THE CULTURE OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA: A REVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1960

Amah Maclean Williams
Department of History and International Studies
Akwa Ibom State University, Nigeria

Nsidibe Akpan Usoro
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Uyo, Nigeria
nsidibeusoro@uniuyo.edu.ng

Abstract

The culture of regional economic and political integration has been the centre-spread of agenda for African development ever since the demise of colonialism more than half a century ago. However, this aspiration still remains largely unfulfilled as progress has not really gone beyond the level of minimalist inter-governmental cooperation with obvious negative consequences for the future of the marginalised continent. This paper relied on secondary elaboration techniques to present Anthro- historical review of extant literatures from journals, textbooks, position papers and other secondary sources to present efforts towards African integration in multi-perspectives. It examines the phases of African integration from Pan Africanism through the organization of African Unity and up to the African union. The review analyses practical efforts geared towards African economic integration from the African trade liberalization policies, privatization and commercialization policies to the establishment of African Development Bank. The review also brings to fore the problems militating against African economic integration. Extant literature reviewed point to the fact that regional integration of the continent is being hampered by many deficiencies, particularly the lack of clear leadership, the iron law of impenetrable national sovereignty and African Unity being used as an ideological slogan instead of a rallying call for concerted effort towards sustained growth and stability. This may fortify the pessimistic conclusion that the prospect of real change for the better in Africa remains a remote aspiration. Based on extant literatures reviewed, this paper maintains the position that, there is now renewed impetus to establish closer economic and political ties among the continent's numerous countries, based on a heightened appreciation of the need for regional integration. The paper concludes, that the benefits of regional integration, and indeed globalisation, remain a critical part of Africa's workable development strategy. This would hopefully see the African Union realising the continent's dream of a single currency and central bank within the shortest possible period in line with her goal of halving the menace of poverty on African continent.

Keywords: **African economic integration, development, Pan-Africanism, African Union**

Introduction

African integration has long been a cherished but elusive goal. Political leaders at official conferences and formal summits have long promoted the idea, although with only limited results. There is a renewed impetus to establish closer economic and political ties among the continent's numerous countries, based on a heightened appreciation of the need for regional integration and a clearer understanding of past failures.

Political liberation and decolonization were the rallying ideology upon which economic integration and unity, found eloquent articulation in the 1960s. With the independence of several African States and the subsequent establishment of a plethora of integrative mechanisms, all the Pan- African conferences were particularly unequivocal in their advocacy of freeing Africa in an all-round sense with an urge for economic cooperation as the basis of economic and political transformation. These efforts culminated in the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. Nevertheless, Africa has no positive integrative story to tell after several years of the OAU, especially as the continent become threatened increasingly by its failure to cope with the challenges of development and globalisation. Thus, the current integrative reforms in the continental body constitute a response to the emerging global order, a conscious effort to expand economic and political space as well as the needed instrument to strengthen integration in Africa. This study therefore, examines the current African integration efforts in the age of globalisation in a bid to show the current development and future challenges.

At the dawn of independence, it was obvious that Africa's development lies in the unity of her people. Indeed, it was the quest for unity that fired African nationalism and led to pan- Africanism as a guiding ideology upon which the battle for de-colonization was fought with vigour, strength and determination. These struggles led to the complete dismantling of apartheid in South Africa followed by political independence. African sovereign states have always subscribed to the principles of continental cooperation and integration. This they have demonstrated with increased determination and vociferous public declarations on the issue of regional cooperation and integration by first establishing the Organization of African Unity (OAU) even before the subject gained currency in the global development agenda and discourse. The eventual establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 reflects the determination and resolve of African peoples to accomplish concrete continental unity. Although ideological divisions brought about as a result of different colonial political experiences among the newly independent states and nationalistic devotion of each independent state to the process of nation building and institutional development affected the strong realisation of the dream of the OAU, however by the 1980s, the challenge of addressing the issue of continental socioeconomic transformation had become more urgent and was reinforced by the economic decline experienced from the late 1970s, the realization of the non-viability of externally dependent strategies of development and the imperative of integration.

Greater African unity has long been a cherished but elusive goal, however there is now renewed impetus to establish closer economic and political ties among the continent's numerous countries, based on a heightened appreciation of the need for regional integration. It is against this background and with such facts in mind that the subject of African integration is here explored. This paper traces the origin of efforts towards African integration; it examines the phases of African integration from Pan Africanism through the organization of African Unity and up to the African union. The study also analyses practical efforts geared towards African economic integration from the African trade liberalization policies, privatization and commercialization policies to the establishment of African Development Bank. The present investigation lays bare the problems militating against African economic integration. This paper addresses questions like; what are the problems confronting African economic integration? What does Africa stand to benefit from integration? What are or have been the efforts made by African leaders towards African integration. Considering the unfavourable position of Africa in the international scene, can the continent in any way achieve economic development through regional cooperation?

Methodology

This paper is a literally survey of several efforts, programmes and policies by African leaders, over the years to attend the much-envisaged goal of strong regional integration across the continent. The Anthro-historical approach was adopted to review extant literatures, journals, textbooks, position papers, policy papers, other secondary materials and oral testimonies by notable individuals and scholars to inject a blend of personal testimonies and secondary elaboration techniques into the paper.

African Economic Integration

African Economic Integration relates to the process of promoting economic cooperation and unity among African countries with the ultimate goal of creating a single unified African market which will engender development of the African continent. As lofty as the idea of integration is, in Africa, it has been in vogue as a strategy of the continent's development. Regional cooperation has been a common feature of the African landscape, dating back to the start of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU) in 1963.African Economic Integration aims to increase economic growth and development in Africa by promoting trade, investment, and economic cooperation. It seeks to increase trade among African countries, reducing dependence on external markets and improve the economic competitiveness of African countries, enabling them to compete effectively in the global market.

The role of regional cooperation has grown steadily in the continent-wide efforts to bring economic development and political stability to Africa. The early proliferation of regional groupings through the 1970s was followed by commitment in the Lagos - plan of Action (1980) to strengthen existing economic communities and to establish other grouping that would span the entire continent. This plan, according to Ralph Onwuka consisted for the most part, of guidelines and, schemes for the implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic development of Africa and establishing a Pan African Common Market (Onwuka, 1984).

