

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHALLENGES OF AFRICAN UNION (AU) AND THE CRISIS OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

ABSTRACT

Despite the timely creation of African Union as continental front towards alleviating the multifaceted sufferings of Africans and poster an avenue for a concerted effort towards achieving developmental goals, the continent remains cocooned to almost all indices of underdevelopment. The transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) that was considered toothless bulldog that lacks the capacity to catapult the continent to greatness to form the more capable African Union fashioned in line with European Union, was expected to institutionalize systemic reforms that will enable giant strides to be achieved – yet the outcome leaves much to be desired. This research work utilizes documentary analysis to use the objectives of establishing OAU and the reasons for transforming it to AU as yardstick for measuring the achievements of the continental organization. The outcome of the study reveals that the has institutionalized and empowered relevant commissions, signed new charters and resolutions that empowered those institutions to achieve tremendous feat in the discharge of their responsibilities such as the mobilization of armies for the settlement of dispute in Burundi and placement of weapons and travel embargo on Eritrea. However, the Union stills faces problems ranging from multipolar ideological leanings of its member states to its ability to create a strong Intra African alliances and friendships capable of lessening dependence on former colonial powers. The paper recommends inter alia, that African resources should be adequately used to combat health challenges, ecological challenges and infrastructural inadequacies so that Arica will be a better place for all Africans; friends of Africa and posterity.

Key Words: African Union, Organization, Unity, Development, Political, Africa, Colonial Powers

INTRODUCTION

The need to form an African unity oriented organization came as a result of the quest to create a collective anti-colonial struggle on a continental level. This quest brought about a manifestation of the age-long search for an institutionalized body which led to the formation of organization of African unity in 1963, some black Africans, who gained the required political and socio-national consciousness to champion the struggle for freedom and improve social-material life for the people of Africa, held series of conferences in London, Paris, Lisbon and Manchester respectively. The priority of these black Africans in diaspora was to solve two key problems. One, to address the problem of colonialism and imperialism which had reduced the continent and its people to mere instruments of trade in the hands of colonialist/imperialist powers of Britain, France, Spain,

36 Portugal, and Belgium;to ameliorate the problems of poverty and loss human of dignity as a result of
37 imperialist domination, oppression, dehumanization and exploitation of the resources of African
38 people.

39 The African nationalist saw the need to liberate Africa even from within using viable means
40 available and in so doing, free press as a sin-qua-non needed to train the people towards full
41 independence and development. It was viewed as machinery that will express the anti-colonial view,
42 awaken a true African consciousness and assist in the spread of African nationalism (Nkrumah
43 1963).

44 Consequently, having been systematically exposed to these and other ills, the emerging African
45 political leaders resolved to take the political and social-economic disparity of Africa into their own
46 hands. And in order to do this effectively and in the spirit of brotherhood and African unity, it was
47 thought necessary to form a continental political body.

48 **PROBLEM OF STUDY**

49 The unity and prosperity of Africa after several political and economic experimentation in initiative
50 and policies, seems to be elusive. Notable among problems bedeviling Africa is the issue of
51 imperialism and neocolonialism. The political independence of post-colonial African state from their
52 colonizers has not been able to completely eradicate the imperialist interference in the internal affairs
53 of African states. In fact, by accepting the territorial arrangements made by the respective colonial
54 powers, the continental political body itself tended to have compromised neo-colonialism and the
55 process of imperialism in Africa.

56 Political instability in Africa is like a hydra-head monsterthat resulted into civil wars, boarder-
57 clashes, refugee problems, assassination and interference in the internal matters of member states of

58 Organization of African Union (OAU) or to what is now called African Union (AU). African leaders
59 and intellectuals held as they are in the grip of colonial ideology have been unable to see or fully to
60 appreciate the path to African political and economic unity and development. Thus, to colonize a
61 people is not only to colonize their activities, but to colonize their minds (Toyo 2001).

62 Post -colonial African states also suffer from poor economic foundations and debt crisis. This is as
63 a result of imperialist exploitation of the economic resources of the continent, and the corrupt
64 financial mismanagement of African resources by African political leaders and bureaucrats, the
65 continent has been thrown into a situation of vicious circle of poverty and disease; and
66 infrastructural deficit.

