

Africa for the Africans? Processes and Institutions of African Regionalism

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African regionalism

- Africa comprises 5 sub-regions:

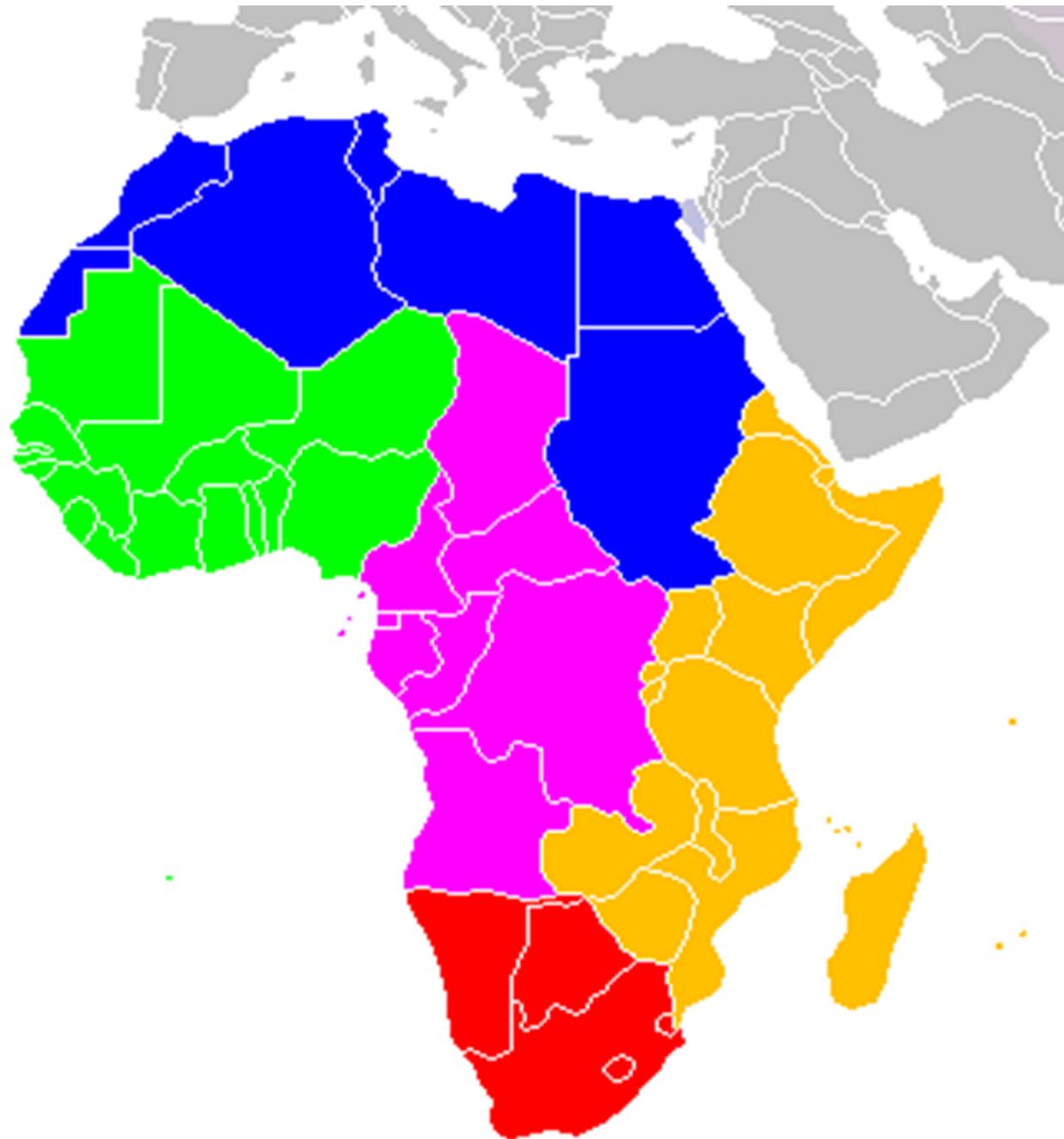
Northern, Southern, West, East, Central Africa