Commenting on why there was lack of progress in this scheme, Professor Adedeji formerly of the United Nations (ECA) Economic Commission for Africa who provided the framework for this cooperation alongside the OAU argued that despite the economic crises that have engulfed the continent since 1980 there is no doubt the intention of the participating states to push ahead its developmental objectives. He contends that as long as commentators on African sub-regional and integration schemes constantly bear in mind that modern Africa is relatively new to the game of international cooperation, we shall understand the rationale behind the hesitation and slow progress (Adedeji, 1990).

No doubt, Africa's poor performance does not necessarily imply that, it lacks resources, but rather how to harness the abundant natural and human resources for her development. Abass Bundu (1997) a former ECOWAS Secretary General, opinionated that, "a well-structured approach to regional integration and cooperation holds the promise of accelerated development through the co-ordination- exploitation of a region's human, natural and capital resources" (Ndock, 1996). This importance of investment in physical infrastructure and direct interventions of various sorts are required to promote the development and diversification of the regional production base. As Rene's Robert observed at the continental level, there is recognition that economic development cannot stand alone without broader social policies supporting it. The question then is how does regional integration relate to development especially in African content?

The Synergy between Regional Integration and Development in Africa

Regional integration and development in Africa are closely intertwined, with each reinforcing the other. Regional Integration remains a key driver of development in Africa. Regional integration agreements, such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA), can increase trade and investment among member States, fostering economic growth and development. It can also help African countries improve their economic competitiveness by promoting specialization, economies of scale, and facilitate transportation networks, energy systems, and communication technologies. As African countries develop, they become more economically interdependent, creating a greater need for regional integration.

Culture envelopes the works of man. Mankind is a culture building and culture living creature therefore, the assertion that it is the activities of man that provides the synergy between regional integration and development in Africa is clear. Regional integration can drive development by increasing trade and investment, improving economic competitiveness, and enhancing infrastructure development. Conversely, development can catalyse regional integration by reducing poverty and inequality, increasing economic interdependence, and improving governance and institutions. Addressing the challenges and seizing the opportunities in this synergy can help Africa achieve its development goals and promote regional integration.

Judging from the problems that regional integration has encountered in Africa, it clearly indicates that member countries of various sub-regional integration schemes in Africa have not completely accepted regional integration as a development tool and are yet to accord it the necessary priority. It is important to state that politicians in African countries often find themselves baffled by the sheer magnitude and complexity of development problems as well as by possible choices available to overcome some of these problems. This bewilderment would not be far from their misconception of what development means and the tool kit for achieving it. The view of development only in the content of economic growth with trends in income per capita taken as the chief indicator of the rate of progress raises some contentious issues about the nature, causes and objectives of development, as well as its empirical validity and the value basis of its assumptions and models.

Andre Gunder Frank and other radical economists as Michael Todaro have a different view point on the issue. They insist on the consideration of social justice and human satisfaction as essential components of any adequate definition of development (Todaro, 1977). Professor Adedeji repudiating the orthodox assumption of development stressed that economic and material growth by themselves should not be viewed as sufficient condition of development, however important they may be: growth must be brought about in ways which actively promote the self-reliant capabilities of developing countries in order to be of lasting value. He concluded that development cannot be reduced merely to capital accumulation, economic growth and economic restructuring. To do so is to confuse what may constitute the basis for development itself, hence, he warned that the conventional gross domestic product (GDP) by which the rates of growth are measured should be regarded with caution when dealing with economies such as those in Africa. For what is germane is not simply growth but the 'complete restructuring, transformation of economies from dependence to self-reliant ones' (Adedeji, 1986).

In a nutshell, the conventional GDP as an indicator of growth is according to developmental scholars the most pervasive of development illusions and this illusion and the confusion, they cause are primarily responsible for the slow progress that has been made so far in the developing countries. Thus, in the overall development process, the developing countries should not ignore the importance of such non-quantifiable factors as free mobility and horizontal and vertical social mobility, the establishment of the right type of social and economic institutions and the abolition or reform of those that inhibit development and modernization.

On the interface between the regional integration and development in Africa, Professor Adedeji shared this key aspect with Raul Prebisch of the Economic Commission for Latin American Counties (ECLAC) as a development strategy. In other words, Adedeji like his Latin American counterpart recognized the dynamic potential of regional cooperation and integration whereby developing countries can break out of their narrow markets and form regional groupings as an instrument of economic de-colonization. Both intellectuals attribute the causes of failure of different development policies in the developing world to the series of independent efforts carried out, in isolated compartments. In their views, developing countries have inadequate resources or the technical capacity to compete with the relatively more developed ones in the same underdeveloped regions, much less with the developed areas, as could be seen, for instance, in the Southern African sub-region where the economy of the then frontline states combined together remained underdeveloped in comparism to that of the then apartheid South Africa, precipitating the formation of Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) was seen as one strategy to bridge the gap (Adedeji, 1986).

Regional integration is a powerful driver of development in Africa, offering numerous benefits that can propel the continent towards sustainable growth and prosperity. By promoting economic cooperation, integration can increase trade and investment, improve economic competitiveness, and enhance infrastructure development. One of the key advantages of regional integration is its potential to unlock economies of scale, allowing African countries to reap the benefits of larger markets and increased specialization. This, in turn, can lead to improved economic growth, job creation, and reduced poverty. Regional integration can also facilitate the development of regional infrastructure, such as transportation networks, energy systems, and communication technologies. This can help to bridge the infrastructure gap in Africa, making it easier to do business and promoting economic development. Moreover, regional integration can help Africa to tackle regional and global challenges, such as climate change, pandemics, and fragility. By working together, African countries can share knowledge, expertise, and resources, making them better equipped to address these challenges.

