Main-bass on the inside and outside dynamics of African regional integration

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Abstract: *Conducive to expanding markets and trade in Africa, regional integration enhances cooperation and mitigates risk while promising socio-cultural cooperation and regional stability. However, the internal and external dynamics of this integration in Africa are influenced by the former colonial powers, with the complicity of certain African Heads of State. Thus, to support the thesis of* **Tapé Groubera** *, "these African enemies of Africans" (Groubera, 2022)are slowing down the process of integration of the continent, while taking precedence over their abject interests to the detriment of the collective interest of their respective peoples. Despite the dishonorable behavior of some African Heads of State, there is hope since African youth, in addition to having become aware of this state of affairs, is becoming more and more competitive and influential on the international level. Many young Africans today belong to the class of global elites.*

Keywords: Mai-basse, dynamics from within, dynamics from outside, regional integration in Africa, geopolitics, geostrategy, African Union, CER, CEA.

Résumé

Propice à l'élargissement des marchés et des échanges en Afrique, l'intégration régionale améliore la coopération et atténue les risques tout en promettant la coopération socioculturelle et la stabilité régionale. Cependant, les dynamiques internes et externes de cette intégration en Afrique sont influencées par les anciennes puissances coloniales à la clé, la complicité de certains Chefs-d'Etat africains. Ainsi, pour appuyer la thèse de **Tapé Groubera**, « ces africains ennemis des africains » (Groubera, 2022) freinent le processus d'intégration du continent, tout en primant leurs intérêts abjectes au détriment de l'intérêt collectif de leurs peuples respectifs. Malgré le comportement peu honorable de certains Chefs-d'Etat africains, l'espoir est permis puisque la jeunesse africaine, en plus d'avoir pris conscience de cet état de fait, devient de plus en plus compétitive et influente sur le plan international. Nombreux sont des jeunes africains aujourd'hui à appartenir à la classe d'élites mondiales.

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I.   General Introduction

From 1960 , many African countries gained their independence but remained largely fragile politically, economically and militarily. The African States which are generally part of this dynamic will quickly perceive the strategic need to regroup within a sub-regional organization (REC), then regional (OAU/AU). It is therefore with this in mind that the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) were created in the 1970s with the aim of promoting cooperation and integration in the economic, social and cultural fields with a view to achieving an economic and monetary through the total integration of the national economies of the Member States: ECOWAS [1], IGAD [2], COMESA [3], ECCAS [4], CEN-SAD [5], UMA [6], SADC [7]and EAC [8].

Consequently, regional integration in Africa appears as a political, economic, social and cultural process aimed at bringing together the States and the communities that make up the African geographical space. Five (05) in number, these RECs agree to unite in a community of destiny controlled and regulated by supranational and supra-state institutions (executive, legislative and judicial): OAU/ [9]AU [10].

Continental Africa being one of the four or five (according to different considerations) geographical regions of the terrestrial globe (planet-earth) and where the paradox of regional integration is still being played out in this 21st century : the United States in Africa struggle to move from dream to reality. The integration regional , considered in Africa as the normative, institutional, strategic and technical framework for the realization of the United States of Africa, is a methodical and technical process calling on a high level of proven expertise in various fields concerning the African geographical space to be integrated and whose communities will be linked by relationships of dependence and interdependence. It must be more technical than political in the sense that it calls for more technicality and expertise. But alas, the reality is quite different on the black continent where it represents a field of battle where the real stakes of imperialist and international geopolitics and geostrategy are played out since a significant part of the operating budget of the African Union would be assured by outside powers. This means that international geopolitics and geostrategy continue to influence the decisions and strategies of African integration, thus reducing to nothing the efforts of regional integration in Africa. But how is it that it still happens like that in this [21st] century when all African states are internationally sovereign? This reflex is intended as an element of response to this paradigmatic question.

