

Do the objectives of the African Union's Agenda 2063 aspirations harmonize with a Pan-African and African Renaissance vision? – A critical review.



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

By – Haddy Max Njie

MSc Global Studies – Major Development Studies

Supervisor – Yahia Mahmoud

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Abstract

Pan-Africanism is a diverse philosophy and political ideology that has conflicting views about how unity among Africans can be achieved economically and within a single political system. Some versions of Pan-Africanism support market capitalism and other theorists take the position that the collective ownership of capital and resources is essential for creating a national unity. The Agenda 2063 is both an economic model that supports market capitalism and one that incorporates Pan-Africanism as a guiding set of values, and therefore, how this ideology defines and reinforces the proposed system is dependent on which of these competing theories is adopted.

Using critical theory and deconstruction, the aim will be to analyse how pan-Africanism & African Renaissance are defined and its use in the African Union Agenda 2063. The objectives of this paper are to examine the feasibility of the agenda, to explain critical issues underpinning its successful implementation, to analyze its strengths and weaknesses, and to suggest ways of dealing with persisting challenges. The focus of this analysis will be toward understanding how the hegemonic discourse of the Agenda 2063 can reasonably aligned with the original vision of the Pan-African and African Renaissance cultural transformations which are the essential motivations the agenda is rooted in as seen in aspiration 2 – An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa’s Renaissance and aspiration 5 - An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics (Au.int, 2019).

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1. Introduction

Among the many negative impacts that colonialism has had throughout its past and present, one of the more central problems was specifically created at the Berlin Conference of 1884 scramble for Africa, which is when the map of nation state boundary lines became agreed upon by all of the European occupiers. The nations of Africa in its current form reflect the agreed upon territory boundaries that would divide the continent into the colonies of France, England, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and the United States. The impact of these property lines includes a broad difference between the boundaries and both ethnic groups and language groups. There is an estimate of 1200 to 3000 different languages on the continent and within these, there is a wide range of different dialects that make communication difficult (Childs, 2003). Further, it remains the case that many primary languages are European and establishing a 'lingua Franca' is a strategy to compensate for the wide range of languages and dialects used by equally diverse ethnic groups. The African Union (AU) was formed in 1963 and tasked themselves the specific goal of creating a unified continent built upon the cultural, social and even political foundations of Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance (Adi, 2018).

Diversity is a potential risk to unity and how both are understood will improve our changes of constructing better relations among nation states. How diversity is defined involves culture, language, shared history, ethnicity, and religious institutions and beliefs, and these have often formed the basis of conflict in and amongst different groups. The question that needs to be addressed is whether or not these variables are distinct enough that a more singular vision of one nation becomes problematic. The diversity of Africa is in many ways different than in Europe (considering that Africa is three times larger in land than Europe), and in these terms, a single unifying political and economic system might be problematic

if these national distinctions are too varied that there cannot be a consensus about the similarities and that which constructs a Pan-African unity. In the Treaty of Abuja that was signed in 1991 the African Union created and implemented a mandate of an integrated economy among all of the continental African nation states. This treaty has become a foundational beginning to a plan ratified in 2013 that is to conclude or be completed in the year 2063 (Vickers, 2017). The AU Agenda 2063 includes an objective timeline for a fully integrated African and Pan-African economy and some of the key features of the goal include a common currency, common passport, a common and uniform trade and tariff system, and a common legal system to address issues between nation states. There are a number of parallels between this agenda alongside the key defining elements of the European Economic Community (EEC).

The Agenda 2063 also has a number of cultural goals and that includes the adoption of the core ideas of the African Renaissance and there is a specific reference in the primary document that indicates that the defining ideas are essentially the same as how it was defined when the OAU was formed in 1963 and eventually re-named itself as just the African Union (AU).

OUR ASPIRATIONS FOR THE AFRICA WE WANT

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development
2. An integrated continent, politically united and based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance
3. An Africa of good governance, democracy, 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, shared 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
7. Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner

Source: (Au.int, 2019).

Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance are central to the Agenda. However, both are so broadly defined in the Agenda 2063 that they are little more than clichés and repetitions:

Pan-African ideals will be fully embedded in all school curricula and Pan-African cultural assets (heritage, folklore, languages, film, music, theatre, literature, festivals, religions and spirituality.) will be enhanced. The African creative arts and industries will be celebrated throughout the continent, as well as, in the diaspora and contribute significantly to self-awareness, well-being and prosperity, and to world culture and heritage. African languages will be the basis for administration and integration. African values of family, community, hard work, merit, mutual respect and social cohesion will be firmly entrenched. (African Union Commission, 2015: 7).

This extended quote is a defining statement about African culture in terms of its significance, and also in terms of the social domains and artistic practices that constitute it. Pan-Africanism is a complex and often conflicting view of African identity that has an intellectual lineage that extends back to the Seventeenth Century. Moreover, identity itself is difficult to define and it is easily deconstructed when the very concept of identity and its limitations are taken into consideration. There is no defining difference without a prior notion of identity and identity is consistently socially constructed but to aid a bigger goal or a more significant economic and political agenda.

The Agenda 2063 not only has the goal of Pan-Africanism and an African Renaissance defining African unity, but an economic system and change in legal and political systems among nation states as a key factor for consideration. This will be explored within neofunctionalist and liberal-intergovernmental theories

later in the paper. Despite the notions and mandates of the Pan-African movement and the goals of the African Renaissance are validated and incorporated in the Agenda 2063, their definitions are still unclear. When it comes to Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance, it begs the question of “what is African?”. A key premise of the following is because of problems of 'identity' and defining ethnicity and even the definition of nation states. It will be argued that Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance remain ill-defined in the primary Agenda 2063 documents precisely because they are difficult to define. A key consideration in these terms, asks what kind of potential conflict can arise because of the Agenda 2063 objective of a common passport with fluid migration laws among countries.

[Purpose, aim of the thesis and research question](#)

It will be argued that the notion of Pan-Africanism in the Agenda 2063 stands to function as an ideology that furthers the achievement of economic and political goals, and how these function as a capitalist system that further reflects the hegemony of Eurocentrism. Pan-Africanism should be challenging Eurocentrism and not embracing it as the movement is to emancipate, redefine and promote African culture against colonialism. While there is not a single definition that is agreed on, it is significantly more complex than the Agenda 2063 supposes. This analysis will demonstrate how identity is socially constructed and problematic when assumptions about what unifies Africans together are made. Pan-Africanism specifically defines itself as having a shared anti-colonial history and this is a significant part of what is understood by identity. By not challenging the neocolonialism of the Agenda 2063 as opposed to its own identity, it will be demonstrated that Pan-Africanism is merely legitimating neocolonialism instead of its objective for decolonisation in aspiration 2 and this relationship will be demonstrated using the methods of Critical Theory. The key research question asks, **‘whether the objectives of the African Union’s Agenda 2063 aspirations**

harmonize with a Pan-African and African Renaissance vision?’ This has involved a discussion of how Pan-Africanism is defined. To define the political vision of the Agenda 2063, the inter relationships among nation states was analyzed using the concepts of neofunctionalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism. By defining the relationships among nation states as it is envisioned in the Agenda 2063, it was then possible to compare how the economic and ideological agenda harmonized with the key ideas of the Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance

Structure of the paper

The paper begins with an overview of problems of identity and differences that make 'African' difficult to define will be analyzed. This includes language, ethnic, and national differences alongside relative histories and other factors that contribute to a risk when it comes to assumptions about an integrated continental community. Then a methodology of the paper is presented, which focuses on critical theory and deconstruction explaining the tools that would be used in this thesis to conduct analysis on Agenda 2063. This is followed by a literature review and previous research explaining the history of the main concepts of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance which are also contextualised within the Agenda 2063 objectives. The key features of the vision for the Agenda 2063 will be examined by employing a comparative analysis of Neofunctionalism theory and Liberal Intergovernmentalism in order to help justify and identify the economic motives of the African nations and which of the Pan African theorist (Garvey or Du Bois) they seem to align with. The importance of these two models of integration, is that they provide a framework to compare with the Agenda 2063 documents' vision for the progression and unfolding of the set of pre-defined goals. The key question that will be addressed asks whether the Agenda 2063 model better represents or reflects a neofunctionalist emphasis on the economy or

a wider perspective that is emphasized in the liberal intergovernmentalism approach. Subsequently, a chapter on the analytical findings and challenges observed within the Agenda 2063 and its future objectives followed by a brief conclusion.

2. Background

2.1 The Problem of Defining Identity in relation to culture

Identity politics has become a common area of academic study and a common ideological consideration when it comes to examining social relations and power (Aronowitz, 2014). In general, the politics of identity has a greater tendency to look at this concept in social terms defined by race, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation. As a strategic approach toward analyzing and understanding power and oppression, these areas of identity emerged in the social movements of the 1960's. By equity in these terms, the late 1960's movements recognized that legal equality did little to address the inequities that were brought about by social attitudes, cultural conventions and the history of patriarchy or white privilege in institutions of power from politics, to the world of organized business (Han, 2012).

Just because all individuals were provided with the same basic rights equally, did not mean that equity had been achieved. Put in terms of the two concepts of freedom, equality under the law meant a freedom from oppression but it did not mean a freedom to achieve within these institutions of power. There is a 'freedom from' that has been eradicated through rights legislation, but the 'freedom to' had not been realized (MacCallum, 2017). In more concrete terms, the right to vote by emancipated slaves along with basic freedoms did not achieve anything near a social and economic equality within the mainstream of the US. Likewise, women have the right to vote in the US and one-hundred years later, they still have not

obtained equity in terms of positions of institutional power such as political or corporate authority where they remain significantly underrepresented. Identity politics begins with the assumption that oppression or an inequitable world has to do with substantially more than the achievement of equal rights. Understanding this problem needs to be directed toward the relationship between institutions and cultures, races, and genders that are oppressed within them (Aronowitz, 2014).

Within an African context, the ideas of Franz Fanon articulate the limitations of accepting the institutions of power that defined colonial relations that define African identity. What Fanon and other Pan-Africanism figures believed, was that identity had to be self-defined rather than other defined. Where the dominant culture and institutions defined the identity of the 'other' or those who were outside of these power structures, figures like Fanon maintained that political emancipation could only truly arrive when cultures and races defined their own identity (Bulhan, 2004). After receiving medical training in France, the psychiatrist Franz Fanon returned to work in his native Algeria during the historical period when that country gained independence from France. What Fanon observed in Algeria, was that 'emancipation' was not viewed as a great advance or even much of a change among so much of the population (Fanon, 2008). This attitude was shaped by the fact that the people did not recognize themselves in the new government, and they did not have any prior experience or knowledge of what it was to be a free citizen. In his work titled 'Black Skin White Masks' (2008). Fanon argued that this situation would have been different if Algerians had taken over the nation themselves and redefined the state in their own terms.

Identity politics draws significantly on the thought of Michel Foucault who began to look at how identity is socially constructed through history, but also institutionalized and legitimated through science and political institutions

(Foucault, 1997). Under current considerations, a solid example of this form of institutional power that is legitimated through a form of power manifest as knowledge, the suppression of slaves was supported by a science that maintained that African's were inferior in almost every measure (MacMaster, 2001). This attitude represents a larger knowledge system that exercises a definitive power, and that means that it is not a value neutral system of facts or an independent scientific theory. To enslave a citizen of equal standing was prohibited in modern Europe, however, if they were unequal and viewed as less than human it followed that it was permissible to have a completely different system of governance and rule (Taylor, 2011). This form of power as a knowledge system continued in the 20th Century after the abolishment of slavery and it is exemplified by the rise in popularity of eugenics and this incorrect scientific view maintained that some cultural groups and ethnicity's failed to thrive in comparison with others because they were genetically inferior (MacMaster 2001; Taylor 1981). This mistaken genetic theory further legitimated all kinds of other views that included intellectual and moral inferiority or superiority depending on what culture or ethnicity was being considered. One of the reasons why this is relevant in terms of power, is because Michel Foucault is part of a 'post Marxist' or post-structural group of thinkers known as post-modernists. There was a disillusionment among these figures regarding the failure of the Marxist or socialist revolution that previous generations of intellectuals thought would happen; that is, once institutional power is fully understood it would follow that dismantling these institutions would then be a natural or obvious progression (Gutting, 2005).