Pan Africanism

As seen above, African countries have a long history of repeated attempts to group themselves in sub-groups and even Africa-wide through several broad types of arrangements. Many researchers have argued that regional integration and cooperation are the most appropriate way to improve weak intra-African trade as well as internal (domestic) trade. Another move geared towards uniting the continent to achieve the above objective and also decolonise Africa was the emergence of Pan Africanism. Pan Africanism is a philosophy that is based on the belief that African people share common bonds and objectives and advocates unity to achieve these objectives. In the views of different proponents throughout its history, Pan-Africanism has been conceived in many ways. It has been applied to all black African people and people of black African descent; to all people on the African continent, including the Arabs living in Africa; or to all states on the African continent (Azevedo, 1988).

The formal concept of Pan-Africanism initially developed outside of Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It developed as a reaction to the impact of European colonialism in Africa on peoples of African descent. In the mid-20th century, activists in Africa adopted Pan-Africanism as a rallying call for independence from colonial rule. Some African Pan-Africanists sought to unite the continent as one independent nation. From these origins and objectives, Pan-Africanism developed in two basic forms: one form, known as Continental Pan-Africanism, it advocates the unity of states and peoples within Africa, either through political union or through international cooperation (Azevedo, 1988). In its other broader form, known as Diaspora Pan-Africanism, it relates to solidarity among all black Africans and peoples of black African descent outside the African continent. Developed and interpreted by thinkers, authors, and activists around the world, Pan-Africanism remains a significant force in global politics and thought. It is the view of Pan-African thinkers that although they were dispersed throughout the world, African people and people of African descent were a unified people and should try to work together for the good of all (Azevedo, 1988). Continental Pan-Africanism continues to surface as a strategy for addressing the problems of Africa, notably in the form of regional cooperative groups.

Efforts towards African Integration: Historical Overview

Integration is not a new phenomenon in Africa. Abraham (2000:56) opines that pre-colonial history shows political and economic integration through limited trade and free movement of factors of production throughout various kingdoms in Africa. He further assets that, "the notion of precise geographic boundaries is profoundly alien to Africa's historical and cultural traditions, because the rigid geographic boundaries of the post-colonial state contrast sharply with the fluid areas of socio-political and cultural integration that existed in the pre-colonial era".

As Onwubiko rightly stated:

> "In West Africa, the kingdoms and cultures of West Africa were relatively well integrated in pre-colonial times, as accounts of the region amply attest, and the quest for regional unity is in many respects a search for one's roots" (Onwubiko, 1973)

The Colonial Era

The colonization of Africa during the 19th century can be regarded as the background to the current integration effort in Africa (Onwubiko, 1973). In West Africa, during the 17th century, the French had set up trading posts at the mouth of the Sénégal River, by the late 1890s France formally established French West Africa, comprising of: Côte d'Ivoire, French Guinée, Niger, Burkina Faso, Sénégal, Mali, and Benin (then Dahomey). In 1905 Mauritania had become a French protectorate, but by 1920 it joined French West Africa as a colony (Onwubiko, 1973). These nations, as a collective French West Africa, became what is known today as the CFA (Communauté Financière Africaine-African Financial Community) franc zone. These were some of the efforts made by the colonialist to integrate the West African sub region.

Nkrumah's Attempt at Promoting African Unity, 1947- 1961

Kwame Francis Nwia Kofie Nkrumah became one of the leading figures in the nationalist movement in the whole of Anglophone Africa and perhaps the leading figure in the Pan- African movement. He became the first president of Ghana upon independence on 6 July 1957. In 1947, drawing great inspiration from his deep involvement in the Pan-African movement between 1945 and 1947 as Organizing Secretary to the International Conference of the Pan-African Congress, Nkrumah published his most insightful book titled "Towards Political Freedom" (Agbi, 1986). In the book, he canvassed for the coordination of African efforts in fighting racism, colonialism, minority governments and European exploitation in Africa. In order to achieve this goal, Nkrumah established a Pan-African Secretariat in Ghana which pursued the twin goals of total African independence and continental unity (Agbi, 1986).

Nkrumah took giant steps and made noticeable efforts towards the promotion of African unity. On 15 April 1958, all the eight independent states of Africa (Ghana, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Liberia, Morocco, Ethiopia and Egypt) met at Accra, Ghana. The aims of the Conference, which was convened by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, were: to exchange views on matters of common interest; to explore ways and means of consolidating and safeguarding the independence of African states; to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between African countries; to decide on workable arrangements for helping fellow Africans still subject to colonial rule and to examine the central world problems of security and peace (Nkrumah, 1963; Hallet, 1974). According to Nkrumah, the conference was a historic occasion as free Africans met together on the African soil to examine and consider African affairs.

The Accra Conference no doubt resulted in a great upsurge of interest in the cause of African freedom and unity. In December 1958, also at the instance of Nkrumah, about sixty-two African nationalist organizations were represented at the conference which discussed at length plans to harmonize and coordinate strategies for nationalist agitations in Africa with the aim of achieving political independence for African states within the shortest period. In November 1959, Kwame Nkrumah convened the Conference of All- African Trade Union Federation at Accra, Ghana. It was well attended by representatives of trade unions all over Africa. Matters relating to the welfare of workers across Africa were deliberated upon. Again, this was a notable effort towards bringing Africa together.

In April 1960 at Accra, Ghana, the Government of Ghana headed by Kwame Nkrumah in consultation with other independent African States convened a Conference on Positive Action and Security in Africa to discuss issues relating to the total liberation of Africa with the basic goal of guarding against neo-colonialism and balkanization of Africa (Nkrumah, 1963). In mid- 1960, twelve African states met at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia for the Second Conference of Independent African States**.** The meeting was a follow up of an earlier conference held at Accra, Ghana in April 1958. Members reiterated their political will and commitment to the total eradiation of colonialism from Africa.

