# ANALYZING CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA:

A CASE STUDY OF ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES (ECCAS)

#### MONKOTI JULIET RESON

R50/81858/2015

#### **SUPERVISOR**

#### DR. ROSEMARY ANYONA

A RESEARCH PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE
STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AT

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI** 

**NOVEMBER 2019** 

## **DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in
this University or any other Institution of higher learning for examination.
SignatureDate
MONKOTI JULIET RESON
R50/81858/2015
This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.
Signature Date
Dr. Rosemary Anyona
Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies University of Nairobi

## **DEDICATION**

This research project is dedicated to my parents for instilling the value of education in me, my husband, children and my entire family for the support and to my siblings who i pray they go beyond this point.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

On account of the Almighty God, for seeing me through the whole period for this project, i am equally grateful to my family for their consolation and backing during this whole period and to my supervisor Dr. Rosemary Anyona for her understanding during this whole period. You allowed me to see my best side.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
LIST OF ACRONYMS ANDABBREVIATIONS	ix
ABSTRACT	X
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	4
1.3 Study Objectives	6
1.4 Literature Review	6
1.4.1 Regional Integration	7
1.4.2 The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)	12
1.5 Justification for the Study	17
1.6.1 Neo-Functionalism	18
1.7 Hypotheses	24
1.8 Methodology	24
1.9 Chapter Outline	27
CHAPTER TWO	29
REGIONAL INTERGRATION IN AFRICA	29
2.1 Introduction	29

2.2 Regional Integration in Africa	30
2.2.1 Regional Integration and Pan Africanism	35
2.2.2 EAC Regional Integration in Relation to East Africa	42
2.2.3 Vision 2063	49
CHAPTER THREE	52
DYNAMICS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AFRICA, AN OV	ERVIEW
OF ECCAS	52
3.1 Introduction	52
3.2 Formation of Economic Community of Central African States	53
3.4 Member Countries	64
3.5 Organization Structure of ECCAS	66
3.5.1 The Conference of Heads of State and Government	67
3.5.2 The Council of Ministers	68
3.5.3 General Secretariat	68
3.5.4 The Consultative Commission	69
3.5.5 The Executive Secretariat	70
3.6The Human Rights and Democracy Centre and Network of Central African Parliamentarians (REPAC)	70
3.7 Security Structures of ECCAS	73
3.7.1 The Council for Peace and Security (COPAX)	73
3.7.2 The Defence and Security Commission (CDC)	75
3.7.3 The Central Africa Early Warning Systems (MARAC)	77
3.7.4Multinational Force of Central Africa (FOMAC)	81
3.8 Process of Regional Integration in Central Africa	92
3.9 Achievements of ECCAS	96
CHAPTER FOUR	100

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN CEN	ΓRAL
AFRICA	100
4.1Introduction	100
4.2Media Promoting and Public Opinion	100
4.3Foreign Aid and Development	106
4.4Democratic Leadership Need to Prevail	109
4.5Addressing Multiplicity of RI Membership	113
4.6The African Economic Community (AEC)	113
4.7 Recommitting Political Leadership to AEC Aim	114
4.8Redirect FDI into infrastructure Connectivity	117
4.9FDI accelerates structural transformation of RECs	121
4.10 Strengthening Human Capacity	123
4.10.1Poor Human Capacity could not Support the FDI flow	125
4.10.2African State Leadership Aim at Human Capacity Building	127
4.10.3RECs Aim to be a Regional Security Community	128
4.11Dispelling Land Loss Fears	130
4.12 ICT Data Availability and Accessibility	133
CHAPTER FIVE	137
CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AFRI	CA 137
5.1 Introduction	137
5.2 State Failure (CAR, DR Congo, Chad, Burundi)	138
5.3 Colonial Legacy and shadow- statehood as a cause of Insecurity in ECCAS	144
5.4 The Politics of the Belly	147
5.5 Other Causes of Insecurity in the Central Africa Sub Region	149
5.5.1 Spill Over Effect from Rwanda Genocide (Refugees Crisis)	149
5.5.2 Dictatorship, Coup d'etat and Unconstitutional means to Power	150

5.5.3 The Presence of Arms/rebels groups in the Region	153
5.6 Manifestations of Insecurity in the ECCAS Region	154
5.6.1 The CAR case	154
5.6.2 The Burundi Case	155
5.6.3 Gulf of Guinea Case	157
5.7 Measures adopted by ECCAS to Address Security Threats	159
5.7.1 Force Multinational of Central Africa FOMUS (CEMAS mission)	159
5.7.2 Missions for the Considation of Peace in the Central African Republic (MIC	COPAX)
	161
5.7.3 The Gulf of Guinea Maritime Security Coordination	
5.8 Challenges Facing ECCAS	166
5.8.1 The problem of Regional Identity	167
5.8.2 The Problem of Multiple or Overlapping Membership	171
5.9 Short comings of the ECCAS in its peace and security Architecture	172
5.9.1 ECCAS failure to respond to Conflict in DRC	172
5.9.2 ECCAS Failure to address the Conflict between the Cameroon and Nigeria the Bakasi Peninsula	_
5.9.3 The Ongoing Boko Haram Crisis	177
CHAPTER SIX	179
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	179
6.1 Introduction	179
6.2 Summary of Findings	179
6.2 Conclusion	183
6.3 Recommendations	184
BIBLIOGRAPHY	188
APPENDICES	195

Appendix 1: Interview	Guide	19	5
-----------------------	-------	----	---

## LIST OF ACRONYMS ANDABBREVIATIONS

REC- Regional economic community

AMU-Arab Maghreb Union

COMESA- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CEN-SAD- Community for Sahel-Saharan States

EAC- East Africa Community

ECCAS- Economic Community of Central Africa States

IGAD-Intergovernmental Authority on Development

SADC- Southern African Development Community

FTA- Free Trade Area

**AEC- African Economic Community** 

EU- European Union

**AU- African Union** 

OAU- Organization of African Unity

PAP- Pan African Parliament

#### **ABSTRACT**

Today the concept of regional integration have been the norm in all continents of the world and African states have not been left behind, the idea of the regional integration is to accomplish monetary development and sound political condition within the region. States come together to be able to agree on a mutual consensus on where they participate within the specific zones which are known to them. This process is managed by the legislatures of the nations. Regional integration can adopt the various structures relying upon the objectives of the nations that are involved. The current study therefore on analyzing challenges and the prospects of regional integration in Africa; a case study of Economic Community of Central African states (ECCAS). The study was guided by the following objectives; To examine the dynamics of regional integration in Africa. To establish the process of regional integration in central Africa and to analyze the challenges and the prospects of economic Community of Central African states. The study justification was that central Africa is apparently engulfed by socio and the economic concerns and also seemingly less is being realized due to the finances, scrutiny and the robust effort that are also applied upon the sub regions. Thus ten member nations or the states of the E.C.C.A.S within the theory are in hold of the hundreds of the billions of U.S currency in the nature resources and also there are other several avenues for the viable macroeconomic progress. The study utilized the Neo-functionalist theory of reconciliation as opined by Ernst Haas. Neo-functionalism is an adjusted rendition of the functionalist hypothesis supported by David Mitrany in the book entitled as the working harmony System. The study applied both the qualitative and quantitative study methodology. For qualitative study designs the research explored the secondary data from the very appropriate books journals magazines media report and also the other academic and scholarly publications and also the technical report by the International and the governmental and also other Nongovernmental institutions as well. The study has given a basic examination of the regional integration in Africa. Regional integration in itself has not bombed in Africa, but instead advancement has been hampered by the absence of political will in executing and gathering the vital assets for its accomplishment. Subsequently while the world has been harvesting the products of regional integration, such advantages have escaped Africans. It should be said that the Abuja Treaty spelt out unmistakably Africa's longing for change. Likewise, the paper has additionally evaluated how African nations' routine with regards to various enrollments has comprised an obstruction in the achievement of the regional integration. Issues, for example, common difficulty, clashes and the absence of transport and correspondences foundation have assumed a negative job and have postponed advance in the regional integration.

#### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Background

Today the concept of the regional integration have been the norm in all continents of the world and African states have not been left behind, the idea of the regional integration is to accomplish monetary development and sound political condition within the region. States comes together to be able to agree on a mutual consensus on where they participate within the specific zones which are known to them. This process is managed by the legislatures of the nations. Regional integration can adopt the various structures relying upon the objectives of the nations that are involved. Nations might require to converge for the financial reasons or just to further shape political union or an association. History demonstrates that several nations over the world go for the regional understandings for monetary purposes.

In Africa as a continent specifically, there have been an expanded trends towards reconciliation with the different regional blocks being structured in separate sub-regions of the continents. The Africa Union perceives the seven regionals monetary or the economic networks/community (R.E.C.s), these incorporates both the Arabs and Maghreb Unions (A.M.U.) of the Common Markets for the Eastern and the South Africa which is the (C.O.M.E.S.A. and also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Haas Ernst B(1971) and the study of the regionals Integrations Reflections on the Joy and the Anguish, of the Pretheorizing pp. (3-44) in Leon N and the Lindberg and the Stuart A. Scheingold and the Regional Integrations within the Theory and the research within the Cambridge M.A and also the Harvard and the University Press

the Community for the Sahel Saharan nations (C.E.N.-S.A.D.) including the East Africa Community. (E.A.C.and also Economic community of the Central Africa Nations (the E.C.C.A.S and also Intergovernmental Authority on Development which is also referred to as the (I.G.A.D.) and Southern African including the Development Community (S.A.D.C.)

Regional integration as the methodology for these group monetary survivals of countries around the globe has picked up noticeably as of late. It has given the chance to individual interested states to represent their considerable authority within a given territory and in the meantime, to also promote the country's commodities and products within the region. The concept of regional integration depends on the general rule of the production of a typical market where merchandise, administrations and capital are guaranteed an opportunity for the development which is unhindered within the coordinated territory. This assurance therefore incorporates the privilege of the habitation and foundation. In the sub-Saharan African areas, there has been rejuvenation or the extension of existing regional financial courses of action and the arrangement of new groupings. The prior activities have strikingly concurred with the present advancements in the Western and industrialized world that have since taken up the instrument of monetary reconciliation as a vehicle of political and financial thriving.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Maiyaki The odore Bala the shortcomings and the Prospects for the Regional and also the Economics Integrations within the West Africa. The departments of the private. Law Faculty of Law of the University of Abuja Gwagwalada Nigeria (2017).

The current Economic and the Community of Central African nations/countries E.C.C.A.S) was set up on the 18 October the year 1983 by the Central African Customs and the economic union member parties including members from the Economic Community of the great Lake States or nations or the C.E.P.G.L these included nations such as Burundi, Rwanda and also nation of Zaire just as also the Sao Tomé and Principe with the expectation to accomplish aggregate self-rule, raise the way of life of its population and keep up financial solidness through amicable participation. Its definitive objective is to come up with a Central African Common Market place.<sup>3</sup>

Angola has been considered as a mere observer up to 1999, when it turned into a full member party. At the apex meeting or the summit gathering that was organized up in the month of December the year1981, the pioneers of the Central African Custom and the Economic Union U.D.E.A.C concurred on a basic level to frame a more extensive structure of Economic Community of the Central African nations or states. The E.C.C.A.S had 10 represented nations which are Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Republic of Congo, and also the Sao Tome and Principe.<sup>4</sup>

Thus Treaty building up ECCAS was embraced in 1985 with the goals of receiving, organizing and blending regular approaches to support the financial improvement of the member

<sup>3</sup> ECCAS Declarations for the leaders of State and the Governments of the Central and of the West African States especially with respect to the Maritime Safety and Security. Retrieved from <a href="http://pages.au.int/sites/default/files/Declaration/200f%20the %20">http://pages.au.int/sites/default/files/Declaration/200f%20the %20</a> Heads%2. 2nd June 2018.

<sup>4</sup> COEGA Development Corporation Africa's Trade Potential, The ECCAS region: the belly belt of Africa (2016).

nations by means of a continuous and dynamic foundation of a typical market and also the concealment of obstructions within the Central Africa nation's members. In the course of the early years the ECCAS received an exchange progression program which was to be executed in stages, this was realized through a steady decrease and inevitable conceivable concealment of exchange boundaries among the member states. Therefore the community was making arrangements to transition into a traditional association or rather the customs union in 1997 after the inception of a facilitated commerce region or which was formally known as the free trade area (FTA) in 1993. This was not accomplished because of money related challenges and also due to the non-installment of enrollment expenses by the state members and the clashes within the Great Lakes territory.

#### 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The process of the regional integrations is an apparatus that could be utilized for financial, political and also for the social advancement of the nations. Nations everywhere throughout the world are taking part in the regional combination courses of action because of their huge advantages in invigorating development. The regional economic communities (RECs) within the developing nations have accomplished a significant success within the regional integrations as shown by the increments within the intra regional exchange including also the subsequent increments as for the financial development and advancement. In the continent of Africa, ECOWAS, EAC, COMESA and the SADC have assumed an urgent action towards improving the political social and also the financial advancement of their affiliate Countries in regardless of the

fact that this has been done to a less degree as compared to the European and Asian and also the RECs.<sup>5</sup>

Africa maintains on combating genuine monetary and also the formative challenges in coming up with a compelling and economical regional and also continental coordination structures that will wind up very powerful instruments for the human advancements, regional and also continental safety. The developing elements within regional integration challenges and the prospects subsequently should be distinguished, inspected and investigated and then dealt with accordingly. Phenomenon such as the migration, globalization, worldwide fear mongering, Foreign Direct Investment in Africa, political authority, State power, contributor help reliance, poverty in Africa, outcasts issues and other emerging issues that confuse or make the challenges to the regional integration within Africa demands for an astute investigation and resolution. This should be made possible by embarking to the difficulties and prospects of regional integrations' within Africa so as to be able to investigate the rising difficulties and to be empowered to decide on the prospects as for the concept of regional integrations in Africa.

