

Cooperation without Integration in Africa: Why it is Still Difficult to Achieve Full Political Integration

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Abstract: To some people with the establishment of African Union (AU) as an institution for cooperation and integration, there is cooperation and integration in Africa. This paper set out to examine whether there is full cooperation and integration in Africa. Data was collected from relevant secondary sources like books, and journal articles. Following a cursory examination of the concepts of cooperation and integration in relation to the deep rooted interest of leaders, and politics of domination among States, this paper found and concludes that while there is cooperation, and surface integration in some sectors there is yet to be full political integration. The major difficulty towards achieving full political integration is the deep rooted personal interest of leaders and desire of AU Charter to defend sovereign status of countries. And the paper recommends that leaders and countries should in practice show greater commitment to implementing and achieving the aims and objectives of African Union than pursuing full political integration amidst deep rooted personal interest of African leaders and individual Countries and sub-regional organizations.

Key words: Policy, Politics, Cooperation, Integration, African Union,

I. INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

The Africa Union (AU) like its predecessor Organization of African Union (OAU) is a continental union. The OAU was established in May 1963 and metamorphosed to African Union in September 9, 1999. Following the formation of OAU its membership fluctuated by way of increase in membership as a result of admission of new member States or decreased in number of member States through suspension of a deviant member State or inability to secure independence from colonialists. The new Union called AU has a motto which states *A United and Strong Africa*. This Union brings member States together under the name AU to discuss both external and internal challenges to enhance economic growth and political development. AU is composed of 55 Countries; diverse ethnic groups with an estimated population of about 1.3 billion people by 2017 and based on a growth rate of more than 2.5% per annum. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Union). However, the working languages in Africa are Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Kiswahili. The people of Africa also identify themselves along sub regional locations and organizations (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Union). The AU is structured and it comprises both political and administrative bodies as follows.

- The Assembly

- Executive Council
- Permanent Representatives Committee
- Peace & Security Council
- Specialized Technical Committees
- AU Commission
- NEPAD / AU Development Agency
- AfCFTA Secretariat
- AU Foundation
- Financial Institutions
- Judicial, Human Rights & Legal Organs
- Pan-African Parliament
- Economic, Social & Cultural Council
- African Peer Review Mechanism
- Regional Economic Communities
- Specialized Agencies & Institutions

Statement of the Problem

The focus of Pan Africanism and OAU was to protest and secure independence of African States and to unite African States. After decolonization the posture of postcolonial African States African leaders were merely seen as African variant of imperialists because the OAU in particular did little to protect the rights and liberties of African citizens exploited by their own political leaders who have constituted themselves into a "Dictators' Club" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Union).

Consequently internal separatist disagreements and violent conflict within countries (Like Biafra in Nigeria) and between countries like Sudan and later South Sudan and Sudan) which called for peace keeping forces. In Somalia a new country called Somaliland emerged after the people of Somaliland declared themselves independent before the formation of AU. After the declaration of independence, Somaliland in 2006 applied to AU for recognition and membership of AU (<https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/somaliland-time-african-union-leadership>). The response from AU members was that some of the States recognized the new sovereign State of Somaliland in spite of the protest from Southern Somalia Government claiming authority over Somaliland. This development for now symbolized **cooperation not political integration tendency** in Africa. The gap to be filled in our quest for knowledge is to provide answer to the following questions: in the face of growing globalization, should African States continue to accept cooperation or take immediate action to operate full

political integration? Can we say it is ripe to pursue Pan-Africanism is seen by the Monrovia group or it is still necessary to go Casablanca way and why?

Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to point out that though OAU is gone there is an internal contradiction between two of the objectives stated in the Charter of AU. This contradiction is a carry-over from OAU objectives; and this would still make full political integration/unification into one political institution like that of EU and USA difficult to achieve. except when amended in future.

This paper goes further to show that there is cooperation by the formation of OAU which was later reformed to AU structure but without a desire for full political integration. And the fact that AU has been formed there are other environmental factors which made OAU fail, are still very much around. The paper also makes recommendations on the crucial steps, which must be followed to achieve modest political and economic integration.

Methodology

Data for this study was collected from relevant secondary sources like books, and journal articles. The technique of *content analysis* was used before the data was qualitatively interpreted.

