



Africa Regional Unification

In the Eyes of Indigenous Thinkers, Adebayo Adedeji and Raúl Prebisch

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Abstract

Adebayo Adedeji and Prebisch are revered as generational thinkers and exemplars of regional economic integration in Africa and Latin America. Both have addressed unequal wealth distribution and unfavourable conditions that lead to underdevelopment. They sought to promote domestic development concepts rather than accept a global blanket prescription for resolving the underdevelopment problem. In addition, their worldview influenced thousands of young intellectuals and activists on both continents. Their experience and unique views on the role of regional integration in establishing economic space and political differentiation were invaluable. They helped the UN embrace local intellectual thought as a development principle. Their intellectual and personal qualities allowed them to argue for reviving economic principles in both regions' development policies. Adedeji mocked the Bretton Woods institutions for their determination to tout success stories from SAPs despite all evidence to the contrary. This paper compares their philosophical framework to today's economic and development concerns.

Keywords: Adedeji, Prebisch, economic integration, public intellectuals, underdevelopment, SAP's.

Overview

As demonstrated around the world, there have been numerous occasions in which individuals have made a tremendous difference in how society lives or defends the right to equality and equity. The paper covers two gigantic public thinkers and public servants who spent their entire careers fighting for impartiality and fair trade across all continents, as well as their contributions to public policy. More importantly, they have contributed to the formation of new theories, societal interactions, and trading partners that benefit both academics and the broader welfare of humanity, in addition to their efforts to promote equality and equity. Honouring and reinvigorating such noble ideas and personalities contribute significantly to developing and strengthening society's response to contemporary and ongoing challenges. While lived in the harsh postcolonial era of the 1960s and 1970s, Adebayo Adedeji and Raúl Prebisch shed light on the connection between developed and developing countries, which functioned as a defence mechanism and the foundation for the current relationship.

Unlike the majority of his peers, the late Prof. Adebayo Adedeji had the good fortune to attend a prestigious Western school system. Between 1958 and 1967, he earned a variety of degrees, including a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of London and a Masters Degree in Public Administration from Harvard University (Agarwal, Sanmi-Ajiki, 2000). Additionally, Adebayo Adedeji became Nigeria's first Professor of Public Administration in 1966, while teaching at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University). Between 1971 until 1975, he also served as Nigeria's post-civil war Minister of Economic Planning and Reconstruction. Nagar, and Otitodun, 2010; Adebajo (2020) Among the several innovations and accomplishments during his time was his successful negotiation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), for which Adedeji is frequently referred to as the "father of ECOWAS."

[h]aving inherited or borrowed development policy as well as political theory, [would subsequently be able] to revive its own economic assumptions and design its own orientations, just as it ha[d] come to reject much of its neo-colonial legal and organisational legacy. As Agarwal, Sanmi-Ajiki, (2000) indicated. (Adedeji and Shaw 1985)

As a very successful and distinguished United Nations Under Secretary -General and Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), Prof. Adedeji will be remembered for his unique initiatives for the sustainable development of Africa, most notable among which are the Lagos Plan of Action (1980), the Final Act o f Lagos (1980), the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme (AAF -SAP, 1989) and the African Charter for Popular Participation (ACPP, 1990). He also served as the UN Secretary -General's Special Representative on Africa's Economic Crisis between 1984 and 1986. Professor Adedeji has authored many publications.

According to Dosman (2012), Raúl Prebisch was born in 1901 and raised in provincial Tucumán from middle-class and mixed parentage. His father, Albin Prebisch, was a German immigrant and small business owner, and his mother, Rosa Linares Uriburu, came from a notable but financially distressed colonial family. He was a driving influence in twentieth-century international development theory, policy, and institution building, yet such global success could not have been imagined during his formative years in Argentina. Dosman elaborated on Prebisch's intellectual engagement in a series of academic pieces. In 1919, the first piece was published with grace and outstanding analytic promise in the discipline of economics. By 1921, his research into Argentina's economic history had produced findings that confounded established economists, establishing, for example, that Argentina's experience with business cycles was distinct from that of developed Europe's developed countries and coining the terms "centre" and "periphery." According to Sprout (1992), Prebisch had a significant influence on the evolution of ideas and policy in development economics during his lifetime. However, the concepts for which he is best known, the declining terms of trade thesis and export pessimism, import-substitution, industrialization, and state intervention, stand in stark contrast to the dominant free-market ideology in the world.

In his 1961 study, *Towards a Dynamic Development Policy for Latin America*, he had shifted ground considerably. He now spoke of institutional weak points in the region (feudal structures, inequalities in income distribution, and a lack of genuine commitment to economic planning and discipline) that went well beyond CEPAL's earlier diagnoses, and he repeated these concerns even more urgently in his May 1963 Mar del Plata farewell speech to CEPAL. UNCTAD further convinced him that import-substitution was easily abused; without an "intelligent state" it was a double-edged sword and recipe for stagnation. The innovation of *Change and Development: Latin America's Great Task* was bringing his earlier criticisms together into one systematic analysis

with explicit links among economic reforms, social change and development in Latin America. It was a courageous break with past doctrine and a notable display of theoretical self-criticism.

