MAINSTREAMING THE PAN AFRICAN IDEALS IN THE AFRICAN UNION (AU) AGENDA 2063. THE AFRICA WE WANT

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ABSTRACT

Pan Africanism was a movement that developed from the Diaspora in London. Its avowed aim was to protect, promote the dignity of the black race and assert their right to self-governance. This was against the orchestrated dehumanization of Africans through the Atlantic slave trade and the subsequent colonial brutalization. From the 1940s the Movement laid the groundwork for the emancipation of Africans from all forms of humiliation and exploitation. This eventually led to political independence from the 1960s. An important aspect of Pan Africanism is that of self-reliance for development. Sadly from the 1980s to the 21st century, almost all the programmes for the realization of the Pan African Ideal have been consigned to the twilight zone of insignificance. These include but not limited to the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and the African Common Market. This study seeks to examine how the ideals of Pan Africanism can be mainstreamed to achieve the vision of   AU Agenda. This is a qualitative study. Data collected was based on Secondary sources. These include review of existing literature official bulletins, magazines, visit to research Centers such as the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIA) Lagos, and the Center for Advanced social science in Port Harcourt. It was discovered that past programmes by African leaders were abandoned or coerced to abandon the self-reliant strategy of Pan Africanism. This has made the continent subservient to external forces. We, therefore, recommend that for the African Union Agenda 2063 to achieve its Mission and Vision, it must not deviate from the hallowed tenets of Pan African Ideals, as enunciated in the First Conference of the All African Independent States in April 1958.

Keywords: Pan Africanism, African Union, Self-Reliant Strategy, Development, Self-Governance

INTRODUCTION

Africa has passed through varied harrowing odyssey. Apart from its internally-induced contradictions, the determined efforts of external forces to cart away its natural endowment has inescapably consigned the continent to profound waste, disorder, and dependency syndrome. The aftermath was the erosion of self-esteem and total disdain and disregard of its socio-cultural, economic and political institutions in preference for those of the invaders. The peak of this colonial paradigm was a rejection of the essence of Africanness, and to visualize the world from the prism and perspective of the invader. The ideological impact of this pre-mediated process was to ensure and guarantee an easy access into the continent's mineral reservoir. This crude process also involved the stereotyping of Africa's historical contributions to global civilizations as non-existent, existing in a historical void and non-logical era. All these prepared the mindset for the inhuman trade that treated Africans as half-animals and article of merchandise. Du Bois (1996:79-80) averred that:

> In defense of slavery and the slave trade, and the up building of capitalistic industry and imperialist colonialism, Africa and the Negro have been read almost out of the bounds of humanity. They lost in modern thought their history and cultures. All that was human in Africa was deemed European or Asiatic. Africa was no integral part of the world because the world which raped it had to pretend that it has not harmed a man but a thing.

It was largely this dehumanizing treatment that sparked an emphatic reaction for African identity, especially in the Diaspora. The inextinguishable faith and irrepressible African spirit became the compass that directed the momentum for racial equality. They reaffirmed the common heritage of the Black race, and echoed its unique contributions to global civilization and unequivocally asserted that Africa is the pivot of humanity. Nkrumah (1977:30) noted this common heritage when he declared that:

> I am constantly impressed by how much we have in common. It is not just our colonial past, or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something which goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a sense of oneness in that we are Africans.

From the late eighteenth centuries to the mid-twentieth centuries, Africans did not relent in fearlessly asserting their rights, dignity, racial pride and need for unity. The zenith of this struggle was the 1945 Manchester conference in London. The conference unmistakably stated their readiness to use any means available to secure African freedom. In the declaration to the colonial powers, they stated that:

> The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world (Mutiso and Rohio, 1987:354-5).

The rising consciousness that was unleashed in the political ferment heralded the political independence of many African States in the 1960s. Subsequently, other activities followed such as the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on May 25, 1963, the AU in 2002 and the complete defeat of colonial rule when apartheid collapsed in 1994.

