THE AFRICAN UNION

HISTORY, AIMS, STRUCTURES AND PROGRAMMES

PYPA

PROGRAM FOR YOUNG POLITICIANS IN AFRICA

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THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AFRICA

THE CRADLE OF HUMANITY

Africa is regarded as the 'cradle of humanity", because of archeological evidence that traces the development of early human beings back to the continent. Homo sapiens moved from Africa to the rest of the world from about 50 000 years ago. While there were some other early human species similar to homo sapiens on other continents, they became extinct and homo sapiens spread throughout the whole world.

The human fossils found in South Africa and Ethiopia date back more than 3 million years. Fossils, ancient rock-art and tools are found from the Namib Desert to the Sahara Desert in North Africa, and many places in-between. They tell the stories of early hunter gatherer societies, and later the transition to agriculture and great civilizations.

Early African civilizations include the kingdoms and empires of Egypt from 5 500 years ago - 3500 Before Common Era (BCE, which is the same period as BC - Before Christ).

Other large ancient African civilizations were:

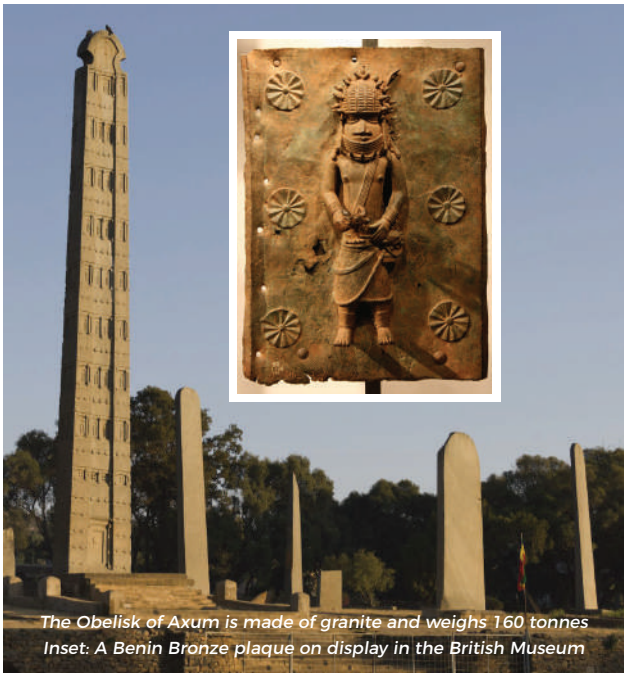
- Nubia-Kush, Kerma and Sai in East Africa (3100 BCE),
- Ancient Somalia (3000 BCE),
- The Nok of today's Nigeria (500 BCE) in West Africa, and ancient cities and towns in North Africa such as Carthage (814 BCE), Alexandria, Meroe, Thebes and Djenne-Djenno (300 BCE).

Since the Common Era (CE) civilizations on the African continent include:

- Kingdom of Axum (300 CE) with a written script of Ge'ez and a stone obelisk,
- Mali and Songhai empires known for gold, and Timbuktu for its university and libraries,
- Abysinnia (now Ethiopia), the Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe civilizations, and Benin City (1300 CE) principal seat of the Benin Empire and famous for its bronzes (mostly now in the British Museum).

African civilizations and universities made a major contribution to early writing, trade, medicine, mathematics, architecture, science and navigation. North Africa had the earliest experience of colonialism. By 570 BCE the Greeks and Phoenicians, and later the Romans, occupied North Africa.

While Europe languished in the dark Middle Ages, Africa grew and flourished. This changed dramatically when European trade and colonialism developed after the Middle Ages. Colonisation and the Transatlantic slave trade, which have such a profound impact on modern day Africa, were a result of European trading from the 15th century onwards. European powers colonised large parts of the globe and continent with superior firepower and navies.



The Obelisk of Axum is made of granite and weighs 160 tonnes
Inset: A Benin Bronze plaque on display in the British Museum

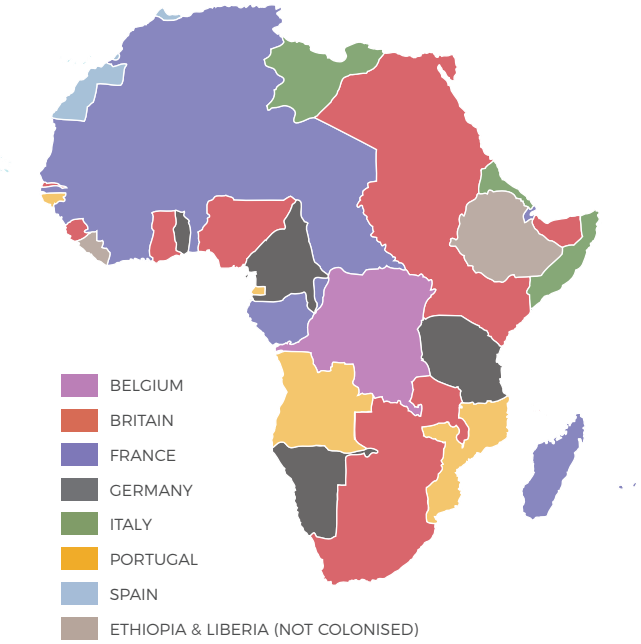
What became known as the "Scramble for Africa" was a contest between major seafaring powers for African natural resources and its peoples. African countries as we know them today did not exist. The main colonial powers were Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, British, and later the French, Germans and Italians. They seized and proclaimed as their own large areas of land, minerals and people.

Much of the slave trade started in the 15th century with Portugal kidnapping (or buying) Africans from West Africa and selling them across Europe. As Europe's 'New World' colonies grew in the Americas, it gave rise to the Transatlantic slave trade, with over 11 million Africans kidnapped, sold, and transported as slaves to North and South America.

The colonial stranglehold over Africa culminated in the 1884 -1885 Berlin Conference, where major European powers carved up the continent amongst themselves to fuel their industrial revolution. Africans across the continent resisted colonialism and the slave trade. By 1900 all of Africa, except for Liberia and Ethiopia, had been colonised and were governed by Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Belgium and Italy. Colonies were not developed for local inhabitants – all development and infrastructure focused on meeting the needs of the coloniser. Very few Africans had any influence or stake in the system.

COLONISATION OF AFRICA BY EUROPE

The new map of Africa agreed on by European powers at the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885



PAN-AFRICANISM & THE FORMATION OF THE OAU AND AU

Pan-Africanism refers to the movement to unite the struggles of African people against slavery, colonialism and racism, and to forge a common mission for freedom, self-determination, equality and independence. It was a realisation that individual struggles and resistance had not borne fruits, and a subsequent attempt to build unity in action of African people and the Diaspora.