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

Cooperation

Conceptually, Redmond (2006) defines cooperation as “*shared effort by individuals, groups, or political units for common economic, political, or social benefit*”. Cooperation thus is a factor in many areas of human endeavors. For instance, it begins naturally when evolution theories and animal behavioral adaptations are considered, we could also speak of socio-politically based cooperation where there is “Communal Living” or “Communism”, “federalism” and “regionalism”; there are also individuals who promote economic cooperation through cooperatives credit unions; there are also cooperation in religious institutions. In international relations there is economic and political cooperation as seen in Commonwealth of Independent States; Commonwealth of Nations, Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; Economic and Social Council, European Free Trade Association; European Recovery Program, United States International Development Cooperation Agency, International Monetary Fund, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, United Nations, cooperation in space exploration (Vega -space program) etc. Cooperation thus is simply the act of a working or acting together through organizations to achieve a common goal as requested or required by an agreement between entities. Cooperation in this regard entails the parties in cooperation do not lose their respective independent political status yet the parties have a common goal or objective they aim and work to achieve.

Integration

In the case of “integration” specifically regional type, Dauda (2010:pp101-103) said prominent functionalist theorist in the likes of Charles Pentland, Donald Punchala, Karl W. Deutsch to name a few basically regard integration as the process of shifting loyalty “*from one center to a more overwhelming and all-encompassing centre*” “*because of expectations of joint and natural reward or penalties*”; and communication is vital among them to build a “*we feeling*”, and “*trust*” in identifying needs and responses of member states in the process of decision-making. Dauda (2010) emphasize that the functionalist claim:-

- (i) actors in the integration process are always working to maintain the system;
- (ii) there are more of technical problems at the international level and there is demand for highly trained specialist personnel than politicians at the international level;
- (iii) based on the *doctrine of ramification*, collaboration in one technical field e.g. the creation of common market leads to collaboration in other technical fields such as security, monetary policies e.t.c.;
- (iv) it does not view competition and conflict as a dominant force in interstate relations;
- (v) political unification increases the bond among units because of expectation of joint and natural rewards or penalties;

While neo-functionalist like Ernst Haas, Leon N. Linberg to name a few base their thought on the evolution of European Community say

- (i) that countries who believe and feel satisfied with integration take action to bring like minds together to benefit.
- (ii) That power politics cannot be separated from the integration process

In all, regional integration is a process where there are shift of loyalties, and the foregoing of independent pursuit for interdependency and reliance on a new center where the role of power which functionalist deemphasize are brought into play to direct the economy so as to gain some benefits across frontiers. Inspired by the functionalist and neo-functionalist definitions of the concept of integration, Dauda (2010:p96) regards *international integration as the process and condition by which supranational institutions replace national ones.*

Therefore to our mind, though cooperation and integration have their boundaries, both are voluntary association of nations. Secondly, though cooperation activities precedes integration by its posture of bearing substantial independence by member countries, cooperation is also intertwined with integration both in processes and conditions.. As for integration most of the nations coming together have contiguous boundary but in cooperation though having contiguous boundary or being in close proximity within a given geographical area or region is also important, but in

some instances that is not necessary. The most important ingredient is having a common interest aimed at promoting a culture of willful cooperation to ensure that there is peace among members so as to achieve the multidimensional objectives of cooperation and in due course integration.

The implication of integration is that States are expected to surrender substantial part of their sovereignty to the regional or global institutions that replaces the individual State.

Secondly, surrendering of sovereignty involves a federation of several States by merging into one government and recognizing the sovereignty of the new supranational structure. An example of this supranational structure which has earned to its self the status of a model is the European Union (EU). It is described as a “*living laboratory of integration theory*” (Dauda 2010) and was formally established in November 1, 1993 after using the stages shown in Table 01 below.

Table 01: Stages of Economic Integration towards attaining the goal of Political Integration

Scheme	Attributes				
	Elimination of Tariffs and Quotas	Common External Tariffs	Free flow of labour/ capital	Harmination of Econ. Policies	Unification of Political institutions
1. Free Trade Area	x	-	-	-	-
2. Customs Common	x	x	-	-	-
3. Common Market	x	x	X	-	-
4. Economic Community/ Economic Union	x	x	x	x	-
5. Political Union	x	x	x	x	x

Source: Dunmoye (2002) in Federal Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa P. 254

From Table 01 above Political integration is unification of political institutions. It comes after economic harmonization of Economic policies. At African continental level the acts of economic harmonization and Political Unification is “pending”.

