

**UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE**

**FAKULTA SOCIÁLNÍCH VĚD**

Institut politologických studií

**Daria Levchenko**

**The success or failure of integration process in  
Sub-Saharan Africa**

*Diploma thesis*

Prague 2014

Author: **Daria Levchenko**

Supervisor: **Mrg. Martin Riegl, Ph. D.**

Opponent:

## **Annotation**

The Diploma thesis „The success or failure in Sub-Saharan Africa" deals with a topical issue of the integration process in Sub-Saharan Africa. For the last couple of decades, the whole world was under the influence of the integration. The popularity of such economic blocks as the European Union, NAFTA, ASEAN and others lead to further interest in this field.

Therefore, it is quite obvious that other countries and regions started to think about similar way of the development, and Sub-Saharan Africa is also among them. The process of integration has started at this continent long time ago, half a century. Ever since countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa gained independence, they started to build their own blocks (communities). Decades of colonial periods, struggle for freedom, the final gain of the independence, and now fight for building united and strong Sub-Saharan Africa, all these made footprints on the integration process at Sub-Saharan Africa.

Therefore, it makes this topic such useful and interesting for analyses. In Master Thesis, I examine the idea of integration and regionalism, its development, how did it evolve through history in the Africa continent. Moreover, this Thesis deals with main integration organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa, which problem's integration has on its way, and general results of it onto wellbeing of Sub-Saharan continent.

## **Keywords**

Integration, globalisation, regionalism, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), development, developing countries, “slum population”, “the poorest billion”, “Core vs. Gap”, stability, growth, Free Trade Area (FTA), Customs Union, Common market, Economic and Monetary Union, Political Union, Preferential Trade Area, transformations, European Union (EU), territorial organisations, GDP growth, poverty headcount ratio, “the third world”, regional organisations, regional economic community (REC’s), “development concept”, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD), The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), The Central Bank of West African States (BCEOA), The West Africa Development Bank (BOAD), Southern African Development Community (SADC), West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), African Union Authority – AUA, member-states.

## **Declaration**

1. Prohlašuji, že jsem předkládanou práci zpracoval/a samostatně a použil/a jen uvedené prameny a literaturu.
2. Souhlasím s tím, aby práce byla zpřístupněna veřejnosti pro účely výzkumu a studia.

V Praze dne 13.05.14

Daria Levchenko

## **Poděkování**

I would like to thank, first of all, my Supervisor Mrg. Martin Riegl, Ph. D, for all his advises and support, which he gave me during the writing of my Thesis. Also, I want to thank all teachers and Professors, from Charles University in Prague, they have been a great inspiration to me.

## Table of Contents

<b>ANNOTATION.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>KEYWORDS.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1. PART I. CONCEPT OF REGIONALISM.....</b>	<b>12</b>
1.1 GLOBAL REGIONALISATION AND REGIONALISM THEORIES .....	12
1.2 DEFINITION OF INTEGRATION PROCESS.....	15
1.3 GEOGRAPHICAL TRANSFORMATIONS.....	20
1.4 WINNERS WITHOUT BORDERS.....	24
<b>2. PART II. SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REGIONAL ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>29</b>
2.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW .....	32
2.2.EASTERN AFRICA REGION .....	36
2.3 WESTERN AFRICA REGION.....	37
2.4 CENTRAL AFRICA REGION.....	38
2.5 SOUTHERN AFRICA REGION .....	39
<b>3. PART III. AFRICAN INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION.....</b>	<b>41</b>
3.1 REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS .....	41
3.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF REGIONALISM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA .....	42
3.3 PRESENT SITUATION WITH INTEGRATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA .....	52
3.4 REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS RESULTS.....	55
<b>4. PART IV. BUILDING REGIONALISM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA .....</b>	<b>60</b>
4.1 KEY FACTORS TO INTEGRATE SUB-SAHARAN SOCIETY .....	60
4.2. HEGEMONIC POWERS.....	65
4.3 IMPACT OF THE EXTERNAL FACTORS.....	71
<b>5. PART V. FINAL JUDGEMENT .....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>LIST OF ATTACHMENTS.....</b>	<b>99</b>

## **Introduction**

For Master Thesis, I have chosen the topic about making a judgment whether the integration process in Sub-Saharan Africa is a success or failure. However, it is a very challenging and demanding theme nowadays. Moreover, I will examine whether the integration process leads to a positive change in Sub-Saharan Africa, or not. Whether it helps the region to develop the economy, to solve all issues and become a new leading world player.

The term "globalization" is quite widespread today. In Thesis I will explain the general idea of this term, moreover, I will examine it with the correlation to another valuable concept such as regionalism. I will use the political science definition of these terms stated by Louise Fawcett, because the subject of my Thesis means that I will be dealing with issues from this field.

In the modern world we live with the facts of economic, political and security cooperation between countries. All these changes in the modern society are the results of the historical actions. In my thesis, I will use the concept made by Fawcett about Three Waves of Regionalism, in order to describe and study how does it refer to SSA area, and whether this area followed similar ways to the development of integration.

In this Master Thesis, I will study, analyse and make judgments about the different integration process in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Firstly, I will go through general information, the basic definition of globalization and regionalism. Moreover, I will guide you through different theories of regionalism, such as systematic theories; neo-functionalism and neo-liberal institutions theories and other. In the first chapter, we will deal with main steps and requirements to fulfil the goals of integration. After that, I will examine a transformation in geography, which made the globalization process possible.

In the second Chapter, we will find a deep study of the regions in SSA, their economic, political and social situation. Using the data provided by the World Development Bank, I have created in this Thesis Tables, which will guide us through the economic indicators in SSA. I have conducted an analysis of political, cultural, and social and health sphere in SSA regions as well, using information provided by The World Fact Book; therefore, it was organized into the Tables, which you can find in the Attachments. Thus, I was able to point out main obstacles on the way of the integration process in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Third Chapter is analysing the current situation with the regionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa. We will go through a long historical process of the formation of the different integration grouping in SSA. After a historical overview, I will examine integration organizations and their achievements or failures.

Finally, after all this information, I will be able to state in my final judgment, make my comments and proceed with recommendations.

In this Master Thesis, I stated such working hypotheses, and during the analyses of this topic the last judgment will be made in conclusions at the end of Master Thesis. The hypotheses are, as follow:

- EU case is not a model for the African continent.
- Participation of the same countries in different regional organizations could be harmful to the regionalism.
- The impact of main world political powers (China, USA) can play a significant role (help build an efficient institutional base, and so forth) for the integration process.
- In general, integration leads to positive improvements (growth of the economy, social indicators) in this area.

Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of research, I would like to organize an evaluative case study of the SSA integration process. Working on triangulation

methods, which will help me with my final judgements, I, firstly will conduct a collection of appropriate data for this topic. Then, I will examine gathered information according to a rational theory and realistic approach. The last stage of my research will be a discussion and a revival of the conclusions made after first two stages, where we will be able how does each piece of study contributed to the general analysis of the case study.

The research is a deductive theoretical study. Applying desk study of publications, official documents and research papers, I will examine main sub-regional and regional organizations in Africa; indicate strong sides and weaknesses of these organizations; compare integration process at different sub-Saharan regions. Also, likewise, will this integration process help Africa cope with current problems, such lack of stability, poor economic performance in the region. Thus, we will be able to make a conclusion on the future of the integration process in Africa.

In order to understand and be able to make any recommendations, first of all, you need to try and understand the backgrounds of the current conditions. Mainly, because what the society has today, is nothing more, that the consequence of our action from the past. Therefore, in my Thesis I used literature not just for the last decade, but older ones, as well. Therefore, we gave me the possibility to compare what scientists thought about integration then, and what they do now. In order to make sure, my judgements are based on a reliable data, I used it from such sources as The World Bank Official Website, The World Development Report, IMF data, etc.

Two authors had the greatest impact on my work. It was the P.F. Gonidec, and his works Political science of international relations, 1977, African Politics by P.F. Gonidec, 1980. So the second one was Fawcett Louise. Moreover, I would like to highlight a fascinating and useful book written by Paul Collier, "The Bottom billion." This book has a close correlation with the topic of my Master Thesis. Another very useful and significant book was written by Hazlewood, A. «African Integration and Disintegration." It gave me lots of materials to think about, and also made me reconsider everything I know about integration in Sub-Saharan Africa



## **1. Part I. Concept of regionalism**

The Global regionalization of social, economic and political spheres of human life is a major issue in nowadays-modern era; it is directly connected with the processes of universal and general forms of cooperation and development in the world. Transition of the world communities to model of a safe and sustainable development follows to consider as an objective tendency of the solution of the global problems and alternative to self-destruction. Therefore, scientists focus so highly of the understanding the development of the integration process.

Moreover, we need to define and understand what does regionalism means itself. Therefore, I will follow the definition of Louise Fawcett, which wrote: the original concept of regionalism can be described as “the policies and practices of state-based permanent organizations with membership confined to a limited geographical area” [Fawcett, 2012:4]. Moreover, he stresses the importance of regionalism for new emerging powers for gaining the influence on their regions and life in general. Going a bit further, Fawcett stresses: “Regionalization is a related term, which is sometimes used interchangeably with regionalism, but it refers rather to an increase of regional interaction and activity: regionalism refers to policies and projects, regionalization refers to processes.” [Fawcett. 2012:4]

### ***1.1 Global Regionalisation and regionalism theories***

In this regard, there are so many researches, theories that get today especially practical value. Thus, from the most productive directions of the realization of an idea of a safe, sustainable development can speak about two: global and regional. Speaking about the global model, we should percept that it creates its new model on the basis of judgment and search of solutions of global problems of universal character. In to the basis of a regional model – the concept of the area is the central point, since an existing global problem creates more or less uniform field of

dangers and threats not only for a presence of all mankind, but also for everyone the region separately, despite all its specificity.

Apparently, global and regional approaches reflect dialectical unity of a particular class of the contradictions, which human society faces at the beginning of the 21st century. All variety of the arising global problems could be solved at regional level in compliance with unique features of the region. In the most general overview, it is possible to assume that globalization is not only radical transformation, which takes place before internationalization processes in economic, cultural and political life of mankind, their sharp acceleration and deep high-quality transformation, but begun transition to the brand-new (then the state) social and territorial "units" - either on a global, or regional scale.

Now, I would like to specify different theory approaches to regionalism understanding. Scientists have conducted their research at three different levels, such a systemic, the regional level and the domestic level. Therefore, it has resulted in three different methods for studying regionalism.

First one, are systematic theories. There are two branches in it, the neo-realistic theory and theories of structural independence and globalisation. The most significant features of neo realistic theories, it could be named, the outside-in looking approach, which could be interpreted as a response to the power-political pressure. Thus, regionalism can be corresponding to a term of the politics of alliance formation, for preventing a threat from outside. This theory has given us such important ideas as power of a Hegemon in the regionalism process and "bandwagoning," which I find very valuable for the judgement about the integration process in SSA. However, at the same time neo realism did not pay much attention, in own studies, for regional economic integration. Speaking about theories of structural interdependence and globalization, they, otherwise, "evolves around the changing character of the international system and the impact of

economic and technological changes” [Fawcett, Hurrell, 2000:46]. These theories follow the next statements, which TNC (Transnational companies) can result in the further regionalism development, but under the conditions of convergence of interest among them and states. The globalization process resulted in problems, which could be solved just under the demand of collective resolution. Moreover, regionalism can propose the answers to these issues by creating regional authorities for solving it.

Second one, are neo-functionalism, neo-liberal institutions and constructivism. All three theories use the correlation between regionalism and interdependence.

Neo-functionalism sees the development of regionalism in the establishing of the supranational institutions, which will lead to the most effective ways of resolving problems. However, in order to achieve the goal of the creation of a supranational institution, there should be implied centralized technocratic management. This theory sees the institutions, as main issues to focus on, while the factors of existence of integration are less valuable, if not forgotten.

The neoliberal institution theory states, “Increasing levels of interdependence generate increased ‘demand’ for international cooperation. Institutions are viewed as purposefully generated solutions” [Fawcett, Hurrell, 2000:61] for occurred under the globalisation problems, and they do not see as a threat to the state authorities.

Constructivism is a bit different theories, to previous ones, mostly, because it is seen as sociological approach, rather than political or economic. This theory is based on understanding of regional awareness and regional identity; it can be also named as “cognitive regionalism.” It will propose us to think about the regionalism as a process of belonging to shared community, with particular regional boundaries.

The third branch of regionalism theories points our attention to the role of shared domestic attributes (language, culture, and so forth). Therefore, it is important to try to define the

relationship between regionalism and state coherence; regionalism, regime type and demarcation. It can be just one sad thing that the correlation between these factors is very complex. Convergence theory argues “dynamics of regional cooperation and especially regional economic integration occur in terms of converging domestic policy preferences over regional states” [Fawcett, Hurrell, 2000:70].

Thus, all these 3 levels of different regionalism theories give us a full understanding of a complexity and depth of a regionalism concept.

In other words, we can say that nowadays-human society needs a new structural form of the social-territorial world. Therefore, this is what we can see in the regional globalisation process today.

Before we start to analyse the current situation in Africa region, according to the integration process, let us just shortly indicates what is integration generally and what main tasks do it implement in the world nowadays.

## ***1.2 Definition of integration process***

Obviously, the state existence always meant interaction with other states continually. The degree of this interaction was different. The tendency of integration represents the upper level of interaction between the states when participants of this process alienate part of sovereignty in favour of supranational bodies. Speaking about the political aspect of integration, in this sense, it is a construction of the common and unitary political community with the base of the accord between two or more states.

"Integration is simultaneously the process, and the conditions, including a tendency to replacement of the shattered international relations, consisting of the independent units, a new more or looser associations allocated with the minimum powers to make decisions in one or more areas, or in all areas that enter competence of basic units" according to P. F. Gonidec. At the

level of individual consciousness integration is urged to generate loyalty and commitment to a new association, and at a structural level – participation of everyone in its support and development."

Integration is the process of abandoning the barriers to allow free flow of the goods, people, and services among groups of states. [Economic Dictionary] However, to reach this goal, we cannot contemplate that the world will meddle in just one moment. It would be too optimistic and unreal. Thus, there are different types and stages of integration.

For geographical scales, there are universal, global, inter-regional, regional, and sub-regional levels of integration. It is important to distinguish the different stages of integration: from interdependence communications within the pluralistic international system, or aspiration to be built into the system of the civilized states before the formation of a uniform political and economic community.

Speaking more detailed about it, there are several stages of integration:

- . Free Trade Area (FTA)
- . Customs Union
- . Common Market
- . Economic and Monetary Union
- . Total Economic integration (Political Union)<sup>1</sup>

Although, scientists may name the Preferential Trade Area before FTA stage.

Speaking about the stage of uniform political union, we can say that it is rather an ideal integration and does not exist yet as a phenomenon of real practice in the system of the modern international relations. However, the most suitable sample to this stage is the EU case; still it does not fully correspond to all features of the political union.

---

<sup>1</sup> The author of the theory of the integration stages is Bela Balassa (1961)

All these steps have a characteristic, which the countries that have entered this or tight integration, need eliminate certain economic barriers are eliminated. As a result, within integration association, the general market space where free competition is developed, and under the influence of market regulators (the prices, percent and so forth) there is more effective territorial and branch structure of the production. Because of it all countries only win as labour productivity increases and expenses on customs ' control are saved. At the same time, each step of integration has peculiar features.

The free trade area – the countries participating in it voluntary renounce protection of the national markets only in relationship with the partners in this association. With the third countries, each participant of the free trade area defines own tariffs. NAFTA countries use such integration.

Customs union. Participants of the union in common establish a common customs tariff in the third countries that give the chance to protect more reliably being made uniform regional market space and it is represented on the international scene as the integrated trade block. However, thus participants of this integration association lose part of the external economic sovereignty. The similar option of integration was carried out within the European Union.

Common market. There are signs all conditions of the customs union. Besides, within common market restrictions on movement of various factors of production that increases economic interdependence of member countries of this integration association is eliminated. Thus, freedoms of interstate movement demand higher organizational level of interstate coordination of economic policy.

The common market is not the final stage of development of the international economic integration.

For the formation of mature market space it is necessary to execute the following actions:

- 1) to make identical levels of taxes;

- 2) to eliminate the budgetary subsidies to the separate enterprises and branches;
- 3) To overcome the distinctions in national legal labour and economic systems;
- 4) To unify national technical and sanitary standards;
- 5) To coordinate national credit and financial structures and systems of social protection.

Realization of these actions and further coordination of national taxes, anti-inflation, monetarist, industrial, agricultural and social policy of participants of this integration block will cause the creation of the uniform intra regional business. It is accepted to call this step of integration economic union. At this stage the uniting countries create the administrative structures capable not only to observe and coordinate economic actions, but also to make operational decisions on behalf of all international block. [The World Development Report]

Prerequisites for the highest step of regional integration of the political union are formed by the development of economic union in the countries. This regional integration provides a transformation of mature uniform business space to a uniform economic and political organism. As a result of the transition from the economic union into political mutual external economic relations of the countries participating in it, are reconstructed in the interstate. The problem of the international economic relations in the borders of this region ceases to exist.

In world's integration tendencies, currently we could see two main directions in the development of the regional groups:

- These processes activate as a result of the intensive and productive trade-economic relationship between different countries. Also, essential to know that the dynamics of these processes are much greater than the correlation with other states, which did not participate in these processes. Therefore, this tendency could be a result and the main stimulus for the developing a political level of the integration between countries.

- Regional - occur on the basis of the political efforts. It would mean that trade-economic stage of the relations is not enough anymore. So states are ready for the additional integration level. [Dzhahilov O, 2012]

But, the main point is that objectively, intensification of the economic ties and political steps will promote integration success generally.

In uncertain conditions concerning the results of a round of negotiations in Doha, the one fact is clear – the increase in a number of bilateral and regional trade agreements. This process led to the renewal of old disputes in the sphere of the international economic relations between those who support the global trade agreements, and those who prefer the regional approach. Although, in many respects, this study is irrelevant, especially for the smallest and poorest countries, in the most adverse geographical situation, such as countries within Africa and Central Asia.

One of the problems is that participants often badly understand the distinction between trade agreements and more general mechanisms of integration. Regional integration includes a set of measures, not only provide access to preferential trade, but also increase the competitiveness of the participating countries. The second reason consists in understanding that, that discussion often means a false choice between regional or global integrations.

Both types of integration, as they are necessary promote the various purposes. Regional integration provides helps to the countries in small and unfavourable trade area locations to increase production potential within regional production systems. It, in turn, allows these countries to enter the world markets.

In order to understand why these distinctions matter for economic policy, in the last "Report on world development" (WDR) The World Bank, entitled " new view on economic geography," we can find analyse of changes from the point of view of economic geography (see an insert). Development is accompanied by branch transformation, transition from the agricultural

industry to the industry and services. In the report it is claimed that developing states have to carry out also spatial transformation, that creates opportunity for geographical distribution of economic activity within the country and between countries.

The most prominent element of these transformations is regional integration. In for the strategy of regional integration to be effective, it has to consider economic geography (first of all, the sizes, a place and openness to interaction with the main markets) in each part of the world.

Consideration of unforeseen consequences of decreasing transport expenses in the twenties ' century allows illustrating a role of economic geography and the international development. In 1910, the British export was distributed among the countries of Europe, Asia and other regions practically equally. However, in the 1990th year of 60 per cent of the British export only 11 percent in Asia went to Europe. Standard economic theory variates that thanks to the general improvement and transport reduction in cost, trade with the remote territories, has to increase. However, instead, trade has extended between neighbours. [Brülhart, Marius, 2008]

### ***1.3 Geographical transformations***

The countries achieve success when they develop transformations according to parameters of economic geography:

- Density increase in the process of the growth of the cities;
- Reduction of the length of trips as workers and the enterprises come nearer to regions of bigger density;
- As well as the country's reduction of dividing factors, barriers on economic borders also enter the world markets, in order to take advantage of scales and trade in specialized production.

In the WDR, conclusion is that the transformation is drawn on these three parameters (density, distance and division). They are the extremely necessary and have to be encouraged.

These transformations, however, are accompanied by an unbalanced growth. Currently, in slums one billion people live, but a fast resettlement to the city proceeds.

“The largest slum population is in sub-Saharan Africa consists of 199.5 million (61.7%) of its urban population, following by Southern Asia with 190.7 million (35%), Eastern Asia with 189.6 million (28.2%) and Latin America and the Caribbean with 110.7 million (23.5%).” [www.worldvision.org.hk]. As we can see billions of people live in backward regions of developing states distant from the many benefits of globalization, such as the possibility of finding more job opportunities, high quality of the educational system for themselves and their children, and general benefits such as a medical system, and so forth. Among "the poorest billion" a world record high level of poverty and mortality remains, without access to the global markets, in which welfare and life expectancy of other people increase.

Concern about the provisions of these three being crossed emphasizes the need for spatially balanced growth. However, we come to the conclusion that though economic growth is unbalanced, development can still occur. Even those who begin the life far from dense economic activity can win from the growing concentration of wealth. In order that growth to be fast and benefit the general population, the governments have to promote economic integration at all geographical levels using an appropriate combination of tools — the institutes operate irrespective of the district, the infrastructure connecting different areas, and the incentives considering geography.

The explanations obtained from the new theory of economic geography and international trade, for which Paul Krugman was awarded the Nobel Prize on the economy of 2008, shed light on this problem. The First wave of globalization in the 19th century led to increasing in trade on the basis of comparative advantages. The countries exchanged goods, which they could not make themselves. Therefore, Europe delivered the equipment in exchange for bananas from Central America or spices from the Southern Asia. In the 20th century transport expenses decreased so

(provide data, stats), what even trade related goods or parts and components got economic sense. Therefore, the countries exchanged different grades of beer or parts of cars and computers. It was favourable to trade between those possessing related resources the countries that are often located nearby with each other. Such interaction between countries decreased transport expenses and changed the nature of trade resulting in a concentration of economic weight in the leading world markets. Studying the experience of successfully developing countries allows for today's developing regions to become better educated. [Krugman, 2011]

After the end of World War II transport expenses significantly decreased (data, stats), as some estimation took place, they make a half from the level of 1970. Transport "friction" (a share of transport expenses in the total cost of the shipped goods) decreased even more, as the ratio of cost of goods participating in trade and their weight increased. In the case of those means of transport where reduction in expenses and friction was smaller, quality and speed considerably increased. For example, the use of cargo containers removes an expensive and long overload, and more and more freights go air transport.

These expenses did not reduce everywhere. An economy on the transport cost, caused by scales, such as, the giant container vessels plowing the season favourable routes between North East Asia and North America, meant that lower expenses led to the expansion of trade, which lowered expenses.

Therefore, as we can see looking back at the history, developing states stood aside from this accruing and salutary process, as they did not possess production in sufficient scale and infrastructure for attraction of cheaper transport services.

