

# THE AFRICAN UNION'S 'AGENDA 2063' IN VIEW OF PAN- AFRICANISM: ASSESSING BOTTLENECKS OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION FROM ITS INCEPTION TO 2021

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## ABSTRACT

Africa as a continent was under colonial rule for many years. Even after the decolonization of Africa in the 1960s and beyond, the continent was under direct and indirect external influences. Due to this reason, the continent was not in a position to formulate and implement its own agenda to ensure its development and overcome deepening crises and deep political and economic vulnerabilities. But interestingly this persistent situation has begun to change in the last couple of years. In the last two decades, the time has come for the continent as its leaders initiated a plan for the continent's development to be owned and driven by the African people themselves. With a new enthusiasm for the very idea of 'Pan-Africanism', it was at the 24<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Assembly of the African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa in January 2015, that member states of AU adopted the document, 'Agenda 2063', which was strongly hoped as a game changer for the continent. This article has overall goals and objectives of critically assessing practical challenges that agenda 2063 have been facing during its implementation (2015-2021) period. Both primary and secondary sources have been used to complete this article. Primary data were generated from the African Union, ministry of foreign affairs of Ethiopia and institute of strategic affairs and secondary source collected from articles, published books and websites journals, published reports, magazines, books, newspapers, and conference proceedings. On the basis of the information gathered from secondary and primary sources, the agenda has been facing two major categories of challenges during its implementation period. Limited national and continental capacity, poverty, controversy over state sovereign and peace and security issues are internal or continental level challenges while, unbalanced north south relations and globalization, global terrorism network and international financial institutions, environmental challenges/climate change and outbreak of recent covid-19 pandemic are identified as the major external or global level challenges. Implementation of Agenda 2063 demands a lot from the African union to address key challenges. Addressing the challenges require concerted efforts at national, regional and continental level.

**Keywords:** Agenda 2063, Pan-Africanism, Globalization

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## 1. Introduction

Pan-Africanism as most concepts in social sciences is one of the most complex phenomena since it defies a clear-cut definition and it is still one of the areas of scholarly debate subject to different interpretations. A vast majority of the literature on this ideology and movement contends that Pan Africanism began in the 20th century in the 1900s as a struggle against enslavement, colonization and dehumanization of Africans in the diaspora (Kasanda, 2016:82). Although the African Union sees the need for institutional arrangements for successful integration of the continent, the exact nature, structure, and

composition of these institutional arrangements remains unclear (De Ghetto et al., 2016:16). Given their nature and history, African government institutions are often deemed as being extractive and ill functioning that usually fail to bring about sustainable development and change both in political and economic areas (Ndizerai and Muzee, 2018).

Agenda 2063 is the continent's strategic framework that aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development. Agenda 2063 by many scholars is viewed as Africa's blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa

into the global powerhouse of the future. It is a concrete manifestation of the spirit of pan-African drive for continental level unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. The genesis of Agenda 2063 was the realization by African leaders that there was a need to refocus and reprioritize Africa's agenda from the struggle against apartheid and the attainment of political independence for the continent to prioritize inclusive social and economic development, continental and regional integration, democratic governance and peace and security amongst other issues aimed at repositioning Africa to becoming a dominant player in the global arena.

Agenda 2063 encapsulates not only Africa's aspirations for the future but also identifies key flagship programs which can boost Africa's economic growth and development and lead to the rapid transformation of the continent. Agenda 2063 also identifies key activities to be undertaken in its 10-year implementation plan which will ensure that Agenda 2063 delivers both quantitative and qualitative transformational outcomes for Africa's people. Nonetheless, the implementation process of Agenda 2063 has been encountering a number of challenges. The article assesses both internal and external key bottlenecks responsible for the poor performance of agenda 2063 from its inception to the present (Agenda 2063, 2020).

## 2. Related Literature Review

Pan-Africanism probably is one of the most complex phenomena in modern history. Since it defies a clear-cut definition and is still a contemporary active political force, it is understandable that, so far, we have not had a satisfactory historical treatment. The state of mind of African intellectuals, particularly in the tropical countries peopled by Negro Africans is reflected in the policy and ideology of Pan-Africanism (Immanuel Gneiss, 1967:61).

