à laquelle s'ajoute une prise de conscience du fait que la relation donateur-bénéficiaire peut freiner le développement d'un rapport stable et d'égal à égal entre l'Union Européenne et les pays d'Afrique. Le décalage de préoccupations, qui peut être analysée en terme de dissonance cognitive, est désormais admis et, en toutes hypothèses, la perspective unanime tant en Afrique qu'en Europe est celle de la nécessité de redéfinir les modèles de coopération traditionnels.

**II- LE CONSTAT DE L'INERTIE DE LA SCAU.**

**j-** Au moment où il est lancé en 2007, le partenariat stratégique et politique entre l'Afrique et l'Europe est très ambitieux. Sa valeur ajoutée et son originalité par rapport aux autres instruments tiennent aux faits qu'il vise à traiter l'Afrique comme une seule entité, adapter et réformer les instruments de coopération pour répondre à la nouvelle réalité géopolitique et économique de l'Afrique, soutenir le processus d'intégration régionale au niveau du continent (avec les Communautés Economiques Régionales comme les blocs de construction) et, enfin, soutenir le développement durable de l'Afrique dans un monde globalisé.

**l-** Un cadre institutionnel tout autant ambitieux a également été prévu pour appuyer la mise en œuvre de la stratégie conjointe et du plan d'action. Il comporte : les sommets UA/UE (tous les deux ans) ; les réunions ministérielles/ réunions de la troïka ; les réunions des deux Commissions ; la force d'action conjointe (JTF) ; les Groupes informels

and, especially, that the partnership suffered from a lack of direct and specific funding. It issued recommendations that could easily have been carried forward into the second action plan. Europe considers the Pan-African programme – which the EU Commission proposed in December 2011 without consulting its African counterpart, and into which it has pumped one billion euros to finance the Development Cooperation Instrument - as one way to tackle some of these problems and, by the same token, revitalize the political and strategic partnership between Africa and Europe. Africa has a different view. It wants its European counterpart to clearly explain the real motives behind this programme, its of scope of activity, how it will be managed and especially why there is no provision for joint programming, how it fits with other instruments (ACP, European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument), how it is articulated with the other budget allocations in the EDF (particularly the national and regional allocations to support regional integration processes), how it brings together the levels of governance and interventions at the local and continental levels, and the timeline for its implementation. African partners wonder also whether establishing a pan-African regional fund under the EDF would not be an easier way out.

**o -** Several African stakeholders, who were asked19 about the Africa-EU partnership's political record, do share the results of this first evaluation. But they are much more critical. They have reservations in many areas.

- The words they most often use to assess the joint strategy and action plans are inertia, lack of clear objectives, and the quest for meaning and identity. Most stakeholders keep asking about the real status and actual legal basis for the JAES (given that the Cotonou Agreements are the only legal framework

conjoints d'Experts (IJEGs) ; le dialogue parlementaire (parlement Européen et parlement panafricain) ; le réseau Europe Afrique de recherche sur les politiques ; les comités d'organisations de la société civile.

**m-** Une évaluation technique de la stratégie commune et de son cadre institutionnel a été faite en Octobre 2009 afin d'informer les parties prenantes Africaines et européenne sur les progrès réalisés. Le résultat de cet exercice souligne que la stratégie commune n'a pas réalisé son plein potentiel en matière d'inscription de la relation entre l'Afrique et l'UE à un niveau stratégique. En effet, le 1er plan d'action n'a pas réussi à répondre aux attentes (notamment, mais pas exclusivement, du côté africain) en raison d'obstacles liés notamment à des lacunes institutionnelles, au manque de volonté politique et de leadership, l'absence de pleine participation des Etats membres au processus, le déséquilibre dans l'appui à la mise en œuvre, ainsi qu'à l'évolution des impératifs socio-économiques à prendre forme en Afrique et en Europe, respectivement.

**n-** L'évaluation, dont les conclusions peuvent être aisément reportées au 2è plan d'action, a également montré que peu de décisions politiques ont été opérationnalisées, que la participation des différents acteurs est inégale et, surtout, que le partenariat est tributaire d'une absence de financement direct et spécifique. Le programme panafricain (proposé en Décembre 2011 par la Commission de l'Union Européenne sans consultation de la partie Africaine et doté d'un milliards d'euros dans le cadre de l'Instrument de Financement de la Coopération au Développement) est considéré par l'Europe comme un moyen partiel de résoudre ce problème et par la même occasion, revitaliser le partenariat stratégique et politique entre l'Afrique et l'Europe. Cette position est loin d'être partagée par l'Afrique pour laquelle des précisions et éclaircissements doivent être apportés sur les motivations réelles de la partie européenne, le champ couvert par ce programme, son mode de gestion et notamment l'absence de programmation conjointe, son articulation avec les autres instruments (ACP, Instrument Européen de voisinage), la question de l'articulation

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[19] Since February 2013, AGI has been conducting a desk survey on '*What future for the EU-Africa relationship*' among African stakeholders, including: members of the AUC, AUC (DPA, DAE, DPS,...), RECs, AU Organs (PAP, ECOSOCC, CIDO, APRM, NEPAD-NPCA), ADB, IDEP, CSOs, the formal Private Sector. Several resource persons have provided input and contributed to refine this survey, including Mrs. Marie Angelique Savane, Claire Mandouze and Mr. Akere Muna.

- governing trade relations between Africa and Europe). The fact that there is no political ownership of the JAES also comes up, especially because the strategy is run as a project or as a series of ad hoc projects, rather than as a new strategic vision that fundamentally overhauls Africa-EU relations. The JAES has completely lost its political dimension. This is even more the case because there has been no policy dialogue to try and revitalize the process and to address problems on a piecemeal basis as they arise. By all means, the JAES has not met its assigned objectives.

- African stakeholders say the JAES has structural problems. They point out, for instance, that it is segmented into eight technical and bureaucratic partnerships that eat up time, effort and money for very few significant results. This segmentation amplifies the difficulty of relating to Africa as one entity and makes it almost impossible to address issues in a crosscutting manner. Instead, there is too much bureaucracy that is seen on the African side as one of the main reasons why they show little interest in and commitment to the JAES. Finally, there is little or no coherence and coordination between the JAES and other instruments, nor with Pan-African integration processes and programmes.

**p -** African stakeholders are so severe on the JAES that one may wonder if they still have interest in the Africa-EU partnership. There are two ways to look at this. The first way is to say no and insist on the need for Africa to strengthen its other partnerships (with India, South Korea, the BRICs...) that are less bureaucratic and produce more concrete results. The second way is less radical and builds on Africa's position at the meeting of the two Commissions on April 26, 2013: where they

avec les autres enveloppes budgétaires prévues dans le cadre du FED (notamment les enveloppes nationales et régionales censées appuyer les processus d'intégration régionales), la question de l'articulation des échelles de gouvernance et des interventions du local au niveau continental et les délais de sa mise en œuvre. Les partenaires Africains se demandent également s'il n'est pas plus simple de mettre en place une enveloppe régionale panafricaine dans le cadre du FED.

**o-** Plusieurs parties prenantes Africaines interrogées[20] sur le bilan politique du partenariat partagent les résultats de cette première évaluation, mais ont un regard beaucoup plus critique. Leurs réserves se déclinent en plusieurs points.