II.   Study context

Since their accession to international sovereignty in the 1960s, African States miserably emerged from the colonial yoke realized the vital need to group together within supranational institutions (executive, legislative and judicial) in order to pursue common objectives of safeguarding their sovereignty vis-à-vis the former imperialist powers on the one hand (1) and on the other, to ensure the integration of the continent (2) through a will on the social, political, economic, cultural, military, scientific level , technical and technological. Indeed, a linked set of strategies were adopted and whose effective implementation is still lacking in the 21st [century] . The creation of regional economic communities (RECs), inspired more by political geography than by the sociological reality of the communities, brought in its wake the "Spaghetti Bowls [11]" strategy of regional integration. Thus reducing the capacity of States to fulfill their commitments here and their contributions there is a factor that blocks the process of African integration at the sub-regional and regional levels. Combined with the interference of foreign powers, the "Spaghetti Bowls " of integration is a brake on the realization of the United States of Africa advocated by the Agenda 2063 of the African Union (CUA, 2015)

Despite the panoply of initiatives taken and the efforts made within the framework of the integration of Africa, the results are still mediocre in the key sectors of regional integration targeted by the Multidimensional Index of African Regional Integration and (UA, 2019)the platform of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa dedicated to the evaluation of the index of regional integration in Africa (CEA, 2019). This mediocrity of results is explained by the interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of States on the one hand (1) and on the other, their influence on the decisions of the African Union (2), the body

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[1]Economic Community of West African States.

[2]Intergovernmental Authority on Development.

[3]Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.

[4]Economic Community of Central African States. Make the difference here between ECCAS and CEMAC which is not recognized by the AU.

[5]Community of Sahel-Saharan States .

[6]Arab Maghreb Union.

[7]Southern African Development Community.

[8]East African Community.

[9]Organization of African Unity.

[10]African Union.

[11]Spaghetti Bowls of regional integration: refers here to the multi-membership of States to more than one regional economic community. The case for example of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

responsible for development and monitoring-evaluation of African integration projects, programs and policies through the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM [12]), created in 2003 by the Committee of Heads of State and Government (CCEG [13], HSGIC in English) responsible for the implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD [14]) as an instrument for the voluntary self-assessment of Member States' performance in governance (HSGIC, 2003). Thus, the lack of political will of some Heads of State and the inaction of others in the face of puppet politics make the African Forum on Governance not a place or a meeting for repair, but a rendezvous for hollow discourse, of reception of paternalistic orientations and the followership of the imperialist diktat (FAG, 2007). This is why, as a determining factor in the integration and development of a geographical space the size of Africa, good governance in Africa appears to be a botched phenomenon in the sense that 21st [century], authoritarian excesses. Which leads us to wonder about the raison d'être of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (Africaine, 2007).

This context of low hand on the internal and external dynamics of African integration deserves a deep reflection on the part of African youth, so much qualified, wrongly or rightly, of the future of the African continent and, by extension of humanity . By this article, we intend to ripen the reflection and to direct the glance of our readers on the games and real stakes of regional integration in Africa. It is a question here of evaluating and appreciating the dynamics of the inside and those of the outside of African integration, precisely to guide the decisions of social, economic, cultural, military, scientific, technical, technological, geopolitical and geostrategic policies. A way of understanding the institutional and organizational dynamics of African regional integration characterized by "institutional gesticulation" which, for **Claude ABE** means "the fact of pretending to move forward while being on the spot" (ABE, 2015).

III. The object of the study

In view of all that precedes, our study focuses on the dynamics of the inside and the outside of African integration. That is to say, the interference of foreign powers in the decisions of the African Union (its institutions and organs) as a factor that prevents regional integration in Africa.

IV. Study objectives

We are pursuing a dual objective in this research. That is, one general objective (1) and three specific objectives (2).

1. Main objective

Overall, our study seeks to understand and appreciate the impact of the interference of foreign powers on the projects, programs and policies of the African Union in terms of African integration.

2. Specific objectives

Specifically, our study aims to identify and explain the contribution of African Heads of State to the delay of the process of regional integration in Africa. It's about :

(1) Specific objectives 1

To apprehend the inaction of Heads of State in the face of the diktat of foreign powers, despite the principle of sovereignty of States defended by the United Nations.

(2) Specific objective 2

Identify the real reasons of the Heads of State to work not for the interest of their respective peoples, but for the sordid interest of the former colonial powers.

(3) Specific objective 3

Assess the level of African integration through the key stages of regional integration.

V. Definitions of concepts

1. Main-bass

Any act or initiative taken by foreign powers aimed at preventing or influencing the decisions of social, economic, cultural, military, scientific, geopolitical and geostrategic policies of African regional integration institutions, in particular the African Union, regional economic communities and the states.

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[12] APRM: African Peer Review Mechanism created in 2003.
[13] CCEG: Committee of Heads of State and Government.
[14] NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development.

