

Contents

Introduction	9
CHAPTER I	
Theoretical approach to regional integration in Africa	69
Regionalism	69
Region and regionalism	69
Regionalization	76
“Old” and “new” regionalism	83
Theories of regionalism	89
Africa’s experience with regionalism	95
Regionalism in West Africa	100
Regionalism in South Africa	101
“Old” and “new” regionalism in Africa	102
Historical perspective of regionalism	107
Waves of regionalism	112
Pan-Africanism	116
Pan-Africanism as a prism for continental theory	123
Post-colonial regionalism	124
The forces behind regionalism in Africa	126
Neoliberalism	126
Globalization	128
Regionalization and globalisation	133
Intergovernmentalism	144
The Ibrahim Index of African Governance	156
Liberal intergovernmentalism	165
Critique of liberal intergovernmentalism	172
CHAPTER II	
Ideas and records of regional cooperation and monetary integration in Africa	175
Africa’s experience with monetary cooperation	196
Monetary integration: lesson from the past	196

Contemporary solutions on monetary integration	207
Fiscal policy in main dilemmas	216
Exchange rate regime doubts	219
WAEMU and CEMAC ‘plough horses’ of monetary integration	234
East African Community, a leader of integration	237
Financial integration issues	239
Pan-African banks	244
Disappointing developments – cons behind the monetary union?	247
The challenges of African integration	260
The African Monetary Cooperation Programme	260
Political inconveniences	266
Africa Regional Integration Index	278
CHAPTER III	
Institutional and legal framework of African regional integration ..	291
The Organization of African Unity (OAU)	300
The African Union	314
The Constitutive Act of the African Union	314
The structure of the African Union	328
The African Union institutions dilemmas	333
Pan-African Parliament	335
The African Court of Justice	342
The African Union operational challenges	347
The “idea of Africa”	349
The Abuja Treaty	359
The African Economic Community conception	363
Operational framework limitations	370
CHAPTER IV	
Regional Economic Communities	374
What is a regional economic community?	374
Legal framework and operational doubts of RECs	381
Rationalization of RECs: phases, strategies, concepts	393
Rationalization examples from West Africa	405
Other problematic issues	411
Minimum Integration Programme and its role	416

'Building blocks' of the AEC	419
Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)	419
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	421
The East African Community (EAC)	427
Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)	432
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	436
Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)	445
South African Development Community (SADC)	450
Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)	454
Monetary cooperation in selected Regional Economic Communities	457
Southern Africa's Development Community (SADC)	457
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	461
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	465
East African Community (EAC)	468
Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)	470
Institutional framework inconsistencies	471
Scarcity of political will	474
Multiple and overlapping memberships	482
Duplicated programmes	490
CHAPTER V	
Trade in Africa – a measure of regional integration	494
Patterns of trade and its dilemmas	497
Sub-Saharan Africa's trade in 1995–2013	497
Costs of trade	504
Administration ineffectiveness	508
Global value chain challenges	509
Trade liberalization and tariffs dilemmas	512
Intra-African trade	519
Building political capacity for trade facilitation	527
Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA)	530
Tripartite Free Trade Area: COMESA-EAC-SADC	540
A document "Boosting Intra-Africa Trade"	543
Trade facilitation in some RECs	545
Conclusion	552
African regional integration is a "continued" integration	567

So far prospects and realities of economic integration in Africa are divergent	572
Integration in Africa is not “developing”. It does not lead to political integration	578
References	594