The science changes in terms of paradigm shifts caused by new discoveries or better refined theories, however, newer knowledge systems create the same power dynamic. For Michel Foucault, the research that he pursued, essentially asked what it was about the 'knowledge systems', 'cultural practices', and 'discourse' of human history that prevents progress against exploitation (Gutting 2005; Taylor

2011). Marx thought that once individuals understood the roots of exploitation, the revolution would follow. Michel Foucault focused on 'power' as it was legitimized through the 'social construction' of relations between institutions and individuals or particular groups of individuals. To the end of demonstrating his thesis about power and institutions, he examined three areas of history; these include, the history of sexuality, the history of mental illness, and the history of medicine in general. A common theme in terms of power, was how individuals were constructed as 'marginal' depending on the needs of political power "its forming a "marginal" population of 'delinquents' is now considered as an inevitability" (Foucault, 1997:26). Here he is describing how 'delinquent' is a means for creating institutional ways of controlling them. For example, the historical idea that maintained that Africans were not human in the same way that Europeans were, legitimated their enslavement: "a slave, could be passive: such was their nature, their status" (Foucault, 1997:257). The knowledge system that created different 'classifications' of definition are what created the power relationship. In keeping with this example, Marxist or historical materialism maintained that expansion occurs through force and exploitation. Michel Foucault argues that power is not possible through these channels unless it is legitimated through 'discourse'. However, this not just in terms of 'legitimizing' something as though it were an ideological rationale: "power relations, of the forms of rationality which can rule and regulate" (Foucault, 1998:451). Rather, it is the construction of identity so that it can be controlled. For example, the psychological and moral prejudice against homosexuality, constructed identities of these individuals that legitimated legal persecution. It is not that the practice did not exist, but that the 'discourse' that defines it did not exist. He maintains that without the discourse constructing the 'identity' that might define race, class, gender, sexual orientation or culture, there can be no power relationship. It is the discourse that constructs power rather than the material relations that drive scarcity (Foucault, 1997). Effectively, they are not mutually exclusive viewpoints.

Previous generations of intellectuals were concerned with identity in terms of the social class of those struggling for recognition, or the basic goal of equality under the law such that no one identity overpowers another (Bulhan, 2004). That is, not a value that is at odds with the power defined by Michel Foucault through social institutions. Foucault does not see these limitations as exclusive. He adds that 'exclusion' is done through 'labelling' and 'identity'. If inferiority is a 'fact' of science, it becomes a 'fact' of political institutions, and the institutional practices in general such as the medical system or the mental health sciences (Gutting, 2005). To illustrate this, consider the activity of defining oneself. If one was presented the task of defining themselves, they would accumulate a list of attributes that best described their own character. However, it would then be possible for the self-defining person to then recognize that how they are describing themselves, could be a description that anyone else could use and it raises a challenge to the very idea of individuality. In these terms, any one's self-definition or identity is conceptualized using the language that the individual was raised knowing, and then the notions and ideas that inform that terminology which are also outside of themselves. In other words, how can one define a purely individual person using the language and social constructs that are provided to them. Discourse in these terms does not exclusively belong to the individual and more so, the limitation of language is also marked by what is excluded.

Identity in these terms is both socially constructed, but this construction is carried forward by a discourse legitimated by a dominant ideology and a dominant knowledge system and founded on a scientific paradigm. The history of colonialism and suppression of Africa is very much defined along these terms and Foucault has been widely adopted in African and post-colonial studies (Legg, 2007). The agenda of self-definition is important in Pan-Africanism because of the recognition that identity has largely been conferred on the developing world by the European and therefore, Eurocentric values that has shaped it (Aronowitz,

2014). Where the history of enslavement mostly occurred when one military power or state conquered another. Where slaves in the Ancient world were made from defeated and captured armies and societies, with the modern form of it, Africans were enslaved because they were viewed as inferior and expendable (Lovejoy, 2011). It is not a battle or war that defines slavery in the modern sense, but the discourse and social construction of identity that has provided its meaning in the era of colonialism.

In post-structuralist thought, identity raises a number of other important problems that are relevant to the self-determination and self-definition of Pan-Africanism. One of the criticisms of formal notions of identity are central to post-structural philosophers like Jacques Derrida, is that the underlying foundation of the concept can only be metaphysical. Metaphysics is a term taken from the Greeks and it means beyond (meta) nature (physics) (Collins, 2014). To be beyond nature, is to be beyond the realm of understanding or an explanation that is achieved through scientific naturalism or an view that there is nothing beyond nature itself. Identity is a problem in philosophy because nature does not actually have two identical objects. There are similarities in nature and these allow for categories and classifications that group items in nature on the basis of nature itself. However, a formal notion of nature cannot be found in nature itself. For two objects in nature to be exactly alike, every single predicate or attribute that can be made of one can also be made of the other (Baxter, 2018). However, Leibniz' law which remains a philosophical problem connected with metaphysics, maintains that it is impossible to have two objects exactly the same (Krasteva, 1998). For example, if two hypothetical objects of nature were absolutely identical down to the molecule or even the atomic composition, there would still be one predicate that can be made of one that cannot be made of the other, and this one attribute concerns their location. Even if the two objects are exactly the same, they are in different locations and this means that there is at least one attribute that is different (Baxter,

2018). As a thought experiment, what this demonstrates is that humans have no experience of perfect identity in nature and therefore, if the idea is not an extension of nature or found in nature, it must be beyond it or metaphysical.

Influential post-modernists like Derrida argue that there is not a notion of difference or distinction that is not founded or determined by a prior concept of identity and this means that it needs to be deconstructed in order to expose an underlying metaphysical assumption (Derrida, 1982). To be beyond nature, is to transcend it and to be fixed and unchanging. In nature, everything changes so that anything beyond the flux of it is unchanging. Moreover, there is an arbitrary nature or a socially constructed concept of identity as it is used in the discourse about culture, ethnicity or nationality. Identity is more of a matter of gradation than it is an either-or concept, however, it is taken as a fixed notion and with equally fixed ideas that are opposed to it (Collins, 2014). To negate identity is to also reinforce it because one cannot negate something without knowing it or validating it in some sense, and to be apolitical or an atheist likewise illustrates how something that can be negated can also be supposed and affirmed at the same time. In this instance, one cannot be apolitical without a supposition of what is political. For the strategy of deconstruction, the goal is to identify that which unchanging or fixed within a given discourse, viewpoint of theory, however, it is not something that can reinforce or reify the negated concept at the same time. Derrida makes this point by re-writing the word difference as 'différance' with an 'a' (Derrida 1982).

2.2 Linguistic Diversity in Africa

Identity and the definition of Africa are important, and in the Agenda 2063, both the notion of Pan-African and African Renaissance intrinsically suppose what Africa is. Identity is complex, and it while the discourse concerning it supposes it

as fixed, the reality of it is much more fluid. In Africa, there are an estimated 1,500 to 3,000 languages which have been broken down by linguists into seven groups that include Afroasiatic, Nilo-Saharan, Niger–Congo, Indo-European, Austronesian, Bantu, and Khoisan (Comrie, 2017). The amount of languages which have a fairly wide range in terms of the estimation, illustrates the very complexity of identity. The range between is 1,500 to 3,000 is an estimate because some languages are very similar to others and further, it is difficult to know when a dialect of a language is actually a distinct language into itself (Childs, 2003). For example, there is an ongoing debate whether or not Patois which is spoken in the Caribbean is a dialect of English or whether it should be considered its own language and that is also because it is a hybrid of other languages that include both French and Spanish. The complexity of identity in this regard requires a fixing of a definition at some point and to do so, requires that an arbitrary or unquestioned supposition is made (McLaren, 2009). There is no fixed line on identity with regard to language as well, and the problem of distinguishing it from other languages and dialects represents a gradation of difference rather than concepts that are typified as opposed to one another, and the same problem is inherent with any notion of culture and ethnicity.

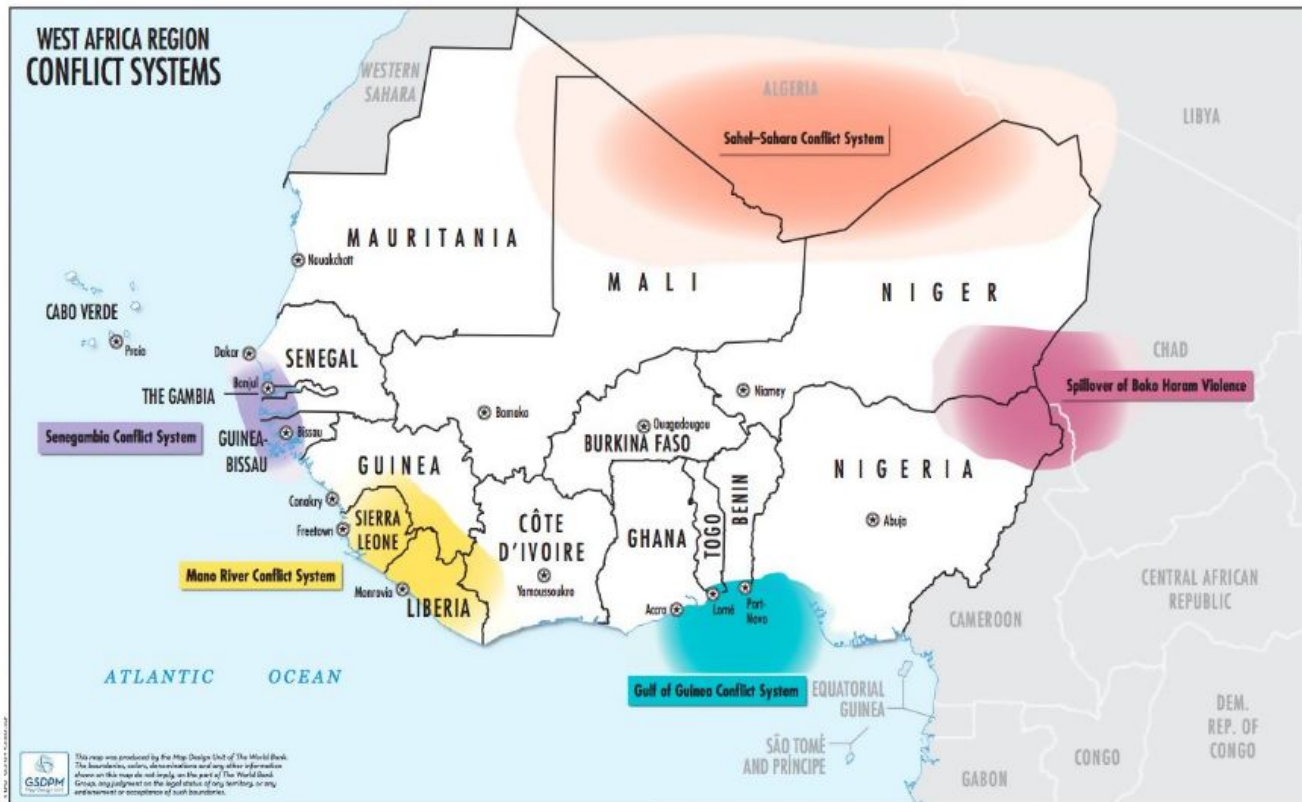
2.3 Ethnic Diversity in Africa

Ethnicity is defined by a wide range of attributes that can include a common nation state, language, history, culture and society (Regmi, 2003). And, this is more complicated when culture itself is broken down into the heritage, religion, mythology, rituals, arts, foods and even fashion. Ethnicity can also be a matter of classifying according to physical appearance and over the past few decades it has been examined from the standpoint of shared genetic make-up (Causadias et al., 2017). In terms of all of these variables or attributes, there are gradations. For example, many of the same spiritual practices have very significant differences in