2.   Dynamics from within

We mean by dynamics from within in the article, all the institutions, bodies, structures, projects, programs and policies designed and implemented within African borders with the aim of achieving integration. regional in Africa. We will not make a quoting adventure here. Because this definition is precise enough to allow each reader to identify the elements to which it refers.

3.   Dynamics from outside

By external dynamics in this article, we mean all the institutions, bodies, structures, projects, programs and policies designed from outside African borders and implemented within African borders. with the aim of achieving regional integration in Africa. We will not make a quoting adventure here. Because this definition is precise enough to allow each reader to identify the elements to which it refers.

4.   Regional integration in Africa

The integration regional in Africa is for us a political, economic, social, cultural and military process aimed at bringing together the States and their communities that make up the African geographical space. That is to say that these states and their communities agree to unite and live in a community of destiny controlled and regulated by supra-state institutions. It is both methodical and technical, calling on a high level of proven expertise in various fields concerning this African geographical space to be integrated and whose communities are linked by relationships of dependence and interdependence. It is also more technical than political in the sense that it calls for more technical skills and expertise.

VI.   Delimitation of the study

1.   Spatial delimitation

As the research theme indicates, the spatial framework of our study is mainly the geographical space of the African continent and, to a certain extent, the foreign powers that influence the decisions of the body (African Union) responsible for regional integration. in Africa. Because the games and challenges of African integration are played out here (within African borders) and there (outside African borders).

2.   Temporary delimitation

Our study will start from the 1960s to days in that this date is the benchmark for measuring an independent and sovereign even if in reality, there is still a long way to go. Because, before this date, most African states were under the colonial yoke.

VII.   Literature review

Research on the issue of regional integration in Africa has always been done both by Africans themselves and by persons (natural and legal) foreign to Africa. The existing documentation on the problem is as vast as Egyptology and whose exploration has enabled us to detect the different orientations of researchers and authors. If for some, the stakes of regional integration in Africa are played out exclusively within the borders of Africa (1), others on the other hand think that these stakes are played out outside the borders of the continent (2). As far as we are concerned, it would be appropriate to appreciate the internal dynamics (from within) and those external (from outside) in order to situate the roles and responsibilities of the internal and external actors of regional integration in Africa, to precisely define new perspectives, oriented on new bases of cooperation between Africa and the rest of the world so that African integration is effective.

VIII.   Problem

Considering *the inside and outside dynamics of African regional integration* as a research theme amounts to placing at the heart of the reflections the achievements and shortcomings in the construction site of the creation of the United States of Africa or at least an integrated Africa. Being a matter for all Africans, the problem of regional integration in Africa is a problem with a continental dimension which needs a well-coordinated continental response. Being a sociological achievement for Africans, de jure integration [15] must be accompanied by de facto integration [16]. Indeed, the central issue of African integration lies at the level of the bilateral and multilateral relations that African States weave with the outside world, in particular the former colonial powers. The influence of these powers is growing more and more under the effect of the complicity of the Heads of State acquired for their cause. While for a long time supranational institutions have been created at the continental, sub-regional and national level to ensure African integration, why still in this 21st century the hand-bass [on] the dynamics of the inside and the outside of integration regional in Africa?

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[15] Juror integration: refers to integration from below. That is to say, peoples and communities.
[16] De facto integration: political process of integration or integration from above.

IX.   Research question

Why control the internal and external dynamics of regional integration in Africa?

X.   Research hypothesis

1.   Main hypothesis

The interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of the African Union and its States blocks the internal and external dynamics of regional integration in Africa.

(1)   Specific hypothesis 1

The attitude of foreign powers to replace Africa's voice carrier in the concert of nations (UN) slows down the momentum of the prospects for African integration.

(2)   Specific hypothesis 2

The complicity of the Heads of State acquired for the cause of the former imperialist powers reduces to nothing the efforts of the actors of the organizations of the civil society.

(3)   Specific hypothesis 3

Dictatorship and poor governance are causing major damage to the foundations of regional integration in Africa.

XI.   Methodology

1.   Theoretical frame

To study the low hand on the dynamics of the inside and the outside of regional integration in Africa, our theoretical framework will be based essentially on three sociological approaches which constitute for us analytical grids which are:

(1)   The sociology of the revenge of African societies by Jean François Bayart

It is an approach to analyzing African societies through an ideal type constituted by "politics from below in black Africa" (Bayart, 1992).