67 Another problem is that the continent's political body either as OAU or now as AU has not been able
68 to manage its internal conflicts either by peaceful means or without external interference. The Congo
69 (now Zaire) crisis, the Nigeria civil war, the Chadian crisis, Liberia, Guinea, Southern Sudan,
70 Tunisia, Libya, CAR and Somalia etc. imperialist continued to fuel internal conflict in the continent,
71 for example, the Angolan civil war, Apartheid South Africa and the Mercenary caught in Zimbabwe.

72 Therefore, with all these African societies possess unique features which provide the platform for
73 understanding them as a geo political entity. One dominant feature of the African societies is
74 extreme poverty. On nearly every count the nation of Africa are worse off than the industrialized
75 world. Compared with Europe, Australia, and America, inhabitants of Africa experience higher rate
76 of infant and maternal mortality, malnutrition, unemployment, illiteracy and disease, while their
77 income levels, life expectancy and access to welfare services are far lower (Ibrahim, 2013).

78 THEORETICAL INSIGHTS

79 This study adopts the dependency theory as theoretical framework of analysis. The central thesis of
80 the theory is that relationship of the satellite with the metropolis is always to the detriment of the
81 former. The satellite in this context is the African state while the metropolis is the states of Western
82 Europe and Northern America.

83 According to a proponent of this theory, Andre Gunder Frank, the failure of the satellite is as a result
84 of the incorporation of satellites into world capitalist economy which led to international division of
85 labour whereby the less developed nations like African states provided food and raw materials for
86 the great industrial Centre. This relationship led to the perpetual exploitation of both human and
87 material resources, hegemony and subjugation of African state.

88 The advanced capitalist society through eventful regime of colonialism and neocolonialism altered
89 African pace of development. Post-colonial African states were colonies for over a century; this
90 therefore, altered their value, their psyche and above all, their path of development (Alanana, 2006).
91 This alteration as a result of external interference led to pervading sense of uncertainty among
92 African state and their instrument of change which gave rise to pyramid of insecurity, diseases,
93 squalor, helplessness, bewilderment, withdrawal, cynicism and apathy.

94 However, the weakness of the theory is based on the fact that;

95 ✓ It ignored internal factors that may play crucial role either to facilitate development or distort
96 it. For example, values of leadership, indiscipline, corruption, marginalization of minority
97 group, primordial sentiments on ethnicity and religion; looting of resources by African
98 leaders which could generate political, economic and social crisis.

99 ✓ Dependency theory also ignored concepts such as mode of production, means of production
100 and relations of production. It also raised a follow up question; that at what level is a
101 particular country exploited? Is it at the level of production or exchange?

102 **HISTORICAL EMERGENCE OF AFRICAN UNITY**

103 Prior to the establishment of the Organization of African unity, there were three main Pan African
104 groups in the continent of Africa, they are as follows;

105 Casablanca Bloc: this bloc consists of Morocco, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, United Arab Republic Egypt
106 and Libya. This group was a radical group headed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure of
107 Guinea. During the formation of OAU, Casablanca bloc advocated for Pan-Africanist and Super
108 National Organization for the people of Africa. In other words, members of the group advocated for
109 a central or unified African government which will take over the sovereignty and powers of all
110 independent Africa States and exercise it on their behalf.

111 **Monrovia Bloc:** this bloc consists of countries like Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Liberia,
112 Tunisia, Togo and Somalia. This group was regarded as moderate or conservatives and strongly
113 opposed to the Casablanca group. While the Casablanca group supported the formation of one
114 central government for all the independent states and their complete delink from their erstwhile
115 colonial masters and also retaining their newly won political independence. The Monrovia group
116 wanted the new organization to be formed, to be simply a forum where African Heads of state can
117 meet and discuss common interest and problems of their countries.

118 **Brazzaville Bloc:** this group or the African and Malagasy Union comprises all French speaking
119 African states or the twelve (12) Ex-French colonial territories. This group completely supported the

suggestion and ideas of the Monrovia group to hence they teamed up with the Monrovia group to defeat the Casablanca group during the formation of OAU and its structural formation.

FORMATION OF ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNION

The Organization of African unity was formed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 25th May, 1963. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia arranged for the inaugural meeting of the organization which lasted from 22nd -25th, May 1963. At the end of the meeting, thirty two (32) heads of States of African countries who attended the meeting signed a charter that establishes the organization and Emperor Haile Selassie was chosen as its first chairman.