Pan-Africanism started as a political movement with its own ideological basis at the end of the nineteenth century and has since followed a very complicated, contradictory course. It originated in America. The nineteenth century was a bloody period for the Negro people. In Africa, people died in their thousands, upholding their right to an independent way of life. In America, the descendants of Africans who had been transported there by the slave-traders rose up in a succession of revolts against slavery. The African peoples were mercilessly crushed and turned into colonial slaves in their own homeland (Ivan Potekhin, 2005:54).

The initial goal of the pan African organization was to communicate about its formation and existence throughout the colonial diaspora at the time, and specifically, the outreach was aimed at intellectuals. The Pan- African leaders include Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Thomas Sankara and Haile Selassie to name a few of them originating from Africa, following Pan- African

ideas of W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. Both were pivotal at the outset in defining the movement in the early 1900's, and both represent opposing viewpoints that has been a central debate among theorists ever since (Adi & Sherwood 2003: 22).

In fact, many of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity were inspired by the ideals of self-reliance for development and political independence that the Movement had been spearheading. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), the predecessor of the African Union (AU) was formed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 25 May 1963 (OAU, 1963:80).

The African Union adopted its Agenda 2063 document, which is the continent's collective vision and roadmap for the next 50 years during the twenty-fourth ordinary session of the assembly of the heads of states and government of the African Union (AU) held in Addis Ababa, 30-31st January 2015. The event marked the fulfillment of the 50th anniversary Summit Solemn Declaration that called for the preparation of such a plan by the AUC through a people centered consultative process. Agenda 2063 is Africa's blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa into the global powerhouse of the future. It is the continent's strategic framework that aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development and is a concrete manifestation of the Pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance (AU, 2019a).

According to AU, (2015), Agenda 2063 seeks to deliver on Seven Aspirations each with its own set of goals which if achieved will move Africa closer to achieving its vision for the year 2063. Agenda 2063 has a wide and diversified scope of operation. Geographically it concerns the whole of Africa as a continent and all 55 African countries and members of the AU. It is a global strategic rolling plan with short (10 years), medium (10-25 years), and long-term (25-50 years) perspectives (Ndizerai, V. and Muzee, H. (2018).

Mangeni and Juma, (2019), opined that the motives for economic integration among African countries included: creating and consolidating the conditions for the rapid socioeconomic development of the people of Africa; maintaining peaceful coexistence within and between countries; ensuring the rule of law and democratic governance within and among countries.

### **3. Methodology**

This study employs a qualitative approach. Qualitative research method is a multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter (Creswell, 2014). In terms of research design narrative and descriptive style is preferred because it gives insight into the present and attempts to determine the phenomenon under investigation. So it can help to identify African Union agenda 2063 challenges in view of pan Africanism. For this study, both primary and secondary data was collected. The primary data was collected through key informant in-depth interview and Archival sources. While secondary data is obtained from the analysis of

documents and other codes of conduct such as from articles, published books and websites journals, published reports, magazines, books, newspapers, and conference proceedings, unpublished documents, online and legal documents. Detailed content analysis is made all available documents obtained like first ten-year implementation plan, Agenda 2063 Framework and Second Continental report were analyzed accordingly.

The data collected through the primary sources were triangulated through secondary sources by reviewing closely related documents on the issue under investigation.

#### **4. Major Findings of the Study**

More efforts are required to accelerate the implementation of the set of goals and targets defined in Agenda 2063. In its implementation process from 2015 to 2021, Agenda 2063 has been facing countless continental challenge like Limited National and Continental Capacity, Poverty, Controversy over State Sovereignty, Peace and Security Concerns and Ethnicity and Nationalism with related global level challenges unbalanced North South Relation and Globalization, Global Terrorism Network, Global Donors Conditionality and environmental Challenges/Climate Change are the major challenges which have been hampering full translation of plan into action. The remaining part of the article deals with both internal and external challenges that the implementation of the Agenda 2063 has been facing since its inception.

#### **4.1. Internal or Continental Level Challenges**

Despite a lot of actions that have been taking place for the realization of political and economic integration in Africa, there are a lot of challenges which have been hindering materialization of the same to the extent the continent has to be since its independence. Accordingly, the following section of the article deals with limited national and continental capacity, poverty and the controversy over state sovereignty, peace and security related issues, ethnicity and nationalism versus Pan-Africanism as a major internal challenge.