African Union

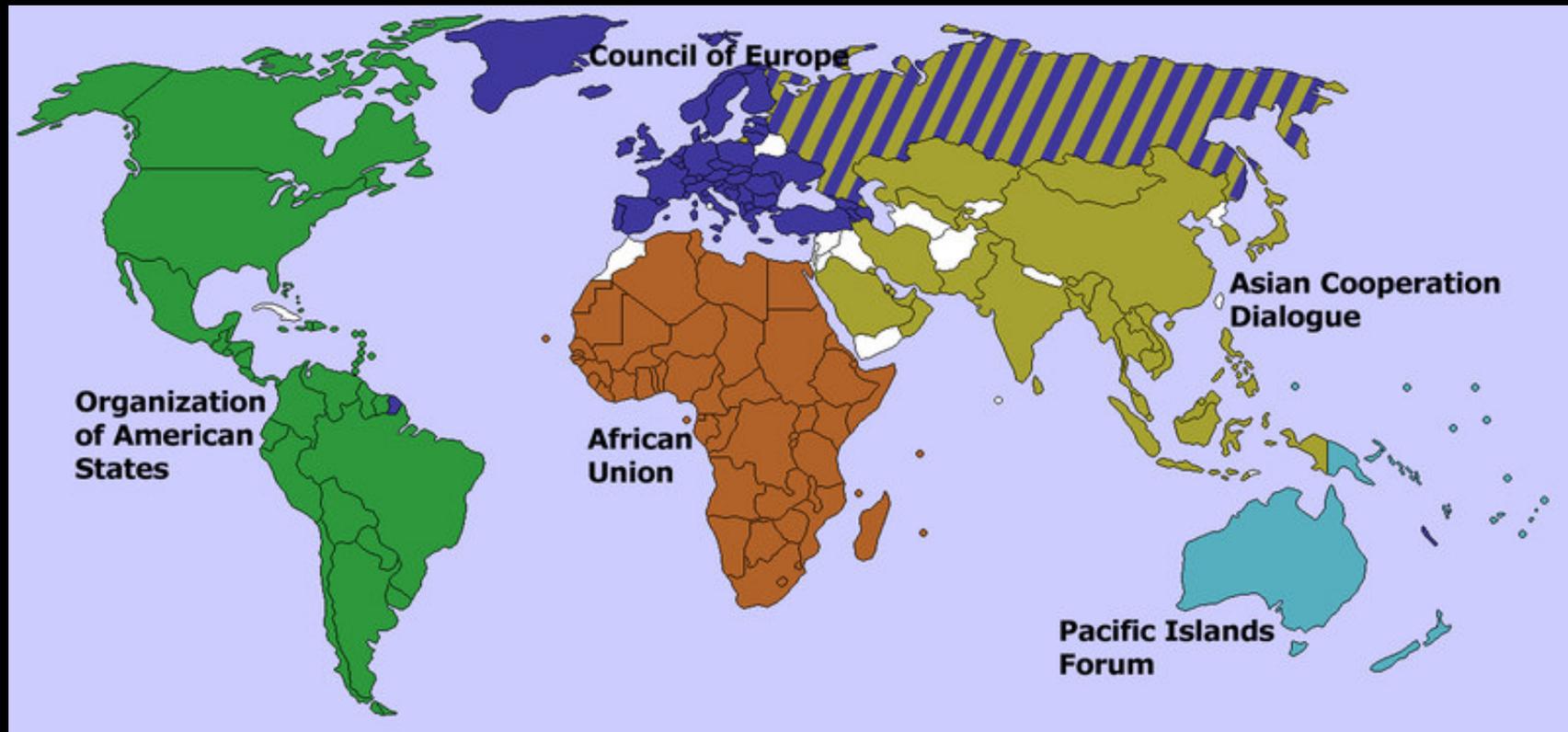
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Sub-regional organizations

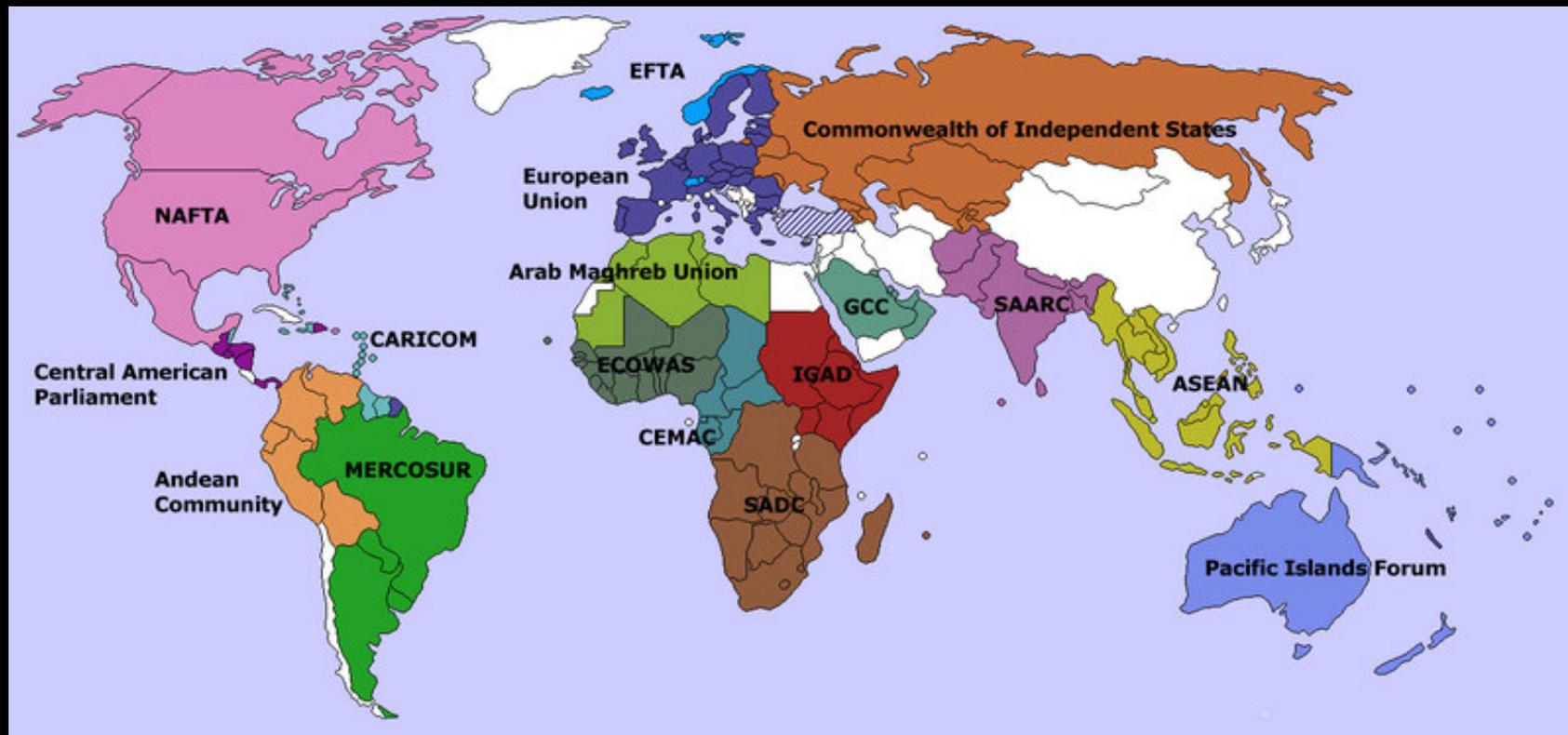
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), East African Community (EAC); Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD); Southern Africa Development Community (SADC); Arab Maghreb Union (UMA).
- Sub-regional organizations were born as economic institutions, but have increasingly developed political competences.