The hope for the continent for poverty reduction and the monetary advancement rests to a great extent upon the regional integrations as proved by African Union's objective for the setting up of an Africa Economic Community by the year 2028 but the current regional integration game plans have not yet completely been prevailing with regards to accomplishing this objective. There

<sup>8</sup> the United Nations of the Economics Commissions for the Africa (U.N.E.C.A) (April 2011) Assessing of the Regional Integration in Africa Addis Ababa.

is therefore a requirement for the examination that should be addressed on the difficulties and also the prospects of the regional integrations within Africa all together with the African regional financial networks to get the best from regional integration. As indicated by the Chingono and the Nakana of the African, the union have distinguished monetary collaboration and also the integration as motor towards the push for the African improvement and also the regional financial networks, for example, ECCAS, as a major support systems for the continent combination and also for the advancement. Therefore based on this affirmation, it is therefore very critical to break down the difficulties and the prospects that have been displayed by the Economic Community of Central Africa nations integrating all inclusively for the suitable move to be made to get the most preferred outcome of the regional integrations and not only within the central Africa but also within Africa in general.

#### 1.3 Study Objectives

The following are the study Objectives;

- i. To examine the dynamics of regional integration in Africa.
- ii. To establish the process of regional integration in Central Africa.
- iii. To analyze the challenges and the prospects of Economic Community of Central Africa states.

#### 1.4 Literature Review

The following sections on the literature review analyzes process of the regional integration and the effects of regional integrations on the growth and also on development of the Economic

Community within Central African Nations, factors that influence intra economic Community of the Central Africa Nation trade and also the challenges and prospects that are likely to limit regional integrations within Africa.

#### **1.4.1 Regional Integration**

Regional integration is where individuals from various foundations, with a unique perspectives and varying characters meet up to work towards accomplishing a shared objective. The concept of the regional integration may be seen similarly as a concept of regional integration and is commonly characterized as the process of joining together of the member nations to achieve a shared objective.<sup>6</sup>

Regional integration results in large extended markets as small countries form one economic block benefiting from economies of scale, pooling resources together and overcoming small market in trade and production. Regional integration enables sharing of ideas, accessibility to technology, increasing foreign investment and also increasing competition within the worldwide commerce. Most Leaders in Africa see it as a fundamental pathway to a continental financial network and expansive based advancement. Regional integration builds rivalry in worldwide exchange and improves access to outside innovation, speculation, and thoughts. African pioneers hence think of it as a significant way to a wide based improvement and a continent monetary network, as per the Treaty instituting the Africa Economic Community of the year 1991 including

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Mwamadzingo M.(2001) and also the regional integrations within Africa; Perceiving it Right on Challenges of the globalisations within the Africa a case of the trade Unions that are response in Labor Education 2001/2. No.123. ILO Geneva.

also Consultative Act of the Africa Union for the year 2000. Regional integration and the collaboration additionally offer potential outcomes to guarantee much improved and progressively feasible administration of the shared normal assets water and touchy environments, specifically and to all the more successfully address regional common interests for example, transient diseases and environmental change.<sup>10</sup>

Regional integration is an eventuality that may be created by numerous various depending on the particular situations or the requirement in the Nation. These factors can be historical, cultural, or social. In today's international principles, the main triggers of the regional integrations have been found to be either political, security or even the economic factors. The neighborhood nations have more frequently entered into an association of agreements with a view of achieving standard concerns. The aim of consensus can either be political, economic, environmental or security.<sup>7</sup>

Collaboration and the regional integration give suggestions to the creation of a strong and maintainable administration of shared natural resources including sensitive ecosystem and water bodies and effectively addressing the regional mutual problems like transitional ailments and the climatic changes. The regional integrations have been a potential tactic to overcoming the economic issues in most African countries. Once large economic networks and spaces in Africa,

12 Joseph Nye. The Africa Regional Integrations Arrangements in the history and also the challenge within the Europeans centers for the developments and the policy managements (E.C.D.P.M.) (2012) P. 38.

<sup>13</sup> McCarthy. The challenges of regionals integrations within the southern African. The Africans Journals of the Political Sciences and also the Internationals Relations, Vol 3, (2013). Pp. 396-(408).

have been separated by colonial borders ultimately creating small economic blocks which are incapable to overcoming the limitations and narrowness of their small markets on their own.<sup>8</sup>

Development specialists maintain that the African nations should formulate, make public and support their often-mutual concerns in regard to worldwide economic growth. In this regard, such could be realized easily if states in the African continent will collaborate into regional blocks unlike when they speak as individual countries. Countries enter into Regional Integration collaborations to strengthen their social, environmental and political agendas. Regional integration could entice donor funding who are prepared to sponsor regional projects compared to individual development projects in states resulting in more expansion.<sup>9</sup>

According to McCarthy the regional integrations processes within the Africa differ from the other integration approaches within the world that is developing. These Africa patterns of integration comprises of the capital markets, integration of goods, market integration and monetary integration. The African integration advocates for free trade, common market where all traders have free access, customs union and an economic union where there is use of a common currency. Political union amongst African countries is the main reason why Africa States advocate for integration. In Africa, integration is rooted in the political arena where political forces were the main determinants in the formation of geographical States. These States were mainly defined by

<sup>9</sup> Olukoshi A. (2001)and the West Africa and the political economy within the subsequent Millennium dispensation: the Retrospect plus also the Prospectus within the (C.O.D.E.S.R.I.A) and also the Monograph Series 2/2001.

<sup>10</sup> McCarthy. The challenge of the regional integrations within the Southern Africa. The Africa Journal of the Political Science and also the International Relation in the Vol 3, (2013)., Pp. 396-408

colonial borders and ethnic composition which has led to civil strife and conflicts in Africa. <sup>11</sup> Shaw observes that globally countries are pursuing regional arrangements due to perceived benefits in terms of trade gains and in stimulating economic growth and development. <sup>12</sup> He further argues that developed countries have achieved much progress as compared to developing countries within their regional arrangements. This has led to increase in the intra-regional trade within the partner nation's leading towards the higher economic growth and also development. Shaw mentions that the European Union (EU) as superior and critical trading blocs within Europe with regards to both the exports and the imports trade and plus the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have advanced in regional integration. This is attributed to the fact that it has cooperated with other like-minded countries to promote economic growth. The study further states that in Africa various regional integrations efforts have been established to promote development in Africa. Shaw study links the study on the factors that impacts on intra trade of the countries in the regional integrations.

Regional integration in Africa faces many limitations that hinders its prosperity, this includes; Terrorism, immigration and regional infrastructure development. The terror attacks have devastating effects on regional integration in Africa. These terrorist groups have brought about insecurity threat that has never been envisaged by the African states. In this regard, the terror threats and attacks which are of asymmetrical in nature give a challenge to the conventional security forces. For example, in Kenya where the Al-Shabaab leverage on insecurity, high youth

<sup>11</sup> Ibdi, P.409

<sup>12</sup> Shaw T. M. the concept of the regional and also the cooperations and also the Conflict within Africa in the International Journal Vol. 30, No. 4, (2015) Pp. 671-688.

unemployment levels, Islamic religious extremism and some social ethnic identity nexus. The terrorist attacks make it dreadful and challenging security threat, because it is a long term plan targeted towards the group, individuals or the symbol that could not be directly connected towards the exact target more often the administration, systems, practices or the philosophy.<sup>13</sup>

Among African states, the peaceful migration patterns have always been known to affect male gender as they sought for employment in the emerging industrial cities of Africa and elsewhere. According to Aderanti Adepoju feminization of migration is reflected by diversification of relocation destinations, alteration of labor movements into profitable areas and skill or knowledge-based migrations from one region. Globalization aspects are giving boost to the information flow, foreign direct investments by multinational corporations attracted by African states, ease of cross border movements, harsh economic conditions at home, coupled with rise in education of girl child are contributing to the feminist migration to enable support the family unit. Most African prefers migration to Saudi Arabia and European nations.<sup>14</sup>

Nonattendance or shortcoming of physical foundation confines the potential human improvement effects of the regional integration and the linkages that are additionally suppressed by powerless limits, establishments and strategies. Limits are feeble in numerous nationwide government management arms including those offices and organizations that manage components

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jackkie Cilliers. (2003) and the Terrorism and also in Africa which was Retrieved from the International Security Studies website: <a href="http://www.issafrica.org/pubs/ASR/12No4/">http://www.issafrica.org/pubs/ASR/12No4/</a> Cilliers.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Aderanti Adepoju (2004) Configurations of Migration in Africa. Retrieved from migration policy website; http://www.migrationpolicy.org/, on 5 October 2015.

of financial incorporation. Connectivity challenges in Africa are specific to the region. Infrastructures focus on transportation network, energy resources and distribution and Information, Communication and Technology resources that interconnect the member states. Political instability coupled with insufficient and also the poor regional architectural networks, the lack of water availability including the difficulty in controlling the common resources pose integration challenges between the members' states towards control of the regional integration organizations within the Africa continent. In this regard the member states that have no access to the coastline have to depend on the littoral states that are their neighbors for cargo movement through the sea.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.4.2 The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)

In 2015 ECCAS region accounted for 14% of the sub saharan Africa economy. ECCAS location economy grew by 5.3% on average and improved from US\$ 127.6 billion in 2005 to US\$ 219.4 billion in 2015. Angola was the leading economy from this region and accounted for 46.1% for the ECCAS's total economy in 2015. Cameroon and DRC were the other major economies and accounted for 13.5% and 13.2%, respectively. In the past decade, Angola showed the fastest growth rate (average 7.6%), compared to the other economies in the region. Other faster growing economies included DRC with annual average growth of 6% followed by Chad (average 4.3%) and Congo Republic (average 4.2%), while the Central African Republic and Burundi became the least growing economies, owing to political unrests that have plagued these countries. <sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> African Development Bank.(September, 2015) the Eastern part of Africa Regional Integrations Strategic Papers 2011-2015 which was retrieved from the A.F.D.B from the website: http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/ and the Documents/Policy and also the Documents/East%20Africa%20-%20Rev%20RISP% 20. (Pdf)

The average GDP per capita in the ECCAS region remained low at US\$ 1 383 in 2015, 16% lower than Sub-Saharan Africa's average of R1 652. However, the ECCAS average GDP per capita masks disparities between countries which enjoy a better standard of living, while others remained very poor. Countries such as Equatorial Guinea (US\$ 13 276) and Gabon (US\$ 10 736) have the highest per capita revenue of the region in 2015, while Burundi (US\$ 210) and Central African Republic (US\$ 283) experienced a very poor standard of living. Overall, the GDP per capita in the ECCAS region has slightly improved in the past decade, registering an annual average growth of 2.4%. Diagrammatic representations have been developed to illustrates the ECCAS regional GDP and GDP growth between 2005 and 2015. 11 ECCAS is faced by many challenges that hinder its growth and prosperity for the member countries, among them these challenges includes;

Insecurity and political instability, not long after ECCAS foundation, the network's presentation was seriously influenced by budgetary challenges and the absence of help from its individuals, bringing about institutional brokenness and a progression of bureaucracy and the bottlenecks. Within the years of the 1990s, the ascent of the political shakiness, emergencies and clashes in most of the Central African nations, just as the commitment of some part of the nations on inverse sections within Great Lakes war, carried extra test towards regionals participation. From the year 1992 to 1998, the network experienced a time of dormancy and loss of motion, which is frequently alluded to as the ECCAS' hibernation, thus this influences the activities of the ECCAS.

A noteworthy risk to harmony and security in the region is the furnished clashes seething in, or overflowing into some of ECCAS' member states. The association's reactions have differed. The repetitive emergencies in the Central African Republic have been a noteworthy concern for the states in the region for over 10 years. The region has been occupied with the Central African Republic within the ECCAS structure and also through the CEMAC, involving six of ECCAS' ten member states. With a military nearness within the Central African Republic as from the year 2008, ECCAS led pack towards the intervening in the contention when the Central African Republic dove in another process of the brutality in year 2013. Regardless of an expansion in quality from 700 to 2,000 troops and a fortified mandates, ECCAS' regional peacekeeping power did not figure out how to satisfy its undertakings which included security of regular folks.<sup>17</sup>

Boko Haram, then again, has as of late been a need for dialog within the ECCAS. In the course of recent years the outfitted clash within the north eastern Nigeria, where the furnished gathering the Boko Haram has been pursuing the war against the Nigerian state since 2009, has overflowed into the neighboring nations. Chad and Cameroon, the two ECCAS member states influenced by the equipped clash.<sup>19</sup>

Maritime instability, the seven member nations within E.C.C.A.S have drifts on gulf of the Guinea, a region where theft has consistently ascended in the course of the most recent decade. The assaults against and plundering of transportation, oil taking, illicit angling and pirating

<sup>17</sup> Gabriella Ingerst ad and MagdalenaTham Lindell (2015) the Challenges towards the Peace and also the Security within the Central Africa: The Role of E.C.C.A.S.

undermine both security and financial improvement in the states concerned and have along these lines made a real political will to expand the reconnaissance of the assets adrift. The most obvious outcomes so far have been accomplished in the sea zone constrained by Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon, with a diminishing in assaults since 2009.<sup>19</sup>

Because of the powerless institutional limits of numerous ECCAS states, huge zones in the area are described by a general wilderness. This gives space for illicit outfitted gatherings to abuse the areas massive and incredibly important normal assets, accordingly making motivators to draw out unsteadiness and struggle and to frame partnerships between equipped gatherings and degenerate state delegates so as to verify benefit. Focal Africa is attacked by, for instance, the dealing of minerals, opiates, timber and untamed life just as dealing of children into outfitted conflict. This has an incredible negative impact on the regional integration of ECCAS.

Enrollment issues, the continent premise and furthermore within the sub-regions, numerous African nations have a place with a few blockings or the sub-blocks that occasionally contend, strife or even the cover among them as opposed to supplement one another. This therefore contributes to the weight of the synchronization and the coordination and which is inefficient multiplication in perspective on obliged assets as if there should arise an occurrence of Rwanda, which is both a member state from EAC, COMESA AND ECCAS.<sup>18</sup>

18 Dr. Ashak Hussain Malik North from the Asian International Research of the Journal of the Multidisciplinary ISSN: 2454-2326 Vol. 2. Issue 6) June2016.

Regional economic integrations are set up to advance participation among their respective member nations and also to improve on the advancement limit for the member states through shared collaboration prompting the subsistence development and the improvement. These closures can there be accomplished through a few methods, which incorporates human advancement, development of the capital and speculation just as an exchange.