how the rituals and beliefs are defined and one can share in many of the same groupings but have a different language or a different nation state. Virtually all of these attributes are more fluid than they are fixed, and moreover, they are not entirely continuous over time. Even prior to the colonization of Africa beginning in the Sixteenth Century, there was a significant amount of migration and a significant amount of inter-relationships or marriage between ethnic groups (Lovejoy, 2011). In these terms, the diaspora of Africans can be understood by the modern slave trade or by the system that preceded it. For centuries prior to the European slave-trade which had an impact on shared ethnicity's and migration, the Arab cultures from the North or Sub-Sahara regions conducted a slave trade that impacted a significantly wide geography of groups (Lovejoy, 2011). Further, slavery was practised among various ethnic groups among themselves and it was a common practice of one group to enslave another group if they are defeated in some form of a conflict. In terms of ethnicity, there is much debate both over how it is defined and then, how this definition is applied. In Africa, ethnologists can divide the continent by regions and find a completely different number of groups than any division according to national boundaries, languages, or genetics. Further, many of the major groups of ethnic divisions are broken down into sub-groups and for example, the general group demarcated by the regions. For example, there is a contested consensus that there are twenty-one major ethnic groups on the continent (Akan, Abyssinians, Amhara, Bantu, Berbers, Chewa, Fulani, Hausa, Hutu, Igbo, Kanuri, Khoisan, Kongo, Luba, Maghrebis, Mongo, Nilotes, North African Arabs, Oromo, Shona, Somali), however, there are sub-groups within these major groups that number in the thousands and this raises a number of important political considerations (Childs 2003; Yeros 2016).

2.4 Political Conflict in Africa

The causes of political conflict are difficult to define. For example, there are conflict pressures that have to do with economic problems such as resource scarcity and causes that are political such as a territorial dispute. However, these causes can often become manifest through the creation of division among ethnic groups. For example, the Civil War that happened in Rwanda in 1994 where close to a million people were killed within a short period of time, the conflict was divided along ethnic lines between the Tutsi and Hutu groups (Gebrewold, 2016). At the same time, the conflict had much to do with the economic problems that created a scarcity which caused famine that in turn, caused mass migration. However, that migration was also supported by nation states that essentially viewed migration as a way of reducing the demand of resources. Further, there were also multi-national conflicts or conflicts that were at the level of the state and this included in this instance, a political divide that was occurring between Rwanda and both Burundi and Tanzania (Gebrewold, 2016). Although the conflict was between two distinct ethnic groups, they both shared the same linguistic group (Bantu) but were divided by three nation states. Consider the following map that outlines conflicts in Western Africa and how inter-ethnic problems transcend political boundaries:



Source: (Marc, 2016)

Along with this simple instance of regional and ethnic conflict, an even more complex problem can be understood from the aggressive expansion of Islamic groups such as the Wahhabis who are causing conflicts throughout Northern Africa. Across these nation states, there are both cultural and economic factors of consideration beyond just religious differences (Williams, 2016). Moreover, this form of Muslim extremism is only one part within Islam which is divided by a wide range of belief systems within both the major traditions of Sunni and Shia practices. Further, there are important political considerations or distinctions in terms of how nation states deal with this emergence that range from a tolerant acceptance to persecution which takes a variety of forms and this can have much to do with the demographics of a given nation state such that those with an

existing Muslim population which will have different attitude and ideology, accordingly (Yeros, 2016).

2.5 Critical Problems Concerning the Social Construction of Identity

The assumption of what defines an African is complicated and it raises a number of considerations with regard to the Agenda 2063. So far, the emphasis has been placed on how the methods and taxonomies of classification raise a number of problems. Where identity can be fixed, the reality of what is denoted by that label is much more complex to define. An outline has been given that demonstrates that identity is socially constructed and therefore bound to the knowledge or science systems that define it and further, identity is also an arbitrary and fixed concept that contradicts the reality of difference. There is no question that these forms of taxonomies and classifications that construct identities are largely Eurocentric (Aronowitz 2014; Krasteva 1998). Ethnography itself is a European academic discipline and so too are the means by which it has evolved through the structural methods and then the post-structural critique of these methods that were outlined in relation to the figures like Foucault and Derrida.

The Agenda 2063 and the movement of Pan-Africanism explicitly seeks an agenda of self-definition, but how these definitions are made still remains a complex issue. In the broadest terms, Pan-Africanism is defined by those who recognize that their origins are African and so the greater diaspora caused by colonialism means that it is broader than just the geographical boundaries of the continent (Han 2012). An important axiom of Pan-Africanism in this regard entails that there is a self-recognition of having origins in Africa but also, a history that has been impacted by colonialism. These broad definitions raise a number of issues and in many regards, these self-defining features might be so broad that they are meaningless. Consider how political and economic changes can cause

self-definition to emerge in negative ways. When the Eastern Bloc or Communist/Soviet empire collapsed in the late 1980's and early 90's, a number of conflicts emerged over ethnic lines (Harff, 2018). For example, Yugoslavia was a nation that was unified by the Soviet Union and following the end of their control, a conflict or civil war happened that divided the country according to the five main ethnic groups that had been ruled under one state and they include: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia. This conflict lasted between 1991 and 2001 (Harff, 2018). This happened across the Eastern bloc and there are countries like Hungary, the Ukraine and Georgia which were not divided by ethnic group and these states have had ongoing internal problems that are based along older divisions according to ethnicity (Harff, 2018). What happened was a form of self-definition that was based on ethnic lines and anthropologists have called this retribalization. This is where political and economic pressure and changes create divisions that emerge where previous problems were not an issue. One can see this occurring with the rise of nationalism in Europe and a growth of divisions based on a rejection of immigration (Gusterson, 2017). A key motivation for the Brexit situation in the United Kingdom is directly related to the rejection of a common passport and the free migration of citizens between European countries. In other words, dividing ethnicity is problematic when it comes to self-definition given that this has so far lead to a division of in-group versus out-group conflict based on much older cultural institutions.

The challenge that Pan-Africanism has to address, is how self-definition as a continent might not create the expected harmony given that older boundaries have deep ethnic divisions. This section has outlined how these very divisions are difficult to define in the first place given that the method or classification is Eurocentric (post-colonialism), and how identity itself is socially constructed or culturally determined (Foucault) and finally, how identity itself is a fixed or static

concept whereas the phenomenon that it seeks to describe changes over time and also, contains blurred boundaries where culture can both intersect or conflict among different ethnicity's (Derrida). In the current climate of European politics, there has been a rise of nationalism and populism that has risen to oppose both migration and immigration. The Brexit vote in the United Kingdom is driven by a view that wants to reject European integration based on ethnicity, and the movement is shaped by a viewpoint that rejects immigration and migration which is a key structural feature of an integrated economy. Likewise, throughout Europe, nationalism has grown in some countries and France, Italy and Germany have seen the emergence of new political parties that are defined in these cultural terms as opposed to conventional political and ideological political party differences. The founding objectives of the EU can be said to have been naive about the impact that cultural differences have on political institutions such as a common passport and free country-to-country migration. Cultural differences could equally impede the Agenda 2063 goal of a common passport given that migration and immigration have proven to be a challenge in the European framework.

3. Methodology

The interpretation will be based on the general areas of deconstruction and Critical Theory. These approaches were selected because of the main topic and that concerns Eurocentrism and the post-colonial political context of the Agenda 2063 and how Pan-Africanism is communicated. Deconstruction has been widely used in post-colonial studies (Legg, 2007; McLaren, 2009) and it is a theory of interpretation that emerged in the 1960's and is often referred to as post-structuralism.

The approach of deconstruction, is to examine what areas of meaning are socially constructed and what concepts within a text are fixed and shaped by a particular

value system. In this instance, the system in focus is Eurocentrism and so the goal of this analysis in terms of using deconstruction, is to find those references and ideas that are imposed on the Agenda 2063 and Pan-Africanism. This is an important area of analysis because one of the primary goals of the agenda and Pan-Africanism is to define itself in a way that is self-determining, and this means the elimination and eradication of social, historical, political and intellectual influences that are rooted in the colonial era. To be self-determining and self-defining, entails a strategy that is not understood as refracted through a lens of European ideas and meaning. Further, the goal of deconstruction is to analyze without imposing another order or hierarchy, and this means that it is a self-critical approach that constantly evaluates its own assumptions and conclusions. As a form of analysis, deconstruction will specifically look at how identity is shaped and socially constructed, but also how the notion is problematic in itself. Deconstruction seeks to redefine the notion of difference such that it is not situated in a framework where an opposition emerges. In this instance, what is regarded as 'other' or in the 'margins' has conventionally been defined as being in opposition to what is at the centre. In historical terms, Africa and Africans have largely been constructed as the other based on a foundation that is Eurocentric in scope.

The second major methodological strategy of this analysis, is the employment of Critical Theory. This is a strategy that looks at the relationship between culture and the economic structures that are justified and legitimated through this relationship. Critical Theory emerged in the 1920's and it specifically sought to address the cultural forces and social meanings that were undermining the ability of the working classes to see what was in their own best interest. Critical Theory builds on the idea that capitalism is a systemic exploitation and that in a Marxist framework, classes were based on the division between those who owned their own means of production over and against those who had to sell their labour. In

short, there are owners and workers within this economic approach and Critical Theory sought to figure out why it is that the working-class does not act from the basis of their own self-interest. If there is a wide acceptance of a system that is exploitative, there must be forces at play that shape the attitudes and opinions of people who are supporting an economy that works against self-interest.

Critical Theory is used as an approach because of its ability to frame economic power relationships and how they are supported by ideas and concepts. In this instance, it is being argued that the Eurocentric dimensions of the Agenda 2063 are essentially supportive of market capitalism. Given that the agenda seeks to open up trade and protect the rights of private ownership, there is a potential that it will legitimate and reinforce exploitation. Further, it will be demonstrated that Pan-Africanism is not a uniform set of principles and ideas. One of the main conflicts among its theorists concerns whether or not this vision can best be achieved through the collective ownership of goods and resources or whether this better reflects the values of a market economy. Critical Theory will examine the relationship between the culture of Pan-Africanism and the economic vision. It will be argued that while they harmonize with one another in the Agenda 2063, they can sometimes be at odds with each other depending on which theorist of African identity is being utilized. In this instance, the Pan-African figures of W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey will be used to demonstrate the divide between those who view a unified Africa based on liberal and capitalist market ideas and those who look at transforming the power structure of the economy itself toward collective ownership and the direct control of the natural and human resources that participate within it.

Critical theory and deconstruction will inform the following by examining how Pan-Africanism is defined and what assumptions are made regarding the economic and political system of market capitalism in the Agenda 2063. In the

primary documents, Pan-Africanism is mainly left undefined except for generalities about a shared heritage and culture. To indicate this, commonality raises the issue of actually defining in detail what is shared or constitutes a collective identity. Deconstruction is a means by which identity is problematized, and in this analysis, it is the case that there are assumptions about what is a common definition for African when it comes to both Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. In the history of Pan-African thought, there are critical differences between those who put forward that it is a political goal that can be best achieved through socialist ideology while there are those who view this concept as better reflected in a market capitalist form of economic relations.

Critical theory allows for a disclosure of the economic relationships of the Agenda 2063, and how culture serves to reinforce the values inherent within it. In the instance of this agenda, there is an assumption that Pan-African culture best harmonizes with the economic model. However, there are conflicting theories that maintain that the unity of a culture can only come about with a collective or shared control of wealth or capital. If culture itself can be deconstructed, it follows that the integration of it within a capitalist market economy can only function as a force of legitimation and it therefore only validates the desired political system and its financial goals. If the identity of Pan-Africanism is not a single theory, it follows that it cannot solely support one political system against the other. Critical theory can show how culture serves to legitimate politics, and in this instance, the culture of Pan-Africanism is by no means a dominant viewpoint.