Pan-Africanism emerged in the early 1900s and laid the foundations for the struggles in the 1950s and 60s. These focused on national liberation, independence and anti-colonial movements across the continent, and for solidarity with each other in these struggles. It led to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, "to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa."

THE FIVE PHASES OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Academics divide the history of Pan-Africanism into five phases:

- Phase 1: Early Pan-Africanists from the Diaspora and Pan-African Congresses
- Phase 2. Independence struggles to liberate Africa from colonialism and uniting Africa
- Phase 3. Independence and African Unity
- Phase 4. Regional integration, economic integration and the Abuja Treaty
- Phase 5. Revival of the Pan-African dream of an African Renaissance

Phase 1: Early Pan-Africanists from the Diaspora and Pan-African Congresses

In the late 19th century Pan-Africanism developed in response to European exploitation of Africa and against slavery. It was led by men from the African Diaspora such as W.E.B Du Bois (US), Henry Sylvester Williams (Trinidad/UK) and George Padmore (Trinidad), and women such as Anna Julia Cooper (US) and A. Pulcherie Pierre (Trinidad).

Between 1900 and 1945, six Pan-African Congresses were organised with intellectuals, activists and political leaders from the Americas, Caribbean, Africa and Europe, to discuss the struggle to free Africa from the stranglehold of colonialism. The Manchester Pan-African Congress of 1945 saw the twin commitment towards the restoration of the

dignity of Africans and the unity of the peoples of Africa.

Phase 2. Independence struggles to liberate Africa from colonialism and uniting Africa

By the early 20th Century, most of Africa had mass movements mobilising for independence and the right to determine their own future and policies to run their countries. In the beginning many of these engaged in armed struggles and uprisings that were defeated by the military might of the colonial powers. By the middle of the century African leaders started building political organisations and mass people's movements to gain independence.

The end of World War 2 saw an acceleration of these struggles, especially after African soldiers were recruited in massive numbers to the colonial powers' armies to fight in the war. Many soldiers expected to be recognised as equals after the war and could not easily accept that things would simply go back to how it was before.

Phase 3. Independence and African Unity

North African countries such as Egypt (1922), Libya (1951), Morocco (1956), and Tunisia (1956) first gained independence, followed by Sudan (1956), Ghana (1957) and Guinea (1958). The liberation of Ghana in 1957 was a landmark event, with its President Kwame Nkrumah declaring that "our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent." In 1958, Nkrumah organised a conference in Accra of other independent African states (Ethiopia, Egypt, Morocco and Sudan) and the various anti-colonial and national liberation movements from across the continent, laying the basis for the formation of the Organisation of African Unity five years later.

1960 saw, in the words of British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, the 'winds of change' sweeping through Africa. 17 countries gained their independence in that year, 14 others during that decade. The borders of new states were hotly debated: whether to simply follow the fragmented colonial borders, unite into former kingdoms, or pursue the dream of a greater African unity.

With the formation of the Organisation of African Unity on 25 May 1963 in Addis Ababa, it was agreed to recognise the borders that existed at that time, even though many of them were randomly drawn in Europe. Borders were decided by colonists based on their needs and often divided tribes, language, religious and ethnic groups that historically lived together. Many of today's conflicts and divisions are still a result of these random borders.

The OAU aimed to eradicate all forms of colonialism and to get rid of Apartheid in South Africa. Southern Africa was one of the last regions to gain independence and democracy. Portugal left Africa only in 1975 and Angola and Mozambique became independent but faced years of civil war due to the Apartheid regime fuelling division and conflict. In 1980 Zimbabwe gained independence from Great Britain. In 1990 Namibia gained independence from South Africa. In 1994 South Africa held its first national democratic elections and so the aims of the OAU were largely achieved.

Phase 4. Regional integration, economic integration and the Abuja Treaty

Most regional economic communities were formed during the 1970s, as newly independent African states grappled with national development and sovereignty in the context of emerging neo-colonialism and the Cold War.

Other regions of the world had started setting up regional trading blocks to make themselves more able to compete in a globalised economy. The European Union is a strong example of a continent uniting around common developmental issues to increase their collective economic power and their influence on the world. The EU's original purpose was to prevent war through regional integration. They first set up a European Coal and Steel Community, which laid the foundation for the European Union as we know it today. A common market in coal and steel between the European states was set up in order to make war between them unthinkable as coal and steel were necessary ingredients to make war.

The Abuja Treaty adopted by the OAU in 1991, committed the continent to a phased-in African Economic Community, with regional economic communities (RECs) as building blocks. African leaders were committed to development. Despite these ideals, the 1980s, saw a new era of military rule (coups) and conflicts, and structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). Many countries were indebted to global institutions like the World Bank and were forced to change their economic and social policies by their lenders. It has been described as a 'dead decade for African development.'

Phase 5. Revival of the Pan-African dream of an African Renaissance

After the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Cold War, the early 1990s saw a move from one-party and military dictatorships to multi-party democracies, and the end of apartheid in

Namibia and South Africa. There was now a need to shift focus and change the purpose and the structures of the OAU. The 54 independent and sovereign countries in Africa could form a new power block in the world, supported by strong mineral and natural resources, and a youthful population.

This period saw the emergence of a new generation of African leaders such as President Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Algeria), Prime Minister Meles Zanawi (Ethiopia), President Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria) President Abdoulaye Wade (Senegal), and President Thabo Mbeki (South Africa) who championed an African Renaissance to end the continent's underdevelopment, marginalisation, and conflicts.

On the 9th of September 1999 the OAU agreed on the Sirte Declaration calling for an African Union, to enable Africa to play its rightful role in the global economy and to address the many social, economic, and political problems in a globalized world. Three years later African leaders met in Durban, South Africa in July 2002 and established the African Union.

MISSION AND AIMS OF THE AU

Our world is a global village, and even more so if we live in the same continent. Although we stay in one town, village, city, country or even continent, we are touched by events elsewhere in the world. The food we eat, the clothes we wear, the transport we use, the books we read, the music we listen to and the films we watch; the ingredients and parts come from different places, trees chopped down, new inventions, minerals extracted, made in factories in our neighbouring district, country or on a different continent. If there is a war, poverty, disease or drought and floods in one part of the world, people leave their homes and countries, to find safety and a better life for themselves elsewhere.

