
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

African Studies

Name: Pan-Africanism and Regional Integration in Africa

COURSE CODE: AXL4208S (SECOND SEMESTER: 2018)

Convenor: A/Prof. Horman Chitonge (horman.chitonge@uct.ac.za)

Lecture Venue: CAS Seminar Room 3. 01 Time:
WEDNESDAY 10:00 -12:00hrs

Course Outline

This course examines the historical and contemporary theory and practice of Pan-Africanism and regional integration in Africa. Focus in the course is on understanding the origins of Pan-Africanism, the current initiatives and arrangements towards regional integration, and the link between the two. Although less seen today as the basis for asserting regional integration, the Pan-African movement has had a long history of seeking to unify not just the African continent but all peoples of African origin in the fight against the brutality of slave trade, imperialism, colonialism and various forms of oppression and injustice in the world. Efforts to unify the African continent and Diaspora were galvanised around the common experience of suffering injustice, discrimination, oppression and domination of the African peoples and African Diaspora. As a movement, Pan-Africanism, though not without controversy, provided the theoretical and organisational foundation on which liberation struggles, nationalism and African unity, in Africa, were built. Most liberation struggles in Africa found strength and meaning in the Pan-African movement's call for a united front against imperialism and any other forms of injustices and discrimination against African peoples and Diaspora. The Pan African movement provided an ideological justification for promoting unity among all the African peoples and Diaspora in the fight against the dehumanisation, injustice, racial discrimination, slavery, imperialism and colonialism.

While the philosophy of Pan-Africanism is still cited in some quarters as the basis for regional integration today, economic, and to a lesser extent, political rationale has dominated the motive behind regional integration. There is more emphasis now on the economic gains that can come from integrating the African continent than on any other factors. Given this context the course examines whether Pan-Africanism plays any role in the current drive towards regional integration. By looking at the various arrangements aimed at unifying the continent and the accompanying challenges, the course reflects on whether the current motives for regional integration are strong enough to overcome the tendency toward national sovereignty and individualism in the continent.

The course focuses on the trends and efforts aimed at integrating the African continent in the past and at present. In this regard, several crucial questions regarding regional integration arise: What is the nature of regional integration pursued by African governments? How are African governments implementing regional integration? What are the overriding objectives of regional integration in Africa? What progress has been made so far and what are the persisting challenges? Is regional integration necessary in the context of globalisation? What benefits and challenges does regional integration bring to ordinary Africans? How can the challenges of regional integration in Africa be overcome? Is regional integration possible in Africa? Are the economic motives sufficient to provide a rallying point for African politicians? What is the future of regional integration in Africa? Above all, the course reflects on the reasons why African governments have been advocating for regional integration through institutions such as the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), and whether individual African leaders are actually committed to this agenda.

To stimulate reflection and discussion on these issues, the course draws from a diverse and rich pool of literature on the topic, providing both readings that take a macro-view as well as readings that focus on each of the sub-regions. The macro-readings provide a general overview of regional integration dynamics in Africa, while the sub-regional readings focus on the specific issues in the respective sub-region. While there are common issues among all the sub-regions, there are certain issues unique to specific sub-regions. Similarly, although many countries belong to more than one sub-regional grouping, readings on regional integration dynamics for each of the five sub-regions in Africa (Central Africa, East Africa, North Africa, Southern Africa and West Africa) are provided to highlight the key integration prospects and challenges in each sub-regional grouping.

The Course Format

This course will follow the seminar model which encourages reflection and debate through seminars. The course is spread over 12 weeks, with a Two-to-three hour seminar each week. Each seminar has a theme with a set of prescribed relevant readings for the week. For each seminar, there is a set of **Required Readings** as well as a list of readings which are not compulsory (**Further Readings**) but useful. In order to draw maximum benefit from the course, students should read, in advance, all the prescribed readings (required reading) assigned for each seminar. **It is important for students to note that this is a seminar-based course.** This means that students are expected to engage actively in the discussions during the seminar and this is only possible if one has read the materials assigned for the seminar. The success of the course will largely depend on the level of participation from students.

Students are encouraged to read material beyond what is assigned for the seminar. In view of this, students are encouraged to search for additional material and share with the rest of the class. The readings in this course outline are meant to introduce students to some of the major issues of regional integration in Africa. Additional readings may be prescribed as the course progresses.

However, although students are encourage to read beyond the material assigned in the seminars, it is important to note that in the presentations and essays, students are expected to demonstrate that they are familiar with the “**prescribed**” material. **Additional readings are not meant to substitute those prescribed in the course.**

Occasionally, guest speakers may be invited to give a talk on issues relevant to the course, depending on availability.