Work versatility remains to be probably the thorniest issue in regional integration in spite of its consideration in the conventions and goals of most African regional monetary networks. Some RECs have stepped toward encouraging the movement of normal people. For example, EAC and E.C.O.W.A.S built up a typical regional international ID that permits nationals from member states to go within the area without a visa. S.A.D.C embraced a convention with a similar reason, yet it has been sanctioned by just a bunch of nations. <sup>19</sup> Likewise for instance EAC is attaching this issue with regards to the regular market; work mobility remains a significant piece in African regional reconciliation.

Financial coordination and exchange can possibly expand business and add to engaging individuals. Very decent employments are about more than just a salary: they can give a feeling of individual worth, of having the option to accommodate oneself and one's family and being a contributing individual from society. Extended monetary open doors for ladies can enable ladies and contribute characteristically to human advancement and have multiplier impacts crosswise over different parts of human improvement, including nourishment and access to wellbeing and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> UNECA, 2010African Regional Integration

instruction. The strengthening of youth through business is probably going to add to a decrease in negative social conduct, for example, posse arrangement, savagery and wrongdoing. Strengthening can likewise be expanded through the chance to move and take up business. Openings in different nations, at long last, incorporation with different nations can build the motivators and weight for monetary and political steadiness as nations are bolted into frameworks that require or advantage from strength. These frameworks might be increasingly responsible to natives, giving more noteworthy open doors for interest, incorporating into molding the regional integration process itself.<sup>20</sup>

#### 1.5 Justification for the Study

Central Africa is apparently engulfed by socio and the economic concerns and also seemingly less is being realized due to the finances, scrutiny and the robust effort that are also applied upon the sub regions. Thus ten member nations or the states of the E.C.C.A.S within the theory are in hold of the hundreds of the billions of U.S currency in the nature resources and also there are other several avenues for the viable macroeconomic progress, nonetheless several goals that are established by the region and respective affiliate nations has failed to meet the minimum threshold. However, it is the above justification that has given significance of this work, in examining the problems of regional security in Central Africa, the study will also serve as a major guide for the policy makers within E.C.C.A.S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The United. Nations and also the Development Programs (2011) of regional Integrations and also the Human Development which is considered a Pathway for the development of the Africa

These examination is also important since it brings out the connection between ECCAS and others regional integration scheme in Africa. Also, the research is vital because it stresses on the conflict in Central Africa Republic and how ECCAS responded to the conflict.

These study results will therefore add value to the body of the knowledge by thus determining challenges and prospects that if addressed appropriately could lead to effectiveness of regional integration arrangements within the Economic Community of the Central Africa Nations and Africa continent at large.

The study finding and the recommendations that could also therefore contribute towards improving the aggregate foreign policy with a concern towards the African affiliate nations towards the regional integrations configurations and the configurations, especially on the features of the rationalizing the membership towards the multiplicity of the regional integrations and other arrangements.

#### 1.6.1 Neo-Functionalism

This study utilized Neo-functionalist theory of reconciliation as opined by Ernst Haas. Neo-functionalism is an adjusted rendition of the functionalist hypothesis supported by David Mitrany in the book entitled as the working harmony System'. Functionalism, which initially went for clarifying the expanded participation in Europe after the end of the world war II: these underlying collaboration for specialized and also the financial issues made essential the making

of organizations, which continuously broadened the quantity of political issue regions they secured through the overflow impacts.21

Mitrany's work depended on the possibility that the best method to seek after a circumstance of harmony was to make ambits of participation among states, by moving specialist from the administrations to basic organizations. Such exchanges were bound to occur in the circle of low legislative issues particularly monetary issues – than in the one of high governmental issues, like security and more power-related issues. Utilitarian theory depends on the speculation that collaboration is described by a self-sufficient pattern of self-increment, by which each capacity that is ascribed to a supranational dimension of government will produce more elements of that sort, and the experts made for the administration of certain capacities will grow their job over more undertakings and obligations.<sup>22</sup>

Ernst Haas is the primary initiator of neo-functionalism who speculated the network technique spearheaded by Jean Monnet, in any case, its fundamental conflict is more suggestive than Mitranian functionalism. It contends that states should start reconciliation unobtrusively in regions of low governmental issues and a high specialist ought to be organized as a patron of the other organizations the initial processes will achieve the practical weights for the integration of the

<sup>21</sup> Hazlewood, Arthur (1967) the African Integrations and also the Disintegrations: which is the Case Studies in the field of Economics and the Political union froms the oxfords university on the Press London.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Wood, Steve and Wolf gang Quaisser., The New European Union, (New Delhi: Viva, Books Private Limited. 2008). P. 15 the Agarwal, B. (2007) of the Gender inequality and the cooperations and also the environmental sustainability. Pages. (274-313) in J. M. Baland, P.

connected member states and the energy may therefore progressively ensuare the national economics and also the social interest; extending monetary interconnection can make the requirement for the further systematization, achieving the political combination and also a very long haul arrangement of harmony unavoidable. As indicated by neo-functionalists, the procedures of reconciliation will at last actuate government solidarity; along these lines, administrative functionalism is incidentally utilized as a substitute title for neo-functionalism.23

Spillover is a method for depicting the focal dynamic of that procedure where fruitful incorporation in a territory of lesser striking nature needs prompts progression of further integrative measures in connected regions so the procedure turns out to be progressively required with the concerns of the more noteworthy political significance. Integrations may be driven nearer to power and to contribution with such a very high political inquiries as the protection arrangement and international strategy. As incorporated creation and disseminating systems develop in various territories, included nations have an ever-increasing number of basic interest that adds to therefore promote the integrations.<sup>24</sup>

For these contention, regions of the low legislative issues allude to the monetary and public activity, for example, coal and steel industry and also the farming approaches. Considering the improvement of the universal exchange and the related advancements, nations set up exchanging

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> C. Fred and Bergstens for the *Open Regionalism under the Working, Paper (97.-3), of the Institute, for the International, Economic,* (Washington D.C. (1997). Pp. 4-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The Pinder and the John & the Simon Usher wood. of *the European Union which is a Very Short Introduction*. (the Oxford, the University Press of Oxford, 2007). P13.

connections to those areas. Since collaboration in those areas does not impact the security and survival significantly, it is less disputable. In real sense, regions of high legislative issues allude to these concerning the national protection and also the administrative structures and are identified with the security and also the survival of the country state. Subsequently, connection in those zones is disputable and very delicate. Pragmatists accept that the supranationalism in the high governmental issues wills danger the national security and mischief of the national intrigue extraordinarily; in this way, it is absurd. Be that as it may, as per the neo functionalists, country nations' discernment on national enthusiasm for high or low legislative issues can change after some time.<sup>25</sup>

Other than practical overflow, there are another two sorts of overflows. Developed overflow alludes to the circumstance that the accomplishment of new approaches isn't a direct result of utilitarian weight or bundle bargains yet developed by pioneers speaking to the worldwide establishments. The updating of the member states' regular interests depends on the administrations of an organized independent middle person. Political overflow isn't about political reconciliation however alludes to political linkage of bundle bargains that can be unpredictable. The accentuation is on entertainers and their (regularly aimless) cooperation. The procedure rises up out of a mind-boggling web of entertainers seeking after their interests within a pluralist political condition. Hence, the ideas of developed overflow and political

<sup>25</sup> Ibdi, P. 17

overflow acquire new factors that shape the procedure of combination: the regulated self-sufficient middle person (ECCAS elites) and a mind-boggling web of intrigue gatherings.<sup>26</sup>

Neo-functionalist record further by spanning political theory and financial aspects, examining the cooperation between political pioneers and market players, and in this manner clarified how the premium gatherings instead of the administration or country state (as an autonomous and solid on-screen character) could shape national premiums and strategy results. He has additionally tackled the issue about authenticity by focusing on the job of national pioneers as opposed to E.C.C.A.S elites. He determined two kinds of essential conditions for fruitful reconciliation. Initially, the potential for financial additions from market trade within a region must be critical. At the point when the regional economic are reciprocal and are of also very huge size, the additions from significant economics of the scale will be impressive. At the point when the increases are significant, the market players have a solid motivating force to sort out premium gatherings to campaign for the regional institutional courses of action. Further, there may be extensive result for the political pioneers, so they are happy to extend combination. For instance, they are eager to develop integration of the such a move is relied upon to improve on their odds of holding powers. On the off chance that these pioneers' worth political self-sufficiency and political power, they are probably not going to look for profound dimensions of coordination if their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Lahiri. S. (2012).the Controversy and the Regionalism versus the Multilateralism in the Economic Journals, No. (108) (Blackwell, 1998) pp. (1126-1127).

economies are generally prosperous. Financially effective pioneers are probably not going to seek after more profound reconciliation since they anticipate negligible profit by combination.

Political pioneers' worth relative independence and backing from sorted out gatherings that are against combination. Be that as it may, during financial challenges, the pioneers are probably going to seek after to upgrade the general proficiency of the economy. Monetary troubles along these lines become a state of coordination. Another supply condition is the nearness of a generous driving nation seeking after the integration. Such a nation fills in as a point of convergence in the coordination of principles, guidelines, and arrangements.

Analysis on Neo-functionalism has been originating from two camps. Right off the bat, relationship scholars concur with Neo-functionalists on the idea of many on-screen characters however censure the theory for being without a worldwide appropriateness (because of its attention on created, pluralistic popular governments) and considering reliance to be a procedure towards a supranational institutional result. Rather, it considers association to be a condition for, yet which does not really infer combination. In progress of the Keohane and also on the Nye state within their book of power and the interdependence Revisited, expanded reliance between states decreases shot of connecting with into strife, without suggesting expanded combination. A second wellspring of analysis at first originates from Stanley Hoffman, who built up a theory in the 1960's called, Inter-governmentalism', which is basically a pragmatist view of IR to the EU.

This theory is relevant to this study because members of Central African States enter into regional economic integration in areas of economic cooperation such as trade, agriculture cooperation, coal and steel (referred by Neo-functionalist as areas of low politics) for the aim of improving the lives of their citizens, due to the growing security crisis, they became "spillover" effect forcing the members to further integrate in areas of defense (areas of high politics) thus making the theory very suitable for this piece of work.

#### 1.7 Hypotheses

The study is therefore guided by the below hypothesis:

H<sub>01</sub> Lack of a regional power undermines integration in central Africa.

 $\mathbf{H}_{02}$  Political instability has negative influence the regional integrations processes in Africa.

H<sub>03</sub> Economic development has to a greater extent promoted the process of regional integration in central Africa

 $H_{04}$  Security poses the challenges on the economic community of the central Africa states.

#### 1.8 Methodology

These study investigation applied both the qualitative and quantitative study methodology. For qualitatives study designs the research explored the secondary data from the very appropriate books journals magazines media report and also the other academic and scholarly publications and also the technical report by the International and the governmental and also the more other Nongovernmental institutions.

For primary data this study targeted the secretariats and government officials from member countries of ECCAS which included; Angola, the Burundi and the democratic republic of Congo including also state of Rwanda.

**Table 1: Target Population** 

Countries	Secretariat and	Percentage %
	<b>Government Officials</b>	
Angola	12	22.22%
Burundi	14	25.93%
Democratic republic of Congo	15	27.78%
Rwanda	13	24.07%
Total	54	100%

Source: Author (2018)

The sample size of the study was 54 respondents from the target population since the entire population was applied. This represented the member states and provided the opinions relevant to the study.

**Table 2: Sample Size** 

Countries	Secretariat and	Percentage %
	<b>Government Officials</b>	
Angola	12	22.22%
Burundi	14	25.93%
Democratic republic of Congo	15	27.78%
Rwanda	13	24.07%
Total	54	100%

Source: Author (2018)

The study utilized both the first hand data and the secondary data to be able to thus realize the objectives of the study and also the primary data that was therefore collated through the use of the structured interview schedules that were written in English and developed based on the study specific objectives. Further the structured interview approach was most preferred to guarantee the uniformity is achieved in the interview responses.

The researcher received filled unstructured interview forms from the respondents then analyse the feedback into groups of the same feedback obtained from the respondents in the field and then analysed. The responses were presented based on objectives of the instigations and also the conclusion made depending on the problem under investigations. All findings from the study were presented qualitatively.

The process of data analysis on itself involved cleaning of all the collected data through the means that facilitated the presentation and also being having drawings of the inference. Therefore as concerns gathered data that was also edited and also sorted and also was analyzed as regards the qualitative data presentations. The research basically used the qualitative and the results of the study presented in narrative form where the research identified various emerging issues.

## 1.9 Chapter Outline

The thesis is structured according to the following chapter outlined;

The first chapter one was regarding the study introductions composed of the background for the investigation, the statements of the problem and the research question, the objectives and also the objective of the study work, hypotheses, justification for the investigation, scope and also the shortcomings of the investigations, methodology, the theoretical frameworks and also the presentation of chapters.

Second which is chapter two is made up of the literature review, approaches towards the regionalisms and also the regional integrations within Africa and the regional integrations and also the pan Africanisms, EAC regional integration in relation to East Africa and Vision 2063. While chapter three being a review of ECCAS from its creation and review their activities and current status.

Chapter four assesses the challenge and the prospects of the regional integrations organizations within Africa, and talks of the media promoting public opinion, the need for the leadership to prevail. Difficulties in the Central Africa Republic and also examined the peace

keeping missions deployed by E.C.C.A.S to consolidate peace (Mission de consolidation de la Paix en République centrafricaine) (M.I.C.O.P.A.X). It also examines the causes of insecurity in ECCAS region as well as measures adopted by member states to address security challenges. It also outlined the need for regional leader (hegemon) as well as the problems affecting ECCAS.

Chapter five is based on critical analysis of the Challenges in the ECCAS region and Future prospects while Chapter six talks of the Summary of findings, the conclusions and the recommendations.

# **CHAPTER TWO**

## REGIONAL INTERGRATION IN AFRICA

#### 2.1 Introduction

This Chapter dwells on the regional integrations within continent of Africa, the history of the regional integrations connected to Pan Africanism, its connections to East Africa Community and the African union vision 2063.

This section will be concerned with the regional integrations in Africa; it will clarify the development of the regional integration on the dependent on different contemplations including the need of sharing typical social, political, monetary and societal qualities just as shared history of affiliation or collaboration. The section will give a clarification on the connection between regional integration and pan Africanism, regional integration emerging from the perspective on the Pan-Africanism which called for the African solidarity, both as continent and as individuals, patriotism, independence, political, financial participations and also the authentic and the social mindfulness around the globe.<sup>27</sup>

The part will likewise address the Economic Communities of the Central Africa Nations with the connection to the East Africa Community and also the thought behind the arrangement of the alliances and the different difficulties confronting the areas.