Regrettably, in spite of these epoch-making achievements, the continent is still facing a disastrous future. The rising expectations and independence promise have fizzled out, leaving a trail of hopelessness, frustration, fratricidal wars, extreme poverty and preventable diseases. Indeed, many African States are on the threshold of being declared shadow States. Although efforts have been made to halt the drift, such as the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the Abuja Treaty and other Regional initiatives, yet the continent seems to be experiencing a worrisome cascade.

It was against this scenario that during the 50th anniversary of OAU/AU in 2013, African leaders resolved to halt this negative trend by closing the gap between expectation and reality. The result was a comprehensive vision for the development of Africa in the next five decades. This paper therefore, seeks to examine how the Pan African ideals can be mainstreamed in the AU Agenda 2063.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

There are two salient concepts in this paper. We need to clarify them for a better appreciation. They are Mainstreaming and Pan African ideals. Mainstreaming can be traced to an educational method used to measure, evaluate and correct an inherent imbalance in children. In this method, children with certain learning disability are integrated with the normal ones in a classroom with a view to gradually correcting such disorder. By the 1970s, it gained currency when the United Nations (UN) declared the Decade of women and started a series of international conferences which focused on women as in Mexico - 1975, Copenhagen - 1980, Kenya – 1985, Beijing – 1995. One interesting fallout of these conferences was that mainstreaming became a feminist phraseology aimed at promoting, respecting and protecting gender equality in all national and international programmes and policies. It is the process of pivoting the essential traits of an idea to ensure sustainability so that it would not be lost in the limbo of forgetfulness. Indeed, it is a

strategy to perpetuate a generally accepted trend or an ideal. This is because if such a trait is allowed to atrophy society may be in a chaotic and timorous condition.

Pan African ideals represent the core values of Pan African ideology. It summarizes the main ingredients and focus of Pan Africanism. Without these ideals the movement becomes hollow and incapable of evoking any popular appeal. These ideals are African unity, self-reliance, African Personality, equality and racial pride. All these formed the fulcrum of all the Pan African conferences right from 1900 to the post -colonial era. It is hoped that the realization of these ideals would hasten the consolidation of African independence trajectory. Nkrumah (1961:125) opined that:

> For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now, what I have called an African personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa's own sons. African personality is itself defined by the cluster of humanist principles which underlie the traditional African solidly (Nkrumah, 2009:79).

African Personality represents a new awakening and rising consciousness across the continent. It cannot be amenable to the trappings of coloniality. Rather, it affirms and upholds the Brotherhood of the Black race and vehemently rejects any imperialist subjectivism. This is the essence of Africa for Africans. In other words, the Pan African Ideals are geared towards the energization of the creative spirit of Africans, and the appropriation of its resources for the benefit of the people. It is tilted towards the re-direction of the paradox of plenty, enthroning a perspicuous leadership, and launching the continent into the mainstream of global political economy. The historical distortion and disarticulation of the continent social formations through the processes of the Atlantic slave trade and colonial imperialism have made these ideals a sine qua non for African development. In fact, a cursory examination of all the Pan African conferences would reveal a prominent mention of them, and as a minimum condition to surmount the challenges of neo-colonialism in the years ahead.

WHAT IS PAN AFRICANISM

Pan Africanism was a movement of ideas and feelings of Africans subjected to inhuman ordeal of slavery. It arose as a force to halt the brutality on people of African descent, protect the dignity; integrity and unity of the Black race. Africans were subsumed into a status-quo which equated blackness with primitive instincts, and a badge of criminality. It had no history except the history of Europeans in Africa. Nkrumah (2009:63) stated that:

> Africa cannot be validly treated merely as the space in which Europe swelled up. If African history is interpreted in terms of interests of European merchandise and capital, missionaries and administrators; it is no wonder that African nationalism is in the form it takes regarded as a perversion and neo-colonialism as a virtue.