OBJECTIVES OF ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNION (OAU)

- ✓ Promotion of unity and solidarity of the African State.
- ✓ Defense of their sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- ✓ Eradication of all forms of colonialism.
- ✓ Co-ordination of efforts to improve the living standards of Africans.
- ✓ Promotion of international cooperation within the framework of United Nations.

THE MAIN ORGANS OF OAU

The assembly of Heads of State and Government: The council of Ministers; the General Secretariat; the Commission of mediation, reconciliation and arbitration; the Liberation Committee.

Specialized Agencies/Commission

The Economic and Social Commission; Educational and Cultural Commission, the Health, Sanitation and African Development Bank with headquarters at Abidjan.

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF OAU

141 **Resolution of Conflict:** the OAU facilitates peaceful settlement of dispute among member states.
 142 Indeed, it has encouraged the peaceful settlement of dispute between member states, example,
 143 Somalia and Ethiopia, Tanzania and Uganda, Morocco and Algeria (Gboyega 2005).

144 **Eradication of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa:** the organization also supported
 145 liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia.

146 **Economic co-operation:** OAU encourages economic cooperation among member states. The
 147 African development bank (ADB) which renders assistance to member states is one of the economic
 148 cooperation initiatives of OAU.

149 **Promotion of African Culture:** the OAU support efforts to project African Culture to the world.
 150 The festival of arts and culture (FESTAC) held in Lagos is a case in point. Similar festival had been
 151 hosted by Ghana.

152 **Settlement of Refugees:** the OUA provides assistance to people displaced by war and
 153 environmental disasters. Such assistance includes provision of relief materials to the refugees.

154 **Common voice:** common voice on issues that affect African trade and disarmament was projected
 155 by OAU member states to international community.

156 It also provides African leaders a forum for discussion on issues of importance to Africa and the
 157 entire world.

158 **FAILURES OF ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNION (OAU)**

159 The African state did not emerge through a gradual process of aggression of indigenous societies
 160 (Joseph 1991). Africa is a product of foreign conquest and domination. The coercive, arbitrary and
 161 absolutist character of the colonial state manifested in its domination of the colonial political

162 economy. The colonist controlled education, trade, labour, land allocation and social services. Thus,
 163 all the countries named underdeveloped like OAU member states were exploited by others, and the
 164 development with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of colonial, neocolonial and
 165 imperialist exploitation (Rodney 1972, Frank 1969). Therefore, the failure of Africa was
 166 premeditated to make her dependent and helplessly incarcerated in the grasp of neocolonialism and
 167 imperialism.

168 The following are the failures of Organization of African Union (OAU):

- 169 ➤ **Problem of external influence:** many African countries are still attached to their former
 170 colonial powers. Sometimes, there is divided loyalty by member nations to the organization
 171 and their former colonial powers (Gboyega 2005).
- 172 ➤ **Ideological diversities:** member states of OAU have different ideologies. Some practice
 173 capitalism while others practice socialism or mixed economy. The ideological diversity
 174 makes it difficult for the member states to have a common stand on certain major issues.
- 175 ➤ **Financial problem:** due to economic crisis and debt burden that characterized most African
 176 states, they defaulted in making their contribution to the organization. Hence, nsufficiency of
 177 funds also impedes the activities of OAU.
- 178 ➤ **Lack of powers for enforcement:** OAU lack the requisite force to sanction member states
 179 that breach it resolutions. Added to this, it lacks a high command such as OAU standing
 180 army to enforce most of her resolutions.
- 181 ➤ **Dependence on foreign powers:** most of the member states are economically dependent on
 182 foreign powers especially on their former colonial rulers. It is common knowledge that
 183 foreign aid is seldom given without strings attached (Nwankwo 1996).

➤ **Political instability:** constant changes of leadership due to military coup in some member states resulted in policy changes and this affects the degree of support for the organization's decision. More so, inter- state rivalry and suspicion leads to supremacy struggle between leaders and different motives are read to suggested proposal. Frequent and reoccurring wars and conflicts internally and externally have impeded peace and security of the continent (Gboyega 2005).

ADVENT OF AFRICAN UNION (AU)

The historical foundation of the African union originated in the union of African states; and early confederation that was established by Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s, as well as subsequent attempts to unite Africa, including the OAU and African economic community in 1981. Critics argued that the OAU in particular did little to protect the rights and liberties of African citizens from their own political leaders, often dubbing it the "Dictators Club".