##### **4.1.1. Limited National and Continental Capacity**

In all its ramifications, the ultimate goal of ongoing transformations and integration in Africa since 1990, without any doubt, is geared towards mobilization of the long neglected social forces of the continent and how they could contribute their quota to national development. By the formation of the OAU in 1963 the regional body had three key objectives covering unity, security and development, apart from the core goals of achieving decolonization. Even to the no observer of African affairs it is quite easy to discern how woefully the regional body failed in fulfilling the African dream of emancipation and development. According to Okhonmina (2009:9), transition from Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) is praised as a transition to an intended transformation of the existing institutional framework into a qualitatively higher form of integration and cooperation that would

better meet the aspiration of the peoples of Africa for greater unity and solidarity in line with the vision of the founding fathers. There is no regional arrangement in Africa that has moved to the supra-national level. Nevertheless, the African Union is not successful in transforming to political integration. Unlike the Africa Union, the European Economic Community had already attained a high level of efficiency before its transition to the European Union (Ansah, 2013).

According to interviewee from Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs permanent mission to African Union and United Nation Economic Commission for Africa, lack of mechanisms and resources for effective planning, coordination, implementation, monitoring and pragmatic adjustment of programs on the ground have been constraining social, political and economic continental level integration process in Africa. In the area of trade and mobility of factors of production, African integration has been relatively more outward-looking at the expense of intra-regional trade and also xenophobia has partly hampered labor movement among members, while capital mobility has been constrained by largely undeveloped financial markets.

Domestic, regional financial and investment constraints have also been hampering regional integration, which requires considerable resources to plan, coordinate, implement, and monitor progress in its implementation. There is low saving as a percentage of GDP, while foreign direct investment remains elusive and eschew Africa. Furthermore, official development

assistance has also been dwindling (Soludo, Osita, and Ha-Joon, 2004).

According to primary information from the Institute of Strategic Affairs of African desk, lack of full private sector involvement at both planning and implementation stage has not elicited maximum deliberate input from this important sector, which usually has the financial resources and owns productive capacity. In most countries the private sector remains weak and is still not well organized.

There is also a high degree of vulnerability to exogenous shocks, including heavy and unsustainable external debt burdens, inadequate and erratic external resource inflows, unfavorable terms of trade, witness the current oil price shocks affecting non-oil exporting countries amidst declining primary commodity prices, while civil strife itself a result of abject poverty and other forms of socio-economic and political instability have also had their toll (Soludo, Osita, and Ha-Joon, 2004).

According to Teshome Shunde, Permanent mission of Ethiopia to AU and ECA, Directorate, Host country administration affairs, lack of political will to mainstream regional commitments and agreements into national plans to ensure the success of the process, Weak national and regional institutions, lack of coordination and harmonization of economic policies, lack of involvement of other stakeholders like the private sector and civil society in the cooperation and integration process, inadequacy of human and



institutional capacity for the design and implementation of cooperation and integration programs, inadequate infrastructure, poor design and inadequate sequencing of regional integration arrangements, multiplicity and overlapping membership of regional integration schemes and mandates, inadequate funding of regional integration process and related institutions are the major capacity and good will related internal challenges for effective implementation of agenda 2063. The Continent's high enthusiasm for regional integration has not been matched by commensurate political will and commitment of member states to effectively implement agreements reached under various integration arrangements. Few countries on the Continent seem to be prepared for the partial surrender and the pooling of sovereignty, which is critical for the success of any regional integration scheme.

#### **4.1.2. Poverty**

According to Mkwezalamba & Chinyama (2014), Poverty is one of the problems which have been persistently hindering the successful implementation of the agenda 2063 since its inception. The people living in extreme poverty (living on less than US\$1 per day) in Africa increased from time to time, while the other world developing countries as a whole registered a significant reduction in extreme poverty. According to our key informants, poverty is one of the biggest challenges in African political and economic integration process today because most of African people are living under abject poverty, they are vulnerable to recurrent conflict, poor

infrastructure, poor education and lack of necessary resources are additional challenges to not effectively translate the plan into action.