International organisations - such as the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) - bring countries together to work on things that affect all humankind. The United Nations and the African Union are known as intergovernmental organisations, and countries are represented through their governments.

The AU Constitutive Act came into effect immediately, and it was ratified by the overwhelming majority of AU member states between 2000 and 2002. The inaugural Summit was held in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa. South Sudan, the newest African state joined and ratified the Constitutive Act in 2013, and the Kingdom of Morocco re-joined and ratified in 2017.

The African Union Constitutive Act committed all of Africa to the mission of *"An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena."* On the OAU/AU Golden Jubilee celebration in 2013, the AU also adopted a 50-year programme to give effect to this mission: *Agenda 2063. The Africa We Want.*

AIMS OF THE AU

The AU founding document, the Constitutive Act, states the aims of the Union, as shown on the opposite page.

Headquarters of the African Union, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (photo: iStock)

Ordinary Session of the African Union, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. (photo: Office of the President of Rwanda)

AIMS OF THE AFRICAN UNION

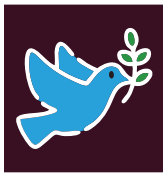
Achieve greater unity and solidarity between African countries and their people

Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States

Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent

Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples

Encourage international cooperation



Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent

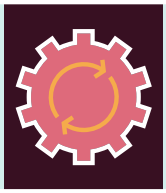
Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance

Promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments

Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations

Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies

Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples



Coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union

Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology

Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent

Ensure the effective participation of women in decision-making, particularly in the political, economic and socio-cultural areas

Develop and promote common policies on trade, defence and foreign relations to ensure the defence of the Continent and the strengthening of its negotiating positions

Invite and encourage the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of our Continent, in the building of the African Union

EXERCISE 1

All global and regional institutions are complex and difficult to manage.

1. What do you think are the main issues that could prevent unity between all countries in Africa?

.....

.....

2. What are the main issues that we should easily work together on?

.....

.....

STRUCTURES OF THE AU

The African Union has 55 member states, and they all have equal votes and right to participate in AU structures such as the Assembly of Heads of States, the Executive Council, the Permanent Representative Committee (PRC) and the AU Specialised Technical Committees (STCs). The AU also holds election for various structures, and any Member State can stand and vote.

The right to stand for elections in any structure, is limited by the African Union practice and rules on regional rotation and representation, and on gender equality. This was adopted to prevent the domination of one country and/or region in the structures of the AU. For example, until 2012, no Southern African country and no woman had ever been a Secretary General of the OAU or a Chairperson of the AU Commission.

The position of African Union Chairperson is also rotated by region, and the regional caucuses usually agree on and nominate the head of state and country, who will represent their region for that year.

Like any multi-national body, the AU has three main institutional arms to achieve its mission and its aims:

1. The **democratic decision-making** bodies where all countries are represented (Assembly and Executive Council)
2. The bodies that **oversee implementation** and make specific policy on issues of interest
3. The **implementing organs**

AU DECISION-MAKING ORGANS

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government

The Assembly is the supreme policy and decision-making organ. It is made up of all the Heads of State, and Government of all Member States. The Assembly determines the AU's policies, establishes its priorities, adopts its annual programme, and monitors the implementation of its policies and decisions. It has the power to form committees, appoint champions for different causes and issues, suspend a member state, and admit new member states.

The Executive Council

The Executive Council coordinates and takes decisions on policies in areas of common interest to Member States. It considers issues referred and monitors implementation. The Executive Council is composed of foreign ministers, or such other ministers or authorities chosen by the governments of Member States. It is answerable to the Assembly. It usually processes and debates reports and other matters to be proposed to the Assembly, such as the AU annual programme, budgets and elections of the AU Commission. The Executive Council has also been assigned the responsibility to promote and monitor the implementation of Agenda 2063 and to report to the Assembly.

OVERSIGHT OF IMPLEMENTATION AND POLICIES

THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE (PRC)

Countries appoint Permanent Representatives to the African Union, who are ambassadors of their countries based in Addis Ababa. The PRC provides day-to-day oversight over the work of the AU Commission and other Organs, and reports to the Executive Council.

SPECIALISED TECHNICAL COMMITTEES (STCS)

The STCs are theme-based, sectoral committees consisting of Ministers from Member States responsible for various areas. The committees report to the Executive Council and include the following, along the line of Commission departments and the AU priorities:

- The STC on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters;
- The STC on Monetary and Financial Affairs;
- The STC on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters;
- The STC on Industry, Science and Technology, Energy, Natural Resources and Environment;
- The STC on Transport, Communications and Tourism;
- The STC on Health, Labour and Social Affairs; and
- The STC on Education, Culture and Human Resources

The STCs debate, promote and monitor continental cooperation amongst countries in the various areas. They also monitor the implementation of Africa-wide policies, such as the Common African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) and the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), as well as continental institutions under their portfolio such as the African Centres for Disease Control (ACDP), the AU Science and Technology Commission, and so forth.

THE PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL (PSC)

The standing decision-making organ of the AU for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts. It is a collective security and early warning arrangement. It works closely with the AU Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace

and Security and with the AU Chairperson and is intended to rapidly respond to conflicts and crises. It facilitates timely and efficient responses to conflict and crisis situations in Africa. The OAU had a principle in its Charter of "non-interference" in the domestic affairs of Member States, making it difficult to prevent conflicts such as the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. The African Union Constitutive Act supports 'non-indifference', which makes the AU more pro-active in conflicts in Member States.

The PSC has 15 members with equal voting powers, and all five AU regions must be represented.

The AU Peace and Security Council works closely with the UN Security Council on conflicts and peacekeeping on the continent. The three African countries occupying non-permanent seats on the UNSC, also known as the A3, often assist the PSC to take the lead on African conflicts in the UNSC. There are however occasions of difference of opinion between the AU PSC and the UNSC, like on the invasion of Libya in 2011.

FORMAL PARTICIPATION CITIZENS AND INTEREST GROUPS

The Pan-African Parliament (PAP), South Africa

The AU structure promotes participation of African citizens through the Pan-African Parliament. It is composed of Members of national Parliaments from all AU Member states. The PAP is intended as a platform for people from all African states to be involved in discussions and decision making on the problems and challenges facing the continent.

The Economic, Social & Cultural Council (ECOSOCC)

An advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups of AU Member States. The purpose of ECOSOCC is to provide an opportunity for African Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) to contribute to the AU's principles, policies and programmes.