Limitation

Given the short time to get this thesis completed as it was a re-exam, I decided to use critical theory and deconstruction instead of interviews and discourse analysis as previously done. This way an understanding of the policies is essential before

investigating the execution and the impact to the general public. The analysis also notes that the Agenda 2063 can be analysed in a dialectical way of thinking but the paper disregards the positives and focuses on the left-wing Eurocentric aspects that contradict the original Pan-African and African Renaissance vision.

Capitalism is also regarded as a Eurocentric model because of the world system theory identifying core nations as the economically strong western states and the periphery where most African countries are listed, the least economically diverse.

4.Previous Research/ Literature Review

4.1 Pan-Africanism

4.1.1 History, Main Concepts & Theoretical Paradigms

As a general concept and an idea with roots in the idea of African autonomy and self-determination, Pan-Africanism has roots extending back into the Eighteenth Century with a number of important and influential figures in the Nineteenth Century contributing to its evolution and development. In terms of a specific concrete history of the movement, a first Pan-Africanism congress was held in London in 1900 and this is generally regarded as a more formal or specific beginning. The event was preceded by the formation of the Pan-African Association (Pan-Africanism) in 1897 which was the initiative of a Trinidadian lawyer and teacher named Henry Sylvester Williams (Adi, 2018). The initial goal of the organization was to communicate about its formation and existence throughout the colonial diaspora at the time, and specifically, the outreach was aimed at intellectuals. The Pan- African leaders include Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Thomas Sankara and Haile Selassie to name a few of them originating from Africa. The following however, will examine the Pan-African ideas of W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. Both were pivotal at the outset of defining the movement in the early 1900's, and both represent opposing viewpoints that has

been a central debate among theorists ever since (Adi & Sherwood 2003). The paper draws on the ideas of Garvey and Du Bois despite not being the only Pan African movement founders and also not African, but because of the interesting different views they have on how to improve the economy. It adds to the importance of the papers topic to show the differences in meaning depending on perspectives. The key distinction between these figures concerns whether an economic and political transformation should occur that is essentially socialist (Du Bois) or one that embraces market capitalism (Garvey). Both figures are important with consideration of the Agenda 2063 as it is being argued that it is essentially Eurocentric with regard to politics even though it is culturally a succinctly African nationalist vision.

Du Bois viewed Pan-Africanism as the one of the means by which a truly just state could be created and maintained. In terms of the 2063 Agenda, it remains the case that there is an important degree to which the principles of autonomy and self-governance are likewise manifest within a shared judicial system. That is, multinational trade requires a shared means by which legal exchanges of products and services can be made and how problems can be mutually addressed across parties who do not share the same nation state. One of the important and key ideas of Du Bois, is that Pan-Africanism must be a separate state such that the laws that govern the whole of the population are those that are defined but also decided and enforced by the same collective identity (Wright, 2003). For Du Bois, the Reconstruction period exemplified how autonomy has to be a key element to the legal forms of recognition given that the constitutionalism that redefined the status of slaves were only a practice maintained at the national level and this systemic form of oppression will only continue until a separate and equal system of governance is in place. Law was the means by which power was wielded in colonial realm in this period, and it was a means by which control was asserted in the US South where population sizes threatened the power and control of whites

(Adi & Sherwood 2003). Law was also the means by which economic power was both expressed and legitimated. Further, in the Reconstruction period following the abolishment of slavery, laws that prohibited inter-racial marriage and the prevention of Blacks from being in particular public spaces was enshrined in State law. Although the Reconstruction period brought about legal changes at the federal level, concessions were made so that the Southern states could greater assert their authority (Du Bois, 2014). Even greater than the legal legitimization of social control according to race, was the control through wealth that created an underclass from the former enslaved population. This is a key aspect of Du Bois and it reflects his political mandate that views that a consolidated and centralized form of economic control is essential for progress, and this is an approach that is regarded as socialist.

Along with Du Bois, Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) is one of the most key figures who defined Pan-Africanism and the overall agenda of the African Union (Adi & Sherwood 2003). One of the key differences and it is a significant divide that has defined the movement ever since, is the conflict that they had about the role of the state and the type of economy that would best serve the Pan-Africanism movement. Garvey viewed market capitalism as the greater system for economic empowerment and African growth, and his approach to change can be said to be more bottom-up rather than top-down (Adi 2018; Adi & Sherwood 2003; Wintz 2015). That is, where Du Bois maintained that power was defined in terms of who controlled capital and who controlled natural resources and his strategy was top-down in that it focused on the state as a means for individual liberation. By contrast, Garvey's approach to power had a greater focus on individual and cultural transformation. For Garvey, centuries of colonial oppression resulted in a number of factors that were preventing individual self-definition (Adi & Sherwood 2003). First, his approach echoes much of what has been said about the social and cultural problems of colonialism and that means the institutions,

language and political systems that were imposed on the continent. These forms of oppression meant that individuals and social groups have had no experience with self-determination and self-definition. What was needed in this regard, was a form of esteem for the African Diaspora that involved redefining identity through a better grasp of the impacts of colonial history and more so, a better grasp of the culture and traditions that had defined and generated meaning prior to the European period (Wintz, 2015).

Garvey's own writing was focused on history in the way that Du Bois' was, but the goal was different insofar as he aimed at a more individual sense of its importance in a transformative way. He maintained that liberation could not proceed solely through an interpretation of institutions and systemic oppression and the focus should be made on what individuals can do to emancipate themselves. In terms of his key political difference with Du Bois, he also maintained that greater individual freedom along with greater motivation and self-determination was better achieved through a capitalist system as opposed to a collective and socialist system (Adi, 2018). It is worth noting that he maintained this viewpoint both before the Russian Revolution of 1917 and then the later recognition of this political system as a force for suppressing individuality (Bogues, 2015). For Garvey, it is the lack of individual freedom and the individual's actual lack of even seeing this lack that was a critical problem and a collective political system meant that one oppressive form of government was merely replacing colonialism. This distinction was also manifest in terms of how they approached the idea of a revolution and political transformation (Adi 2018; Adi & Sherwood 2003). Du Bois was very much focused on collectivizing the elites within the African Diaspora and this meant a mobilization of the intellectuals who composed the first African Union congresses. Garvey can be understood as a grass-roots oriented revolutionary. It was not up to the educated elite to steer the course of Pan-Africanism. Rather, it was to be a progress from individuals toward a greater

collective action (Adi, 2018). Garvey maintained that it was essential that the change come as a collective movement and that only a collective itself would be a way of defining Pan-Africanism itself (Wintz, 2015). He modelled this strategy from his own experience within the trade union movement which he was involved with from the outset of his working career which began in the printing business. Although trade unionism has often been related to socialist movements and has comprised coalitions that have advocated for it, he maintained that workers' rights were really about individual rights and so too was the formation of a body for bargaining for them (Stein, 1991). For Garvey, individuals were primary within the trade union movement because they were individually joining and recognizing their own personal self-interest within these organizations.

Garvey did not have the language of social construction such as Foucault, however, he did see the same institutional forces that were at play in terms of how social values can be adopted and assimilated without any critical reflection of whose interests they serve and how these ideologies go into constructing or shaping both outward and inward perception. That is, the outward perception of power and how it works in society, but also the inward perception of understanding how that power is manifest at the level of the individual. Garvey maintained that change could not occur without a better individual awareness of how Africans have been shaped or constructed by colonial institutions and moreover, they could not be transformed unless a better recognition of how this oppression occurred and why (Wintz, 2015). In terms of how his ideas relate to the African Renaissance, Garvey is far more focused on the concept of race as it has been defined in Eurocentric terms and to invert this meant developing cultural voices as a counter to the dominant ideology. To emancipate individuals was to bring them to a greater sense of self-awareness and this had to be shaped by cultural influences (Adi 2018; Adi & Sherwood 2003).

Like Du Bois, Garvey spent most of his life working to organize Pan-Africanism in various forms and also, writing and communicating these ideas through many speaking engagements and this caused problems that are worth noting. Garvey was individually persecuted and even prosecuted for his political viewpoints (Stein, 1991). He founded organizations that sold shares to help support itself, and this was a violation of mail fraud because it involved inter-state transactions given that it was a nation-wide association that he formed. Where Du Bois was instrumental in the organizing and founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, Garvey launched the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League in 1914 (Akin & Sherwood 2003). In terms of Pan-Africanism, one of the key differences between these organizations is who they existed to represent. Du Bois specifically wanted the NAACP to refer to colored people as opposed to black or negro because of the recognition of the diversity of the colonized. In the US and in many of the colonized countries, there was a wider integration with different populations such that slaves in the colonies were mixing with indigenous populations and other national colonizers like Spain, France and Portugal. For Du Bois, oppression had more to do with the wider expanse of race than just African Americans and so an organization should be inclusive toward any population that had been impacted by colonialism and who were in an poor economic and political position (Wright, 2003). Garvey himself was solely focused on descendants of Africa and it is worth noting that he was advocating Pan-Africanism without having ever been there (Stein, 1991). One of the key distinctions between Du Bois and Garvey that has defined Pan-Africanism for its whole history, is the nationalism that defined one vision against the other (Adi 2018; Yeros 2016). Garvey was a black nationalist and although he was not particularly rejecting other populations of the colonized world, he did maintain that African's had a unique and particular identity (Adi, 2018). This nationalism that Du Bois did not share in the same way, meant advocating for a return to

Africa. Although this was defined in terms of nationalism, it was not entirely for the solidarity and emancipation that would come from this, but also because he believed that by remaining in the US or anywhere within the diaspora, meant extinction. In these terms, his focus was not on economic oppression but racial oppression and he was an advocate of black-separation. Like Du Bois, Garvey understood that the freedom that came at the end of the Civil War in the US was quickly diminished through both legal control at the state level and through the forces of economic oppression that were resulting in wide-spread poverty (Adi & Sherwood 2003; Stein 1991). Poverty for Garvey was the direct result of the inability of African Americans to fully participate in the economy and their lack of access to education which could lead to greater prosperity. In turn, greater prosperity at the level of the individual meant greater freedom and an improved power of choice. However, the causes of this oppression for Garvey was racist and that is why he advocated the complete separation from other races (Persaud, 2001). One of the ironic or contradictory dimensions of Garvey is that he often spoke and interacted with members of the Klu Klux Klan and viewed their approach to racial separation as very similar to his own agenda (Stein 1991). For Du Bois, racism was a way of legitimating oppression and it was an ideology that helped the economic interests that were really driving colonization (Wintz, 2015).