The idea of creating the AU was revived in the mid-1990s under the leadership of Libyan head of state Muammar Gaddafi. The heads of states and governments of the OAU issued the Sirti declaration (named after Sirti, in Libya home town to Gaddafi) on 9th September 1999, calling for the establishment of an African union. The declaration was followed by submit of Lome in 2000, when the plan for the implementation of the African union was adopted. During the same period, the initiative for the establishment of the new Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was also established.

The African union was launched in Durban, South Africa on 9th July 2002, by its first Chairperson, South African President Thabo Mbeki, at the first session of the assembly of the African union. The

205 second session of the assembly was in Maputo in 2003 and the third session in Addis Ababa on 6th
206 July, 2004.

207 **THE VISION OF THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)**

208 The African Union is Africa's Premier institution and principal organization for the promotion of
209 accelerated socio-economic integration of the continent, which will lead to greater unity and
210 solidarity between African countries and people.

211 The African Union is based on the common vision of a united and strong Africa and on the need to
212 build a partnership between government and all segment of civil society in particular, women, youth
213 and the private sector, in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion among the people of Africa. As a
214 continental organization, it focuses on the promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent
215 as a prerequisite for the implementation of the development and integration agenda of the union.

216 **OBJECTIVES OF THE AU**

- 217 ✓ To achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of
218 Africa.
- 219 ✓ To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member states.
- 220 ✓ To accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent.
- 221 ✓ To promote and defend African common position of issues of interest to the continent and its
222 people.
- 223 ✓ To encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the charter of the united
224 Nations and the universal declaration of human rights.
- 225 ✓ To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and governance.
- 226 ✓ To promote peace, security, and stability on the continent.

- 227 ✓ To promote and protect human and people's rights in accordance with the African charter on
- 228 human rights and other relevant human rights instruments.
- 229 ✓ To establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in
- 230 global economy and in international organization.
- 231 ✓ To promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as
- 232 integration of African economies.
- 233 ✓ To promote cooperation in all human activities to raise the living standards of African
- 234 dwellers.
- 235 ✓ To coordinate and harmonized the policies between the existing and future regional
- 236 Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objective of the union.
- 237 ✓ To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, particularly
- 238 in science and technology.
- 239 ✓ To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and
- 240 the promotion of good health on the continent.

241 **THE ORGANS OF AFRICAN UNION (AU)**

242 **The assembly:** This is composed of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited
 243 representatives. The assembly is the supreme organ of the union.

244 **The executive council:** This council is composed of ministers or authorities designated by the
 245 government of member states. The executive council is responsible to the assembly.

246 **The commission:** composed of the chairperson, the deputy chairperson, eight commissioners and
 247 staff members. Each commissioner shall be responsible for portfolio.

248 **The permanent representative committee:** composed of permanent representatives of member
 249 states accredited to the union. The permanent representatives committee is charged with the
 250 responsibility of preparing the work of the executive council.

251 **Peace and Security Council (PSC):** by decision AHG/ Dec 160 (37) of the summit of Lusaka, July
 252 2001, a decision was made for the creation within the African union of the peace and Security
 253 Council.

254 **Pan-African parliament:** a Pan-African parliament and organ to ensure the full participation of
 255 African people in governance, development and economic integration of the continent. The protocol
 256 relating to the composition, powers, functions and organization of the Pan-African parliament has
 257 been signed by member states and is in the process of ratification.

258 **ECOSOCC:** the economic, social and cultural council, an advisory organ composed of different
 259 social and professional groups of the member states of the union. The statutes determining the
 260 functions, powers, composition and organization of economic, social and cultural council, have been
 261 prepared and will be submitted to Maputo summit.

262 **The court of justice:** a court of justice of the union shall be established. The statutes defining the
 263 composition and functions of the court of justice have been prepared and will be submitted to the
 264 assembly in Maputo.