Where transport expenses decreased, firms increased scales of production and specialization. The principal factor and the main determinant of growth in developing regions are intra-branch trades, parts and components. Looking at such trade, we see that it is more suitable for transportation expenses, then trade in raw materials and the final products. In the largest

markets, in the world: North America, Western Europe and East Asia — intra-branch trade makes a high and growing share of cumulative trade (see drawing). With time becoming more balanced, networks of buyers and suppliers in leading world regions are one of the main lines of globalization. Buyers of the final products can be in any area, but suppliers of intermediate production are usually located a row. Growing specialization increase trade, creating opportunities, even for some small countries. For example, Cambodia probably cannot assemble computers or cars, but can make cable or wires, which will be used on the assembly conveyors in China. Thanks to this to "vertical breakdown" the productions become possible because of the decreasing transport expenses, causing the economic growth and welfare extend in developing regions.

The recent experiences of East Asia can be explained with specialization after a decrease in transport expenses, but in other parts of the world of it did not occur. In Africa, especially, the certain countries are often too small; I mean the scale of economy, the scale of the state with the geographical characteristics. Therefore cannot provide sufficient scales and potential for attraction of investments into labour-consuming processing industry, which still is the most prestigious road to the average level of income. In these regions between the countries, essential distinctions remain. Borders in Africa are considerably less open than in the EU. These divisions interfere with favourable interaction and association of resources, which would allow for regional sources of growth, in convenient coastal areas. Therefore, the secondary effects of growth being one of the main factors of development in leading regions of the world, in such continent as Africa, practically are absent.

Firstly, let us define what, are remote countries, and in order to do that, I would like to make my judgements based on the core vs. Gap dichotomy of Barnett. According to T. Barnett, "to live in the gap is to be surrounded by significantly higher rates of the poverty. Gap countries also are less free, more violent, less healthy and more solitary. Between "core" and "gap"

countries are “some states,” which are reasonably functional states.” Moreover, Barnett argues “The Core’s political case for integrating the Gap’s regions cannot be defined by fear, but must be reflect a system-level understanding of increasingly symbiotic economic relationship that evolves between two” [BARNETT: 2004: 161]

Furthermore, the majority of the countries of the remote regions, are lagging behind, do not have the necessary number of skilled workers, local financial opportunities or the ability to provide groups of suppliers and complementary services. The most influential precondition of overcoming of these restrictions is regional integration. The purpose consists in that, to raise the production capacity of the state in the region, having provided the regional public benefits and having used advantages of specialization.

Regional integration means something greater than simple preferential trade between neighbours. It includes a number of steps, which can be undertaken on the way to the full global integration, from investments into regional infrastructure before the liberalization of regional labour markets.

#### ***1.4 Winners without borders***

The strategy of effective regional integration is not uniform for all regions of the world. The geography defines prospects of development and required tools. A common problem is dissociation — existence of low permeable economic borders. Distinctions are connected with economic density in a framework area as well as the distance to the large world markets.

Regions close to the main world markets (e.g. European country non-members of the EU, Chile, Peru are close to MERCOSUR market, and so forth): to the countries in the regions close to the world markets such as Central America and the Caribbean Basin, North Africa and Eastern Europe can carry out integration rather easily. The general institutes can help these countries to become part of the larger, more advanced markets.

*Regions remote from the world markets with the large countries.* These countries are geographically remote from the main world markets but at the same time there is a market interest in these countries, such as India, China, the Republic of South Africa, Nigeria and Brazil, for the investors. Appropriate institutes and regional infrastructure can help them to enter these markets. Examples of such regions are East Asia, and Southern Asia. However the southern part Africa and South America can be integrated also into the world economy, increasing the domestic markets and increasing specialization by means of regional institutes and infrastructure. For the smallest countries, the regional infrastructure is especially beneficial to reduce the distance to large neighbouring countries and to use these neighbours as the channel for entry into the world markets.

*Regions remote from the world markets with a small economy.* The international integration is mostly difficult when it operates within regions, which are divided and remote and do not possess the economic density of a large local economy, or struggle to use own potential. These are regions, which Paul Collier (2007), called as "the poorest billion." As direct examples of this definition, we can name Eritrea, Niger, Central Africa Republic, Burundi, and other countries in SSA, as well states in Central Asia; islands in the Pacific Ocean. As a Collier stated (2007), these countries have to deal with four main obstacles: landlocked; inner conflicts within the region; abundant natural sources and, finally, poor governance.

The better understanding of aspects of the development connected with the economic geography can help us with the development of the countermeasures, which are precisely corresponding to existing problems of the international integration.

Therefore, such phenomenon as regional integration became the main topic for researchers. Currently, the meaning of 'new' regionalism embraces such characteristics as the restructuring of borders, regions and territories; of course we should not forget about the pertinent social effect and

uncluttered dynamism, leading to the development of further studying's of peace and conflict. Thus, this can all be seen as an essential element of studies of integration. [Kitipov, 2011]

While discussing regional organizations one cannot ignore the fact that territorial closeness is quite important for the formation and well-organized relations between countries that are members of the regional group.

That is why the idea of the territorial organization is the basis of all system regional sciences. The territorial organization is inherent in any phenomena and objects, to which such are essential attributes, are location, distance and area. As well as any organization, it is possible to consider it at least as in four planes: structure, functioning, development and management.

The idea "territorial organization" is defined as operated and/or the self-organizing system of activity consisting of objects and the phenomena (the material and non-material nature), occurring on a terrestrial surface and, in particular, in a set territory (in the borders of the region considered by us or subregion). Thus, the territorial organization possesses the individualizing a particular region system features also has difficult and multidimensional structure of a monolithic area.

The systematization of research experience in the territorial organization reveals the following aspects, which can be characterized with any regional object studying.

1. Placement – localization on a surface of the Earth;
2. Territorial distinctions – differentiation of a terrestrial surface on structural and other (qualitative and quantitative) to features (so-called "distinctions from a place to a place");
3. The spatial relationships – the interposition of objects defining the possibilities of their interference and interaction.
4. Spatial (horizontal) communications – the realized relations, being expressed inflows of people, things, energy, the capital, information.

5. Territorial systems – groups uniformly (similar by nature) the objects fastened by spatial communications, standing apart from each other thinking to distinctions in intensity of communications.

6. Territorial complexes – combinations of diverse objects in a set area, fastened by "vertical" communications.

7. Territorial structures – interposition and the way a joint territorial systems or complexes. In the first case, (system) it is possible to speak about private territorial structures, for example, moving. In the second (complexes) – which are about to integrate, for example, economic division into districts.

8. Spatial processes any rather steady changes on the terrestrial surface, the developments that were characterized by a horizontal vector. Thus, it is necessary to distinguish processes at the substance and formalized levels. For example, the process of the first shot – placement, moving, and development; the second – concentration and deconcentration, polarization, stratification, and so forth.

9. Spatial morphology – form, configuration of separate objects, systems, complexes.

10. Territorial administration – measures of purposeful influence on various aspects of the territorial organization as a self-organization manifestation. Control can be exercised in both momentous bodies, and unorganized subjects, but most often the territorial administration are understood narrowly – as activity certain governing bodies. Also, accurately its look differs: the branch (management of a branch of production or social sphere) and complex (management particular territory). The system of purposeful measures for improvement the territorial organization can call regional policy.

The exhaustive characteristic of the territorial organization means covering all of the listed features, but also each of them separately. The territorial organization can be described in two systems of concepts: 1) the natural; 2) the formalization. The first deals with: cities, villages,

roads, rivers, enterprises, districts, areas, countries, and so forth; while the second includes centers, kernels, zones, axes, lines of communications, territorial systems, complexes, structures, and so forth.

The concept of the territorial organization is the basic form of methodological principles of a scientific-theoretical picture of the region, i.e. Objective unity natural and social systems that are the subject of the general regional cooperation. [Butorina, 2006]

## 2. Part II. Sub-Saharan Africa regional analysis

Before I start to analyse the integration process in sub-Saharan Africa, I would like to give the reader a more precise understanding of the general situation in Africa. Therefore, it will give a complete view on the problems, which regionalism and integration process are dealing with on the African continent. Since we are dealing with the judgement whether it is a success or failure, we oblige to define main problems and examine the ways of overcoming it.

I reckon that the integration in modern Sub-Saharan Africa has to deal with obstacles in four different spheres: geographical, economic, political and social-cultural and security (conflicts in CAR, Mali, Somalia). Thus, in my Thesis I will specify main features of each sphere, what has lead to these problems with it, and how it can intervene into regionalism in Africa continent.

For the last decades, Africa gained the reputation as the most conflict areas in the world. Indeed, since the end of the colonial period, there were a great number of revolutions, many large-scale wars, and dozens of smaller-sized conflicts. [www.fondad.org] Even more, when we speak about the poorest area in the world, the African continent will be the first to designate. The list of the poorest countries in the world based on the GDP per capita indicator, which is formed by the IMF data, is headlining by the African countries. [African Development Bank]. Moreover, this region burdens with the most difficult problems, such as poverty and hunger, challenges for the governments to implement a policy for securing political, social, economic stability, and so forth.

I think that when we are studying integration process, the geographical issues are always on our mind. Because no matter how important and valuable are economic, rational and other aspects of the integration, the geography means a lot as well, and perhaps in some cases it plays a crucial role in it. Thus, when we speak about sub-Saharan Africa, we mean the area below Sahara desert. There are 48 countries. The full list of the countries, which are part of the sub-Sahara region, can be found (See Attachments List 1)

Africa is territorially divided into five geographic regions: [United Nations Division]

1. Northern Africa — is in the widest part of the continent. Perhaps, for this reason quite considerable size have the majority of the countries of North Africa. The largest countries of this part of Africa — Sudan and Algeria — have territory larger than two million sq. km. Although, this area is quite huge, in Thesis I will not speak about it, as a one of the main players in sub-Saharan integration, since it does not belong to sub-Saharan area. But we will discuss countries from this region, because they are a part of the integration process at SSA as well

2. Western Africa — located in the South of the central Sahara also is washed from the West and the South by the Atlantic Ocean. Natural border in the east is a Cameroonian mountain.

3. Central Africa — is located in the equatorial and subequatorial widths, between the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean in the West, a watershed of Congo — Chad in the north, the East African plateau in the east and a watershed of Congo — Zambezi in the south.

4. Eastern Africa — is located in the equatorial and subequatorial widths. The most part of East Africa occupies the East African plateau. In East Africa — one of the world's largest congestions of lakes (Victoria, Tanganyika, Nyasa, and so forth).

5. Southern Africa — located in the South from a watershed of the rivers of the Congo and Zambezi. It is washed by the waters of the Atlantic and Indian oceans. Has different prevalence in a relief of plateaus and relative dryness of climate, and also change of zone landscapes of the tropical belt in the direction from the East to the West more than from the North to South.

Brief overview of each of these regions you can find in Table 2 (See Attachments). I have created this table to show general information about the territorial division in SSA. In this table, you can find the number of countries in each region; the population quantity and a change in the GDP grow for the last two years.

In this pre-chapter, I would like to specify the issue with geographical borders in Sub-Saharan Africa. As Bach D. mention in his book [BACH 1999:3], there is a question about a massive transformation of the African map. Since the end of the colonial regime, scientists thought that Africa would have some changes in borderlines between states. However, the colonial borderlines have proven their stability.

All these borders were formed to under the natural development of the continent, but under the strict control of the colonial countries. In the attachment, you can find a map, on which we could see the relationship between colonial empires and African states.

Different colonial empires brought their own regimes, their artificial border, without any correlation to the geography understanding or even cultural specifics. Therefore, it leads to different conflicts because of this. As Hazelwood said in his book "African Integration and disintegration" "inter-territorial links are fragile." The resources are chronically insufficient, which lead to the current status of a sub-Saharan region as "quasi" or "failed" states [Jackson and Rosberg, 1986; Zartma, 1995, Badie, 1992, Le Roy 1996].

Moreover, if we compare Max Weber's definition of the state, which he defines as a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory (Weber 1946). Then we would realise that it cannot be true for some countries in Su-Saharan area (e.g. Sierra Leone, Angola, Liberia or Somalia). "They are no longer the sole agency, within society, possess the monopoly over legitimate violence" [Bach 1999]

Thus, we are asking the question if it is so unreasonable to keep such borders, why then they are still in their places?

I reckon that it is hard to destroy something, which has such ancient history. Moreover, sometimes it is easier to fix old things, and then create a new one.

Therefore, the integration process should deal with all these results from the post-colonial regimes. It will not be an easy task, but if we will recall the EU case, it had to deal with the post World War II results, and that was also not the simplest task to cope with.

## **2.1 General overview**

Economic issues as we can see from the data in the Table 2.1 [Source: World Development Indicators], there are plenty of economic features to work on, yet we can observe a slight improvement in the indicators in general. Since there is a GDP increase in 0.45 trillion of Dollars USA, GDP per capita also increased slightly, changes in positive directions in the total number of population, the growth of population and other economic indicators. However, we can supervise that still such features, as mortality rate and life expectancy at birth are needed an improvement. If we compare those numbers to similar from the Europe and Central Asia, we will get such comparison as Europe and Central Asia: Life expectancy - 72 years, Mortality rate 19, GDP per capita – 6,939 US Dollars (data for 2012 year the world bank). Therefore, we can see a huge gap between comparisons of these two regions.

All countries, except for the Republic of South Africa, are developing; the majority of them are the poorest in the world, based on the poverty headcount ratio at \$1.25 a day (PPP) (48.5 % of the people in Sub-Saharan Africa lives below the poverty line) [Data World Bank]. In order to examine this question more precisely, we will study the graph of Regional Poverty Trend (see attachment). This graph 2.1 (See Attachments) shows the situation in the Sub-Saharan region for the past 30 years. Although, we can see an increase in the number of millions of poor, we also can see that the headcount ratio started to decrease since 1993.

Quite often lower start gives the chance to gather a high speed, but it does not mean superiority on the finish. We also recognize that Africa shows, in recent years, higher rates of an increase of gross domestic product than before and even higher 5.5-6% a year, than the average

world 2-3%. Meanwhile, the average annual rate of population increase in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) still twice exceeds the average world indicator in 2000-2010 - 2.3 and 1.2%. Whereas gross domestic product per capita almost by 4.4 times is inferior to the average world indicator for the same period of 1790 and 7840 US dollars on PPS respectively.

On average, from 2000 to 2010, rates of economic growth made in 15 countries of the continent were more than 4% a year. Respectively, growth rates of gross domestic product per capita increased also: with - 0.4% in 1991-2000 to 1.5% in 2010. However behind the growth of the all-African gross domestic product which has exceeded in 2005-2007 level of 5%, there were generally high world prices for export energy carriers, rate of increase of exports increased in two years by five times: from 1.1% in 2003 to 5.8% in 2005, high growth rates of the inflation, quite often overestimated national macroeconomic indicators and the inflow which has increased in the year 2000 from abroad financial resources.

There are many other economic issues in this area, which could lead to different obstacles and problems on the way of regionalisation in SSA. One of them is that in Africa quite massive amount of ground resources, however, erosion of soils accepted catastrophic character because of its wrong processing. While, water resources on the territory of Africa are distributed extremely non-uniformly. The woods occupy about 10 % of the territory, but as a result of injurious destruction their area is quickly reduced.

Political side can be described as “Changes internationally and in the region while the early 1990s broadened governance-related concerns beyond merely strengthening states’ technical and administrative capacity to include promoting democracy. The Soviet Union’s collapse removed the superpower rivalry that had earlier discouraged Western governments from linking bilateral aid to democracy (Whitehead 2003). African governments eager to attract financial assistance, therefore, faced tangible pressures to move towards more open and competitive political regimes [Clapham 1996: 187–207; Harbeson 2000].”

In the developing countries of Africa, the political power is not so socially determinate and spread in the traditional, ethnic, religious relations. The block of diverse forces in which the leading role belongs to the political elite presents the social basis of the domination. In the implementation of imperious functions participate the state and dominating parties, mass public organizations, but also traditional institutes. Originally, imperious priorities belonged to the ruling parties, arose peculiar "party state." [Alence, 2004]

Society and culture spheres have different imprints from different countries; all this made an enormous effect on Africa in general. In Africa there are millions of people, and each of them speaks in the language or at least a dialect. Of course, one may say that this does everybody in the world. However, the range of languages in the African region is amassing.

The purpose to unite people was always not the easiest thing to do. However, it will become even more complicated, if we are talking about dozens of different languages, cultures and social differences.

The detailed map of language phyla can be found in Attachment (Map 2.1). Later, in my thesis, I will drag your attention to colonial languages, as well.

The natural, cultural and ethnic variety of the African world, identity of ethnic genesis, historical destinies of its people in many respects defined specifications of cultural development of the countries of the continent. The contents, character and features of the political process are to a high extent predetermined by society type, level of its economic and cultural development, the social nature of the government, a ratio, and fight of various socio-political forces.

Moreover, the difference in religions is also quite a major factor.

Currently, there are 3 main types of religion in SSA:

- Muslim
- Christianity
- Animism or traditional African religions

Although, as we can see there are two dominate religion in Africa continent, still the belief in traditional African religion. One interesting fact, both Christians and Muslims are at the same time incorporate to some traditional African beliefs<sup>2</sup>. Thus, we can say that there are three different kinds of religion on this continent. Hence, even with all tolerance, which can be seen there, some tensions between religions still take place, because it is just natural order. However, it does not make the task for integration simpler.

Having entered the new, third millennium, the world economic system remains extremely inconsistent and, therefore, potentially conflict. On one hand, more and more actively globalization of economies accelerates social development of many regions of the world. On the other hand, it causes lots of new challenges and yet to know all the consequences, which it will lead to. However, I do not reckon that backwardness centers will lose more than they could gain from globalization.

One of such centuries of backwardness is the area of Africa to the south of the Sahara. With the variety of social problems, the region is distinctly allocated in the developing world. In Africa, the unfortunate trends in the population density are combined with terrifying poverty, and a spacious inequality in the income, the extremely adverse situation in health care, education, a high level of unemployment and the large-scale compelled migration.

Poverty, a demographic crisis, the crisis of the health system, system of education, unemployment, forced migration; this is how main social problems of Sub-Saharan Africa can be designated. Also, whether integration could help in overcoming all these troubles, I will focus on it in my Master Thesis Work.

Now, we will move on more precise analysis by each region.

---

<sup>2</sup> Source for U.S. Data: 2009 survey by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life and the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press

As I have stated earlier in my thesis, the African continent is divided into five different regions. Therefore, I have conducted a study of economics, political, socio-cultural and security spheres, according to this division. Two special types tables were created for each region. In first one, you can find economic indicators about welfare in each region. The second ones will provide the information for you about political systems and legal system in countries; describe the situation with languages and religion in the region; moreover stress border disputes between countries and other problem issues in each of regional division.

## **2.2.Eastern Africa Region**

As we can see from Table 2.2 (See Attachments), EA is a low-income level region. Only two countries in EA have an income level Upper Middle, and they are Mauritius and Seychelles, and Zambia has a lower middle-income level. But nevertheless, almost all countries show a steady GDP growth over the year 2012. The only exception is South Sudan, which showed negative GDP growth. Although, it is reasonable, since this state gained independence in 2011, and now it is battling own way for creating an independent and better state for themselves.

The number of urban population is not very high, just countries with better GDP per capita indicator show that it is at least close to the half part of the population.

This developing area still has a plenty work to do, in the fields of improving life expectancy, since it does not exceed 64 years in the countries with low income level. Moreover, we can see that the mortality rate of infants is also quite high, this means that the health care system, living conditions and, and so forth, highly need an improvement, as well. (See Attachments Table 2.2.1)

Countries in Eastern Africa, nowadays, are republics with different orientations, whether it is presided, or parliamentarian. Of course, when we analyse the legal system of these states, we can find a trend that the post-colonial countries of the British Empire, France, Portugal, and

Belgium still use mixed legal system of their previous colonies. Colonial period had a well significant influence on the language situation in the African continent. The languages of colonialist countries are official in EA states. But at the same time, there are in use many other local languages and dialects, which makes it even harder to find a common sense in building stability, in the region. Religion side in EA is represented, mostly, by Christian, Muslim and a small number of other beliefs (such as indigenous beliefs, Hindu, Syncretic, Animist).

The greatest issues of concern in EA are different border disputes and conflict between countries. As you can see from the Table 2.2.1 and Table2.2.2, each country has some claims over whether territories (Burundi and Rwanda dispute), water disputes (Malawi and Tanzania; bridge, disputes between Botswana and Zambia), several armed fighting (Uganda case) and so on. Therefore, all these conflicts are serving a high cover for trafficking in persons, illicit drugs and money-laundry services. Almost each region has at least one problem mentioned above, however, sometimes in is even all of them (Kenya and Zimbabwe).

### **2.3 Western Africa Region**

Now we will focus on West Africa region. See Table 2.3. The general economic situation is here at the stage of development. WA, as EA, has mostly low-income countries. Although, 1/3 of them reached the lower middle level, from 1,000 to 4,000 US. Dollars per capita, these countries, are Capo Verde, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Mauritania, Nigeria and Senegal. All countries showed positive GDP growth in 2012, the only exception was Guinea-Bissau. Main reasons for a reduction in the GDP growth were the coup d'état, which took place in April 2012, and the change in price for cashew nuts. Since the decrease in prices for cashew production, it meant for Guinea-Bissau the less profit to the budget. Of course, military situation with coup d'état made the economic situation even worse.

Quite important fact for the development of this area is that Nigeria is currently possessed the status of the largest economy in SSA. Therefore, we need to bear it in our minds, because it can be quite important and crucial point for the regionalism in this area.

Shifting our attention to politico-social characteristics, we can say that countries in this region are, as well as in the EA area, are different types of republics. The tendency with a legal system, which took its roots from the colonial imperials, is notable in Western Africa too. The greatest influence of this region, undoubtedly had France, since it possessed the greatest number of colonies in his region. Therefore, as an official language the greatest number of states have French, while others have English, Portuguese and Arabic.

Dominant religion here is Muslim, with Christian on second place, with a small amount of follower of traditional, indigenous and other beliefs.

Now we will concentrate on disputes in this region. After research about disputes between western Saharan states, you can see my results in Table 2.3.1 and Table 2.3.2. All countries, except Capo Verde, have disputed conflict lines, illicit drugs and trafficking in person's issues. WA region is a place for current highly debated disputes for Western Sahara.

## **2.4 Central Africa Region**

Speaking about the Central Africa region, we, firstly, have a look at the economic situation (see Attachments Table 2.4). From the data in the table, we can say that this region is characterized with significantly higher economic indicators, than previous two regions (EA and WA). Only two countries out of nine have low-income indicator, while others belong to either lower, middle, upper middle or even high (Equatorial Guinea) income level. States showed a decent GDP growth in 2012, as well as population growth in around 3%, in all countries. Moreover, when we talk about SA region, we should stress that the South African Republic has the second largest economy in SSA, and has a great influence on the whole region.

The only disturbance in this picture is the low indicators in health system situation. The indicators of life expectancy and mortality rate are rather low, this means that health system still needs further development and improvement.

Politico-social situation in CA can be characterized by Table 2.4.1 and Table 2.4.2 (See Attachments). Here, we can see that courtiers presidential republics. The languages of colonialists dominate official languages, while there are dozens of different African other languages and dialects in use. The religion in CA is represented, mostly, by Christianity and also by other indigenous beliefs.

Territorial disputes and different conflicts between countries are seen in this sector, as well. Nigeria has disputes with Cameroon over land in the Ntem River; Uganda and DR Congo have conflicts over Rukwanzi Island. And so on. Only Angola and Sao Tome and Principe have none of territorial issues. However, trafficking in persons and illicit drugs are still problems in this area.