On the whole, there is no gainsaying the fact that Kwame Nkrumah was one of Africa's greatest sons of all times (Mazrui, 2002, cited in Mensah, 2007). This conforms to Lenrie Peters' assertion that Kwame Nkrumah was miles ahead of his time in his postulation of a Common Government for Africa. (Peters, 1999) Upon his personal observation that Africa was a very vast continent, blessed with diverse human and material resources but poverty ridden, grossly under- developed and notoriously exploited by advanced nations of the world, Nkrumah submitted that the only way out of Africa's social, political and economic predicaments was unity. His unwavering belief in the universal brotherhood of Africa and a glorious future for Africans largely informed his vision of a United States of Africa and establishment of a common government for Africa. He lived, dreamed and died for this ideal. Nkrumah had argued vehemently that only a federal state of Africa based on a common market, a common currency, a unified army and a common foreign policy could provide the launching pad for a massive reconstruction and modernization of the continent, and also optimize Africa's efforts to find its rightful place in the international arena and to effectively checkmate internal conflicts, fend off superpower interference, predatory and imperialistic wars (Quasi-Adade, 2010).

Post-Colonial Integration Efforts

Decolonization also had a profound impact on integration in Africa. One way Africans had to empower themselves to avoid being exploited after independence was through integration. The first attempt at integration on the part of West Africans following their independence came in June of 1960 when Mali, Sénégal, Burkina Faso, and Benin agreed to unite as the Federation of Mali, named after "the Mali Empire, an ancient kingdom in West Africa" Benin and Burkina Faso were the first to move out of this alliance, but soon Sénégal followed suit (Ezenwa, 1977).

Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

A major phase of African Integration emerged with the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 to deal with the continental affairs of the emerging independent Africa from European colonialism. The OAU was established as a compromise between the aspirations of three blocs which had emerged in 1960 and 1961. The Casablanca Group consisted of Ghana, Mali, Guinea, the United Arab Republic, and the Algerian Provisional Government. This group was led by the then President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, and was formally launched on 7 January 1961. Though others perceived this group to be radical, it nevertheless included the conservative kingdom of Morocco. The Casablanca group advocated an immediate union of the African continent (Sonkosi, 2000).

The **Brazzaville Group** mainly comprised former French colonies: Central African Republic, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, and People's Republic of Congo, Dahomey, Mauritania, Gabon, Upper Volta (the present-day Burkina Faso) Senegal, Niger, Chad and Madagascar. This group stood for a gradualist approach to the concept of African unity, starting with regional economic and cultural co-operation. It signed its Brazzaville Charter on 19 December 1960, and became operational on 12 September 1961 (Sonkosi, 2000).

The **Monrovia Group** consisted of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Dahomey, Malagasy Republic, Chad, Upper Volta, Niger, and People's Republic of Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Somalia, and Tunisia. The Monrovia Group was officially formed from 8-12 May 1961. This group preferred a gradualist approach, like the Brazzaville Group, to African unity. Other loose formations were the Pan African Movement for East, Central and Southern African (PAFMECSA). The initial idea of a continental organisation centred on a "Federation of African States" or a "United States of Africa" (Sonkosi, 2000). Since the late 1950s and early 1960s, in a time when emerging African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Sekou Toure, Haile Selassie and Julius Nyerere, who were influenced by W.E.B. DuBois, Sylvester Williams and George Padmore, conceived of a united Africa, the notion of a united Africa has remained an elusive concept to implement.

As far back as 1963, those who had heralded the OAU as the dawn of a new era soon realized that it was nothing more than a weak organization compromised on the twilight zone between the Monrovia, the Brazzaville, and the Casablanca blocs, with no political unity in sight. This compromise at the onset of the OAU has undermined the institution's ability to deal frankly with African affairs. Instead, the organisation has since inception been forced to tread a fine line when dealing with the affairs of the continent. The Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) was established, it did not transform the OAU from its ineffective position into an active continental organisation. For example, the OAU failed to bring to an end civil wars and military conflicts in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Great Lakes region and Sierra Leone (Sonkosi, 2000).

Overview of Major Regional Economic Integration Arrangements in Africa.

The Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) is the earliest apostle of regional Economic cooperation in Africa. The ECA had perceived the internal markets in Africa as generally too small and therefore a constraint on industrialization and development. Consequently, the creation of an effective regional market was strongly advocated (ECA Research Report, 2004). The ECA had its understanding of the problems of economic development in the region. Right from its inception, the ECA considered the fragmented political geography of Africa as a serious impediment to the realization of its development goals (ECA Research Report, 2004). Therefore, economic co-operation and regional integration among African states was encouraged. Within this context African countries were expected to establish or strengthen their multi-national institutional machinery to facilitate discussions and decisions on common policies and projects. However, the idea of an immediate regional market, embracing all African countries that care to belong was considered impractical. Thus, promoting economic cooperation on sub-continental scale became an essential element of the ECA's approach. Until the 1960s, the ECA concentrated on the establishment of sub-regional institutional arrangements (ECA Research Report, 2004).

The East African Community has its roots in a colonial-era administrative federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. It is worth knowing that regionalism has been a stronger force in East African politics than in many other parts of Africa (Geda, 1998). Political integration is now among EAC's stated goals and its institutions include a regional high court and parliament. The Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) began as preferential trade area in 1981. It was reorganized in 1994 to provide phased-in free trade and uniform commercial law. COMESA also sponsors a development bank, banking and insurance institutions, and a court of justice that (unlike many other African regional courts) has actually adjudicated cases (Geda, 1998).

The South African Development Community (SADC) consists of fourteen Southern African states. Until 1994 when South Africa became a member following its first multi-racial elections. The original ten member states that made up its membership were committed to regional cooperation as a way of reducing their collective and individual dependence on South Africa. However, the major shortcoming of SADC is its confidence in the goodwill of the West as well as its dependence on Euro-American capital. For instance, at the 2002 Annual Summit of SADC, the foreign ministers of member-states still called on the international community to assist with emergency relief in the form of foodstuffs, debt cancellation, and fairer trade and market access for developing countries (Geda, 1998).

The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) was founded in 1981. It was not fully operational until 1998 due to lack of funds. The ECCAS countries are approaching regional integration in phases, beginning with an attempt at promoting free trade among members. They have also created a number of technical and development institutions (Asante, 1975). The Community of Sahelo-Saharan States, created in 1998, consists of 18 countries in the Maghreb, the Sahel and the horn of Africa. Its membership includes Nigeria and Egypt, and originally there was such thinking that it is a potential bridge between sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. However, in practice, the most influential members like Egypt and Nigeria have not shown much interest as active participants (Asante, 1975).