The Pan-African Dimension



The sub-regional dimension



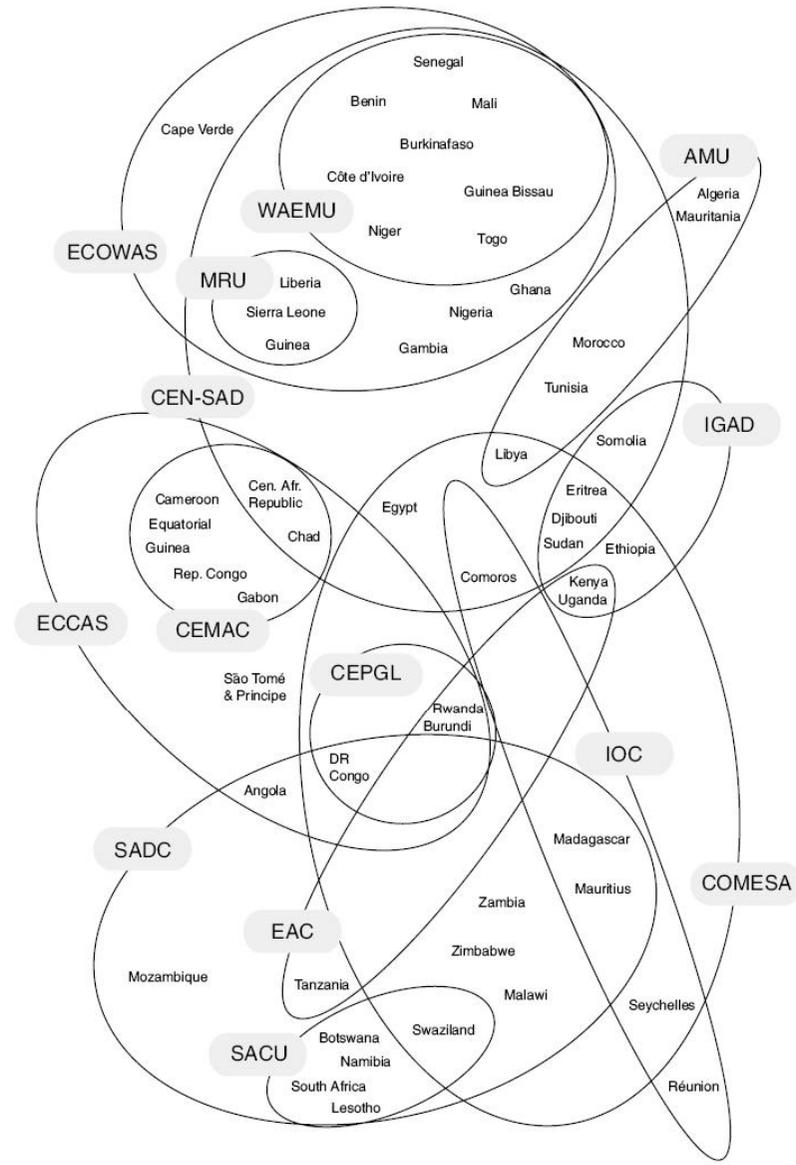


Figure 2. Overlapping and nested African IOs.
 Notes: AMU: Arab Maghreb Union; CEMAC: Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa; CEN-SAD: Community of Sahel-Saharan States; CEPGL: Economic Community of the Great Lakes; Countries COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa; EAC: East African Community; ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States; ECAS: Economic Community of Central African States; IGAD: Inter-Governmental Authority for Development; IOC: Indian Ocean Commission; MRU: Mano River Union; SACU: Southern African Customs Union; SADC: Southern African Development Community; WAEMU: West Africa Economic and Monetary Union.