265 **THE SPECIALIZED TECHNICAL COMMITTEES:**

266 The following specialized technical committees were established by the Union:

- 267 ➤ The committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters
- 268 ➤ The committee on monetary and financial affairs

- 269 ➤ The committee on trade, customs and immigration
- 270 ➤ The committee on industries, science and technology, energy natural resources and
- 271 environment.
- 272 ➤ The committee on transport, communication and tourism.
- 273 ➤ The committee on health, labour and social affairs.
- 274 ➤ The committee on education, culture and human resources

275

276 **THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS:**

- 277 • The African central Bank
- 278 • The African Monetary fund
- 279 • The African Investment Bank

280 Worthy of note is the fact that the AU covers the entire continent except for Spanish North Africa,
281 LlesEparses, Reunio, Mayotte and Morocco, because those states oppose the membership of
282 Western Sahara as the Sahrawi Arab Demographic Republic. Morocco left OAU in 1984. However,
283 Morocco has a special status within the AU and benefits from the services available to all AU states
284 from the institutions of the AU, such as the African Development Bank. Moroccan delegates also
285 participate at AU functions, and negotiations continue to try to resolve the conflict with the Polisario
286 Front in Tindalf, Algeria and the part of Western Sahara – Moroccan yet to be a member state.
287 Currently, there are 54 AU member states.

288 **ACHIEVEMENTS**

- 289 ▪ The first AU's military intervention in a member state was May 2003 where the Union

290 deployed peace keeping force of soldiers from South Africa, Ethiopia and Mozambique

291 to Burundi. Also to Sudan, Somalia and Uganda.
- 292 ▪ The AU has adopted a number of important new documents establishing norms at

293 continental level, to supplement those already in force when it was created. These include

294 the African Union Convention on Preventing and combating corruption (2003) and the

295 African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007) as well as the New

296 Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its associated Declaration on

297 Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. This new development is

298 helping Africa to tour the path of Africa's political, economic and social development

299 and importantly unity and peace.
- 300 ▪ AU has also been able to impose sanction on erring member states and sub regions e.g.

301 Madagascar was suspended after 2009 Malagasy political crisis. Niger was also

302 suspended after 2010 coup d'état. Cote d'ivore was also suspended after the 2010 – 2011

303 Ivorian political crises. More so, on 22 December 2009 AU called United Nation Security

304 Council to impose Sanction on Eritrea who was accused of supporting Somalia Islamist

305 attempting to topple the Traditional Federal government of Somalia. Security Council

306 passed UNCR 1907 which imposed an arms embargo on Eritrea, travel ban on Eritrea

307 leaders, and asset freezes on Eritrean officials.

308 **CURRENT CHALLENGES OF AFRICAN UNION**

- 309 ▪ Health Issues such as combating malaria and the AIDS/HIV epidemic; lack of portable

310 drinking water; malnutrition and sanitation.

- Political issues such as confronting undemocratic regimes and mediating in the many civil wars and political crisis of different colouration, examples, Guinea, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and other African Arab states
- Economic issues such as improving the standard of living of millions of impoverished, uneducated Africans, low GDP and Debt burden of most African States, regional currency debate
- Ecological issues such as dealing with recurring famines, desertification and lack of ecological sustainability.
- Legal issues regarding Western Sahara.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS ON AFRICAN UNION (AU) AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

It is obvious and crystal clear base on the earlier analysis that efforts towards peace, unity and development in the continent political bodies has incessantly been punctured by;

- (i) On-going governance crisis coupled with attendant failure of their hegemonic project base on meaningful development. (ii) African states virtually inherited all the salient features of their colonial fore bearers, including lack of legitimacy and capacity to deploy violence in the civil society (Azarya 1992). African Union (AU) member states, particularly African leaders have grossly failed in changing the character of the colonial state as a coercive force unable to transform power into authority and domination in hegemony (Ake 2001).

The research's theoretical tool of analysis has been able to x-ray the notorious effect of the unequal relationship that African states are into with the metro poles. Andre Gunde Frank in his hypothetical analysis of the unequal relationship between the satellite and metro pole asserted that;

1. Satellite states experience great economic development when its relationship with the metro pole is weak.
2. Development of satellite is choked as soon as the relationship between the satellite and metropolis is normalized.
3. The regime that was underdeveloped, feudal and backward had close tie with the metro pole.

Therefore, the unequal relationship between African Union member states and metropolis had rather ensnared them in heavy debt burden or rather massive political and economic crisis. For example, the policy of Structural Adjustment Programme led to a situation where African states deepened its authoritarianism, they brazenly violated citizens' right and increasingly became high-handed in its dealings with society (Animashun 2009). Therefore, at any rate, SAP could not have mitigated African economic crisis in any significant way since it was consciously designed to manage African crisis more in a way that served the economic interest of the West than in exiting the continent from crisis and its attendant underdevelopment (Kankwenda 2002).