4.1.2. Defined in the Agenda 2063 documents

Garvey and Du Bois have been the focus of this section for some important and core reasons related to the Agenda 2063, and while they are the most influential figures of Pan-Africanism they are only two among many individuals and movements that have shaped the movement through the 20th Century (Adi 2018; Yeros 2016). The focus on these two individuals is because their differences represent the main distinctions that can be made about Pan-Africanism and therefore, because they have important implications in terms of how it is defined

in the Agenda 2063. The main differences that are relevant, are economic and how nationalism is defined. As a socialist, Du Bois was focused on changing the economic and political systems which he viewed as being legitimated by racism. As stated, he thought that racism was not the primary motive for oppression but instead, it was economic greed. Racism was a way in which these goals could be furthered. Garvey did not ignore economic systemic problems and widely wrote about poverty. However, he maintained that racism was intrinsic to how Europeans comported themselves toward any race other than themselves, and that this was essentially a natural condition that could only be challenged by creating and maintaining separation (Adi 2018; Adi & Sherwood 2003). Du Bois was critically aware of racism, but as a socialist he knew that a true revolution had to occur world-wide. It was the class system that was the cause of African misery and that had to be challenged at the level of international politics. However, if an international revolution was not going to occur, he felt that an isolated African continent could unify people on the basis of the wide recognition of how power is manifest through the control of capital. By liberating the control of capital, the means of racist legitimization was no longer necessary (Wintz, 2015). By contrast, Garvey thought that the individual should be mobilized so that an African identity could be reclaimed and then, redefined. His focus was more on changing culture than political systems because of his view that racism was an intrinsic condition and that political oppression has occurred in many forms other than just the capitalist system. For example, there has been an underclass in many political structures including the aristocratic form that preceded and also, in centralized governments that were beginning to emerge as communism grew in the early part of the 20th Century. A critical question about the Agenda 2063 asks whether the nationalism of Pan-Africanism is just an inverted system of oppression. That is, is the agenda one that uses Pan-Africanism as a means to legitimate the capitalist market economic ideas inherent in the proposed trade system, or, whether Pan-Africanism is distinct from it. Du Bois would be critical of the Agenda 2063

because it is adopting the market economic principles inherent to the EEC and views prosperity as best achieved this way (Vickers, 2017). In these terms, Pan-Africanism can be understood as the means by which capitalism can be better regulated and legitimated. However, Pan-Africanism can also be understood as the means toward a different economic system and moreover, African autonomy and self-determination might be better served by rejecting an economic system that has its ideological roots in Europe (Okhonmina, 2009). Further, the control of capital is outside of Africa and that means that this imbalance creates challenges for Africa if it is going to be competitive on an international scale. While the integration of Africa might be positive for the continent as a whole, there is no isolating any economy in a period of globalization and further, there is already an existing structure of dominance of interests that come from outside in the form of direct and indirect investment (Yeros, 2016). There are few African countries that do not have existing foreign corporations controlling parts of the economy and using political power to achieve these ends.

Where Garvey wanted a completely different racial divide by the adoption of capitalism, Du Bois viewed the diaspora as more inclusive and that capitalism and not racism was at the core of oppressive power. If there is no single view of what a Pan-African economy would look like, the existing use of it in the Agenda 2063 faces many problems. As problematic, it can be argued that the meaning of it has been resolved in favour of one view (Garvey) economics as opposed to another (Du Bois). Does the view of Pan-Africanism in the agenda serve only to legitimate and reify an accepted ideological position that is characterised by Du Bois approach against a collectivist vision like Garveys? If the notion of Pan-Africanism is not defined as problematic in the agenda documents, it is misrepresenting it, and it can be further argued that the misrepresentation serves the needs of the political or power-driven goals of the more significant economic framework for African unity.

4.2 African Renaissance

4.2.1 History, Main Concepts & Theoretical Paradigms

There is an implicit irony in the notion of an African Renaissance. The African Renaissance draws many of the concepts, principles and outcomes that occurred during the Renaissance in Europe which occurred through the beginnings of the 14th Century to the early part of the 17th Century (Wolf, 2010). That period is regarded by European historians as an era when a cultural flourishing occurred which transformed the continent from the medieval to the modern period. The irony can be understood from the adoption of an essentially Eurocentric point of view. So far, Eurocentrism has been discussed in this analysis from several different perspectives and frameworks, and in this particular context the African Renaissance seeks to create a culture that is self-defined and self-determining but through the principles that are precisely opposing to it (Adi 2018; Okhonmina 2009; Vickers 2017). To define the importance of achieving an African Renaissance, key African thinkers who have written and promoted this idea are drawing on European history and thought. There is an irony in the idea that the African Renaissance should occur so that the influence of Europe is challenged, however, this very influence is being co-opted to define the guiding direction for the future of African culture. Irony aside, to understand the African Renaissance itself requires understanding what generally transpired in the European historical version.

The period that preceded the Renaissance or the Medieval era is often referred to as the 'Dark Ages' and this label emerged because of the very lack of cultural flourishing and human progress that occurred in that time. The period is one that is characteristic of stillness whereby the governing institutions of the Catholic Church and the Aristocracy did little to improve the living conditions or change

given that it would be a threat to the hegemony of their own authority and power. By contrast, the Renaissance seized this trend and it was brought about through a number of factors for consideration, and most notably, the growth of intellectual knowledge resulted in a significant challenge to the power and control of the Church and the Aristocracy (Wolf, 2010). The flourishing of progress that continued through the modern era is directly related to the introduction of new ideas from the wider world and also, old ideas from the ancient world and there are important social, political and historical implications of this advancement.

The impact of the Renaissance in many ways explains the main transformation of this period, and it also provides an overview for what is regarded as an imperative for the Agenda 2063 along with the ideas of a number of key figures who have shaped both the Pan-African movement and the African Union. On the political front, this is a period when both Church and Aristocratic authority began to become challenged. The ideas of Ancient democracy were instrumental toward a reconsideration of a political system that was premised on the natural authority of the Aristocracy and this challenge occurred because of the greater exposure to alternative political systems from the past but also, alternative ones that were representative of the world that was undergoing greater cultural integration because of greater amounts of trade (Wolf, 2010). Likewise, the challenge of religious authority was equally brought about by the discovery and consideration of alternatives from both the past and the wider world. In these terms, political and religious authority were challenged by ideas of the Renaissance in Europe such that the Protestant Reformation seized the preference of the Catholic Church and religious authority and both the English and French Revolutions of the modern period brought to an end a political system that was entirely centred on the aristocracy and the idea that their authority was a divine or God-given right (Thompson, 1996).

In terms of science and the arts, the Renaissance also brought about core principles that would continue for the balance of history. The scientific method of observation and experimentation were grounded in this period and the succeeding period of the modern era was also known as the Enlightenment because of the conquest of reason against faith and that was a direct result of a flourishing in the area of sciences (Merriman, 2009). In the arts, a number of factors contributed to a change. First, there was a change in the visual arts with the introduction of a fixed and measurable grid perspective and how this facilitated the creation of three-dimensional art. Further, literacy and writing began to be conducted in vernacular languages and that in turn, made these texts more accessible for those who did not speak or write Latin which meant everyone outside of the Church and the Aristocracy (Thompson, 1996). In regard to the influence of the vernacular, the Reformation itself was premised on the idea that individuals could and should read the Bible for themselves and this was brought about by various new translations that began in this period. By challenging the preference of the language of authority, a wider range of individuals were able to contribute to this flourishing and that essentially meant the integration of ideas that were not indicative of the status quo of the aristocracy and the Church (Thompson 1996; Wolf 2010).

The idea of the African Renaissance has its roots in the Pan-Africanism that has been discussed earlier in this analysis, but it was through the 1960's that the concept and movement began to flourish. The label itself was termed by a Pan-African theorist named Cheikh Anta Diop in 1946 and became more widely familiar and discussed after the essay which this was discussed was published much later in one of the first books dedicated to the topic titled: *Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in Culture and Development, 1946-1960* (Adi, 2018). Cheikh Anta Diop was a historian from Senegal and his area of focus was on studying and analyzing African history and culture prior to the period of

colonisation. One of the key principles of African Renaissance is that it ought to draw on this form of pre-history as it is an important window of opportunity to understand how culture was defined without the lens of European conquest but also, an interpretation of history that was both thematically and methodologically Eurocentric (Adi 2018; Wintz 2015). As mentioned, the most current version of the African Union was established in 1961 and the African Renaissance has been an important agenda of the organization ever since and it is unquestionably an strategic value system that they have incorporated in the Agenda 2063. In the 1960's the notion of an African Renaissance began to discard any romantic ideal of returning to Africa for those who were a part of the world diaspora and the focus was more forward thinking insofar as it was more interested in redefining the goals and values of these ideals rather than collectively creating a framework of opportunity for anyone abroad could return (Martin, 2012). In other terms, while the intellectual dimension of African Renaissance unquestionably wanted to redefine itself outside of the European traditions, such a redefining was exclusively tailored (Adi 2018; Wintz 2015). In these terms, one of the important factors of consideration is that this is an ideal to be achieved more than it is an existing movement that reflects current cultural practices and the dissemination of ideas.

As a future oriented idea, African Renaissance is again drawing on its European historical counterpart such that it was understood as the means by which change could be provoked for future generations. Although the European version of the Renaissance could not necessarily anticipate the events of the Reformation or the advent of modern democracies, in hindsight there is an unquestionable foundation for these changes that started in the prior area as was discussed above. As future oriented, it should not necessarily be compared with the Harlem Renaissance which describes the convergence of many African Americans in New York after the Reconstruction period and a time when writers and artists began to flourish.

Many of the best-known writers of African American culture came from this movement which is why in hindsight it has been called a renaissance (More, 2002). The African Renaissance assumes that culture was important developed much in terms of the Harlem Renaissance and in essentially the same way, however, it is not culture for its own sake but to bring about future change. In the Agenda 2063, it is articulated as a critical necessity in order for the very success for the goals of the political and economic transformation.

In the contemporary world, it has been South African President Thabo Mbeki who has been recognized as the main champion of African Renaissance. Mbeki succeeded Nelson Mandela and in 1998 at the Pan-African congress which took place in South Africa, the key address that was given by him focused on the values and aims of the movement for productive political and economic change (Adi, 2018). At the same time that it is a concept that has not materialized, there are critics who maintain that it is defined in such broad terms that it is meaningless. That is, it is a goal and an ideal and while it is premised on the Renaissance flourishing of intellectual culture the means for achieving it are not defined in any terms greater than promoting culture on the one hand, and also leaving the very specifics of it vague (Bongmba, 2004). The principles of Pan-Africanism are central to the African Renaissance, but how it is going to translate intentionally and specifically in forms of cultural production is not ever particularly outlined by many of the key and central thinkers of the movement. Further, critics essentially point to the elitism of it and that means that the approach of it is top-down and the impacts of it are premised on what occurred in Europe at the time. Where the Renaissance had an impact on aiding individualism such that democracy would come about, but this process in itself was not specifically directed to individual emancipation and moreover, it also took centuries for it to be recognized or realized. The progress was gradual and involved a number of variables for consideration.

4.2.2 Defined in the Agenda 2063 documents

The Agenda 2063 does not have the advantage of several centuries of evolution, expansion and development and as mentioned, the intellectual roots of these ideas are largely found in the early 20th Century rise of Pan-Africanism in general. In terms of the elitism, there is no question that there is a difference both historically and in contemporary terms between the social classes in terms of relative prosperity and educational attainment (Wintz, 2015). Although Pan-Africanism and its influence on the ideas of the African Renaissance has always been inclusive and broad-based such that it seeks a broad unity among the diaspora, it is also the case that it is almost exclusively written by intellectuals and likewise, has mostly an audience of intellectuals. Critics point to the fact that while the goals are to reach as wide an audience as is possible, it is not effectively achieving that and moreover, there is little distinguishing the agenda of the African Renaissance from what is happening regardless of their mandate (Bongmba 2004; Wintz 2015). Throughout both the history of Africa and the history of the 20th Century there has been a recognized trend in the area of Afro-centric arts. In the 20th in particular, this trend in the arts has flourished without any particular or formal mandate as defined by the major theorists of the African Renaissance (Boloka, 1999). In other words, does the African Renaissance really need to be a stated goal and political mandate when it is happening regardless of it and moreover, it is happening in a way that is bringing it about in a more organic and self-defining way.