It was in furtherance of the goal of self-assertion that the maiden conference took place in London, 1900 pioneered by Henry Sylvester Williams. From 1900 to the mid 1940s, the movement gained temerity, determination and consolidated its unflagging solidarity. This laid the groundwork for eventual political independence in the 1960s, OAU/AU and other Pan African projects. It became a platform to expose the historical fallacies about the continent and to celebrate its salient contributions to world civilization. Nuujoma (2008:9) stated that it was a people's movement, a struggle against the unjust and ruthless oppression of the African people. The vowed agenda of Pan Africanism was to out rightly demystify and unmask the real intention of imperialism not only in Africa, but in the Third World. The realization of this agenda would ensure an end to African peripherality and chatelization of Africans. This is why it is often viewed as an exercise in self-determination undertaken by a special group or social class which speaks on behalf of the population as a whole (Abdul-Raheem, 1996:217).According to Kwayana (1993:20), Pan Africanism is,

> A body of thought and action shared but not uniform or dogmatic. A dynamic movement constantly transforming itself and gaining new ideological perspectives in light of changing circumstance; enriching itself through its own experience; Flowing from masses, groups and occasionally leaders of governments; tending to the goal of the restoration of freedom and dignity for Africans at home and abroad.

Scholars like Nkrumah (1963), Rodney (1996), Blyden (1967) and Campbell (1985) have noted that Pan Africanism was a rallying point to raise African consciousness, to combat a common enemy in all ramifications. They believed in the efficacy of self-reliance, unity and respect of human values as basic conditions for African freedom and global peace. This connotes an abandonment of the monorail of western orthodoxy which negate the destiny and direction of African development trajectory. As Nkrumah (1973:319) puts it,

> Aid to a neo-colonial state is merely a revolving credit paid by the neo-colonial master, passing state and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increased profits.

By the late twentieth to the beginning of the twenty-first centuries, the ideals of racial pride, political independence and equality was almost achieved. The desire for unity, benevolent

leadership, accountability and development became the flashpoints of the movement. This was epitomized in the Sirte Declaration of September 9, 1999, the AU Declaration on the General Principles of Election and even the AU Agenda 2063. Esedebe (1980:14) pointed out that:

> Pan Africanism has consistently moved towards these ideals of African unity and African pride. With independence achieved, the demands are now for the academic pursuit of African studies, for a re-examination of African history, religious ideas, legal principles and social institutions in which the lead should be taken by Africans in the interpretation of things African.

This is the epoch of the fifth wave of Pan African thinking expressed in self-assertion through mental emancipation, transparent politics, and to find a balance between solidarity and continental unity on the one hand, and the politics of democratic governance on the other (Lindsberg, 2004:117). This wave of Pan Africanism abhors exclusivist and vanguardist politics that have bedeviled African States for too long. It is also a determination and acceptance of African fractals as a basic requirement for peace and security. This suggests a clean break from a binary categorization of humanity in two antagonist blocks, as an alibi to perpetuate man's inhumanity to man. In other words, the fifth wave of Pan Africanism is aimed at repositioning Africa at the summit of affairs, where it would play a historical role in conflict mediation. It is against this backdrop that Abdul-Ruheem (1996:19) noted that:

> The Pan African agenda has to focus on ways to achieve more equitable access to the use and benefit of nature, to improving the productivity and livelihood of the African people and invoking the participation of the majority of the region's poor people in an African strategy for sustainable development.

It is germane at this point to state that there is no ambivalence from the ideals of the movement right from the 1900s to the 21st century. What is important is that the ideals have been undergoing some kind of philosophical enrichment based on challenging circumstances. Nevertheless, this has not deviated from its pristine racial pride, self-reliance, unity and equality at all times and places. In fact, in celebration of these ideals, Rodney (1996:39) asserted that ancient Africa was in the mainstream of human history. Rodney's (1996) assertion was elaborated by Blyden (1967:113). He stated that:

> Africans were not unknown to the writers of the Bible. Their peculiarities of complexion and hair were as well known by the ancient Greeks and Hebrews, as they are of American people today. And when they spoke of Ethiopia, they meant ancient, the ancestors of black-skinned and woolly haired people who for two hundred and fifty years have been known as labourers on the plantation of the

south. It is these people, and to their country that the Psalmist refers, when he says 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God'.