(2)   The Sociology of State Penetration in the Bush by Jean-Marc Ela

This approach of sociological analysis allows us the internal dynamics of the States in terms of realization of the projects, programs and policies of development (Ela, 1990). It also allows us to understand the reasons for peasant responses to the crisis that affect de facto integration policy (Ela J.-M. , 1994).

(3)   The sociology of the non-renewal of elites in sub-Saharan Africa by Jean-Pascal Daloz

This third sociological approach speaks to us of lifelong powers and the dictatorship that allows lifelong regimes to persist (Daloz, 1998). The political regimes to maintain in Africa submit to the diktat of foreign powers which guarantee their durability at the peril of the contesting citizens.

XII.   Work plan

To better address this research theme, we will first attempt to make a detailed presentation of the structural, organizational and institutional changes of regional integration in Africa and the process of Pan-Africanism (A) and, secondly, to address the North Africa and its refusal to assume the subjective consciousness of being African (construction of sub-Saharan opinion on the doors of evil in Africa) and the pollution of consciences by the mass media (B).

A.   The structural, organizational and institutional changes of regional integration in Africa and the trial of Pan-Africanism

As indicated above in the general introduction, from the 1960s, many African countries freed themselves from the colonial yoke. This was the work of the Organization of African Unity (OAU for short) which had, from its inception, the leitmotif of helping and supporting African countries then under colonial domination to gain access to their sovereignty of first national, then international. However, the creation of the OAU was the subject of lively discussions and heated disagreement between minimalist Pan-Africanists and maximalist Pan-Africanists, thus giving rise to two antagonistic blocs about the nature and form that this regional organization (OAU) should take. : the Monrovia block [17]and the Casablanca block [18]. It is not necessary here to recall the names of all the proponents and facilitators of these two blocks. Indeed, it was in the 2000s that the African Heads of State, noting that the OAU had achieved its core objective (independence of African countries) and realizing the need to take into account the new realities

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[17]Léopold Sédar Senghor from Senegal, Félix Houphouët Boigni from Côte d'Ivoire et al.
[18]Ahmed Sékou Touré from Guinea, Kuamé Nkrumah from Ghana et al.

that undermine the progress of States (budget deficit, Structural Adjustment Program, rebellions, civil and secession wars, epidemics and epizootics, the balance of the external debt, industrialization, cooperation with the outside world, etc.) created the African Union (AU for short). It was then necessary to migrate to this new organization which takes into account the new dimensions of regional integration in Africa. Hence the organizational, structural and institutional changes.

1. Structural and institutional organizational changes of regional integration in Africa

The multiple changes undertaken in the process of African integration have still not been able to dilute the antagonisms within the continental organization or even within the Regional Economic Communities: those who aspire to the total independence of Africa (maximalist Pan-Africanists) challenged by those who think and act otherwise (minimalist Pan-Africanists). The real challenge that should at first sight animate the founders of the OAU and the AU should be the complete resolution of this philosophical antagonism. It should at least be that of the new generation of African leaders.

2. The Trial of Pan-Africanism

Pan -Africanism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction: it is the difference of opinion about the nature, form, content and mode of operation of the constitution which should govern the federated state. of African countries. This discord which is at the base of formation of the two blocks (block of Monrovia [19] and block of Casablanca [20]) still continues in this XXI [th] century, to divide the Africans about their community of destiny. Anyone can target the proponents and leaders of these two antagonistic blocks through the deciphering of political speeches in terms of freedom of tone and rhetoric of Heads of State who have succeeded each other at the head of African States. The ideologies that motivate and energize these two blocks clash and jostle within the African Union. This is one of the irrefutable reasons why the African Union is still struggling to achieve its objectives and fully fulfill all its functions of ensuring regional integration in Africa. This approach justifies the summary and programmed assassination of the strong men of Africa (Ahmed Sékou Touré, Kwamé Nkrumah, Silvanus Olympio , Thomas Sankara , Patrice Emeritus Lumumba, Muammar Gaddafi, etc.) and the failure of self-centered development projects, programs and policies (Eco, African passport, African court of justice, African airline, continental railways and roads, African currency, etc.). It would therefore be appropriate to take a critical look at the two variables of Pan-Africanism: maximalist Pan-Africanism (1) and minimalist Pan-Africanism (2) and to evaluate the contribution of each of them to the process of regional integration in Africa.

a) Maximalist Pan-Africanism: Casablanca Group

The Casablanca Group, sometimes referred to as the "Casablanca bloc", was an informal, short-lived association of African states created in the early 1960s. It brought together states that shared a common vision of the future of Africa. Africa and Pan-Africanism. These were essentially countries ruled by so-called "leftist" rulers: Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali and Morocco. In connection with the "Monrovia group", it led, as mentioned above, to the creation of the Organization of African Unity.