This is an important distinction to be made when considering the value of an approach that is essentially a top-down process that has been cultivated by the elites and that Pan-Africanism as it is manifest in the arts as it currently stands is reflects these ideas without having a particular mandate. In other words, it is being

brought about by individuals rather than creating a political mandate of promoting individuality and the self-definition of identity that will aid in the self determination of a progress toward achieving the Agenda 2063. In terms of this agenda itself, it is also vaguely defined. In the primary documents which will be analyzed further in this discussion the Agenda 2063 repeats the importance of promoting an Afro-centric focus on the arts and sciences, however, there is no groundwork defined that will achieve this and no particular discussion of the arts and sciences themselves. That is, little is said about what kind of art will achieve these ends and what forms of science should be emphasized and promoted. At the same time, there is no denying the importance of African Renaissance to the agenda and more so, the significance of it toward aiding and promoting or expanding the core ideas of Pan-Africanism. For present purposes, what this discussion raises are whether this agenda is really a primary goal to unite Africans or whether the economic objectives that are based on the European common market are really the main objective. In these terms, the Agenda 2063 is essentially appropriating a European model for economic progress and the Renaissance itself is likewise a European model for cultural progress. As a chicken and egg problem, the key questions this raise is whether the movement is really a form of cultural legitimation for the economic goals or whether it is truly the means by which these goals can be realized by better integrating cultures across the continent. As was noted above in regard to linguistic and ethnographic differences across Africa, the renaissance sought might also be naive in its mandate given the diversity of culture up and against a movement that seeks to create a unity from it. With many varied traditions of cultural influence across Africa, defining what it actually is as a framework to bring about change, ought to be better outlined (Bongmba, 2004). This said, there is no question that it can aid toward this end even if it falls short of achieving, and likewise, there is no disputing the necessity of creating cultural unity that will likewise harmonize with economic integration. Finally, this is important as an objective because it is a

movement that can also promote Pan-Africanism and a form of self-definition and self-understanding that is self-determined rather than defined by European or Western influences. Although the specifics are vague in the Agenda 2063, the objectives and their reasons are not, and this means that it can achieve a more vibrant and refreshed post-colonial African culture.

5. Critical Analysis - Theoretical Framework

5.1 Neo Functionalism

Considering that the paper's analysis consists of discourses within policymakers in the African Union, it is important to discuss briefly, state-centred theories such as Neofunctionalism and Liberal intergovernmentalism. Despite the theory mostly used in European integration discourses, they do explore two strong theoretical integration arguments to study in the African context.

Neofunctionalist approaches belong to the "liberal school of International Relations because they identify societal interests and the satisfaction of social needs as the key driving force of politics". The key authors believed that for effective international cooperation, "the key aim was to weaken and ultimately overcome state borders" by "non- political and expert-driven form of cooperation that would have to be strictly geared towards resolving specific issues of common interest". (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:90). For Mitrany, the objective was not just to establish a different form of international cooperation but also to concentrate on issues genuinely relevant to the general population such as combating hunger, disease and illiteracy (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:91). Haas emphasises on three "spill-overs as a "code for integrative achievements" which are usually considered as an "explanatory mechanism" and the primary motivation of the "different dimensions of the integration process" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:94) however, "neofunctionalist use the term "integration" solely for the

process, while concepts such as "political cooperation" and "political community" denote different stages of integration" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:93).

The Spill-overs namely functional, political and cultivated spill-overs that drives progress from "technical cooperation" to "political cooperation" and ultimately to a "political community" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:92). Firstly, Haas explains functional spill-over as the process in which economic cooperation "offers the best opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation and little reason for political dispute, as national economies are so profoundly intertwined with one another. He further on adds that integration in one economic sector invariably generates integrative tendencies in other sectors. Therefore, there is a high probability that economic cooperation will sooner or later generate a need for political cooperation: political integration thus follows on the heels of economic integration" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:94). Secondly, Political spill-over was described as the process where "national governments will follow suit and will accept the abandonment of sovereignty in favour of increased supranational integration" as they "are dependent on the support of societal groups" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:95). Finally, the last stage is Cultivated spill-over. Spill-over in this context is based on the activities of supranational bodies such as the African Union that have a number of strategies and policy frameworks at their disposal to foster political and economic integration. For example, "the transnational organisation of societal groups, mediation between states and the putting together of package deals" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:95). According to the neo-functionalism the importance of nationalism and national state will decline to commensurate with a central supranational state as the process of integration will start from "political cooperation" and ultimately the formation of a "political community". Hence will result to an overarching of the nation-states" as "supranational institutions play an important role in negotiations thus can

stimulate or reinforce the process of cross-border integration among societal groups" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:94).

Critics claimed that neo-functionalism theory is too optimistic as it disregards the different sovereignty regulations "such as customs duties and agricultural policies and the integration of core aspects of member state sovereignty such as tax and financial policies or foreign policy" and favourable conditions such as "the pluralism of Western European societies, their common cultural and historical roots and the relatively high level of economic development" that are not present in other parts of the world making it "hard to function as a general theory of regional integration" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:96).

Additionally, despite Haas abandoning his theory and refereeing to it as obsolete, integration is usually a collective decision by supranational bodies as significant forces in integration processes (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:93). Based on the political or economic issues happening at that moment that they hope to have functional "spill-over" which proposes a purpose for integration. The core mechanism discussed by Neofunctionalism which will be used in this paper, is to assess the functional spill-overs from integration in the African continent in the analysis, which occurs when institutions cannot achieve specific goals in their policy frameworks resulting in the need for further integration to make it work.

5.2 Liberal Intergovernmentalism

Liberal intergovernmentalism as a political theory developed by Andrew Moravcsik in 1993, focusing on state preferences recognised through bargaining and negotiations. Liberal intergovernmentalism has been used to explain European integration, and it can also be used to explain African integration. The main argument of liberal intergovernmentalism is that states are the main actors in international cooperation. These states can act both unitary and realistic. This, however, does not mean they are the only actors. Liberal intergovernmentalism

acknowledges that domestic preference is a process that is influenced by economic interdependence and sub-national actors. Thus, African integration can be explained by the theory of liberal intergovernmentalism.

Liberal intergovernmentalism relies on the rationality assumption. Individuals and states are assumed to have a set of goals that they pursue through cost/benefits analysis that Moravcsik explained "as a result of the convergence of member states' national preferences" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:115). This assumption is critical for the three stages of liberal intergovernmentalism in which Moravcsik theoretically explains in his work "the choice for Europe". The first stage is preference formation, which Moravcsik insists that "the smaller the group, the greater the degree of mobilisation" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:115).

The second stage of liberal intergovernmentalism is preferences realised through negotiations within international cooperation. This deals in the negotiation processes that lead to treaties. These negotiations have two aspects which are: the limited role of the supranational institutions as an independent factor, which in this case, the African Union and the asymmetrical interdependence on the outcome. "States are not dependent on international or supranational institutions in order to negotiate effectively. Ultimately, the outcome of negotiations depends on governments' relative negotiating power and the potential for different issues to be linked together" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:115). Therefore, the African Union plays a limited role in the development of economies in Africa other than reducing the costs of transactions and encouraging economic growth. African countries, therefore, join supranational institutions such as regional economic communities based on their preferred interests.

The third stage of liberal intergovernmentalism is the institutional choice. Liberal intergovernmentalism assume that nation-states during negotiations create supranational institutions in order to prevent unwanted consequences, tackle and

handle unforeseen outcomes and reduce the future transactional cost of cooperation. Moravcsik "argues that nation-states pool or delegate sovereignty and enter into institutional arrangements at the EU level only in order to credibly commit to cooperation" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:116), states therefore join and form organisation so that they can secure their national interest. These national interests can range from peace and security to economic growth and political stability. Liberal intergovernmentalism considers the level of regional integration is dependent on a two-level game where states will position themselves according to the preferences reached at the domestic level and according to their bargaining power on the international scene. The African Union, therefore, helps national states to achieve and promote the national interest of member states, "the convergence of three factors was crucial here: "patterns of commercial exchange, the relative bargaining power of national governments, and the incentives to enhance the credibility of interstate commitments". Most fundamental of these were commercial interest. "When such interests converged, integration advanced" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:116).

The theory of liberal intergovernmentalism has been critiqued in different ways. Such criticism includes how the theory overlooks the implementation process of regional agreements and decisions "Moravcsik traces the process of European integration primarily back to material economic interests within societies, thus failing to take account of effects produced by socialisation and European learning processes" (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:116). "Moravcsik focuses his attention on the major historical treaty negotiations", the theory views the integration process as happening through historical moments such as the signing of treaties and agreement and ignore that integration can also happen different ways that are in between these defining moments.

5.3 Comparison of both theories applied to the AU agenda

Against this background, it is particularly interesting to discuss which of these theories most reflect the political and economic vision of Agenda 2063. As mentioned above, neofunctionalism states that one process spill-over leads to another eventually degrading the nation-state towards supranational body such as the AU whereas liberal intergovernmentalism claims that supranational institutions are only there as a backup, but most decisions are internal amongst nations. This makes both neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism theoretical frameworks on integration valuable for the present paper. However, the African context has clearly showed that the heads of states still have a desire to remain in power of their national state and preserve their national interests. This reject one of neofunctionalism mechanisms for integration, technocratic automaticity. National governments still control the degree and speed of integration contradicting neofunctionalist idea that the importance of nationalism and national state will decline to commensurate with a central supranational state.

The failure to use Africa to its greatest potential required the nations to integrate and support each other due to African lack of political will. Through the common markets, different nations would be at a position to integrate their economic integration process thus strengthening their political stability. Due to the lack of political will by most African countries, the majority of the African countries have experienced poor economic connection with their neighbouring nations. This is unfortunate but this remains the truth in the African continent. Most of these agreements are just written and seldom executed due to some hesitant or greedy leaders that do not share the same interests.

It is evident that there are more present features that reflect liberal intergovernmentalism as the most suitable theory that most reflects the vision of Agenda 2063. Despite uniting, each nation state still keeps their nationalities and fight for their nations interests as seen with the delay by Nigeria to identify their

benefit from the African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement before signing it. African integration is a series of rational choices made by national leaders. These choices respond to the constraints and opportunities stemming from the economic interests of domestic constituents. African integration was also promoted through the role of institutions in strengthening the credibility of interstate commitments. According to liberal intergovernmentalism approach, a number of states, those in Africa included are worried about loss of their sovereignty and as a result of this, most of the African states are willing and agreeing to integrate issues which in the long run will not pose a threat to their countries' sovereignty. One aim of the African union entails defending the sovereignty, integrity of the territories and autonomy of its member states. Liberal intergovernmentalism leaves member states a much greater independence, stating that integration happened based on intergovernmental agreements, only preceding to the degree the governments wished as the states still play a crucial role in policy formulations.

6. Analysis - Critical Theory & Challenges to Agenda 2063

There is a rational disagreement and an illogic of acting against one's own self-interest in the case of individuals, and Critical Theory aims at primarily stand to support by reifying and legitimating the existing control of capital or wealth, "Critical Theory seeks to expose such false naturalizations both through theoretical reaction and empirical studies as it identifies and criticizes systems of exclusion (Schieder and Spindler, 2014:269).

Critical Theory is often referred to as the Frankfurt School. As a strategy for understanding knowledge systems that legitimate and reinforce the aims and values of a political system the history of Critical Theory in terms of its emergence demonstrates its primary goals. The Frankfurt School is named for a number of social and political theorists affiliated and teaching at the Goethe

University in the 1920's and key members included Theodore Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Erick Fromm, and Herbert Marcuse (Tyson, 2014).

The fundamental relationship of exploitation that is defined by this contribution of the worker and their share in the capital or value that is created was regarded as an injustice Lukács maintained would emerge in the consciousness of the under-class such that a revolution would happen (Bonner, 2013). Conversely, a lack of recognition of this foundation for power and authority was a form of false consciousness and Critical Theory aims at both understanding and changing this obstacle to political change or progress. More so, he maintained that in order for it to succeed as a revolution it had to be universal and that meant spread globally. Historically, the vision of capitalism collapsing on the basis of an illogical relationship of exploitation did not happen universally and in particular, after the ending of the First World War when several political systems across Europe were vulnerable because of the disruptive domestic and International problems. Lukács poses the challenge that asks why social classes do not act in their own interest and how is it that a sufficient class consciousness fails to bring about change. He formulated the notion of reification and legitimation and they are concepts that describe how social and cultural products and processes reinforce the power and authority of a political system or an ideology that supports it.