Theoretical frame work of analysis

First, this paper begins on the premise that States have some objectives they want to achieve such as protection of national sovereignty, national interest, national security, national integrity, economic, social, political e.t.c. development of its people, the need for balance of power, no-alignment to name a few.

Secondly, that States are interdependent and the foreign policy of any State is concerned with its relationship with other States, international organizations and the changes that take place in international environment and there is a linkage between domestic factors and the external factors. As such the decisions and behaviors of States and their representatives in various Units of decision-making are often tailored towards policies which will give it most benefits vis-a- vis her interests (Redmond, 2006).

Thirdly, to understand the past moral and legal standards by which State actions in respect to cooperation and integration in Africa were based, and to enable us interpret the present and predict the future of cooperation and integration of African States, we are guided by (i) the **traditional /classical approach** as championed by scholars like Raymon Aron and Stanley Hoffman representing the **idealist school of**

traditionalist and (ii) Hans Morgenthau representing the **Realist school of the traditionalist**. (Dauda 2002:p 12; 2010: p11)

The **traditional /classical approach / idealist school of traditionalist** (a) view States as the only actors in international relations (b) adopts historical approach and focus to describe a particular aspect of interstate relations e.g. reviewing and recording diplomatic practices and treaties (c) it also assumes that there is anarchical relations between States but world government has sufficient powers to settle disputes (Dauda 2002:p9)

But following the experience of World War I and II the realist scholars like Robert Keohans, Joseph Nye, Arnold Woffers said States are not the only actors in world politics and that many international activities take place without State control (Dauda 2002:p14). Furthermore, based on the causes of world wars I and II there is an assertion that, in spite of world government, States act the way they do and they go too extreme in the process of pursuing their national interest because of the desire to consolidate and exercise power to achieve and maximize their benefits that is national interest and objectives within the limits of prudence than enforce international law (Dauda 2010:p9).

The traditionalist approach has also been criticized by scholars like Rosenau, Deutsch and Kaplan. According to them, the traditionalist approach lacks the ability to formulate theories as foundation for explaining international relations and they went on to recommend the use of scientific methods

where hypothesis would be developed and quantitatively proved.

In addition to the scientific school there is also an aspect of the behavioral sciences like sociology and psychology which came to bear as another dimension for providing rational analysis and answer to why nations behave as they do in international relations. That the analyst should shift focus of study from States and Institutions to human interest and behavior of leaders/representatives of States in the process of decision-making so as to have better understanding of international relations (Dauda 2010:p10).

Recognizing that the traditional /classical approaches has been criticized for some weakness as aforementioned among others, this paper goes beyond just seeing the State as the only actor, describes the past historically by also considering the concept and theory of cooperation and integration as well as how a model of cooperation and integration emerged in Europe; identifies past and present day difficulties confronting cooperation and integration in Africa; considers the desire and use of power, human factor and other non-State actors in determining the direction of cooperation and integration among States and then predicts the future of cooperation and integration in Africa.

II. CONTRADICTIONS IN THE PURSUIT OF COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN AFRICA

1. Pan Africanism

In Arica there have been several attempts at seeking cooperation and integration of African countries. It started with advocacy for *Pan Africanism*. This concept of Pan-Africanism initially developed outside of Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It developed as a reaction to the impact of slavery and European colonialism in Africa on peoples of African descent. In the mid-20th century, activists in Africa adopted Pan-Africanism as a rallying cry for independence from colonial rule; and also sought to unite the continent as one independent nation. From these origins and objectives, Pan-Africanism developed in two basic forms as (a)**Diaspora Pan-Africanism** and (b)**Continental Pan-Africanism**.

Continental Pan-Africanism advocated the unity of States and peoples within Africa, either through political union or through international cooperation. While in a broader form, it is **Diaspora Pan-Africanism**, which sort solidarity among all black Africans and peoples of black African descent outside the African continent.