Africa's political, economic and socio-cultural crises are consequences of the activities of the alien forces from the West (Metropole) whose desire for self-sustenance and preservation is connected to African resources. As such, it is deliberate for them to distort the social formation of Africa and to make her quest for unity and development elusive. Furthermore, Africa has become killing-field due to proliferation of weapons from the West; the intention of the West behind all these is to stampede any effort towards reconciliation and peace as requisite for economic development.

Tendon (1998), states that the cold war which was born out of the process for globalization has had significant consequences for Africa. During its height in the 1960's and 1970's, the cold war witnessed the emergence of authoritarian regimes in the form of one-party or military regimes. This

356 was largely a result of the support of the two blocks to keep African countries in their respective
 357 camps. This has in turn, substantially reduced Africa's international negotiating power and its ability
 358 to maneuver in the international system. In sum then, the cold war and its demise has worked against
 359 democracy and economic development in Africa (Cited in Ibrahim 2013).

360

361 The international divisions of labour where Africa produced raw materials for industries in Europe
 362 and America was deliberately orchestrated to make Africa perpetually dependent on the metropolis.
 363 It is not just enough for African Union (AU) and African leaders to come up with new continental
 364 political organization, protocols, legal instruments and charters to champion the course for African
 365 development, a lot has to be done on our psyche or orientation- decolonization of the mind.

366 Consequently, A.G Frank suggested de-linking from the metropole as a viable means of economic
 367 growth and development of developing economies just like the Casablanca group headed by Kwame
 368 Nkrumah also suggested. This is rather myopic in effect because a viable alternative after de-linking
 369 has not been clearly defined. Mobilization of internal resources, independently for the overall
 370 development of the society as suggested by Frank is not just enough without partnership from the
 371 west. The world is interconnected and interdependent in terms of trade, transportation, policies,
 372 technology, commerce and finance, telecommunication, etc. due to the effect of globalization.
 373 Therefore having acquired substantial human capital development both among indigenous Africans
 374 and those in Diaspora; African should maintain the link with the west. Africa owns the resources and
 375 also knows what she wants; Africa should dictate the pace of her political, economic and socio-
 376 cultural growth and development as she interacts with the west. Asian Tigers did the same likewise
 377 Latin American countries like Brazil and Argentina who are currently experiencing exponential
 378 economic growth and development.

379 **SUMMARY/CONCLUSION**

380 The realization of a New Africa need not be through bloodshed or disorder. The spirit of co-
 381 operation must abound. The realization of New Africa demands the regeneration of individual state –
 382 the agitator; (Azikiwe 1973). Therefore, true and complete independence of Africa can only be
 383 achieved as a united people with a common goal (Nkrumah 1962). African Union is beginning to
 384 bring meaningful development to the continent; however, there is more that is needed to be done by
 385 African leaders and intelligence in curbing and curtailing the effects of neo-colonialism and
 386 imperialism in all its manifestations and ramifications; particularly paying allegiance to African
 387 Union and de-colonization of the minds of Africans.

388 **RECOMMENDATIONS**

- 389 1. For African Union to be able to build and sustain African development, it is imperative that
 390 African Union must encourage state to embrace Nationalism and Patriotism. It guarantees
 391 total liberation – political liberation with complete and absolute independence from the
 392 control of any foreign government. Democratic liberation from political tyranny and
 393 establishment of democracy in which sovereignty is vested in the broad masses of the people.
 394 Social reconstruction; i.e. from poverty and economic conditions of the people.
- 395 2. The need to sanction erring African leaders and possible prosecution at African Union court
 396 of justice is of paramount importance. The same could be applied to a member state.
- 397 3. There should be respect for rule of law and human right.
- 398 4. The fight against corruption should be made a continental affair supported by charters to be
 399 signed by member states.

5. Member states should support the continental organization – AU as a confederate unit so that policies of African Union (AU) can be implemented and the continent becoming a formidable entity, politically, economically, socio-culturally, etc.
6. Unity, cooperation and support should be extended to all member states to ensure peace and stability in the continent.
7. Total moral and value re-orientation is of great essence. African states must learn to be the captain of their destiny by doing what is right and wiping off any relic of inferiority complex and repressive colonial culture. Added to this, African resources should be adequately used to combat health challenges, ecological challenges and infrastructural inadequacies so that Arica will be a better place for all Africans; friends of Africa and posterity.

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