The group's first meeting was held in Casablanca, Morocco in 1961. It brought together some of the most important leaders of the continent, such as Gamal Abdel Nasser from Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, Modibo Keïta from Mali and Ahmed Sékou Touré from Guinea.

Their common point, unlike the Monrovia bloc, was their belief in the need for political unity for Africa, even in the need to create a continent-wide federation. They believed that a strong integration, like that which had led to the creation of the European Union, would enable Africa to rid itself of colonialism, to establish peace, to promote intercultural dialogue, to develop geopolitical influence of the continent and to initiate its economic development. In other words, they advocated the transfer of power from national governments to a supra-national pan-African entity . (Nkrumah, 1998), for example, even campaigned for the creation of a pan-African army that could be deployed against the colonizers or the white minorities who dominated the continent. Its famous slogan was "Africa must unite! who also published a book entitled *" Africa Must Unite [21]"* (NKrumah, 1963)in which he clearly set out his vision of Pan-Africanism and the United States of Africa.

Nevertheless, the Casablanca group was ultimately unsuccessful. Most other African leaders did not approve of this radical change. It was the ideas of the rival group, called the "Monrovia group", that prevailed. The Monrovia group was also pan-Africanist, but not at the expense of nationalism and state development. In 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was instituted and all members of the Casablanca group, like those of the Monrovia group, joined, leaving aside their differences. The OAU, which became the African Union, has, even today, achieved only a limited integration of its members, far from the ideals of the Casablanca group.

The Casablanca and Monrovia groups did not have an identical position on the subject of African unity, and they also had differences on the conflict in Algeria and the Congolese crisis. Thus, while the Casablanca group supported the Algerian FLN, the

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[19]Political capital of the Republic of Liberia (West Africa) where minimalist Pan-Africanists met to consolidate their position.

[20]Political capital of the Kingdom of Chérifien, Morocco (North Africa) where pan-African maximalists met to consolidate their position.

[21]Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite,* 1963, Panaf , 276p.

Monrovia group sided with its enemy, France. The Monrovia group and the states that compose it constitute a doorway to evil on the African continent. Supporting France against Algeria is more Freemasonry than Pan-Africanism.

b) Minimalist Pan-Africanism: Monrovia Group

The Monrovia Group, sometimes referred to as the Monrovia Bloc, officially referred to as *the Conference of Independent African States* , was an informal association of African states that existed shortly in the early 1960s. Its members shared a common vision for the future of Africa. neo-colonized Africa and truncated Pan-Africanism . They promoted the idea of harmonious coexistence and cooperation between independent African states, but without the need for political federation and strong integration, unlike the rival group known as the "Casablanca group". In 1963, the two groups agreed to establish, as indicated above, an organization on a continental scale, the Organization of African Unity.

The group held its first meeting from May 8 to 12, 1961, in Monrovia, capital of Liberia, one of the major countries of the movement. Members included Nigeria and most French-speaking African countries, such as Senegal and Cameroon. The group's political positions were less radical than those of the Casablanca group. Its leaders emphasized the importance of newly independent African states maintaining their autonomy and strengthening their structures, armies and economies. They promoted nationalism that every African nation should be self-reliant, rather than Pan-Africanism, a movement that the whole continent should seek ever closer union and integration of its politics, society and economy.

It was the ideas of the Monrovia group that ultimately prevailed. In 1963, states from both groups founded the Organization of African Unity (OAU). At the heart of its charter were the principles of independence, non-interference and national sovereignty. The OAU's quest for integration was minimal, and its opposition to a continental federation unequivocal. The OAU, like its successor, the African Union, reflects the nationalist values of the Monrovia group more than the supranationalist values of the Casablanca group. The problem of African integration and the creation of the United States of Africa are still there: the sovereignist spirit and the will to submit to neocolonialism advocated until then by the Monrovia bloc.