Regionalism as a world-wide phenomenon

- Political, economic, social, cultural aggregation of neighbouring countries
- The response of politics (states) to the increasing regional interdependence
- Common solutions to regional problems
- Two waves of regional integration

Drivers of regionalism

Systemic and external factors

Pressures coming from the int'l economic and political order, globalization...

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External actors (France, EU, US...)



Regionalism



Endogenous factors

Actors with hegemonic ambitions, strong regionalist leaders, features of the state, dynamics among states

Pan-Africanism



“How good and how pleasant it would be to see the unification of all Africans”

Africa Unite, 1979

'Cause wère moving right out of Babylon
And wère going to our father's land
How good and how pleasant it would be
Before God and man
To see the unification of all Africans
As it's been said already
Let it be done right now
We are the children of the Rastaman
We are the children of the higher man
So Africa unite, Africa unite yeah
Africa unite

'Cause wère moving right out of Babylon
And wère grooving to our father's land
How good and how pleasant it would be
Before god and man
To see the unification of all Rastaman
As it is been said let it be done
I tell you who we are under the sun
We are the children of the Rastaman
We are the children of the higher man
So Africa unite, Africa unite yeah
Africa unite cause the children want
To come home, Africa unite, Africa unite
It's later, later than you think
It's later, later than you think
Unite for the benefit of your people
Unite for the Africans abroad
Unite for the Africans a yard

Pan-Africanism

- Pan-africanism is based on the realization of the fragmented nature of the existence of Africans, of their marginalization and alienation (Murithi, 2005)
- Its is a political ideology which prescribes unity and solidarity among Africans as the only instrument to solve the social, political and esistential crisis affecting them.