IMPLEMENTATION AND WORK OF THE AU

THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION (AUC)

The Commission is the AU's secretariat and the Chairperson is the is the Chief Executive Officer, legal representative of the AU and the Commission's Chief Accounting Officer. The Deputy Chairperson is mainly responsible for the operations and administration of the Commission. The Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson are elected by the Assembly, and the other six (6) Commissioners by the Executive Council. The AU Commission does the work and undertakes the day-to-day programmatic activities of the Union. It is based at the African Union Headquarters in Addis Ababa, is headed by Commissioners and staffed by professionals from across the continent.

The AU Commission structure consist of the Bureaus of the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson, and the following 6 departments, which reflects the main priorities of the African Union and Agenda 2063, headed by Commissioners:

- **Agriculture, Rural Development, Blue Economy and Sustainable Environment Department:** responsible for coordinating and advancing the Common African Agricultural Development Plan (CAADP) and the African Integrated Maritime Strategy. This department also coordinates Common African Positions on Climate Change. It supports projects such as the Great Green Wall of the Sahel.
- **Economic Development, Trade, Industry and Mining:** responsible for the African Continental Free Trade Area with the AfCTFA Secretariat, trade negotiations, supporting industrialisation and more advantageous mining regimes, and monitors economic development and integration.
- **Education, Science, Technology and Innovation Department:** responsible for the promotion of universal access to quality education, coordination of the AU Science and Technology strategy, working together and overseeing various technical agencies, develop and oversee the Pan-African University.
- **Infrastructure and Energy Department:** promotes cooperation amongst African countries to implement the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), including such projects as promoting regional transport networks, energy networks, the African green energy strategy.
- **Political Affairs, Peace and Security Department:** promotes and support democracy and good governance, mainly through AU Electoral observer missions to countries. It works with the Commission on Human and Peoples Rights and the Court, the African Peer Review Mechanism, as well as the Bureau Against Corruption. The Peace and Security component is responsible for conflict mediation and peacekeeping, coordinating work of the AU Peace and Security Council, working with Member States, and the UN Security Council.

- **Health, Humanitarian Affairs and Social Development:** responsible for matters of health, working with the African Centre for Disease Control and the WHO, as well as humanitarian issues on the continent and social issues and policies.

In addition to the departments, the AU Commission also has directorates or units on Women, Gender and Youth; Civil Society and Diaspora; and administrative, legal and finance units.

The AU Commission organises all meetings of the African Union, prepares reports and proposals to STCs and Summits, and looks after the AU's legal matters, its budget and archives. It also assists Member States with implementing plans if requested. The Commission is also responsible for managing relationships and partnerships between the African Union and other international bodies and countries.

NEPAD/AU DEVELOPMENT AGENCY, SOUTH AFRICA

When NEPAD was adopted in 2001, a secretariat was established in South Africa, and it eventually grew into a technical agency of the African Union. With the 2016 AU Reforms, it was transformed into a Development Agency, working with the AU Commission on implementation of Agenda 2063. The mandate of AUDA-NEPAD is to:

- Coordinate and execute priority regional and continental projects to promote regional integration towards the accelerated realisation of Agenda 2063;
- Strengthen the capacity of African Union Member States and regional bodies

AFRICAN UNION TECHNICAL AGENCIES

The OAU and African Union over the years have formed various technical agencies, which do work on various problems or issues facing the continent, working with Member States. AU Technical agencies are hosted by various Member States across the continent. These agencies are broadly divided into the following categories: Trade and Economic agencies and bodies, Education, Science and Innovation agencies, Energy and Infrastructure bodies and Rural Economy and Agriculture agencies (see Annexure A for the list of agencies and what they do).

AFRICAN UNION LEGAL AND JUDICIAL BODIES

AFRICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS (ACHPR), THE GAMBIA

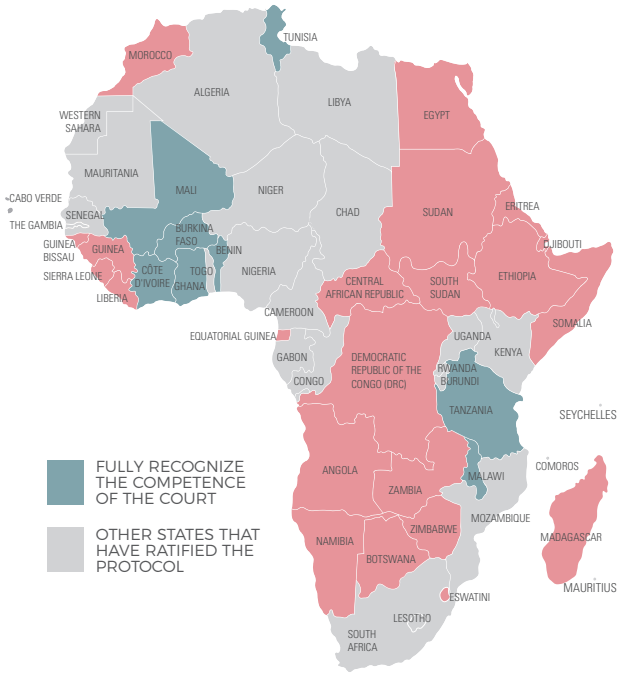
The Commission monitors and investigates human rights on the continent and produces reports which are submitted to Summit. It is responsible for the promotion and interpretation of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights.

AFRICAN COURT ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS (AFCHPR), TANZANIA

The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (AfCHPR) has jurisdiction over all cases and disputes submitted to it concerning the interpretation and application of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the main human rights instrument in Africa. The AfCHPR will soon be reconstituted as the African Court of Justice and Human Rights, with more powers to prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, and also to hear cases brought by individuals or organisations. The process is delayed because only six out of the required 15 countries have ratified the changes.

The Human and People's Rights court has been set up and is ratified by 31 African countries. Its competence has been fully recognised by only 7 countries.

MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN COURT ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS



SOVEREIGNTY vs RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (R2P)

A key issue in global human rights courts is the sovereignty of nations who sign international treaties.

The treaties bind countries to international standards, laws and accountability.

Sovereignty of nations to govern themselves and their country is seen by many as being more important than international treaties. An important principle is the UN memberships' responsibility to protect people:

- A state must protect its own people.
- UN members must assist other states to protect their people.
- The international community must protect people when states cannot: against their own rulers, or in cases of war, civil war, crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes.

The African Court does not have the powers to do all the above prosecutions if a case is brought by an individual or an organisation. An AU summit in Malabo in 2013 agreed to amend the Protocol to include individuals and organisations. The Protocol does not allow the prosecution of a sitting head of state. To date it has only been ratified by 6 of the required 15 countries. 10 ratified but 4 later withdrew.