- Les termes qui reviennent le plus souvent dans leurs appréciations de la stratégie conjointe et des plans d'actions sont ceux d'inertie, absence de clarté en termes d'objectifs, quête de sens et d'identité. Par ailleurs, des interrogations récurrentes sont posées par plusieurs de ces acteurs sur le statut réel et la base légale actuelle de la SCAU (étant donné que le seul cadre légal encadrant les échanges entre l'Afrique et l'Europe est constitué par les Accords de Cotonou). L'absence d'appropriation politique de la SCAU est aussi mise en avant, d'autant qu'elle est conduite comme un projet ou une série de projets ad hoc plutôt que comme une nouvelle vision stratégique visant à revisiter les fondements de la relation Afrique-Europe. La dimension politique de la SCAU a complètement disparu, cela

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[20] Depuis Février 2013, l'IAG a conduit une enquête par questionnaire et entretiens sur le thème *'Quel futur pour la relation Afrique-UE'* auprès des différentes parties prenantes Africaines : pays membres de la CUA, la CUA (DPA, DAE, DPS, ...), CERs, Organes de l'UA (PAP, ECOSOCC, MAEP, NEPAD-NPCA), BAD, l'IDEP, OSCs, Secteur Privé organisé. Plusieurs personnes ressource ont par ailleurs alimenté et contribué à la maturation de cette enquête dont notamment Mmes Marie Angélique Savané et Claire Mandouze, l'Ambassadeur Emile Ognimba ainsi que Monsieur Akere Muna.

- agreed that despite the current challenges facing the JAES, the partnership remains relevant and should form the basis for relations between Africa and Europe. Both Commissions also agreed to introduce innovative approaches in the architecture and structures for implementation of the JAES, so as to achieve its objectives.

**q -** The question then is how to revitalize the partnership, and whether the 2014 Summit can be the place to begin.

### III-    CAN THE 2014 BE A TURNING POINT?

**r -** For Africa, it is crucial to have a serious, all-encompassing policy dialogue on the legitimacy of the JAES in the current context, looking at its prospects, its shortcomings, and its future. The 2014 summit offers a good opportunity for this review exercise, provided it is not seen simply as a stand-alone event and efforts are made beforehand to initiate strong policy consultations between the two parties. For the African stakeholders, this renewal of policy dialogue has to be based on several prerequisites and clarifications:

- Europe needs to review and bring its partnership practices up to speed, so that it can establish a true process whereby the EU side and African side enter and sustain partnership as equals.

- Europe needs also to clarify its political agenda in this renewed partnership strategy and state clearly who is going to be speaking on its behalf (the Chairperson of the Commission? the President of the Council? SAEE??). The challenge Africans have is actually to know what Europe really wants, who best represents it in the partnership, who defines the strategy and especially who is accountable? Africa has been clear on this point by confirming the AU

d'autant plus qu'il n'y a pas eu de dialogue politique pour essayer de relancer le processus et trouver des solutions aux problèmes au fur et à mesure qu'ils se sont posés. La SCAU n'a, de toute évidence, pas rempli ses ambitions.

- Les acteurs Africains notent que la SCAU souffre de problèmes structurels. Ils déplorent ainsi sa segmentation en 8 partenariats techniques et bureaucratiques générateurs de coûts en termes de temps, de fonctionnement, et de finance pour des résultats très peu significatifs. Cette segmentation amplifie les difficultés à considérer l'Afrique comme une et rend quasi impossible la possibilité d'aborder les enjeux de manière transversale.

  L' hyper-bureaucratisation qui en découle est vue par les acteurs Africains comme une des raisons principales de la faiblesse de leur intérêt et de leur engagement autour de la SCAU. Enfin, l'absence de cohérence et d'articulation entre la SCAU et les autres instruments mais également avec les processus et programmes panafricains d'intégration est soulignée.

**p-** La sévérité du bilan établi par les parties prenantes Africaines pourrait conduire à se demander s'il y a encore pour elles un intérêt au partenariat Afrique-UE. Deux approches sont ici en présence. La première répond par la négative et insiste sur la nécessité de l'Afrique de renforcer ses autres partenariats (avec l'Inde, la Corée du Sud, le Brésil, l'Amérique latine,....) qui sont moins bureaucratiques et produisent des résultats plus concrets. La seconde est moins radicale et a alimenté la position de l'Afrique lors de la réunion des deux Commissions le 26 Avril 2013 : elles ont alors convenu qu'en dépit des défis actuels auxquels il est confronté, le partenariat reste pertinent et

Commission as the continent's coordinating and lead entity in the partnership.

- Finally, there is need to recognize that a specific instrument that stands alone (like the Pan-African programme, in this case) cannot effectively address the weaknesses in the implementation of the JAES.

## IV - HOW DO WE REVITALIZE AFRICA-EU RELATIONS?

**s -** Here are some of the ideas that African stakeholders put forward as ways to revitalize Africa-EU relations:

- Make the partnership a part and parcel of Africa's Vision 2063 and the continent's priorities to ensure it is a fully successful endeavour (especially the fight against illicit financial flows, enhanced mobilization of domestic resources, the economic and social transformation of the continent, conflict prevention and support for the creation of an African facility with rapid response capability to tackle the transnational crises caused by new security threats).

- Lighten and streamline the institutional framework, based on the lessons learned from the operational difficulties encountered and the actual needs for better implementation and evaluation of decisions, as well as for promoting real policy dialogue.

- Streamline and focus the priorities by aligning them with the AUC's 2014-2017 strategic plan in order to strengthen synergies on specific objectives and ownership of the partnership21, rather

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[21] See, Overview of the 2014-2017 Strategic Plan, African Union Commission, May 2013

devrait continuer de former la base de la relation entre l'Afrique et l'Europe. Les deux Commissions ont également convenu d'introduire des approches novatrices dans l'architecture et les structures de mise en œuvre de la SCAU afin qu'elle atteigne ses objectifs.

**q-** La question qui se pose alors est celle de savoir comment revitaliser le partenariat et si le sommet de 2014 peut marquer son redémarrage.

## III - LE SOMMET DE 2014 COMME TOURNANT ?

**r-** Pour L'Afrique, il est indispensable qu'il y ait un dialogue politique global sérieux sur la légitimité de la SCAU dans le contexte actuel, ses perspectives, ses lacunes, son futur. Le sommet de 2014 offre une bonne opportunité de procéder à cet examen introspectif, à condition qu'il ne soit pas vu de nouveau comme un simple événement et qu'il soit précédé de solides consultations politiques entre les deux parties. Cette relance du dialogue politique est elle-même liée, pour les parties prenantes Africaines, à plusieurs préalables et clarifications :

- La nécessité pour l'Europe de procéder à un aggiornamento de sa pratique du partenariat, dans la perspective de la mise en place d'une dynamique réellement égalitaire.

- La nécessité pour l'Europe aussi de clarifier son agenda politique dans cette stratégie renouvelée et de préciser qui parle en son nom (la présidence de la Commission ? la présidence du Conseil ? le SAEE ?) : la question pour les parties prenantes Africains est en fait de savoir ce que veut réellement l'Europe, quel est l'interlocuteur de référence pour ce qui

than to discuss three new priorities for the years ahead which have been set unilaterally and with little regard for mutual interests.

- Move away from the logic of financing projects, which has to be used within the framework for implementing EDF programmes (see 11th EDF), and the European Neighbourhood Policy.

- Strengthen the commitment of African stakeholders - especially the Non State Actors (and not only civil society organizations), local authorities, the RECS, the African regional institutions, Africa's formal private sector, ... The summit should be the place to begin a comprehensive consultative process that will enable these actors to make proposals, so that the strategy is no longer drafted only by governments.