## **2.5 Southern Africa Region**

Now we will move to the study of Southern Africa region. Economic overview can be found in Table 2.5 (See Attachments). Mostly, economic indicators are good, compared to rest of Africa. Countries belong to either lower middle or upper middle income; with GDP growth in 2012 not astonishing, but still stable enough, to name it as the positive trend. Of course, the health indicators are not at their best, this would mean that reorganization; modernization and general improvements are needed.

The politico-social analysis can be found in Table 2.5.1. and Table 2.5.2 (See Attachments). The political systems are parliamentary republics (Botswana and South Africa), presidential republics (Namibia) and two representatives of monarchy (Lesotho and Swaziland). The SA region represents, mainly, ex-colonies of UK, exception Namibia. Therefore, among all

countries in this region English is the official language. Dominant religious beliefs are Christianity with the smallest share of other indigenous and traditional beliefs.

About territorial disputes in SA, we can name the Swaziland request for parts of Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal from South Africa Republic, which was made in 2006. Also, Namibia was not able to fulfil its own plan for the construction of a hydroelectric on Popa Falls, mostly due to concerns of locals. South Africa military intervention also one of main disputes, issues in SA region, although these military units are direct toward dealing with smuggling, illegal migration, etc. Unfortunately, such problems as illicit drugs and trafficking in persons (Lesotho and Namibia) are still seen in the region.

### **3. Part III. African integration and disintegration**

In this chapter, I will explain briefly historical formation of the integration process in the African continent. After that, I will focus on naming main regional organisations, give brief characteristics of these blocks, study their goal, and, therefore, make judgements about their final results and future prospects. Moreover, in this chapter I would like to point some arguments about hegemonies role in the integration process, using the concepts provides by the Neo realist theory.

As was already mentioned in this chapter I, there are different stages on integration, and in this chapter we will examine at which exactly stage currently situated each of regional organisation in SSA. All this information will lead to the final judgements and conclusion about the topic of this MA thesis.

#### **3.1 Regional organisations**

Chapter VIII of the Charter of the UN provides the possibility of existence of "regional bodies," almost regional organizations allocated with powers on a peaceful resolution "local disputes," i.e. disputes between the states or participants of such organizations.

According to Art. 53 of the Charter of the UN, the Security Council uses where it is pertinent, such regional bodies (group) for compulsory actions under its management.

As a result, the regional organizations are urged to act as though facilitative branches of the UN and to be recognized as appropriate this group.

Three international organizations are recognized as those, namely: The League of Arab States (LAS), which has arisen in 1945 still before coming into effect of the Charter of the UN; The Organization of American States (OAS) formed in 1948; The Organization of African Unity (OAU) created in 1963.

Provision of the chapter VIII Charter of the UN about regional bodies (organizations) make sense, only in respect of the maintenance of international peace and safety by peaceful resolution of local disputes and conditions, such as disputes and conditions among the participating states.

The regional status also has a separate general political for complex organizations based on their functions, which provide the cooperation between states, located within the geographical area and interested in coordination of foreign policy, external economic communications, social, cultural and legal relations.

For recognition of the organization as the Regional Organization, it is necessary that the:

1) Spatial unity of state members, their placement in limits of more or less complete region;

2) Spatial restriction of the purposes, tasks and actions of the states - members, i.e. functional orientation corresponding to the subject structure without claims on intervention in the affairs, leaving for the regional coordination framework.

### **3.2 Historical overview of regionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa**

First of all, I would like to start with a short overview of the historical development of regionalism in SSA.

I will use three waves concept of the regionalism by Louise Fawcett (2008), in order to reach, the better understanding of regionalism processes in the Sub-Saharan Africa compared to world's integration development.

The process of the formation of sub-regional and regional organizations can be dated to the post World War Two period. The WWII has lead to mass destructions in economic, social, political fields. Therefore, just after it was over, the world's countries started to search for the

possible solutions to the current situation. Hence, as an answer to the devastating economic, political and social situation in the world, the regionalism has occurred.

Therefore, the First wave of regionalism has lasted from 1945 till 1965.

During this time, there were 3 different types of approaches to the creation of regional formations, such as:

- “Multipurpose’ institutions;
- Security alliances;
- Formations with economic scope.

The integration process is dated around 1950-1960’s in the African continent.

At this time, there was the creation of “multipurpose” organisation, named the Organization of African Union (OAU), which was the foundation base for the nowadays African Union (AU).

However, we will examine this period at a closer look.

When we study the case of Africa, we should bear in mind all these years of the colonial period. Thus, L. Fawcett can find integration processes in SSA even earlier than the First Wave of regionalism. The colonial Empires tried to bind and cooperated their lands between themselves. As an example of this, the establishment of French Equatorial Africa was dated in 1910, between four territories Gabon, Middle Congo, Chad and Oubangui-Chari. In the East Africa, in 1945 the Great Britain government stated propositions for future cooperation between inter-territorial services in this area. Although, all these actions can be seen as a preface before the more valuable and significant steps, which took place between the period of the First Wave. Each of SSA has own history of forming regional organisations.

We will start from Equatorial Africa or it can be named as well AEF (French Equatorial Africa), represented by Congo, Gabon, Central Africa Republic and Grad, by that time. As I mentioned before, it was made in FEA in 1910. This formation had strong features of the

federation. Since middle of 1950's the wave of the independence, occurred in Africa continent. But the understanding of the benefits of maintenance of old economic links, resulted in the creation of the Equatorial Custom Union (UDE) on 1st July 1959. UDE maintained all conditions for customs-union arrangements, but at the same time agreed on the establishment central administrative institutions, and further cooperation in general operations telecommunications, river transport, etc. Furthermore, in May 1960, the Union of Republics of Central Africa (URAC) has been signed, which lead to the deepening cooperation, not just in the economic sphere, but as well in defence and external affairs. However, URAC was not able to fulfil its goals. Since 1960's member-states entered the UN, as a fully independent state, and URAC has lost political bandages between member states. Hence, UDE was transformed and enlarged with fifth member state Cameroon, and in 1964 (UDEAC) was launched.

Integration in East Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania), in the colonial period, was forced by Great Britain. After WWII, in 1948 – East African High Commission was created. It took all responsibilities for the regulation of the general services, till the day when the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO) was established 1961.

Regionalism in South Africa also can be traced down to 1889; it was a custom union agreement between the British Colony of Cape of Good Hope and the Orange Free State Boer Republic. [History of SACU] The couple decades later the agreement was signed as well by "the Union of South Africa and the British High Commission Territories (HCTs), i.e. Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana), and Swaziland, South West Africa (Namibia) “was a de facto member, since it was administered as part of South Africa" [South-South Cooperation]. The most significant fact is that this agreement existed till late 1960's, so it was long-lasting custom union.

French Speaking West Africa history has a great influence over the regionalism in SSA. The precise map with countries, which belong to this area, can be found in Attachments

Map. Since 1900 France has found the overall state of French West Africa (AOF) over these territories. Thus, it can be seen as a first step in the integration process. It is important to mention, “The countries of French-speaking Africa were all members of the franc zone. Within the zone funds could be transferred within complete freedom, so that the currencies of the members were fully convertible” [Hazlewood, 1967:343]. And this could be seen as an early example of the Monetary Union stage. Of course, the transformation to the independent countries changes this organisation, as well. Firstly, in 1959 the representatives of Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger and Upper Volta signed the Council of l’Entente. One of the greatest things in this project was that it was enough successful with solving frontier disputes between member-states, especially Dahomey and Niger. In 1959, the Institut d’Emission de L’Afrique Occidentale Française et du Togo was reorganised into the Central Bank of West African Countries (BCEAO), with the common West African CFA franc currency for the member-states<sup>3</sup>.

Another important grouping in this region was Brazzaville group; it included 12 countries in 1960, such as Cameroon Republic, CAR, Chad, Congo, Dahomey (Benin), Gabon, Ivory Coast, Niger, Senegal, Madagascar and Upper Volta (Burkina Faso). March of 1961 was banded with the creation of the above stated; with the Organization of African oil Malgache for the Economical Cooperation (OAMCE). Moreover, at this time they created UAM Union African El Malgache, a protective and defensive block, and UMOA – West African Monetary Union between Cote D’Ivoire, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal in May 1962.

One more important bloc organization is the Casablanca bloc. It included Ghana, Guinea, Liya, Mali, Morocco, UAR, the provisional government of Algeria (GPRA) and Ceylon [Hezlewood, 1967:365], and was established in January 1961. This bloc had a bit different

---

<sup>3</sup> Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal

strategy to UAM. They wanted to focus on outward-looking strategy for their countries, to push their own interest in Africa and outside it, as well.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) from 1957, is a sample of inter-regional organisation in SSA, which focused not on the several states, but on the people's 'popular movements,' and moreover provide links between SSA and China and Soviet Union. However, Sino-Soviet contradictions in 1963, and amount of withdrawal of country participants lead to the failure of this organization.

Huge step in the regionalism was the creation of the Conference of Independent African States (CIAS). The main purpose of this conference was a gathering of all independent African countries in the desire for universality, a general search for co-operation in economic, political and further saving of liberation struggles. Unfortunately, this organization was not able to cope with all new emerging independent countries. Nevertheless, it gave a needed impulse for East and Central Africa to establish similar own organizations. The Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) took place. As a main aspect to solve, this organisation, decided to focus on bringing together various national movements. Later, it will give up its responsibilities to the OAU.

At the beginning of 1960's the UAM and the Casablanca bloc were two most valuable integration organisations of that time. Although, they had a tight relationship between themselves, even hostility. Therefore, such situation could not lead to a further deepening and development of integration.

Finally, in May 1963, when the Organisation of African Union was formed, these two blocks agreed to move on their contradictions and start to work together for the whole well being of the African continent.

The First Wave of regionalism in SSA can be determined by the creation of the OAU, which in future will be transformed into AU, and become the main representative of all African

countries. Also during this time, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) established in 1958, as one of five UN regional commissions with such goals as assistance in the interregional integration, support within world integration, improvement of social and economic welfare of the country's members, and so forth.

Now, we will move on to the Second wave of regionalism, which took place starting from 1965 till 1985. This period is well known as a time of the Cold War (started in 40's) time. Hard times after WWII had gone, Europe had re-emerged its strength, US and Soviet Union continued own hegemony, and this meant that the developing countries needed to defend themselves. Also, SSA was among the lists of those, who wanted to follow the success story of the EU. As a specific feature of this time, most of the regional organisations were created keeping in mind some threats, which they need to prevent. The regionalism in SSA in this time can be described under the same features.

One of the oldest customs union's SACU signed a new agreement, since the wave of independence started in Africa in 1969 the sovereign states of South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland joined the organization. Even though, all member-states have become an independent and sovereign state, the influence of the South Africa in the SACU was still much greater.

During the Second Wave of regionalism in SSA, the East African High Commission was changed, firstly into the East African Common Services Organisation, which was in operation during the 1961-1967, and after that it was reorganized to the East African Community in 1968. However, this EAC existed not too long. The disagreement between member states concerning numbers of seats in decision-making organs; difference between economic systems in Tanzania and Kenya, all these lead to the breakdown of the bloc.

UMOA decided that in order to fulfil own objectives, it needed to form a regional financial institution, therefore, the Bank of African Development (BOAD) established in 1973.

In September 1976, Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire, agreed on establishing the Economic Community of the Great Lakes States organization (GEPGL). For the next decade, this organisation will be one of the major players in the creation of nowadays REC's.

Starting in 1977, seven<sup>4</sup> South African countries were negotiating a common sub-regional treaty, which lead to the creation of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 between 9 member-states<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, it was a movement toward economic liberation.

The integration trends in Southern and Eastern Africa got further development during this time. The ECA stressed the importance of the cooperation between these regions, which lead to gathering in 1978 for further discussion in this field. Thus, the work on the sub-regional economic community organization had started. "The "Lusaka Declaration of Intent and Commitment to the Establishment of a Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa" (PTA) and created an Intergovernmental Negotiating Team on the Treaty for the establishment of the PTA" [COMESA Official website] can be seen as the first step on the way to building COMESA block. Since 1981 PTA has been in operation.

One of the most fundamental documents for the further development of the regionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa was the ratification of the Lagos Plan 1980-2000, adopted by the AOU. This plan combined within itself lots of the crucial points and targets for developing independence, growing Africa.

I reckon that an important aspect in this wave was that this period characterized by the creation and transformation of, mostly, economic organizations. However, Indian Ocean Commission was established as well during the Second Wave in 1982. This intergovernmental organization combined Comoros, France (Reunion islands), Madagascar, Mauritius and

---

<sup>4</sup> Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia

<sup>5</sup> 7 stated above plus Malawi and Zimbabwe

Seychelles. Their main fields of interests are protection of the environment, improvements for development of tourism, strong emphasis for defence of cultural heritage, and so forth. Different world's leading integrated organizations, such as European Commission, World Bank, UNESCO, UN-AIDS, are the founding institutions for different projects, operated by the CIO.

During 1983-1984, CEEAS-ECCAS was established between Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, the CAR, Congo, Gabor, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe and Chad. The main objectives of this organisation are reaching the well-balanced cooperation, but at the same time independent approach for further growth of each economy and society of member-sates, and the whole region in general, as well. This organization had to face different obstacles on the way of the integration, such as financial, conflicts within the Great Lake area, war in DR Congo.

1985 was a year of creation of such an important bloc as ECOWAS. This organisation continues its growth and development nowadays. The leaders from UDEAC, which was created during the First Wave, agreed to create a wider economic bloc. The treaty was signed on October 1983, between UDEAC and GEPGL and the organisation started to function in 1985.

Therefore, the Second Wave of regionalism in SSA ended with a decent background for further development of regionalism in SSA.

Right now, we are going to examine the Third Wave of regionalism, which took place since 1985 till nowadays. As we know, this period was well known for the end of the Cold War. But since the danger of the Cold war disappeared, the trends in regional integration moved even more for the security issues, hence the vulnerability of the regional state security became main question today. But at the same time, this wave brought us absolutely new ideas about “the renaissance of ideas about the possibilities of universal institutions and projects and the fostering of global peace” [Fawcett, 2000:9]

Since the Second wave showed a high rating of the survival of different regional organizations, the Third one intended to bring reorganization and changes to existing ones. Regionalism in SSA followed all this trend of the Third wave. Just straight after the Third Wave hit the world with new re-approaching to regionalism understanding, in SSA, in countries from the eastern part decided to create the Intergovernmental Authority on Droughts and Development in 1986<sup>6</sup>. The establishment of this group can be seen as the example, of how countries were searching the ways for dealing with ecological problems, though the cooperation under the regionalism.

By this time, SADCC was ready to implement changes into their organization, thus in August 1992, it has become a Development Community (SADC) instead of a Coordinating Conference.

The process of re-integration into EAC has begun during early 1990's. It meant that the Treaty for East African Co- was signed by Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania in 1993, and straight after that a Tripartite Commission for Co-operation started to operate, with interest in economic, political and social-cultural development of the members.

Finally, the PTA was transformed into the next stage of integration process. The Treaty for the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) was signed in 1993 and ratified year later. This treaty stated such principles as equality and interdependence of the member-states, solidarity and moreover collective self-reliance, other aspects in maintaining security issues: peaceful settlement of disputes, protection of human rights, etc.

The Third Wave brought new ideas about rethinking and implementing common currency area. Therefore, on January 1994 UEMOA (WAEMU) was created, since it was formed over the pre-existing UMOA bloc. As main institutional structures of this organisation, we can name BOAD and BCEOA.

---

<sup>6</sup> Countries-members: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda

ECCAS had tough times for development after 1995. This organisation had to face different obstacles on the way of the integration, such as financial, conflicts within the Great Lake area, war in DR Congo. But nevertheless, on March 1994 countries found a common agreement on the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC). CEMAC meant to promote and deepen the sub-regional integration by the creation of monetary union within member-state.

In 1996, IGADD realized the need to restructure and expand the cooperation among their countries. Thus, the 'Letter of Instrument to Amend the IGADD Charter / Agreement' promoting changes for " The Intergovernmental Authority on Development" was signed by the member-states, and new IGAD structure was established on November 1996.

1998 was a year of a creation, integration organization between the Sahel and Saharan States. Six countries<sup>7</sup> signed Sahel and Sahara States Community (COMESSA or SEN-SAD). The purpose of this block is to unite Arabic and African countries. In the early 2000, the number of member-states, increased significantly up to 27 states.

Another regional intergovernmental partnership, focused on ecological problems, security issues and substantial economical-social welfare was created in 1999 by Burundi, DR Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, The Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda, with Eritrea - observer. It is called Nile Basin Initiative. This organisation provides with a field for dialogue, discussion about important topics nowadays, and searches for general plans for secure development.

Reintegration process for EAC finally was re-established and signed in 1999, and the Treaty for the EAC entered into force on July 2000, almost later than a quarter of a century since the total collapse of the bloc.

---

<sup>7</sup> Burkina Faso, Chad, Libya, Mali, Niger and Sudan

As we see, the Third Wave of regionalism brought lots of changes, restructuring and rethinking the approaches toward cooperation in SSA. Of course, the OAU was not exceptional. On July 1999 was held an extraordinary session, where questions about general economic and political integration were asked. This led to four more Summits during 1999 till 2002, when the idea of the African Union was shaped. Since 2002 OAU was officially transformed into the African Union (AU). The vision of the African Union is that of: “An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena.” [AU Official website Vision and Mission]

The restructuring and further development continue until now. The Third Wave can be seen as another wave of democratization, at the same time it shifted interest of states from a strictly economic to security, political and even environmental.

In order to have a clear picture of different regional organisations in SSA, I have created a Table 3.2 (see attachments), where I divided them according to the regions of its operation.

### **3.3 Present situation with integration in Sub-Saharan Africa**

For a rather long term of the independence, African countries did not turn their economies into the vital component of modern structure of the world economy, despite rich stocks of food and mineral staples. At the same time, this area remains, so far, for all Europeans, not only a source of various problems, such as, AIDS and uncontrollable immigration, but also a permanent central zone of economic interests.

Earlier in this work, I have already mentioned that along with rich resource opportunities, Sub-Saharan region possesses the high productivity potential, which is to some extent realised during market transformations. The extent of such realization depends not only on features of economic psychology of Africans. Being in the majority of the population non-market in the western sense of this word, it causes the existence of the special purpose of their activity in

the system of the commodity monetary relations: aspiration not so much to the achievement of the result.

In this situation, hardly, it is necessary to expect forward formation of the national and regional markets in Sub-Saharan Africa, unlike developed countries. This process happens and, probably, will happen from now on breakthroughs, to use of several ways to achieve coordination of performance of the economic mechanism and to integrate backward economy of the countries of the region on conditions new to them into the world economy. Therefore, it is possible to assume that possibility of the emergence of the new markets with other than the western samples "starting mechanisms" developments continues. As the features of folding of the market are always connected with a ratio of different forms of ownership in the economy. Even the dynamics of growth of "again being formed markets" is predetermined by the state of the economy of these countries during the previous periods and the concepts of growth dictating nature of the functioning of the economic mechanism dominating.

It is necessary to notice that the concept "development concept" is often used in economic science on an equal basis with the idea "development strategy," and they are perceived quite often as synonyms. Meanwhile, the concept of social and economic development developed in the scientific community, has rather a generalized character, changes, as a rule, less than an approach, only in connection with considerable socio-political shifts and is fixed in society then for quite a long time. In relation to the African reality, it is difficult to speak about the settled idea of development recognised by all economic agents now. Speech can go more likely about this or that approach representing a particular plan of action on the performance of certain indicators of quality of life, the plan, responsibility for which realization is borne by the state institutes.

[Bergenas]

I will start with the introduction of the main regional organisations in sub-Saharan Africa region. Below is the information on the main basic features and positions according to African development.

The situation with the Regional organisations is also not so clear and obvious as it could be.

The aspiration to the association of the African countries originates since a boundary the 1950-1960, time of obtaining political independence. During this time the first integration groups were being created and were considered as the key direction of economic growth for the countries freed from colonial dependence, the tool reforming and integration of national economies into the world economy.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) played an important role, which has called the countries to pursue a policy of import of replacement for a dependence reduction from the outside world and "support on own forces," accelerating economic developments. Taking into account ECA recommendations in a basis of Articles of organization the African unity (1963) the principle of regionalism was put and the strategic objective of the creation of the general African union is defined. [ECA Official website]

Currently, there are eight officially recognized Regional Economic Communities in Africa, which could be seen as representatives of regional associations of African countries. The main reason, just these cooperations were officially recognized is that they have been found pursuant to the Treaty Relating to the Establishment of African Economic Community of 1991. That does not mean, however, that these are the only such organizations. However, they are the only ones, which the African Union's Assembly of Heads of State and Government acknowledge. And they are as follows:

- Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

- Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)
- East African Community (EAC)
- Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD)
- Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Other important regional organisations in SSA are:

- The South African Custom Union (SACU)
- The Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC)
- West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU)
- The Indian Ocean Commission (IOC)
- The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI)

### **3.4 Regional Organisations results**

After examining main goals, target of regional organisation in SSA, I was able to present my results in the Tables, which you can find in the Attachments (see Table 3.4.1 and Table 3.4.2). First of all, there are main basic characteristics of integration groupings: name, date of establishment, official language and targets. To be able to give correct judgements, I have analysed future plan of organisations, as well. In the Tables, you can find my personal comment and thought whether each regional organisation were successful or not.

It should be mentioned that the number of the participating states of integration communities (67) exceeds the total number of the African countries because some of them participate at once in two or more communities. The impossibility of vigorous activity in all from their conducts at once to the small efficiency of associations, untimely payment of the membership fees and the general discredits of the idea of the integration assuming creation in the

long term of the African economic community. That is why it is questionable whether it will not prevent them from optimal cooperation and whether a conflict of competence could occur. Nevertheless, ECOWAS and SADC are seen as radical promoters of regional integration processes in Africa.

In the Western Africa - four groups, in South Africa - five are created, in East Africa - one, in North Africa - four. In all groups, trade preferences on a full or partial basis are applied. The economic community of the countries East and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African community (EAC) develops currency cooperation; in ECOWAS, ECCAS and Community on development the countries of South Africa (SADC): free movement of persons is reached; Customs union of the countries of South Africa (SACU) and COMESA – customs ' unions; active making cooperation in the infrastructure sphere it is developed in ECOWAS and SADC.

All 16 countries of the Western Africa since 1975 include into ECOWAS, which tasks are strengthening of political unity, at the national and international levels, and development of mutual commodity turnover. Growth of the ladder was considerably accelerated from 2.9% in 1970 to 9% on the average, since 1980th years. [Woodrow Wilson, 2008]

The ECCAS group formed in 1983, composed of seven states, which in 1995 four more joined, was impractical. Intra regional commodity turnover fell from 9.6% in 1970 to 1.5% on the average, since 1980, and to 0.6% in 2010.