2. Economic Integration in Africa

The legacy of Continental Pan-Africanism as a strategy for addressing the problems of Africa resulted in the formation of regional cooperative groups which till today serve as building blocks for the purposes of achieving greater economic integration of AU. Currently, there are eight Regional Economic Communities (RECs) recognized by the AU, each established under a separate regional treaty.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regional_Economic_Communities#List_of_Regional_Economic_Communities_recognized_by_the_African_Union). They are:

- (1) Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)
- (2) Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- (3) Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)
- (4) East African Community (EAC)
- (5) Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- (6) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- (7) Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
- (8) Southern African Development Community (SADC)

With the increasing pressure of economic competition from other international trade blocs attention was drawn to the formation of African Economic Community (AEC) in 1991 through Abuja treaty (<https://au.int/en/treaties/treaty-establishing-african-economic-community>; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Economic_Community). The AEC which entered into force in 1994 was to development in six stages as follows:-:

Table 02: African time frame for harmonization of Economic policies

Stages	Policy	Time frame for completion
1	Creation of regional blocs in regions where such do not yet exist	1999
2	Strengthening of intra-REC integration and inter-REC harmonization	2007
3	Establishing of a free trade area and customs union in each regional bloc	2017
4	Establishing of a continent-wide customs union (and thus also a free trade area)	2019
5	Establishing of a continent-wide African Common Market (ACM)	2023
6	Establishing of a continent-wide economic and monetary union (and thus also a currency union) and Parliament	2028

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Economic_Community Wikipedia

In spite of the above time-table by 2021 most of the action-plan stages 1 to 4 which ought to have been implemented to symbolize the integration of economic structures some are yet to be achieved. As it is ECOWAS is yet to merge with other regional organizations within Africa even with the adoption of Lagos Plan of Action in 1980 which envisaged the establishment of common market in the year 2000. Also with establishment of African Economic Commission (AEC) by 1991 “to coordinate and harmonise policies among existing and future economic communities in order to foster the gradual establishment of the community” would no doubt take many years to achieve. Nonetheless, the end of all transition periods is fixed for 2034 at the latest is available for adjustments.

(<https://web.wpi.edu/Images/CMS/NEABC/paper05.pdf>).

3. Political Integration in Africa

During the formative years of the OAU, its founding African leaders were in disagreement. While on one hand some leaders (the radicals otherwise known as the Casablanca group) pushed for direct and complete political integration where there would be a central government that would unite all of Africa under one authority, on the other hand some leaders (the conservatives otherwise referred to as the Monrovia group) wanted a gradual approach to unity by cooperation before total political integration. Eventually, they reached a compromise by adopting cooperation and the organization had only a little power to act on its own (Burgess, 2006; Dunmoye 2002:pp248-249). The OAU Charter spells out its objectives as outlined in Article II as follows:

- 1) to promote the unity and solidarity of African states;
- 2) to coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
- 3) to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
- 4) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa, and;
- 5) to promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Looking at these objectives of the OAU, one can see the reflection of the interest to maintain political independence of countries, promote economic advancement and cultural cooperation of all African peoples than integration as Article II Rule 3 clearly shows. It is thus a preference for cooperation under a loose federation.

By 2002 when OAU formally became the African Union (AU). ARTICLE 3 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union stated the objectives of the Union are as follows:

- a. achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa;
- b. defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States;
- c. accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
- d. promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its people;
- e. encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- f. promote peace, security and stability on the continent;
- g. promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
- h. promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and People' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;

- i. establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations
- j. promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;
- k. promote co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;
- l. coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and further Regional Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union.
- m. Advance the development of the continent by promoting research all fields, in particular in science and technology;
- n. Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on continent.

If regional integration is a process where there are shift of loyalties, and the foregoing of independent pursuit for interdependency and reliance on a new center where the role of power which functionalist deemphasize and are brought into play to direct the economy so as to gain some benefits across frontiers, then on comparing the expressions in the OAU Charter, and the AU Charter, we note that (i) there is a deep rooted **desire for a strong cooperation** and (ii) there is strong dislike for full political and economic integration as in AU Charter Article 3 Rule (b which states *to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States* Thus AU does not want States to surrender their sovereignty but only to cooperate. Furthermore Article 3(c) which states *accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent*; amounts to internal contradiction within the AU framework, The pursuit of objective (b) which is the defense of *the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States* would not *accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent*; rather it would derail full political and economic integration. The fact that there is a contradiction it is a misnomer to expect a one State integration in Africa by expressing the concept of cooperation and integration in Africa as if these two words mean the same thing.