- The proposals that Heads of State and Government are to adopt at the summit should focus primarily on the vision of the partnership, its objectives, and on the institution of policy dialogue (with a clearly defined scope, subject matter and responsibilities) on all politically sensitive issues: how to deal with Africa as one entity, the neighbourhood policy, the issue of EPAs, illicit financial flows and corruption in multinational corporations.

- Tackle the issue of establishing a specific funding mechanism, which the Pan-African programme is certainly not going to address in an ad hoc manner. In fact:

  - In the very short term, this issue should be addressed without delay under the ongoing 11th EDF programming cycle (for the period 2014/2020). The European side

relève du partenariat, qui définit la stratégie et surtout qui rend des comptes. L'Afrique a sur ce point accompli une clarification, en confirmant la Commission de l'Union Africaine dans le rôle de force de coordination et d'expression des positions du continent dans le partenariat.

- La nécessité enfin de reconnaître l'impossibilité de l'efficacité d'un instrument déconnecté spécifique (le programme panafricain en l'occurrence) pour répondre aux lacunes de la mise en œuvre de la SCAU.

## IV - COMMENT REVITALISER LA RELATION AFRIQUE-UE ?

s- Quelques idées sont proposées par les parties prenantes Africaines pour revitaliser la relation Afrique-UE :

- L'inscrire résolument dans le cadre de la Vision 2063 du continent et des priorités de l'Afrique pour la réaliser pleinement (en particulier la lutte contre les flux financiers illicites et le renforcement de la mobilisation des ressources internes, la prévention des conflits et l'appui à la création d'une capacité de réaction rapide Africaine face aux crises transnationales provoquées par les nouvelles menaces, la transformation économique et sociale du continent).

- Alléger et rationaliser le cadre institutionnel sur la base des leçons tirées des difficultés de fonctionnement rencontrées et des besoins réels pour une meilleure mise en œuvre des décisions, leur évaluation et pour promouvoir un vrai dialogue politique.

- Focaliser les priorités en les alignant sur le plan d'action stratégique 2014-2017 de la CUA, de manière à renforcer les

should indicate why it does not wish to consider funding the strategy's programme of action under a pan African regional financial package (which is quite possible and much more consistent under the Cotonou arrangement) and how it intends to consistently promote complementarities and synergies with the regional and national programmes under the EDF. The African Union has to do everything possible to obtain under the 11th EDF a pan African regional package (that stands on its own and is not part of the intra ACP package).

- In the medium term, the only serious, legitimate and viable political option is to include the Africa-EU partnership in the future cooperation agreement that will replace the Cotonou Agreement in 2020. This will clarify, once and for all, all matters relating to the status and nature of this partnership, which has so far been thriving on an ad hoc status that is completely

- removed from the only legally and financially binding cooperation agreement between the two parties. The task at hand, therefore, is to rethink the ACP Cotonou framework, which has become obsolete, and to pave the way for a new cooperation agreement that addresses current issues and challenges, and can stand its ground in the world of tomorrow, providing Africa and the African Union a central position in the new partnership. Discussions are already well advanced and the AU is not part of them. Now is the time to shape the future cooperation agreement, and generating strong buy-in from the African Union is crucial. This issue

synergies sur des objectifs précis et l'appropriation du partenariat22 plutôt que d'évoquer trois nouvelles priorités pour les prochaines années unilatéralement décidées et ne tenant pas compte des intérêts mutuels.

- Sortir de la logique de financement de projets, qui doit se situer dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre des programmes de financement du FED (voir XIè FED), et de la politique de voisinage.

- Renforcer l'engagement des parties prenantes Africaines – en particulier les Acteurs Non Etatiques (et non plus seulement les organisations de la société civile), les autorités locales, les CERS, les institutions régionales Africaines, le secteur privé organisé Africain, .... Le sommet doit être l'occasion de lancer une grande consultation permettant à ces acteurs de faire des propositions de telle sorte que la stratégie ne soit plus un document rédigé uniquement par les gouvernements.

- Les propositions à adopter par les chefs d 'Etat et de Gouvernements au sommet ne devraient porter que sur la vision , les objectifs du partenariat et la mise en place d'un dialogue politique (dont la portée et la nature ainsi que les responsabilités devront être clairement définis) portant sur tous les sujets politiquement sensibles : comment traiter l'Afrique comme une entité unique, la politique de voisinage, la question des APEs , des flux financiers illicites et la corruption des multinationales , ..

- Régler le problème de la mise en place d'un financement spécifique qui ne pourra certainement pas être résolu par

[22] Voir, Overview of the 2014-2017 Strategic Plan, African Union Commission, May 2013

- must be at the heart of the 2014 Summit.

- Strengthen communication and advocacy on the Africa-EU Partnership and the concrete results it has achieved in terms of tackling the problems still confronting people in Africa, despite the progress that has been made in many areas.

**t –** Lastly, Africa-EU relations certainly have a bright future ahead. So, the 2014 Summit offers a platform to put Europe's political will to the test and measure their determination to go beyond bureaucratic discussions and sterile expertise, and actually embark on decisive actions that will yield tangible results■

le programme panafricain de nature ad hoc. De fait :

- à très court terme, cette question doit être abordée de toute urgence dans le cadre de programmation en cours du 11eme FED (pour la période 2014/2020). La partie européenne doit indiquer pourquoi elle ne souhaite pas envisager le financement du programme d'action de la stratégie dans le cadre d 'une enveloppe pan africaine régionale (ce qui est tout à fait possible dans le cadre de Cotonou et beaucoup plus cohérent ) et comment assurer de façon cohérente les complémentarités et synergies avec les programmes régionaux et nationaux définis dans le cadre FED. L'Union Africaine doit se battre pour une enveloppe pan africaine régionale (à part entière et non au sein de l'enveloppe intra ACP) dans le cadre du XI FED.

- à moyen terme, la seule voie politiquement sérieuse, légitime et durable est d'inscrire le partenariat Afrique-UE dans le futur accord de coopération, destiné à remplacer l'accord de Cotonou en 2020 ; ce qui clarifiera une fois pour toutes les questions de son statut et sa nature, jusqu'ici complètement ad hoc puisque se situant en dehors de l'accord coopération qui engage juridiquement et financièrement les deux parties. Il s'agit en effet de repenser le cadre ACP de Cotonou, devenu aujourd'hui obsolète, et de tracer la voie d'un nouvel accord de coopération répondant aux enjeux et défis actuels et du monde de demain, et qui devra mettre l'Afrique ainsi que l'Union Africaine au cœur de ce nouveau partenariat. Les discussions sont déjà largement entamées et l'UA n'en est pas partie prenante. C'est maintenant que se

# Quote

*"We must however remember that integration of Africa is not just about political and economic integration. The free movement of our people is equally important and crucial for our integration. This cannot be managed effectively if we do not know who our citizens are"*

**Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma,**
*Chairperson of the African Union Commission*

définissent les contours du futur accord de coopération et une implication forte de l'UA est indispensable. Cette question doit être au cœur du sommet de 2014.

- Renforcer la communication et le plaidoyer sur le partenariat Afrique-UE et sur ses résultats concrets dans la résolution pratique des problèmes auxquels restent confrontés les peuples d'Afrique en dépit des progrès accomplis dans plusieurs domaines.