The integration association COMESA, that has replaced a zone of preferential trade of the states of East and South Africa in 1994, sets as the purpose gradual transformation to an economic community with uniform rates of the foreign trade tariff. However, the regional commodity turnover was reduced from 8.7% in 1970 to 5.9% in 2010, despite the growth of the number of member countries of the group with 10 to 21. It did not promote growth of volume of mutual trade and the gradual creation of a free trade area: only five countries carried out decrease in tariff rates to 70% from the previous level. Other obstacles include difficulties of control over the goods

origin as only on goods of own local production, instead of multinational corporations made by branches are established preferential rates: equipment duty-free, raw materials by 5%, industrial goods by 15%, finished products of 30%. [COMESA Official website]

The other group was created in 1992 on the basis of the South African conference on cooperation and development-SADC, SADC - the South African community of development including 14 countries. In it, responsibility distribution between the participating countries for a certain sector of the economy is provided. For example, Angola is for power, Lesotho for tourism, and Tanzania for the industry. The volume of mutual trade in-group reaches 8% of all foreign trade turnovers of the countries entering into it and makes about 40% of all intras African trade. [Lenz, 2011]

According to the IMF, the general trade regime in Africa has more "restrictive character," than in the other world, though it is noted that, on the continent, it was succeeded to create "open models" in 22 countries and "moderately open" in 22 countries whereas in 1990 in only 11 countries, there were "restrictively open modes." As a whole in Africa, the foreign trade tariffs averaged about 19%, whereas in other countries of the world of 12%.

In order to have a fuller understanding of the situation in SSA, I have created a special table, which shows to which exactly stage of integration is each REC's in SSA. (See attachment) As you can see from this table, most of the REC's (to be more precise 4 of them) are currently staying at the stage of Free trade area, and only CEN-SAD is at pre-free trade position. As a positive side here, we can say that COMESA has reached the customs ' union stage, while AEC is stand at the Common Market level of the integration.

In general, the situation is not optimistic. What does not allow RECs to move on further in the integration process?

I reckon that one of the answers to this complicated and important question can be seen in the members of these REC's. As I have already mentioned in my Thesis, some countries are

members to more than one REC. You can find a table, which shows how many countries are members to more than one regional block, who are this country, etc. (See attachment)

“Monitoring regionalism in SSA often involves focusing on its politics due to the coexistence of a dozen Regional (or subregional) Economic Communities with overlapping mandates and memberships” [Farewell 2005:173]

As the above-stated table testifies, the same states often participate in various regional and subregional integration associations. This certificate of that a number of integration associations do not completely realize the mandates, and the countries are entering them not completely fulfil obligations imposed on them. Therefore, parallel support at once in two-three integration associations, despite formal contradictions (at associations the different purposes) also is possible. Historically parallel support in integration associations, on the one hand, was caused by the ideology of a Pan-Africanism, and with another – aspiration of the countries to overcome restrictions in the development, connected with small scales of the majority of national African economies.

At the same time, in Africa to the south of Sahara exist and efficiently functioning integration associations. It first of all customs unions: East African community, West African economic and currency union and South African customs union.

The East African community has begun to function as a customs union since 2005, and in 2009, its participants signed the protocol on the intention to create the Common market of the East African community providing free movement of goods, the capitals and labour. By 2010 commodity export in the East African community reached 19% of cumulative export of member countries of integration association. That is quite good level of worldly measures.

The West African economic and currency union became the free trade area in 1996 and started functioning as a customs union in 2000. The share of mutual export in the cumulative

export of member countries of the West African economic and currency union in 2010 exceeded 13%.

The South African customs union is the oldest integration association on the continent, developed around the Republic of South Africa. So, the share of export to other member countries of the South African customs union in Swaziland makes 58%, Lesotho has 49%, Namibia has 22% and Botswana has 13,5%, though a similar indicator across the Republic of South Africa – 13% that is, however, typical for regional associations with the prevalence of economy of one country.

Other integration associations with powerful mutual trade are a Community of development of the South of Africa (a share of mutually export in cumulative export – 11%) and Economic community of West African states (a share of mutually export in cumulative export – 10%). Both integration associations "move ahead" towards the creation of custom unions. Thus, within a community of development of the South of Africa the free trade area as part of 12 member countries is already created.

## **4. Part IV. Building regionalism in Sub-Saharan Africa**

In this chapter, I had examined different perspectives for further development of integration in the African continent. Moreover, I will try to resolve the question about hegemony powers in SSA, and stress the outside world influence, as well as high interest, in the SSA regionalism.

### **4.1 Key factors to integrate Sub-Saharan Society**

From the point of view of integration, when we allocate the main characteristics of modern Africa crisis of the state and economic and human poverty, as A. Chouchane-Verdier (2001) suggests concentrating attention on real carrying out of the policy of economic liberalization by means of, first of all, transformation of bank structures. A variety of the African financial systems dictates the need to develop business measurement of economic policy the researcher considers, suggesting continuing, thus, market transformations on the continent according to some WB and IMF modified programs. Therefore, it can be seen as future steps for implementing a successful cooperation between countries.

Among the researchers devoted to reconsideration of real paradigms of economic development, according to the strengthening point of view, two works draw attention: book of the expert in the problem of debts of developing states E. Pettifor "The future first world debt crisis" (2006) and P. R. Gonzalez's work (2006).

At the same time in developed countries, these three key sectors of the economy are strongly protected by the state. Therefore, the author considers, the African and other poor countries have to reveal these double standards of the western creditors, having replaced the slogan "Do as They Speak" of "Do as they say," with the slogan "Do as They Do." Africa should follow the model of development of Great Britain and other western countries and not force further development; ability of the community to save will not increase yet. At the beginning of

the industrial revolution 1760-1780 British investments made less than 10%, and it is possible, and less than 5% of gross domestic product. It means that the most advanced for those times was required to send to the economy more than 90% of the savings for direct consumption. So only on reaching primary break their substantial share began to go on investment, as it is needed for Sub-Saharan Africa.

Meanwhile, as E. Pettifor fairly considers, worthy existence of the African community is possible only in the case of access to the most needed - to food, clothes, housing, and education and medical services, being provided. It can be reached and without debts before the West. Unfortunately, such statement of the question is not actually yet, though the idea about the key industries of the economy being not sources of income as it considered below the concept of "young branch," and means of lifting of the level and quality of life of the group, it is represented quite perspective.

Thus, most of current REC's are concentrating on the basic goals for developing welfare for the people. However, we should not forget, that SSA is a huge market space. And this position is offered in P. R. Gonzalez's book (2006). Establishing that fact "the third world" is a potential market; it allocates three restrictions interfering in its transformation into a full-fledged real business. The first restriction - low purchasing power of the population, thus as a result of dependence of developing states on the international loans which a considerable part, in turn, goes on import payment. The second is an enormous external debt, which takes away resources of the national market and distracts the income in foreign currency on the payment of percent of the credits. At last, in work, unlike other researches, the third restriction - increase of deficiency of all factors of production, first of all natural resources is specified.

According to P. R. Gonzalez, the model applied in economic science recognizes that two production factors - the earth, natural resources and business are unlimited, and a scarce factor of production is the capital in monetary, technological or commodity form. Intensifying the use of

capital resources for increase in production, mankind quickly exhausts stocks of irreplaceable raw materials and drinking water. In this regard, the researcher suggests using a new economic model in which a scarce factor of production stocks of non-reproducible natural resources, first of all oil, wood, and drinking water admit.

Both offered positions, despite mere essential distinctions between them, that meet market formation to avoid economy self-damage, should not be made by exclusive market methods. The economic system as the mechanism of permission for a two-uniform problem of a rarity of resources and output has to be mixed that is being regulated in general by state and market institutes. It confirms once again that fact that the purpose of the majority of concepts offered now is the solution of a corner question: about a priority of economic growth or economic development.

Changes in IMF and WB programs on carrying out structural transformations in the economy of developing countries, first of all Africans became a striking example of such transformation. Having begun in 1980 with drastic measures in the field of financial control, weakening of state regulation and sharp change of the structure of the property, actions on economic liberalization were to some extent corrected subsequently under pressure of sharply worsened social and economic and all-humanitarian situation in these countries. From 1990, the increasing amendments in the economy of Africa began to be introduced and globalisation achieved of speed. Therefore, through key approach of economists-officials with a question of priority of economic growth remained almost invariably, they are compelled to reconsider the installations accepted before to some extent. [IMF Official website]

One of the most known experts of J. Stiglitz, the Nobel prize winner in the field of the economy, the former chief economist and the vice-president of the World bank, having asked a key question of macroeconomic: "What such "growth," expressed in support of free trade as growth of trade conducts to economic growth. Thus, he condemns so-called "market

fundamentalism," namely approach, according to which the "free" market excellently solves all problems of economic growth.

The developing economy in the conditions of free trade grows and underdeveloped stagnates. Thus, if the international trade tariffs remain at a high level, the backward economy in short-term prospect incurs losses and only after time will start growing. At the same time in the conditions of globalization, which promotes a particular delimitation of the countries that are necessary for export maintenance, process and extent of interference of growth of trade and growth of gross domestic product are different for countries with a diverse level of development. [Stiglitz, 2006]

According to J. Stiglitz, it is possible to prove acceleration of economic growth by means of one of three theoretical approaches: in the first, standard theories of increase of the competitiveness, placing emphasis or on comparative advantages of this or that country, or on its single prize from economic liberalisation. Secondly, by means of the theories that are based on transfer to technology from developed countries to developing. Thirdly, from positions offered them for practical use in developing state of the theory of young economy of "infant economy" which is based on the modulation of factors of production from one area in another. Implementation of this theory in practice is impossible without the state support as the developments which were in the initial stage "young" branches face such problems as entrance barriers on the market, subsidizing, economies of scale and the moralistic competition. [Stiglitz, Samuelson, 2006]

In this strategy, development of the relation to the state is accurately looked through: country transition from "infantile" condition to economic growth on the basis of export expansion as it occurred in Korea, in Taiwan and in other countries of South East Asia. Thus, it is impossible without the simultaneous support of the industrial sector of the state, and so the theory

of economic growth, and the politician in the interests of growth has to be at the centre of attention of the national governments regularly.

The problem of the ratio of quantitative characteristics - growth and high-quality transformations of the economy - development is one of the sharpest in modern scientific literature. In this regard, the model of economic growth offered M. Nissanke and A. Sindzingre (2006) with equal participation - to shared growth considering the interests of the poor segments of the population - pro poor growth is of interest. According to researchers, in Sub-Saharan Africa the model of unequal growth from which action, poor segments of the population suffer, first of all, is created. Therefore, in the countries of SSA the institutional transformations aimed at achievement in the long term "equal growth" are needed.

Thus, the solution of such problem of the economic efficiency directly connected with acceleration of economic growth, encounters in the conditions of the African countries the low productivity of resources, which, in turn, interferes with an increase in the cumulative demand, the basis of economic growth. Situations of transformation needed to change in economic structure are broken by low level of investment. Meanwhile, the financial resources arriving from abroad for these purposes, in the conditions of high corruption of government services, and at the distribution of income gained thanks to a successful international trade environment of the recent years, remains and even the inequality of different national groups is aggravated.

The emergence of a new concept proceeding from the need to unite real business processes, going on in the countries of Africa, with a theoretically built strategy of expansion of socially focused development - concepts of a rising market economy, "emerging markets" became one of the attempts to overcome the current situation in Sub-Saharan Africa integration process.

## 4.2. Hegemonic powers

Right now, I want to focus on such topic as part of hegemony in the rationalization process. It has been an important question. Therefore, in my opinion, we should have a complete understanding of the term hegemony, and thus name main countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, who plays such role there.

Before we start to analyse Hegemon term itself, I would like to name one more valuable term, which correlates with term hegemony. And this is a term "pivotal" state."

Pivotal states also play an important role in the development of the continent, or the world in general, but compared to hegemony they are not so independent and do not have the same ability to impact on others.

According to Chris Landsberg, "Perspective 2: South Africa the Pivotal State": "regional hegemony is a powerful state that sees itself as capable of laying the law down to others through its dominance, the pivotal state is one that acts in the regional interest, in collaboration with others... The pivotal state influences its neighbours through broad economic and political linkages." [Synopsis, 2003:5] Here, we can examine main difference in these two terms.

Thus, at the present stage of development of the world economy along with interest to the analysis of the general tendencies, such as a globalization problem as a whole, on former actual and important there is a studying of economy of separately taken countries. Definition of their role and place in the international and regional economic systems, through which they interact with the economy of other countries, participating in the life world community. In this plan, the countries are of special interest – "Hegemon powers" – the centers of economic force and geopolitical power regional level. On the African continent that centers are a Southern African Republic (the Republic of South Africa), Nigeria and Ethiopia. All these countries have decent economic statistics. Before now, South Africa was well known as the richest country in SSA. According to

the most updated news, Nigeria has gained positions, and since now has the biggest economy in Africa. [BBC News] Even since Ethiopia is in the list among the world's poorest countries [The World Bank]. It expresses a decent a promising growth over the last decade and has a huge potential for the further growth.

Hence, all these three countries are seen as hegemonic powers in their regions. The discussion about their roles in the development of such blocks as SADC and SACU for South Africa, ECOWAS and UA for Nigeria and part of Ethiopia in EFA is currently a high debating topic.

It is not less significant for knowledge of new tendencies of the world economy and a task research of the integration processes, which are arising and going deep around and under direct influence of regional leaders of an era of globalization. South African Republic actively participates in integration processes not only on regional (in the framework of SADC, the African Union (AU), etc.), but also at the interregional level (IBSA) with the prospect of further expansion of the last direction in the future (BRICS).

When SADC was established, one of the key factors for it was a prevention of the Republic of South Africa from achieving total domination within the area. However, it is difficult to expect that the Republic of South Africa will reach the place, equivalent to other members of SADC as its gross domestic product exceeds twice the cumulative gross domestic product of other countries of the Community.

Besides, it should be noted that the leadership of the Republic of South Africa could see the possibility of providing the support for neighbour-countries by means of fast economic development of the South.

We will start our analysis from South Africa; this country unambiguously occupies a dominant position in SSA. Export the South African capital to the countries of SADC results in a set economic interdependence of the countries of the Community. This interdependence is an

important prerequisite for economic integration within SADC. SADC is considered by the Republic of South Africa and as the tool of the adoption of political leadership and strengthening of positions of the country in the AU. In the case of implementation of the project of the uniform customs union of the countries of SADC can arise and uniform currency that will be an additional incentive for economic development of the area (in connection with the elimination of currency transaction expenses).

The Republic of South Africa was one of the initiators of the creation of the African Union (transformation OAU into the African Union). At the first summit of AU South African President Mbeki became the first chairman of this organization. So in 2013 the chairman the AU became Nkososana Dlamini-Zuma, who was earlier the cabinet minister of the Republic of South Africa.

The South African authorities played a key role in the development of the new strategy of development of Africa "New partnership for development of Africa" (NEPAD) which became the AU quick economic program. Thus, its basis was formed by the concept put forward by Mbeki "African Renaissance."

The part of Nigeria is huge, as well.

At all stages of the political life, Nigeria sought to play an active role in the system of the international relations, working in the international and regional organizations as the spokesman of interests of all African countries. Nigeria – the member of the United Nations; it is presented in a number of agencies and special committees of the group. Thus, representatives of Nigeria carried out rather important functions in United Nations Organs. It was one of the constituted states of the OAU.

Paying special attention in the foreign policy approach to the African direction, Nigeria painfully perceives signs of going a deep marginalization of the continent and urges the West to pay more attention to the solution of pressing problems of the African countries. At the same time she tries to induce the African countries to close regional and continental integration, standing up

for strengthening of economic relations within the Economic Community of the countries of the Western Africa (ECOWAS) and seeking to make this organization the instrument of progress of the countries of the region.

From the moment of Community creation, Nigeria acted as a donor and the investor for some countries of the region. It made investments in uranium production in Nigeria, iron ore and bauxites – in Guinea, in production of cement and sugar – in Benin, in road construction from Lagos to Benin. At the end of 1986 associates accepted the Program of economic recovery for the West, Africa, included over 130 national and sub-regional projects of development. The increase in production of food, intensification of agricultural production, solution of the problem of employment was main objectives of the program. Acceptance in 1987 in Abuja Programs of cooperation of the countries of ECOWAS in the sphere of the currency relations became a step on the way of integration of the countries of the region<sup>8</sup>.

In general, ECOWAS played an important role in the regional efforts, which were directed on economic growth and stability, improving, necessary for regional economic growth, and also in strengthening of the relations with the international economic organizations, such as the EEC. Expressing desire to see the African regional cooperation by closer, O. Obasandzho in performance at the summit in honour of the 19th anniversary of the Community of the countries of the South of Africa (SADC) in Mozambique in 1999 called for the integration of this organization with ECOWAS for the creation of uniform African economic community. [SADC Official website]

Though today in focus of the strategy for Nigeria – national interests, Africa remains to one of the main directions of its foreign policy. Leadership of Nigeria in the West African region and Africa as a whole caused an important role of this country in the international organizations, first of all,

---

<sup>8</sup> «Business in ECOWAS». Lagos. 1988, Vol. 2, № 7. P.29.

the UN where Nigeria actively defends the African interests. Nigeria - also makes a powerful contribution to the activity of such organizations, as the African Union and ECOWAS.

Foreign policy concepts of Nigeria always allocated the central place for the countries of "the first circle," to the next neighbours for whom safety both the country, and all West African region most of all depends. Proceeding from it, Nigeria allocates in the foreign policy an important area for expansion and development of the relations with neighbouring countries.

Nigeria makes an important contribution to processes of settlement of the African conflicts and stabilization of the political situation in the region. Supporting the peaceful solution of controversial problems and successfully using the negotiation process in the practice of peace making, she is ready to use force when it represents the only opportunity to put an end to the conflict.

Of course, the role and meaning of these two states no one denies. However, for the past few years the scientists had provided us with another topic for analysis, is Ethiopia a new hegemony in SSA? Well, this is quite a fair comparison, I reckon. Ethiopia has needed characteristic for becoming such one Hegemon, territory, and human recourses

Looking from the perspective of EAF (Eat African Federation), the next step of EAC for the establishing of a political union between the member-states in 2015, Ethiopia could finally gain the undeniable right for naming a Hegemon. Although, it is still unclear whether Ethiopia will apply for admission to the EAC, or not, most scientists argue that this is just a matter of time. And we can understand that, since the benefits and gains from that perspective are quite massive, starting from a larger regional market to engagement in the formation of further security development and stabilization in the region. Moreover, as Josh Maiyo argues, Ethiopia could follow the example of Nigeria within ECOWAS, and succeed from the regional integration process by taking unprecedented geopolitical gains.

Still, there are some issues to work on in this area, such as not enough sufficient institutional structure, absence of a common vision toward the future of the block. Nevertheless, the potential is quite high, and the commitment of US in Ethiopia, participation of China in this region, positive investment situation, the prediction about economical boom, because of new energy sources could just encourage further integration, and lead to appearance of third hegemony power, in Horn of Africa,

We have named current and future hegemonies in SSA. Quite an interesting fact is that each of them tries to push their own significance in the development of unitary Africa. If we will open countries profiles, there we will find that each of them stress that they played a crucial and the most significant part in the development of the AU, each of them are fighting for the biggest number of seats in the assembly. Therefore, it increases the competition within the integration bloc (as a great tool for the influence of hegemony).

Keeping in mind, the other aspect of the regionalism consequences such as "bandwagoning," mentioned by the naturalistic theories, and the idea that regional blocks were seen as a tool for restraining, exactly these hegemonies, and give a chance for a smaller and weaker states to succeed. In the case of SSA, we observe that it appeared to be otherwise. Entering the integration blocks, the hegemonies (South Africa was always seen as a leading force in Africa, while Nigeria gained this status under the conditions of regionalism), were able to augment own economic abilities. However, I doubt that this should be called a negative consequence of the regionalism, since all countries participants in the block just could not reach same economic positions, due to different obvious factors, such as economy size, territorial size, availability of human sources, etc. However, they all can benefit from the cooperation in security, social and development fields. Therefore, all these aspects could lead to greater improvement of the general welfare of nations.

### 4.3 Impact of the external factors

In this pre-chapter, I will analyse interest of other major world powers (USA, China) in the development of Sub-Saharan Africa. With all this interest, investment from abroad, what outcome will it have an integration in the African continent?

First of all, we will try to answer the question, what role does Sub-Saharan Africa play in the world economy? It is expected that there can be essential motions in geography of supply of ores of non-ferrous, rare and rare-earth metals extracted in Africa. The share of Europe in their export from Africa steadily falls since pre-crisis times. The USA reduced import during crisis. The People's Republic of China, India and Hugo's countries of East Asia, on the contrary, increased the share in the African export of these groups of goods. The Chinese analysts predict fast, the significant increase in supply of copper from Zambia. Now the main importers of this production from this country are the USA and Japan,

Without waiting the ends of crisis, the mining giant of BHP Billiton MNC, agreed about the development of large-scale iron ore deposit in Liberia, having promised to enclose in the project of \$3 billion. Sites in Liberia are located near 250 kilometers, railway corridors from the border with Guinea to the coast of Liberia. In the branch, the Brazilian Vale, the Chinese China Union, "Indo-European" ArcelorMittal and Severstal already work. Liberia over the last five years signed contracts with the mining companies for \$10 billion. [Campbell, 2012]

Since the fall of 2010, the People's Republic of China reduced export of metals made from these ores to Japan and the USA. Though many regard, this step as a tactical trick in the conditions of the protectionist post-crisis bargaining of powers, it is quite possible that more long-term tendency to transfer of emphasis on internal consumption of these high-scarce metals by the updated national industry of China is behind this motion. In this case, the part of SSA as a supplier of initial raw materials in addition to internal sources will increase only. Depreciation of

reserve currencies during crisis sharply raised the price of gold and jewels. Crisis returned many African mines, which since the end of the last century were unprofitable because of the long period of low quotations of the world prices for gold to life.

Most others were won in this respect by the Republic of South Africa providing 47% of world export of yellow metal. According to analysts, the price of gold against increasing demand for it alternatively for investments can reach \$1850 for an ounce at the beginning of 2012. Records of quotations are connected not only with a crisis pursuit of reliable objects for investment, but also with an increase in the average cost of production of an ounce of gold to \$1000, an expansion in consumption in the People's Republic of China and increase in import of yellow metal to India. Demand for gold in this country, his largest world buyer, keeps at a rather high level, despite the record cost of precious metal. It is necessary to consider that growth of the price of gold is directly related and with the speed of operation of the dollar press of the Federal reserve of the USA. The monetary policy of Washington is softer there are more stamped poor green banknotes; the precious metals become more expensive.

A number of countries, including Russia, China and Philippines, as a result of crisis gold stocks in gold and foreign exchange reserves, decided to increase. The largest producer of the yellow metal, China, for October 1, 2010 had gold stocks in 1.5% from the total number of gold and foreign exchange reserves that are less, than an indicator of Russia (5.7%) and Philippines (13.5%). However, the share of gold in the total amount of reserves in these countries remains incomparably less, than in the USA or Germany, where the share of yellow metal in the total number of reserves reaches 70%. All this does prospects of gold mining of Africa extremely favourable. Now SSA receives about \$19 billion annually from the production of gold and about \$6 billion from production of diamonds. In the conditions of crisis, the international financial organizations could not leave so significant streams of values out of the sphere of the

attention. In March 2012, it was declared that the IMF starts the program within which the technical assistance and training in the countries of Africa will be provided.

Of course, we will not forget about the crisis in 2008, which hit the whole world. Therefore, most local states tried to stay afloat more, then think about integrating possibilities.