III. WHY IT WAS AND IS STILL DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE FULL POLITICAL INTEGRATION

1. The question of sovereignty independence and dimensions of Conflicts

In 1957 Ghana became the first sub-Saharan African state to gain independence, and Nkrumah became its first prime minister. Nkrumah held the Pan-Africanist view that the independence of Ghana would be incomplete without the independence of all of Africa. He made positive moves e.g. the Sanniquillie Declaration of July 19, 1959 in which a joint declaration by Governments of Ghana, Liberia, and Guinea affirmed that they would assist, foster and speed up the decolonization of Africa. He also established structures in his country to facilitate or stimulate the pursuit of total African

independence and continental political union in other African colonies. And the first regional integration as a real move for continental integration in Africa started by 1st May 1959 when Ghana and Guinea after some cooperation meetings, announced that they had formed a union, with a motto “*independence and unity*” Subsequently when government of Nkrumah was toppled, he was accepted to live in Guinea where he served as a co-president with full honour (Mohammed, 1978:p54).

By 1960, 17 African countries gained independence and by the end of 1963, approximately 80 percent of the African continent was independent. Nkrumah’s goal of establishing an integrated United States of Africa with a centralized power structure was opposed by the leaders of many of the new African countries, who resisted giving up their nations’ new found autonomy and went for a loose federation of independent African states only committed to continent-wide cooperation (Walters, 2006).

There is also a growing schism within Africa between Marxist and non-Marxist political alliances and approaches to issues which makes integration impossible. Though conflict has played a positive role in promoting integration such as the formation of League of Nations, the United Nations and of course the European Union after the World Wars, but conflicts in Africa seems to be doing quite the opposite because of continues disputes among OAU members. In 1975 after Angola won independence from Portugal in 1974, rival factions fought for control of Angola, OAU members became divided in two halves over which side to support in the Angolan Civil War: in the continuum of capitalist and socialist camps. The ideological dimension crept when One faction, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (officially known as *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola-Partido de Trabalho, or (MPLA)*, was backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union while the second faction known as, the *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA)* Known in English as *National Front for the Liberation of Angola* and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, or (UNITA), were supported by the capitalist United States, along with its Western allies, and South Africa.

The split in the Organization of African Unity was also noticeable in other wars: The 1977 and 1978 invasions of the Katanga Province in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) by Angolan-backed forces, Somalia’s invasion of Ethiopia in 1978, and the conflict between Uganda and Tanzania in 1978 and 1979. In 1981 the same pattern of support for Angola repeated itself one side recognized the independent state Western Sahara and admitted it into the OAU. But Morocco and other States that had supported the UNITA/FNLA side of the Angolan conflict did not approve of this move and Morocco temporarily withdrew from the OAU. (Burgess, S, F. 2006). Ideological differences not necessarily on the basis of capitalist and socialist divide but in some other patterns still persists today and has determined the imposition

and sustaining many undemocratic and despotic regimes in Africa.

Another recent attempt at integration was between Senegal and Gambia in West Africa. The Gambia was an English colony; Senegal a French one. The two countries between 1982 and 1989 formed a confederation which was called Senegambia. However, differences arose when The Gambia, wishing to retain an independent identity, resisted pressure from Senegal, the dominant partner in the confederation, for complete economic and political integration. The confederation was dissolved on September 21, 1989, but a treaty of cooperation between the two nations was signed in 1991 (Redmond, 2006). Hence in matters of international regional cooperation integration, Dauda (2010: p103) observed that some “*nation-states have repeatedly shown unwillingness to hand over their sovereign power and right to international authorities no matter the gains in regional integration*”.

By 2021 there are still conflict flash points in Africa namely the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, The Gambia, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Libya. Mali and its military coup in August 2020, Burundis’ Inter-Burundian Dialogue and preparations for elections in May 2020, Mozambique where there is threat from terrorist and violent extremism, in Cameroon there is a fight for Ambazonian Statehood. These among others has made Woldemichael (7 Jan 2021) to assert that:-

The African Union Peace and Security Council’s (PSC) response to emerging crises in 2020 was marginal. This is primarily because the AU’s ability to intervene in crises is restricted by its principles of national sovereignty (non-interference) and subsidiarity. This despite the principle of non-indifference set out in Article (4h) of the Constitutive Act.