Additionally part two will discuss vision 2063 which is Africa's vital structure that means to convey on Africa's objective for comprehensive and practical improvement and is a solid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Bohwasi (P) the Africa Regionals Blocks that is Unifying or that is dividing. African Executives, Dec 12, (2010).

appearance of the Pan African drive for solidarity, self-assurance, opportunity, advancement and aggregate success sought after under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance.<sup>28</sup>

## 2.2 Regional Integration in Africa

This involves a gesture towards the processes of the state's meeting up to consent to arrangements in which they will agree to coordinate in specific territories. This current process is therefore managed the legislatures of particular states. The regional integration may take various structures, dependent upon the destinations of the nations that may be included.<sup>29</sup> Nations might need to join up for the financial concerns and limitations or considerably subsequent to the frame of a political coalition or the association. History demonstrates that several nations over the globe ventures into regional understandings for financial reasons. Within the continent of Africa specifically, there have been an expanded pattern towards the combination with different regional coalitions being framed in varied areas of the continent.<sup>30</sup>

Arrangements of regional financial network is based on several contemplations for instance, in different pieces of Africa and also the world, the concept of connecting of various sovereign nations will be initiated on the shared social, political, monetary and also the societal qualities just as shared history of affiliation or participation. Notwithstanding shared qualities and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Kasaija P.A. (2004) the regionals Integrations and the Politicals Federations of the East African states. The African Journal of the International Affairs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Gathi J.T. of the African Regional Trade Agreements that are considered as the Flexible Legal Regimes. (for the Working Paper Series No. 20. (2009)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Bohwasi P. the Africa Regional, Blocks that is also beingUnifying or even the dividing the Africa Executives, Dec 12, (2010).

the history, geological limits likewise structure an essential part in the arrangement of the regional coalitions. Most regional financial gatherings have shared geological boundaries.<sup>36</sup> Regional coordination empowers sharing of thoughts, availability to innovation, expanding remote venture and expanding rivalry in overall trade. Most Leaders in Africa see it as a fundamental trail to a continent monetary network and expansive based improvement. Regional integration has for that matter been viewed as potential strategy for the conquering the financials issues in most African nations.<sup>31</sup>

The most noteworthy thought in connecting regional financial gathering anyway as referred to before is the monetary advantage every specific country stands to pick up. In Africa this especially evident as regards the fact that the regional financial networks are seen as the avenues for defeating the requirement of little monetary amounts of countries. These little sizes of the significant African economy have been viewed to be one of the reason which interferes with the capacity so as to be able to industrialize them very efficiently.<sup>39</sup>

Regional integration is an advancement need for Africa. All Africans, not simply arrangement creators and leaders, have a task to carry out in making combination a reality for the continent and also any coordination matters in Africa. It influences what individuals can purchase the assortment of what is on offer at the nearby market, how effectively natives move between

<sup>31</sup> Kasaija P.A (2004) the regional Integrations: case of the Political and the Federations of the East African Nations. The Africa Journals for the International African Affairs.

nations, where people travel for relaxation or for work, how savvy it is to stay in contact, where individuals study or search for an occupation, how to move cash to family or get start-up capital for a business.<sup>32</sup>

Regional integration is tied in with meeting up and co-activity of a given regional block. This implies getting merchandise to accelerate more effectively across over the borders, the transport, vitality and also the media communications towards associating many individuals cross the boundaries, individuals to move more uninhibitedly cross over the front runners, and also the capital and also the generation to accelerate and also develop past the regional limit points. Africa's combination venture towards an increasingly associated, aggressive and business agreeable continent is in progress and its guide is, in certain zones, under development.<sup>33</sup>

Africa have a great convergence of sub locational monetary associations, and the multilateral game plans and establishments advancing the objectives of incorporation. However, the continent has overtime been the least coordinated of the globe significant locations. Africa have stayed moderate within the advancement direction and also harbors the greater part of the less advanced nations of the globe. An enormous level of African population remained in the utter poor state while the sub regions keep on being underestimated in worldwide issues. The conspicuous truth is that the

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The Africa Regional Integrations Index Reports of the year 2016.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The Economic community of the Central Africas states regional integration report

continent of Africa has not yet profited completely from additions of the regional financial integrations.<sup>34</sup>

Since the independence, African nations have sought after regional integration courses of action to quicken their financial, social and political advancement. The original regional coordination plans were persuaded halfway by the political vision of African Unity, yet in addition as a method for giving adequate scale to import substitution industrialization approaches. Regional reconciliation did not perform well during 1970's but rather in the late 1980s and mid-1990s, regional integration has again turned into an appealing strategy alternative, in both the developed and the developing regions in Africa. In such manner, since the end of the cold war and with the development of amazing exchanging coalitions, there has been a restored enthusiasm for Africa concerning the need to make solid regional financial incorporation instruments to advance monetary development.<sup>35</sup>

Numerous past examinations contend that regional integration is a phenomenon that can be activated by a few variables dependent on the one of a kind conditions or needs in the State. These variables can be authentic, social, or social. In the present global framework, the principle triggers of the regional incorporation have been observed to be either political, security or financial components. Neighboring States have even more frequently gone into participation concurrences

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> William (1997) the regional Integrations within the Sub Saharan Africa. A review of Experiences and Issue Regional Integration and Trade Liberalization in Sub Saharan Africa, vol. I: Framework, the issues and the Methodological Perspectives in the A.E.R.C. publications.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Mengesha.Y. N. (2009) the trade effects of the Regional Economic Integrations within Africa, the Case of the S.A.D.C., Debre Birhan University of Ethiopia.

with a perspective on accomplishing regular interests. The goals of agreement can either be political, monetary, natural or security.<sup>36</sup>

Regional integration forms in Africa contrast from other integration forms in the developing world. This in light of the fact that the Pan African philosophy which shapes the African continent's character and soundness. The African example of coordination contains the capital markets, coordination of merchandise, showcase incorporation and money related integrations. The African integrations advocates with the expectation of complimentary exchange, normal market where all dealers have free access, custom association, and a monetary association where there is utilization of typical money.<sup>37</sup> Political association among African nations is the primary point why Africa States advocate for incorporation. In Africa, the incorporation is established in the political field where political powers were the principle determinants in the arrangement of geological States. These States were chiefly characterized by frontier fringes and ethnic synthesis which has prompted common hardship and clashes in Africa.<sup>38</sup>

A research study on the Economic Integration in Africa by Omotunde states that point of the regional integration is to control and fortify the political, social, social, infrastructural and business relations of the different states to encourage the advancement and development of the economy and guarantee assets are shared fairly. Omotunde further contends that harmony and

38 Ibdi, P.409

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Joseph Nye. Africa Regional Integrations Arrangement. The history and the Challenges within the European center for the developments policy managements (ECDPM) (2012) P. 38

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> McCarthy. The challenges of the regional integrations within Southern Africa African the Journal of the Political Science and the International Relations. Vol 3, (2013)., Pp. (396-408)

security in Africa is critical to Africa regional integration.<sup>39</sup> This is incited by a developing acknowledgment that security issues confronting the Africa states are because of multiplication of small arms. The contentions in most African States are both fuelled by these arms. The economic and also the stability and the peace process are the most significant factors in the regional integration within the African states<sup>40</sup>

## 2.2.1 Regional Integration and Pan Africanism

From the times of attainment of independence, there has been a bombed endeavor to urbanize productively through making use of the import substitution that therefore offered and also ascended the thought of the concept of the regional integration as an approach to encourage the auxiliary change within the continent of Africa. Therefore, African nations have grasped regional integration as a significant section of their advancement systems basically predictable by the financial discerning of overcoming the undoing of little and fragmented economies working in disengagement. Pan Africanism has progressively been going in the correct direction of the extending financial, social and also the political involvement and the combination in the continent of Africa.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Omotunde, E. J., the Economic Integrations within Africa thus enhancing the prospects for the Success "Journal of the Modern African Studies, Vol. No 29, No. 1(2015) P p.(1-26)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Omotunde, E. J. the Economic Integrations within Africa, thus enhancing the prospects for the Success. the Journal of Modern African Studies. Vol. No 29, No. 1(2015) P p .1-26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>98 The African Economic Community (A.E.C.) *the History and the Present Status*. Retrieved from EAC website; <a href="http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/aec.htm">http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/aec.htm</a>. on 22 January 2016.

As indicated by Kimanuka African individuals, both on the African continent and in the diaspora share not only a typical history or legacy, however a typical predetermination. This feeling of interconnected pasts and fates took numerous structures, particularly in nineteenth century making political foundations. It is regularly said that Pan Africanism speaks to the complexities of dark political and scholarly contemplations of more than two hundred years. It was on that note that Pan-Africanism was shaped with calls for African solidarity, both as a continent and as individuals, patriotism, freedom, political and financial participation and authentic and social mindfulness around the globe.<sup>42</sup> The concept of Pan Africanism is a philosophy and development empowering the solidarity of Africans around the world. It depends on the conviction that solidarity is essential to monetary, social and political advancement and means to 'bind together and inspire' individuals of African plummet.<sup>43</sup>

Pan Africanism is a development established around 1900 to verify equivalent rights, self-government, freedom, and solidarity for African people groups. The biggest Pan-African association is the African Union. Verifiably, sources demonstrate that Pan-Africanism developed out endeavors to end bondage and the slave exchange at the time blacks worldwide were being persecuted. The concept of Pan Africanism has assumed an incredible job in the freedom of the persecuted, mortified and isolated individuals of Africa specifically and the world by and large. It

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Oscar Kimanuka (2015) on What the Pan Africanism implies within the context of the regional integrations. Retrieved from: the <a href="https://www.tralac.org/news/article/7900">https://www.tralac.org/news/article/7900</a>. Essentially what the panafricanism means within the context of the regional integration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Otieno M. Moyi, E. Khainga, D. & Biwott. P. (2013) the regional Integrations and the Foreign Direct Investments within the East African nations. The *Journal of the World Economic Research*. Vol. 2 No. 4, (2013)

has additionally added to the ascent of battle for the general population's rights on the planet.

Presently, it goes for bringing financial ties and incorporation among the African nations.<sup>44</sup>

The Pan Africanist development and belief system can be referred to, to be one of the best commitments with regard to the endeavors of the unification of the Africa as a continent. Even though Pan Africanism did not really begin from the African continent it began when the individuals of the African plummet and Africans had endured the insults of both subjection and colonization. The principal Pan-African congress was assembled by the W.E.B Dubois in the year 1919. The most noteworthy congress arrangement was the fifth manifestation of the African congress of the year 1945, that was gone to by many post freedom African pioneers outstanding among them were the Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkurumah and the Hastings Banda. These discussions made ready for the call of independence and also the unification of Africa. Furnished with the total belief system of Pan Africanism, Nkrumah and Kenyatta and others came back to their individual territories to initiate the battle for independence prompting a birth of African patriotism. It is Pan-Africanism that brought forth patriotism.

As per Esedebe, the possibility of African integration was created and grasped by Pan-Africanists who accept that integration advances financial development, lightens the poverty rates and keeps up harmony and security among African states. Therefore integration is required to advance between legislative collaboration, encourage approach harmonization and make an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Solomon Mekonnen Economic integration and Pan-Africanism' 2013

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Solomon Mekonnen 'Economic integration and Pan-Africanism' 2013

assembled front for worldwide arrangements for outside guide, exchange progression and security issues. The unification of African expresses, the last phase of combination, fills in as a mutual dream for Pan-African lawmakers, savvy people and activists, who endeavor to beat the pessimistic inheritance of bondage and expansionism to kill proceeding with bigotry, abuse and misuse against Africans and their relatives in the diaspora. Along these lines, fundamentally, African coordination has its ideological roots in Pan-Africanism characterized as a political and social phenomenon that respects Africa, Africans, and African relatives abroad as a unit. 46

Regarding the institutional improvement of African incorporation, the development of the African Union (AU) as a substitution for the previous OAU (Organization of African Unity) in 2003 was decidedly seen as a major advance forward for a more profound political and monetary integration of the 53 AU member states. As indicated by its Constitutive Act, the AU has a continent wide order to accomplish such wide destinations as political and financial reconciliation, improvement of harmony and security, coordination of arrangements of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), and advancement of majority rules system, human rights and great administration. Essentially, the idea of African solidarity is acknowledged as a mutual objective for African sovereign states. The concept of Pan Africanism can be separated to the two applied measurements characterized as racial and social fondness and topographical associations. <sup>47</sup>

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Esedebe P. Olisanwuche. 1994. The Pan Africanism; on the Idea and the Movements (1776-1991) and the 2nd Editions. Washington DC: Howard University Press,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Setsuko and Tamura (2011) the rethinking of the Pan Africanism within A.U (African Union) directed towards the regional integration of the continent of Africa.