Course Requirements and evaluation

1. Class participation and Presentation – 15 per cent of the course

Regular attendance at seminars is a required. However, **attendance on its own is not enough**. To ensure maximum participation, each student will be expected to prepare a written presentation based on the theme and the readings assigned for the seminar. Each student will be required to write and present a paper at least once or twice, depending on the number of students in the class. A discussion of the key issues raised in the readings will follow the presentation. For this system to work, the student presenting must circulate the paper to be presented at least two days before the seminar, to give others sufficient time to read the paper and prepare for the discussion during the seminar.

2. Short essay: 35 per cent of the course

Students will write a short essay of not more than 3500 words, including title and references on the topic of their own choice or on the topic assigned to the class. **This essay should be submitted on September 5** It is advisable (not required) for students to consult the course convenor to discuss the topic for the essay.

3. Research Project: 50 per cent of the course

Each student will be required to conduct research and write a research report/paper. Students are free to choose one of the five regions as a case study on which to conduct a research. The research project should focus on the key issues of regional integration in the sub-region chosen. The choice of the region should be discussed with the course convenor before embarking on the research. It is expected that students will rely on existing information to complete their project (**no fieldwork is required for this research project**). The project report/paper should be not more than 6000 words. Each student will be given 10 – 15 minutes to present the findings of the research. **The Project research Paper should be submitted on October 31.**

Submission of Assignments

A cover page and **plagiarism form** (downloadable from the **VULA site** under ‘**Resources**’) needs to be filled, signed and attached to all written assignments. Please note the African Studies Late Submission Policy: 5% of mark for the paper will be deducted for every day the paper is overdue.

Week 1 (July 25): Pan-Africanism & Regional Integration in Africa:

The Background

Required Readings:

- Ghelawdewos, Araia(2006). “Historical and Ideological Foundation of Pan Africanism” A Paper presented at the annual conference of *Reemergence of Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century: Implications for Empowerments of Black Educators and Students in the African Diaspora*, Friday, November 3, 2006, Central Connecticut State University. <http://www.africanidea.org/pan-Africanism.html>

- Senghor, Jeggan (1999). "The Theoretical Foundations for Regional Integration in Africa: An Overview" in A. Nyong'o (ed.) *Regional Integration in Africa: An Unfinished Agenda*. Nairobi: Academy Science Publishers. 17-34.
- Olukoshi, Adebayo (2012). "The African Union and African Integration: Retrospect and Prospect" in *Reflections on Africa's Development: Essays in Honour of Abdoulaye Janneh*. Addis Ababa: ECA. 35-56.

Further Readings:

- Thompson, Vincent (1969). *Africa and Unity: The Evolution of Pan Africanism*. London: Longman. Chapter 2.
- Hoskyns, Catherine (1967). "Pan Africanism and Integration" in *African Integration and Disintegration*, a. Hazelwood (ed.) London: Oxford University Press. Chapter 10, 354-393.
- Sako, Soumana(2006). *Challenges Facing Africa's Regional Economic Communities in Capacity Building*. The Africa Capacity Building Foundation Occasional Paper No.5.
- Ackah, William B. *Pan-Africanism: Exploring the Contradictions, Politics, Identity and Development in Africa and the African Diaspora*. Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1999.
- Esedebe, P. Olisanwuche. *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1994.

Weeks 2(August 1): Origins and Meaning of Pan-Africanism

Required Readings:

- Nkrumah, Kwame (1963). *Africa Must Unite*. London: Panaf Book. Chapter 17(Economic and Political Integration: Africa's Need).
- Azikwe, Namdi (1962). *Future of Pan-Africanism*
- Kodjo, Edem, and David Chanaiwa (1993). "Pan-Africanism and Liberation." In *History of Africa*. Vol. 8: *Africa since 1935*, edited by Ali A. Mazrui. Oxford: Heinemann, Berkeley: University of California Press, and Paris: UNESCO

Further Readings

- Thomson, Vincent(1969). *Africans of the Diaspora. Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation*. New York: Rutgers. (Chapter 14: Crucial Figures in Contemporary Pan African Movement).
- Shepperson, George (1960). "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes." *Phylon*, Vol. 23. No. 4. 346-358.
- Thompson, Vincent (1969). *Africa and Unity: Evolution of Pan-Africanism*. London: Longman. Chapter 1 (The Pan African Background).
- D. R. Duchein, "For a Pan-African Federation," All-African People's Conference, News Bulletin (Accra, 1958).
- Adenkule Ajala(1974). *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress, and Prospect*. Andre Deutsch.
- Esedebe, P. Olisanwuche. *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1994.
- Momoh, Abubakar (2003). "Does Pan-Africanism Have a Future in Africa? In Search of the Ideational Basis of Afro-Pessimism." *African Journal of Political Science*, Vol.8, No1. 31-57.