Saad-filho, (2005) Structuralism and dependency theory were Latin America's first substantial contributions to political economics. In principle, Western capitals found it difficult to criticise Prebisch's attitude to markets and the state's role in the economy. Dosman (2012) From the start, critics, portrayed Prebisch as dangerously socialist, cementing his image in Washington as a radical protectionist. Throughout his tenure at the Central Bank, he developed a concept of the "intelligent state," which he defined as "a lean but robust public sector capable of establishing broad national development objectives and supporting rather than strangling the private sector's vitality." However, his practicality was immaterial. Looking back the role of public intellectuals helps to address the current economic development issues in developing world.

Key Concepts Promoted by Adebayo Adedeji and Raúl Prebisch

How is development conceptualised in a larger sense? How does development occur, and how has a lofty concept of development evolved since the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme and the coining of the term's "centre" and "periphery."? How have concept-based policies shaped practises, which in turn have impacted collective understanding and altered societal living standards? The purpose of this paper is to analyse key public intellectuals and public officials who have dedicated their entire careers fighting for interdependence by leading thinkers and practitioners who address the issue of lowering living standards globally through the adoption of fair trade. The volume's exploration of the interplay of ideas reveals some early findings, spanning from specific challenges such as poverty and inequality to the experiences of certain countries and regions. Adedeji and Raúl Prebisch have devoted their lives to conceptualising the gap between the developed and developing worlds, as well as attempting to narrow it by encouraging governments to pursue a variety of policy alternatives.

Adedeji's perspective on African development sprang out of the decolonisation ferment, the rise of the post-cold war development as planned socioeconomic transformation, and the growing absence of evidence for predominantly early post-independence trickle-down benefits (Adedeji, 2006). Adedeji's most significant contribution to development theory is arguably his vision of an increasingly 'nationalist' but increasingly integrated (and diversely) continent-of-regions, an Africa secure in itself and recognised as an integral part of the global community. Adedeji has illustrated the critical demonstration influence that skilled development administration can have on policy and planning, practise rethinking, and strategy formulation. Adedeji's significant contributions include a review of the continent's socioeconomic and political situation, examining the development paradigms currently being implemented in Africa, and an examination of African leaders' commitments to lay national, sub-regional, and continental foundations (Nagar, and Otitodun, 2010). Additionally, for socioeconomic and political transformation necessary to enable Africa's progress to surpass that of other developing areas; and to objectively examine Africa's security, governance, regional integration, and development concerns.

Adedeji's introduction of the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA); the Lagos Final Act (LFA); and the Abuja Treaty had a significant impact on reorienting policy toward resisting economic pressure from Bretton Woods institutions. According to Akani (2017), African leaders replied to what appears to be a western version of LPA in 1989 under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This was referred to as the African Alternative Framework to the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) for Socio-Economic Transformation (AAFSAP). The AAF-SAP was prompted by the adoption of SAP as an African development strategy. Adedeji was instrumental in conceptualising the field of international cooperation in order to avert the SAP's predicted economic damage to

African countries. Its significance cannot be overstated as the overall concept around which other development initiatives will revolve. These initiatives, which arose between 1985 and 1991, took as their starting point the realisation of LPA's wide goal. Additionally, Adedeji illuminated the numerous structures and institutional setups, which include the following:

- The African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) 1986–1990 in July 1985 in Addis Ababa – Ethiopia.
- The African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programme for Socio-economic Transformation (AAF-SAP) in 1989 at Addis Ababa – Ethiopia.
- The African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (ACPPDT) in Arusha, Tanzania (1990).
- The O.A.U. Declaration on the Political and Socio-economic situation in Africa and the Fundamental changes taking place in the world –1990.

Similarly, Adedeji enlightened the need of sub-regional arrangements that eventually an opportunity into one economic society in Africa. Abuja Treaty is the perfect example for such arrangement. Lehloenya and Mpya (2016) assert that the Abuja Treaty established the African Economic Community with the declared objective of establishing a functional continental economic community by 2028. This treaty intends to integrate African economies in order to increase the continent's economic interdependence and self-sufficiency and to coordinate policies across regional economic communities RECs. While the action was not viewed as comprehensive, it was also criticised for its top-down approach and the economic integration, which do not address how and when RECs mature into fully marked integration (Kidane, 2021).

Prebisch's early emphasis on the dynamics of centre-periphery capitalism contributed to rebalancing current discussions over the benefits of free markets; yet, examining the State's capabilities were insufficient (Sprout, 1992). Historically, Prebisch was preoccupied with the heterogeneity of the organisational structure in his work. (Saad-Filho, 2005) There is a solid theoretical and historical connection between these schools of thought, partially because famous structuralists contributed significantly to the development of dependency theory in the 1960s. Despite the fact that their similarities, structuralism and dependency theory have a fundamental difference. While the former asserts that capitalist development is possible in the periphery through industrialisation and comprehensive social reforms, the latter is more pessimistic, arguing that capitalism consistently underdeveloped countries.

His highly referred work on the economic development of Latin America and its primary problems made the case that integration into the global system only allows for a gradual and irregular infiltration of technical improvement into the peripheral countries. Not all sectors have the same capacity to energise the economy, to “promote technical advancement,” as Prebisch put it (Ocampo, 2002). Prebisch's primary themes include economic integration, which he saw as extending beyond commerce to incorporate the social and political components of progress (Dosman, 2012). Indeed, CEPAL's early work in social policy and development was ground breaking under his leadership. Additionally, as the father of structuralism, he posed a challenge to orthodox economics by establishing a distinctly Latin American school of thinking and practice centred on conceptions of power and global equality.