The AU, in the case of Hissène Habré, President of Chad from 1982 to 1990 for serious violations of human rights during his rule, set up an Extra-ordinary African Chambers, to prosecute this former head of state. The trial took place in Senegal, and was concluded with a guilty verdict in 2017.

The AU has resolved to strengthen the International Criminal Court and the majority of African Countries have ratiifed the Rome Statute and accept the jurisdiction of the ICC.

AU COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL LAW (AUCIL), ETHIOPIA

AUCIL acts as an independent advisory agency of the AU relating to progressive development of international law in Africa. It consists of 11 members elected by the Executive Council, with equitable legal tradition, geographical and gender representation.

AU ADVISORY BOARD ON CORRUPTION (AUABC), TANZANIA

The board is tasked with the coordination and monitoring of the AU Convention on Preventing and Combatting Corruption. The eleven members are elected by the Executive Council and may only serve for one term.

AFRICAN COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS ON THE RIGHTS AND WELFARE OF THE CHILD (ACERWC), LESOTHO

The 11-member elected committee of experts is tasked with promoting and monitoring the implementation of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.

Do the exercise on the opposite page.

AU FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Article 19 of the AU Constitutive Act provides for three specific financial organs to be created, the African Central Bank (ACB), the African Investment Bank (AIB) and the African Monetary Fund (AMF) to implement the economic integration called for in the 1991 Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community (aka the Abuja Treaty). The financial institutions are also part of the Agenda 2063 flagship projects.

- **The African Monetary Fund (Cameroon)**. Its purpose is to facilitate the integration of African economies by eliminating trade restrictions and providing greater monetary integration, by providing financial assistance to Member States, undertaking macro-economic policy surveillance, coordinating monetary policy and encouraging capital movements between Member States. The date set out in Agenda 2063 for its establishment is 2023. The AMF Protocol and Statutes were adopted by the AU in 2014 but has not yet reached the 15 Member states ratification target to enter into effect.
- **The African Investment Bank (Libya)**: Its purpose is to foster economic growth and accelerate economic integration in Africa, by mobilising and deploying resources for public and private sector investments in the continent. The timeframe for the establishment of the AIB in Agenda 2063 is by 2025. The AIB statutes were adopted by the Summit in 2009, but to date only six members have deposited their instruments of ratifications.
- **The African Central Bank (Nigeria)**: Its purpose is to build a common monetary policy and single African currency as a way to accelerate economic integration, by creating and managing a continental common currency.
  - Promoting the international monetary cooperation through a permanent institution;
  - Promoting exchange rate stability and avoid

EXERCISE 2

Choose one of the following case studies and answer the questions.
You may use the internet to search for guidance.

CASE STUDY 1

Your neighbouring country is a member of the AU that has signed and ratified the Rome Statute for the International Criminal Court and all AU protocols and treaties. The governing party loses elections but refuses to allow the Electoral Commission to announce the results due to "administrative flaws". AU observers report a free and fair election.

Violence breaks out in areas dominated by the party that won the majority of votes. The governing party uses police and soldiers to "restore order". Thousands of people are detained without trial and a state of emergency is declared. The president and parliament nullify the elections and set a date for a re-run in one year's time. Political asylum seekers flock to your country and report mass killings by soldiers in some areas.

(a) What do you see as your state's obligations and responsibilities?

.....

.....

(b) What can you do to intervene fast?

.....

.....

(c) What institutions, agencies and organs can you turn to for help?

.....

.....

CASE STUDY 2

Following the Arab Spring that saw the toppling of regimes in Egypt and Tunisia, similar protests started in Libya and were suppressed by the government of Mu'ammar Gaddafi. The AU discussed the matter in the Peace and Security Council, and mandated a group of Heads of State and Government to meet with Gaddafi, and convince him to stop the violence and accept a process of change in Libya. Their argument was that, given Libya's diverse and fragmented people, a negotiated process of change that included Gaddafi had more of a chance for a lasting peace than abrupt and violent regime change.

While the AU process was underway, Gadaffi used national TV to urge his supporters to hunt down the "rats and cockroaches" who were protesting against him. This sounded similar to threats made in Bosnia and Rwanda before recent genocides. The UN Security Council (UNSC) adopted resolution 1973, in which "the Council authorised Member States, acting nationally or through regional organisations or arrangements, to take all necessary measures to protect civilians under threat of attack in the country, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory — requesting them to immediately inform the Secretary-General of such measures." Ten UNSC countries voted for the resolution, and five countries abstained.

NATO, claiming to act to enforce the UNSC resolution, and in particular the responsibility to protect doctrine, launched air attacks against the Libyan military in *Operation Unified Protector*. They ignored the AU initiatives and consulted the Arab League (an undemocratic body that some North African and Middle East countries belong to).

NATO acted to protect citizens threatened by Gadaffi. Their air attacks weakened the Libyan army, and rebel groups eventually overthrew and killed Gadaffi. Rebels also committed atrocities against the people, and some argue that "regime change" rather than "responsibility to protect" was the NATO agenda.

Today Libya is still fragmented and unstable.

(a) Can and should another continent's regional military body act unilaterally to carry out a UNSC mandate or resolution?

.....

(b) Was NATO effective in its carrying out the "Responsibility to Protect" all civilians? Give reasons for you answer.

.....

(c) What is your view on the approach and role of the African Union?

.....

(d) What happened after this intervention?

.....

competitive exchange-rate depreciation; and

- Assisting in the establishment of a multi-lateral system of payments in respect of current transactions between members and eliminate foreign exchange restrictions that hamper the growth of world trade.

The timeframe for the establishment of the ACB in Agenda 2063 is between 2028 and 2034. Recent AU summits have also called for the establishment of a Pan-African Stock Exchange.