B. North Africa and the refusal to assume the subjective consciousness of being African (construction of sub-Saharan opinion on the doors of Africa's evil) and the pollution of consciences by the mass media

By the arrangement of things and the succession of years and events, Africa in the 21st [century] could be presented according to four equally antagonistic tendencies: white Africa or North Africa [22](i), black Africa or Africa south of the Sahara [23](ii) , Africa of modernity or globalized/globalised Africa [24](iii) and ancestral Africa or Africa of the peasantry [25](iv). Each of these four tendencies is in itself a door through which bad guys or disguised enemies could pass to destabilize Africa. Added to these four doors are the harmful effects of minimalist Pan-Africanism (Freemasonry [26], puppet flip-flop [27], etc.) and the pollution of consciences by the mass media of the paternalistic West. The Western media would only be substitutes for mercenaries who would also be substitutes for imperialist soldiers and missionaries. You see , the logic really exists.

1. North Africa and the refusal to assume the subjective consciousness of being African: construction of sub-Saharan opinion on the doors of evil in Africa

The rules and laws of history are implacable and they condemn all peoples who, faced with colonial domination, refuse to assume their responsibilities with discipline and seriousness. The African public needs to be made aware of the evils that threaten Africa and the doors at which they knock to put down their bags. As indicated above in the preceding paragraph, the singular considerations taxed as doors of evil are the reflection of the phenomena which scramble the lantern. Public opinion should be made aware in Africa so that it can become aware of the realities that are detrimental to the development of the continent. African youth must understand that the challenges are immense. From the continent of amusement to the continent of action and the future of humanity, African youth must understand two things: either effort, organization and the fight for freedom (i); or whining, disorganization and indifference with amusement to continue in slavery and neocolonialism (ii).

It is in perfect knowledge of the laws of history that we ask the African people of Africa and elsewhere to break down the walls of mistrust, hatred and organized disorder between us to direct us in a disciplined way towards establishment of organized groups, clubs, circles, friendships, associations, all driven by one and the same idea: Pan-Africanism acting for the rebirth of the African people under the leadership of a courageous leadership and with a perfect overview. These structures must work to train revolutionary Africans, ready for all sacrifices for the regeneration of the African people degraded, bruised and relegated to the margins of a world largely fed for millennia by its human and material resources. Our role is to edify the African people and more

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[22]North Africa: the peoples of this part of Africa, mostly white, do not recognize themselves in Africanity.

[23]The peoples of this part of Africa, of black skin, fully recognize themselves in Africanity.

[24]African people assimilated and who deny the traditional values of Africa.

[25]African peoples living in the countryside and embodying the real values of Africa.

[26]The dishonorable behavior of African Heads of State, missionaries of neocolonial imperialism.

[27]Indoctrination and staging game in the format of the last Africa-France Summit at the initiative of Emmanuel Macron and Achille MBembé .

particularly the African youth on the false character of the myth of the invincibility of the colonial system (skepticism of the Monrovia bloc). What is denied absolutely in all the history of humanity, since antiquity.

2.   The Pollution of Consciousness by the Mass Media and the Harmful Effects of Minimalist Pan-Africanism

When it comes to news in Africa, we no longer know which source to rely on. Because, the social networks and the Western media which flood the continent have become instruments of propaganda, pollution of consciences and sources of conflicting tensions instead of deserving to be informants, educators and instructors. Everyone is a specialist in everything and nothing at the same time. It is a true professional delirium as presaged in the theory of communicational action **by Jürgen Habermas** (Habermas, 2016).

The subjective awareness of being African must therefore cross the minds of all the sons and daughters of Africa, from North to South, from East to West, passing through the Center without however forget the radiant African Diaspora around the world. Assuming the subjective awareness of being African would make it possible to innovate all sectors of activity, in particular public services (KABA, 2023).

XIII.   Conclusion

Regulatory institution and guarantor of the organic, normative and institutional framework of the regional integration system in Africa, the African Union has since its creation aimed to promote social, political, economic, cultural, military, geopolitical and geostrategic cooperation between the States. from Africa. Efforts have been made and initiatives have been taken to this effect. But the objectives are far from being achieved due to the interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of the Union and of the States which are members of it and the complicity of the Heads of State acquired for the sake of the said powers. To change the situation, the promotion of Pan-Africanism appears as a strategy and recovery factor. It is then up to the African youth to jump the lock of foreign domination and acquire a voice in the concert of nations.

XIV.   Perspectives for future research

The special military operations of the Russian Federation in Ukraine seem a privileged field for future research in the sense that they open an era in international relations: the end of Western-American hegemony and the birth of multilateralism in the concert nations.

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