What it was about political attitudes became a significant challenge taken by Critical Theory such that people can support a system that does not serve or represent their personal and class interests. Critical Theory saw that there was a cognitive dissonance that impeded political change. Max Horkheimer focused on how the ideology of Liberalism has historically grown up with market capitalism and acts as a force that legitimates and reifies this economic system. Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) argue that the emphasis that is placed on the freedom of the individual, also tacitly implies that the responsibility of the individual is to shape

their own personal destiny. Individualism itself is an important value in a capitalist system because of the axiomatic idea that a self-motivated individual will be rewarded with a greater share of the profit. Moreover, those individuals who are able to thrive in the economy are regarded as naturally superior as individuals given that they have risen above all of their competition and a baseless superiority is an example of a cultural reification of the political system. In the Nineteenth Century, the appropriation of Darwinism in the form of a social viewpoint provided a falsely adopted science which supported the idea that the survival of the fittest meant that those who were the most fit would naturally be those at the top of the economic hierarchy (Horkheimer, 1987).

Liberalism aimed to minimize the role of the state such that individuals could thrive in an open market of competition and this was legitimated by a view of history that placed an important emphasis on a particular concept of progress. Capitalism was supported by Liberalism because of the perception that progress was being achieved in terms of the emancipation of individuals from Aristocratic or political systems based on noble title and also oppressive practices sanctioned by the state such as slavery (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972). There is a direct link made between a political system that values the individual and the economic freedoms that stimulate growth and in terms of the notion of progress, there was a recognized improvement for the basic standard of living and working conditions under liberal market capitalism. Horkheimer viewed Liberalism as much as a form of ideology that supplemented the value of individualism. Further, both Horkheimer and Adorno (1972) argue that there is a complex value system that further reinforces that distinction between a political philosophy and its social and political impact as a reinforcing force for a capitalist system and this is a central or universal theme in Critical Theory (Bronner, 2013; Tyson, 2014).

One of the key considerations of the Agenda 2063 asks whether the Pan-African and African Renaissance stated goals are little more than legitimation and the reification of a system that aims at establishing the infrastructure for a market capitalist model of trade. In these terms, a Critical Theory approach would ask whether or not that the adoption of Pan-Africanism serves a greater good by aiding the structural power of capital. As a consideration for this as a current and future problem, foreign ownership and both direct and indirect forms of investment represent a significant portion of the overall economy (Steger, 2017). There is a chicken and egg problem which is why Critical Theory adopts the dialectical method. In this particular instance, it can be said that there is a relationship between culture and political actions that is mutually determining and systematic. In the age of aristocratic authority, it was simpler to point to the reigning political power. However, under a system of capitalism it is those that have and control capital and the institutions that support it, relationships among forces of social influence is necessarily dialectical in Critical Theory because of the mutually determining influence of culture and those who control capital (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972). One of the key considerations of this analysis, asks how far the neoliberal ideology that has reified and legitimated institutions like EEC and practices like free-trade, and in turn, how far this has been adopted by the Agenda 2063 and moreover, how it can be understood as one more form of neocolonialism or the adoption of Eurocentric economic and political values (Langan, 2017).

6.1 Economic & Environmental Risks

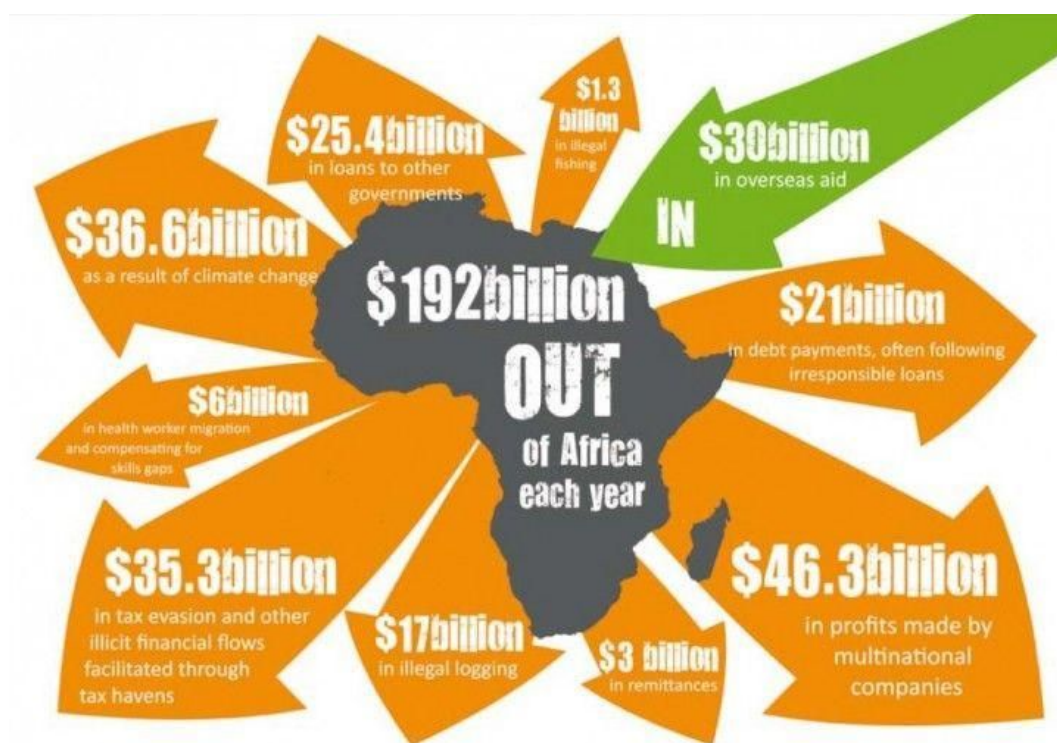
Capitalism is largely an anonymous phenomenon where few know the faces or personalities of the shareholders and private owners of the largest financial entities in existence. In the case of Africa and political economy, there are theorists that apply the methods of Critical Theory that likewise recognize that

there has been socio economic progress brought about through market systems in Africa and likewise, improvements in health-care and education (Rabaka, 2009). At the same time, the most significant growth of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa over the past decade has been in the financial and service sector. In terms of foreign direct investment, in 2012 this sector received 56 % of the total followed by transport (21 %), business activities (9 %), trade (8 %) and construction (3 %). The total investment in 2018 was \$ 46 Billion (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2019). To place the size of this amount in perspective, only 11 of the 52 African nation states have an annual GDP that is higher than this amount (UNCTAD, 2019). FDI is important because it represents a form of control that is dependent on the market economic system, and more significantly, it is profit that is not necessarily re-invested in the economy given that it is owned beyond the continent. In the case of understanding the Agenda 2063 where the market system alongside Pan-Africanism politics is concerned, positive outcomes in terms of standard of living and quality of life are the stated goals that are directly aided by this relationship. However, the main growth happens to be occurring in the financial service sector and not the agricultural or industrial sectors which constitute the majority of employment on the continent (UNCTAD, 2019). Further, the growth is concentrated in specific regions of the continent and it consequently is reinforcing existing disparities across African geographical zones (Asuelime & Francis, 2014).

The dialectical method of Critical Theory can be understood as useful because of the relationship between Pan-Africanism and the economic and political aims of the Agenda 2063. Moreover, the main value of this method is the acknowledgement that the distributive nature of ownership and control of capital might be better understood as a comparative relationship with the European model. By adopting the EU model of economics and integrated trade, it is useful to examine some of the concerns that this process has had from the Critical

Theory perspective. Although it is premature to evaluate the adoption of this by the Agenda 2063, it is possible to compare it with the relative successes and challenges of the EEC, but also measure this against some of the problems that have been occurring with the world economy along with globalization.

The significance of national economic well-being is unquestionably a key driver of the crisis that has to be understood alongside the neoliberal political policy that underwrote the emergence of globalization (Steger, 2017). As a key driver of the discontent of political policy in terms of the economy, there is no question that the current problem of stagnation is a direct result of the neoliberal agenda. One of the first notable problems of greater integration among the western world, is that it has led to a greater polarization between the affluent and the poor and where the growth of the richest percentage has improved as a result of economic changes, the larger majority of the population has experienced stagnation or low wage growth (Picketty, 2014). By stagnation, since the 1980's there has been growth in the form of more capital, and growth in terms of the larger output each individual contributes to it, but the share of this growth has progressively become held in the hands of fewer (Picketty, 2014; Stockhammer, 2015). Economic polarization, also known as outsourcing, is an important problem in the public discourse, and it is the result of transferring middle class jobs to the developing world. Stagnation also means that wages have not grown at even the same rate as inflation, and so



through the neoliberal period the real wages of individuals has actually declined. Stagnation has an impact on the quality of life and network of individuals, however, collectively it creates a positive feedback loop with the wider economy because it creates a condition where less wages means less spending, and less spending means less growth (Picketty, 2014). There is not enough income being spent in the local economy and the individuals and corporations that have experienced greater profitability re-invest this income in other areas such as the stock market, real-estate and foreign economies (Stockhammer, 2015). When capital is concentrated at the top as opposed to spent in the daily economy, the top mostly puts this in banks which are often foreign, or, they invest it in the market which is a system accountable to shareholders and not those who work for them (Streek, 2014). It stands to reason that the same impact could have in Africa toward the Agenda 2063 given the size of FDI within the economy and for the potential for this to continue to grow.

6.2 Conflict & its Relationship to Identities

In contemporary forms of Critical Theory, Jürgen Habermas is regarded as the most influential and he has likewise turned his focus toward current economic problems caused by globalization and its impact on worsening rather than improving class divisions (Bronner, 2013). Habermas' concept of the post national constellation has a contradictory strain of both affirming but also criticizing the post-national world that has been brought about as a consequence of globalization (Habermas, 2000; 2001). It was raised earlier, that this approach is emphasizing a dialectical strategy given that Africa has actually experienced growth at improved rates and compared to other regions of the world, this growth is comparatively or proportionately better than other geographical regions (Asuelime & Francis, 2014). Conversely and in negative or critical terms, Habermas does not view nationalism as anything more than the product of modernity and in that context, a

way of legitimating the political system that protects the economic interests of the elite (Holub, 2013). Pan-Africanism is a form of nationalism and while it seeks to integrate all Africans the boundaries and conceptual distinctions of it, remain bound to an identity politics (Wright, 2004). In these terms, he is critical of globalization because it has shifted "power" to multinational corporations who are now "competitors with nation states" (Habermas, 2001:78). This is a marked transition caused by neoliberal agendas that view business as the engine of economic growth and prosperity, and not the average citizen as a holder of capital. On the other hand, his criticism of corporate power challenging the nation state he is a champion of post-nationalism. Habermas situates nationalism within the context of historical identities that are largely the outcome of arbitrary borders created through the process of modern European history (Habermas, 2000;2001). It will be recalled that identity and culture have been problematised in regard to Pan-Africanism because of the differences that remain a challenge to the idea of a unity of nationalism. Habermas views this historical nationalism that is central to identity politics and the contemporary xenophobia that is growing, as "contradictory to universalism" and based on acts of "exclusion" which typify the fascism of Hitler (Habermas, 2001:xi). The concept of the post national constellation is a framework that presents the opportunity to redefine what the state is, but in terms that represent the interests that are universal. Instead, his constellation is one that aims at achieving a "constitutional patriotism" (Habermas, 2001:76). In Africa, the post-colonial progress of independence across the continent has likewise had an often-tenuous relationship with democracy and while it is being championed in the Agenda 2063, in practice it has not entirely become the dominant and controlling form of political institution and infrastructure. The notion of a constellation aims to continue the reconsideration of democracy and what it is as an individual to have a relationship to the state, but these strategies that he steers his theory toward, completely run counter to the democratic realignments that have resulted in "barbaric nationalism" (Habermas,

2001:103). What Habermas aims toward, is "civic solidarity" (Habermas, 2001:74) against solidarity's based on identities. Pan-Africanism aims at unifying a sense of national identity and proceeding toward a civic authority and Habermas' model aims at just discounting the problems of identity and subsume culture within the public sphere.