Contributions to Knowledge as Public Intellectuals

Adebayo Adedeji and Raúl Prebisch are widely regarded as two of Latin America's and Africa's most brilliant intellectuals of their generation, and their work has received widespread attention.

They are regarded as the embodiment of regional economic integration on both sides of the Atlantic, as is the case in Latin America and Africa. These public thinkers presented a wealth of information and novel insights about the vital role of regional integration in the development of economic space and political variety. They have, however, made significant contributions to the development of new theories, societal contacts, and trading partners, all of which have benefited academics and the greater welfare of humanity, as well as their efforts to promote equality and equity.

Professor Adedeji's significant public and academic achievements have aided in Africa's development. For him, economic progress must go hand in hand with social fairness and equity, much like Prebisch (Adebajo, 2013). He is often considered as the "Father of the model of African economic unification." As far as we know, his participation in the Abuja Treaty laid the groundwork for the continent's development and economic institutions. Additionally, he played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975; the East and Central Africa Preferential Trade Area (PTA) in 1981, which later became the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in 1983 (Nagar, and Otitodun, 2010).

Therein lays Adedeji's greatest contribution to development theory. There is much more to Adedeji's contribution, however, as he has demonstrated the critical demonstration effect that the skillful deployment of development administration can have on policy and planning, as well as the reconsideration of current practise and the formulation of strategy (McGregor, 2007). He made various important intellectual contributions across disciplines because of his multidisciplinary approach. His role as an ethical and moral leader in development makes him a "key thinker" in that field. For this and other reasons, Asante (1991) recognises the role of colleagues at the UNECA in helping to formulate the concepts about African development that became firmly connected with Adedeji's as a theoretician and executive. Asante also points out how Adedeji's stint as UNECA Executive Secretary provided a crucial forum for the propagation of these ideas, pointing out that the beginning of Adedeji's ongoing challenge to conventional development thinking from an African perspective.

Raúl Prebisch was an exceptional scholar and practitioner in a wide variety of fields, but most notably for his enormous contribution to developmental economics. According to Ocampo (2001), three areas that Prebisch's thinking the first is for developing countries to recognise the role of technical progress in economic growth and the channels through which it is transmitted from the "country of origin": derived demand for raw materials; proper technology transfer, including technology embedded in production equipment; and transfer to developing countries of production branches already "mature" in industrialised countries. Second, it's impossible to look at developing countries' dynamics without considering where they fit in the global economic picture. Their growth patterns differ significantly from those of the world's most developed countries. Hence, there aren't any "stages of development," and the dynamics of "late development" or "peripheral capitalism," to borrow Prebisch's own word, are quite different from those of nations that developed earlier and became the "centre" of the global economy. As a third point, the international agenda is woefully short on important concerns for developing countries, such as international labour mobility or wealthier countries opening up their markets more quickly to those nations' needs; this has "centre-periphery" elements.

On the central concept of periphery economic problems that should be examined within a global framework, Prebisch's influence was prevalent. Most of his concern was that developing countries would be forced to increase their exports to acquire the same number of commodities from the developed countries (Vera, 2013). There has been far too little appreciation for the rich

conceptual contributions made by his thesis of a global economy governed by two structurally different poles (the “centre” and the “periphery”) to understanding the process of economic development, its obstacles, and sometimes disrupting effects. Ocampo (2001) the critical assessment and contributions are international asymmetries, development from within, and regional integration. International asymmetries for over two centuries, the global economy has had a propensity to widen inequities. Although emerging nations have made significant progress in industrialisation during the last half-century, global disparities persist and deepen. Prebisch calls this “development from within,” which entails reshaping the economies of peripheral countries. Endogenous processes such as establishing national human and technological capital (knowledge capital) and institutional development are now being emphasised in new discussions. The third is “Regional integration,” which Prebisch asserts has always featured an element of paradox. However, protectionist policies in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in integration processes that were confined to non-competitive areas of the local economy.

The Current Status of Economic Integration in Africa

This paper tries to examine briefly the attainment of regional economic integration based on the Adebayo Adedeji initiative such as LPA, FAL and Abuja Treaty. The purpose of reviewing an idea’s theoretical and practical aspects is to determine where and what aspects of the concepts should be revisited in the future. In the context of a development project, one of which is the evaluation of citizen participation in matters relating to regional economic integration across Africa, using both a top-down and a bottom-up approach, respectively. It is also vital to examine the extent to which regional integration affects ordinary residents’ lives. It then aims to present an analysis of what this means for the African continent due to these developments.

There is enormous potential for regional economic integration in Africa to provide more solid and fair economic growth while also helping to alleviate poverty and unemployment. Kayizzi-Mugerwa, Anyanwu, and Conceição, (2014) as a powerful vehicle for promoting product and export diversification, regional integration offers African countries an opportunity to address a significant constraint on export competitiveness imposed by the small size of their national economies and geography/transport costs, thus increasing their countries’ growth and development prospects. Though, the current approach for African economic integration falls far short of its original objectives. Although African states have made significant progress in economic integration, there are still many challenges, including a lack of funding for the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and human resource issues and inadequate planning. Adebayo Adedeji also pointed out that the capacity constraints on socio-economic disparities still exist in many African countries (Nagar and Otitodun, (2010).