The Economic Community of West Africa (Communuate Economicque de l' Afrique de l' Oust, CEAO) was established in 1973 through the pioneering effort of Nigeria. However, before then, it was an exclusively Francophone economic grouping made up of Coted'Ivoire, Senegal, Niger, Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali and Mauritania. The formation of CEAO was partly French- inspired, borne out of the desire to check Nigeria's growing influence in West Africa, especially the attempt toward organizing a Pan-West African economic community of Anglophone and francophone countries (Chafer, 2002:29-30).

The Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) is large. Its sixteen member countries include seven countries, which belonged to the CEAO, and three countries, which are in the Mano River Union. In 1994 the Union Economic Monetaire Ouest Africain was formed (UEMOA) to replace CEAO. Modelled as a custom union, ECOWAS Treaty and Protocol provide a plethora of integrative instruments in the form of several monetary, fiscal, administrative, institutional and legal measures (Asante, 1982: 1377). However, these integrative instruments have not functioned effectively due largely to some structural constraints. It is sufficient to say that most of the problems encountered by ECOWAS are traceable to its internal contradictions, structures, rivalries and mutual distrust. These have continued to divert attention from such fundamental issues as ensuring that provisions of the Treaty and protocols are implemented. The proliferation of sub-regional groupings in Africa has not helped matters. Adedeji (2002:22) observed that the spirit of the *Final Act of Lagos* has been permanently breached. He further stated that:

> The *raison d' etre* for its stage-by-stage approach beginning with sub-regional economic groupings is to nurse the emergence of one major sub-regional arrangements in each sub-region around which all the others will be rationalised. The proliferation of sub-regional groups, which developed in the 1960s, has remained unabated. No doubt, the situation is worse in West Africa than elsewhere but proliferation has crept in everywhere (p.22).

Table 1: Major regional integration arrangements in Africa

Grouping	Year of Establishment	Member Nations
Central Africa Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC). Replaced in 1998 by the Central African Monetary and Economic Community (CEMAC)	1966	Cameroon, Central African Rep. Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon
East Africa Community (EAC) I	1967	Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda. In 1999 East African Community II was launched
Southern African Customs Union (SACU)	1969	Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa.
Mano River Union (MRU)	1973	Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Guinea
West African Economic Community (CEAO). In 1994 it was replaced with West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAMU)	1973	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal
Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	1975	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania (until 2001), Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra-Leone, Togo
Economic Community of the Great Lakes countries (CEPGL)	1976	Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire

Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).	1980	SADC was established in August 1992 in Windhoek, Namibia, to replace the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). It currently groups 14 member states; Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. A free trade protocol was signed by the SADC countries in 1996.
Preferential Trade Area (PTA)	1981	Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe
Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)	1984	Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Rep., Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe and Zaire.
African Economic Community (AEC)	1991	All members of the OAU
Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). This is expected to replace the PTA.	1993	15 Countries attended the PTA Summit in Kampala in 1993 and later signed the Treaty, which established COMESA. They are Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Madagascar, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Sudan, Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, and Mauritius.

Source: AU, Policy Analysis Support Unit, 2003

Problems Confronting African Economic Integration

Success or failure of regional integration initiatives should be evaluated in the context of the objectives it was designed to achieve, and the political, economic and institutional context under which it operates. In the case of regional integration in Africa, all regional groupings set out to eventually form a common market area among member countries. Judged against this objective, the consensus seems to be that none of the regional groupings have to date successfully fulfilled the requirements of a functional common market, in many cases not even that of a customs union. This suggests that more often than not, governments failed to implement the treaties they signed, which in turn suggests lack of political commitment in practice in contrast to pronouncements. The UN Economic Commission for Africa gives some of the possible reasons as listed below:

Revenue Loss

Reducing trade barriers in economies where tariff revenue is one of the most significant sources of government revenue complicates the inter-temporal trade-off between the apparent short-term loss of revenue and the expected long-term benefits emanating from regional integration (UNECA Policy Research Report, 2004). In Kenya, for instance, government revenue from its imports form EU constitutes 10% of its total revenue. Given that Kenya is a more liberalized country the revenue loss for other countries could be large. (Ronge, 2004).

Political Issue: Loss of Sovereignty and Lack of Political Commitment

Regional integration experience in Africa indicates that countries are hesitant to create supra-national bodies and transfer power to them as a sanctioning authority. The secretariats that are formed (such as that of ECOWAS and SADC, for instance) do not have the legal backing to force countries to fulfil their obligations – such as reducing tariff rates and other trade barriers in accordance to their commitments. When such barriers are largely eliminated owing to liberalization, this reluctance to lose sovereignty is taking a form escalating non-tariff barriers, which are becoming major problems in COMESA, for instance. (UNECA Policy Research Report, 2004). The continent-wide initiative (the Abuja Treaty and others that followed from it) could potentially serve that purpose, but has yet to setup the structure to do so. On political commitment, despite the rhetoric, practical commitment is lacking. It is observed in many RECs, that countries are committed to other multilateral and bilateral commitments than to regional agreements. This is partly explained by aid-dependence, and hence conditionality attached to aids given to member countries.

Overlapping Membership

Simultaneous membership of countries in more than one regional group is widespread in Africa (except in North Africa). For instance, in the Eastern and Southern African region, some countries are members of both SACU (Southern African Customs Union) and SADC, and COMESA and SADC at the same time. Similarly in West Africa, many countries that are members of ECOWAS (Economic Community of the West African States) are also members of UEMOA (Economic and Monetary Union of the West African States). The usefulness of overlapping membership issue or more generally the existence of subset groups within a larger group, sometimes referred to as variable geometry approach, has not enjoyed the consensus that other issues have received. For instance, Lyakurwa (1997), contend; "in the African context, such an approach of variable geometry could, for example, mean making genuine progress at ECOWAS level while maintaining the achievements and benefits of UMOA". But others argue that multiple memberships are a hindrance to regional integration since, among other things, it introduces duplication of effort. For instance, Aryeetey and Oduro quote McCarthy (1996) as arguing that, "It is difficult to envisage how SADC and COMESA, given their convergence to both sectored cooperation and trade integration, can live and prosper with the overlapping membership of the Southern African countries".