If, on a crisis outcome, in the world markets of fossil raw materials in Sub-Saharan Africa there is like a whole a favourable situation, a situation in the world market of the food intensely disturbing. Food prices grow not only in the African continent, but also around the world. By the beginning of November, 2011 the price index of the food came nearer to the maximum values of 2008. An abnormal heat and drought made a set contribution to take-off of the world prices in Russia.

At the same time a present situation in the food sphere, in my opinion, it is impossible to charge to crisis or drought consequences entirely. Both that and another, certainly, brought the contribution in catastrophic deterioration of the situation in the second half of 2011. However, it is necessary to remind and that in the seventh anniversary of the African boom (2000-2007) agricultural industry was steadily underfunded, giving the potential share of financial resources to institutional reforms, priority construction of national financial systems, projects of development of trade-mediatory business. The agrarian infrastructure, road construction, irrigation, and so forth, received remains. Those sectors, which received means, turned away from the agricultural industry. Within the financial sector had no due development, agrarian crediting, marketing of production of the branch, business, information, technological service of branch. As result, productivity of the agrarian sector unusually low, as well as income of peasants. An exception is made, perhaps, by Egypt, Morocco.

With all sharpness in the last decade, there was a land question. Rapid growth of the population and intensive degradation of lands on the continent led to that Africa once known for the surplus of the earth, passed in a number of the countries to a condition of its relative shortage.

The situation is aggravated with becoming aggravated environmental problems and sharp manifestations on the continent of global climatic changes. [[www.focac.org/eng/zfgx](http://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx)]

Under the threat of hunger in Africa there are about 40 million people. Besides the crisis impact, such fundamental factors in the conditions of Africa, as natural cataclysms (droughts, floods, a locust, and so forth) will keep the negative impact and the military-political conflicts cause problems of refugees and local food crises. Still possible reduction of financial and food aid on the international channels, obviously, will aggravate the situation. First of all, it will concern the countries with chronic deficit of the budget and the balance of payments, making overwhelming part of the region of Tropical Africa. Whether there is a crisis, which has arisen in the USA by reason of "the African Famine-Genocide. In any case, improbable performance of the countries of Africa of tasks and the purposes adopted by the UN in 2000 of the Millennium Declaration on reduction twice poverty and hunger by 2015 is represented.

The crisis showed that though any country of the world could not "be fenced off" entirely from world cataclysm, the extent of its impact on the set countries was majorly various. The countries of Sub-Saharan Africa appeared innocent victims of the crisis, which was born, not on their fault and outside their borders. Traditionally subordinated and the dependency of the African countries in the world economy predetermined level of their vulnerability from the impact of external forces to power on which they are capable only in extremely limited level. Blows of economic elements came to Africa through negative impact of the world financial markets, the international trade that has weakened investment activity, the decreased transfers. However, owing to smaller integration in "the most globalized" segments of the world economy (the interbank relations, intra corporate production cooperation, technological exchange) the period of recession and its depth, as a whole were for the continent countries not so terrifying. [Shinn, 2012]

The entire period of falling of gross domestic product was limited on average across Sub-Saharan Africa about 12-14 for months. On this indicator, only a figure of the countries most

included in the world economy went to minus values rather for short term (the 12th quarter) (including some petrol and gas exporters), and also the least developed states which budgets to a significant extent depend on the inflow of the external help. By situation consideration in a foreshortening international economic and monetary relations, it is visible that in the crisis those African countries, which saved up essential foreign currency reserves better, felt, had balances of payments with a positive balance and sufficient budgets. Besides, who had adjusted and reliably financed social programs and systems that carried out regulation of the financial system better stead. That is done everything that indulged in anathema fundamentalists from the free market and neoliberalism.

Crisis marked fiasco of the Washington consensus. In a deep hole, there were those who thoughtlessly went on the way of deregulation, "liberation" of the markets. Liberalization of the last acutely much facilitated high-speed passing of the crisis on the planet by calling even in those back streets of the African economy which did not get not so long ago, mostly under the influence of the world environment, led own life and "were aloof."

About consequences for some "indisputable" postulates of the economic theory did not speak aloud during crisis peak, nor after. There was it because they not just mention an inner sanctum of "neoliberals," "neoconservatives" and others, but most fundamental axioms of a market economy. It appeared that nothing the constrained markets are not so inclined to self-alignment and adjustment. They are not stable and no more effective at all as it was knocked into the heads of people of Earth within the last 20-25 years. Contrary to the postulates of neo-Conservative and liberalist economists, they did not manage to spread risks and to contain the growth of transaction expenses. As the Nobel Prize winner on economy noted Stiglitz in the performance "Post Financial Crisis: Options for Africa" on January 11, 2010, not all "market innovations" to the best: innovative financial instruments were excessively risky. Moreover, the created "free" financial market safely interfered with updating of those segments which serve the

public benefit to the formation of democratic electronic payment systems, a transparent, cheap and reliable mortgage, equally accessible system of trade as the state securities, and so forth.

Real life showed that during a recession the countries, which did not have independent central banks, coped with the crisis better, than in what the Central Bank was independent under the law. It appeared also that, having concentrated on the management of inflation, economic and, first of all, the financial powers could not use the theory assumed, effectively to operate the growth, the level of unemployment and stability of the financial sector.

Mostly the main lesson of the crisis consists in what the state (whose role in the economy in the recent past was repeatedly scarify, distorted, scolded) assumed a key role in the rescue of all without exception of the economy. However, if it could rescue or at least hold afloat tens national farms, apparently, could and prevent or strongly weaken this crisis, it has not detached from many economic functions and have it at earlier stages more rights and levels of impact on the economy and finance.

Probably, the last conclusion could be disputed in relation to mature advanced market economies. However, in relation to developing states, it is unconditional so. The poorest states are not able to afford anti-recessionary programs like Barack Obama or Angela Merkel. They have no cumulative power of the economy of China, Russia or India. At the same time, the active economic intervention of the state in the preventive purposes was essentially serious and saved both for giants, and for pygmies of the world economy. Not only for the African countries, but also for the whole world beneficial, during the post-crisis period, will be to reconsider the approaches to the assessment of the ratio of a role of the market and the state. The consequences of this crisis will have an effect for a long time on different segments of the world economy. They can be aggravated by the selfish desire of the leading developed countries to solve own economic problems with the expense of others. Such policy, instead of abstract aspiration to the world repartition, in the past led to world wars.

Now we will move our research to two leading actors in Africa economy, we can name them as China and US.

China was included into SSA by ordinary commercial communication, and it does not seek for refusal of the accounting of the western interests. Although, the tragedy that China is extremely, economic actions of the vast country bring unique strategic effects. From the point of view of the western pragmatists, China attracts the strategic antenna deep into Africa, as a result, the local political structure will rearrange that finally changes the international structure according to the order strategic resources. [Campbell, 2012]

Demand of China increases ability of SSA in the international market for significant resurvey goods that in the whole plan improves trade conditions for Sub-Saharan Africa, and in the world plan large-scale movement of wealth from the North to the south is formed. Investment of China plays an active role for disposal of Africa of dependence of the western capitals and appropriates to Africa more liberal space in the international affairs. Except these real interests, arrival of China to Africa also causes damage on "historical glory" Old Europe.

However, from the point of view of the USA, business is not so undemanding. As the hegemony state in operating international system, the USA considers the whole world a place under the influence. Differently may be seen the arrival of China in Africa, from the point of view of the USA, mainly because of this natural expansion of the range of the power and influence of China during lifting. It occurs instead of reduction of strategic space of the USA.

At the level of destiny, of large powers the strategic value of SSA is reduced to the following: first, it is own natural resources of Africa, secondly, it is the geopolitical value of SSA thanks to location from the point of view of sea transport and overland placement.

Such fact is obvious through Sub-Saharan Africa is the political knot of future worldwide policy, but peace development of China cannot be without forward import of external resources. It is possible to tell that the continent, Africa somewhat will solve the main direction of movement

of global resources in the future, in this regard the destiny of the leading powers of the world and the main trace of world history depends on Africa in the future.

Therefore, we can make conclusion that each of these major world players has ownership interest in SSA. Moreover, SSA can use these interests from abroad for own good. Attracting these money, investment, different projects, and African continent could use all these for implementing integration purposes. Of course, some scientist could say that all these actions could lead to losing control over the economy by SSA states. However, we should not to forget that integration and globalization give a lot of freedom to operate between states, countries, continents, but at the same time it is no more in the power of one state or government. The more you integrate, the more you bind yourself to other world players.

## 5. Part V. Final judgement

After examining the integration process in Sub-Saharan Africa, in this work, we could say that, although, in some cases, regional organizations were not able to fulfil their goals, and they still have a lot of issues to solve within own regions and with neighbour states. From the general point of view, I think that the integration process today is a success, comparatively early stages of integration in SSA.

Right from the First Wave of regionalism, there were a lot of misunderstandings, disagreements within the regional grouping. Therefore, they were targeting goals, which they were not able to achieve, due to the different vision of the development. Nevertheless, African states managed to move forward, with the better understanding of what they need to do, and great desire to succeed.

One of the most important aspects of the integration process in SSA is the creation of the AU. This organisation, nowadays, acts in favour of all African nations and, therefore, is seen as a united force within the African continent.

It is obvious, that the AU has to be much more efficient and active, than earlier. Partially it is an internal African problem, but not only – the integrated countries of Africa have to play a more significant role in the international affairs, than now when they are almost imperceptible.

Seeking to accelerate the process of association and to solve numerous problems, chapters of African states and governments in July 2009 carried out the summit and agreed about creation of the executive authority of the African Union (African Union Authority – AUA).

The idea consisted that AUA becomes the main Pan-African institute accelerating the process of association.

However, for today remained not clear neither the mandate of this power, nor its function and power, and national ratification moves ahead not too quickly.

That will be further – depends on the model of integration of African states and control system on the continent on which else it is necessary to decide. Meanwhile, opinions of the participating countries of the Union disperse. Still, there is open a question, whether the African leaders will choose supranational or more modest, the intergovernmental character of such institute of management.

Speed and the plan of the African integration also remain not clear. Such questions demand more extensive discussion in Regional Economic Communities in Africa, which are components of the Pan-African integration.

There are also other difficulties, including the sphere of powers and ownership right on the all-African projects. To resolve these issues, the AU it is necessary to carry out thorough and fast reforms of the control system. Plus, it is difficult.

Except internal reforms, the African Union needs to expand and deepen the relationships with the international community. In recent years, traditional partners of the Union, such as European Union made a lot of things to strengthen and support the African colleagues, and to improve relationships with them.

So there was "a Joint Strategy Africa – EU" where it is spoken about the need of expansion and improvement of the relations between the AU and EU. [AU Official website]

However, nearly three years later after its creation, there are doubts concerning the success of this strategy. Moreover, seeking to find more power, the AU anymore does not put all eggs in one European "basket." Election of the president of Obama to the USA and the emergence of new global players, such as Brazil, Russia, India and China affected and traditionally cordial relations between the African Union and the European Union. Very quickly China became the third largest commercial partner of Africa. It is obvious that the EU is afraid to lose the impact on the continent and becomes more and more nervous because it is compelled to enter the competition to new global players.

Understanding of liberty of choice considerably increased self-confidence of the African leaders and Afro-union establishments. Both old, and new partners, seeking to play in Africa a key role, try to please Afro-officials and to support Afro-union establishments. At the same time the AU it is needed to solve a difficult problem – to find out with whom it is more favourable to them to run business, having counted all pros and cons."

One of the main problems of the African Union – how to make so that both old, and new partners and global players brought to Africa benefit, having relieved the continent of hunger and poverty, strengthening stability and improving its control system.

Correctly to reflect the present situation in the African Union, it is necessary to know the history well. In Africa, its colonial past still affects. The colonialism connected Africa with the European powers and by those broke interregional communications in Africa. Therefore, so long there was no thought of a Pan-Africanism – association of all African countries (no there is the idea of Pan-Africanism since 50's)

However, with the arrival of a new generation of leaders the Pan-African idea nevertheless punched to itself away. For example, in Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah (Kwame Nkrumah, 1909-1972, the president of Ghana from 1951 to 1966) became the first of the countries of Africa, which achieved the freedom, the known supporter of the African unity. The idea was that the newfound freedom has become the political project of the association of all Africa – so there was a Pan-Africanism.

Other African leaders, such as Julius Nyerera took more pragmatic position, supporting moderate approach. They supported smaller projects of the association (for example, creation of the East African Community), and, only in the economic sphere.

In the early sixties, some meetings at which the idea of a Pan-Africanism was discussed that poured out in the development of the Organization of African Unity in the 1963rd were held. However, growth during the period after finding of independence was slow. OAE was only the

secretariat preparation of regular meetings of heads of states were which main objective. Such this organization remained up to the beginning of the 1990th.

The end of the Cold War led to considerable progress. When the ideological debate ended, started being developed and political prospects of the African regional integration. More and more leaders began to support the idea of association, considering it as an important tool for improvement of life of the population, the inclusion of the country in the world economy and increases of the part of Africa in world affairs.

The end of the model of apartheid in South Africa also promoted elaboration of the general vision of prospects of association of the countries of the continent; leaders had a desire to solve problems of Africa.

At the turn of the millennia, there were new hopes. In 2002 when the African Union, which has become the successor of OAE, was created, all hoped that he would help to solve old problems and to accelerate association of the countries of Africa. Unlike the European Union, which initially had a strong economic basis, the African integration usually was a political process. However, political plans do not always turn into actions. It became clear soon that many African leaders do not want to renounce the national sovereignty.

The constitution act of 2002 proving creation the AU became a compromise between supporters of the federal union (allocated with supranational powers) and those who did not divide so courageous vision and did not want to deny the national sovereignty.

In other words, through the African Union also did not prove the intergovernmental nature of the Pan-African project, but created a legal and political framework for the process of the African integration. One of the innovations was the creation of the African Union Commission, who had to accelerate association of the countries of the continent and strengthen the Union as a whole.

Thanks to the raised status of the AU, whose headquarters is in Addis Ababa, the Afro-union became widely recognized organization already and on the world scene. It reflects the growing number of regions (such as Latin America and EU), and the states (including BRICS countries, and also Turkey and Iran), which want to improve stronger relations with the African Union.

Besides, regional associations of the African countries also become more and more strong economic and political players.

However, the AU, her powers and responsibility spheres tells the act of establishment of the African Union quite vague about the Commission part. It prevented the African integration, having slowed down its development, which went at all so fast, predictable in 2002.

Work the AU it by definition – long and times disease process. It is clear that it is necessary to solve a set of contradictions delicately. It demands real leadership and successful work of establishments of all levels.

The association of the countries of Africa goes on, different models and different logic. For integrators, of course, the European Union was a vital source of inspiration. First the European Union was sceptical about creation the AU enough. This mood quickly changed as the EU found for itself a part of an intermediary of Afro-integration at continental level.

From the point of view of the EU, the African Union has massive potential for the solution of the problems of the continent and globally (the world and safety, migration, fight against climate changes). It explains not only why the European Commission of the so many waits from the AU, but also why Europe so actively supports the African Union.

Proceeding from a model of creation of the European Union, we understand that the strong and independent authorities, capable of organizing the forward process of association are needed for the Afro-union. Therefore, Afro-union support from the EU was usually given the AU in Addis Ababa, as the center of the integration process is directed to the Commission.

In 2002-2008 many efforts development of the African Union was made by Alpha Oumar Konara, the commission chairman of that time the AU. Tasks and the relations between various bodies the AU was accurately described, the policy was defined, strategic and administrative plans, including the Program of Transformation of Institutes are made.

However, all these plans still wait for the realization.

The solution of heads of state and government on the creation in 2009 of the Executive authority of the African Union, which had to become the main engine of association of Africa, was considered as a new step to the Pan-African integration. Creation of the Integrated African states was an ultimate goal. In principle, reform of the control system has to make this ambitious purpose quite achievable.

However and today it looks terrifically far. Despite all efforts, made in the last decades, there are still a number of problems.

Now, we will summarize integration from the economic point of view.

An important part in the integration is played by policy of privatization of the state enterprises, pursued by the majority of the states of the region, and also some progress in the field of education, health care, public service.

Thus, an important factor of formation and development of the new markets is foreign trade, in particular import new to the African commodity market. Export also plays a crucial role because it provides this import by currency in this process. At the same time growth of export production, increase in a share, in it processing branches conducts to the development of additional types of economic activity, service infrastructure and the relevant markets. Thus also it is one more urgent line of the African countries, it is an export the focused branches and types of economic activity are rather a component of the global economy with its global economic mechanism than the national economy. It interferes with the development of intra country economic mechanisms. [United Nations Conference on Trade]

However, in processes of globalization only most developed, outwardly economic countries and regions of Sub-Saharan Africa is involved. As a rule, it is the coastal areas having the best conditions for the external economic contacts and weak communications with internal regions of the country, besides the territories rich with natural resources of export value. Such areas become also outwardly on the nature of the economic activity, "A copper belt," including adjacent territories of Zambia, DR Congo and Zimbabwe, regions of a cotton-farming of Sudan, etc., standing apart, in turn, from the neighbouring territories which do not have export potential. Globalization promotes the bigger openness of the economy of the African countries, actively influencing their market transformation. At the same time it in a particular measure slows down this process, promoting economic and political disintegration of the states of the region. As a whole, the market economy in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa develops positively through in a slowed-up way and it is inconsistent that is closely connected with a political situation on the continent.

Now, we will name main issues to overcome in next decades, in order to fulfil further steps for building African Unity:

- Whether certainly the majority of Africans shares the idea of association of the continent? This question asks regularly. It is clear that on it give the most different answers. Opinions on the continent were shared, and there are two camps – "extremists" and "minimalists."
- Shortage of leaders. At present on the continent, there are no known leaders – supporters of the idea of Afro-integration. Even at idea of regional integration few driving forces as a vision of the future and a pragmatism, not to mention vigorous practical activities here has to be combined. For various reasons, Nigeria and South Africa did not play in it a due role, though they and were initiators of such key projects as the New Partnership for Development of Africa (NEPAD), and the African Mechanism of Monitoring (APRM). As a result, the success of the

African integration began to depend on the efforts of a small group of people, taking the lead to take the following step, and at all from systematic actions of the participating states of the process.

- Hostility between establishments. Indistinct division of powers and roles causes it. Serious discussion of the one who and that has to do for the African integration, it was not carried out. The principle of subsidiary is not realized. The general vision of the future was formulated (that is the creation of the Integrated African states), and remains prodigious dispersion of opinions on that as well as that it is necessary to do. A number of the African countries obviously do not wish to submit to the supranational, all-African authorities. Others, on the contrary are ready to move quickly. Besides, as it became clear, the relations between the African Union and regional associations have a nature of the competition, than cooperation. Now regional associations have representatives on the African Commission in Addis Ababa. Though first they were involved only in safety issues, today, all of them are involved also in other mediator functions more often.

- Planning. Still issues of sequence of actions on association are not resolved. Many things remain unresolved as success in one sphere can lead to failure in another. It is one of the reasons of that the African Commission did not manage to realize the program of reform of governing bodies. Planning and preparation of such difficult process is a difficult task in itself, demanding constant attention and adjustment.

Nevertheless, the African Union for these ten years managed to achieve essential progress. The African leaders expressed more than once the desire to create "the United States, Africa," and to accelerate association and development of the countries of the continent. It is clear that such desire demands also more large powers for the bodies of the Afro-union.

The administrative architecture of the AU is in the construction stage: some elements are already clear, but is not clear yet as all buildings as a whole will look. Though the present situation allows hoping for future improvements of the control system, after all it is necessary to make more.

In this regard, it is possible to agree with a positive assessment of the ratio of a regionalism and globalism in modern conditions.

Considering proofs of those regional communities might act as perspective preconditions of an emerging market economy.

The all-African declarations on the acceptability of regional blocks as existing reality are supported by periodically conducted researches of their efficiency, which are carried out by in the common African union. In research of 2011 "Estimating regional integration in Africa, rationalization of regional economic communities" contains the analysis of the institutional component of these communities in comparison to the universal practice. [[cartercentre.blogspot.cz/p/regional-trade-agreements-and.html#Stages](http://cartercentre.blogspot.cz/p/regional-trade-agreements-and.html#Stages)]

The general conclusion of research consists that participation of a number of groups at once in several economic communities slows down integration process. Further the requirements which existence has to provide effective activity of existing regional organizations are concretized:

- Compliance of their organizational structure with the principles of the organization of the African Union and NEPAD;
- Partial restriction of the sovereignty of the participating countries as a result of the creation in each regional community of supranational body, conference of the heads of states, allocated with powers of authority for control over implementation of the decisions made;
- Timely payment of the membership fees;
- Orientation to geographical proximity of the uniting countries, their ethnic unity and historically developed integration organizations;
- Favourable conditions for inflow of the foreign capital;
- Unification of registration of contracts of creating communities.

The creation of these conditions at the level of certain spheres and branches is supposed, each of which has the specifics and is urged to solve specific problems for simplification of economic interaction of member countries.

Therefore, I would say that this integration process could be named more success than failure indeed.

## **Conclusion**

To summarize all the final judgments in my Master Thesis work.

At the beginning of my MA Thesis, I made some hypothesis, and right now, I will look back at them and conclude whether they were wrong or right.

First of all, in this Master Thesis it is obvious that the natural, human and geographical potential of Africa continent is indisputable. Another question is how make it work for the benefit of African nations. As we can see from what was said above, integration can be seen as a possible answer to this. Of course, this is not the process of two days, or even months. The building of stable and successful economies and society needs much longer period.

The main problem and crucial obstacle on the way of sustainable growth and development of this continent are the inner misunderstanding between countries. Historically African continent was a colonial world for the developed countries. However, times have changed, and no matter how hard it will be to find a common understanding, it should be done. Another way, all the benefits of global integration will be useless for the sub-Saharan Africa.

The termination of the colonial period in the history of African states did not bring immediate lifting of their economy, but considerably recovered integration processes in various areas of public life. These processes rallied groups of interests, generated new ideas about association of the African countries and the people. The solidarity of purpose of the national

liberation fight and economic need pushed the African leaders to search for ways of association. The Organization of African Unity (AU) created in 1963 as the regional organization of African states, possessing the general competence, plays a significant role in the development of forms and methods of integration. Her interest in these questions is explained by aspiration to play a paramount role in the inter-African relations.

Now development of regional economic cooperation of the states, improvement of its forms gets relevance because its participants declare the aspiration to economic integration. Besides, economic cooperation and integration everything more become internal requirement and internal factor of social and economic development of developing states and in considerable measure of the countries with a transitional economy. This would mean that no one in this globalized world could develop just by himself.

As one of the main vulnerabilities in the integration process in SSA, I could name the participation of different countries in different regional groupings at the same time. As it was stated in this Thesis before, it could prevent regional organisations from normal development and further growth. In order to escape from this uneasy situation, I reckon that the radical changes should be implemented. As one of them, the reconsideration of all regional groupings, which are now officially recognized. There are many regional organisations, which have same member-states, and differ just in some others. Thus, why just not to reorganize these organisations? Create, probably, fewer numbers of blocks, but with a greater number of member-states. Even though, I understand that is not the easiest issue to be done, it could solve inner conflicts in the integration process.