We can summarize that the foundation of the present Pan African Ideals was laid in the early twentieth century. It was the aftermath of grounding together for many years.

MAIN FEATURES OF AGENDA 2063

We noted that Pan Africanism arose as a byproduct of the ignominious acts and treatment meted to people of African stock. It was subsequently expanded to project the continent into the mainstream of global economy. Kwame Nkrumah, first President of Republic of Ghana had no illusion about imperialist forage in Africa. He alerted Africans of the looming challenges in the years ahead, if a United Africa does not become a reality.

> If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form a political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with imperialists and colonialists standing behind the screen pulling various wires, to make us cut each other's throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa (Bankie and Mchombu, 2008: 212).

In a sense of fulfillment, he enthused that in the horizon Africa's future I see clearly the bright dawn of a union government, the birth of a great nation which is no longer the dream of a new utopia. Africa the sleeping giant is now awake and is coming into her very own (Nkrumah, 1973: 275). Unfortunately, his intellectual perspicacity and sharp vision was misinterpreted, misjudged and condemned as the postulations of an overambitious dreamer. Interestingly, by the late twentieth to the beginning of the twenty-first century, Nkrumah's political vision started crystallizing in Africa's political horizon. The Siete Declaration of 1999, the African Parliament and other programmes reinforce the inevitability of African political unity. It was the need and necessity to place the continent on the threshold of that reality that AU Agenda 2063 was born. The history of the Agenda can be traced to the Golden Jubilee celebration of OAU/AU in 2013 at Addis Ababa. African leaders used the occasion to rededicate themselves to the ideals of the Founding Fathers, and to re-focus the activities of the organization for the past fifty years. Their periscope led to the following findings:

(i)   That Africa under the orgies of OAU has made tremendous progress in facilitating the decolonization of the continent as enshrined in article 11 of the O.A.U. charter.

(ii)   That under OAU/AU, there has been an unreserved condemnation and rejection of all forms of internal de-humanization of Africans, political interference into the affairs of member states, as in the article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union.

(iii)   That the OAU/AU has made significant inroads in repositioning the continent in global affairs, through NEPAD, Regional Economic Community (REC) and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).

It was against this scenario that member States of OAU/AU decided to project and envision an Africa within the next five decades. This vision is to make aglow the continent's common commitment to pursue and realize the much awaited African renaissance. To concretize and actualize this vision, AU directed AU Commission (AUC) in support with other bodies like NEPAD Managing Coordinating Agency, African Bank for Development and UNECA to prepare a continental 50 year agenda through a people-driven process outlining the Africa we want, namely Agenda 2063. After many consultations and researches, they came up with what is today called   the African Union Agenda 2063. The Africa We Want. It was accepted in January 30, 2015 and launched at Addis Ababa in May 6, 2016. Apart from the agenda, 2013 was declared as the year of Pan Africanism and African Renaissance. According to the then Special Adviser on Africa, the Agenda is a vision and an action plan. It is a call for action to all segments of African society to work together to build a prosperous and united Africa based on shared values and common destiny.

An interesting part of the Agenda is that it was not a bolt from the blue or exogenously imposed. It was the aftermath of series of interactions and consultative mechanism involving the private sector, academia, civil society, Diaspora and Development Specialists. This is why it is seen as a holistic instrument and a peep into Africa's future in order to fashion a sustainable, endurable and peaceful Africa. It is within this prism that the Agenda is seen as an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena. The Agenda is divided into three components, viz, the Technical Document, Popular Version and the First 10 Years Implementation Plan 2013-2023.