**t-** Pour conclure, il est évident que la relation Afrique-UE est promise à un avenir. Dans cette optique, le sommet de 2014 sera le test de la volonté politique de la partie européenne de sortir de discussions bureaucratiques et d'expertises stériles pour engager une action de fond, génératrice de résultats concrets■

# Reaching the African People

Internship Contribution by Mariamawit Fantahun, with the supervisor of the Mr. Amadou CISSE

**A**frica is a continent of striking wealth and poverty. So much of what we see today is due to the continent's dark past. The world we have come to know and understand has two faces, a good side and a bad one. It is an undeniable fact that many of the atrocities committed today could easily be prevented or stopped. There are many reasons as to why some societies are better off or worse off. As can be seen, natural resources, conflict, infrastructure, genocide, education, human rights, gender equality, war and development play a significant role. However, there is another explanation behind societal dysfunction or achievement, greed for wealth and power take the front seat. What greater example is there than Africa, a continent where special interests take precedence over the peoples' need.

Today, Africa is more united than it was half a century ago. The founding principles and frameworks of both the Organization for African Unity and
the African Union are being implemented. Among its many successful operations, the
Organization's contribution to decolonization, resolving boundary
conflicts, sovereignty of states, opportunities towards African Refugees, telecommunication, peacekeeping and the fall of apartheid are indeed inspirational.

More importantly, the African Union is committed to upholding what the previous Organization for African Unity commenced. The AU's purpose is to further accelerate the integration of the African continent in an efficient and effective way by addressing multifaceted social, economic and political problems. One of the main objectives of the AU is to "[promote] socio-economic integration of the continent, which will lead to greater unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples" (African Union, n.d.).

Technological advances are bringing people closer and connecting vast cultures. With regard to reaching out to the African people, it can be argued that the AU is still distant. The road between the people and the AU needs to be a two way street. The central theme of this essay is to discuss as to why the African Union needs to connect with the African people, methods that have succeeded in communicating with the masses and what the AU can do to reach its everyday citizens.

### Reaching the African People

As the world further advances and heads for a globalized world, the African Union needs to strengthen its goals and visions by encompassing the usage of social media. Moreover, "The AU is based on the common vision of a united and strong Africa and on the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women, youth and the private sector, in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion amongst the peoples of Africa" (African Union, n.d.). So as to further fortify its unity, the AU should use social and mass media to encompass the African people themselves and explain to them clearly why economic integration is the way forward.

As mentioned in the African Youth Report, "young Africans are the key to an African renaissance and will remain players in and advocates of social transformation and development in many spheres. The enormous benefits young people can contribute are

realized when investment is made in young people's education, employment, health care, empowerment and effective civil participation" (United Nations Economic Commision for Africa, 2011).

The reason the usage of social media will be attractive is due to the fact that the majority of Africa's population are below the age of 30 years. In the past few years, Africa's mobile phone usage has augmented tremendously whereby majority of the youth are using SMS text message, internet, Facebook, Google+, LinkedIn and twitter, to mention a few. The African Youth Report elaborates the importance of "[equipping young adults] with social and market-related skills which will enable them to be well integrated young adults as well as being competitive at the national, sub regional and global levels" (United Nations Economic Commision for Africa, 2011).

## Triumph of mass media and social Media in other nations

Today the world is advancing. The era of the past is being replaced by technological innovations that billions of people use to communicate amongst each other. It gives us an opportunity to reach many people in a short period and at the same time hear their response. Social media has become a tool to express one's thoughts, aspirations and agenda as observed during the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street Movements that went global. Social technology is shaping events and cultures in the world.

In the article, New study quantifies the use of Social Media in the Arab Spring, O'Donnell clarifies that in the 21st century revolutions, like that of the Arab Spring, is spread through twitter, blogs, Facebook...etc. Social media reaches more people today. For instance, in Hosni Mubarak's Egypt the total rate of tweets from within Egypt and the world went up from 2,300 a day to 230,000 tweets a day within a short time (O'Donnell, 2011).

Furthermore, "after analyzing more than 3 million tweets, gigabytes of YouTube content and thousands of blog posts, a new study finds that social media played a central role in political debates in the Arab Spring" (O'Donnell, 2011).

Likewise, corporations are including social-media strategy in their businesses. The world is connecting through Facebook, email and twitter by the increased availability of mobile phones and internet access. Mark Benioff in his article, Welcome to the Social Media Revolution, states that there is a redefinition of consumer computing. Mark explained companies such as Netflix and KLM Airlines have witnessed the impact of social media within their organizations. In addition, "companies that adopt social technologies can see a 50% increase in customer satisfaction, 48% increase in business leads, and 24% increase in revenue" (Benioff, 2012).

There are many ideas and experiences the African Union can learn from others on why and how to effectively use social media and mass media to reach the African people. A great example of effective mass media is the soap operas first used in Mexico. Radio and television soap operas in Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Mali, Mexico, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, St. Lucia, and Tanzania have been documented by independent researchers in their massive effects on audience attitudes and behavior with regard to HIV/AIDS avoidance and use of family planning. There are also soap operas that focus on gender equality and women empowerment.

The Effectiveness of Entertainment Mass media in Changing Behavior, by William N. Ryerson, President of Population Media Center, shared adequate evidence that mass media, particularly entertainment broadcast media, have played a significant role in influencing values and behaviors more forcefully than the purely cognitive information provided in documentaries because they mass media forges emotional ties to its audience (Ryerson, 2007).

Albert Bandura, Stanford University psychologist, stated that "vicarious learning from others is a powerful teacher of attitudes and behavior. Next to peer and parental role models, role models from the mass media are of particular importance in shaping cultural attitudes and behavior" (Ryerson, 2007). Ryerson further stressed the importance of utilizing entertainment media for disseminating information through mass media. Soap Operas can benefit the AU in its efforts to have an Africa without borders and as Nelson Mandela says, "An Africa that is in peace with itself".

Kony 2012 is another excellent example of social media influence. Samantha Grossman, in her article on TIME Magazine, wrote that Kony 2012 is a 30 minute documentary made by nonprofit Invisible Children about Ugandan rebel leader Joseph Kony and the war crimes he, along with his army, committed. The video in today's wording went viral. Within a week, it had 100 million views, making it the most viral video in history (Grossman, 2012).

Once the video was uploaded on YouTube, it was translated and subtitled in Spanish, Italian, French and Chinese. The hidden secret as to why one video out of millions uploaded went viral in a week. The basis was because Invisible Children had a strong base of followers on Facebook, YouTube and Twitter. The organization designs its campaigns and the videos it makes with social media in mind (Grossman, 2012).

Once celebrities such as Oprah Winfrey, Justin Bieber, Ryan Seacrest and Kim Kardashian retweeted the Kony 2012 video, the result was astonishing. This in itself shows that majority of the youth do not go to conventional news channels, such as BBC, CNN or Al-jazeera. However, they go to Facebook, Twitter, blogs and YouTube to get information and news. The AU could use these venues, to spread informant videos.

In an article 'Help, sheep missing': How Twitter is fighting crime in Kenya, Francis Kariuki, the administrative chief of LanetUmoja, has used the micro-blogging site for everything from tracking down missing sheep to stopping home invasions. Twitter is being used as a crime-fighting tool by a tech-savvy village chief in Kenya. Interestingly, the thieves in his village follow him on Twitter.