Roots of Pan-africanism

Pan-Africanism



Slavery + Colonialism

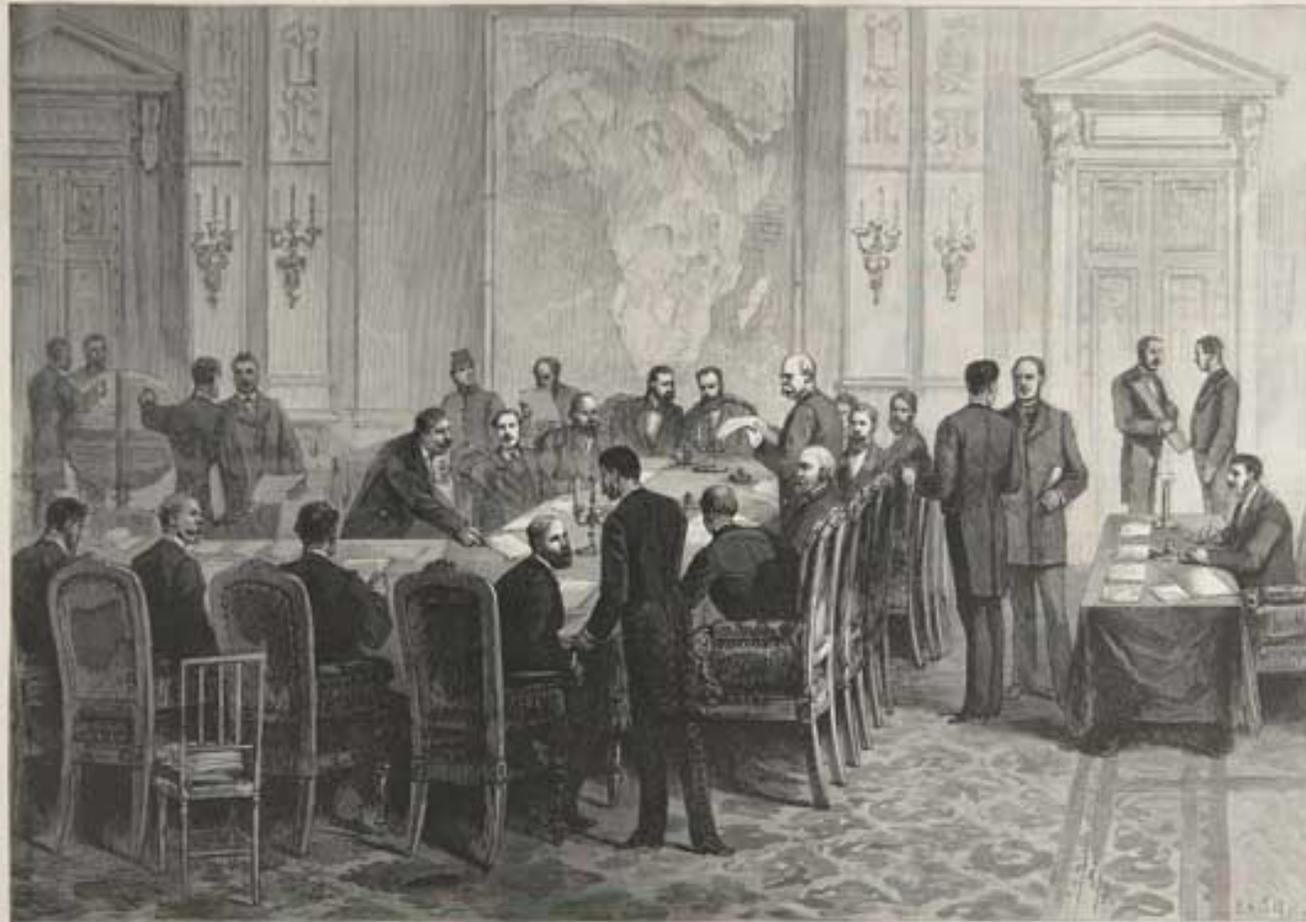


Oppression + racist ideology



neocolonialism

The original sin



LA QUESTION DU CONGO. — UNE SCÈNE DE LA CONFÉRENCE INTERNATIONALE DE BERLIN

1884-1885

INTERNATIONAL

1884-1885

First phase:

Racial Pan-Africanism

- 1900: First Pan-african Congress in London (Henry Sylvester Williams) → Pan-African Association (PPA)
- Then 4 Congresses in 1919, 1921, 1923 and 1927

Elitist initiatives which took place in Western capitals

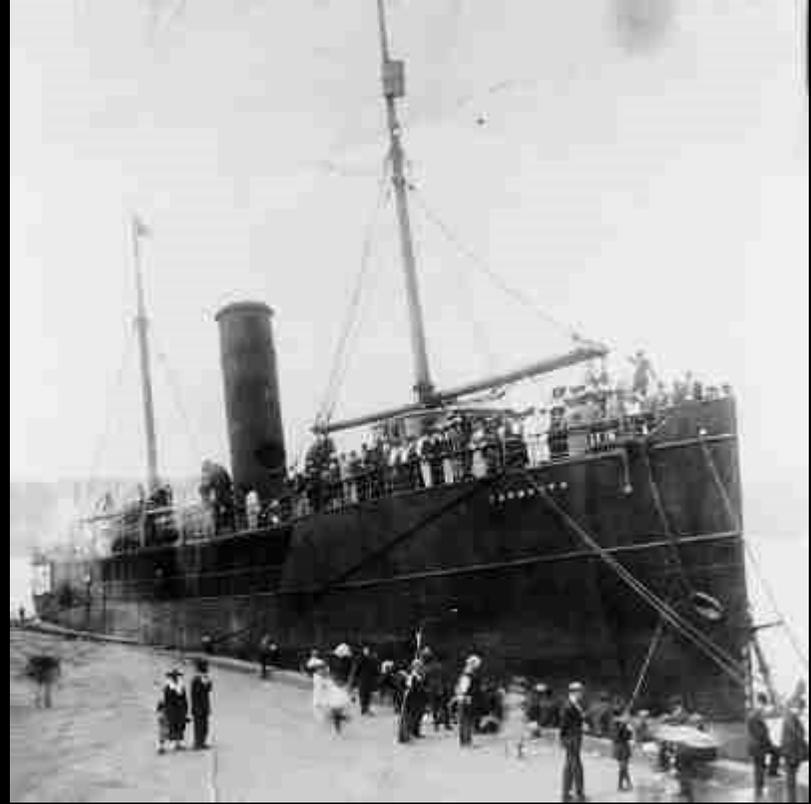


Exception: Marcus Garvey

- Universal Negro Improvement Organization
- 1921 Black People Convention New York
- Black Star Line Steamship Corporation
- Declaration of the Black Peoples of the World, art. 13:



We believe in the freedom of Africa for the Black Negro People of the World, and by the principle of Europe to the Europeans and Asia for the Asiatics, we also demand **Africa to the Africans** at home



Second Phase: Continental Pan-Africanism



- 1945: Manchester
- George Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah
- Radical, militant and socialist
- Anti-imperialist turn: continental unity
- Northern Africa included