Its unique features can be gleaned from the bottom up approach, with some internal mechanism for monitoring, evaluation, capacity building strategies and accountability. The 10 year implementation plan is a reinforcement of the hope and commitment to the Agenda so that it would not end like other visions of the 1980s. The Agenda is built as a complement of other programmes and policies like the LPA, NEPAD, Abuja Treaty, Constitutive Act of AU, AU vision, the Solemn Declaration and National Plans of member States and RECs. The Abuja Treaty was adopted in June 3, 1991 and it came into force on May 12, 1994. The Treaty created the African Economic Community (AEC). Its avowed aim is to promote economic integration in order to enhance self-sufficiency and provoke internal development. Its implementation of six stages would last for thirty-four years with a common currency and monetary union as its capstone. On the other hand, the Solemn Declaration was adopted by the Ordinary Session of the

Assembly of Heads of States and Government (AHSG) of AU in Addis Ababa on May 26, 2013 to reaffirm its commitment to Pan African ideals and to rededicate itself to the development of the continent. On the Agenda for Social and Economic Development, it declared in section D(ix) that we undertake to make our development agenda responsive to the needs of our peoples, anchored on the preservation of our environment for current and future generation including in the fight against desertification and mitigation of the effects of climate change, especially with regards to island states and land locked countries.

The Popular vision of the Agenda contains seven aspirations upon which the Agenda is anchored. These include:

(i) A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development.
(ii) An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance.
(iii) An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law.
(iv) A peaceful and secure Africa.
(v) An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics.
(vi) An Africa where development is people-driven, unleashing the potentials of its women and youths.
(vii) Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner.

Section 18 of the popular version encapsulates the current challenge of the continent when it noted that:

> Since 1963, the quest for African unity has been inspired by the spirit of Pan Africanism, focusing on liberation, and political and economic independence. It is motivated by development based on self-reliance and self- determination of African people, with democratic and people- centered governance.

The implementation of the Agenda is not the exclusive preserve of the AUC, but a combined effort and synergistic cooperation of African RECs – Economic Community of African States (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC), the Arab Maghreb, South African Development Community (SADC) and Civil Society Groups (SCGs). An interesting feature of the Agenda is the twelve point flagship project. This include but not limited to silencing of guns in 2020, establishment of virtual university, African financial institutions, free movement of persons and African passport and eradication of poverty by 2025.

One of the variables that facilitated the failure of the continent in the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was the paucity of funds. Karach, Beseda and Shaw

(2016: 246) noted that the economy of Sub-Saharan Africa has performed poorly and neither have African countries been successful in implementing social programmes. In order to ensure that the culture of dependency does not affect its implementation, the financing of the Agenda was internally rooted. This is in accordance with the self-reliant resource mobilization. According to the AU Declaration on self-reliance at the 25th ordinary session from January 14-15, 2015, it stated that "we reaffirm that self-reliance is not self-isolation, but a commitment to base the development of our continent primarily in our own resources and to mobilize resources within our continent for development. Therefore, financing the Agenda will come through domestic mobilization, improved access to international finance markets, financial cooperation from emerging development partners, like the BRICs and the Arab world, curbing illicit financial flows and wastages, inefficiency in revenue. It would also tackle corruption bases, financial leakages and wastages. The latter have wrecked a lot of havoc on African economics. According to the UNECA report,

> It is estimated that 100 billion per year, about 4% of Africa's GDP have been illegally earned, transferred, or used much of it due to misinvoicing. This retards Africa's growth, weakens public institutions and rule of law, discourages the culture of paying taxes and value – addition to national resources, and results in countries over relying on official development assistance (UNECA, July 11, 2018).

In 2014 Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) lost between $36 billion to $69 billion in capital flight (Quartz Africa, May 8, 2017), and Nigeria, Ghana and other regional insurance markets annually lost $8 billion (₦2.89 trillion) to offshore insurance markets yearly to Europe and America (This Day, May, 2018). This was revealed at the 45th African Insurance Organization Conference in Ghana. The loss of this huge quantum has led to under-insurance in the continent. Mills et al (2017:65) pointed out that as a result, the African insurance market has, until now, underperformed realizing merely an estimated quarter of its potential value.