An OAU Study to understand problems of country participation in SADEC and COMESA shows that countries do face problems by participating in many RECs. These problems include human and financial costs associated with membership, lack of harmonization of policies especially in the areas of rules of origin and customs procedures a large information gap at policy making and implementation levels and changing political position of member countries of different RECs are few among many (Rounge, 2000). The empirical findings based on the gravity mode for COMESA substantiates the notion that overlapping membership is a problem. The relevant question to alleviate such problems is to know whether sub-regional groups are serving as building or stumbling blocks to a continent-wide integration. If so, Suliman (2000) asks, 'Do we need to reconfigure the integration building blocks, because of overlap and loss of efficiency? Should the RECs be given supra-national authority to enforce common decisions?' All these questions seem to be worth exploring beyond theoretical conjectures to evaluate the prospects of realizing the objectives of continent-wide economic integration.

Implementation Problems of Harmonization Policies

The importance of harmonizing macroeconomic and trade policies for enhancing economic integration cannot be overstated. Due to the focus of Africa's regional economic integration efforts on trade liberalization policies (tariffs and non-tariff barriers), most analysis mainly focused on the impact of regional integration on trade flows. Such a focus has had a number of problems. Harmonization problems in COMESA, for instance, include: (a) lack of harmonization of tariffs, customs procedures and tax policies as well as incentive package for investment; (b) problems related to donor support. Some donors support SADC while others support COMESA. This usually depends on short-term interest of the donor. Such donor influence creates not only harmonization problems but also unhealthy competition among RECs; (c) lack of common position on SAPs among COMESA members (partly because of the capacity and desire of the sponsoring institutions to deal with individual members) had also created harmonization problems (Adedeji, 2000). There is a general problem of significant disparity in country laws about the operation of companies and relevant public offices too. The latter ranged from different interpretation of the rules of origin to lack of harmonization of opening hours at border posts.

In sum, although the importance of regional economic groupings is crucial to survival in an increasingly integrating world economy, addressing major obstacles noted above is a daunting task. It is important that both African governments and their development partners appreciate this challenge. In particular, the latter can play a significant role by focusing on regional support programs such as regional infrastructure provision. Countries need not take integration as lingering pan-African ideology but as an economic survival strategy aimed at combating marginalization from the global economy.

Prospect for Closer Cooperation in Sub Saharan Africa

There is no controversy about the desirability of greater regional cooperation and integration among African countries. However, the limited success of attempts at regional cooperation and integration in Africa raises questions on what is being pursued as the goals of regional integration. Most of the existing regional integration efforts in Africa including the African Union to some extent hold theoretical allegiance to the European process of integration and the customs union theory. It has been observed that there are defects in the application of most Western theoretical constructs on economic integration to the African setting. For instance, there are political factors which are critical to the evolution and operation of African integration, and which the customs union theory conceals, in the bid to neutralize the political and ideological aspects of regional integration process. Such political considerations include the question of power relations (national and regional), the dominant ideology in the region, and the domestic politics in member states. All these are essential in determining the outcome of integrative and cooperative initiatives in Africa.

The reduction of regional integration goals to strictly economic matters defeat the purpose of regional integration. Take for example, in West Africa, the *Lagos Treaty* (1975*)* which established ECOWAS was to guide trade relations among member-states of ECOWAS. Whereas integration represents a much broader and detailed arrangements which require states to make certain political and economic sacrifices and commitment as well as concessions, and demonstrate political will towards a redefinition of their individual and collective participation in the international economy, the ECOWAS Treaty (1975) represents a case of deliberate abstraction of politics from the process of integration. The ECOWAS example is representative of most sub regional groupings in Africa. With regional integration conceived strictly in terms of economic relations among the states involved, the role of regional schemes in most cases are not more than creating some infrastructures where commodities can be exchanged at a reasonable cost. In this regard, exchange and markets are set up to facilitate movements of goods and people, and special attention is also paid to tariff matters. Adebayo Adedeji's remark on priorities has brightly captured this:

> It is now clear that the economics of regional cooperation is principally responsible for the slow progress made during the past forty years. By focusing virtually exclusively on economic cooperation and integration while making –the heroic *ceteris paribus* assumption as far as political and social factors are concerned, has contributed significantly to the lack of progress in the actualisation of the vision (Adedeji, 2002).

On the one hand, one can argue with some conviction that the prospects for closer cooperation and regional integration among countries in Africa are bright. Recent trends and developments show many of the countries to be on the side of increased commitment to regional cooperation and integration. However, the multi-linguistic posture of African countries has arguably become a seed bed for ethnic division through cultural identity instead of fostering national integration for common good of the nation (Usoro and Iniunam, 2020). Given the untiring efforts of these countries as well as the renewed interest of the political elites in Pan-Africanism which culminated first in the establishment of the African Economic Commission and subsequently the inauguration of AU, one can conclude that efforts in this direction will continue into the future. Of course, this resurgence of interest in closer cooperation among African countries and regional integration in Africa has been largely influenced by developments at national, regional and global levels. At the global level, the external environment has become less friendly to African economies. International economic environment has become increasingly characterized by depressed world commodity market, discriminatory protection and debt crisis.

On the positive side, there is a new global consensus on the validity of the basic principles of regionalism. The dominant idea, which is rooted in contemporary political economic thoughts, is that regional cooperation is still a very effective means of promoting the goals of self-reliance and economic development. This arguably is underscored by the fact that the most powerful and wealthiest countries in the world – in Europe, North America and South East Asia – now pursue prosperity through regional economic cooperation. As expected, many African countries are already responding to the new global realities that have made regional cooperation very imperative.

On the other hand, dominant social forces within and outside the African continent also demonstrate lack of interest in closer cooperation and greater regional integration in Africa. The continued adherence to discarded models of development and administration, lack of initiatives and readiness to undertake the necessary internal socio-economic restructuring and the dominant pattern of accumulation which enriches a few at the expense of the majority have combined with other contradictions arising from the misuse of state power, wastefulness and misplacement of priorities to make national governments incapable of making their economies become more interlinked in an integration framework. The lack of regime continuity which is a dominant feature of African politics and governance, and the manipulative and technological power of TNCs (Transnational Corporation) also constitute impediment towards the pursuit of serious integrative processes in Africa. Moreover, the class configuration within Africa, particularly the domination and control of state power and societal resources by a largely unproductive dominant class has often led to isolationist and pseudo-nationalist policies which promote regional integration.