Week 3 (August 8): The Theoretical Framework for Regional Integration

Required Readings:

- Economic Commission for Africa (2004). *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa*. Addis Ababa: ECA. (Chapter 1: Opportunity and Necessity), 9-26.
- Soderbaum, Fredrik (2004). *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. Goteborg: UNU/CRIS. Chapter 2.
- Boas, Morten (2001) 'Regions and Regionalisation: A Heretic's View', *Discussion Paper 11*, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

Further Reading:

- Ballasa Bela (1961). *Towards a Theory of Economic Integration*. New York: Taylor & Garnett. Chapter 1.
- Foroutan, F. and L. Pritchett (1993), "Intra-Sub-Saharan African Trade: Is it Too Little?", *Journal of African Economies*, Vol. 2, No. 1.
- Meade, J.E. 1955. *The theory of customs unions*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Viner, Jacob (1950) *The Customs Union Issue*. New York: Carnegie Corporation.
- Guerrieri, P. and I. Falautano (2000), "Global Regionalism: Trends and Perspectives", in P. Guerrieri And H.-E. Scharer (eds.), *Global Governance, Regionalism and the International Economy*, HWWA Studies 58, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Bach, D.C. (1999), "Revisiting a Paradigm", in D.C. Bach (ed.), *Regionalism in Africa: Integration and Disintegration*, James Currey.

Week 4 (August 15): Regional Integration in Africa: A Historical Perspective

Required Readings:

- Thompson, Vincent (1969). *Africa and Unity: The Evolution of Pan Africanism*. London: Longman. Chapter 9 (the Origins of the Monrovia Group).
- Nyongo, Anyanga(1990). "Regional Integration in Africa: An Unfinished Agenda" in A. Nyongo(ed.) *Regional Integration in Africa: An Unfinished Agenda*. Nairobi: Academy Science Publishers. 3-16.
- Kouasi. R. (2007). "The Itinerary of the African Integration Process: An Overview of the Historical Landmarks." *African Intergration Review*, Vol. No.2. 1-23.

Further Readings:

- Nkrumah, Kwame (1963). *Africa Must Unite*. London: Panaf Book. Chapter 16 (Some Attempts at Unification).
- Nyerere Julius (1969). *Freedom and Unity*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Organisation of African Unity (OAU), *Founding Document (OAU Charter, 1963)*.
- Alexander, Neville (2003). "New meanings of Panafricanism in the era of globalisation". The Fourth Annual Frantz Fanon Distinguished Lecture, DePaul University, Chicago, USA, 8 October.

Week 5 (August 22): Regional Integration in Central Africa

Required Readings:

- Zafa, Ali & Kubota, Keiko (2003). “Regional Integration in Central Africa: Key Issues.” Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 52. The World Bank.
- Anonymous (2011). The History and Structure of CEMAC. Chapter 4.
- African Development Bank Group (AfDB, 2011). Central Africa: Regional Integration Strategy Paper. Tunis: AfDB.

Further Readings:

- *International Monetary Fund* (IMF, 2002). “CEMAC- Recent Developments and Regional Policy Issues in 2001” Washington DC.: IMF.
- *Yeats, Alexander* (2004). “What Can Be Expected from African Regional Trade Arrangements? Some Empirical Evidence,” World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, No.004
- *Stasavage, D.* (1996). “Institutional Evolution in the CFA Franc Zone.” *Modern France and Africa*, Vol.4, No. 4.

Week 6 (August 29): Regional Integration in Eastern Africa

Required Readings:

- Braude, Wolfe (2008). *Regional Integration in Africa: Lessons from the East African Community*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. (Executive Summary, plus Chapters 2).
- Goldstein, Andrea & Ndung’u, Njuguna (2001). “Regional Integration Experience in the Eastern Africa Region.” *OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 171*.
- Hansohm, Dirk & Kwingi, Leonard (2013). “Institutional Anchoring of Regional Integration in the East African Community” in *Monitoring Regional Integration in Southern Africa (Year Book 2012)*, A. du Pisan, G. Erasmus & T. Hartzenberg (eds.). Stellenbosch: Trade Law Centre for Southern Africa. Chapter 10(212-230).