Unfortunately, the amount of capital flight from Africa is not commensurate to remittances to Africa. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) noted that remittances increased from $15 billion in 1998 to $21 billion in 2003 (Vanguard, April 24, 2018). In the same vein, the petroleum exports from Africa to the rest of the world stood at $85 billion, but Africa's food import from outside the continent ranked between $63 billion and $84 billion from 2010 to 2015 (African Development Bank Group, May 23, 2017). With a trade deficit and an economy dependent on commodity production with little or no value addition, it is not amazing that funding major development projects becomes problematic. As Mills, et al (2017:160) put it aid and foreign investment are usually thought as the primary funding sources for African

development because poor countries, by definition do not usually have free floating domestic resources. Determined to jettison dependency syndrome and its vicissitudes, AU established the AU/ECA High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa, headed by Thambo Mbeki, former President of South Africa. It also established the anti-corruption campaign of AU, led by Nigerian President, Muhammadu Buhari. According to Mbeki,

> A key external driver of capital flight is the proliferation of offshore finance and the facilitation offered by tax havens that enable the smuggling of legally and illegally acquired capital from Africa, and the concealment of private wealth outside of sight of national regulatory authorities.

The AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption adopted by the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union on July 11, 2003 noted in article 7(3) that member states should develop disciplinary measures and investigative procedures in corruption and related offences with a view to keeping up with technology and increase the efficiency of those responsible in this regard. Section 13 of the Monterey Consensus of the 2002 International Conference on Financing for Development also reinforced the need to tackle corruption in all its manifestations because of its corrosive effect on national development. It stated that:

> Fighting corruption at all levels is a priority. Corruption is a serious barrier to effective resource mobilization and allocation, and diverts resources away from activities that are vital for poverty eradication and economic and sustainable development.

It is expected that all these measures would block the porous holes of capital flight and corrupt activities, so that there will be enough resources to fund the Agenda and accelerate the climb of the continent on the development and technological ladder.

MAINSTREAMING THE PAN AFRICAN IDEALS

AU Agenda is a well thought out vision for the repositioning of Africa in the next fifty years. It is boldly anchored on the ideals of self-reliance unity, determination of African problems by Africans and leadership enmeshed in democratic principles. To mainstream these ideas means that they must form an integral part of the continent's programmes and policies. They must constitute the core values of national and regional plans and even educational institutions. The call for mainstreaming is indeed, a signal to keep aglow the spark of Pan Africanism, and make it part of our cultural realities. The importance of mainstreaming made it appear in 25 places in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. It was this strategy that enhanced and deepened the campaign for gender equality.

It has been observed that the failure of past programmes like the LPA, and NEPAD was because they did not benefit from a rigorous mainstreaming process. It was therefore easy for a contradictory programme like the Elliot Berge report in 1991 to be 'forced' on Africans, in form of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). NEPAD quickly fizzled out when its protagonists left the political scene. Mainstreaming is a minimum condition to perpetuate the vision, vigor and virtues   of Pan Africanism in the daily activities of Africans in the continent and the Diaspora. Member States should as a matter of urgency and principle infuse in their educational curricula these ideals. This is extremely important considering the fact that the generation that enunciated the Agenda may not live to see its fruition. Therefore, every effort must be   made to raise the consciousness of the youth and women that Africans have a common aspiration that bonds us together. This should be a regular mantra at palatial hotels, conferences, seminars, workshops and at the grassroots. It is through this process that a greater part of Africans can be reached.