Since then, Adedeji has maintained his position that regional integration should be viewed as a tool for national survival and socio-economic change. Although Adedeji advocates regional integration, organisations like ECOWAS, COMESA, and ECCAS have failed to meet their integration targets. In 2012, less than 10% of Africa’s trade was handled within the continent’s own countries (Adebajo, 2013). African leaders have mostly overlooked the importance of political support for economic integration and progress. They are unwilling to relinquish sovereignty over collective benefits yet lack the domestic discipline necessary to implement sub-regional and regional accords. Failure of the economic integration process can be attributed to a wide range of factors, the most important of which are the current catastrophic economic conditions as well as a lack of trust in supranationalism, overdependence, operationalisation gaps, and a lack of international negotiating power. The omission of the legal foundation, representation, mandate, structural formation, and responsibility between member states, RECs, and the AU

is critical from a unification standpoint (Jiboku, 2015). The African Union's governance system and its accompanying organs must be severely scrutinised. The AU, as an intergovernmental structural organisation, has left unresolved the question of why they have been unable to develop effective and direct representation. Numerous assumptions are made to some extent, such that the organisational structure of RECs is not consistent and that the diversity of membership leads to more substantial collateral harm or unforeseen repercussions for the AU.

The existing REC structure is deficient in governance approaches suited for African states' political, economic, and sociocultural situations; also, a paradigm shift is required to ensure effective and efficient service delivery to citizens (Kidane, 2018). Inadequate coordination between the AU, RECs, and national governments creates a conflict of interest that creates crucial hurdles such as maladministration, financial mismanagement, and insufficient policy harmonisation. Postcolonial Africa sought to undo the legacies of European division and rule, as well as to reclaim and rethink the African people's unity; African nations that emerged postcolonial inherited inadequate infrastructure, inexperienced leadership, and a fragmented political and historical conscience (Dinka & Kennels 2007:6). The colonial history clashed with indigenous wisdom, experience, and centuries-old knowledge. Postcolonial Africa faced significant obstacles on two fronts: the first is the psychological harm perpetrated by invaders. The second is adherence to colonial boundaries via the OAU charter, without regard for the larger goal of continental union. These factors contribute to Africa's lack of global competence and development capacity to help its citizens.

Africa's Development and Underdevelopment Challenges in the Context of Regional Integration

Discourse on development in Africa is intertwined with the position of Africa in the global political economy. Sponsors and social scientists continue to debate the plague of underdevelopment in the African continent. These debates are centred on thoughts to discover appropriate governance models that can transform the socio-political economy of the continent. Despite individual countries in Africa conducting different developmental schemes to promote development, the level of growth in the continent continues to move at a slow pace. Development theory has shifted from a resolute focus on capital accumulation toward a more compound understanding of the organisations that make development possible (Evans 2004). It is generally perceived as a development of people's way of life, which is common among various discourses on postcolonial Africa. Olukoshi (2006) describes development scholars as "high priests" or "policymakers" on African issues. According to McLean (2012), 'developmentalism' outlines the Post-World War 2 economic theory and thinking styles. It focuses on debates surrounding the developmental states and world economic growth. Under-development in Africa is caused by many factors such as relying on primary exports, insufficient capital, inadequate basic infrastructure, political conflicts, unstable government, and predominance of corruption in governance (Mkandawire, 2001b). The 1980s witnessed severe economic crises within the continent, basically on food, education, and health. However, the Bretton Woods Institutions came to Africa's rescue by reversing the debt of 250 \$ billion, which led to Africa's unsustainability and significant cuts in these several sectors. The Bretton Woods Institutions was a joint formation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to assist individual countries in rebuilding and promoting international cooperation. Each year, member countries meet annually in New Hampshire in the United States to debate global financial issues. In collaboration with the Bretton institutions, the World Trade Organisation establishes basic rules and policies on commercial and economic relations. To date, the institutions play a vital role to provide solutions that coordinate, monitor, and regulate Africa's development activities. Bretton institutions further established and initiated the 'Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs)' to promote macro-economic stabilisation,

privatisation, and free-market development (Heidhues, & Obare, 2011). The impact and progress of SAPs continue to be an issue of debate within African countries and their development plan. Advocates of SAPs encouraged reformation in all African economic structures. At the same time, critics argued that SAPs did not pay detailed attention to the continent's institutional weakness and social dimension of development. SAPs were established to address African countries' fundamental challenges and economic development, such as weak governance in the public sector (Heidhues, & Obare, 2011). The public sector's inadequate management has led to great loss in the public enterprises and Africa's investment and operational costs.

Furthermore, there is the issue of over-valued exchange rates, inefficient resource allocation amongst many (World Bank 1981). However, SAPs failure has been reflected in the development and challenges in Africa, emphasising the need for a new approach towards its development. Hence SAPs has been restructured to address the continent development agenda. Programs such as Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals are part of SAPs structured proms to attain these objectives (Heidhues, & Obare, 2011).

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) has continually encouraged African states to integrate their economies into sub-regional markets to form one Africa-wide economic union (Mkandawire & Rodriguez, 2000). The need for regional economic integration transcends within the OAU, from the Summits in Algiers in 1968, Addis Ababa in 1970 – 1973 and 1977 at the Summit in Libreville. Part of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) initiative in conjunction with the U.N Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) was the Lagos Plan of Action, which was set to ensure a successful regional strategy for African development (Adedeji, 2002). The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Lagos Final Act (FAD.) arose from a pressing need to develop an African social and economic order focused primarily on making full use of the region's resources to create a self-sufficient economy for the continent of Africa. The aim further involves promoting economic growth in each African State in most structural levels, including food and agriculture, industry, and environmental and energy matters. These goals are targeted towards a specific timeline in achieving the economic planning of each sector.