Some may argue that the integration process in African countries is a mistake. As the main argument for it, they could stress that the EU and African integration started approximately at the same time, but where is the EU and where is Africa now? They will be right. However, whether this comparison is quite fair? I reckon that not. The case with European country's integration

utterly differs from African case. First of all, EU united already developed and self-defined countries, while African continent had to deal with just emerging post-colonial countries. That is why it is entirely unfair comparison.

The great support from the China could play a significant role in the African regionalism development. Aspiration to seize raw materials sources, to find spheres of application of investments and sales markets in roughly developing industry – the main motives of the Chinese economic expansion by which the 21st century was marked. Interest of China to Africa is connected and with the increased role of the African countries in the world economy and the international relations. On the other hand, Africa is a conglomerate of the "lagging behind" states in the example of which China shows a desire and readiness to make what could not make the West.

Therefore, this Master Thesis shows us that although the integration process did not reach European integration level, still the future gives promising hopes. Rome also was not built in a couple days. Cooperation was always a good choice in order to overcome obstacles.

## Bibliography

1. African Development Bank Official Website - <http://www.afdb.org/en/>
2. African Economic Outlook official web page - <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/>
3. African Union Official Website - <http://www.au.int/>
4. Alence Rod, “Political Institutions and developmental governance in sub-Saharan Africa”, Cambridge University Press, 2004
5. Anyang’ Nyong’o 1987; Harbeson et al. 1994; Lewis 1992 in *J. of Modern African Studies*, 42, 2 (2004), 2004 Cambridge University Press DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X04000084 Printed in the United Kingdom, Article “Political Institutions and development governance in Sub-Saharan Africa” pp. 163–187.
6. Bach, D. “The Revival of Regional Integration in Africa”, 1999, Documentos de Trabalho n56, CEAs, Lisboa
7. Bach, D. “Regionalisation in Africa: Integration and Disintegration”, 1999, Bloomington, Oxford
8. Bach, D. ‘Institutional Crisis and the Search for New Models’ in Lavergne, R. (ed.) *Regional Integration and Cooperation in West-Africa: A Multidimensional Perspective*, 1997, IDRC and Trenton: Africa World Press, Ottawa
9. Barnett Thomas P.M., *The Pentagon’s New Map: War and Peace I the Twenty First Century*, 2004, New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, p.161
10. Bergenas Johan, Dr. Scheinman, “The role of regional and sub-regional organisations implementing UN Security Council Resolutions 1540: a preliminary assessment of the Africa continent”, for the UNIDIR-MIIS cooperative project on

regional organisations and

1540. [http://www.issafrica.org/armsnetafrica/sites/default/files/Bergen,%20J%202007\\_0.pdf](http://www.issafrica.org/armsnetafrica/sites/default/files/Bergen,%20J%202007_0.pdf)

11. Brown Karen, “Africa as Living Laboratory: Empire, Development and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge”, 2012, Oxford Journals, Oxford University Press. [http://orca.ruk.cuni.cz/V/K54RMLSPG1LRET3BMA8M1VM1K6CT6HTQ9VINX4SYKRR4QXV79B-01345?func=quick-3&short-format=002&set\\_number=000542&set\\_entry=000010&format=999](http://orca.ruk.cuni.cz/V/K54RMLSPG1LRET3BMA8M1VM1K6CT6HTQ9VINX4SYKRR4QXV79B-01345?func=quick-3&short-format=002&set_number=000542&set_entry=000010&format=999)

12. Butorina M. P., Conception of the Region’s Territory Organisation, Chita State University, Chita, Russia

13. Brulhart, Marius, An Account of Global Intra-Industry Trade 1962-2006, 2008, see <http://econ.worldbank.org/wdr>

14. Campbell, I. China and Conflict-Affected States. Between Principle and Pragmatism. L.: 2012. Safeworld P. 15. <file:///Users/daria/Downloads/FAB%20Nepal.pdf>

15. Carlton B., “Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400-1948”, 2012, UNIV Chicago Press, [http://orca.ruk.cuni.cz/V/K54RMLSPG1LRET3BMA8M1VM1K6CT6HTQ9VINX4SYKRR4QXV79B-02587?func=quick-3&short-format=002&set\\_number=000542&set\\_entry=000021&format=999](http://orca.ruk.cuni.cz/V/K54RMLSPG1LRET3BMA8M1VM1K6CT6HTQ9VINX4SYKRR4QXV79B-02587?func=quick-3&short-format=002&set_number=000542&set_entry=000021&format=999)

16. Chouchane-Verdier A. Liberalisation financiere et croissance economique, 2001 (Le cas de l’Afrique Subsaharienne). P.: L’Harmattan,

17. Cohen, B.J. The Geography of Money. 1998, Cornell University Press, London and Ithaca

18. Collier Paul “The bottom billion”, 2004, Oxford University Press, ISBN-10: 0195373383

19. COMESA official website - <http://www.comesa.int/>

20. Debrun, X., Mason, P. and Pattillo, C. Monetary Union in West Africa: Who Might Gain, Who Might Lose and Why?”, December 2002, Washington, DC: IMF Working Paper
21. Devarajan, S. and de Melo, J. ‘Evaluating Participation in African Monetary Unions’, *World Development*, 15 (1987), pp 450-496
22. IMF data and statistics website <http://elibrary-data.imf.org/DataExplorer.aspx>
23. INSouth Network, Intellectual network for South, Official website, [http://www.insouth.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1](http://www.insouth.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1)
24. Drechsler D., Jutting J.P. Private Health Insurance in Low – and Middleincome Countries. Scope, Limitations, and Policy Responses. OECD Development Centre «Le Seine St. Germain», 2005. March. Ottawa
25. Dzalivov Oleksandr O. “Basic modern tendencies of the world Integration”, 2014, *Business Inform*, Kharkiv, issue 2, p 76-83
26. Economics dictionary online [http://economicsonline.co.uk/Global\\_economics/Economic\\_integration.html](http://economicsonline.co.uk/Global_economics/Economic_integration.html)
27. European Centre for Develop Policy Management Official Webpage <http://www.ecdpm.org/>
28. Farrell, M., Hettne, B., Van Langenhove (2005) (ed.). *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice*. Pluto Press., London
29. Fawcett L., “Regionalism in Worlds politics: Past and Present”, Ariane Kostler and Martin Zimmek eds, *Elements of Regional Integration*, 2008, Nomos, Baden-Baden
30. Fawcett L., “The History and Concept of Regionalism”, 2012, European Society of International Law, Conference Paper No. 4/2012, Editors: Nico Krisch (Hertie School of Governance) Anne van Aaken (University of St. Gallen) Mario Prost (Keele University)
31. Fawcett L. and Hurrell A., “Regionalism in Worlds Politics: regional organisations and international order”, 2000, Oxford University Press

32. Finance & Development, December 2008 - The Economic Geography of Regional integration” <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2008/12/deichmann.htm>
33. Forum on China-African Cooperation (FOCAC) Official Webpage <http://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx/>
34. Gonidec P.F. African Politics by P.F., 1980, Springer Publisher
35. Gonidec, P.F. “Relations internationales”, 1977, Collection Universite nouvelle, Montchrestien; 2. edition
36. Gonzalez P.R. Running Out: How Global Shortages Change the Economic Paradigm. N.Y.: Algora Publ., 2006. P 22-28
37. Hazlewood, A. (ed). African Integration and Disintegration, 1967, (London: Oxford University Press,
38. Heine B. Nurse D. “African Languages: An Introduction”, 2000, Cambridge University Press,
39. Holland, M. ‘South Africa, SADC, and the European Union: Matching Bilateral and Regional Policies, 1995, Volume 33, Issue 2, Cambridge University Press, Journal of Modern African Studies
40. International Monetary Found – Official Website <http://www.imf.org/external/index.htm>
41. ISS Database: African Regional Organisations [http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity\\_to\\_union/main.html](http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity_to_union/main.html)
42. Kircher Emil. J. Essex University and Roberto Dominguez “The performance of Regional Organisations in Security Governance, Suffolk University”, Paper prepared for UACES conference “exchanging Ideas on Europe 2011, Cambridge, 5-7 September 2011.

43. Kitipov Julian, African Local Integration and Multilateralism: The Regional Economic Communities and Their Relationship with the European Union, MERCURY E-paper No.16, November 2011, [www.mercury-fp7.net](http://www.mercury-fp7.net)

44. Krugman Paul, Maurice Obstfeld, Marc Melitz “International Economics. Theory and Policy”, 9th Edition, April 2011, Pearson.

45. Lenz, T. Spurred Emulation: The EU and Regional Integration in MERCOSUR and SADC, 2011, University of Oxford,

46. Lugo Luis Director; Alan Cooperman Associate Director, Research; Gregory Smith, Senior Researcher; Allison Pond and Neha Sahgal, Research Associates; Scott Clement, Research Analyst, “Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa”, 15 April 2010, Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life <http://www.pewforum.org/files/2010/04/sub-saharan-africa-full-report.pdf>

47. Mackie James, Sanoussi Bilal, Isabelle Ramdoo, Henrike Hohmeister and Takesh Luckho, “Joining up for Africa, Support to Regional Integration” No. 99, July 2010, European Center for Development Policy Management

48. Masson, P., Pattillo, C. The Monetary Geography of Africa, 2003, <http://www.brookings.edu/views/papers/masson/20031017.pdf>

49. Nigeria. New Era in Foreign Policy. A Special International Report Prepared by The Washington Times Advertising Department. Sept.30.1999, <http://www.internationalsspecialreports/com/africa/99/nigeria/2html>

50. Nissanke, M., and Sindzingre, A., 'Institutional Foundations for Shared Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa', African Development Review, Vol. 18, No., 2006

51. Parker John, “Africa history: a very short introduction” 2007, <http://orca.ruk.cuni.cz/V/K54RMLSPG1LRET3BMA8M1VM1K6PCT6HTQ9VINX4SYK>

[RR4QXV79B-09426?func=quick-](http://www.rr4qxv79b-09426?func=quick-)

[3&shortformat=002&set\\_number=000525&set\\_entry=000002&format=999](http://www.rr4qxv79b-09426?func=quick-3&shortformat=002&set_number=000525&set_entry=000002&format=999)

52. Pauly, L.W. (eds) *Governing the World's Money*, 2002, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
53. Pettifor A. *The Coming First World Debt Crisis*. L., 2006. Palgrave School, Print UK, **ISBN-10:** 023000784, P -118-119
54. Population. P.: Edition Francaise, 2005. Vol. 60. N 5–6
55. RECs in Africa  
[http://www.claiminghumanrights.org/african\\_recs.html?&L=escyeybij%2F%2F%2F...%2F%2Findex.php%3Foption%3Dcom\\_jeformcr](http://www.claiminghumanrights.org/african_recs.html?&L=escyeybij%2F%2F%2F...%2F%2Findex.php%3Foption%3Dcom_jeformcr)
56. Robbins Richard H., *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism*, 2002, Allyn and Bacon, p. 302
57. SADC Official Webpage <http://www.sadc.int/>
58. Shinn D.H. “Emerging Powers in Africa. Introduction to African Security Issues”, 2012, Africa Center for Strategic Studies. National Defence University. Wash. D.C.
59. Sindzingre A., Nissanke M. *Institutional Foundations for Shared Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa* , 2005, African Development Review. Vol. 18.
60. Synopsis, 2003, Centre for Politiy Studies, Johannesburg, Perspective 2 by Chris Landsberg, pp. 4-6
61. Soderbaum, F. *Handbook of Regional Organisations in Africa*, 1996, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet
62. Stasavage, D. *The Political Economy of a Common Currency: The CFA Franc Zone since 1945*, 2004, Aldershot: Ashgate,
63. Stepanek A. “African Organisations: economic integration and conflict management” *African Regional and Sub-Regional Organizations*, 2008, Woodrow Wilson

International Center for Scholars, Africa Program, <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Regional%20Sub-Regional%20Pub1.pdf>

64. Stiglitz J. Globalization and Its Discontents. 2006 Washington D.C. Paper for IMF Conference

65. Stiglitz J. Samuelson and the Factor Bias of Technological Change: Toward a Unified Theory of Growth and Unemployment, 2006, Samuelsonian Economics and the Twenty-First Century. L.: Oxford Univ. Press, P. 235–251.

66. Teunissen J.J., Akkerman A., Africa in the World Economy- The National, Regional and International Challenges, Fondad, December 2005, the Hague, [www.fondad.org](http://www.fondad.org), ISBN-10:90-74208-27-4

67. The Article “Trade promotion through research, analysis and awareness creation” <http://cartercentre.blogspot.cz/p/regional-trade-agreements-and.html#Stages>

68. The article “Nigeria becomes Africa’s biggest economy”, BBC News, 6<sup>th</sup> April 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-26913497>

69. The World Bank Official Website - <http://www.worldbank.org/>

70. The World Development Report “A new view on economic geography”, 2009 <http://www.sed.manchester.ac.uk/research/andes/publications/papers/TIBG2009Riggetal.pdf>

71. The World Fact Book <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

72. Todd, J. Moss “US Policy and Democratisation in Africa: The Limits of Liberal Universalism,” Journal of Modern African Studies, (1995).

73. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development “South-South Commodities Trade Quantitative Report”, New York and Geneva, 2006 [http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditccom20065\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/Docs/ditccom20065_en.pdf)

74. Worldvision magazine January/February 2012 Issue 87, “Urban Slums – a new kind of poverty”, [http://www.worldvision.org.hk/media/wvcontent/attachments/vv87\\_features.pdf](http://www.worldvision.org.hk/media/wvcontent/attachments/vv87_features.pdf), 07.04.2014

## List of attachments

### *List 1 Countries in SSA:*

- Angola
- Benin
- Botswana
- Burkina Faso
- Burundi
- Capo Verde
- Cameroon
- Central Africa Republic
- Chad
- Comoros
- DR Congo
- Congo Republic
- Cote d'Ivoire
- Djibouti
- Eritrea
- Ethiopia
- Gabon
- The Gambia
- Ghana
- Guinea
- Guinea Bissau
- Kenya
- Lesotho
- Liberia
- Madagascar
- Malawi
- Mali
- Mauritania
- Mauritius
- Mozambique
- Namibia
- Niger
- Nigeria
- Rwanda
- Sao Tome Principal
- Senegal
- Seychelles
- Sierra Leone
- Somalia
- South Africa
- South Sudan
- Sudan
- Swaziland
- Tanzania
- Togo
- Uganda
- Zambia
- Zimbabwe

**Table 2**

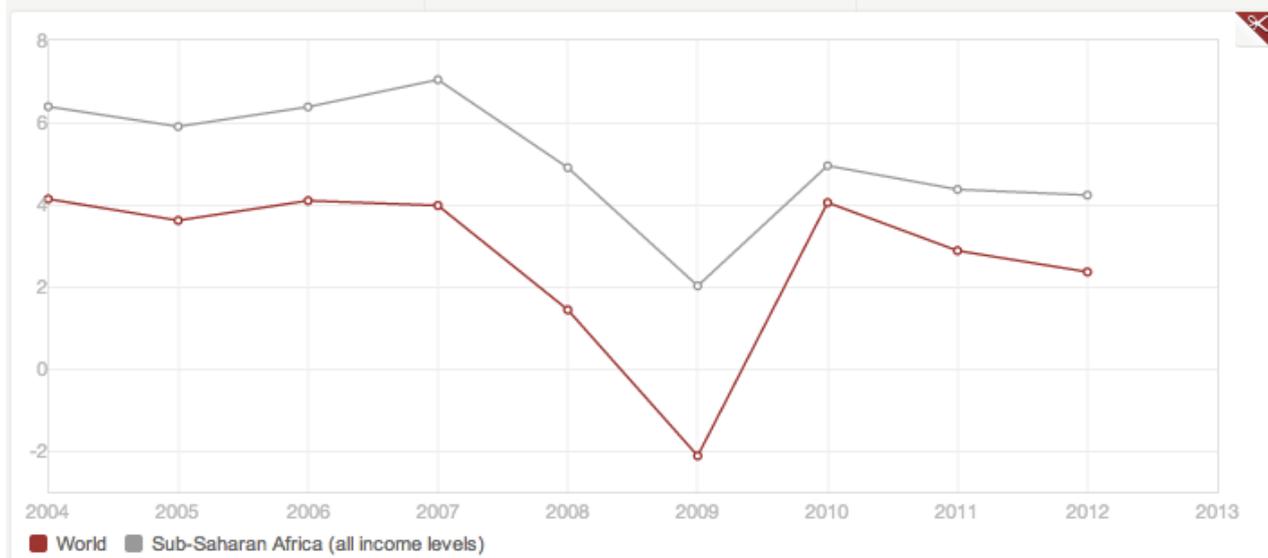
Region	Number of countries	Population (millions) 2013	GDP growth (%)	
			2013	2014
EA	20	362.0	6	6.4
SA	5	60.7	3.6	4
CA	9	138.0	2.4	4.8
WA	17	330.7	6.7	6.9
NA	7	208.1	2.3	3.3

**Table 2.1 Table of economic indicators in SSA 2011-2012**

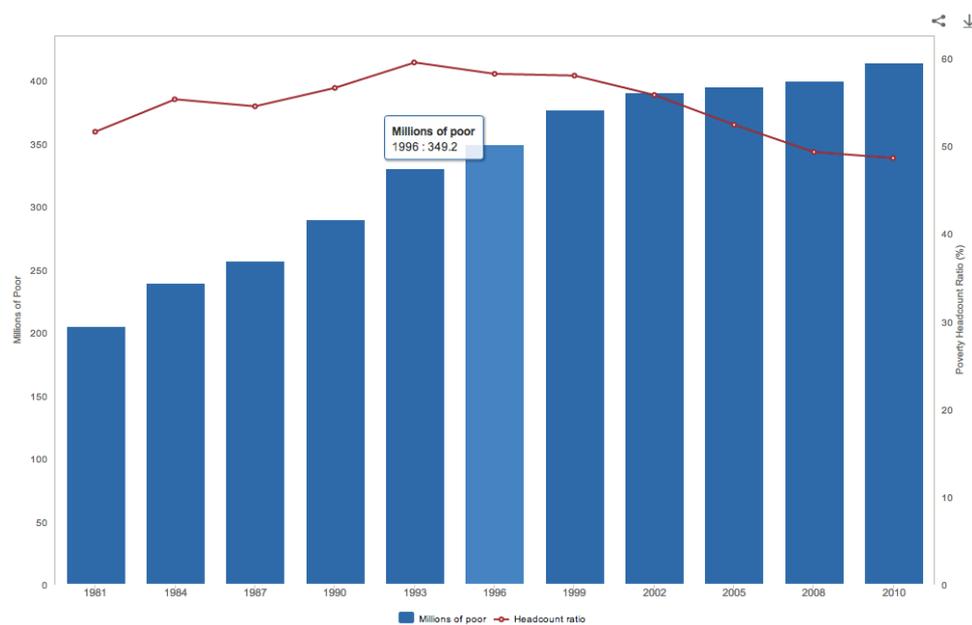
	Year 2011	Year 2012
Population, total (millions)	874.8	911.5
Population growth (annual %)	2.5	2.7
Urban Population (%of total)	36	37
GDP (current US\$) (billions)	1,245.7	1,290
GDP per capita (current US\$)	1,424	1,416
GDP growth (annual %)	4.1	4.3
Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	54.2	56

Mortality rate, infant (per 1,000 live births)	69.4	64
Literacy rate, youth female (% of females ages 15-24)	68.7	70
Prevalence of HIV, total (% of population ages 15-49)	5.5	4.7
<b>Source: World Development Indicators</b>		

**Graph 2.1 comparison of the economical growth in world and SSA**

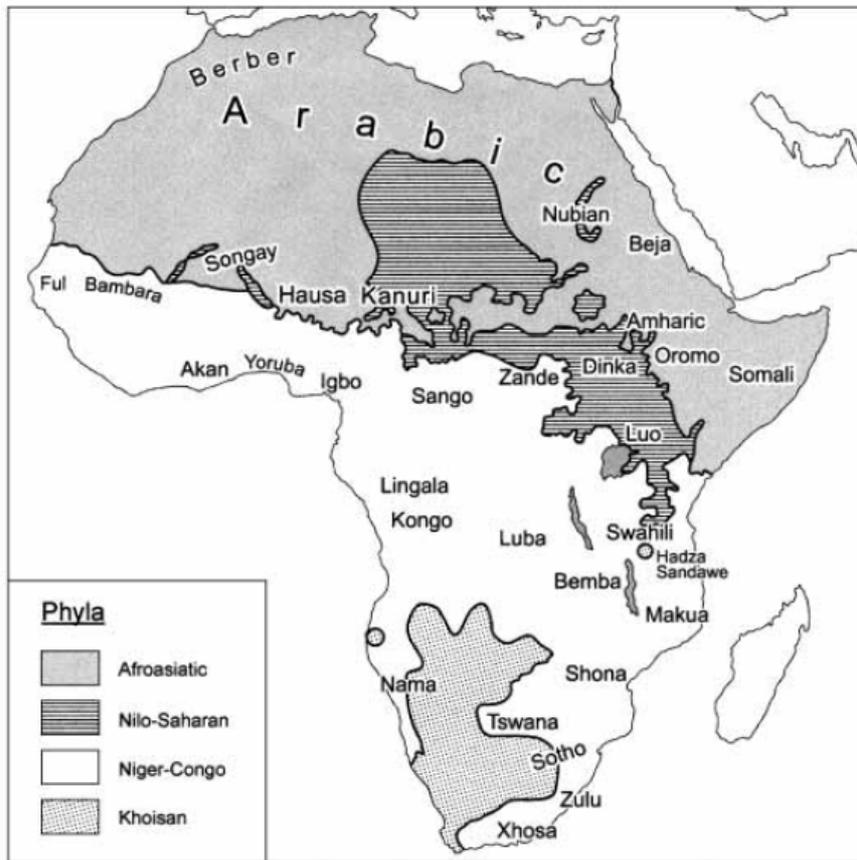


**Graph 2.1.2 Poverty correlation in SSA**



Created from: World Bank, Poverty and Inequality Database

***Map 2.1 Languages in Africa***



Map 1.1. African phyla and major languages.