It is important to stress that the MDGs was rejected because of its top-down approach. Mainstreaming is a bottom-up method that leaves no one in its sensitization and mobilization processes. The importance of this exercise cannot be overemphasized. It would hasten the appreciation and attainment of the goals of Pan Africanism and the Agenda. A commitment to mainstreaming will reinforce and broaden the horizon of the Agenda. More significant is the fact that Africans would gradually begin to realize the uselessness of fighting against fellow Africans, manifested in Xenophobia, internal wars and corruption. The demographic development in Africa has resulted to a youth bulge. This section of the population is the beneficiaries of the Agenda, but amazingly, they bother less about these ideals, and even know nothing about the Agenda. They have alienated themselves from the continent, believing that Africa's redemption can come from beyond Africa. It is this group that our mainstreaming exercise should target. Regrettably, the extent to which this process can be successfully accomplished solely depends on the confrontation of these challenges; (i)Finance (ii)Political will (iii)The state of African economy. It is obvious that money is a major constraint in achieving the goal of the Agenda. Of the 48 African countries, 38 are into commodity production. Sadly they are not in a position to determine the prices of the raw products with no value-added. It is through this process that the continent has been subjected to the vicissitudes and fluctuations of international market. Sometimes, foreign aids are used to supplement domestic savings. This sad situation mortgages the political and economic independence of African countries. In this scenario, it becomes difficult to carry out a comprehensive programme including mainstreaming the ideals of Pan Africanism as embedded in the Agenda. Paucity of finance and economic dependence may scuttle the process of mainstreaming, and eventually ensure a sunset of the Vision.

We must realize that these ideals if attained would not only make the continent attain the expected development height, but would be in a vantage position to determine the direction, focus and strategy of its affairs without external tutelage. This is at variance with the inherent principle of foreign assistance and western imperialism in Africa. Lack of strong political will has led to the failure of Pan African programmes in the continent. Many African rulers are neo-colonialists in thinking and so amendable to colonial imperialist agenda. Some are basking in neo-patrimorialism, with no people-driven vision and gradually reducing their States to a patrimony. Most often, the process of their emergence is warped and fraudulent that they do not owe any allegiance to the people. For these rulers, election is a mere smokescreen to satisfy onlookers. Mills et al (2017:49) noted that:

> The threats to democracy in Africa vary from relationships with outsiders who are internally in short-term profit, including revenue derived from minerals and oil, than in helping develop the institution, faltering nationalism and enduring poverty which can result in votes being bought for a meal or a T-shirt.

The fallacy of electoralism in Africa has made elections a ritual designed to perpetuate the rule of the incumbent, a pre-determined constitutional requirement (Mills et al, 2017:50). It becomes surprising how such anti-democratic rulers who have no respect for their people can facilitate deepening the ideals of Pan Africanism and the Agenda. Although article 11(1) of the AU Declaration in the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa enjoins member States to ensure that democratic elections are the base of the authority of any representative government. They do not care out rightly breaching this continental injunction.

A rulership of this disposition would subvert the ideals of Pan Africanism, rather than mainstream them. It would also act in contradiction with the vision of the Agenda, and cannot generate the capacity to make any impact in the 21st century asymmetrical global world. The state of African economy is such that it can stultify every effort at mainstreaming these noble ideals. Africa ranks below all the indices of human development. The success of every transformative process depends on a healthy population. There is a litany of baneful woes and backwardness that dot the landscape of Africa. By 2016, of the 37 countries worldwide that required crisis support for food shortages, more than 28 were in Africa (Mills et al, 2017:95). Today, there is a link between poverty and population growth, where the latter is especially high in the group of 48 countries designated by the UN as the least developed countries, of which 27 are in Africa (Mills et al, 2017:7).

In spite of high sounding declaration of intent and avowed commitment to eradicate poverty, poverty and preventable diseases like ebola and malaria continue to be a threat to the wellbeing

of Africans. In 2010, Africa produced half of the population affected by severe food security (see table 1).

Table 1: Food Security in 2016

Region	Percentage	Millions
World	9.3	688.5
Africa	27.4	333.2
Asia	7.0	309.2
Latin America	0.4	38.2
North America Europe	1.2	13.0

Food and Agriculture Organization(FAO and WHO) and World Health Organization 2017.