Further Readings:

- East African Co-Operation (EAC, 1967). *Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community*
- Raharan, A., A. Yeats, N.H. Ng’eno, F. Musonda And G. Mwau (1999), “Putting the Horse Before the Cart; On the Appropriate Transition to an East African Customs Union”, A Report prepared for the East African Co-operation Secretariat, April 1999.
- Braude, Wolfe (2008). *Regional Integration in Africa: Lessons from the East African Community*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs. Chapter 3, 4 & 5.
- Kasekende, L. And N.K. Ng’eno (2000), “Regional Integration and Economic Integration In Eastern and Southern Africa”, in A. OYEJIDE, I. ELBADAWI and P. COLLIER, (eds.), *Regional Integration and Trade Liberalisation in Sub-Saharan Africa, Vol. I, Framework, Issues and Methodological Perspectives*, Macmillan Press Ltd, London.
- East African Co-Operation(EAC). *East African Co-Operation Development Strategy (1997-2000)*.

Week 7 (September 5): Regional Integration in North Africa

Required Readings:

- Kolster, J. N. Matondo-Fundani & E. Santi (2012). “Regional Integration in North Africa: Part 1” in *Unlocking North Africa Through Regional Integration*, by E. Santi, S. Rondhane & W. Shaw (eds.). Tunis: African Development Bank Group. 13-23.
- Bourrenane, N. (1999). “Integration in the Maghreb Region: Assessment and Prospects” in *Regional Integration in Africa: Unfinished Agenda*, A. Nyong’o (ed). Nairobi: African Academy of Sciences. 85-98.
- Economic Commission for Africa (ECA, 2007). *Regional Integration in North Africa: What Linkages to the World Economy*. A Paper Presented at the Trade: Towards Employment Generating Growth Conference hosted by the Development Forum for North Africa in Marrakech Morocco, from 19-20 February, 2007.

Further Readings:

- Koffi Ehoussou J.V. (2005), “Intégration économique régionale et commerce intra-zone: le cas de l’Afrique du Nord”. Paper commissioned by the ECA North Africa Subregional office and the University of Cocody –Abidjan.
- SRO-NA (2006), *Évolution des structures économiques en Afrique du Nord*. Une publication de la CEA-AN (en cours de finalisation).
- African Development Bank Group (AfDB, 2011). *North Africa: Regional Integration Strategy Paper*. Tunis: AfDB.
- **MID-SEMESTRE BREAK: 07 –16 SEPTEMBER**

Week 8 (September 19): Regional Integration in Southern Africa

Required Readings:

- Dzinesa, G., Nagar, D. Saunders, C. (2012). “Introduction” in *Regional-building in Southern Africa: Progress, Problems and Prospect*, G. Dzinesa, D. Nagar, D. & C. Saunders (eds.). Cape Town: Zed Book. 1-21
- Mulaudzi, Christopher (2006). “The politics of Regional Integration in Southern Africa.” *Institute for Global Dialogue Occasional Paper No. 5*.
- Kalenga, Paul (2012). *Regional Integration in SADC: Retreating or Forging Ahead? Trade and Law Centre (TRALAC) Working Paper No. D12WP08/2012*.

Further Readings:

- SADC(1992). Declaration and Treaty of SADC, 17 August 1992.
- SADC (2003). *Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP)*. Gaborone: SADC. Pages 1-9 and 23-53
- Khadiagala, Gilbert (2012). “The SADCC and its Approaches to African Regionalism” in *Regional-building in Southern Africa: Progress, Problems and Prospect*, G. Dzinesa, D. Nagar, D. & C. Saunders (eds.). Cape Town: Zed Book. 25-38.
- Oxfam (2013). *The Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA): A Briefing Document for Small Business and Informal Traders*. Pretoria: Oxfam South Africa.

- Soderbaum, Fredrik (2004). *The Political Economy of Regionalism: The Case of Southern Africa*. New York: PalgraveMcMillan. Chapter 5.
- Gibb R. 1990. Southern Africa in transition: Prospects and problems facing regional integration. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(2): 287–306.
- Nagar, D. (2012). “Regional Economic Integration” in *Regional-building in Southern Africa: Progress, Problems and Prospect*, G. Dzinesa, D. Nagar, D. & C. Saunders (eds.) (ed.). Cape Town: Zed Book. 131-148.
- Games D. 2004. The Experience of South African Firms Doing Business in Africa: A preliminary survey and analysis. South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).
- Saunders, Christopher (2012). “Peacekeeping: From the United Nations to the SADC Standby Force” in *Regional-building in Southern Africa: Progress, Problems and Prospect*, G. Dzinesa, D. Nagar, D. & C. Saunders (eds.). Cape Town: Zed Book. 92-106.