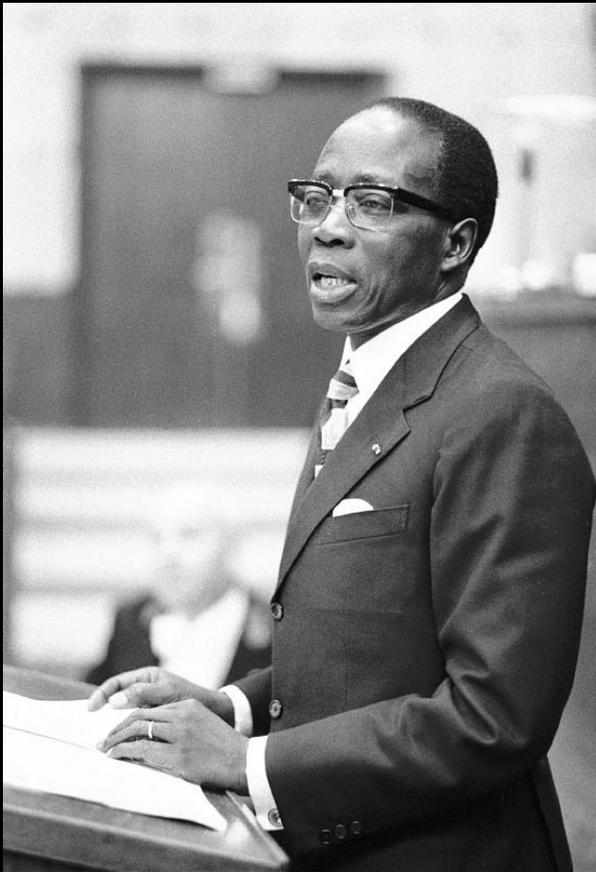
Independence and Unity

A two-directional relation



- Political independence was a step towards African Unity
- African Unity was necessary to get a real economic, political and cultural independence

Francophone Pan-Africanism

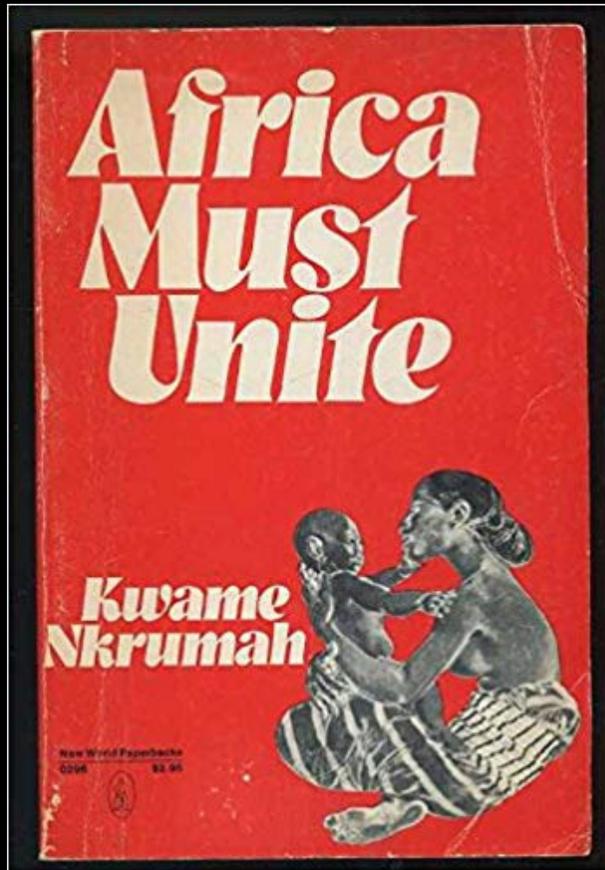


- French assimilationist approach
- High-level positions in Paris
- Moderate towards independence
- Strong interdependence

Two approaches to Independence and Unity

- National sovereignty should be preserved
- Strong economic, political and military ties with former colonial powers
- Intergovernmental organization + subregional organizations
- Gradual process, political unity postponed to an indefinite future
- Unity as solidarity and cooperation between independent states
- Sovereignty should be relinquished in favor of a United States of Africa
- Cutting dependence relations
- Supranational political, economic and military union, no sub-reg org
- Immediate political decision
- Political unity as the only way to preserve a real independence

Neo-colonialism



Neo-colonialism acts covertly, manoeuvring men and governments, free of the stigma attached to political rule.

It creates client states, independent in name but in point of fact pawns of the very colonial power which is supposed to have given them independence...

The independence of those states is in name only; for their liberty of action is gone.

(Nkrumah, 1963)

The African State: Basic features 1

- **Max Weber:** The state is the only human community which lays claim to the monopoly on the legitimated use of physical force. Such a monopoly must occur via a process of legitimation.
- The state, as authoritative entity exerting its jurisdiction over a territory, is entrusted with the responsibility to fulfil some basic roles such as the provision of welfare, peace, order and security to its citizens.

The African State: Basic features 2

1. The model of centralized and bureaucratic state has been **imported** in Africa by colonizers and applied to the new states in a context which was very different from the European one
2. **Very high expectations** towards independence, new states and leaders
3. **Boundaries were given**



Many consequences

The African State: Basic features 3

1. Huge religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic **heterogeneity** within the new states + **allocation of populations** belonging to the same community to two or more neighbouring states.
2. **Instability** within states and metastasization to neighbouring countries
3. **Small, ineffective, unviable states**; fictitious sovereignty
4. High expectations got frustrated and the **unity of the state** became difficult to be kept



Political survival
of states and regimes became the priority

The African State: Basic features 4

Political Survival



Dictatorships and concentration of power

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Personification of political authority
(neo-patrimonial state)

Organization of African Unity



OAU

General objective



Help state ensure their own **survival**
and **consolidation of state-building**

(status quo maintainance)