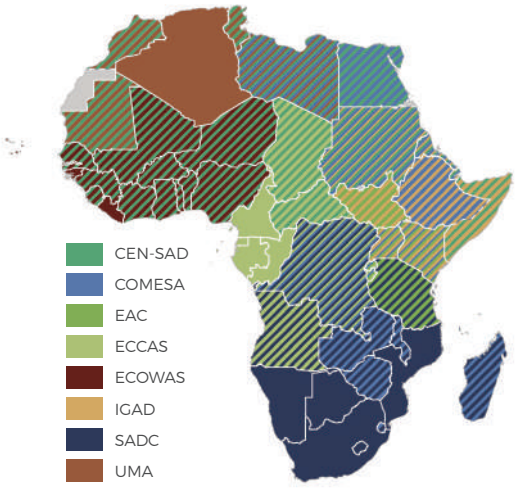
REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES

Over the years Africa has also formed regional economic communities, called REC's, so that countries in a region work together. These RECs also report to the AU. Their work focuses on economic, social and peace keeping issues. Many countries belong to more than one regional block. The regional blocks are:

- **Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)**, which has 5 member states: Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Mauritania.
- **Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA),** with 21 member states: Burundi, Comoros, DR Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
- **Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)**, with 29 member states: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo and Tunisia.
- **East African Community (EAC),** with six member states: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.
- **Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)**. It has 10 member states: Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, DR Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Príncipe and São Tomé..
- **Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**. It has 15 member states – Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.
- **Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)**. It has eight member states: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda.
- **Southern African Development Community (SADC)**. It has 16 member states – Angola, Botswana, Comoros, DR Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
- **Economic Community of Diaspora (Sixth Region - ECO-6)**: States, Nations, Territories & Realms of the African Diaspora.

Regional Economic Communities are seen as building blocks for continental integration. The AU and other continental institutions such as the African Development Bank and the UN Economic Commission for Africa regularly publish reports on eight dimensions of Regional Integration.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES
(stripes indicate the country belongs to more than one REC)



2020 AFRICA MULTI-DIMENSIONAL REGIONAL INTEGRATION INDEX (AMRII)

Source: AUC 2021

CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES IN AU WORK: AGENDA 2063, YOUTH, GENDER AND FINANCING THE UNION

AGENDA 2063

Agenda 2063 is a shared strategic framework for inclusive growth and sustainable development. The 50th Anniversary Summit of the OAU/AU on 25 May 2013 resolved to develop a 50-year vision for the continent, and Agenda 2063 was adopted by the AU, in January of 2015 in Addis Ababa.

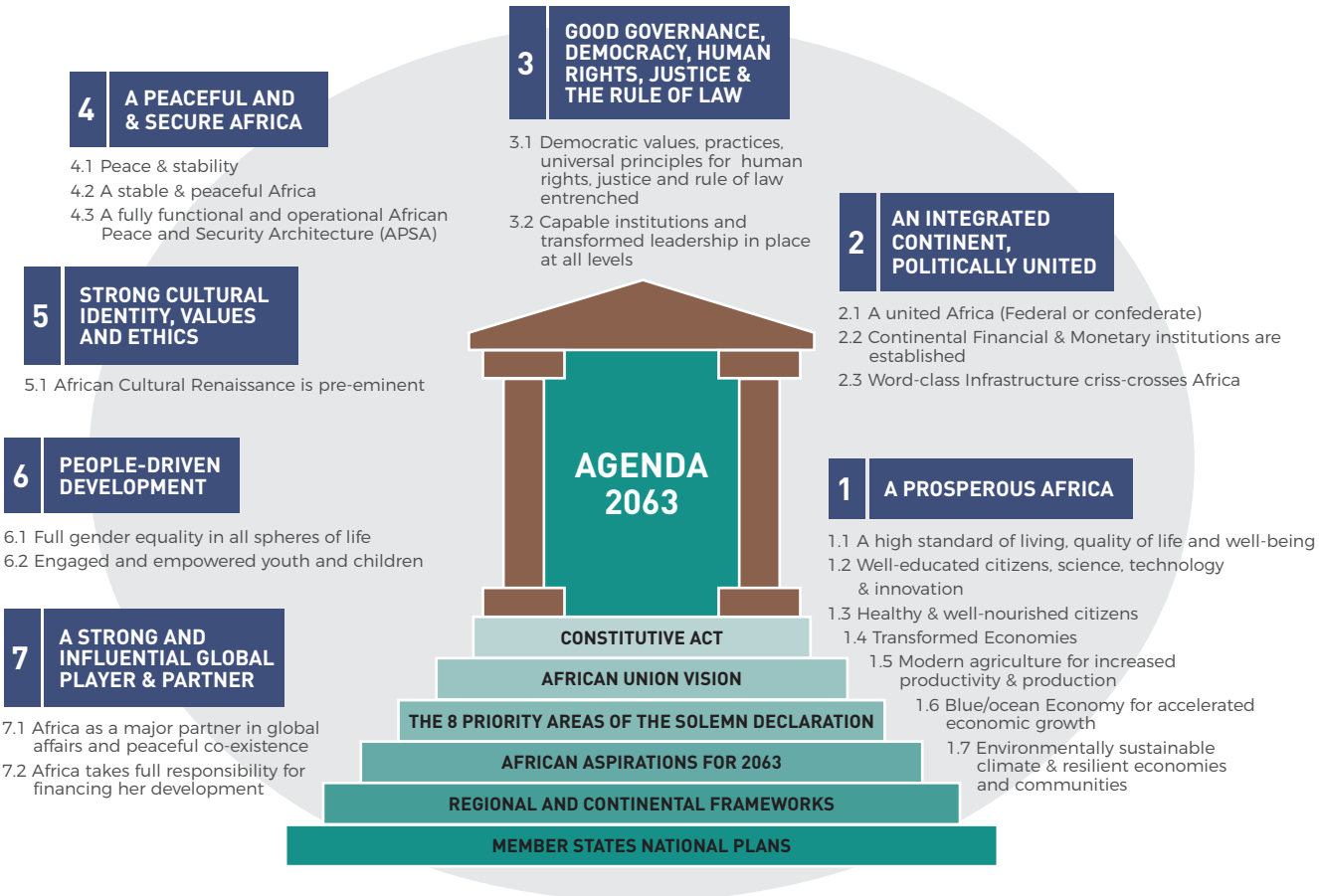
Agenda 2063 has seven goals:

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;
2. An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance;
3. An Africa of good governance, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law;
4. A peaceful and secure Africa;
5. An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics;
6. An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children; and
7. Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner.

Countries have made 5 and10 year plans to reach these goals. Every country gives reports to their Regional Economic communities, so for example Zimbabwe reports to SADC.