***Table 3.2 Division of regional organisations by African Regions***

Western Africa	Central Africa	South Africa	Eastern Africa
ECOWAS	ECCAS	SADC	EAC
WAEMU	CEMAC	COMESA	IOC
BCEAO		SACU	IGAD
BOAD		Nile Basin Initiative	

**Table 2.2**

EA										
#	Countries	Population Total (millions)	Population Growth (%)	Urban Population of Total (%)	GDP current (US Dollars) billions	GDP growth annual (%)	GDP per capita, US Dollars	Income level	Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	Mortality rate, infant (per 1,000 live births)
1	Burundi	9.850	3	11	2.472	4	550	Low	54	67
2	Comoros	717,503	2	28	595.9	3	831	Low	61	58
3	Djibouti	859,652	2	77				Low	61	66
4	Eritrea	6.131	3	22	3.092	7	504	Low	62	37
5	Ethiopia	91.73	3	17	41.61	8	454	Low	63	47
6	Kenya	43.178	3	24	40.697	5	943	Low	61	49
7	Madagascar	22.295	3	33	9.975	3	447	Low	64	41
8	Malawi	15.906	3	16	4.274	2	268	Low	55	46
9	Mauritius	1.291	0	42	10.486	3	8,120	Upper middle	74	13
10	Mozambique	25.203	2	33	14.274	7	565	Low	50	63
11	Rwanda	11.458	3	19	7.103	8	620	Low	63	39
12	Seychelles	88,303	1	54	1.129	3	12,783	Upper middle	73	11
13	Somalia	10.195	3	38				Low	55	91
14	South Sudan	10.838	4	18	10.220	-48	943	Low	55	67
15	Uganda	36.346	3	16	20.032	3	551	Low	59	45
16	United Republic of Tanzania	46.335	3	27	28.242	7	609	Low	61	38
17	Zambia	14.075	3	40	20.590	7	1,483	Lower Middle	57	56
18	Zimbabwe	13.724	3	39	9.802	4	714	Low	58	56

**Table 2.2.1**

#	Country	EA					
		Political System	Legal system	Ex-colony of	Official language	Other languages	Religion
1	Burundi	Presidential republic	Mixed legal system of Belgian civil law and customary law	Belgium, Germany	Kirundi, French	Swahili (along Lake Tanganyika and in the Bujumbura area)	Christian 82.8% (Roman Catholic 61.4%, Protestant 21.4%), Muslim 2.5%, Adventist 2.3%, other 6.5%, unknown 5.9% (2008 census)
2	Comoros	Federal presidential republic	Mixed legal system of Islamic religious law, the French civil code of 1975, and customary law	France	Arabic, French	Shikomoro (a blend of Swahili and Arabic)	Sunni Muslim 98%, Roman Catholic 2%
3	Djibouti	Semi-presidential republic	Mixed legal system based primarily on the French civil code (as it existed in 1997), Islamic religious law (in matters of family law and successions), and customary law	France	French, Arabic	Somali, Afar	Muslim 94% Christianity 6%

4	Eritrea	Single-party presidential republic	Mixed legal system of civil, customary, and Islamic religious law	Italy	Tigrinya, Arabib, English	Tigre, Kunama, Afar and other Cushtic languages	Muslim, Coptic Christian, Roman Catholic, Protestant
5	Ethiopia	Federal presidential republic	Civil law system	Italy	Oromo, Amharic, Tigraya English, Arabic	Somali, Sidamo, Walyatta, Guragiema, Afar, Hadiyya, Gamo and others	Ethiopian Orthodox 43.5%, Muslim 33.9%, Protestant 18.6%, traditional 2.6%, Catholic 0.7%, other 0.7% (2007 Census)
6	Kenya	Presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law, Islamic law, and customary law; judicial review in a new Supreme Court established pursuant to the new constitution	UK	English, Kiswahili	Numerous indigenous languages	Christian 82.5% (Protestant 47.4%, Catholic 23.3%, other 11.8%), Muslim 11.1%, Traditionalists 1.6%, other 1.7%, none 2.4%, unspecified 0.7% (2009 census)
7	Madagascar	Semi-presidential republic	Civil law system based on the old French civil code and customary law in matters of marriage, family, and obligation		French, Malagasy	English	Indigenous beliefs 52%, Christian 41%, Muslim 7%

8	Malawi	Unitary presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law and customary law; judicial review of legislative acts in the Supreme Court of Appeal	UK	Chichewa, English	Chinyanja, Chiyao, Chitumbuka and others	Christianity, Muslim, other
9	Mauritius	Parliamentary republic	Civil legal system based on French civil law with some elements of English common law	UK	English	Creole, French, other	Hindu 48%, Roman Catholic 23.6%, Muslim 16.6%, other Christian 8.6%, other 2.5%, unspecified 0.3%, none 0.4% (2000 census)
10	Mozambique	Unitary presidential republic	Mixed legal system of Portuguese civil law, Islamic law, and customary law	Portugal	Portuguese	Tsonga, Ronga, Chopi, Tonga, Ndau, others	Catholics, Protestants, Muslims, others
11	Rwanda	Unitary presidential constitutional republic	Mixed legal system of civil law, based on German and Belgian models, and customary law; judicial review of legislative acts in the Supreme Court	Belgium, Germany	Kinyarwanda, English, French	Kiswahili (Swahili, used in commercial centers)	Roman Catholics, Protestants, Adventist, Muslim, indigenous beliefs
12	Seychelles	Unitary semi-presidential constitutional republic	Mixed legal system of English common law, French civil law, and customary law	UK	French, English, Seychellois Creole	Other languages	Roman Catholics, Protestants, Christian, Hindu, Muslim
13	Somalia	Federal parliamentary republic	Mixed legal system of civil law, Islamic law, and customary law (referred to as Xeer)	UK and Italia	Somali, Arabic	Italian, English	Sunni Muslim (Islam)

14	South Sudan	Federal presidential republic	National legislature		English	Arabic, Dinka, Nuer, Bari	Animist, Christian
15	Uganda	Presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law and customary law	UK	English, Swahili	Luganda,	Roman Catholics, Protestants, Muslim, others
16	United Republic of Tanzania	Unitary presidential constitutional republic	English common law; judicial review of legislative acts limited to matters of interpretation	UK, Germany	Kiswahili, English	Arabic, many local languages	Christian 30%, Muslim 35%, indigenous beliefs 35%; Zanzibar - more than 99% Muslim
17	Zambia	Presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law and customary law; judicial review of legislative acts in an ad hoc constitutional council	UK	English, Bantu languages	Lala, Chewa, others	Christian 50%-75%, Muslim and Hindu 24%-49%, indigenous beliefs 1%
18	Zimbabwe	Presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law, Roman-Dutch civil law, and customary law	UK	English and 15 more languages	Numerous but minor tribal dialects	Syncretic, Christian, indigenous beliefs

***Table 2.2.2***

#	Country	EA		
		Dispute Territories	Conflict lines	Other problems
1	Burundi	Burundi and Rwanda dispute two sq. km (0.8 sq. mi) of Sabanerwa, a farmed area in the Rukurazi Valley where the Akanyaru/Kanyaru River shifted its course southward after heavy rains in 1965; cross-border conflicts persist among Tutsi, Hutu, other ethnic groups, associated political rebels, armed gangs, and various government forces in the Great Lakes region		Trafficking in persons
2	Comoros	Claims French-administered Mayotte and challenges France's and Madagascar's claims to Banc du Geysier, a drying reef in the Mozambique Channel; in May 2008, African Union forces were called in to assist the Comoros military recapture Anjouan Island from rebels who seized it in 2001		Children are subjected to forced labour; sex trafficking
3	Djibouti	Maintains economic ties and border accords with "Somaliland" leadership while maintaining some political ties to various factions in Somalia; Kuwait is chief investor in the 2008 restoration and upgrade of the Ethiopian-Djibouti rail link; in 2008, Eritrean troops moved across the border on Ras Doumera peninsula and occupied Doumera Island with undefined sovereignty in the Red Sea		Transit, source, and destination country for men, women, and children subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking; economic migrants from East Africa en route to Yemen and other Middle East locations are vulnerable to exploitation in Djibouti;

4	Eritrea	Eritrea and Ethiopia agreed to abide by 2002 Ethiopia-Eritrea Boundary Commission's (EEBC) delimitation decision, but neither party responded to the revised line detailed in the November 2006 EEBC Demarcation Statement; Sudan accuses Eritrea of supporting eastern Sudanese rebel groups; in 2008 Eritrean troops moved across the border on Ras Doumera peninsula and occupied Doumera Island with undefined sovereignty in the Red Sea	A source country for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labour and, to a lesser extent, sex and labour trafficking abroad
5	Ethiopia		Illicit drugs
6	Kenya	Kenya served as an important mediator in brokering Sudan's north-south separation in February 2005; Kenya provides shelter to almost a quarter million refugees, including Ugandans who flee across the border periodically to seek protection from Lord's Resistance Army rebels; Kenya works hard to prevent the clan and militia fighting in Somalia from spreading across the border, which has long been open to nomadic pastoralists; the boundary that separates Kenya's and Sudan's sovereignty is unclear in the "Ilemi Triangle," which Kenya has administered since colonial times	Illicit drugs (marijuana, Indian methaqualone), trafficking in persons, significant potential for money-laundering activity
7	Madagascar	Claims Bassas da India, Europa Island, Glorioso Islands, and Juan de Nova Island (all administered by France); the vegetated drying cays of Banc du Geyser, which were claimed by Madagascar in 1976, also fall within the EEZ claims of the Comoros and France (Glorioso Islands, part of the French Southern and Antarctic Lands)	Illicit producer of cannabis (cultivated and wild varieties) used mostly for domestic consumption; transshipment point for heroin; trafficking in persons
8	Malawi	Disputes with Tanzania over the boundary in Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) and the meandering Songwe River remain dormant	
9	Mauritius	Mauritius and Seychelles claim the Chagos Islands; claims French-administered Tromelin Island	Illicit drugs: consumer and transshipment point for heroin from South Asia

10	Mozambique	South Africa has placed military units to assist police operations along the border of Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique to control smuggling, poaching, and illegal migration	Illicit drugs: southern African transit point for South Asian hashish and heroin
11	Rwanda	Were mentioned in Burundi	Trafficking in persons
12	Seychelles	With Mauritius	Trafficking in persons
13	Somalia	Ethiopian forces invaded southern Somalia and routed Islamist Courts from Mogadishu in January 2007	
14	South Sudan	Periodic violent skirmishes with South Sudanese residents over water and grazing rights persist among related pastoral populations along the border with the Central African Republic; the boundary that separates Kenya and South Sudan's sovereignty is unclear in the "Ilemi Triangle," which Kenya has administered since colonial times	Trafficking in persons
15	Uganda	Uganda is subject to armed fighting among hostile ethnic groups, rebels, armed gangs, militias, and various government forces that extend across its borders; Ugandan refugees as well as members of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) seek shelter in southern Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo's Garamba National Park; LRA forces have also attacked Kenyan villages across the border	
16	United Republic of Tanzania	Tanzania still hosts more than a half million refugees, more than any other African country, mainly from Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, despite the international community's efforts at repatriation; disputes with Malawi over the boundary in Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) and the meandering Songwe River remain dormant	Illicit drugs: targeted by traffickers moving hashish, Afghan heroin, and other; trafficking in persons
17	Zambia	in 2004, Zimbabwe dropped objections to plans between Botswana and Zambia to build a bridge over the Zambezi River, thereby de facto recognizing a short, but not clearly delimited, Botswana-Zambia boundary in the river	Illicit drugs

18	Zimbabwe	Namibia has supported, and in 2004 Zimbabwe dropped objections to, plans between Botswana and Zambia to build a bridge over the Zambezi River, thereby de facto recognizing a short, but not clearly delimited, Botswana-Zambia boundary in the river; South Africa has placed military units to assist police operations along the border of Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique to control smuggling, poaching, and illegal migration	Illicit drugs, trafficking in persons
----	----------	---	---------------------------------------

*Table 2.3.*

#	Countries	WA								
		Population Total (millions)	Population Growth (%)	Urban Population of Total (%)	GDP current (US Dollars) billions	GDP growth annual (%)	GDP per capita, US Dollars	Income level	Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	Mortality rate, infant (per 1,000 live births)
1	Benin	10,050,702	3	46	7.557	5	752	Low	59	59
2	Burkina Faso	16,460,141	3	27	10.726	10	652	Low	56	66
3	Capo Verde	494,401	1	63	1.827	3	3695	Lower Middle	75	19
4	Cote d'Ivoire	19,839,750	2	52	24.680	9	1244	Lower Middle	50	76
5	Gambia	1,791,225	3	58	907.430 millions	5	507	Low	59	49
6	Ghana	25,366,462	2	53	40.711	8	1605	Lower Middle	61	49
7	Guinea	11,451,273	3	36	5.632	4	492	Low	56	65
8	Guinea-Bissau	1,663,558	2	45	822.321 millions	-7	494	Low	54	81
9	Liberia	4,190,435	3	49	1.734	10	414	Low	60	56
10	Mali	14,853,572	3	36	10.388	0	699	Low	55	80

11	Mauritania	3,796,141	2	42	4.199	8	1106	Lower Middle	61	65
12	Niger	17,157,042	4	18	6.773	11	395	Low	58	63
13	Nigeria	168,833,776	3	50	262.597	7	1555	Lower Middle	52	78
14	Senegal	13,726,021	3	43	14.046	3	1023	Lower Middle	63	45
15	Sierra Leone	5,978,727	2	40	3.796	15	635	Low	45	117
16	Togo	6,642,928	3	39	3.814	6	574	Low	56	62

**Table 2.3.1**

#	Country	WA					
		Political System	Legal system	Ex-colony of	Official language	Other languages	Religion
1	Benin	Presidential republic	Civil law system largely depended on the French system and some customary law	France	French	Fon, Yoruba, tribal languages	Catholic 27.1%, Muslim 24.4%, Vodoun 17.3%, Protestant 10.4% (Celestial 5%, Methodist 3.2%, other Protestant 2.2%), other Christian 5.3%, other 15.5% (2002 census)
2	Burkina Faso	Semi-presidential republic	Civil law based on the French model and customary law	France	French	Moore, Mandinka, Bambara (regional recognised languages)	Muslim 60.5%, Catholic 19%, animist 15.3%, Protestant 4.2%, other 0.6%, none 0.4%
3	Capo Verde	Parliamentary republic	Civil law system of Portugal	Portugal	Portuguese	Crioulo	Roman Catholic, Protestants

4	Cote d'Ivoire	Presidential republic	Civil law system based on the French civil code; judicial review in the Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court	France	French	60 native dialects	Muslim Christian, indigenous, none
5	Gambia	Presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law, Islamic law, and customary law	UK	English	Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Serer, Jola (national languages)	Muslim 90%, Christian 8%, indigenous beliefs 2%
6	Ghana	Unitary presidential constitutional republic	Mixed system of English common law and customary law	UK	English	Anaste, Ewe, Fante, Boron, Dagomba, Dangme, Ga and others	Christian 70%, Muslim 18%, other and none 12%
7	Guinea	Presidential republic	Civil law system based on the French model	France	French	Fula, Maninka, Susu	Muslim 85%, Christian 8% and indigenous
8	Guinea-Bissau	Unitary semi-presidential republic	Mixed legal system of civil law (influenced by the early French Civil Code) and customary law	Portugal	Portuguese	Criole de Guinea-Bissau, African languages	Muslim 50%, indigenous beliefs 40% and Christian
9	Liberia	Unitary presidential constitutional republic	Mixed legal system of common law (based on Anglo-American law) and customary law	American Colonized Society (US)	English	20 ethic group languages	Christian 85%, Muslim 12%, traditional and other

10	Mali	Unitary semi-presidential republic	Civil law system based on the French civil law model and influenced by customary law; judicial review of legislative acts in Constitutional Court	France	French	Bambara, Peul, Dogon, Maraka, Malinke, Senoufo, others	Muslim 95%, Christian 2%, Animist and other
11	Mauritania	Semi-presidential Islamic republic	Mixed legal system of Islamic and French civil law	France	Arabic	French, Zenaga, Berber, Pulaar, Soninke, Wolof	Muslim
12	Niger	Unitary semi-presidential republic	Mixed legal system of civil law (based on French civil law), Islamic law, and customary law	France	French	Hausa, Dijerma	Muslim 80%, other
13	Nigeria	Federal presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law, Islamic law (in 12 northern states), and traditional law	UK	English	Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, others	Muslim 50%, Christian 40%, indigenous beliefs 10%
14	Senegal	Semi-presidential republic	Civil law system based on French law; judicial review of legislative acts in Constitutional Court	France	French	Wolof, Soninke, Serer, Maninka, Jola	Muslim 94% (most adhere to one of the four main Sufi brotherhoods), Christian 5% (mostly Roman Catholic), indigenous beliefs 1%

15	Sierra Leone	Presidential constitutional republic	Mixed legal system of English common law and customary law	UK	English	Temne, Mrnde, Krio	Muslim 60%, indigenous beliefs 30%, Christian 10%
16	Togo	Presidential republic	Customary law system	France	French	Ewe, Mina, Kabey and Dagomba	Christian 29%, Muslim 20 and indigenous beliefs 51%

**Table 2.3.2**

#	Country	WA		
		Dispute Territories	Conflict lines	Other problems
1	Benin	Talks continue between Benin and Togo on funding the Adjrara hydroelectric dam on the Mona River; Benin retains a border dispute with Burkina Faso around the town of Koualou; location of Benin-Niger-Nigeria tripoint is unresolved		Illicit drugs: transshipment point used by traffickers for cocaine destined for Western Europe; vulnerable to money laundering due to poorly enforced financial regulations
2	Burkina Faso	Adding to illicit cross-border activities, Burkina Faso has issues concerning unresolved boundary alignments with its neighbours; demarcation is currently underway with Mali, the dispute with Niger was referred to the ICJ in 2010, and a dispute over several villages with Benin persists; Benin retains a border dispute with Burkina Faso around the town of Koualou		
3	Capo Verde	None		illicit drugs: used as a transshipment point for Latin American cocaine destined for Western Europe, particularly because of Lusophone links to Brazil, Portugal, and Guinea-Bissau; has taken steps to deter drug money laundering, including a 2002 anti-money

4	Cote d'Ivoire	Disputed maritime border between Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana	Illicit producer of cannabis, mostly for local consumption; utility as a narcotic transshipment point to Europe reduced by ongoing political instability;
5	Gambia	Attempts to stem refugees, cross-border raids, arms smuggling, and other illegal activities by separatists from southern Senegal's Casamance region, as well as from conflicts in other west African states	Trafficking in persons
6	Ghana	With Cote d'Ivoire	Illicit producer of cannabis for the international drug trade; major transit hub for Southwest and Southeast Asian heroin and, to a lesser extent, South American cocaine destined for Europe and the US; widespread crime and money laundering problem
7	Guinea	Conflicts among rebel groups, warlords, and youth gangs in neighbouring states have spilled over into Guinea resulting in domestic instability; Sierra Leone considers Guinea's definition of the flood plain limits to define the left bank boundary of the Makona and Moa rivers excessive and protests Guinea's continued occupation of these lands, including the hamlet of Yenga, occupied since 1998	Trafficking in persons and illicit drugs
8	Guinea-Bissau	In 2006, political instability within Senegal's Casamance region resulted in thousands of Senegalese refugees, cross-border raids, and arms smuggling into Guinea-Bissau	Illicit drugs, trafficking in persons

9	Liberia	Although civil unrest continues to abate with the assistance of 18,000 UN Mission in Liberia peacekeepers, despite the presence of over 9,000 UN forces in Cote d'Ivoire since 2004, ethnic conflict continues to spread into neighbouring states who can no longer send their migrant workers to Ivorian cocoa plantations; UN sanctions ban Liberia from exporting diamonds and timber	Trafficking in persons and illicit drugs
10	Mali	With Burkina Faso	Trafficking in persons
11	Mauritania	Mauritanian claims to Western Sahara remain dormant	Trafficking in persons
12	Niger	Libya claimed about 25,000 sq. km in a dormant dispute in the Tommo region; location of Benin-Niger-Nigeria tripoint is unresolved; only Nigeria and Cameroon have heeded the Lake Chad Commission's admonition to ratify the delimitation treaty that also includes the Chad-Niger and Niger-Nigeria boundaries; the dispute with Burkina Faso was referred to the ICJ in 2010	Illicit drugs
13	Nigeria	Location of Benin-Niger-Nigeria tripoint is unresolved	Illicit drugs
14	Senegal	The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau attempt to stem separatist violence, cross border raids, and arms smuggling into their countries from Senegal's Casamance region, and in 2006, respectively accepted 6,000 and 10,000 Casamance residents fleeing the conflict; 2,500 Guinea-Bissau residents fled into Senegal in 2006 to escape armed confrontations along the border	Illicit drugs: transshipment point for Southwest and Southeast Asian heroin and South American cocaine moving to Europe and North America; illicit cultivator of cannabis

15	Sierra Leone	<p>As domestic fighting among disparate ethnic groups, rebel groups, warlords, and youth gangs in Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone gradually abates, the number of refugees in border areas has begun to slowly dwindle; Sierra Leone considers excessive Guinea's definition of the flood plain limits to define the left bank boundary of the Makona and Moya rivers and protests Guinea's continued occupation of these lands</p>	
16	Togo	<p>In 2001, Benin claimed Togo moved boundary monuments - joint commission continues to resurvey the boundary; in 2006, 14,000 Togolese refugees remain in Benin and Ghana out of the 40,000 who fled there in 2005; talks continue between Benin and Togo on</p>	Illicit drugs

**Table 2.4**

CA										
#	Countries	Population Total (millions)	Population Growth (%)	Urban Population of Total (%)	GDP current (US Dollars) billions	GDP growth annual (%)	GDP per capita, US Dollars	Income level	Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	Mortality rate, infant (per 1,000 live births)
1	Angola	20,820,525	3	60	114.147	7	5482	Upper Middle	51	100
2	Cameroon	21,699,631	3	53	25.322	5	1167	Lower Middle	55	61
3	Central African Republic	4,525,209	2	39	2.184	7	483	Low	49	91
4	Chad	12,448,175	3	22	12.887	9	1035	Lower Middle	51	89
5	Democratic Republic of the Congo	65,705,093	3	35	17.204	7	262	Low	50	100
6	Congo	4,337,051	3	64	13.678	4	3154	Lower Middle	58	62
7	Equatorial Guinea	736,296	3	40	17.697	2	24036	High	53	72
8	Gabon	1,632,572	2	86	18.377	6	11257	Upper Middle	63	42
9	Sao Tome and Principe	188,098	3	63	263.398 millions	4	1400	Lower Middle	66	38

**Table 2.4.1**

#	Country	CA					
		Political System	Legal system	Ex-colony of	Official language	Other languages	Religion
1	Angola	Unitary presidential republic	Civil legal system based on Portuguese civil law; no judicial review of legislation	Portugal	Portuguese	Kikongo, Unbundu, Kwanamaya, others	Indigenous beliefs, Protestant, Roman Catholic
2	Cameroon	Dominant-party presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law, French civil law, and customary law	France and UK	French, English	24 African language groups	Indigenous beliefs 40%, Christian 40%, Muslim 20%
3	Central African Republic	Provisional republic	Civil law system based on the French model	France	Sango, French	tribal languages	Indigenous beliefs 35%, Protestant 25%, Roman Catholic 25%, Muslim 15%
4	Chad	Dominant-party presidential republic	Mixed legal system of civil and customary law	France	French, Arabic	Sara, different dialects	Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, animist

5	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Semi-presidential republic	Civil legal system based on Belgian version of French civil law	Belgium	French	Lingala, kikongo, Kingwana, Tshiluba	Roman Catholic 50%, Protestant 20%, Kimbanguist 10%, Muslim 10%, other
6	Congo	Dominant-party presidential republic	Mixed legal system of French civil law and customary law	France	French	Lingala, Monokutuba, different dialects	Christian 50%, animist 48%, Muslim 2%