To achieve the aim, all African heads of state acknowledged the joined efforts to attain these goals. They pledged to individually and jointly overcome any obstacles that may confine the progress of these developments and advocate for international support to fulfil the vision. The gathering of more than 50 African independent and sovereign states made a landmark as it recorded a joint agreement between African states with different goals and achievements coming together to a deal on a particular development approach. This plan became the regional approach of economic decolonisation within the African region. However, despite the agreement, the continent witnessed the most adverse financial crisis five years after the Lagos-plan action (Adedeji, 2002).

Since 1980, there has been a continuous decline in the output of resources on goods and services and all productive sectors. Even though increased growth was witnessed in Africa's population, the low growth rates in food production continue to affect the African economy's per capita growth rates. Hence, the Lagos Plan of Action made the creation of regional organisations such as the East African Community (EAC), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS), Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Preferential Trade Area (PTA) initially established by the UNECA vision between the 1970s-1980s the centrepiece of the grand strategy for self-reliant development (Adedeji, 2002). The UNECA vision was to advocate for the economic collaboration of African states with a standard external tariff, free movement of people/goods and implementing macro-

economic policies on fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policies amongst member states. The plan acknowledged that, given the small size of African domestic markets, regional organisations would enlarge market size via the protection of infant industries and the attraction of foreign direct investment (OAU 1980).

The RECs arrangement and duplication of memberships

The Regional Economic Communities comprising individual African states in subregions to achieve greater economic integration became the building blocks for African Union and a key strategy in implementing the 'New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Adesina, 2002c). Since article 88 of the Abuja treaty stipulates the progressive integration of the R.E.C.s, the full continental economic integration with a protocol between R.E.C.s and A.E.C.s came fully into force in 1998. However, the existing structure of the R.E.C.s was deemed faulty, and arrangements were made to duplicate memberships due to overlaps of all the RECs membership. The overlaps in membership created duplication and competition in different activities, placing additional burdens on foreign affairs personnel who are already stretched and exhausted. Hence at the Maputo summit in 2003, a new protocol draft was set between the African Union and the R.E.C.s in the continent, adopted at the 2007 summit in Accra. The new protocol aims to harmonise and ensure compliance with the Abuja treaty and Lagos plan of action within the time frame stipulated by member states. The table below presents the names of the RECS recognised and those that the African Union does not recognise.

Table 1.1: RECs Membership in the Continent

RECs Membership recognised by African Union	RECs Membership not recognised by African Union
Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC)
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA/WAEMU)
Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN_SAD)	Economic Community of the Great Lakes countries (CEPGL)
East African Community (EAC)	Indian Ocean Commission (IOC)
Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)	Mano River Union (MRU)
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	Southern African Customs Union (SACU)
Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR/CIRGL)
Southern African Development Community (SADC)	Senegal River Basin Development Authority (OMVS)

Source: (Kidane, 2018)

Amongst the recognised RECs by the African Union, the most developed are ECOWAS, SADC and EAC to date, the remaining existing RECs do not have clear objectives on long-term continental integration or intent of acknowledging regional concerns that override African union imperatives (Mulat, 1998).

Looking at the various development plan set over the years, there is a common consensus between the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), the FAD. and the Abuja treaty. All the goals and objectives are the same and are still being pursued to date. We can say NEPAD is an extension of the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Abuja Treaty (Adesina, 2002c). The Constitutive Act of the African Union

indicates the union's premise as being centred towards implementing the Abuja Treaty to promote the socio-economic development of Africa and overcome the challenges posed by globalisation. Hence the Abuja Treaty is legally an integral part of the OAU charter (Adesina, 2002c).

Bretton Woods Institutions and Structural Adjustment Programs SAPs Impact in Africa

Post-World War II economic development relied on the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions (BWIs), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Their objectives were to aid in the reconstruction of the post-war economy and to foster worldwide economic cooperation. However, criticism of these institutions has come from developing countries and academia. According to Adebajo (2013), critics of the Bretton Woods institutions, numerous African countries are in such deep debt that they could never be able to repay it. Additionally, emerging countries bear the brunt of the prescription and loan demand. These organisations do not provide adequate financial support for strategic development areas such as industrialisation, which is necessary for poverty alleviation. As a result of its "neoliberal" economic policies, the Bretton Woods institutions have been the target of heavy criticism for decades. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has come several criticisms for pressuring bankrupt governments all over the world to liberalise their markets and undercut labour laws.

For an extended period, the Bretton Woods institutions and the impact of SAPs on Africa's economy, political, and social contexts have been inextricably linked. As a result of the Bretton Woods institutions' determination to claim success stories from SAPs despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Adedeji has been highly critical of them. In spite of the SAPs being implemented since 1980, he noted that Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) had declined from 2.7 per cent to 1.8 per cent by 1988; investment ratios had fallen from 20.6 per cent to 17.1 per cent; budget deficits had increased from 6.5 per cent to 7.5 per cent of GDP; and the ratio of debt service to export earnings had increased from 17.5 per cent to 23.4 per cent (Adedeji 2004: 276). On the other hand, the worry was expressed about the continent's trade degradation, which continues to be harmed by the acts of international financial institutions in general. By 2010, Africa's contribution to world trade had decreased from 5.6 per cent in 1980 to barely 2.1 per cent in 2010. As a result, trade must take precedence over all other agenda items on Africa's regional integration agenda (Nagar and Otitodun, 2010).