Kariuki's Twitter page has 300 followers however, more than 28,000 residents in his area receive the messages he sends out directly and indirectly (The Telegraph, 2012). The reason is that not a lot of people can afford to buy smart phones. Hence those with smart phones pass the information via texts and conversations. Kariuki stated that "Twitter has helped save time and money. I no longer have to write letters or print posters which take time to distribute and are expensive" (The Telegraph, 2012).

Kariuki, 47, said that he has been able to bring down the crime rate in LanetUmoja from near-daily reports of break-ins to no such crimes in recent weeks. He also uses Twitter to send messages of hope, especially for the young and unemployed. A recent report said that Twitter is enjoying big growth across Africa. It said South Africans use Twitter the most, but Kenya is second in usage on the continent.

The research by Kenya-based Portland Communications and Tweet minster found that over the last three months of 2011, Kenyans produced nearly 2.5 million tweets. More than 80 per cent of those polled in that research said they mainly used Twitter for communicating with friends, 68 per cent said they use it to monitor news. Beatrice Karanja, the head of Portland Nairobi, said the findings show that the use of Twitter is part of a revolution for governments that want to open dialogue with their citizens and businesses that want to talk with their consumers.

## Methods the AU can Use

Corruption is present everywhere; However, it has deep roots when it comes to Africa. For a century, the African Continent has witnessed the dire consequences when corruption is used as an escape. It has

"[generated] poverty and [turned] resource-rich countries into low-income, backward societies. Many African countries are trapped in this cycle of corruption, poverty and underdevelopment. Corruption is especially debilitating for Africa, the poorest continent. It undermines the ability to achieve the Millennium Development Goals because resources meant for education, health, rural roads and electricity are diverted for personal use. It also increases the cost of doing business and is a disincentive for foreign direct investment" (United Nations Economic Commision for Africa, 2009).

During such circumstances, social media can be an effective tool in spreading information about corruption. In the past, information about corruption or government transactions is withheld from people. Even when, journalists write about what they have discovered, they are often imprisoned or killed. Social media reduces such atrocities from occurring because people can post on twitter or face book under a different name. If news about a corrupted government official gets 2 million tweets, it is very hard to prison 2 million people. It is undeniable to turn a blind eye then.

Besides using social media and mass media, it is advisable that the African Union use inspirational key figures that people aspire to. It can be celebrities, Goodwill Ambassadors, activists, athletes or artists to pass on the message of economic integration and African Unity. For instance, Kenyan Eric Wainaina, Nigerian screen goddess Genevieve Nnaji and Desmond Tutu are highly influential.

As of October 15, 2012, the African Union Facebook page has 46,862 likes and 7320 followers on Twitter. The AU should invest more on social media and involve millions of its citizens on Facebook and Twitter.

The AU can also use other methods to engage the population. By publishing brochures and leaflets that carry simple and important points as well as advertising through social and mass media. It can also establish information centers across the continent and toll-free phone numbers where citizens can call to ask about or share information.

In order to receive feedback, the AU can use opinion polls and surveys which are spread through social media and SMS Text Messages where by citizens are incentivized to take the surveys. For instance, one survey can incentivize people by stating that out of all who complete it 50 people will get a free mobile phone. As for building greater levels of interaction, having public hearings, focus groups, panels and workshops are excellent ways to engage small groups of people ∎

## Conclusion

Often times we signify we understand the peoples' needs. Reaching out to African people is beneficial to both the policy makers and the African Union. Communication methods have become easier and quicker. Hence, by using simple and clear language the AU need to communicate to all Africans, illiterate and rural included, because they are the backbone of this continent. Using mass and social media will reach to more people. Having radio and TV channels will reach even more people quickly. It is advisable that the African Union learn from other trade-blocs like that of the European Union on how to effectively use social media and mass media to reach its people.

## Quote

*"What we need is an African Spirit of organization and dynamic, African courage to guide its free will and to launch against the problems and obstacles that stand in our continent's way and prevent the blossoming of opportunities that could change the course of African history"*

**Gamal Abdel Nasser,**
*Former President of Egypt*

# Recommendations

In order to be understood by the people it is working hard to alleviate, the African Union should and must have its own radio channel and one TV channel that is broadcasted to all 54 countries in the languages they understand. Majority of the African people do not have the knowhow, equipment or time to go to the AU website and read PDF reports and publications on Integration or Gender written by professionals who are highly educated.

These radio and television channels will discuss the AU's goal; and also present different programs that focus on the diverse cultures, music, literature, documentaries, religion etc... Uniting a whole continent is not an easy task. The people need to foremost feel the unity and understand their neighbors' culture and tradition. Pan-Africanism will only be strengthened when countries are exposed to other people's way of life. It bridges the gap between them. In short, unite the continent.

When the time comes for Africa to have full open borders and trade, the African people should welcome it with open arms because they have understood what the AU was working hard towards all those years. However, if they do not have a clue, then it is a recipe for disaster. Keep in mind that Africa is a continent with 54 countries. Majority of those countries have conflicts among the different ethnicities within their country. If one does not have tolerance towards his neighbor then how can that person be kind to a mere stranger? Hence, the African people should be told in a simplified language they understand about the AU's goals so as to prevent any disputes from arising in the near future.

Today, African youths read Harry Potter more than they read stunning literature Africa produced by Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe's book Things Fall apart, Cry the Beloved country by Alan Paton or The Cairo Trilogy by Naguib Mahfouz.

In a matter of fact, the Senegalese hip-hopsinger Akon gets more web references on Google than the African Union and has 6-figure Facebook/Twitter followers. A great example of just how much people listen to celebrities is the story of Ivorian soccer star Didier Drogba. Drogba pleaded the combatants to cease fire and seek peace during Ivory Coast's civil war which they did. LiyaKebede is another celebrity that is serving her community. This Ethiopian-born supermodel serves as the WHO's Ambassador for Maternal, Newborn and Child health. She runs LiyaKebede Foundation which seeks to reduce maternal deaths all over the world. In conclusion, the AU must use influential Africans to reach the people.

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# Statistics, one way of leveraging African Renaissance

## Les statistiques, un des leviers à privilégier pour la renaissance Africaine

**Dossina YEO, Acting Head of the Statistics Division of African Union Commission**

*By **Dossina YEO**, Acting Head of the Statistics Division of the AUC and **Samson Bel Aube NOUGBODOHOUE**, Statistician at the Statistics Division of the AUC*

African statistics are always subject to criticism of any kind: they are not reliable and do not reflect the socio-economic realities of the countries and regions; they are not generated on time and do not reflect the user's requirements etc. Yet these are not strategies and policies for statistical development. But then what is the problem? Why does African statistics remain undeveloped?

Unlike Western countries, where each country has its own statistics, several African countries have statistics that differ from one source to another, thereby casting doubt on the quality of African statistics and vindicating Mr. Morten Jerven (February 2013) in his book "Poor Numbers" which referred the inaccuracy of African statistics.

Les statistiques africaines sont toujours sujettes de critiques de tout genre : elles ne sont pas fiables et ne reflètent pas la réalité socioéconomique des pays et des régions; elles ne sont pas produites à temps et ne répondent pas au besoin des utilisateurs, etc. Pourtant, ce ne sont pas les plans et les stratégies de développement de la statistique qui font défaut. Mais alors quel est le problème ? Pourquoi la statistique africaine ne se développe-t-elle pas ?

Contrairement aux pays occidentaux où chaque pays a sa propre statistique, les pays africains ont plusieurs statistiques qui diffèrent d'une source à l'autre jetant ainsi le doute sur la qualité des statistiques africaines et donnant raison à Mr MortenJerven (Février 2013) qui dans son ouvrage intitulé Poor Numbers mentionne l'inexactitude des statistiques africaines.