As per Tamura, as far as the racial social measurement, Pan Africanism is considered to incite pride and solidarity among sub-Saharan Black Africans and Black African diaspora's outside the continent. For example, from a diaspora's point of view, Pan-African development is expected to advance scholarly exercises among all people groups of African plummets so as to accomplish the mechanical and profound liberation of the Negro individuals. Pan Africanism as a development has for as long as three centuries has hurled characters and thoughts that have given different gatherings of dark individuals a feeling of being and reason.<sup>50</sup>

Pan Africanists see the current regional borders as a negative legacy of Western imperialism that isolated the continent into states with no importance to customary decision frameworks and ethnic based examples of settlement. In this view, the goal of African states for integration can be viewed as a balanced reaction as indicated by post-frontier African states, huge numbers of which are described by political insecurity, financial stagnation and exceedingly divided social orders. After the independence of Ghana, Nkurumah composed for the All Africa People's gathering that was gone to by every single ideological group and pioneers of freedom developments. The fundamental motivation of the gathering was the fulfillment of the independence everything being equal and the fortifying of new nations to avoid neo expansionism. The meeting was likewise observed as the successor of the Pan African congresses. Nkurumah turned into the prominent supporter for unification of Africa, within the same political league. A contention that had been resuscitated within the gathering of the African association and particularly pressurized by the Libyan president and previous AU seat Mummar Gaddaffi. Then

Nkurumah who therefore can be described to be the originator of the possibility of the United States of Africa, was solidly contradicted to regional alliances as he expected regional coalitions may make prospects of African solidarity considerably progressively troublesome<sup>48</sup>

President Nyerere of Tanzania contradicted the possibility of unification of Africa after independence and rather required the arrangement of the regional integration for collaboration in various parts of Africa which he said would in the long run lead to unification of Africa in general. Nkurumah then again contended that African association government ought to be framed following independence before individual nations settled in their sways. He contended that magnificent forces would utilize singular nations to seek after their neo-regional strategies of gap and principle.<sup>49</sup>

As indicated by Ketema both Nyerere and Nkurumah were anyway not at all contradicted to the bringing together of the Africa however had various thoughts on the most fitting methodology. The subdivisions that exist among the Nkurumah and the Nyerere mirrored the division that existed between the recently free African States. On the other hand that bolstered the Nkurumah and the Ghana were nations, for example, Guinea, Mali, Egypt, Algeria and also Morocco. While there were nations referred to as the preservationists comprising Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and the Togo who supported the steadier way to deal with the subject of African solidarity.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>40</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Nkurumah. K. Africa Must Unite (1965) the New York: International Publishers (p.p. 1-5)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> 27 Ketema. M Creations of the O.A.U, Retrieved from; <a href="http://www.oau-creation.com/ketema">http://www.oau-creation.com/ketema</a>. \_1.htm on (15.06.11)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> 27 Ibid

In the year 1963 the two restricting gatherings met up and shaped the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The OAU principle point was to advance solidarity and the solidarity of Africa and also talk with one aggregate voice for the continent. The organization of the African union was additionally committed to killing all types of expansionism from the earliest starting point with political Shaw T.M. (1995). 'New Regionalism within Africa as a continent as the Responses to the Environmental Crises: IGADD and Development in the Horn y-sanctioned racial segregation within the South Africa. The OAU within its residency to a limited degree figured out how to talk with one mind on issues that were of concern affecting African nations. The OAU oversaw extraordinary triumphs in connection to the decolonization endeavors in the continent. Different accomplishments involved the making of the noteworthy commitments to the advancement of worldwide law, particularly in the fields of displaced person law and the human rights law where only a few of the significant settlements were received under OAU sponsorship, despite the fact that practically speaking advancement was moderate and not leveled. An institution of the human rights was conceived, yet the OAU was disintegrated before it was set up. Anyway it apparently was to a great extent a disappointment and was named the despots club as it neglected to address numerous difficulties that developed on the continent, for example, wars and overthrows, a reality that was ascribed to the OAU guideline of non-obstruction within the inward undertaking of any African state.<sup>51</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Tesfamikeal. M. Africa Union: the new wine within the old bottles which was Retrieved from the watch/articles/Mengisteab\_Tesfamikeal\_A.U\_new\_wine\_in\_old%20 bottles,

This advancement of the Pan- African parliament was a positive improvement for the continent of African solidarity. This has been trusted that the Pan African Parliament (P.A.P) was to go about as a discussion that was to clarify the ideas of popular government, great administration and the standard of law in Africa. Despite the fact that the PAP does not have full administrative forces, it trusted that advancements will be made toward that path.<sup>52</sup>

The Africa Union today speaks to the best trust in any endeavors at the regional combination of the Africa continent not minding when the monetarily or politically or even both. It is clear today that a great deal stays to be done to guarantee that nations on the continent are prepared and ready to consent to come to bind together. The more feasible course is by all accounts as Nyerere visualized it, with the regional alliances being the structure blocks to the regional unification of the continent. Incorporation at the dimension of the regional alliances still has its own difficulties that should be defeated for the most extreme advantages to be figured out.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.2.2 EAC Regional Integration in Relation to East Africa

The East Africa Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental association comprised of five nations in particular: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda. The collaboration within EAC goes back in 1900s when Kenya and Uganda set up a Custom Union with a perspective on advancing exchange. Tanzania joined this Union in 1927 with a similar target.<sup>54</sup> This improvement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ahmadou. N. the Pan African Parliaments and the potential for the developments of the strong continental Legislatives which is Retrieved from the <a href="http://www.iss.co.za/iss">http://www.iss.co.za/iss</a> today.php?ID=1104.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Taylor Ian. Towards the Africa Developments or the another False Start (Boulder Rienner Publishers (2005). Pp.78-88.

established the framework whereupon the development of EAC in 1967 was moored. It is because of contrasts in ideological methodologies among Member States, that EAC crumbled in 1977. It isn't until 1993 when the part States resuscitated the possibility of collaboration through different understandings that in the long run drove the foundation of Tripartite Commission for East Africa participation in and re-foundation of EAC in the year 2000.<sup>55</sup>

Numerous difficulties confronting Africa regional integration prompted the collapse of EAC, the collapse of EAC is credited to the accompanying reasons; right off the bat was absence of adequate fondness among Member States. Warmth for this situation alludes to the angle where Members of regional alliances meet up and undertakes coordination process since they believe they share a great deal for all intents and purpose and subsequently bound by friendship. It is obvious that EAC before 1977 shared a great deal in like manner including language associations, comparable pilgrim encounters and cross bonder ethnic connection, anyway the dimension of love was low. Besides, the pre-control of individuals States with material additions while disregarding fundamentals that drives reconciliation procedure added to the utter collapse of EAC.<sup>56</sup> The EAC part States set out on forceful crusade to verify regional legacy combined with patriotism following the independence. This situation turned into a genuine obstacle to the integration procedure. Thirdly the dread among the member states settled on ideological and political distinction was at the pick. Kenya and Uganda were master West, and Tanzania was East. These cold war belief

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Van de, Walle, on the African Economics and the Politics of the Permanent Crisis. (Cambridge University Press 2001). (P.75)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Mwesiga, Laurent The African Economic Community and the EAC (South Africa, Midrand, 2004). Pp.76-87

systems seriously influenced the relationship among EAC individuals. These different political stands just served in making trepidation and question among individuals which was bad for combination process. Hence the previous EAC would not endure but rather with the current political steadiness in the region, East Africa Community is so steady.

After the collapse of the East African Community in the year 1977 pioneers within the East African regions made steps towards to resuscitate the community. In the years 1980's and 1990's difference in administration in the region achieved the new style of the administration and with that change a difference in view of the regional incorporation with positive consequences. In the year 1984 an intervention understanding was marked by the Partner nations to be able to allocate the advantages of the East African community. This made ready for the reunion between the nations particularly the pioneers. The specific stage was set for recovery in the gathering for the Heads of the Commonwealth in Harare. The pioneers were now ready to talk about the eventual fate of the society. With regard to this intently is the foundation of the permanent tripartite Commission for the East African Cooperation in the year 1993. These activities were driven by the Presidents Daniel Moi of the government of Kenya, Yoweri Museveni of the government of Uganda and also Benjamin Mkapa the president of Tanzania. Those endeavors by the three Presidents established the framework for collaboration in the area and prepared for the foundation of the structures and elements of the EAC. In the year 1996 the east African Cooperation

secretariats has been built up making ready for the marking of the settlement building up the EAC.<sup>57</sup>

The vision and the mission of the revived EAC caught the new soul of the participation among the member Nations. Its main vision expresses that the East African Community expects to build up a very prosperous, focused, secure and also a politically connected East Africa. Its central goal to enlarge and extend financial, political, and social combination so as to improve the personal satisfaction of the general population of East Africa through expanded intensity, esteem included generation exchange and venture real accomplishments of the EAC advancement procedure following its sanction in the year 2000 that has incorporated the foundation of the customs union in the year 2005 that has graduated to a typical market place convention in the month of July 2010. The East Africa Community had additionally figured out how to blend and grow East African Standards, expel non-tax hindrances, set up the Lake Victoria Basin Commission, the foundation of the East African Legislative Assembly and also the East African Court of Justice.<sup>58</sup>

A standout amongst the hugest improvements had been development of the E.A.C participation, with regard to the consideration of the Burundi and also Rwanda in the year 2006. These two nations were thus invited by the three unique member nations after they consented to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> 43Adar G. Korwa on the Federalisms and the East African Community Integration Processes: A case of the role of the East African Legislative Assemblies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Mangachi M. W (2011). The regional Integrations within the continent Africa: A case of the East Africa Experiences. The Safari Books ltd. Ibadan.

the E.A.C settlement. This process of the incorporation of Rwanda and Burundi has witnessed the E.A.C turned out to be a standout amongst the most appealing regional alliances in the continent of Africa. As it is apparently following the incorporation of Rwanda and Burundi, the E.A.C has a population of about 126 million individuals taking part in a range of 1.8 million Km2. The combined Gross domestic product (G.D.P) of these territories of individuals is over \$41billions that makes it an appealing business sector zone. The reconstituted EAC lies on four columns, which are the Customs Union, Common Market Protocol, Monetary Union and also the Political Federation processes.<sup>59</sup>

Even though EAC has made incredible strides and is viewed as one of the significant dynamic R.E.C on African continent it has confronted a few difficulties as well. The EAC at present is currently completely executing a typical market convention, which involves guaranteeing the opportunity of individuals, capital, administrations and merchandise. Even though the regular convention was marked on the month of November of the year 2009 and was brought into power on the first July of the year 2010, there exists the real difficulty which apparently has not been tended to by the partner nations. The opportunities of development of individuals have not been completely acknowledged, with a typical East African international ID set up, States in the network still have set up interior bureaucratic systems that counteract work development. In Tanzania for instance natives of E.A.C nations are levied about \$2,000 for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Makame A. (2012) in the East African Integrations; the Achievements and the Challenges. And the Great Insights Volume 1, Issue no6 of the August (2012), Maastricht: E.C.D.P.M.

work license, an expense which is over the top and also very demoralizing. Some other partner nations guarantee to has in principle postponed charges for the work licenses; anyway, reality at the grounds is that need for business is offered to the natives of each partner nations and looking for work for residents of the partner nations isn't simple.<sup>60</sup>

The development of merchandise is likewise not as forthright direct as it ought to be in a typical market region, as concerns with the grievances of the non-tax obstructions for example, police and also the migration confirmations looked by the transporters of the products over the partner nations. The E.A.C partner nations have additionally in the year 2012/2013 blamed others for acquainting new obstructions with exchange by presenting the new freight travel charges.<sup>61</sup>

Another great concern in the E.A.C is the issue that has appeared a confinement for the nation of Tanzania and Burundi in late summits gatherings, where the presidents of the two nations have been incredibly missing. Further the concept of the East African Community official body had requested clarifications and then later on the monetary and discretionary streamlining which had sidelined Tanzania. These boards of the priests coordinated with its executive, thus the Uganda's E.A.C issues that serve ShemBageine, to get ready complete data especially on the blooming partnership among Kenya and also its landlocked neighbors that are Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. The E.A.C secretariats have reacted by therefore denying any divisions, alleging the region's bargain enables individuals to sign settlements for actualizing achievements concurred at

<sup>60</sup> Business Daily, September 16th 2013

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Hannah Marie Vidmar (2015) and the East African Community; the Questions of the Sovereignty and the Regionalism, and the Identity. Retrieved online on 6th July 2018, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/

the regional dimension insofar as there were some spaces for the others who were interested to join when prepared. These methodology and also the mentality by some other partner stages and processes if not checked might have prompted a decay of the relations between partners, expresses a circumstance as the historical occurrences has demonstrated, triggered and also prompted the collapse of the community.<sup>62</sup>

Nonetheless, also with the apparent challenges, the E.A.C has been considered to be one of the most resilience of the regional monetary networks within the continent of Africa. It has built up logically from its restructuring in the year 2002, to strengthen up a custom relationship and has exhaustively pursued and also realized a very typical market oriented conventions. The E.A.C have likewise begun numerous infrastructural enterprises that will fill in as temptation to the separate Nations within the section will's recognition ready to witness the significance they sustained to be focused should they be connected to the community. All things considered the E.A.C has subsequently been overseen through continuous assistance to diminish a sincere value of exchange shortfalls within the County. The E.A.C likewise has the most significant thorough institutional systems of any R.E.C within the continent of Africa. Nonetheless, significantly, much should therefore be made possible by the different Nations to move the systems to a considerably much more significant statures and thus guarantee and promise more thriving. 63

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Hamid R. Davoodi (2012 p1) *Overview*, within the East Africa Community After the Ten Years; and the deepening of the Integration. Retrieved online at https://www.imf.org.pdf on 6th July 2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Vidmar H. M. (2015) on the *East African Community; the Questions of the Sovereignty, Regionalism and also the Identity*. Retrieved online at, https://etd.ohio.link.edu/ on 6<sup>th</sup> November 2018

#### 2.2.3 Vision 2063

In 2015, African pioneers received Agenda 2063 as the continent's new long-haul vision for the following 50 years. Plan 2063 expects to enhance the utilization of Africa's assets to support the continent's kin. The N.E.P.A.D Agency the actualizing office of the African Union has been entrusted with optimizing the usage and checking of major advancement projects and structures, including Agenda 2063 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).<sup>64</sup> Plan 2063 is Africa's vital system that means to convey on Africa's objective for comprehensive and practical advancement and is a solid indication of the Pan African drive for solidarity, self-assurance, opportunity, advancement and aggregate success sought after under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance.<sup>65</sup>

Vision 2063 stimulate as a need to imagine a long haul arrangement, 50-year improvement direction for Africa is significant as Africa need to reconsider and adjust its advancement motivation because of continuous basic changes; expanded harmony and decrease in the quantity of contentions; reestablished monetary development and social advancement; the requirement for individuals focused improvement, sexual orientation uniformity and youth strengthening.<sup>66</sup>

Because of changing worldwide settings, for example, expanded globalization and the ICT insurgency; the expanded solidarity of Africa which makes it a worldwide capacity to be figured with and equipped for encouraging help around its own basic motivation; and rising improvement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Nepad (2015) Agenda 2063, Retrieved from; http://www.nepad.org/cop/agenda-2063

<sup>65</sup> Daily Nation https://www.nation.co.ke/authors/1959272-1974816-view-asAuthor-pw5g64/index.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Nepad (2015) Agenda 2063, Retrieved from; http://www.nepad.org/cop/agenda-2063

and venture openings in territories, for example, agri-business, foundation advancement, wellbeing and training just as the value addition in African products.<sup>67</sup>