Whilst overall, poverty has been on the decline in Africa, the number of poor has continued to rise as a result of a growing population. According to a U.N. report, poverty decreased from 54% in 1990 to 41% in 2015, despite the increasing number of poor. This trend has continued until today and, as the current numbers show, African countries continue to have the highest poverty rates in the world. A fast-growing population is one of the factors that counter poverty eradication efforts across Africa. However, a burgeoning middle class in many countries has seen the overall poverty rate decline. In 2021, there are 490 million people in Africa living in extreme poverty, or 36% of the total population. This number was as high as 481 million in 2019. Though there seems to be a declines in overall performances, it represents an overall increase as compared to population growth rate in Africa, as the population increased by roughly 30 million (Hendrik, 2021:2).

Poverty is the cause for inadequate social infrastructures in Africa such as low level of transportation, communications, education, health etc. For instance, in the area of communications Africa has the lowest telephone density in the world and the highest telephone charges. There are also low transportation infrastructures in each African state and between or among African Countries (Demelo & Tsikata, 2016).

### 4.1.3. Controversy over State Sovereignty

The establishment of the African Union exemplifies how the Pan-African ideology is widely accepted but is yet to be put into practice. Because of this, putting it into practice also poses a threat to state sovereignty and the political survival of African heads of states. The idea of African nationalism has since then been truncated by the creation of the Organization of African Unity. As most African leaders think, the real integration process would radically diminish the authority now enjoyed by the heads of many modern African states, as their supreme authority base would have been superseded (Crutcher, 1966: 133). Member states firmly believe that political integration may erode their sovereignty. States may be forced to give up their supreme power for another supranational entity. They strongly believe that the ultimate decision-making power would go to the supra institution weakening the power and authority of national governments of Africa. As a result, leaders are still working to strengthen their own decisions by strengthening national states rather than surrendering part of state sovereignty to envisaged supra-institution (De melo, & Tsikata, 2016).

According to Dereje Beyene, Permanent mission of Ethiopia to AU and ECA, African countries are not yet willing to surrendered sovereignty to the AU. This has been also hindering the integration process in Africa as per plan envisaged by the Agenda 2063. Generally, with every policy created by the African Union that defies the norm, there is bound to be pushbacks. For example with

the Africa Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) in motion, since March 1, 2018, the agreement has received criticism from heads of states. Although the agreement has been labeled as historical for the integration of the continent, from the onset, heads of states from South Africa and Nigeria, to name a few, but powerful African states refused to sign the agreement. Further worsening the situation, even those who are signatories of the agreement are not working for effective implementation of the agreement. This has been partly caused by the lack of prior cost-benefit analysis and broad internal consultations on the part of the member countries. In some cases, changes in the socio-economic and political dynamics within the member states involved have also militated against implementation of regionally agreed upon programs, especially where socio-economic sacrifices are high.

### 4.1.4. Peace and Security Concerns

Violent conflicts pose a significant political and societal challenge throughout Africa. By the same token, in addition to varying constellations of conflict, they all have in common the fact that poor governance and the side-effects of corruption all the way to lack of socio-economic participation are basic causes of insecurity. Poor governance for its part to a large extent goes hand in hand with the loss of legitimacy and authority, offering fertile ground for violence and further conflict. At the same time, the nature of conflicts has changed in a fundamental manner: it is no longer primarily ostensibly ethno-political struggles or conflicts over distribution in the scramble for power and

resources, but rather also transnational violence by terrorists acting together with organized crime that are increasingly undermining the nation-state system.

Against this background of ongoing threats to peace and security, the structure and design of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) assumes a key role on the African continent as well as in European-African relations. Nevertheless, the APSA also leaves many issues unresolved. Thus, neither interaction between the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), nor the question of how the financial dependence of Africa can be reduced in the operationalization of the APSA has been satisfactorily resolved. According to Gebrewold (2016), the causes of political conflict are difficult to identify. Along with this simple instance of regional and ethnic conflict, an even more complex problem can be understood from the aggressive expansion of Islamic groups such as the Wahhabis who are causing conflicts throughout Northern Africa (Williams, 2016).

According to the United Nations Economic Commission of Africa (2021), problems of peace and security continue to challenge Africa's integration and development efforts in recent years. For instance, a number of African countries such as Sudan (Darfur), Sudan-South Sudan, Ethiopia-Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt, Somalia and Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Chad, Mali, Libya the Comoros and the Central African Republic experienced conflicts and civil wars. These conflicts have devastating

consequences in the process of African political integration because conflicts increase the degree of mistrust among Africans. According to our key informants and experts both stressed by repeating what the United Nation Economic Commission for Africa expressed by saying conflict in Africa are one of the main obstacles for the full implementation of pan African vision which by diverting the attention of the leaders from development towards security focus and it increase the mistrust among the nation state in the continent (United Nations Economic Commission of Africa, 2021).