Conclusion

Based on the reviews of this paper, three phases of regional integration are conceivable. These may be referred to as the 'national', 'regional' and 'global'. First and foremost individual African countries needs a new 'national' development programme for reversing underdevelopment. This implies embarking on internal changes in areas of political mobilization and participation, popular access to opportunities for the majority, the overhaul of inherited socio-economic and political institutions, and the redefinition of relations with transnational corporations and other external forces.

The extension of structural changes made at the national level initially to sub-regional and later regional level constitutes the second phase of the effectual African regionalism being prescribed. The strategy here should encourage and seek means of facilitating increase in intraregional trade, the improvement of transportation and communication system, the erection of political institutions that would assist in the improvement of political relations and understanding and also, the effort to re-define the role of the region in the international division of labour. Policies are to be initiated towards the promotion and coordination of efforts to control the activities of TNCs within the region, promote industrialization as a means of checking constant vulnerability to changes in global economy and the stimulation of the regional market and specialization.

The third phase requires a restructuring of the global economic system This implies a collective regional effort that seek for the re-definition of the existing unequal exchange and power relations between the continent and the metropolitan economies; the terms of trade with the metropole, the role and power of international financial institutions and TNCs, the debt problem and the brain drain problem. These are prescriptions with several political ramifications demanding complex institutions and structures, and extensive political will, as well as unity of objectives and commitment. It is good to note that some of the propositions presented above depend largely on sufficient participation of civil society; the people and their representatives in associations, professional societies, farmers' group, women's groups and so on, as well as political parties. Without sufficiency of these groups either in the political process where decisions relating to regional cooperation and integration programmes are taken or through adequate consultation, efforts and initiatives stand the risk of becoming easy prey for sabotage.

The benefits of regional integration, and indeed globalisation, remain a critical part of Africa's workable development strategy. The era of isolated tiny national economies has to give way to strategic alliances that harness knowledge-and-resource-based comparative advantages through integration. This however does not come effortlessly and at no cost: a lot of dedicated planning and hard work must be put in first. Some decent planning has already been going on. The next step should be to expedite implementation through greater resolve, speed and effectiveness in translating the good intentions into concrete, implementable, monitorable and result-oriented actions on the ground. This would hopefully see the African Union realising the continent's dream of a single currency and central bank within the shortest possible period thereafter, including halving poverty as envisaged.

Recommendations

Africa has re-started on good grounds by drawing extensively from the experiences of the European Union in re-drawing the strategies of Continental integration. This is germane because a way to encourage integration is to learn from the experience of other regions, which have achieved a measure of success. There is also the increasing need to strengthen bilateral links, which in turn provide a basis for multi-lateral cooperation. Also, Africa needs to promote and expand trade as well as the movement of capital, peoples, goods and services. This is bound to assist the member states to mutually benefit. Joint efforts should also be made to improve the precondition for enhanced integration through initiatives aimed at infrastructures, which are unaffordable for the small states. Together with this, measures should be taken to remove tariff bulwarks and encourage division of labour, quicken specialisation in production and stimulate economies of scale.

There is need to develop conflict prevention mechanisms through a sub-regional program of education in order to mediate actively in conflict situations. The smaller integrative blocs such as ECOWAS, SADC etc. in turn should create mechanisms of preventing conflicts and promoting a culture of tolerance and compromise. One reason for this is that integration is best developed in an atmosphere of trust and confidence among nations and their populations.

Above all, there is need to establish a formidable research institute to help in assessing the programmes of current integration as well as the level of accomplishment of continental efforts. This is necessary to improve the economic and political environment for technological innovation and development. The integration of Africa may be a complex process, but the stakes are high, and will ultimately determine the Continent's political and economic future.

REFERENCES

Adedeji, A. (1989). The Development Policy Agenda. Statement at the Formal Opening of the 26th Session of Economic Commission Africa and the 17th Meeting of the Africa; the twenty first Agenda for the 1990s United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 5th April.

Adedeji, A. (1979) Statement to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Second Regular Session, Geneva, 12th July,

Adedeji, A. (2002.). *History and prospects for Regional Integration in Africa*. Paper presented at The Third Meeting of the African Development Forum, on the theme: 'Defining Priorities for Regional Integration.

Alemayehu Geda (1998). Trade Liberalization and Regional Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of COMESA', Policy Analysis Support Unit (PASU) of OAU.

Alemayehu Geda, (1999) *Preferential Reductions Of Trade Barriers: Some Theoretical Issues in OAU*, Policy Analysis Support Unit. *Economic Integration in Afric*a. Addis Ababa: OAU.

Ake, A., (1987). *How Politics Underdeveloped Africa*. Paper presented at The International Conference on Africa: The Challenge of Economic Recovery and Accelerated Development. 4th August.

Anonymous, (2001). Editorial. Africa Today**,** June 2001.

Asante, S.K.B. (1985). Development and Regional Integration since 1980 In: Adedeji, A. and Shaw, T.M. (eds), *Economic Crises in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers Inc.

Asante, S., (1999). *African Development: Adebayo Adedeji's Alternative Strategies.* Ibadan: Spectrum books ltd.

Aryeetey, E. and Oduro, A., (1996). Regional Integration Efforts in Africa: An Overview. In: Teunissen J. J. (ed). *Regionalism and the Global Economy: The Case of Africa***.** The Hague: FONDAD.

Azevedo, M., (1988). Obstacles to Pan-Africanism: Real or Imaginary. In: "*Africa and the World: A Quarterly Journal of African Affairs",* 1(12).

Bach, D. (1999). *Regionalism Versus Regional Intergation: The emergence of A New Paradaigm in Africa.* London: Routledge Publishers.