The Agenda includes 15 flagship projects, which have been identified as being key to enabling and accelerating progress in all areas of development. These are:

- A high-speed train network connecting all African capitals and commercial centres
- The formulation of a strategy for transforming the African economy from a supplier of raw materials to one that actively uses its own resources
- The establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Area



- The introduction of the African Union Passport, and removal of all visa requirements for its holders within Africa
- Ending all wars, civil conflicts, gender-based violence, and violent conflicts by 2020
- The construction of a third Inga Dam for massive hydro-electric energy generation
- The establishment of the Single African Air-Transport Market
- The establishment of an Annual African Economic Forum
- The establishment of a set of financial institutions, envisaged as an African Investment Bank, a Pan-African Stock Exchange, an African Monetary Fund, and an African Central Bank
- A pan-African digital data network
- The development of a common African strategy for the use of outer-space technology
- The establishment of an African open, digital, distance-learning university
- Cooperation on cyber security
- The foundation of a Great African Museum, preserving African cultural heritage and promoting pan-Africanism
- The compilation of an Encyclopaedia Africana as an authoritative resource on the authentic history of Africa and African life

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) was adopted in March 2018 and was set to start operating from 1 July 2020. It will take about ten years for full implementation. The Protocols and Statutes of the African Investment Bank and African Monetary Fund have been adopted, but remained to be ratified, with headquarters to be built in Libya and Cameroon. Egypt is set to host the African Space Agency. The Pan-African Virtual and E-University (PAVEU) has been created as the digital arm of the Pan-African University and is offering an initial set of three courses.

Many of the projects, such as the high-speed train network, the space agency, and the Inga Dam, are held back by a lack of funding, The Covid pandemic and the economic crisis that followed have delayed many projects and badly affected funding.

EXERCISE 3

Which of the flagship programmes will have the most beneficial effects on your country's development?

Choose four and provide reasons why.

YOUTH

The African Union has a special focus on inclusion. It does specialised work on young people since Africa has the youngest population in the world with more than 400 million young people aged between the ages of 15 to 35 years.

The AU has developed several youth development policies and programmes aimed at ensuring the continent develops and benefits from its large young population. The policies include the African Youth Charter, Youth Decade Plan of Action, and the Malabo Decision on Youth Empowerment, all of which are implemented through various AU Agenda 2063 programmes.

The African Youth Charter protects young people from discrimination and ensures freedom of movement, speech, association, religion, ownership of property and other human rights, while committing to promoting youth participation throughout society.

The Youth Decade Plan of Action focuses on 5 key priority areas:

- Education and Skills Development
- Youth Employment and Entrepreneurship
- Governance, Peace and Security
- Youth Health and Sexual Reproductive Health Rights
- Agriculture, Climate Change and the Environment

Key issues affecting youth are addressed in the charter: employment, sustainable livelihood, education, skills development, health, youth participation, national youth policy, peace and security, law enforcement, youth in the Diaspora and youth with disabilities.

National Youth Policies

The Charter calls on member states to develop cross sectoral policies and programmes, which address the needs of youth with a view to integrating and mainstreaming the perspectives of youth into decision making and development processes.

Participation

It calls on state parties to guarantee the participation of youth in parliament and other national decision-making bodies as well as facilitate the establishment or strengthening of national, regional and continental platforms for youth participation.

Education

The Charter recognises that every young person shall have the right to education of good quality

and that the multiple forms of education including formal, informal, non- formal, distance learning and lifelong education shall be embraced in order to meet the diverse needs of young people. In this light, the charter calls on member states to provide free and compulsory basic education and take steps to minimise the indirect costs of education; revitalise vocational education and training relevant to current and prospective employment opportunities and expand access by developing centres in rural and remote areas.

Sustainable livelihood and youth employment

The Charter calls on state parties to ensure the availability of accurate data on youth employment, unemployment and underemployment. This must facilitate the prioritisation of the issue in national development programmes and promote youth entrepreneurship by including entrepreneurship training in the school curricula, providing access to credit, business development skills training, mentorship opportunities and better information on market opportunities.

Health

State parties shall take measures to make available equitable and ready access to medical assistance and health care especially in rural and poor urban areas. States should emphasise on the development of primary health care and institute comprehensive programmes to prevent the transmission of sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS by providing education, information, communication and awareness creation as well as making protective measures and reproductive health services available.

Youth in the Diaspora

The Charter calls for the establishment of structures and networks that encourage and assist the youth in the Diaspora to return to and fully re-integrate into the social and economic life in Africa and Promote and protect the rights of young people living in the Diaspora.

Girls and young women

The Charter calls for the Introduction of legislative measures that eliminate all forms of discrimination against girls and young women and ensure their human rights and fundamental freedoms and ensure that girls and young women are able to participate actively, equally and effectively with boys at all levels of social, educational, economic, political, cultural, civic life and leadership as well as scientific endeavours.

GENDER AND WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

The AU recognises that that gender equality is a fundamental human right. It calls for *"An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children."* It has adopted the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, (known as the Maputo Protocol), which promotes the ideal of a more inclusive society where all the citizens are actively involved in decision making and where no child, woman or man is left behind or excluded on the basis of gender, political affiliation, religion, ethnic affiliation, locality, age or other factors.

To achieve this the AU has developed the Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE) strategy, as well as an Index to monitor the Maputo Protocol, which has the following key areas:

- Women's Economic Empowerment and Sustainable Development - Women's empowerment is key to growth, prosperity and sustainability
- Social justice, protection and Women's Rights - woman's rights are human rights; they span all spheres - social, political, legal and economic.
- Leadership and Governance - good governance demands equal and effective participation by women.
- Gender Management Systems – providing access and investing resources (financial and other technical resources) to support women
- Women, Peace and Security – Ensuring women's perspectives are included on issues of peace - prevention, protection, promotion programmes
- Media and ICTs – Give women a voice in African media and access to technology for knowledge

FINANCING THE UNION AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

One of the early Pan-Africanist, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt said: *"he who cannot support himself, cannot take his own decisions"*. The AU in 2014 noted that it is dependent for over 65% of its budget from foreign non-African donors.

The AU at its Summit in July 2015 resolved to work towards Member States funding 100% of its operational budget; 75% of its programme budget; and 25% of its peace and security budget. The following year, at the AU Summit in Rwanda, the Member States agreed to include a 0.2% levy on eligible imports, the creation of a Peace Fund and changes to the AU Scale of assessment for contributions by Member States.

The purpose of these decisions was to:

- provide reliable and predictable funding for continental peace and security though the Peace Fund;
- provide an equitable and predictable source of financing for the Union;
- reduce dependency on partner funds for implementation of continental development and integration programs; and
- relieve the pressure on national treasuries with respect to meeting national obligations for payment of assessed contributions of the Union.

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ANNEXURE A:
AU SPECIALISED AGENCIES/BODIES

ECONOMIC, TRADE AND INDUSTRY BODIES

African Continental Free Trade Secretariat, Ghana: charged with the coordination and implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area. Its current Secretary General is Wamkele Mene (South Africa)

African Institute for Statistics, Tunisia: lead in the harmonisation, provision and promotion of quality statistics, statistical information and good practice in support of the African integration agenda, Agenda 2063 and the UN's Agenda 2030.