Week 9 (September 26): Regional Integration in West Africa

Required Readings:

- Essien, Essien (2013). “A Record of Regional Integration in West Africa. Regional Integration Observer(RIO)”, Vol.1, No. 2. Centre for European Integration Studies, Germany.
- Asante, S.K. (1999). “Regional Economic Cooperation and Integration: The Experience of ECOWAS” in *Regional Integration in Africa: Unfinished Agenda*, A. Nyong’o (ed). Nairobi: African Academy of Sciences.99-138.
- Aryeetey, Ernest (2001). “Regional Integration in West Africa.” OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 170.

Further Readings:

- Ntumba, L.L. (1997), “Institutional Similarities and Differences: ECOWAS, CEEAC and PTA”, *Regional Integration and Cooperation in West Africa, A Multidimensional Perspective*, edited by Réal Lavergne, Africa World Press and IDRC, Ottawa.
- ECOWAS (1975), *Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States*, Lagos
- Economic Commission on Africa (ECA, 2010). *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa IV: Enhancing Intra-African Trade*. Addis Ababa: ECA. Chapter 12.
- Lavergne, R. (1997), “Introduction: Reflexions on an Agenda for Regional Integration and Co-operation in West Africa”, *Regional Integration and Co-operation in West Africa, A Multidimensional Perspective*, edited by Réal Lavergne, Africa World Press and IDRC, Ottawa.

Week 10 (October 3): Regional Integration in Africa in the New Millennium

Required Readings

- Economic Commission for Africa (2004). *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa*. Addis Ababa: ECA. (Chapter 2: Evolution So Far,) 27-38.
- Lee, Margaret (2002). “Regionalism in Africa: A part of Problem or A Part of Solution?” *Polis/R.C.S.P.*, Vol. 9. 1-24.
- Adedeji, A.(2002): “From the Lagos Plan of Action to NEPAD, and From the Final Act of Lagos to the Constitutive Act: Wither Africa.” Keynote address prepared for presentation at the African Forum for Envisioning Africa to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, 26 – 29 April 2002; by Professor Adebayo Adedeji

Further readings:

- African Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD, Founding Document, 1999: pages 1-19 & 54-57).
- UNECA, 2009. "Developments in intra-trade in Africa," paper presented at the Sixth Session of the Committee on Trade, Regional Cooperation and Integration, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 13-15 October 2009.
- African Union Commission (AUC), 2009. *Status of integration in Africa (SIA)*. Addis Ababa: AUC:

Week 11 (October 10): Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa

Required Readings:

- Atta-Mensah, Joseph (2012). "Africa's Regional Integration Agenda" in *Reflections on Africa's Development: Essays in Honour of Abdoulie Janneh*. Addis ababa: Economic Commission for Africa.
- McCarthy, C., 2007. "Is African economic integration in need of a paradigm change? Thinking out of the box on African integration", in Bösl, A., et al. (eds.). *Monitoring regional integration in Southern Africa (Yearbook Vol. 6 – 2007)*. Trade Law Centre for Southern Africa: Stellenbosch.
- Economic Commission for Africa (2010) *Assessing regional integration in Africa IV: Enhancing intra-African trade*. Addis Ababa: ECA. (Chapter 2: Status of Regional Integration in Africa. 10-35)

Further Readings:

- Davidson Basil (1992). *The Blackman's Burden: Africa and the Curse of Nation-states*. London: James Currey. Chapter 1.
- Hazelwood, A(1967). "Problems of Integration Among African States" in *African Integration and Disintegration*, a. Hazelwood(ed.) London: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1, 3-25.
- Kouawsi, Rene (2005). *Political Africa or Economic Africa? Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol.4. No. 29.
- Fajana, O (2004). "Enhancing Africa's Integration in a Globalizing World: A Challenge for the African Union", PASU.

Week 12 (October 17): Prospects for Regional Integration in Africa

Required Readings:

- TRALAC (2018). African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) Question & Answers. <https://www.tralac.org/documents/resources/african-union/2019-african-continental-free-trade-area-faqs-june-2018-1/file.html>
- De Melo, J. and Tsikata, Y. (2014). "Regional Integration in Africa: Challenges and Prospects." WIDER Working Paper No. 037.
- Kouasi, Rene (2005). "Key to African Union Success", *Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol.4. No. 31.

Further Readings:

- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2009). *Strengthening Regional Economic Integration for Africa's Development*.
- Onwuka, R.I & Sessay, A (eds.) *The Future of Regionalism in Africa*. London: Macmillan. Chapter 3.
- Aryeetey, E. and A. Oduro (1996) 'Regional Integration Efforts in Africa: An Overview', in J.J. Teunissen (ed.), *Regionalism and the Global Economy: The Case of Africa*, The Hague: FONDAD. 11-33.