Bach, D., (1997). Institutional Crises and the Search for New Models. In: Laverage, R. (Ed) *Regional Integration and Co-operation in West Africa: A Multidimensional Perspective* 77(101) Tranton: Africa World Press, Inc.

Badie, B. and Smouts, M. (1992). Le., *Retournment du Monde Sociologie de la Scene Internationale,* Dolloz-FNSP, Paris, France.

Browm, L.M. (1994). *Developing Countries and Regional Economic Cooperation.* West Port : Praeger Publishers.

Browne, S. and R. Cummings, (1984). *The Lagos Plan of Action vs the Berg Report on Contemporary Issues in African Economic Development* Lawrenceville: Va Brunswick Publishing.

Chafer, T. (2002). *The End of Empire in French West Africa: France's Successful Decolonization* Oxford, New York.

Claud Ake, (1981). *A Political Economy of Africa.* London: Longman Nigeria Plc.

ECA, (1990) Progress Reports on the Strengthening of Sub regional Economic Integration: Establishment of the African Economic Community (ECA) Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. (Document ECA/ECO/90/2/4/3 (1).

ECA (2004). *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa*. UNECA Policy Research Report, UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Ezenwa, U.,(1977). *The Distribution of Gains of Integration: The Case of ECOWAS*", Paper Presented at the Inaugural Conference of the West African Economic Association.

Hazlewood, A. (1991). Prospects for Greater African Integration. In S. K. Asante, *African Development: Adebayo Adedeji's Alternative Strategies* (Ibadan: Spectrum books ltd).

Hettne, B., (2000). The New Regionalism: A Prologue. In: Hettne, B. (ed) *National Perspectives on the New Regionalism in the South* London: Macmillan.

Abraham, K. (2000)"*The Challenges and Prospects of Pan-African Economic Integration."* Paper presented at the conference on Economic Integration and Transboundary Resources Organised by the Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development (EIIPD).

Lancester, A., (1991) The Lagos Three: Economic Regionalism in sub-Saharan Africa. In: Harbeson J. and Ruthschild D. (Eds.) *African in World Politics,* Westview: Boulder Co. USA,

Lyakurwa, William, et al, (1997) *'Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Experiences and Issues*' in Oyejide, Ademola, Ibrahim Elbadawi and Paul Collie r (eds.) *Regional Integration and Trade Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa, Volume I: Framework, Issues and Methodological Perspectives*. London, Macmillan.

Melber, H.(2001). The New African Initiative and the African Union: Preliminary Assessment and Documentation.

Mattli N., (2001) *The Logic of Regional Integration (Europe and Beyond).* Cambridge: University Press.

NEPAD. (2001). The New Partnership for African Development Document. www,nepad.org

OAU. 2001. African Union and Continental Stability Document www.allafrican.com.

Odock, C., (2003). Nigeria and ECOWAS: The Restructuring of a Sub-Region. In: *Calabar Journal of Politics and Administration*. 2(1) 61-83.

Olukoshi, A. O. (2003). *Governing the African Developmental Process:The Challenges of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)*, Nigeria Institute of International Affairs lecture.

Odock, C. N., (2004). Nigeria and ECOWAS: The Restructuring of a Sub-Region In: O. E Uya, *Calabar Journal of Politics and Administration,* l(2)

Omoweh, A.D. (2003). Re-thinking Integration in Africa. *Journal for Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*. 13(1)

Onwuka, R., (1984) An African Common Market of African Free Trade Area: which way Africa? In: Onwuka, R. I. and Sesay; A. (eds), *The Future of Regionalism in Africa.* London: Macmillan Publishers.

Onwubiko, K.B.C. (1991). *History of West Africa: AD 1800 – Present Day*. Book Two, Aba: Africana Educational Publishers Co.

Otoba A. and O. H. Obaze. (1994.) Africa in the Post-Cold War Era: What Hopes; What Chances*?* *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, vol 2, No 2, 1-27. Lagos: Frankad Publishers.

Robinson, R.E. in Hyam [eds.]. (1947) *British Documents on the End of Empire,* Series, A Volume 2, [1992]. The Labor Government and the End of Empire 1945.

Ronge, Eric, (2000) *Trade Within the COMESA and Between The East African Community and the European Union'* The Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA:) Memo

Sandbrook, R. et al, (1987). *The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salvatore, D., (1989) *African Development Prospects: A Policy Modelling Approach***.** New York: Taylor and Francis.

Sloan, J. W., (1971). The Strategy of Developmental Regionalism: Benefits, Distribution, Obstacles and Capabilities. *Journals of Common Market Studies* vol. 10, No. 2

Suliman, Y. (2000). *Progress of Integration in the ECOWAS Region', A Contribution to a Panel Discussion on the future of integration in West Africa*, presented on behalf of the Executive Secretary on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Anniversary of ECOWAS, Abuja.

The Guardian**,** November 26, 2001.

The UEMOA and the CEMAC confronted to the Cotonou trade agreement." Sologral. Feb 2001. http://www.solagral.org/cooperationsolidarite/cotonou/cotonou_2000/

Todaro, M,. (1977). *Economics for a Developing World: An Introduction to Principles, Problems and Policies for Development*, London: McMillan.

Todaro, M. P., (1994) *Economies for a Developing World: An introduction to Principles, Problems and for Development* (London: Oxford University Press.

Tyler, W. G., (1981) *Growth and Export Expansion in Developing Countries: Some Empirical Evidence*. In Journal of Development Economics.

Usoro, N. A and Usen, B. I (2020). Language, Identity and the Challenge of National Integration in Nigeria. In: E. Udoh &G. Golden (Eds). *Language Documentation and Description in Nigeria. A festschrift in honour of Professor Imelda Ichechi Lawrence Udoh.* Uyo: Fruities publications.

Washington Times, September 30, 1999

Yang, Yongzheng and Sanjeev Gupta (2005), "*Regional Trade Arrangements in Africa: Past Performance and the Way Forward*", IMF Working Paper 05/36, IMF, Washington D.C.

Zee, Sonkosi, (2000)'*Background to the Working and Recommendation to the OAU on African and Pan-African Parliament'*, Paper presented at the AISA 40th Anniversary Conference on 'The United States of Africa".