Motivation 2063 looks to convey on a typical and shared arrangement of a few desires; A successful Africa continent dependent on the comprehensive establishments, the development and the supportable advancement, an incorporated continent, politically solidarity dependent on the standards of Pan Africanism and also the vision of the continent of Africa's Renaissance. Work has just initiated by the African Union Commission and NEPAD Agency to tame the initial multiyear Implementation plan into national and regional intends to guarantee compelling and adjusted usage at national, regional and the continent levels. Moreover, work has advanced in creating marker systems to follow Agenda 2063, and by augmentation the SDG. In particular, endeavors are in progress to set up close to continuous following and intermittent assessment instruments, with committed spotlight on structure institutional abilities to create quality factual information.<sup>68</sup>

Motivation 2063 intends to give stages to sharing aptitude to illuminate viable training and arranging, advance accepted procedures on executing, following and giving an account of the objectives and objectives revered in the initial ten years of Agenda 2063 usage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Nepad (2015) Agenda 2063, Retrieved from; http://www.nepad.org/cop/agenda-2063

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

In sum, this chapter has talked about the regional integration in the continent of Africa and the history of the regional integration connected to Pan Africanism, the Economic Community of the Central African states in relation to the East Africa Community and also the African union vision 2063.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

# DYNAMICS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AFRICA, AN OVERVIEW OF ECCAS

#### 3.1 Introduction

This section investigates ECCAS from its creation in 1983 and inspects the different structures of ECCAS just as its security structure. It will likewise look at the security structure of ECCAs and the dimension participation among member states. The section gave a clarification on the connection between regional and the manifestation of the Africanism, the concept of the integration was conceived from the perspective on Pan-Africanism which calls for African solidarity, both as the continent and as individuals, patriotism, freedom, political and monetary collaboration, and authentic and social mindfulness around the globe. 69

The section additionally addressed the concept of the Economic Community of the Central African nations in connection to East African Community. These two coalitions were framed with a similar thought of making success in the region yet they were regularly looked with different difficulties which incorporate; the pre-control of individuals States with material increases while overlooking basics that drives the integration procedure added to the subsequent collapse of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> The Annual Reports On the Integration within the continent of Africa (2002) as retrieved on December 1st, 2018 from, E.C.A. websites. <a href="http://www.uneca.org/ECA.\_RESOURCES./Speeches./2002.\_speeches/Aria2002/0305,\_ADFIII,\_PRESENTATION.\_SULIMAN.ppt">PRESENTATION.\_SULIMAN.ppt</a>.

regional yet a short time later the two of them made a stride and reclassified their overall commands and the mandates.<sup>70</sup>

The section further discussed vision 2063 which is the Africa's key structure that plans to convey on Africa's objective for comprehensive and manageable advancement and is a solid indication of the manifestation of African drive for solidarity, self-assurance, opportunity, advancement and aggregate success sought after under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance<sup>71</sup>.

Part three will cover arrangement of the Economic Community of the Central Africa countries, the individual from these nations, procedure of the regional integration in Central Africa and the accomplishments made by the concept of the (E.C.C.A.S) Economic Community of Central Africa States (nations).

## 3.2 Formation of Economic Community of Central African States

In 1981, pioneers existing within Central Africa Customs and Economic Union (U.D.E.A.C) consented to build up a more extensive monetary network of the Central African nations with the main objective or aim of making a typical market. After two years, in 1983, ECCAS was propelled. The party states incorporated all individuals from the U.D.E.A.C which implies to the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Chad Republic of Congo, Gabon and also Equatorial Guinea, just as the individuals from the Economic Community of Great Lakes nations that includes Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire (later Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Nepad (2015) Agenda 2063, Retrieved from; http://www.nepad.org/cop/agenda-2063

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ibid.

Further the São Tomé was additionally an underlying party. Angola joined ECCAS in 1999, while Rwanda left in 2007 (despite the fact that Rwanda by and by has a spectator status). ECCAS initially had eleven-party States. A portion of these States, for example, the state of Cameroon and Islands of Sao Tome and the Principe are geologically situated in West Africa as opposed to Central Africa and this may likewise clarify the motivation behind why a portion of these States does not put more exertion in the achievement of regional integration. In 2007, Rwanda left ECCAs for East African Community (EAC). In any case, in 2010, Rwanda was given an observer status in the wake of appearing in re-integration of the ECCAS.<sup>72</sup>

Subsequently the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) is considered as an association for the advancement of regional financial co task in Central Africa. This means to accomplish aggregate self-sufficiency, raise the way of life of its population and keep up financial solidness through amicable collaboration. ECCAS in Central Africa sufficiently known by its own French abbreviation the Communauté Économique des États del'Afrique Central (CEEAC) has its home office situated in Libreville, Gabon. ECCAS officially wound up working in 1985 yet it was not long until the association lost its force. Struggle in party states and an absence of budgetary and different duties from

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> The Annual Report On the Integration within Africa (2002) that was Retrieved on December 1st, (2018) from the E.C.A. websites.

<sup>&</sup>lt;a href="http://www.uneca.org/E..C.A.\_RESOURCES./Speeches./2002.\_speeches./Aria.2002./0305.\_ADFIII.\_PRESENTATION.\_SULIMAN.(ppt)">http://www.uneca.org/E..C.A.\_RESOURCES./Speeches./2002.\_speeches./Aria.2002./0305.\_ADFIII.\_PRESENTATION.\_SULIMAN.(ppt)

part states made participation and coordination within the ECCAS go to a pounding stop. In the middle of 1992 and 1998, the association turned out to be totally latent. Its structures remained however gradually rotten, shaping just an ECCAS shell.74

ECCAS was built up in 1983 within the community of Africa financial network and tries to make a typical potential market for the Central African nations. Its eleven individual member states are Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, CAR, Gabon, Congo, Republic Democratic republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and also the nation of Chad. Therefore for an over 10 years 7 of its party nations witnessed the military clashes and also common difficulty. Between the years of 1992-1997, E.C.C.A.S went through financial decrease, disintegrating social status and the political unsteadiness this therefore slowed down integration endeavors. It was re-propelled in 1998 with an increasingly engaged order.<sup>75</sup>

At the general apex meeting that was held in the month of December in the year 1981, these pioneers of Central African Custom and also Economic Union (UDEAC) concurred on a fundamental level to frame a more extensive financial network of the Central African Nations. C.E.E.A.C or the E.C.C.A.S was built up in the month of 18 October in the year 1983 through the U.D.E.A.C individuals and also individuals from the Economic Community of the Great Lakes nations (C.E.P.G.L) which include Burundi, Rwanda and also the then Country of Zaire just as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> The United Nations on the Economic Commissions for the continent of Africa (2018) which is Retrieved from; <a href="https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/about">https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/about</a> observatory regional integration Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Annual Report On Integration In Africa (2002) that was Retrieved as from December 1st, 2018 from, ECA website.<a href="http://www.uneca.org/ECA\_RESOURCES/Speeches/2002\_speeches/Aria2002./0305.\_ADFIII.\_PRESEN TATION.\_SULIMAN.(ppt)">http://www.uneca.org/ECA\_RESOURCES/Speeches/2002\_speeches/Aria2002./0305.\_ADFIII.\_PRESEN TATION.\_SULIMAN.(ppt)</a>

Sao Tome and Principe. Substantially the Nation of Angola remained an eyewitness till the year 1999 when this was turned into a complete party. E.C.C.A.S started working in the year 1985, however had been idle since the year 1992 as a result of the money related troubles (non installment of the enrollment expenses) and also the contention within the Great Lakes territory. The fights within the D.R.C have since been especially disruptive, as the nations of Rwanda and also Angola battled within the rival sides.<sup>76</sup>

The concept of the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) was made in the year 1983 as a major aspect of the Lagos Plan of Action which was embraced by Organization of the African Unity (O.A.U) for the advancement of the foundation of solitary of the Pan African basic market constantly 2000. These fundamental starting goals of the Community were to get ready on the regional dimension, for continent wide financial integration. Rather than the other principle Central African regional network, the concept of the Economic and the Monetary Union of Central Africa (C.E.M.A.C) which is progressively based on area's pilgrim heritage. In the 1960's and the 1970's, a few States, for example, outstandingly Zaire (previous DRC) had propelled activities to set up an enormous financial network, involving the nations of the Great Lake region and also the other Member of CEMAC's ancestor.<sup>77</sup>

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> A Meyer from the Regional Conflict Management within the Central Africa; From the F.O.M.U.C. to M.I.C.O.P.A.X., within the African Security.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> C Elowson and also C Hull Wiklund E.C.C.A.S. the capabilities to guarantee for the Peace and the Security. A scoping for the study on the progress and also on the challenges, F.O.I. the User Report 3244, September (2011).

These orders of ECCAS incorporate creating physical, financial and fiscal coordination of the sub-regions; to upgrade the region's ability to look after harmony, security and solidness and create limit with respect to examination, approach mediations, pioneering activities, correspondence and aggregate arrangement. E.C.C.A.S assumed the order of actualizing N.E.P.A.D's programs of activity in the Central African. It likewise has the extra duty for planning the minor region's procedures towards accomplishing the M.D.Gs.<sup>78</sup>

ECCAS is characterized by feeble institutional and authoritative limit. Its part states marked an organized commerce region understanding in the year 2004 which was thus to come to power in the year 2006. Thus incompletely mirrored those parts of the nation' absence of the political goodwill, to give up parts of these individual nationwide power to the overall regional entity that mirrors the inborn shortcoming and hesitation of the nations in the struggle. Likewise, because of unavoidable clashes, ECCAS has neglected to prepare the important assets to execute its order. <sup>79</sup>

The ACBF appraisal takes note of that despite benefactor subsidized limit building programs, ECCAS presently can't seem to make the base hierarchical requirements important to actualize regional reconciliation ventures. The Community comes up short on a minimum amount of equipped staff to drive the regional coordination plan.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> S Koko, the Warning from whom, for which response, on the Appraisal of the early warnings and the early response mechanisms of the Economic Community of the Central African States on the African Affairs Review.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> The Economic Community of the Central African States.

Be that as it may, these ventures fizzled. The making of E.C.C.A.S was framed in the year 1983. Thus the E.C.C.A.S started working in the year 1985, therefore when the establishing bargain have been sanctioned by all the individuals, Gabon, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, (CAR) Chad, Congo Brazzaville and also the Equatorial Guinea Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo (D.R.C) and also the Sao Tome and Principe. Throughout these years, this Community's enrollment experienced a few vacillations: Angola immediately changed in the year 1999 the underlying spectator status against the full participation. Therefore, the nation of Rwanda, battling for the planning of its enrollment within the four regional networks, the Common Market for the Eastern and the Southern Africa. (C.O.M.E.S.A), also the East African Community (E.A.C.), C.E.P.G.L and the E.C.C.A.S, stopped the E.C.C.A.S in the year 2007.

Within the beginning of the year 1998, a very extra ordinary Summit of the E.C.C.A.S was organized in Libreville, during which the Heads of the nation and the Government focused on building up the association out of the state of dormancy. It thus was chosen that the E.C.C.A.S was to be rebuilt and the motivation be redefined to give a fresh beginning to the association. <sup>82</sup> In 1999, four new need territories that have been crafted by the association were distinguished. Considering how the region's population had been adversely influenced by the numerous contentions occurring during the years of 1990's, one of these needs were meant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Lebale. N. et al,,(2009), the economic Development the the Africa Report; entitled the Strengthening of the Regional Economic Integrations for the Africa Developments, U.N.C.T.A.D, Geneva switzerland.

<sup>82</sup> Nepad (2015) Agenda 2063, Retrieved from; http://www.nepad.org/cop/agenda-2063

therefore to improve the area's abilities to build harmony, security and also steadiness. This was viewed as an essential for the financial and social advancement of Central Africa. The different demands were meant to build up the physical, financial and fiscal connections to the regional population; to build up a culture of human coordination and also to set up a selfsufficient financing instrument for E.C.C.A.S. Apparently Angola, which had recently conveyed a very spectator status within the organs of E.C.C.A.S, opted to turn into a complete part. Therefore the E.C.C.A.S in connection had also marked the convention on the associations that exists between the African Economic Community A.E.C. and also the concept and the idea of the Regional Economic Communities (R.E.Cs), which affirmed E.C.C.A.S as the major R.E.C within Central Africa.<sup>83</sup> Apparently in the year 2008, it was decided that C.E.M.A.C was required to amalgamate with the E.C.C.A.S, when this will be executed is another issue of greater concerns. A merger will be viewed to be simpler within the specific regions and territories, for instance the harmony and also the security where E.C.C.A.S has hard an unmistakable and a correctly perceived leads is something that has not been in doubt. As the mains and master association for the security collaboration within the Central Africa, E.C.C.A.S before long resolved to comprise the regional commitment's to the African Union (A.U) and therefore the Peace and also the Security structure and the Architecture has been revised adequately. The architectures that are caged within the E.C.C.A.S for this kind of design have been set up in the mid years of 2000's. Apart from the requirement to be able to

83 Ibid

59

address the contamination of peace, harmony and security concerns within the counties, these decisions of the leaders of the country or the state and also the super administration of the E.C.C.A.S to strengthen the region's harmony and also the security architecture was informed by the A.P.S.A.expansions within the continent or at the continental level.<sup>84</sup>

The architecture of the concept of the African Peace and also the Security Architecture (A.P.S.A.) within these categories contributed towards giving a new life to E.C.C.A.S among the other five R.E.C.s and also the apparatus that structure some critical parts of A.S.F, E.C.C.A.S is the R.E.C with the most insignificant amount of money related estimates, with a yearly utilization plans of U.S.D. 18 million. E.C.C.A.S is to be funded and also financed through an import costs to a tune of 0.4% that lies between the part nations, nonetheless it is messed if it is really being realized just on a rare general premises. Subsequently there have existed a number of existential challenges in consolidating the financial resources from the participant nations, with just only a few nations which have increasingly been customary patrons for instance the Gabon and also the Equatorial Guinea. Furthermore, E.C.C.A.S endures extraordinary limitations as far as the human resource practices, notably as respects exceedingly the qualified proficient employees. Even after the re-departure of the E.C.C.A.S in the year1998 a considerable dynamic frequency apparently cannot be deemed to get well within this Citizenry. Without a bare minimum qualities of the normal expert employees and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>Adogamhe, P.G in the year 2008. The Pan Africanism revisited; the Vision and the reality of the African unity and also the concept of the development. African Review of Integration. (Vol. 2. No. 2).