#### **4.1.5. Ethnicity and Nationalism**

According to Gomes (2014), nationalism has been the major obstacle to political integration of Africa. Most African states focus on their national identity rather than continental level identity like "Africanness". The major reason for this was that the post-colonial leadership for the nation building process and political mobilization sharply took along narrow nationalism or ethnic identity. Ethnicity was at the center of any attempt to control state power. Till now, almost all African countries' politics and administration is operating along ethnic lines. Due to this reason, African governments pay lip service to the importance of African political integration and common identity.

While Pan-Africanism started as a stateless and nationless movement, since the 1958 conference in Accra, it has had to reconcile its more transcendental agenda with the national agenda of new states and nations. The sheer size of the



continent and the dispersion of peoples of African descent have meant that the Pan-Africanist project has had to come to terms with a wide range of identities, interests and concerns (Mkandawire, 2004:2). As key informants complement, Pan-Africanism may be attributed to a lack of identification with Africa, because Africans are mired in their diverse identities. There is also a perception that individual countries have firmly established successful national identities that somehow militate against the Pan-African ideal.

According to Murobe (2000:58), competing and conflicting multiple identities which include gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, race and geographical allocation, to name only a few at times, have been putting the Pan-Africanism objectives under severe stress. Ethnicity has always been considered as the most ubiquitous and most dreaded identity in Africa. Africa on the other hand has yet to complete its nation building and realization of development for ever-growing demand. Ethnicity is seen as inimical to both. It weakened the state by the conflicts it engendered and the multiplicity of its claims simply denied the new countries a national According to interview from Institute of Strategic Affairs, the nationalist movement saw recognition of this pluralism as succumbing to the divide and rule tactics of the colonialists and neo-colonialist forces that were bent on denying African independence, or whenever they accepted it, they emptied it of any meaning by nursing the fissiparous potential that social pluralism always harbored, and so nationalism saw itself as up in

arms against imperialism and the retrograde forces of tribalism.

Despite the Machiavellian machinations of the colonial establishment in segmenting and fragmenting the colonized, the reality was that the socio economic upheavals unleashed by colonialism questioned people's erstwhile identities, and therefore led to the continuation of identity formation and boundary redefinition. This process of identity formation continued unabated. The point, therefore, needs to be made that right through the colonial period, into the immediate post-colonial period, and now to the contemporary post-independence period, the processes of identity formation and boundary re-definition have continued. An understanding of this process is just as important as comprehending the vicious divide and rule machinations of British colonialism or the political opportunism of the various factions of the ruling classes of the post-colonial state.

## **4.2.External/Global Level Challenges**

The main external challenges that will be discussed in this section include the unbalanced north south relation, globalization, international financial institutions, environmental/climate challenges and recent outbreak of the covid-19 pandemic.

### **4.2.1. Unbalanced North-South Relations and Globalization**

According to Ansah (2013), the broader global economic and political environment is dominated by strong nations particularly by the western

world. African countries are still largely dependent on economic and political support of industrial countries for survival. Thus, this has been eroding Africa's potential of realizing the implementation of the agenda 2063 and equally affecting the overall internal integration process and integration to global political economy at large. African states cannot rely on themselves because everything in Africa is influenced by the industrialized states. According to our key informants, the era of globalization has been affecting the development effort of the continent like Africa in multidimensional aspects. Even though global trade has fluctuated over the years, it has also rapidly increased. However, the structure and pattern of trade vary significantly by-products and regions. Undoubtedly, trade has come with both benefits and daunting challenges to countries involved, especially in African nations, where primary and intermediate merchandise formed a substantial share of exports. Because advanced and newly industrialized economies have better technology and know-how, manufacturing industries, access to finance, and market than Africa, they have a greater market proportion in the world trade. Arguably, African countries have been left in the cold as they struggle to compete with advanced economies.

According to Ambassador Aklilu Kebede, from the ministry of foreign affairs, the stakeholders of capitalist economy impose the bureaucratic producer for developing countries that impedes the efforts of market diversification and most of the time it works against the interest of the

developing countries. Therefore, the economic relation is hampered with the over domination and bureaucratic nature of international environment that developing country cannot compete with international environment.