- Cooperation in the field of collective security, economic development, social policies, education and culture
- Sovereign equality + non-interference + sovereignty and territorial integrity + peaceful settlement of disputes + condemnation of political murder and subversion

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Eradicate colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid

African Union



African Union

Failure of the OAU

(Since 1960s 30 wars, 10 milion victims and cost of 250 billion \$)

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Exhogenous factors after the Cold War

Proliferation of new wars

Political and Economic Marginalization of Africa

Spreading of Western Liberal Paradigm

R2P and relativization of sovereignty

New generation of Pan-africanist leaders

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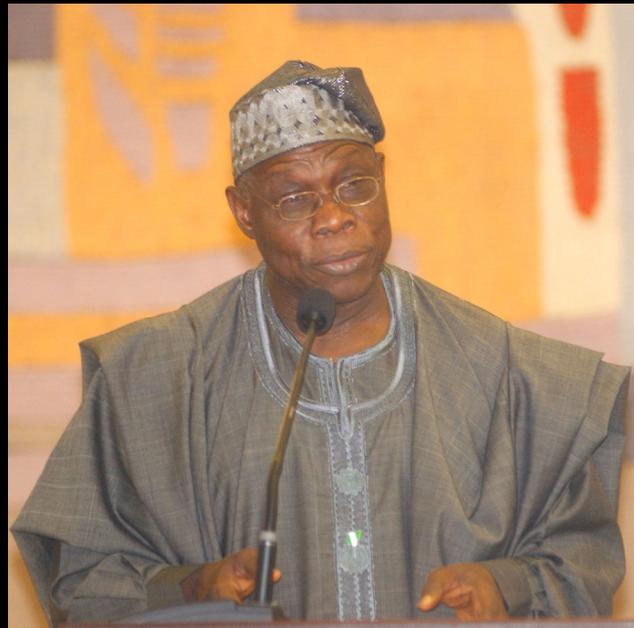
Endogenous factors

Soft power competition between South Africa, Nigeria and Libya

Mandela Doctrine



Africa has the right and the duty to root out tyranny... We must all accept that we cannot abuse the concept of national sovereignty to deny the rest of the continent the right and duty to intervene when behind those sovereign boundaries people are being slaughtered to protect tyranny.



AU Innovations 1

Principle of Non-indifference



Genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes



Peace and Security Council (PSC)

Prevention, management and resolution of conflicts

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African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)

(Early Warning Mechanism, African Stand-By Forces,
Panel of the Wise)

AU Innovations 2

Wide political participation, pluralism, transparency and accountability both at national and at regional level



Pan-African Parliament

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Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC)

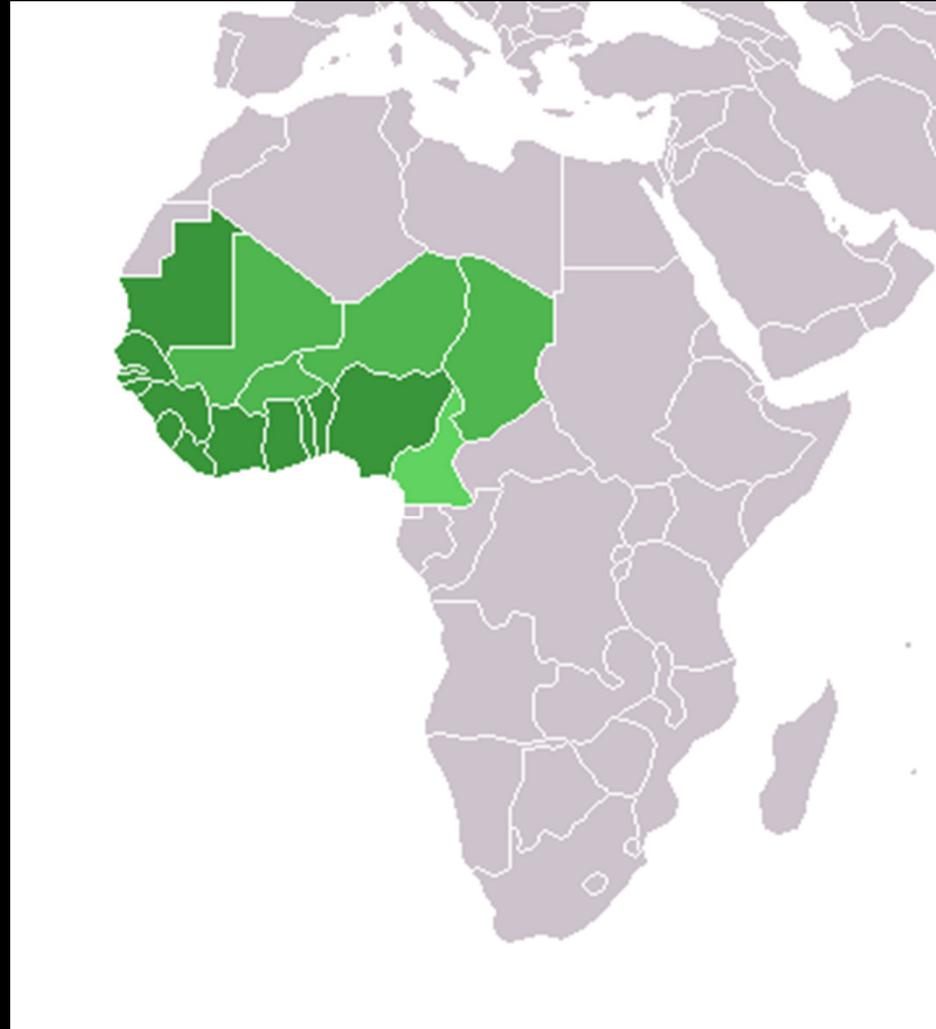
African Court of Justice and Human Rights