also the monetary related assets and other facilities, E.C.C.A.S have neglected to grow short, medium and also the long haul key plans just as well as the imperative monetary or the financial programming and the leadership at the Apex. Also the E.C.C.A.S neither have the employee sets of the expectations nor the work characterizations. Therefore the certain observers comprehends the E.C.C.A.S as the very own association that therefore keeps and maintains on the grabbing in the obscurity.<sup>85</sup>

After its inception E.C.C.A.S was considered to be about as the mainstay of the concept of the African Economic Community (A.E.C.). Apparently it were therefore being considered as the stage within these broad ventures with an aim of making the Continent of Africa a regular venture markets. Therefore its prime target were characterized as an advancing, and also as a fortifying monetary and social associations, self-continued advancements, so as to accomplish the aggregate self-independence, uplift the standard of life of its individuals, financial dependability among the member states and also encourage a very close and a genuine associations that exists between the member countries and also to supplement towards the sophistication and the betterment of the continent of Africa.<sup>86</sup>

To conceptualize this point therefore, the year 1983 had received a bargain that gives a guide with regard to the foundation of the country's entrepreneurial venture markets. This included evasion of taxes, non-duty obstructions, the setup of external normal native levy and a typical

<sup>85</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Adogamhe P.G. (2008). The Pan Africanism revisited the Vision and the reality of African unity and development. The African Review of Integration. (Vol. 2. No. 2)

exchange consignments that exists towards the third country, the dynamic achievement of free development of individual's products administrations and the capital, just as the consolidation of the national methodologies in different approach fields, for instances the industry, transport, vitality and horticulture.<sup>87</sup>

Within its first ten years of the presence, E.C.C.A.S just demonstrated the lackluster indicating and the contractual deal with the A.E.C. that has extensively been restricted. Therefore as from the years of 1990s on, the Citizenry had undergone lack of accountability of its Member nations, they neglected to subsequently remit their costs charges and also to provide the adequate assets and also the limits, just as these ascension of the emergencies and also the conflicts within the locality. In the year of the 1992, E.C.C.A.S commenced a situation of a very absolute restlessness that went through for a very quiet long duration of time. While these monetary concerned limitations to a very large degree, it has therefore blocked the best possible functioning of regional arrangement and execution of methodologies and also the exercise of contention, inclinations of the locality and particularly the unique commitments of certain people on the inverse segments, within the D.R.C war waged destabilized these monetary relationships and also the very trade for the citizenry or the community.<sup>88</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Madyo, M, R, (2008) on the Importance of the Regional Integrations within the Africa continent, on the University of the South Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Manboah, J.K. (2000). The 'regionalism and the integration within the Sub Saharan Africa as a content: A review of the problems and the issues and the realities at the close of the twentieth century. The Journal of the Politics. Vol. 2. The general Project Fund: on the Special Project Funds. University of Calgary, Canada...

At a very sparkling summit that was held in Libreville, E.C.C.A.S nations assembled in the year 1998 to give new leadership to their coordinated and organized effort and re streamline the regionalization approaches and the techniques. Therefore the society left on a very wide institutional change dynamics and also the update of the series of the inspiration. The formal contacts with the A.E.C were engineered in the month of October of the year 1999 and also the noteworthiness of the .E.C.C.A.S as the very major monetary related system in the Central Africa asserted on the continental levels.<sup>89</sup>

Subsequently the community connected to the new focus on the security and also with the security watch collaborations. The eventualities of the initiation year's experiences made the nations to continuously and routinely be very careful that the achievements of the set monetary related objectives and the aims meets a condition of the agreement and also the security. Therefore, the trade and also the coordinated and organized effort which makes the certain shows to be so incomprehensible to the extent that the accessory nations are in a state of war and constant conflicts. The thought with regard to these examinations and the experiments as it was identified to therefore expand the E.C.C.A.S direction and also to be able to incorporate the connected spearhead of the agreement and the arrangements, thus the security and also the constancy has been considered as another mainstay objective. <sup>90</sup>

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Okhonmina S. (2009). On the African Union; the Pan Africanist aspirations and also the challenges of the African unity on the Journal of the Pan African Studies. (Vol. 3. No. 4)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Olu Adeyemi, L. & Ayodele, B. (2007) the challenges of the regional integrations for the development within the Africa the Problems and also the prospects. Journal of the Social Sciences. (Vol. 15, No. 3)

In the course of the summit which took place in the equatorial Guinea's capital Malabo in June the year 2002, the leaders of the State have therefore described the four standard needs and the requirement sections for the community to be in a position to make the capacities to be able to take care of the agreement and the arrangements, security and the robustness, which are therefore the fundamental necessities for the fiscal and social progression to make the physical monetary or financial related and also the cash related compromises therefore to be able to develop a consistent culture of the human coordination's and also to be in a position to set up a very free financing segment for the E.C.C.A.S.<sup>91</sup>

#### 3.4 Member Countries

Further the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) was brought in place in the year 1983 so as to be able to achieve and realize the total self-administration and also raise the considered lifestyle arrangements for its peoples or the individuals and also keep up the budgetary consistency through the approaches that are agreeable through the joint effort and coordination. E.C.C.A.S started to work in the year 1985, nonetheless this was inactive for the very long duration in the light of money related limitations and conflict within the Great Lakes region. In the year 1999 the concept of the African Economic Community (A.E.C again had been in a position to ascertain the bulkiness of the E.C.C.A.S. The current individuals by and by consolidate Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> African Union (2002). The declaration on the Democracy and the Political also the Economic and the Corporate Governance.

Republic of the Congo Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, the Republic of Congo, and Sao Tome and Principe. 92

E.C.C.A.S having been considered as one of the Africa Economic society has been considered by the changed and also the exceeding support items from its constituent countries which are interlinked; Angola is considered as an entity from the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S and also the Southern African Development Community (S.A.D.C).<sup>93</sup> Further the nation of Burundi has been considered as an entity from the Common Market for the Eastern and also the Southern Africa (C.O.M.E.S.A) the East African Community (E.A.C) and also the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S).<sup>94</sup> Cameroon is an individual from the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).<sup>95</sup> Subsequently the Central African Republic is considered as an entity from the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) expressly said and put, Chad is considered as an entity from the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) as expressly been said.<sup>96</sup> The concept of the Democratic Republic of Congo further is considered as an entity from the Common Market for the Eastern and Southern Africa (C.O.M.E.S.A) and also the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S and also the Southern African Development Community (S.A.D.C).<sup>97</sup> The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Global edge (2018) on the Economic Community of the Central Africa nations, Retrieved from the; https://globaledge.msu.edu/tradeblocs/e.c.c.a.s.

<sup>93</sup> Angola. https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/angola.

<sup>94</sup> https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/ Burundi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup>Cameroon (2018.); Retrieved from the; https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/ cameroon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Chad (2018.); https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/. chad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Democratic republic of Congo (2018); https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/democratic republic of the congo

Tropical Guinea has been considered as the individual from the Economic Community of the Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) as it were. 98 Subsequently the state of the Gabon has also been considered as an entity body from the Economic Community of the Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) as it were. 99 Republic of Congo is an entity from the Economic Community of the Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) as it were. 100 Rwanda is also an entity from the Common Market for the Eastern and the Southern Africa (C.O.M.E.S.A) and also the East African Community (E.A.C) and the Economic Community of Central Africa States (E.C.C.A.S). 101 Subsequently the Sao Tome and Principe is considered as entity from the Economic Community of Central African States (E.C.C.A.S) as it were. 102

# **3.5 Organization Structure of ECCAS**

As with regard to the formal architecture of E.C.C.A.S the main Key organs are the Conference of the Heads of State, the Government, the Council of Ministers and the General Secretariat as a whole. More importantly there is a Court of Justice which is not yet operational in action. Subsequently the E.C.C.A.S architecture involves a very Consultative Commission and also Specialized Technical Committees. The chairmanship of E.C.C.A.S has been proposed to change or transition on an annual basis therefore following the alphabetic solicitation that are identified with the pictured annually or yearly convergence of meetings for the leaders of the

<sup>98</sup> Equatorial guinea (2018) https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/equatorial guinea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Gabon (2018.); <a href="https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/">https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/</a>. gabon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Republic of the Congo; https://globaledge.msu.edu/ countries/republic b of the congo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Rwanda (2018.); https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/ rwanda

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Sao tome and principe (2018.) <a href="https://globaledge.msu.edu/">https://globaledge.msu.edu/</a> countries/sao tome and principe

State and also the Government, nonetheless, this had not been the situation. Apparently the seat is held by Chad, which took it over from the D.R.C in October in the year 2009. 103

#### 3.5.1 The Conference of Heads of State and Government

The meetings or otherwise the conference of the leaders of the nations and the Government apparently referred to as the Conference depicts E.C.C.A.S as the general methodology and the bearing and regulates the operations of the very distinctive E.C.C.A.S associations. It is therefore the belongings' which is considered as the transcendent fundamental initiative entity, that is involved in incorporating the very salient issues that are relating to the peacekeeping process, the association, the headquarter operations and also the recovery of the agreement and also the security (show Art 8). Therefore the Conference takes the approaches to be made by E.C.C.A.S organs or the structures that are important. The Conference meant to be able to meet once annually in a standard function, subsequently can in the same manner assemble the very extraordinary functions. Regardless of these longings the Conference has so far never been made to inspire sense on how to be able to meet on a yearly basis. Regardless, since the year 2005, it has therefore even met more reliably with the social affairs in years 2005, 2007 and the 2009. No social affair was done in the year 2011.<sup>104</sup>

103 Ibic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Soderbaum. F. (2009) the Comparative and the regional integration and also the regionalism. In the T. Landman & N. Robinson (Ed), *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics*. London: S.A.G.E..

#### 3.5.2 The Council of Ministers

Therefore the Council of Ministers has been in charge of the working and also the improvement of the E.C.C.A.S. Notwithstanding the different items, it therefore has characterizes the recommendations for the Conference, therefore facilitates the very activities of the distinctive E.C.C.A.S of the establishments and thus will also give the presentations as far as possible to the functions of the Conference. Therefore the Council involves ministers from each of the member country. There is a contact of administration for the E.C.C.A.S in each and every member states, though the different nations have assigned the very different administration's policies to be responsible for the very duty, contingent upon what the spotlight they have been putting on the E.C.C.A.S. There are certain nations that have their delegates from their own Trade Ministry, others from their Ministry of the Foreign Affairs and also again the others from the Ministry for the Development Cooperation, among others. Therefore the Council of the Ministers is anticipated to meet two times every year and also when there is a need in remarkable presentations. (C.E.E.A.C.), Institutions de la Communaute Art.12-14<sup>105</sup>

# 3.5.3 General Secretariat

Within E.C.C.A.S the General Secretariat is convened by the Secretary General, who is selected for quite a while or the practical one. It has been anticipated that he or she is assisted by the three agents of the Secretaries General and all of whom are to be in charge of the General

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Reno,W,(2000) the *Shadow states and also the Political Economy of the Civil Wars*, in the Berdal, Mats/Malone, David; for the *Greed and the Grievance. Economic Agendas within the Civil Wars*. Lynne Rienner: London.

Secretariat, three or four to be at their respective workplaces. Nonetheless, beginning from now, the only that is considered as a solitary division within the General-Secretariat is convened by an agent of the Secretary General which is related to the Department for Fiscal policy, Economic and the Monetary Integration. Thus the African Capacity Building Foundation, of the year 2008. Subsequently, the General Secretariat is considered to be independent, it ensures and guarantees the execution and the implementation of the all undertakings and also the tasks of the E.C.C.A.S. This therefore will fuse the organizations and the finishing for the decisions and also the mandates of the Council and also the information enquiry of the Council of Ministers to be in a position to explain and also to execute and be able to implement the very financial recompense to therefore be able to develop the annual work programs of the E.C.C.A.S to be able to provide a record of the very activities and also the functions that have been implemented and to be able to grasp and also be able to ponder on the most and significant ideal approaches to be able to achieve the E.C.C.A.S objectives and aims. <sup>106</sup>

### 3.5.4 The Consultative Commission

More importantly the Consultative Commission involves the experts that are relegated by the very membership nations. It will therefore be inappropriate to collectively be in a position to be blamed for the investigation and the reviewing of the expression issues or the

<sup>106</sup> Schuman, R. (1999). The Declaration of May 9, (1950). In the P. M.R.Stirk & D. Weigall (Eds.), For the *Origins and the developments of the European Integrations: a case of the Reader and the Commentary*. London: Pinter.

errands in the detail for the Council of Ministers among other member representations. Therefore the very specialized Technical Commissions that are instituted within the context of the usage of the expansion shows E.C.C.A.S point of implementation; they therefore are in the position to similarly be made by the Conference (E.C.C.A.S) the Treaty Art 23-26)

#### 3.5.5 The Executive Secretariat

E.C.C.A.S general Secretariat organization was therefore grasped in the month of June in the year 2009. Irrespective of the other measures this should therefore be preferable and should also be seen as a very temporary progressive chart that should be looked in the eye on to the change into all of its all-inclusive vision, mission goals and the improvement challenges and also that should similarly be considered to give an enhancing within the condition to the utilization of its own very direction and incites. Subsequently, out of the very different units, there are very many that are so insufficiently resourced or those that simply exist on paper work (African Capacity Building Foundation, 2008).<sup>107</sup>

# 3.6The Human Rights and Democracy Centre and Network of Central African Parliamentarians (REPAC)

Irrespective of the organs as above, the E.C.C.A.S has set up a Human Rights and the Democracy Center that which was initiated in the year 2001, subsequently as receiving a show on an organization of the Central African parliamentarians (Réseau des Parlementaires de la

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup>Reno, W,(2000.) the *Shadow nations and the Political Economy of the Civil Wars* within the Berdal and the Mats/Malone David: the *Greed and the Grievance on the Economic Agendas in the Civil Wars*. Lynne Rienner: London...