Adedeji has developed a reputation as a pragmatic economist who is more concerned with resolving problems than with adhering to ideological constraints. His most bitter ideological clashes were at the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He played a key role in the ECA's 1976 "Revised Framework of Principles for the Implementation of the New International Economic Order." (2013) (Adebajo, A.). There was no mechanism under the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement for resolving persistent payment imbalances between countries, which resulted in the establishment of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Africa's "brain drain" is a case in point, as it has been highlighted as a result of nearly two decades of incorrect advice from Bretton Woods institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which have pushed African governments to cut spending on education and health care (Nagar and Otitodun, 2010). As a result, Africa is home to some of the least fruitful scientific endeavours on the planet. The continent's research, scientific, and technological shortcomings must be addressed as quickly as feasible. Additionally, human potential development is critical, which can be accomplished through the use of culturally relevant and people-centered approaches to training and youth leadership development, among other activities (Nagar and Otitodun, 2010).

"Growth without development," as advocated for by the Bretton Woods institutions, as well as the export and industrial-led integration of African states into the world economy on unequal

conditions, are incompatible with the development of the continent. Adedeji, Instead, emphasised the need for Africa to utilise its own resources in order to generate more intra-African wealth, with agriculture being the primary priority in this regard (Adebajo, 2013). The two Bretton Woods institutions would eventually abandon some of their economic orthodoxies in Latin America and Africa and heed Prebisch and Adedeji's warnings, but frequently only after significant socioeconomic damage had been done. Both individuals opposed neo-classical economic theory and were often mischaracterised as "dangerous radicals" by critics.

Impact of the LPA and the Abuja Treaty on the African Economy Integration

Acknowledging that Prof. Adebayo Adedeji conceived these three agreements, they were all his brine children. These continental frameworks needed to be discussed because of how few educated elites were pushing back against the unfair treatment of the African continent by foreign financial institutions during that time. However, Adedeji did not produce these essential documents alone; he was a vital pillar.

These policy frameworks, which were produced in collaboration with teams of African economists at the ECA and in consultation with African policymakers, reflected Adedeji's core intellectual concern with the concepts of "economic decolonisation" and "self-reliance," which he had developed during his time at the ECA. This served as the theoretical framework for the following Monrovia Strategy of 1979, the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), as well as the Final Act of Lagos (FAL), both of which were adopted in the year 2000. Adedeji, like Prebisch, was a fervent believer that economic progress must be accompanied by social justice and fairness as a *modus operandi* (Adebajo, A., 2013).

There is a broader misperception that the Lagos Plan of Action is an African continent's economic integration project, which it is not (Kidane, 2018). The UN-ECA conceptualised the Lagos Plan of Action, which was subsequently sponsored and endorsed by the OAU. The plan's objective was to strengthen Africa's self-sufficiency in order to facilitate the continent's economic development between 1980 and 2000. The strategy aimed to limit Africa's reliance on financial institutions backed by Western countries by increasing Africa's natural resources.

However, the Abuja Treaty aimed to promote the African continent's social, economic, and cultural growth through gradual economic integration through the establishment of regional economic communities (Kidane, 2021). Nonetheless, critics of the Abuja Treaty assert that it lacks a structure outlining how and when the economic integration scheme will be implemented, except for general suggestions. The Abuja Treaty main objective was the formation of the African Economic Community (AEC). The final Abuja treaty was signed on 3 June 1991 and entered into force in May 1994. According to Adesina (2002c), the aims of the "Abuja Treaty" did not convert into the idea of such a mechanism being adopted or operating outside of standard OAU organisations. Lehloenyana and Mpya (2016) are another important African integration endeavour. While signatories to the Abuja Treaty have agreed to fostering the growth of the African Economic Community, the legal framework, like the LPA, has some inherent limitations that have slowed development in this area.

The commitments of the Lagos Action Plan in 1980 were made concrete in Abuja in June 1991 when the OAU Heads of State and Government signed the treaty that established the African Economic Community. This treaty was tagged the "Abuja Treaty" at the 27th gathering of the OAU, the full implementation was enforced in Africa in May 1994. Like the previous initiatives, the Abuja Treaty was set to establish an African Economic Community (AEC). The aim is to "promote economic, social and cultural development, as well as African economic integration, to increase self-

sufficiency and indigenous development and create a framework for development, mobilisation of human resources and material". The second goal of the African Economic Community (AEC) is to further promote continental cooperation and development in all aspects of human activity, which improves the standard of life of Africa's population, maintains economic stability and promotes close and peaceful relationships amongst member states.

The Abuja Treaty encouraged continental integration by emphasising the development of the production sector to increase the intra-African trade (Lehloenyana and Mpya 2016). The third goal was to develop and diversify agriculture, mining, and industry in Africa's productive base to increase locally produced goods and services that motivate intra-African trade flows. Hence, the Abuja treaty key objectives are centred on three key issues: integration, rehabilitation and modernisation of the continent's infrastructural network, building a more economical and practical intra-African transportation and communications system.