From table 1, we can see that Africa has 27%, representing 333.2 million people suffering from food security. The closest is Asia with 309.2 million. According to the Oxford Party and Human Development Initiative (OPHDI), there are 282 million people in SSA that are destitute. This represents the highest rate in Africa. Destitute represents the poorest of the poor in the world. This sad and mindboggling scenario is compounded by perennial wars as in South Sudan, Central African Republic, human trafficking and other terroristic activities that have ravaged the continent. A continent whose rulers' contempt and disdain democratic etiquette, with a horde of poor, ravaged, internally displaced population, and confronted with groups with ultra fundamentalist agenda cannot settle for a programme that would mainstream the ideals of Pan Africanism.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that Africa is destined to be a foundation for the sustenance of humanity. This explains why every part of the globe wants to have a feed of its abundance. Unfortunately, this interaction for many centuries has exposed the continent to all kinds of outrages, mortification, and colonial violence and forced to exist on the dark side of western-central modernity (Muche, Gumede, Oloruntoba and Cheek, 2016:159).

The intimidating complexities and epistemic destruction subjected the continent outside its shores and consequently, a dependency syndrome became an acceptable condition. In other words, the epoch of Atlantic slave trade and colonialism marked a turning point in the destruction, disarticulation and reawakening of the continent. The awakening marked the dawn

of Pan Africanism whose progressive momentum blazed a trail and raised the consciousness of black people all over the world. From the 1900s, when it was formalized to the 21ˢᵗ century, the common experience of Africans and the urgent need to protect future generation of Africans have never been lost in the mind of African leaders. The continuation and consolidation of the past achievements of the Founding Fathers necessitated the launching of AU Agenda 2063. The Agenda comprehensively captures a transformatory Africa in the next five decades. It is a demonstration of concern by African leaders to make the continent formidable in the years ahead. Right from its inception, to its broad spectrum of consultation to the mechanism put in place for its success; attest to the genuine concern for a successful Agenda. But the extents to which the vision of the Agenda can be put into reality largely depend on the continuous mainstreaming of the Pan African Ideals. This process would enhance the internalization and consolidation of a Pan African consciousness, and the emergence of an African Personality necessary for a successful implementation of the Agenda.

This is where the role of African educational system becomes indispensable. They would provide the academic force and impetus necessary for mainstreaming. Just as education is a leeway to the hallowed chamber of the mind, mainstreaming would raise the crescendo of Pan African Ideals in the daily activities of the people. During the opening of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, on October 25, 1963, the President in no uncertain terms stated that:

> The Institute must help to foster in our university and other educational institutions the kind of education which will produce devoted men and women with imaginations and ideas, who, by their life and actions, can inspire our people to look forward to a great future (Nkrumah, 2017:912).

These ideals were also emphasized at the All-African Peoples' Conference in 1958. Among other things, the conference committed itself to develop a feeling of one community among peoples of Africa with the object of enhancing the emergence of a United States of Africa, encourage intra-African cultural interaction, promotion and facilitation of exchange of teachers and professors. Regrettably, the success of this exercise may be marred by the emerging challenges of poverty, lack of democratic leadership and economic backwardness. Nevertheless, African leaders must rise above these challenges and embark on a series of mainstreaming the Pan African Ideals as a prelude to the implementation of the Agenda. To do otherwise is to reduce the whole exercise to a mere feel-good vision that, is clothed in populist shibboleths, an empty catch-phrase with a nebulous mission.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

It is apposite at this point to make some recommendations for a successful implementation of the Agenda.

(i)   African educational system must be overhauled to accommodate the mainstreaming of Pan African Ideals.

(ii) African rulers should begin to be pragmatic and resourceful in thinking and in their governance method. They should rededicate themselves to the ideals of democratic transition of political power as enshrined in the AU Principles Governing Elections in Africa. It is only a democratic, people-oriented leader that can appreciate the vision of Agenda 2063.

(iii) The implementation of the Agenda should be wary of external influences that have the capacity to torpedo the vision of the Agenda with their imperialist conditionalities.

(iv) Corruption and capital flight must be rigorously pursued at all levels. It should not be politicized, but be part of the governing process of all member States, private and public institutions.

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