In other words *the AU’s own principles continue to diminish its ability to prevent and respond to conflicts in 2021 and beyond.* Therefore, if the AU is to overcome its problems of non interference and to stop sub regional organization to implement AU’s mandate, *member states must agree to limit the provisions of these principle* (Woldemichael 7 Jan 2021).

2. The search for Leadership

The politics in search of a leader in Africa is in two perspectives. One, in a country that will lead other countries and second the second is on an individual who leads a country. As for a country Shinkaiye (2002:11-29) had appreciated and underscored the role Nigeria played in the evolution of African Union. On the other hand Libya was being contemplated by Col Gaddafi at meetings held at Sirte I in 1999 and Sirte II in March 2001. In clear terms Shinkaiye (2002) observed that *Nigeria as one of Africa’s leading countries, politically, and economically, Nigeria has little or no choice but to be proactive and fully involved in the process of establishing an effective African Union*”. While this happens some African leaders have created new types of

problems. They are more concerned with self-succession in power like the case of Colonel Gaddafi and Robert Magabe's leadership. Their seat tight in power was copied with modification in Niger, Ivory Coast and Nigeria. In Nigeria under Obasanjo regime he sought Constitutional amendment from two terms to three terms so that he can contest again. This self-succession interest no doubt would continue to frustrate genuine democracy, cooperation, political integration and emergence of continental political chief executive leaders in Africa. In other words the difficulty was and would be rivalry between Heads of State who are very anxious to be the "Executive President" of Africa. It has already started, when Colonel Gaddafi proposed Sirte in Libya to be the headquarter of AU but it failed; and the on-going campaign for Nigeria to take the lead in AU Affairs in anticipation of several benefits is a desire for leadership by a country. The underlying problems associated with the self succession efforts, regime change and state failure in Africa in the context of the global economy, is that the underdevelopment of the African economy is linked to the underdevelopment of the continents' nation states caused by poor leadership and self succession bids (Amutabi, M.N. & Nasong'o 2015; Lodge, 2013). To check the menace of self succession tendencies *there must be a convergence of democratization and the promotion of human rights as cardinal principle underpinning integration* (Qobo, 2007)

3. Economic backwardness and lack of funds

Though in 1994 African nations ratified an OAU initiative to establish an African Economic Community intended to promote trade between African nations and remove tariffs and other restrictions that hamper commercial exchange, had a goal of establishing a common currency in Africa, these were not achievable because of dependency, political differences among the so called independent nations, poverty of the African continent which has kept strong integration from becoming a reality in African states. And till date under AU African States are still economically backward and so they have not reached the level that can guarantee integration as it obtains in Europe and United States of America. Most economies of African countries are oriented outwards, towards advanced industrial western countries instead of towards African countries. This is a mark of great underdevelopment and desire for the pursuit of individual sovereignty.

Secondly, most difficulties are associated with lower levels of economic development in some countries. The greater reliance of some countries on agriculture meant that a large percentage of funds the African union may earmarked to support agriculture within the community would have to be redirected to countries with lower economic development especially new members. This may have caused alarm within some countries because of the fear that its own share of these funds would be reduced.

Another dimension of economic difficulties weighing against integration is lack of adequate funding for AU to pursue with

vigor its objectives and programs, though it has established its financial institutions.

4. Cultural differences

Generally, cultural diversity and violence is assumed to be a major challenge to cooperation and integration in most polities. In Africa there is multiplicity of languages and cultural values. The history of xenophobia in Africa has shown that a number of countries in Africa have witnessed xenophobia in their various countries particularly the following in Africa Angola, Botswana, Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa. But while those of other countries did not involve violence, the frequency and alarming proportion of the incidence where it occurred in the past, show that xenophobia attacks witnessed in South Africa was more and the worst. Many lives and properties belonging to citizens of other African Countries in their host community were destroyed by host country citizens (Akeem, 2019). A comparative comment to this incidence in Nigeria and South Africa, Onim & Okunade (2018) comparatively said:-

xenophobic experiences in Nigeria during the 1980s was fuelled by the economic crisis that plagued the oil-rich country due to the collapse in oil prices in the international market, the South African experiences have been linked to apartheid. In conclusion, xenophobia can unscrupulously impact the political and economic development aspirations of the African people and governments and erode the basis of pan-African relations that have defined Africa's struggle against colonialism, apartheid and slavery.