The Abuja Treaty provides the African Economic Community with the mandate to set up a gradual process, in 6 stages over 34 years, to facilitate these goals. Hence by 2028, the AEC must have accomplished the following objectives as stated in the table below/

Table 1.2: Abuja Treaty Mandate for African Economic Community.

Abuja Treaty for African Economic Community		
Stages	Year	Goals to achieve
Stage 1	Five years span	Strengthened the existing RECs and created new ones where needed
Stage 2	Eight years span	Stabilise the tariff and other obstacles to regional trading and strengthen the sectoral integration on trade, agriculture, finance, transport and communication, industry and energy to coordinate and harmonise RECS activities
Stage 3	Ten years span	Establish free trade area with Customs Union in every REC area/level
Stage 4	Two years span	Coordinate and harmonise tariff and non-tariff systems amongst the various RECs to establish an Africa's Customs Union
Stage 5	Four years span	Establish African Common Market that adopts standard policies
Stage 6	Five years span	Integrate all sectors by establishing an African Central Bank with a single African currency and setting up an African Economic and Monetary Union. The last stage also sought to create and elect the first Pan-African Parliament

Source: Dinka 2007.

All these stages provide a continental structure that coordinates the relationship between the community and the RECs. The protocol further sets to a strategy to promote closer cooperation amongst the RECs. The RECs have been encouraged to cooperate with the African Union for the easy accomplishment of the OAU Charter (Sako, 2006; Seife, 2022).

The continent has witnessed significant developments, such as establishing the African Union since the original protocol between the AEC and the RECs (Oppong, 2010). Aside from creating African Union, different organs such as the Peace and Security Council (PSC) and the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) were also made. Furthermore, the African Union initiated NEPAD as the development plan for African development and recovery. NEPAD vision is also to facilitate a regional approach to development to attain sustainable development in the continent (Kidane, 2018). Another key strategy was the creation of a memorandum of understanding centred on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa established amongst the member's states. All these initiatives are frontline by the RECs in collaboration with the African Union

(Oppong, 2010). Furthermore, the RECs ensure the implementation of these programs and projects on a regional level for planning, coordination and monitoring of the integration process (Sako, 2006).

It should be noted that the REC.s objectives and goals must be set in place for African Union to achieve its full potential (Oppong, 2010). Hence particular attention should be given to each REC to drive the policy and action in achieving regional economic development. An example was the restructuring of the SADC region to carry out the Southern African region with the development of SADC's 5-year Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) (Oppong, 2010). NEPAD initiated the RISDP plan to ensure the SADC development agenda aligns with that of the Africa Union (Adesina, 2002c). Furthermore, NEPAD commits to ensuring all African government provides good governance, remains a valuable platform for Africa's engagement and equal partnership with the global economy (Adesina, 2002c).

Impact of Africa's Regional Unification Towards the Achievement of 2063

Edoun (2015) debated that the African Union Agenda 2063 is a critical strategy in achieving the Lagos Plan of Action to reduce poverty within the continent. The plan 2063 investigates goals of 'Economic Transformation in Africa', 'Trade Development', 'Finance Regional Cooperation' and accelerating regional integration amongst African countries amongst many. However, challenges such as conflicts, insecurity, crime and drugs trade and climate change have confined achieving regional integration. Furthermore, technological change and the development of new energy sources have constrained the vision of Africa's natural resources (Edoun, 2015).

African leaders have debated and dreamed on the context of economic cooperation and regional integration. These aspirations since the 1960s are now implemented and added in the critical restricted strategic vision documents, including the newly adopted African Union Agenda 2063 "The Africa We Want" (Seife, 2021). Integration is seen as a means for promoting economic growth and sustainable development and improving the living standards of the African people (Daniel & Nagar, 2014). This notion has received slow progress despite being implemented as part of the African development initiatives. The integration structures on the regional economic communities (RECs) coupled with the building blocks of the continental integration (Mkandawire & Rodriguez, 2000). Undoubtedly, there has been immense progress in Africa. However, the level of improvement compared to the various commitments made by individual states is less effective (Mkandawire, 2001b). The continuous call for African states to establish effective strategies to ensure political and economic stability that promotes sustainable development.

African Union Heads of State and Government signed the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) in 1991, which stipulates the guiding principles, goals, and a region-wide framework on the integration plan. The AEC vision aims first to consolidate the regional economic communities that lead to free trade agreements (FTAs) (Mkandawire & Rodriguez, 2000). The vision further aims at creating complete economic communities to culminate in a common market and monetary union embracing the entire continent. African union further established other initiatives such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2000. Finally, the African Union adopted its constitutive act in 2001 (Adesina, 2002c).

This was to address the challenges arising from multiple memberships in the RECs. The main objective behind this decision is to strengthen coordination and harmonisation of RECs' policies among themselves to accelerate Africa's integration process. Other initiatives were launching the Minimum Integration Program (MIP), aimed by RECs to expedite and complete the regional

and continental integration process. The African Union also established a Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) in 2017 to initiate a plan for Boosting Intra-African Trade (BIAT). Despite all these, enforcing regional integration in Africa remains a challenge, especially at the regional level. As a result, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the AU Commission (AUC.) and the African Development Bank (AfDB) collaborated to establish a regional integration index as a measuring tool to monitor African governments progress on the vision for an integrated Africa.