African Minerals Development Centre (AMDC), Guinea: to promote the transformative role of mineral resources in the development of the continent.

African Institute for Remittances (AIR), Kenya: promote reforms to legal and regulatory frameworks on remittances, build capacity on remittances data, develop tools to leverage and measure impact of remittances.

EDUCATION, HUMAN RESOURCES AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BODIES

Pan-African University (PAU): continental centres of excellence for the training of Pan-African masters and doctoral students, to promote research and cooperation.

The PAU to date has five thematic Institutes:

1. Basic Sciences, Technology and Innovation (PAUSTI), hosted by the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya, Eastern Africa;
2. Life and Earth Sciences incl. Health and Agriculture (PAULESI), University of Ibadan in Nigeria, Western Africa;
3. Governance, Humanities and Social Sciences (PAUGHSS), University of Yaoundé II in Cameroon, Central Africa;
4. Water and Energy Sciences, incl. Climate Change) (PAUWES), University of Tlemcen in Algeria, Northern Africa; and
5. Space Sciences (PAUSS), Cape Peninsula University of Technology in South Africa, Southern Africa.

International Centre for Girls' and Women's Education in Africa (AU/CIEFFA), Burkina Faso: promoting women's and girls' education in the continent. Coordinator: Rita Bissoonauth (Mauritius)

African Union Scientific, Technical and Research Commission (AU-STRC), Nigeria and the African Scientific, Research and Innovation Council (ASRIC), Kenya: implement and coordinate the AU Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) Strategy for Africa (STISA 2024). Executive Director: Dr Ahmed Hamdy (Egypt)

African Observatory of Science, Technology and Innovation (AOSTI), Equatorial Guinea: to stimulate and promote the use of science, technology and innovation. Executive Secretary: Bi Irie Vroh, Côte d'Ivoire

Pan-African Institute for Education for Development (IPED), DRC: act as Africa's observatory on the state of education on the continent through an Education Management Information System (EMIS) and promote quality, responsive and inclusive education development in Africa through sound knowledge-based planning.

African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), Zimbabwe: build human and institutional capacity for Africa's sustainable development.

Continued overleaf

ENERGY AND INFRASTRUCTURE BODIES

African Civil Aviation Commission (AFCAC), Senegal: all matters to do with civil aviation, including safety and the creation of a single African aviation market and cooperating with the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).

African Airlines Association (AFRAA), Kenya: a trade association of airlines from AU nations.

African Telecommunications Union (ATU), Kenya: fosters the development of information communications technology (ICT) infrastructure, contribute to the creation of an inclusive information society and strong digital economies.

African Energy Commission (AFREC), Algieria: assist Member States on sub-regional, regional and continental levels to: develop energy policies, strategies, research and plans based on development priorities; design, create and update a continental energy database and facilitate exchange of information; develop trade and transit of energy goods and services; and mobilise financial support and capacity building for the energy sector.

African Commission on Nuclear Energy (AFCONE), South Africa: help members to promote and enhance the peaceful application of nuclear science and technology for socio-economic development, and to foster regional and international cooperation in peaceful applications as well as nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL ECONOMY

Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources (AU–IBAR), Kenya: support and coordinate the sustainable development and use of animal resources (livestock, fisheries and wildlife) to enhance nutrition and food security; and supports the formulation and promotion of common African positions within the global animal resources arena.

Inter-African Phytosanitary Council (AU–IAPSC), Cameroon: a resource and information centre for phytosanitary and plant protection activities in Africa; coordinate the exchange of information amongst African countries about plant health and ensure an effective control system to combat organisms harmful to plants and plant products.

Semi-Arid Food Grain Research and Development (SAFGRAD), Burkina Faso: lead programmes on resilience of rural livelihoods in semi-arid Africa.

Its vision is to accelerate growth of agriculture by promoting productive-friendly technologies and by building institutional capacity.

It focuses on agricultural research, technology transfer, marketing, enhancement of value chains, management of natural resources, engagement of non-state actors, capacity and knowledge management systems, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, combating desertification, policy development and information dissemination to rural communities.

Pan-African Veterinary Vaccine Centre (PANVAC), Ethiopia: coordinate efforts of AU Member States in controlling and eradicating animal diseases, by providing international, independent quality control of veterinary vaccines. It promotes the availability of safe, effective and affordable veterinary vaccines and diagnostic reagents; facilitate the development, transfer and introduction of improved or new vaccines; and strengthen Africa's capacity in building veterinary vaccine development, production and quality assurance.

Pan-African Institute for Education for Development (IPED), DRC: act as Africa's observatory on the state of education on

the continent through an Education Management Information System (EMIS) and promote quality, responsive and inclusive education development in Africa through sound knowledge-based planning.

Pan-African Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis Eradication Campaign (PATTEC), Ethiopia: initiate and coordinate tsetse and trypanosomiasis (T&T) eradication campaign activities.

African Risk Capacity (ARC), Johannesburg: improve resilience to extreme weather events, through technical assistance and risk insurance.

SECURITY BODIES

Committee of Intelligence and Security Services of Africa (CISSA), Ethiopia: multilateral cooperation on intelligence and security matters. Its main purpose is to assist the AU and its institutions to effectively address security challenges confronting Africa.

African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (CAERT), Algeria: build the capacity of the AU and its Member States to prevent and counter violent extremism and terrorism on the continent.

Mechanism for Police Cooperation (AFRIPOL), Algeria: specialised institution for cooperation among the police agencies of AU Member States.

HEALTH

Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (Africa CDC), Ethiopia: supports all African countries to improve surveillance of emergency response to and prevention of infectious diseases. This includes addressing outbreaks (human-made and natural disaster-related) and public health events of regional and international concern.

AIDS Watch Africa (AWA): lead advocacy, resource mobilisation and accountability efforts to advance a robust African response to end AIDS, tuberculosis (TB) and malaria by 2030.

ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE

Centre for Linguistic and Historical Studies by Oral Tradition (CELHTO), Niger: provides analysis on African history, societies and culture to the AU system.

African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), Mali: the promotion and development of African languages.

African Union Sport Council (AUSC), Zambia: coordination of the African sports movement and development of sport.

African Audiovisual and Cinema Commission (AACC): promotion and development of the African audiovisual and cinema industry, not yet established.

NOTES

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

Supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)