To criticize the liberal democratic values that have emphasized the type of pluralism as the ideal that legitimated multiculturalism, would appear to run counter to the progressive politics of Habermas but it adds more to the post-national constellation that needs re-evaluation. Multiculturalism and "individualization" was a pluralistic ideal that was premised on an idea of pluralism based on the recognition of "difference" but only as an "abstract form of civil solidarity in the sense of a universalism sensitive to difference" (p.84). The problem with this "abstraction", is that it belies the reality that difference reinforced has only resulted in the legitimation and the re-legitimation of older historical forms of nationalism. It will be recalled that Derrida and Deconstruction aim to understand and then critical deconstruct the metaphysical underpinnings (Derrida, 1982). Perfect identity is only a metaphysical concept and a more pragmatic approach taken by Habermas. By identifying a pluralism that respects difference, both the difference in terms of culture become more punctuated or prominent as a defining attribute, but also the political institutions that both promoted it as an ideal and legislated its existence by more open borders and through the greater integration with other economies.

6.3 The Eurocentrism of the Economic Agenda

The EU stands as an excellent example of a power structure that is legitimated through the post-nationalism of multiculturalism. In the post second world war period, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) became the template for a new multinational order that shared democratic ideals like pluralism and representative democracies, and then legitimated through a post-national view of identity (Steger 2017). However, two problems are central to the post-national constellation according to Habermas concerning this a more integrated system. And, they are continuous with the problem of globalization. First, it was premature in terms of defining what was cultural or pluralism in relation to identity and this compromised a redefinition based on a more complex concept of a nation state (Habermas, 2001). Second, it was introduced in a way that was uncritically looking at the shift in power that went from the political sphere to the economic one where interests defined by the ownership of capital were already in place (Habermas, 2000). In order for GATT and the EU to serve the interests of business and those who benefit from greater trade, a more integrated network among European nation states and even the redress of language barriers had to likewise be achieved. This is a critical consideration for Pan-Africanism in relation to establishing a 'lingua franca' in order to function in business and other institutions like law and inter-governmental relations. The Agenda 2063 is considering adopting an European language and this poses a problem in terms of continuing a linguistic dimension of neocolonialism. Eurocentrism is essentially reified by the hegemony of a European language, and on the other hand, the practical necessity of doing so is difficult to ignore. What is important is whether this harmonizes with the ideology of Pan-Africanism given the strong emphasis on African cultural identity including language. Looked at in these terms, the move to embrace the pluralistic ideal of multiculturalism and the affirmation of difference as a social and political infrastructure, has to be understood in regard to whose interests they serve and this is one of the perceived problems with the post-national world (Habermas, 2001). For example, the Brexit problem is

unquestionably an extension of this ideology of legitimation for a more global economy. The idea that a more integrated migration should be legally codified and multinational extension of this form of pluralistic ideal of multiculturalism, is now perceived as a threat. The prospect of having a single passport in the Agenda 2063 entails a real potential for trans ethnic problems due to long standing historical conflicts (Asuelime & Francis, 2014). Across time and continents, a measurable and documented out-group bias against other cultures and that is an identity is constructed that defines who is a part of the in-group against the other. Difference is the legitimating idea that allows for the distinction between in-group and out-group distinctions that are defined by culture, a shared history or a particular linguistic group (Wright, 2004). For Habermas, identities are complex and they become reduced or oversimplified when they become obstacles in times of political uncertainty. As was noted earlier about language groups and ethnic groups in Africa, the challenge is significantly greater than the variables that have to be considered within a European context.

If we were a fully rational society, would understand the value and benefit of diversity but this diversity has instead been state imposed. Worse, it is an imposition that has historical been achieved to better integrate international trade, and this imposition has gone to serve the interests of the few over and against the many and this is the result of a growing imbalance of power between corporations and governments in the age of globalization (Steger, 2017; Streek, 2014).

6.4 The Current & Future Challenges of Globalization & Nationalism

One of the problems of globalization, is that faceless stock holders and their brokers who are equally faceless brokers and financiers, provoke the question that asks how do we define a public sphere that is not solely based on the international flow of capital and the legislation that stands to protect it. Financialization is the

largest growth area in the sectors of the African economy, and the consequences in terms of wealth concentration and wage stagnation is a concern of a number of critics (Ashman & Fine, 2013; Bonizzi, 2013; Carmer, Johnson & Oya, 2009). Economic metrics are not sufficient when some stakeholders are individuals, and others are limited liability corporations that have less accountability than an single person who they may disproportionately impact. In a post-national world and constellation, the idea of public or who they are needed to be understood given that corporations are stakeholders just like individuals who might have lost their home and life savings because of an international finance problem. How the public is defined as a sphere such that it addresses the existing imbalance between corporations as single entities with limited international accountability, and then entire populations of individual citizens who could be in remote regions of the world (Steger, 2017). As a point of distinction, Habermas emphasizes that international accountability through treaty conventions was the domain of nation states, and now they have created an integrated world economy such that power has been shifted to private interests (Habermas, 2001). That is, in terms of power being measured in terms of net capital and how that capital is spent, saved or reinvested. Nation states prior to the emergence of multinational economic trade treaties, all had particular tariff and import and trade laws. Likewise, agreements were typically from one nation to the next. Although the legislative side and diplomatic interaction are still within the domain of nation states, the reality is that globalization is inseparable from a change in the flow of capital and as mentioned, even growth in the net amount of capital (Picketty, 2014). In other terms, there has been a progress in recent decades where a trend of fewer individuals creating more value than previous ratios. Fewer individuals are generating greater amounts of value, and the developers of software can be accomplished by a few individuals that generate millions and even billions of returns. In terms of fewer people creating capital or value, it also means less wages paid to individuals producing something or providing a service in the developing world to a market in the

OECD nations and it is an important consideration going forward for the economic proposals intrinsic to the Agenda 2063.

Critical Theory has been used to examine the relationship between Pan-Africanism and the economic goals of the Agenda 2063. In this section, Critical Theory has been used to distinguish the sources of power and control and that means those who control the means of production or the owners of capital, over and against the Agenda of 2063. The aim of this section, was to demonstrate how much Pan-Africanism and the agenda of unifying under a common identity is problematic and as such, it raises the question as to whether it stands to serve the greater interests of those who are in power within the political economy. Africa is significantly owned by private capital that is located beyond its boundaries, and free trade exists in Europe within a context of post nationalism and in North America Free Trade exists across Mexico, the US and Canada where there are no accommodations or consideration made toward a unified culture or identity. Capitalism and especially in the form where corporations are the main conduits for International trade, is borderless in the sense that it does not necessarily need a common identity. Rather, it is an institution that can be understood as the public sphere and it is a wider nexus that defines a common identity than any cultural considerations. In these terms, it can be asked as to how much Pan-Africanism is really just a way of reifying and legitimating the homogeneity of a common market and then perpetuate the power of corporate control. The following will seek to address this relationship and problem as to whether Pan-Africanism will actually shape the Agenda 2063 or whether it just serves to reinforce the economic goals. The problem in these terms can be seen as the distinction between Du Bois who did not see Pan-Africanism being achieved without the re-appropriation of natural resources and the fundamental control and collective ownership of property and capital, or, whether Garvey's vision of a Pan-Africanism that

supports the ideology of market capitalism. Habermas' concept of a public sphere, envelopes culture and identity such as Pan-Africanism within it but also the political economic power structure. As a dialectical relationship, Pan-Africanism and the economic goals of the Agenda 2063 influence each other, however, the core concepts of Critical Theory in this discussion has raised how this power relationship is also imbalanced and that the cultural dimension of the African Renaissance and identity does not challenge but instead, reinforces the economic ends.

7. Conclusion

It is difficult to ignore the Eurocentrism inscribed in a number of key elements of the Agenda 2063. As an economic and political model, it is explicitly adopting the idea of a multi-nation state common market with a single currency, passport, central bank, and common law system that would integrate the varieties of trade activities. The stated goals of the mandate, is to increase prosperity through free markets where corporations and private entities can more easily exchange business. As a European or western framework, the North American Free Trade Agreement and the European Economic Union are definitive examples that help define the structural features of the proposed economy. One of the reinforcing set of principles that accompany a Eurocentric economy, concerns the core liberal ideology that is being politically adopted: "where democratic values, culture, practices, universal principles of human rights, gender equality, justice and the rule of law are entrenched" (African Union Commission, 2015: 5). However, the European model, North American, or even Pan-Asian or Pan-Pacific trade agreements share a particular single culture that is a unique feature of the Agenda 2063.

In this analysis, a focus was made that considered the extent to which the Pan-Africanism of the Agenda 2063 could be understood as reifying or

legitimizing the adoption of a market economy. One of the notable features of Pan-Africanism in its roots and history, are core debates and conflicts over the agenda. At the centre of this debate, is the view of Du Bois against Garvey and this distinction can be drawn in terms of the socialist versus the market capitalist economic and political integration of the continent. In the Agenda 2063, there is no recognition of this debate within Pan-Africanism and it is an indisputable mandate that supports a capitalist economy. Du Bois maintained that Africans need to own their own means of production and their own resources because of the long history of European control of these that has resulted in a state of alienation. There could be no true African identity when there is no self-determination of these. In the globalized economy that the Agenda 2063 explicitly embraces, actual power becomes the domain of corporate interests given that it is these entities that own and conduct formal exchanges. Given that the Pan-Africanism of the Agenda 2063 does not raise any challenge to the economic agenda both in terms of how it is Eurocentric in and how it only stands to reinforce the control of capital by private rather than public entities. What is African and how to define it, begs the question. Further, it has also been argued that the model rejects a neofunctionalist approach and better reflects a liberal inter-governmental model. There is a greater emphasis placed on a framework that reinforces the real diversity that makes up the different ethnic groups of the continent. It has been argued that linguistic, cultural, and ethnographic variables across Africa represent thousands of different variants and variations, and deconstructing the underlying concept of identity that is assumed in these documents reinforces this complexity. By contrast, the economic and political system that is being proposed is concisely defined with very specific dates when features of the greater trade integration will be introduced. The document is very specific about the progress of nation state union and how educational and cultural institutions should support these political and economic goals, and yet, however central to the primary document what is African is only vaguely defined.

This analysis has used both deconstruction and critical theory to analyze how ideology functions in the Agenda 2063. Pan-Africanism is a core set of principles that is defined as a system of values that unify the agenda, and it has been argued that it only stands to reinforce rather than oppose the economic goals and capitalist agenda. What is African is complex and therefore, Pan-African and the African Renaissance are equally difficult to formally define. Pan-Africanism is a diverse philosophy and political ideology that has conflicting views about how unity and identity among Africans can be achieved economically and within a single hegemonic political system. It has been demonstrated that some versions of Pan-Africanism support market capitalism and other theorists take the position that the collective ownership of capital and resources is essential for creating a national unity. The Agenda 2063 is both an economic model that supports market capitalism and one that incorporates Pan-Africanism as a value system such that how this ideology is defined serves to reinforce the proposed system, and this is because of the exclusion of any competing theories of it such as Du Bois who proposes that unity can only be achieved through a more collectivist model. If they are phenomenon that are more problematic than the Agenda 2063 admits, it stands to reason that they exist to serve another purpose. Pan-Africanism at its core, is anti-Eurocentric and there is a broad consensus that anti-colonialism is a defining feature of it. Through the lens of Critical Theory, the cultural agenda of Pan-Africanism in the Agenda 2063, can be understood as a form of legitimization for capitalism (Du Bois) rather than a natural extension of it (Garvey). Where it remains ill-defined and undefined, it is consequently not an ideal that is critical of Eurocentrism and the alienation of Africans from their own means of production and their own resources. If Pan-Africanism is not countering the Eurocentrism of the Agenda 2063, it follows that it is reinforcing and legitimating it.

8. References

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