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New Partnership for Africa's Development

African Peer Review Mechanism

West Africa



West Africa

1. The most heterogenous in terms of size, language, economic development
2. The most fragmented
3. The biggest number of mini-states
4. Asymmetry in terms of power; Nigeria with hegemonic ambitions.
5. Extreme artificiality of borders
6. Among the lowest standars of living in the world
7. One of the most unstable regions of Africa



Integration is an absolute imperative for the region

Nigeria: hegemonic power?

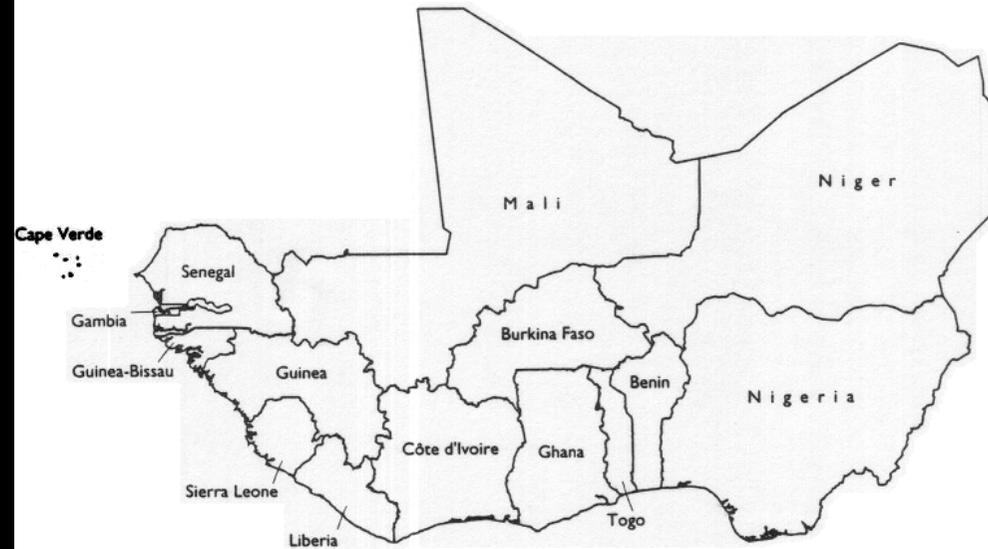
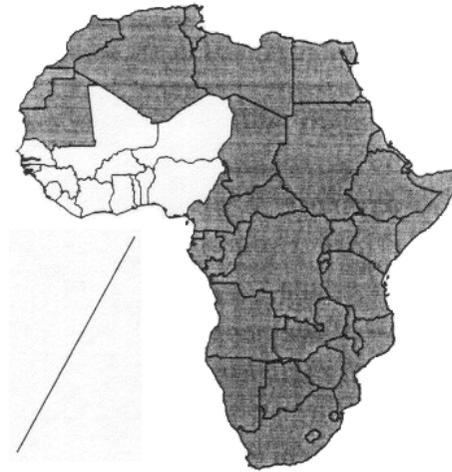


ECOWAS

- 1975: Economic Community of Western African States
- Promoting development through economic cooperation
 1. Boosting regional trade;
 2. Improve and build infrastructures for free movement of goods, people and capitals;
 3. Strengthen the weak productive structures;
 4. Launch monetary and financial cooperation toward a single currency



Put an end to external dependence



Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

ECOWAS vs. UEMOA

- ECOWAS was relaunched in 1993
 - More competences
 - Some supranational institutions, but in name
 - Failed in its objectives
 - Only 45% of its programs have been implemented
- Former WAEC was replaced by WAEMU, 1994
 - Only Economic and Monetary competences, but deeper integration
 - Supranational institutions
 - Much more effective (68% of its programs implemented)



Nigeria



France

Conclusions 1

- External pressures and the features of the African state explain a lot



- France promoted and prevented regionalism at the same time
- Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)
- Spaghetti bowl and regime-boosting regionalism
- Rhetoric-reality gap
- Dependence on external donors
- Challenge of coordination between AU and sub-regional organization

Conclusions 2

Positive prospects



In 2015 members agreed to raise at least two thirds of the AU's **budget through new taxes**

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Continental Free Trade Area (remove tariffs from 90% of goods)

Ciao Ciao



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