The state of the current debate on globalization can generally be summarized as: yes, it confers enormous benefits, but it also poses great challenges. In the case of Africa, however, even the first part of this proposition is not uncontested-globalization's benefits have largely proven elusive for Africa. Reaping these benefits is predicated on embracing globalization in the first place. Has Africa done so-has it globalized or has it been marginalized from world trade? On this question, there seems to be an uneasy tension between two views, with distinct policy implications. According to the first, popular view, Africa has missed out on the opportunities offered by globalization simply because it has not globalized. The second view is that Africa did take advantage of trading opportunities in line with the evolution in its income and development. Academic support for this view comes from the spate of evidence that demonstrates that Africa does not trade too little: it is an average trader, trading just as much as can be expected given the underlying determinants of trade, such as income, geography, and size. Whichever view might be true, Africa is not yet properly integrated into the global economy and the notion has been affecting effective implementation of the agenda 2063.

#### 4.2.2. Global Terrorism Network

According to Donohue (2005:67), terror attacks have had a long history, it is reported that terror attacks were used to frighten innocent civilians in ancient Greek, Egyptian and Roman civilizations, and first used and echoed in England in 1528. Snow says that the word terrorism is derived from the Latin root *terrere*, which means “to frighten” (Snow, 2012:83). In France, the term terrorism was later used to describe the political violence of the Jacobean Party (Krieken 2002:56). It is equally argued that after the Second World War in 1945, people in colonized countries, particularly in the third world, initiated self-determination movements to free their nations from state occupation and terrorism (Basil, 1994:47). Whatever its conception might be, terrorism has been appearing a number one threat to many African states. A typical example is the case of Somalia, Libya and Mali, Chad where the state has academically been once viewed as failed, and even with the recent establishment of the current functioning government, Somalia and Libya still faces challenges caused by some of its ungoverned territories. This led to the rise of Al-Shabaab, a terrorist group linked to Al-Qaeda, and the increased insecurity in the Horn of Africa became unbearable which had the spillover effect on the continent as a whole.

According to key informants’ and experts’ argument, the AU lacks a coherent plan to fight terrorism and terror attacks and it has become a major threat to the national economy and has been leading to state fragility and failure in Africa.

Hence, one can argue that failure to tackle economic impact caused by the terror attacks in Africa will certainly fuel political violence. Sotunde (2015), for instance, argues that in West Africa, terror attacks have intensified following escalation of the Niger Delta conflict in 2006 and the resurgence of the Islamist sect Boko Haram (Nigeria) in 2009 (Sotunde 2015). Arguably, Boko Haram is expanding to other neighboring countries in West and North Africa. For instance, Boko Haram attacks have also been reported in Chad and Cameroon. Similarly, Al Shabaab is escalating to other parts of the Horn of Africa. It is important to understand that terror attacks are deadly in nature, and will soon overwhelm the continent.

The terror attacks on the tourist hotel in Tunisia shows that terror attacks are prevalent and cause economic insecurity in the North of Africa (Elgot 2015). Additionally, in the Horn of Africa Al-Shabaab is constantly claiming people’s lives in Kenya and will soon spread to engulf the Horn of Africa and East Africa regions. It could be argued that the prevalence of the terror attacks in Africa and the AU’s lack of a clear plan and strategy (Strydom 2015) to deal with it and its socio-political and economic effects, make the AU’s Agenda 2063 a utopia aspiration than realistic. Significant numbers of resources and institutions have been diverted to fight terrorism than focusing on the agenda 2063.

According to Snow (2015:83), in the Horn of Africa region, mainly in Kenya, terror attacks have enormously affected people’s security. These

attacks have continuously led many communities to live in fear of unexpected terror attacks and deaths. In Nigeria, the recent case of girls kidnapped by Boko Haram can help us understand that terrorists did it for the purpose of gaining publicity and showing the world that they exist and that they are strong. Another, and probably more essential, purpose of terrorist acts is to cause widespread disorder that demoralizes society and breaks down the social order in a country.

McKenna points out that equity markets are also affected in times of terror attacks; because information travels quickly, knowledge of uncertainty in the financial markets can induce decisions rapidly, exacerbating contagion and spreading investor panic (McKenna, 2015). The realization of Agenda 2063 depends on the initiative and effort by the AU and its member states to deal with terrorism and its effects on the economic sector. Sadly, the AU lacks a clear strategy on how to deal with terrorism and its effects. Moreover, those countries plagued by a larger number of terror attacks trade significantly less with each other (Sotunde, 2015).