Currently, there is free movement of people in Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) states with a functional ECOWAS passport that allows intra-regional travel amongst the citizens of its member states for a maximum of 90 days. The Free Movement of People and Persons in Rwanda issues visas on arrival to all African citizens at the airport; The East African Community (EAC) countries grant citizens of their member states and recognise both passport and national identity cards as valid travelling documents. Countries like Rwanda issue visas on arrival to all African citizens and, together with Kenya, work permits for East African Community citizens. The community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) allows an exemption for all diplomatic passports. Amongst other progress is the issue of financial and macro-economic integration, which led to the implementation of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU/UEMOA) and Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) with 14 countries altogether using the CFA franc (Kidane, 2018). In addition, all RECs are starting to wax strong in their infrastructure agreements in the areas of transport, energy and information and technology infrastructure. Even though the journey towards regional integration may seem long and complicated, African governments are encouraged to pool their efforts together to achieve the enormous investments needed to develop, upgrade, and maintain their infrastructure.

For example, if CFTA is adopted, it will boost intra-African trade and create a single continental market for goods and services. There is no doubt that regional integration will offer more economic opportunities in terms of investment, economic growth, production capacity, creation of value chains and trade promotion. Africa's fragmented markets need to be integrated to attract transformative investments, both from Africa and the rest of the world and assist in building competitive and more diversified economies. Despite the progress achieved by African states and regional economic communities, many African countries face several difficulties in implementing the regional integration agenda. More specifically, the weak productive capabilities, lack of technological sophistication, sufficient infrastructure, and weak institutional capacities will have to be addressed urgently. The issue of inadequate financial and human resources and difficulties concerning harmonisation of regional programs into national policy frameworks will similarly have to be tackled for African states to realise the benefits of regional integration. And so, despite the above progress, member states and the RECs need to do more to accelerate the process.

Implementation of decisions relating to regional integration needs to be strengthened at all levels, including mainstreaming them into national development strategies. Member states, particularly policymakers, should consider regional integration as part of their broader strategic development package. Regional integration decisions should be given priority during the planning stages of national programs and strategies. Monitoring the implementation of these decisions should also be taken as one of the key priorities by all the key stakeholders dealing with regional integration issues. Continued political commitment by the African leaders is critical if the continent achieves its regional integration agenda.

Conclusion

Adebayo Adedeji and Raúl Prebisch are widely recognised as two of the most profound minds of their generation, as well as the embodiment of regional economic integration on both the

African and Latin American sides of the continent. For their respective regions, both have served on the United Nations Economic Commission. In the same way, they have attacked the unequal distribution of income and the unfavourable conditions that contribute to underdevelopment in both sections of the world. A generational obligation, both fought in the intellectual sphere and brought conventional opinion to insight the idea of national development philosophy to be developed rather than adopting the global blanket prescription for underdevelopment problems. Thousands of young intellectuals and activists on both continents shared their viewpoint as a result of their influence on regional, academic, and political institutions. As public intellectuals, Adedeji and Prebisch shared a wealth of expertise and unique perspectives on the importance of regional integration in generating economic space and political differentiation. They chastised the Bretton Woods institutions for their desperate attempts to claim success stories from SAPs despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, but he also criticised western institutions for their growth without development.

The idea of “home-grown” development and self-reliance theories built on the specific experiences of Latin America and Africa. The concept of regional economic integration and development ideas, was championed by both Prebisch and Adedeji who had a keen political understanding of what regional governments would support. Even today, considerable structuration, that is, institutional and structural work is necessary for developing countries to fulfil their development goals. It is essential to formulate relevant instruments for active production policies in light of the fact that previous intervention has failed countries not meet their demand as required; however, rather than destroying the existing frameworks, better to reform through time. Apart from that, economic, social, and political integration opens up a variety of options, particularly for countries on the global economy’s periphery. By concluding agreements on cultural affairs and education, several of which are connected with the early stages of integration, a small step toward a more complete integration agenda focused on social development has been taken. Effective integration of the sustainable development agenda places new demands on production processes, which are critical given the economic issues currently confronting the developing countries.

Africa’s underdevelopment reflects the continent’s precarious economic status and absence of intra trade development and sound policy that speaks local realities. Underdevelopment has manifested itself in African governments’ growing incapacity to provide the bare basics of life, as evidenced by their increasing inability to care for their citizens’ basic needs. Africa is suffering from underdevelopment and poverty to an even greater extent due to a scarcity of financial, human, material, and natural resources. Hunger, unemployment, disease, illiteracy, socioeconomic concern, and insecurity tend to overwhelm the mass of the population, resulting in widespread discontent, alienation, and befuddlement. How to make such existing issues go away from both sides in order to have a better understanding of the issues surrounding regional integration and growth, Prebisch and Adedeji have traversed their respective continents extensively. Both were long-term thinkers who had a better grasp of the future than the leaders they advised. Both prophets, however, failed to realise their prophecies in the end: Neither Prebisch’s nor Adedeji’s vision of an African Common Market came to fruition, and neither has Prebisch’s. The intellectual “Father of African Integration” was widely regarded as Adedeji, whereas the intellectual “Father of Latin American Integration” was Prebisch. In opposing Western-dominated conventional knowledge, both men were able to win the support of their respective areas by engaging in spirited policy debates with far more powerful opponents. Even though they became historical heroes, in the end, they were tragic prophets whose visions for regional unification and growth mainly were not carried out.

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