**Table 2.4.1**

#	Country	CA					
		Political System	Legal system	Ex-colony of	Official language	Other languages	Religion
1	Angola	Unitary presidential republic	Civil legal system based on Portuguese civil law; no judicial review of legislation	Portugal	Portuguese	Kikongo, Unbundu, Kwanamaya, others	Indigenous beliefs, Protestant, Roman Catholic
2	Cameroon	Dominant-party presidential republic	Mixed legal system of English common law, French civil law, and customary law	France and UK	French, English	24 African language groups	Indigenous beliefs 40%, Christian 40%, Muslim 20%
3	Central African Republic	Provisional republic	Civil law system based on the French model	France	Sango, French	tribal languages	Indigenous beliefs 35%, Protestant 25%, Roman Catholic 25%, Muslim 15%
4	Chad	Dominant-party presidential republic	Mixed legal system of civil and customary law	France	French, Arabic	Sara, different dialects	Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, animist
5	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Semi-presidential republic	Civil legal system based on Belgian version of French civil law	Belgium	French	Lingala, kikongo, Kingwana, Tshiluba	Roman Catholic 50%, Protestant 20%, Kimbanguist 10%, Muslim 10%, other

6	Congo	Dominant-party presidential republic	Mixed legal system of French civil law and customary law	France	French	Lingala, Monokutuba, different dialects	Christian 50%, animist 48%, Muslim 2%
7	Equatorial Guinea	Unitary semi presidential republic	Mixed system of civil and customary law	Spain	Spanish, French, Portuguese	Fang, Babi	Nominally Christian and predominantly Roman Catholic, pagan practices
8	Gabon	Presidential republic	Mixed legal system of French civil law and customary law	France	French	Fang, Myene, Nzebi, Bapounou/Eschira, Bandjabi	Christian 55%-75%, animist, Muslim less than 1%
9	Sao Tome and Principe	Semi-presidential republic	Mixed legal system of civil law base on the Portuguese model and customary law	Portugal	Portuguese	Forro, Angolar, others	Catholic, other

**Table 2.4.2**

#	Country	CA		
		Dispute Territories	Conflict lines	Other problems
1	Angola		DR Congo accused Angola in shifting monuments	Trafficking in persons; illicit drugs
2	Cameroon	With Nigeria; sovereignty dispute between Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon over an island at the mouth of the Ntem River;		
3	Central African Republic	Periodic skirmishes over water and grazing rights among related pastoral populations along the border with southern Sudan persist		Trafficking in persons
4	Chad	Since 2003, ad hoc armed militia groups and the Sudanese military have driven hundreds of thousands of Darfur residents into Chad; Chad wishes to be a helpful mediator in resolving the Darfur conflict, and in 2010 established a joint border monitoring force with Sudan, which has helped to reduce cross-border banditry and violence		Trafficking in persons

5	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Uganda and DRC dispute Rukwanzi Island in Lake Albert and other areas on the Semliki River with hydrocarbon potential; boundary commission continues discussions over Congolese-administered triangle of land on the right bank of the Lunkinda River claimed by Zambia near the DRC village of Pweto	DRC accuses Angola of shifting monuments	Trafficking in persons; illicit drugs
6	Congo	The location of the boundary in the broad Congo River with the Democratic Republic of the Congo is undefined except in the Pool Malebo/Stanley Pool area		
7	Equatorial Guinea	A dispute between Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon over an island at the mouth of the Ntem River and imprecisely defined maritime coordinates; UN urged Equatorial Guinea and Gabon to resolve the sovereignty dispute over Gabon-occupied Mbane and lesser islands and to create a maritime boundary in the hydrocarbon-rich Corisco Bay		Trafficking in persons
8	Gabon	With Equatorial Guinea		
9	Sao Tome and Principe			

**Table 2.5**

SA										
#	Countries	Population Total (millions)	Population Growth (%)	Urban Population of Total (%)	GDP current (US Dollars) billions	GDP growth annual (%)	GDP per capita, US Dollars	Income level	Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	Mortality rate, infant (per 1,000 live births)
1	Botswana	2,003,910	1	62	14.504	4	7,238	Upper Middle	47	41
2	Lesotho	2,051,545	1	28	2.448	4	1,193	Lower Middle	49	74
3	Namibia	2,259,393	2	39	13.072	5	5,786	Upper Middle	64	28
4	South Africa	52,274,945	1	62	384.313	3	7,352	Upper Middle	56	33
5	Swaziland	1,230,985	2	21	3.714	-2	3,042	Lower Middle	49	56

Table 2.5.1

#	Country	SA					
		Political System	Legal system	Ex-colony of	Official language	Other languages	Religion
1	Botswana	Unitary parliament republic	Mixed legal system of civil law influenced by the Roman-Dutch model and also customary and common law	UK	English, Setswana	Kalanga, Sekgalagadi, other	Christian - dominance, Badimo
2	Lesotho	Unitary parliament constitutional monarchy	Mixed legal system of English common law and Roman-Dutch law; judicial review of legislative acts in High Court and Court of Appeal	UK	English, Sesotho	Zulu, Xhosa	Christian 80%, indigenous beliefs 20%
3	Namibia	Unitary presidential constitutional republic	Mixed legal system of unmodified civil law based on Roman-Dutch law and customary law	Germany then South Africa	English	Afrikaans, German	Christian 80% to 90% (at least 50% Lutheran), indigenous beliefs 10% to 20%
4	South Africa	Constitutional parliament republic	Mixed legal system of Roman-Dutch civil law, English common law, and customary law	UK	11 languages: IsiZulu, IsiXhaosa, Afrikaans, English and others		Protestant, Catholic, Muslim and other Christian

5	Swaziland	Unitary parliament absolute monarchy	Mixed legal system of civil, common, and customary law	UK	English, siSwati	Zionist, Roman Catholic, Muslim, other
---	-----------	--------------------------------------	--	----	------------------	--

**Table 2.5.2**

#	Country	SA		
		Dispute Territories	Conflict lines	Other problems
1	Botswana	None		
2	Lesotho	South Africa has placed military units to assist police operations along the border of Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique to control smuggling, poaching, and illegal migration		Trafficking in persons
3	Namibia	The Okavango Delta ecology in Botswana and human displacement scuttled Namibian plans to construct a hydroelectric dam on Popa Falls along the Angola-Namibia border; plans between Botswana and Zambia to build a bridge over the Zambezi River		Trafficking in persons
4	South Africa	South Africa placed military units to assist police operations along the border of Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique to control smuggling, poaching, and illegal migration;		Illicit drugs: transshipment centre
5	Swaziland	In 2006, Swazi king advocated resorting to ICJ to claim parts of Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal from South Africa		

**Table 3.4.1 General facts about REC's in SSA**

REC name	Date of establishment	Official Languages	Number of Participants	Objectives and results	Future Plans	Comments
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	5 <sup>th</sup> November 1993	English French Portuguese	20 states	<p>Stage-by-stage creation of FTA, Customs union within 10 years and a common market; assistance to growth of mutual trade; cooperation in the industry, agricultural industry, communication, development human resources.</p> <p>In 2004 has to be OTT with duties is entered into 0%, 5%, 15% and 30% for capital-intensive goods, raw materials, semi-finished products and end products respectively. In 2001 - lowered duties for 60-80%. Reached the FTA within the block.</p> <p>In 2009 launched a CU, has CET bands as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. 0% for raw materials</li> <li>b. 0% for capital</li> <li>c. 10% for intermediate goods</li> <li>d. 25% for finished goods</li> </ul>	<p>Full Monetary Union involving the use of one common currency issued by a common Central Bank.</p> <p>The Tripartite Summit to merge three RECs (COMESA, EAC and SADC)</p>	<p>Mostly, countries from this bloc deal with the transition from centralised to a market economy, which lead to temporally economical deformations; moreover, countries depend significantly on the world prices for one/two export products, which gain them the most profit from the budget needs, and therefore make them vulnerable to the outside influence.</p> <p>Another weak point in this integration process is an undeveloped infrastructural connection within the region.</p>
Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)	4th February 1998	Arabic English French Portuguese	28 states	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Free movement of persons, capitals and interests of nationals of member States;</li> <li>b. Right of establishment,</li> </ul>	<p>March 2014 – meeting of heads for the discussion of further development</p>	<p>Currently this bloc goes through a tough period. Arab spring, temporally collapse of Malian state in 2012, tribal and ethnic separatism, etc., all these factors lead to</p>

				<p>ownership and exercise of economic activity;</p> <p>c. Free trade and movement of goods, commodities and services from member States.</p>	<p>in security, economical and social fields.</p>	<p>misunderstanding in the cooperation for the future programs and further strategic development.</p> <p>Unfortunately, we could not name the SEN-SAD a complete framework, and efficient model for the regional cooperation, since the strategically important country such as Algeria is staying away from the integrated development of this bloc.</p> <p>Therefore, in the near future we could possibly foresee important changes in the structure and ways of cooperation between the member-states.</p>
East African Community (EAC)	30th November 1999	English French Swahili	5 states	<p>Aims for the enlargement with other Partner States; achieved an establishment of: Custom Union and Common Market, significantly reduce trade barriers between countries-members, in 2005 reached the border for the cancelling all barriers, but in 2006 it became obvious that previous economical balance was disturbed, since all FI were forwarded in the direction Kenya – Uganda. Therefore, now</p>	<p>Pending members: South Sudan and Somalia;</p> <p>Highly ambitious plan for a creation of East African Federation in 2015</p>	<p>Although, this block, as well as others, has combined economies with different level of the developments, I want to stress that, since the number of participants in this bloc is much less, than in another, it really has a greater chance for a success. It is always easier to find common agreement between less numbers of participants.</p>

				<p>Kenya wants to reconsider the treaty and re-establish the CU.</p> <p>Introduced East African Passport; normalisation of the granting work permission process; operating annual EAC students Essay Competition; establishing of numbers of institutions, etc.</p> <p>Cooperation with EU.</p>		
<p>Economic Community of Central African States (CEEAC)</p>	<p>October 1983</p>	<p>French Spanish Portuguese</p>	<p>10 states</p>	<p>Member states agreed to create a new mechanism of financing of the activities of the Community called the Community Contribution of Integration (CCI). CCI is sitting down on a customs cord or a sample the rate of which is 0.4 % stocks in customhouse of importation except Community. The strengthening of the capacities of the General Secretariat (BAD, ACBF, European Union); the consensual Battle plan of transport in central Africa (PDCT-AC); 14 priority plans of PACT-AC of NEPAD among which the study relating to the Interconnection of electricity networks between Member states and the integrated</p>	<p>Possibility for Morocco to gain an observer status in CEEAC</p>	<p>The achievements are questionable, currently. However, organisation has a potential for improvement and gaining trust among member-states.</p>

				management of resources in water (GIRE); the Zone of Free Exchange (ZLE), is a prelude to the Customs union; the Regional Programme of Food Security (PRSA); the programme of struggle against the HIV / AIDS in central Africa, etc.		
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	28 <sup>th</sup> May 1975	English French Portuguese	15 states	Self-financing budgets for institutions: Community levy – 0.5% on goods from third countries; Abolishing of visas; creation of ECOWAS Trade Certificate; Circulation of ECOWAS Passport: Suppression of barriers and police check points; harmonisation of documents; adopted a Trade Liberalisation Scheme (TLS); abolishing of non-tariff barriers within Member States exchanges; implementing a Common External Tariff (CET); harmonisation of economic and fiscal policies, etc. One of the most significant achievements can be named the creation of a pipeline Nigeria-Togo-Benin-Ghana in 2004 (West African Gas Pipeline), which has a crucial	In 2015 – WAMZ – West African Monetary Zone In 2020 – ECOWAS Single Currency. Working on the aspect of the promoting of free labour migration I region.	The integration process in this bloc we could name a success. Still, there are many contradictions. The rivalries between English-speaking and French-speaking countries are still a highly debated topic. In inner contradiction within the region about the role of Nigeria as a Hegemon, on one hand, everyone wants to succeed with Nigeria, but at the same time they do not want to let the Nigeria full control over ECOWAS territories. Unfortunately an ambitious plan about a unite currency in the region by 2006 fold, because of the inability to fulfil macroeconomic indicators, which should have all member countries. However, general development is quite high.

				<p>meaning not just for these countries, but also for the whole region in general. WAPP programme (The West African Power Pool) agreement for a building new electric power stations and electricity transmissions lines.</p> <p>2010 reach the formation of the battle-worthy and peacekeeper contingent in the region.</p>		
Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD)	January 1986	English	8 states	<p>Promote joint development strategies and gradually harmonize macro-economic policies and programmes in the social, technological and scientific fields; harmonize policies with regard to trade, customs, transport, communications, agriculture, and natural resources, and promote free movement of goods, services, and people within the region; create an enabling environment for foreign, cross-border and domestic trade and investment; Achieve regional food security and encourage and assist efforts of Member States to collectively combat drought and</p>	<p>Partnership with EU</p> <p>Providing the assistance for peaceful regulation of conflicts in the Somalia area.</p> <p>Provided dispatched monitoring and verification teams (MVTs) to the South Sudan for the maintaining the peace between reached by the conflicting sides, therefore plays a major role in</p>	<p>Since IGAD is seen mainly as a security, regional organization, we can analyse whether is it successful or not by observing how does it cope with the Somalia and South Sudan problems. Initially, it was hard to name IGAD a neutral side in these conflict lines, since own interest to member-states in Somalia and South Sudan. Moreover, there were different approaches in addressing the Somalia conflict; either become a federation, or unitary system. Each country member of IGAD had own ideas about it, and they were not able to promote unitary thoughts as one bloc.</p> <p>The lack of regional power plays a crucial role in the integration process. Even though, Ethiopia has military and human sources for becoming such, still it is not</p>

				<p>other natural and man-made disasters and their natural consequences, etc. [http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/recs/igad.htm]</p>	<p>regional efforts to solve security crisis in the region.</p>	<p>able to improve economical side with the regional process in IGAD. Moreover, the IGAD members are members of other regional organisations whether EAC or COMESA, which prevents them from focusing the initial interest of IGAD development.</p>
<p>South African Development Community (SADC)</p>	<p>1st April 1980</p>	<p>English French Portuguese</p>	<p>14 states (15 actually Madagascar is suspended since 2009)</p>	<p>2 major Plans: Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan and Strategic Development Plan for the Organ. Decrease in duties; coordination rates of duties of external tariffs; decrease in barriers concerning movement of capital and persons. In 2001 – expansion mutual transit communications (from 20% to 60%); the formation of transport corridors and general power supply system. In 2005 – there are significant positive improvements in integration process. The successful accomplishment of the democratic elections among the member-states; approved the Memorandum about the cooperation in insurance, currency, financial and</p>	<p>Future plans of this block are written in the Programme Vision 2050 SADC ponders future. In this programme, SADC authorities stress their main fields of interests, such as energy, transport, environmental issue, negotiation between EA and SA about economical cooperation, the establishment of Shire-Zambezi waterways, and many other</p>	<p>Although, initially this REC was created as a tool for preventing dominance of the South African Republic, we can observe nowadays, that the South African Republic plays role of hegemon in this area. However, it does not mean that the integration process failed, yes, it is fair to mention that SADC was not able to achieve all their targets at the set time period, therefore, there were changes in programmes and reorganisations. But still it showed positive progress on the way for the development.</p>

				telecommunication area's.	important questions for the region.	
--	--	--	--	---------------------------	--	--

*Table 3.4.2 Other Regional Organisations in SSA*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Date of establishment</b>	<b>Official Languages</b>	<b>Number of Participants</b>	<b>Objectives and results</b>	<b>Future Plans</b>	<b>Comments</b>
The South African Custom Union (SACU)	1 <sup>st</sup> of March 1970, in 1990 – Namibia joined	English	5 states	<p>Stage-by-stage creation of FTA, Customs union within 10 years and a common market; assistance to growth of mutual trade; cooperation in the industry, agricultural industry, communication, development human resources.</p> <p>In 2004 has to be OTT with duties is entered into 0%, 5%, 15% and 30% for capital-intensive goods, raw materials, semi-finished products and end products respectively. In 2001 - lowered duties for 60-80%. Reached the FTA within the block.</p> <p>In 2009 launched a CU, has CET bands as:</p> <p>a. 0% for raw materials</p> <p>b. 0% for capital</p>	<p>Full Monetary Union involving the use of one common currency issued by a common Central Bank.</p> <p>The Tripartite Summit to merge three RECs (COMESA, EAC and SADC)</p>	<p>Since this could be named as one of the most ancient customs unions, we could say that despite all obstacles and historical swifts, it managed to survive, thus this is a successful point in the integration process.</p> <p>Interest from the US side also paid its credits for the development of the organisation. The TIDCA between the US and SACU is seen as a first step on the way of further cooperation. The main idea here, should be not to loose the balance between inner integration</p>

				<p>c. 10% for intermediate goods                  d. 25% for finished goods                  US – SACU trade cooperation</p>		<p>within the SSA region, and outside focus with other world.</p>
<p>The Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC)</p>	<p>June 1999</p>	<p>French</p>	<p>6 states</p>	<p>Main target is to reach the establishment of a Central African Common Market. Goals on the way for approaching to main target:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to develop capacities to maintain peace, security and stability - as essential prerequisites for economic and social development</li> <li>• to develop physical economical and monetary unity;</li> <li>• to develop a proper conditions for a culture of human integration</li> <li>• to establish an autonomous financing mechanism for ECCAS</li> </ul> <p>CEMAC countries have a common financial, regulatory; moreover they share a legal structure, and a common external tariff on imports for the non-CEMAC countries.</p>	<p>Future plan about abolishing visa requirements within members;                  The creation of policy framework for CEMAC business.                  Facilitate access for the pharmaceutical companies into regional market.</p>	<p>In order to establish an optimum currency area in the region, all countries should fulfil economic convergence criteria; unfortunately, current member-states of CEMAC could not do this. But still the creation of the monetary union is the best way for this period.                  For the prospect development CEMAC countries should elaborate further in the fields of the institutional structure in order to finally reach the goal a monetary union.</p>

				Actually tariffs should be gone within CEMAC, but it is still have not reach a reality, however, the movement of capital within bloc CEMAC is free		
West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU)	January 1994	French	8 states	<p>Organisation, which was created to establish economic integration within countries with CFA franc as single currency.</p> <p>In 1999, WAEMU members adopted the Convergence, Stability, Growth and Solidarity Pact that was amended in 2003 and 2009.</p> <p>BCEOA operates as independent and specialised institution within union.</p> <p>CFA is the only legal currency among the member-states. Pegging to Euro.</p> <p>Increased overall intra-zone trade.</p>	Further operation in the monetary union development; Conduct the negotiation for a social pact, in order to solve issues with the standard of living of the population.	For the last decades, WAEMU has proved some undeniable achievement in their actions. There are strong improvements in such aspects as the management of the currency, maintenance of stock markets and moreover, within exchange policy decisions. Although, some aspects as the lack of fiscal convergence is still needed to be solved.
The Indian Ocean Commission (IOC)	1984	French	5 states	<p>Reached Agreements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Smartfish programme for the Implementation of a Regional Fisheries Strategy in the Eastern and Southern Africa and Indian</li> </ul>	Adopted New Strategic Development Plan for the period from 2013 to 2016, with 4 strategic axes. They combine within itself 5 areas and 21	Although, IOC main concerns are diplomatic cooperation within the region, economical boundaries between

			<p>Ocean region (ESA-IO region);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The ISLANDS programme for the Implementation of the Mauritius Strategy for Small Islands Developing States (SIDS) of the ESA-IO region, aims at an increased level of social, economic and environmental development and deeper regional integration through the sustainable development of SIDS in the ESA-IO region;</li> <li>- A programme to support the IMF Regional Technical Assistance Centres (AFRITACs) of the ESA-IO, namely AFRITAC East, based in Tanzania, and AFRITAC South, based in Mauritius. The programme, for an amount of EUR 15 million, aims at improving the design, implementation, and monitoring of sound macroeconomic policies, and enhanced regional harmonisation and integration in ESA-IO Member States to assist them in the implementation of the regional</li> </ul>	<p>fields of actions for improving readability and visibility of the integration process.</p>	<p>member states are also the topic for the discussion. Currently FTA exists between 2 member states, Mauritius and Madagascar. But further enlarging of this area is highly expected. The importance and significance of this bloc are proven by high interest of the EU. Therefore, we can foresee further growth and deepening of the integration process.</p>
--	--	--	---	---	---

				integration agenda of their Regional Organisations.		
Nile Basin Initiative	22 February 1999	English	10 states	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To develop the Nile Basin water resources in a sustainable and equitable way to ensure prosperity, security, and peace for all its peoples</li> <li>- To ensure efficient water management and the optimal use of the resources</li> <li>- To ensure cooperation and joint action between the riparian countries, seeking win-win gains</li> <li>- To target poverty eradication and promote economic integration</li> <li>- To ensure that the program results in a move from planning to action</li> </ul>	<p>NBI Overarching Strategic Plan 2012 – 2016: general overview of current ecological situation, point out main core basin-wide programmes, however does not give direct guidelines, each member-state should create own way to reach goal from this plan.</p> <p>The Nile Basin Initiative Secretariat strategic plan 2012 – 2016. 3 dimension - institutional sustainability,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Basin Cooperation Program, and Water Resources Management Program</li> <li>- Support to national ministries and SAPs in their tasks for water resources development.</li> </ul>	<p>As one of the most significant results of this organisation, we could name the accomplishment of the Shared Vision Programme (SVP). Before 2009, scientists were stressing the need for an institutional improvement for NBI; otherwise it will not be able to fulfil even half from their projects. Therefore, today, after the accomplishment of SVP in 2009, we can say that NBI reached an impressive institutional strengthening, along with increasing human resource capacities and creation of networks for a stakeholders. All gained benefits from this programme give NBI a proper basis for a further</p>



Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia				x		x			
Gabonese Republic		x						x	
The Republic of Gambia	x		x						
The Republic of Ghana	x		x						
The Republic of Guinea	x		x						
The Republic of Guinea-Bissau	x		x						x
The Republic of Kenya				x	x	x			
The Kingdom of Lesotho							x		
The Republic of Liberia	x		x						
Libya				x					
The Republic of Madagascar				x			x		x
The Republic of Malawi				x			x		
The Republic of Mali	x		x						x
The Republic of Mauritania									
The Republic of Mauritius				x			x		x
The Republic of Mozambique							x		
The Republic of Namibia							x		
The Republic of the Niger	x		x						x
The Republic of Nigeria	x		x						
The Republic of Rwanda				x	x				
The Republic Arab Saharawi Democratic									
Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe		x							
The Republic of Senegal	x		x						x
The Republic of Seychelles				x			x		x
The Republic of Sierra Leone	x		x						
The Somali Republic			x			x			
The Republic of South Africa									
The Republic of South Sudan						x			
The Republic of The Sudan			x	x		x			

The Kingdom of Swaziland				x			x		
United Republic of Tanzania					x		x		
Togolese Republic	x		x						x
Tunisian Republic			x						
The Republic of Uganda				x	x	x			
The Republic of Zambia				x			x		
The Republic of Zimbabwe				x			x		

**Table 3.4.4 RO's stages**

<b>Stages of integration</b>	<b>ECOWAS</b>	<b>CEEAC</b>	<b>CEN-SAD</b>	<b>COMESA</b>	<b>EAC</b>	<b>IGAD</b>	<b>SADC</b>	<b>AMU</b>
I pre Free Trade Area			x					x
II Free Trade Area	x	x				x	x	
III Customs Union				x				
IV Common Market					x			
V Economic Union								