The AU member states and the regional bodies lack a coherent strategy that would help states deal with terrorism and prevent its effects on economic development collectively (OAU Convention, 1999). Without having a clear-cut strategy on how to fight terrorism in Africa, clause 37 of the AU's Agenda 2063 ambitiously claims that by 2063 "Africa shall be free from terrorism". Moreover, in the OAU convention, predecessor of

the AU; article 4, clause 2(a), highlights that the OAU shall "prevent their territories from being used as a base for the planning, organization or execution of terrorists' acts or for the participation or collaboration in these acts in any form whatsoever". This motive also was spelt out without devising clear strategy on how to contain terrorism in Africa. It is argued that the AU took the initiative to take serious measures and authorize a multinational force only when Boko Haram became a trans-boundary threat, affecting neighboring Chad and Cameroon (Sotunde, 2015). AU does not have a regional or continental level strategy on how to combat terrorism (Ewi and Kwesi, 2006:36).

#### **4.2.3. Global Donors Conditionality**

Aid is the second, but arguably the largest, source of AU funding. Almost thirty traditional and emerging donors provide money, technical assistance, and in-kind donations. The EU is the biggest donor, and has the most comprehensive package of aid modalities or tools and programmes. The AU has to follow different planning, budgeting and governance procedures for donor contributions than membership contributions. Donor driven the agenda 2063 implementation process will arguably may face many problems. First, the dialogue with donors on their indicative support does not always happen in a disciplined and timely manner, with wishful thinking sometimes taking over from sound planning. Another difficulty relates to donor procedures and practices, as their funding is tied

to a range of conditionality including fiduciary constraints that each can interpret and apply in discretionary ways, creating other types of uncertainty. Third, donors differ in how they deal with these shortcomings in the planning process and in their efforts to reduce the negative knock-on effect (Helen Souki, 2020)

According to Chingono and Nakana (2008), regional Integration in Africa is advised to be in horizontal economic linkages i.e., among Africans themselves. However, the existing structure is vertical. Its economic relation is primarily based between developing and developed world. The North has a strong interest in Africa for accessing raw materials and markets for manufactured products. According to experts and our key informants, the economic relation between the developing and developed world is unbalanced because of international financial institutions.

According to Ansah, (2013), through manipulation of the international trading system by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO), raw agricultural and mineral products are bought at low prices determined by the North (buyers), processed and sold back to the South at higher prices also determined by the North. This leads to deterioration in terms of trade and balance of payments deficits, debt and dependency become challenges to the political integration of the continent. The overall reality in Africa signifies the implementation of the agenda 2063 is almost dependent on capitalist countries.

#### **4.2.4. Environmental Challenges/Climate Change**

According to Debay (2010:1), climate change has been identified as a leading human and environmental crisis of the 21st century. The problem of understanding climate change or global warming is one of the major challenges confronting African people, their governments and the African Union (AU). Moreover, it has been argued that climate change leads to acute conflicts and it therefore becomes imperative to achieve a proper understanding of the phenomenon in Africa. Great public, political and academic attention is now being devoted to the issue of global warming and climate change. A broad scientific and political consensus has been established that climate change poses a considerable threat to Africa, its ecosystems and many of its species and climate change in Africa is identified as a security threat. According to our key informants, Climate change is having a growing impact on the African continent, hitting the most vulnerable hardest, and contributing to food insecurity, population displacement and stress on water resources.

According to the African Union Commission (2015:53), Climate change is a global threat with severe, cross-sectorial, long-term, and in several cases, irreversible impact. While Africa's contribution to the effects of global climate change remains low due to its low industrialization rate, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in its Report declared Africa as one of the most vulnerable continents to



climate change. Furthermore, the most recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report confirms that African ecosystems are already being affected by climate change, and future impacts are expected to be substantial.

Africa's fragile peace and security is also severely impacted by the worsening environmental stress and resulting population displacement, spontaneous large-scale migration, land encroachment, and refugees. Sea level rise, increased frequency of coastal cities and erosion of coastal assets would severely impact major African cities. Nevertheless, Africa has a huge opportunity to build robust economies with sustained high economic growth rate, while at the same time reducing the immense risks of climate change (African Union Commission, 2015:53).