## However what is statistics?......

It is difficult to give a clear and precise definition of statistics. In 1935, W.F Willcox definition counted among one hundred definitions of Statistics. Here, for the purposes of this article, we uphold that statistic is a set of methods that are designed for the collection, processing and interpretation of observations regarding a group of individuals or data units. It is also a systematic review with the aim to drive and sustain a thought or a decision in real situations subject to the vagaries of uncertainty.

Given the very informative and predictive of statistical nature, it is a vital resource for past and present governments, the private sector, civil society, researchers, academics and even individuals for good governance, decision making, setting personal goals and performance measures accomplished in achieving development programs. And yet on the African continent, this important analysis and decision support tool is facing enormous challenges. Some might describe the situation of statistics in Africa as "statistical desert." In fact, output of statistics in Africa is not done in real time. The key development indicators such as gross domestic product, the rate of population growth, mortality, etc are not available to real time at the country level. Methodologies for developing these indicators are not harmonized across countries and often do not take into account the informal sector of the socio-economic life of Africa therefore does not reflect African realities.

Irregularity of surveys and censuses, absence and lack of quality of administrative sources and / or administrative records partially explain the inaccuracy and the discontinuity and non-punctuality of Africans statistics. Beside, in most African countries, less than 10% of the budgets of the major data collection operations are financed by development partners. Similarly, quality human resources are greatly lacking. This reflects the lack of political commitment of African countries in favor of the statistic.

Furthermore, the total absence of reliable data in Africa, lead us to ask ourselves the following questions: On what basis are Africans in the ambitious development programs at national, regional and continental level? How do Africans plan their development?

## Mais qu'est-ce que la statistique ?......

Il est difficile de donner une définition claire et précise de la statistique. En 1935 W.F.Willcox en dénombrait plus d'une centaine de définitions de la statistique. Ici, pour les besoins de cet article, nous retenons que la statistique est l'ensemble des méthodes qui ont pour objet la collecte, le traitement et l'interprétation de données d'observations relatives à un groupe d'individus ou d'unités. C'est aussi la science qui procède à l'étude méthodique dans le but de conduire et d'étayer une réflexion ou de prendre une décision en situation concrète soumise aux aléas de l'incertain.

Vu le caractère très informatif et prévisionnel de la statistique, elle constitue une ressources vitale hier comme aujourd'hui pour les pouvoirs publics, le secteur privé, la société civile, les chercheurs, les universitaires et même les individus pour la bonne gouvernance, la prise de décision, la fixation des objectifs personnels et la mesure des performances accomplies dans l'atteinte des programmes de développement. Et pourtant sur le continent africain, cet outil très important d'analyse et d'aide à la décision est confronté à d'énormes difficultés. D'aucuns pourraient qualifier la situation de la statistique en Afrique de « désert statistique ».En réalité, la production des statistiques en Afrique ne se faitpas à temps réel. Les indicateurs clés du développement comme le produit intérieur brut, le taux de croissance de la population, le taux de mortalité, etc.ne sont pas disponibles à temps réel au niveau des pays. Les méthodologies d'élaboration de ces indicateurs ne sont pas harmonisées d'un pays à l'autre et ne prennent pas souvent en compte le secteur informel de la vie socioéconomique de l'Afrique donc ne traduisent pas les réalités africaines.

L'irrégularité des enquêtes et des recensements ; l'inexistence et le peu de qualité des sources administratives et/ou de fichiers administratifs expliqueraient partiellement l'inexactitude et la discontinuité et la non-ponctualité des statistiques africaines. En outres, dans la plupart des pays africains, moins de 10% des budgets des grandes opérations de collecte de données sont financés par les partenaires au développement. De même, les ressources humaines de qualité font énormément défaut. Cette situation témoigne le faible engagement politique des pays africains en faveur de la statistique.

their economic forecasts? And how do we ensure the monitoring / evaluation? Do we say that without statistics, it is impossible to manage! How do we demonstrate that our policies work if we cannot measure accurately enough results?

Although the advent of the MDGs helped to increase the volume of financing partners for statistics in Africa this has accelerated the demand for statistical information and provides additional weight to be borne by the already weak equipped national statistical systems that is still much undeveloped.

To remedy this situation, the development partners specifically Bretton Woods institutions (the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) have estimates for the statistics of African countries. These estimates that are based mostly on highly unrealistic assumptions do not reflect African realities. Unfortunately, various technical and financial support decisions for African partners are based on these estimates. This is what translated various failures and inefficiency from their support to development programs on the continent.

...... The African Charter on Statistics and the strategy for the harmonization of statistics in Africa (ShaSA) have two major tools to rescue the African statistical......

Against this backdrop where statistical generation is rather eccentric and with the confusion surrounding its output, the African Heads of State adopted in July 2009 in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), the African Charter on Statistics, which is a legal instrument and a code of good practice for statistical development. It governs not only the generation of statistics in African countries, but also the operational framework of the African statistical system. In addition to allow the generation of high quality harmonized data, the Heads of State adopted in July 2010 in Kampala (Uganda), adopted the Strategy for the Harmonization of Statistics in Africa (SHaSA).

Despite this strong political will at the highest level, there is still a slowdown in their implementation. To date, a total of 27 countries have signed the charter but only eight have ratified and we also note lack of

Par ailleurs, l'absence totale de données fiables sur l'Afrique, nous amènent à nous poser les questions suivantes : Sur quelles bases les ambitieux programmes de développement tant au niveau national, régional que continental se font-ils? Comment les africains planifient-ils leur développement ? Sur quelles bases les africains fondent-ils leurs prévisions conjoncturelles ? Et comment assurent-ils le suivi/évaluation ? Ne dit-on que pas sans statistiques, il est impossible de gérer ! Comment prouver que nos politiques marchent-elles si nous ne pouvons pas mesurer avec suffisamment de précision les résultats ?

Même si l'avènement des OMD a permis d'accroitre le volume des financements des partenaires en faveur de la statistique en Afrique cela a accéléré la demande en information statistique et constitue un poids supplémentaire à supporter par les systèmes statistiques nationaux déjà faibles et équipés en moyens encore très rudimentaires.

Pour pallier cette situation, les partenaires au développement plus précisément les institutions de Brettons Woods (le Fonds monétaire international et la Banque mondiale) font des estimations pour obtenir les statistiques des pays africains. Ces estimations qui se basent pour la plupart sur des hypothèses très peu réalistes, ne rendent pas compte des réalités africaines. Malheureusement, les différentes décisionsd'appui des partenaires techniques et financières aux pays africains se fondent sur ces estimations. C'est ce qui traduit les différents échecs et l'inefficacité de leurs appuis aux programmes de développement sur le continent.

......La charte africaine de la statistique et la stratégie pour l'harmonisation des statistiques en Afrique (SHaSA), deux outils majeurs pour sauver la statistique africaine......

Dans cet environnement ou la production statistique est très peu orthodoxe et l'imbroglio qui entoure sa production, les Chefs d'Etat africains a adopté en juillet 2009 à Addis-Abeba (Ethiopie), la Charte africaine de la statistique

commitment policy to provide countries with adequate resources to implement SHaSA. Therefore, sectoral strategies for the implementation of SHaSA such as the International Comparison Program (ICP), the Action Plan for the generation of harmonized labor market statistics in Africa, the Action Plan for the generation of harmonized external trade statistics in Africa, the Africa Strategy implementation System of National Accounts 2008 (SNA 2008) etc... Suffer enormous financial difficulties for their implementation. This state of affairs calls for a surge of interest and solidarity to rescue the African statistics.