As a step to provide new orientation in 2002 the OAU formally changed its name to the African Union (AU), believing that the new name better captured the organization's goal of establishing a common economic market and political union across the entire continent. In this way it believes Africa can play a more prominent role in the global economy and overcome some of the negative effects of globalization but the love for individual differences and promotion of respective values still eats deep. As such there is nothing like the EU's "Maastricht Treaty" which sets strict criteria that member states had to meet before they could join European Monetary Union (EMU). There is no treaty to allow Africans carry out a referendum to determine the Status of African State vis-a-vis a strong integration. However, African leaders by January 26, 2021 planned to host its 34th Assembly of AU Heads of States and Government. The purpose was to leverage and add value to African Arts, Culture and Heritage under the theme: "*Arts, Culture and Heritage: Levers for Building the Africa We Want*" (African Union 2021). The AU is also making some progress to overcome sentiments that would further arise against unity and solidarity through other ways. The AU has produced and

also adopted various instruments pertaining to culture including the Cultural Charter for Africa (1978), the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006), the

Statute of the African Audio-Visual and Cinema Commission (2019) and the African Union (AU) Model Law on the Protection of Cultural Property and Heritage (2018), among others (African Union 2021)

4. Failure of integrative Institutions to Achieve programs on target periods and maintain Standard

Though EU has been cited as example of a reliable indicator of integration, in EU the exit of Britain from the EU in 2020 (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brexit>) is weakened integration because there is a likely hold that there would be more exit of countries. Godwin, (2017) among others presented the causes and consequences of Brexit within and outside Britain. In Africa this development may also have a contagious effect on AU, which already adopts the position of defending the sovereignty of its member States, may continue to stand against political unification. Generally, AU launched its Plan for Action 2063 and began to agencies for implementation. For instance AU established NEPAD/APRM and pledged to take responsibility for Africa's future development and to establish a new partnership with development partner agencies, and indeed international Institutions have started responding (UNTAD (2012). However, as a result of some challenges there is an increasing level of poverty, inequality, unemployment, and bad Governance by leaders e.t.c. NEPAD is considered as performing below expectation. This can gradually make integration to be seen as potentially unbeneficial (Mukamunana 2006; Luqman and Zekeri 2015; Gbenyenye 2017; NEPAD (7 Dec 2020).

IV. CONCLUSION

First from the forgoing state of affairs, one could conclude that in Africa there is cooperation without integration because past leaders in the Casablanca group preference to defend the sovereignty of States and a gradual approach to full political integration and they so enshrined this as part of the objectives in OAU Charter. Similarly, the present generation of African leaders till date are aligned to the Casablanca group views, and have supported the defense of sovereignty and gradual approach towards political integration.

Second, in respect of economic development, AU, is pursuing continental economic integration of all regions. But in spite of the actions plans and sub regional organizations on ground much has not been achieved in respect of improved standard of living of the people among other objectives. It further entails that it would be more difficult to achieve political integration within a short period or earlier than economic integration which stages was tabulated in Table 01 and 02 above. In other words, political integration would take a longer time to achieve because it is the policy of AEC/AU that the transition from one stage to another shall be determined when earlier and specific policy objectives for a particular stage are implemented and all commitments fulfilled (Table 02).

Third, there are still in existence other environmental challenges even after OAU has metamorphosed into AU. For

instance, most countries are suffering infrastructural decay and deficits, and internal violent conflicts which have rendered many families homeless among other deprivations. The solution to these difficult problems would remain a mirage because sophisticated strategies for corruption are applied in siphoning State resources.

V. RECOMMENDATION FOR COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION

Having found that though OAU is gone and there is an internal contradiction between Article 3 (b) and (c): the call for full political unification like that of EU and that of United States of Africa should be down played, to allow the African type of integration prevail to enable Africans take full advantage of cooperation structures for development.

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