There is significant regional variability in sea-level trends around Africa. Sea-level increase reached 5 mm per year in several oceanic areas surrounding the continent and exceeded 5 mm per year in the south-western Indian Ocean from Madagascar eastward towards and beyond Mauritius. This is more than the average global sea-level rise of 3-4 mm per year. Coastal degradation and erosion is also a major challenge, especially in West Africa. About 56% of the coastlines in Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal and Togo are eroding and this is expected to worsen in the future. Sea level rise is currently not the dominant contributor but is expected to combine with other factors in future to exacerbate the negative consequences of environmental changes (UN Climate Change News, 2020). Given this fact

it is hardly possible to realize swift and smooth implementation of the agenda 2063.

#### **4.2.5. Outbreak of the Covid-19 Pandemic**

According to the CDC Africa report, (2021), The COVID-19 pandemic has claimed over 100,000 African lives and nearly 4 million cases have been recorded so far. Africa's COVID-19 story is one of nuances. Only 10 countries account for over 80% of all cases, island nations suffer peculiar impacts, rural-urban differentiation is evident, socioeconomic implications reveal gender biases, and trade patterns matter. There is no single Africa COVID-19 story. Addressing COVID-19 in Africa and designing appropriate remedial strategies requires a thorough understanding of Africa's diverse contexts and an appreciation of the role of regional integration in defining solutions.

UNDP Africa's new report: also "Analyzing long-term socio-economic impacts of COVID-19 across diverse African contexts" examines the effect COVID-19 will have on macro-economic development in 10 African countries by 2030 and 2050. The study highlights the multifaceted economic and social consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic across Africa, including on human development indicators, economic interdependence, and growth and resilience patterns. Changes in mortality, economic growth and international financial flows in Angola, Cabo Verde, Chad, DRC, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Mauritius, Nigeria and South Africa are analyzed in the document. The report also assesses the

longer-term impacts on trade, economic growth and health indicators and proposes actionable solutions (UNDP Africa, 2021).

According to interviewee from Director of Trade at the African Economic Community Secretariat, recent covid-19 pandemic Index report has great major challenges currently facing the continent in the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area and poverty reduction and continental unity because it strongly limiting the intended trade movement because of scale down in all forms of operation in the continent. Similarly, the African Union Commission Planning and Resource Mobilization Department (2021), the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic is a big challenge for the continental implementation of agenda 2063, first because of limiting the trade connection, people mobility and scaling down of most of the African union operation in the continent and even the national state level.

Jean Guy, African Development Bank's Acting Director for the Regional Integration Coordination Office, said the Covid-19 pandemic has exposed the vulnerabilities of the continent, especially the low levels of intra-African trade and the proliferation of non-tariff barriers. "The continent will only grow economically if we allow the free flow of goods and services across our borders, allow free movement of people, and scale up regional value chains. As a matter of urgency, we bring down tariff and non-tariff barriers, encourage cross-border trade, and open the African skies (ECA, 2021:12).

## 5. Conclusion

Agenda 2063, as stated by many scholars, is Africa's blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa into the global powerhouse of the future driven by its own citizens that represents a dynamic force in the global arena. As the continent's strategic framework, it aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development and to achieve this by building on and accelerating existing continental initiatives for growth and sustainable development. It is a concrete manifestation of the pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. The African Union's Agenda 2063 action plan was formed at the Organization of African Unity/African Union 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May 2013. In terms of the plan, African leaders made a pledge to accelerate growth, development and prosperity on the continent going forward to 2063. At the time of its inception, there was a strong hope on the part of the continent's leaders that the agenda is important to ensure capable, inclusive and accountable states and institutions. The role of regional economic communities as building blocks was also expected to do their level best for the realization of the agenda. To achieve this, an effort by all sectors of society is required. Furthermore, the agenda was strongly hoped to create an integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of pan-Africanism and the vision of the African renaissance. Nonetheless, its

implementation process has been challenged by a number of continental level and global level bottlenecks, leaving a huge gap and deficit between what has been planned and what has been achieved so far. Unless African leaders come together to further accelerate its implementation deficit that has been witnessed in its first 10 years of implementation, the agenda would remain utopian aspiration rather than practical reality.

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