However, efforts are underway on the continent to boost the development of statistics. We can cite the example of the South African leaders who have mobilized significant resources to advance the development of statistics in South Africa and also raise awareness among other countries to conduct censuses for the 2005-2014 round of censuses and the program on the registration of civil status events to overcome irregularities of expensive censuses. This plea was a pretty resounding success as only Somalia will not be able to conduct it during this cycle.

Despite this very seamy picture of the statistical output, the AUC with the support of its partners strives to develop tools for the implementation of the Charter and SHaSA by strengthening the capacity of countries and by encouraging using modern methods of data collection such as the areas of statistics governance, security paixet, statistics of the labor market and trade statistics as well as balance of payments, etc.. To this end and with the support of AfDB, the Commission intends to provide countries with IT platform to promote the dissemination and sharing of data between countries, RECs and pan-African organizations.

qui est un instrument juridique et un code de bonnes pratiques pour le développement statistique. Elle régit non seulement la production des donneés statistiques au niveau des pays africains, mais aussi le cadre de fonctionnement du système statistique africain. De plus, pour permettre la production de données harmonisées de qualité, les Chefs d'Etat a adopté en juillet 2010 à Kampala (Ouganda), la Stratégie pour l'harmonisation des statistiques en Afrique (SHaSA).

Malgré cette forte volonté politique au plus haut niveau, on constate toujours un ralentissement dans leur mise en œuvre. A ce jour, ce sont 27 pays qui ont signé la charte et seulement 8 qui l'ont ratifiée et nous notons aussi un manque d'engagement politique à doter les pays de ressources adéquates leur permettant de mettre en œuvre la SHaSA. Dès lors, les stratégies sectorielles pour la mise en œuvre de SHaSA tels que le programme de comparaison internationale (PCI), le plan d'action pour la production des statistiques harmonisées sur le marché du travail en Afrique, le plan d'action pour la production des statistiques harmonisées sur le commerce extérieur en Afrique, la stratégie africaine de mise en œuvre du Système de Comptabilité Nationale 2008 (SCN 2008) etc. souffrent d'énormes difficultés financières pour leur réalisation. Cet état de chose appelle à un élan d'intérêt et solidarité pour sauver la statistique africaine.

Cependant, des efforts sont en cours sur le continent pour booster le développement de la statistique. Nous pouvons citer en exemple les dirigeants Sud-africains, qui ont mobilisé d'importantes ressources pour faire avancer le développement de la statistique en Afrique du Sud et aussi sensibiliser les autres pays pour la conduite des recensements pour le cycle 2005-2014 des recensements ainsi que le programme sur l'enregistrement des faits d'état civil pour remédier à l'irrégularité des recensements très couteux. Ce plaidoyer a connu un succès assez éclatant car seul la Somalie ne sera pas capable de conduire le recensement au cours de ce cycle.

Malgré ce tableau très peu reluisant de la production statistique, la CUA avec l'appui de ses partenaires s'évertue à développer des outils pour la mise en œuvre de la Charte et de la SHaSA en renforçant les capacités des pays et en les encourageant à utiliser des méthodes modernes dans la collecte de données tels que les domaines des

..... The creation of the Statistical Agency of the African Union, a continental body for coordination and technical support for the development of statistics.

The final decision of the Heads of State in January 2013 to create a statistical agency following the example of Eurostat to support the output of official statistics in Africa in close collaboration with national statistical institutes will certainly emerge African statistics quality, comparable over time and space for a good monitoring and evaluation of undertakings in which the member states have committed themselves to the development process at national, regional and continental level. Among these performances are the flagship programs of the African Union and NEPAD, CAADP, PIDA, MIP, the CARMMA, etc.

We are telling the AU about "each country's statistics". African statistics shall be generated by Africa as well as matters of national sovereignty because according Macauley "figures always say what a clever man who knows how to play want". If we do not generate our own statistics, others will do it for us and translate the message from their generators. That is why Dr. Kouassi, AU's Director of Economic Affairs keeps repeating that Africa must have self-assess to data generated by itself to strengthen its sovereignty and better assert its African identity.

African leaders must therefore provide the African Statistical Agency with human, material and financial resources and countries will also agree to apply the common guidelines adopted by the African realities and specifics to enable Africa to generate its own statistics for its development needs. Otherwise, the hopes raised with the advent of the Agency will be a wishful thinking■

statistiques de gouvernance, paix et sécurité, les statistiques du marché du travail et les statistiques du commerce et de la balance des paiements, etc. A cela, avec le soutien de la BAD, la Commission entend mettre à la disposition des pays une plateforme informatique en vue de favoriser la diffusion et le partage des données entre pays et CER ; et pays et les organisations panafricaines.

.....La création de l'institut de statistique de l'Union africaine, organisme continental pour la coordination et l'appui technique pour le développement de la statistique.

La dernière décision des Chefs d'Etat de janvier 2013 de créer un institut de statistique à l'instar de EUROSTAT pour soutenir la production des statistiques officielles de l'Afrique en étroite collaboration avec les instituts nationaux de statistique permettra certainement l'émergence des statistiques africaines de qualité, comparables dans le temps et dans l'espace en vue d'un bon suivi et évaluation des engagements dans lesquels les états membres se sont engagés dans le cadre du processus de développement tant au niveau national, régional que continental. Au nombre de ces performances figurent les programmes phares de l'Union africaine comme le NEPAD, le CAADP, le PIDA, le MIP, le CARMMA, etc.

Nous disons à l'UA« à chaque pays sastatistique ». Les statistiques africaines doivent être produites par l'Afrique et relèvent de la souveraineté nationale car selon Macauley "les chiffres disent toujours ce que souhaite l'homme habile qui sait en jouer". Si nous ne produisons pas nous-mêmes nos statistiques ; d'autres vont les produire pour nous et celles-ci traduiront les messages de leurs producteurs. C'est pourquoi, Dr Kouassi, Directeur des affaires économiques à l'UA ne cessede répéter que l'Afrique doit pouvoir s'auto-évaluer sur la base des données produites par elle-même en vue de renforcer sa souveraineté et de mieux affirmer son africanité.

Les dirigeants africains devront donc doter l'Institut africain de statistique de moyens humains, matériels et financiers et les pays devront également accepter d'appliquer les directives communesadoptées selon les réalités et spécificités africaines en vue de permettre à l'Afrique de produire sa propre statistique pour les besoins de son développement. Sinon, l'espoir suscité par l'avènement de l'Institut sera un vœu pieux■

# Notes

# Notes

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## The manuscript should:

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# Annonces

- Le revue Africaine de l'intégration et de développement (RAID), une revue offerte à tous les Africains pour faire connaitre leurs idées et opinions sur le processus d'intégration régionale et continentale.
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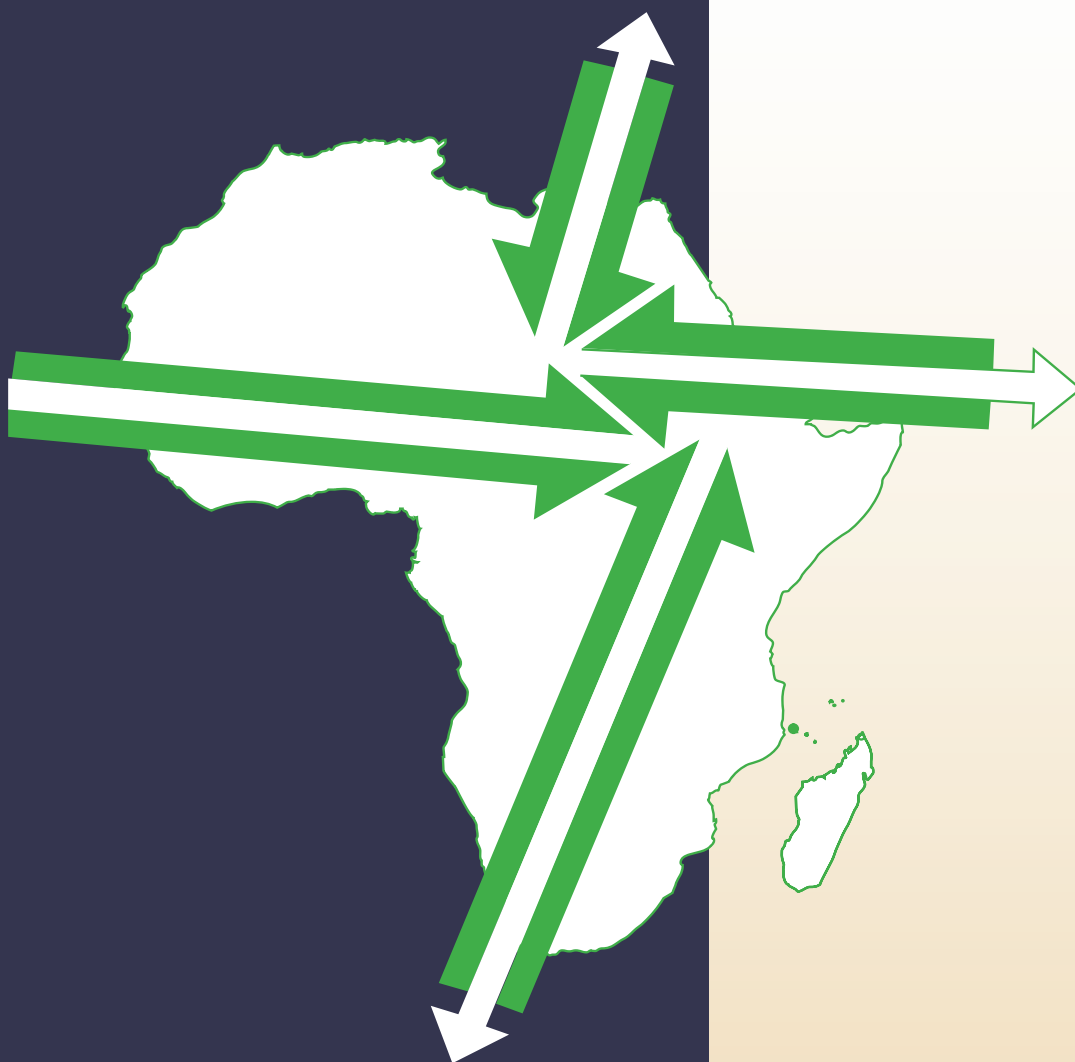
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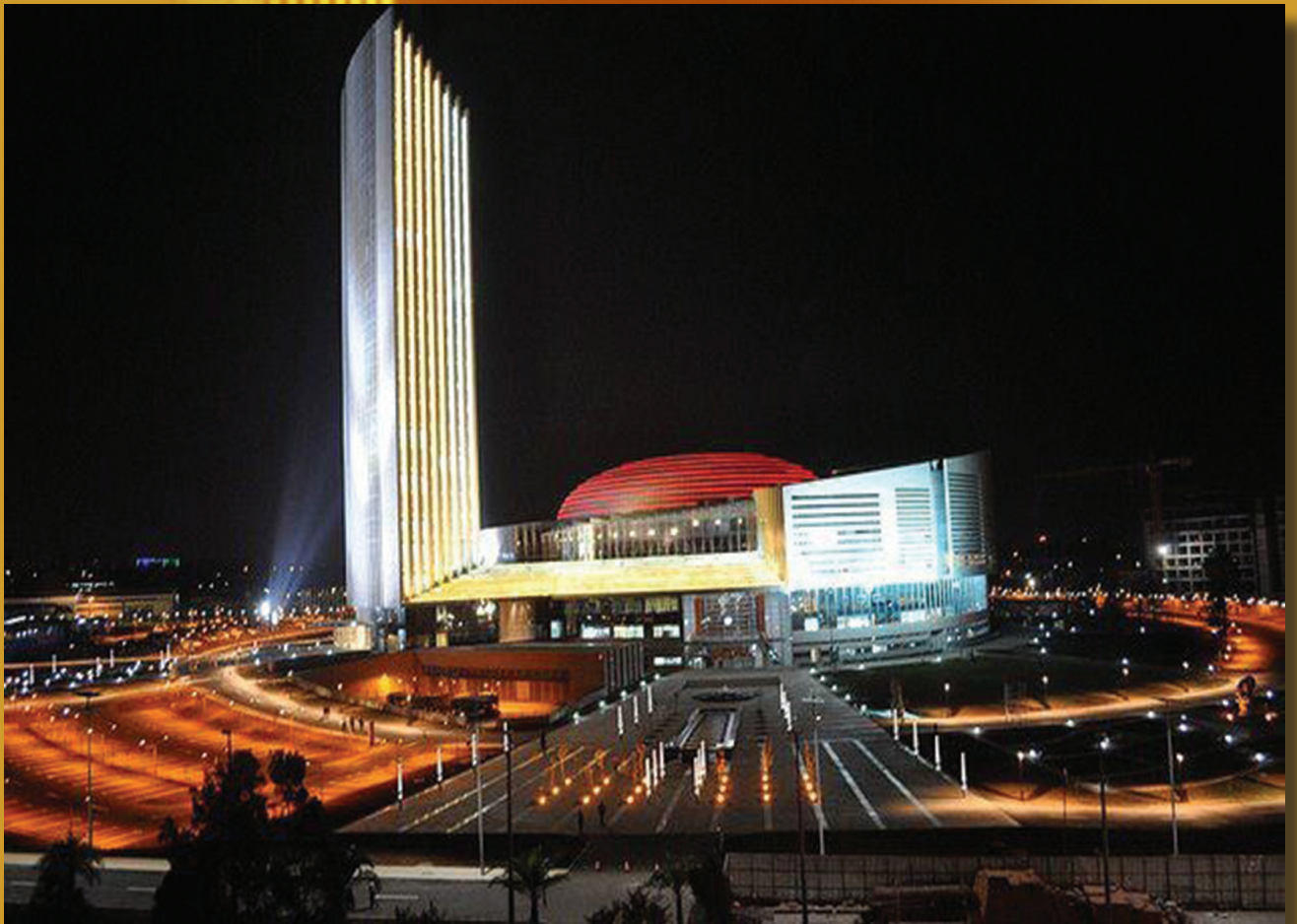
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If you have any questions or suggestions, Please contacts:
Mr. Yeo Dossina,
DossinaY@africa-union.org

Ms. Ambela Barbara,
Ambelab@africa-union.org
Mr. Kutoati Adjewoda Koami
adjewodak@africa-union.org
Tel: +251-1-551 92 87
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M.yeo Dossina,
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Ms. Ambela Barbara,
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