CEEAC, REPAC) in the year 2002. Subsequently the Human Rights and also the Democracy Center, may be in a position to come to the expectation of a critical activity and functions that are therefore thwarting the battle in the light of its basic purpose for the propelling of the human rights and also the prevalence that is based on the practices and the very incredible organization and mechanisms. Within its meeting and convergence that was first assembled in Libreville Gabon around the beginning of the month of September in the year 2001 and it also have made the very several attempts to be in a position to be able to ensure that the regular society incorporation within the confines of the E.C.C.A.S congruity building are making an attempt adequately. 108

Therefore the inspiration that are driving the R.E.P.A.C is considered to be able to give an appeal on the issues that are related to the concept and the structures of the E.C.C.A.S that deals with the issues that are concerning among other factors that includes the Human Rights citizenship minority rights, sex issues, the earth science and the development guidance general prosperity and also the essentiality. The body of the R.E.P.A.C as a structure will therefore be in the same manner be confined to make clarifications or affirmations on the updates of E.C.C.A.S and also the settlement that are similarly as free transportability within the area. Subsequently the R.E.P.A.C is therefore intended to be organized within the Equatorial Guinea

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995). The New Regionalism within Africa as the Responses to the Environmental Crises: I.G.A.D.D and the Development in the Horn in the Mid-1990 in J. Sorenson (ed), Disaster and Developments in the Horn of Africa. New York: St Martin's Press....

and its 50 seats that will be occupied by the five specialists from all of the 10 Member States from the national parliaments that are picked on a five year premise. R.E.P.A.C have therefore taken so long to be organized so far as not to correspond to the very outstandingly uniqueness of the structural organizations. An important test in its establishment has been to be able to check the financial assistance and also the coordination for the undertaking as the E.C.C.A.S on its very own that have not had the options to be able to fuse these undertaking to be within its spending limits. Nonetheless, the path towards the affirmation of the R.E.P.A.C reveals that in the same way have been moderated and in the same approach the presentation of the Network has more than once been rescheduled and also been postponed at some time. 109

Irrespective of these limitations and the challenges, the architecture for the R.E.P.A.C Secretariat that were established in year 2010 and beginning as from apparently and also going into the very foreseeable future a revolution of the social events and also other workshops have been dealt with to acquire and well equip the parliamentarians from the E.C.C.A.S sector of the nations as for the regionalization and the E.C.C.A.S. society comes near while the very last beginnings of the ideal network is foreseen or is in a position of the predictability. Thus the conceivable commencement is required to empower and successively improved on the communication and also on the participation in the E.C.C.A.S and also the location and therefore subsequently contributes towards reducing the apparent intergovernmental nature of

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Shinoda H (2006). The Nation States Peace building and the Global Society; the Globalism and the Regionalism and the Nationalism in the Contemporary Theory of the State Sovereignty with reference to the Special Reference to the Discourse on the Responsibility to Protect. Hiroshima: the Hiroshima University.

the affiliations and linkages. Irrespective of whether that will therefore truly happen, is thus liable to the preparation and the organization of different regions of the states to forgo their powers and also the authority as the guidelines that are considered to be essential administration components in the territory.<sup>110</sup>

## 3.7 Security Structures of ECCAS

## 3.7.1 The Council for Peace and Security (COPAX)

There are much different architecture that does exist to be in a position to manage the concordance and the security issues within the functions of the E.C.C.A.S. As with the E.C.C.A.S, concentrating on the area of the security cooperation, it was single sourced in the year 1999 at the Yaoundé, that the connection would therefore establish a Council for Peace and also the Security (C.O.P.A.X) with a number of particular organs and structures. C.O.P.A.X concentrates on the architecture of the Council of the Ministers, nonetheless, it's therefore considerably organized by the clerics at some regions of the nation's, the Foreign Ministries, Defense Ministries, the Interior Ministers or even something that is related to that effect. The social functions are managed by the Foreign Minister of the region that has declared some seats at the general Conference.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Shinoda, H (2006). the Nation States Peacebuilding and the Global Society on the Globalism Regionalism and also the Nationalism in the Contemporary with reference to the Theory of State Sovereignty with the Special Reference to the Discourse on the Responsibility to Protect the. Hiroshima: Hiroshima University

COPAX was structured as the very crucial architecture for the progression and the continuation, upkeep and also the organization of the agreement and also the security within the Central Africa. (C.E.E.A.C, Protocole relative au Conseil de Paix et de Securite del'Afrique Centrale Art 4) the institution is made to be in charge of keeping watch and also on the execution of the decisions that are taken by the Conference and is also to organize whatever comes up and also maintains the order that the Conference can provide. The Protocol that is therefore relating to the C.O.P.A.X underpins the influence and the non-check within the main concerns as the very fundamental beliefs and attributes and the other inclinations as well. Be that as it may, the E.C.C.A.S regional states change against the limitations in the locality; executives all through during the early forewarnings and the conflicts balancing activity and functions. At whatever point that is required, normal or military functions are organized to be able to keep up and also be able to restore the concordance. Among the objectives of C.O.P.A.X are to anticipate, oversee and direct conflicts and to endeavor activities of progression and blend of congruity and peacekeeping. 112

Additionally, C.O.P.A.X are to make sureness building measures between the party states, to propel methodologies for peaceful rules of discussions, to execute proper measures relating to non-hostility and to impart help to insurance, energize mediation ties during crises, ensure fundamental approaches to manage such a great amount of issues as outcasts and within

<sup>112</sup> Tadesse, M. (2002.). *Allttihad the Political Islam and the Black Economy within the land of Somalia*. Addis Ababa: MeagPrinting the enterprises,.

the removed members, similarly as transnational bad behavior and arms managing. Moreover, the investment against dread based abuse, periphery bad behaviors, and kill unlawful medicine trade and trade of weapons are also part of the preventive work.

The specific organs of the C.O.P.AX are the Central African conflict early alerted system (M.A.R.A.C), the Defense and Security Commission (C.D.S) and the Central African Multinational Force (F.O.M.A.C). The standing solicitations for these organs were grasped in 2002.<sup>113</sup>

### **3.7.2** The Defence and Security Commission (CDC)

The C.D.S. is a particular organizing and cautioning body made up of head of staff of national militaries and leaders of police and gendarmerie powers from the various Member States, similarly as pros from Foreign/Defense/Interior Ministries. Its main responsibility is to configuration, sort out and offer insight to C.O.P.A.X and other fundamental authority gatherings of the system in order to begin military exercises if important. The C.D.S is a champion among the most critical organs of the C.O.P.A.X. It is responsible for the beginning of military or operational frameworks of C.O.P.A.X. Its abilities are evidently conveyed in articles 14 to 16 of the Protocol relating to C.O.P.A.X along these lines, the C.D.S notwithstanding different things, takes a gander at all the administrative, specific and vital request and evaluates the prerequisites for undertakings relating to the help of concordance. It

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Taylor, P. G. (1983). The LimitsofEuropean IntegrationNew York: ColumbiaUniversity Press.

is responsible for the assessment of the methodology on the fight against culpability in the subregion. Likewise, the military activities of E.C.C.A.S are created by the C.D.S under the
political expert of heads of states and governments. <sup>114</sup> The C.D.S furthermore helps the
Council of Ministers in a couple of activities in respect of the manners supported by article 14.
On 17 June 2002, the part states grasped the standing solicitations of the C.D.S. This instrument
is the essential substance that gives nuances on the strategy for action of the C.D.S. Good, to
its article 10; the C.D.S will have one Bureau: The Bureau of the Defense and Security
Commission and this Bureau will include one Chairperson, one Vice-Chairperson and two
Rapporteurs. The social events of the C.D.S are amassed by the serving Chairperson of the
Conference of the heads of states and governments and these get-together are held in the state
which ensures the chairpersonship or in some other part state if conditions so require.<sup>115</sup>

The step by step the administrators of the agreement and security issues and programming occurs at the General Secretariat by the Department of Human Integration, Peace, Security and Stability (D.I.H.P.S.S). Notwithstanding different things, the division fuses an optional unit and a unit overseeing early forewarning.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995). The New Regionalism in the Africa as the Responses to the Environmental Crisis I.G.A.D.D. and the Developments within the Horn in the Mid-1990) in J. Sorenson (ed), the *Disaster and also the Development within the Horn of Africa*. New York: St Martin's Press.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid

<sup>116</sup> Ibid

## 3.7.3 The Central Africa Early Warning Systems (MARAC)

The Central African Early Warning system (M.A.R.A.C) is accountable for watching and checking progressions identifying with danger for (and purposes behind) cutting-edge and whole deal conflict in the sub-zone. The objective is to support essential initiative by E.C.C.A.S as for the neutralizing activity, the board and objectives of conflicts. The activities of M.A.R.A.C include assembling and separating data on security concerns and submitting reports to the Secretary General, the C.D.S. and other concerned E.C.C.A.S experts. Step by step press studies, similarly as step by step and month to month reports are starting at now given. Before E.C.C.A.S social events, geopolitical and security assessments are similarly conveyed to serve the C.D.S and others concerned. A part of the briefs are made open, as the information can be fragile most by far of them are certainly not.

Around five staff are based at the M.A.R.A.C early forewarning center, in Libreville, Gabon and three of these five are financed by the E.U. M.A.R.A.C foresees the establishment of one sub-office in each part state, to be in charge of discernment to be sustained into the data base of the early advised core interest. Regardless, starting at now, only five out of ten-section states are dynamic; the D.R.C, Burundi, the C.A.R, Cameroon and Chad. In these countries, decentralized correspondents' are put from where they are to expound on scenes authentically to the M.A.R.A.C in Libreville. 66% of these columnists are N.G.O.s, while the rest are government experts. The above countries have been composed since they experience the evil

impacts of conflicts. The remaining five countries; Gabon, the Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, São Tomé and Principe and Angola are being related with M.A.R.A.C.<sup>117</sup>

There have been difficulties relating to the board issues with respect to presenting decentralized columnists in the various countries. An assessment is being finished of the correspondents' mastermind, to see how these issues can be tended to. Trainings have moreover been coordinated all through 2009 and 2010, to move country profile plans, to set up a point by point organograms', and to recognize needs concerning assessment strategy, correspondence with the decentralized writers and particular foundations for the situation room. Thusly, requirements for the coming years have been set up and the work to recognize them has been begun.<sup>118</sup>

On an essential level, after the recipients of the reports have been forewarned, the C.O.P.A.X or, the Conference' should be prompted and proceed by discussing sensible move to make, for instance, preventive politeness (for instance sending a reality finding or mediating mission), or, over the long haul, getting ready for a peacekeeping mission. This would be early forewarning provoking early response. Essentially, the fundamental administration system isn't

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Schuman, R. (1999) the Declaration of the May 9, (1950). In the P. M.R.Stirk & D. Weigall (Eds.) and the *Origins and also the Developments of the European Integrations: A case of the Reader and the Commentary*. London: Pinter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995) the New Regionalism within the continent of Africa as the main responses towards the environmental crises: I.G.A.D.D. and also the development within the Horn of Africa in the Mid 1990, in J. Sorenson, *Disaster and the Development within the Horn of Africa*. New York: St. Martins Press.

yet made to this degree within E.C.C.A.S. M.A.R.A.C started to chip away at a basic measurement in 2007, when starting enlistment began.<sup>119</sup>

Basically, the assessment furthest reaches of M.A.R.A.C ought to be made all together for the early advised instrument to have the choice to expect its arranged activity as assistance to essential authority. M.A.R.A.C does not have the advantages for send observers/data experts to an issue zone. Presenting the decentralized columnists in all part states are another basic segment for M.A.R.A.C to work properly. To make those columnists set up operational, it is imperative to give means and devices expected of them to finish their work. This consolidates hands on getting ready, which started in March 2010. Beside these decentralized writers, some of which are N.G.Os, there is no effective strategy for utilizing neighborhood resources for data gathering. Capacity to regulate relations with the writers and to adequately manage the substance of their noteworthy furthermore ought to be improved at the M.A.R.A.C early advised concentration in Libreville. 120

In addition, combined exertion with the General Secretariat and C.O.P.A.X ought to be advanced. Another key need is to develop an examination method. For instance, M.A.R.A.C can send a news/or alerted streak when something desperate occurs, anyway there is no regulated technique for reporting scenes. Nor is there an organized procedure for sending

119 Ibid

120 Ibid

information to the C.E.W.S. in Addis Ababa. Besides, there have been mechanical challenges as for the correspondence. There is moreover a need to develop a game plan of affiliation, request and the leading body of the information that M.A.R.A.C handles.<sup>121</sup>

The authentic bases for E.C.C.A.S thinking about a Central Early alerted system can be pursued back to one of the structures of A.P.S.A which is the Continental Early Warning System (C.E.W.S), set up to recognize and reinforce the evasion of conflicts. This halfway discovered territory wide early forewarning system is starting at now being set up at A.U focal station. The C.E.W.S will be associated with regional early advised systems (R.E.W.S.) in all of the five APSA areas (North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, Eastern Africa and Southern Africa) There are 10 officially seen African affiliations and segments supporting into A.P.S.A and each of these can set up neighborhood early alerted structures empowering into the C.E.W.S.<sup>122</sup>

M.A.R.A.C shares information with C.E.N.-S.A.D and I.G.A.D as these organizations' early forewarning centers spread in regards to Chad, the C.A.R and Sudan. Agents from all of these affiliations meet once in a while. Regardless, M.A.R.A.C does not exchange any information with M.O.N.U.S.C.O (nor did it exchange information with M.I.N.U.R.C.A.T).

122 Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995)the new Regionalism within Africa as the Responses towards the Environmental Crises: I.G.A.D.D. and the Development within the Horn of Africa

#### 3.7.4Multinational Force of Central Africa (FOMAC)

F.O.M.A.C is generally observed as being E.C.C.A.S' African Standby Force (A.S.F) duty. The issue of how to regard F.O.M.A.C, regardless, isn't within and out clear and it could be fought that F.O.M.A.C should be understood from a two-fallen perspective. Besides being solely the Central African duty to the A.S.F, F.O.M.A.C can be seen as demonstrated by E.C.C.A.S special files as a peacekeeping force essentially within the degree of E.C.C.A.S and being at first a movement of the E.C.C.A.S part states. With time, F.O.M.A.C has made to be a bit of the A.P.S.A. <sup>123</sup>

The likelihood of an E.C.C.A.S hold power was first raised in the Mutual Assistance Pact and in the Protocol relating to the Peace and Security Council in Central Africa (C.O.P.A.X), going in 2000. The standing solicitations of F.O.M.A.C, organizing the objectives and working of the power, were then gotten in 2002. After the establishment of the A.U and the improvement of A.U plans to develop an African Standby Force, the part states' Defense Chiefs of Staff met in 2003 to discuss how E.C.C.A.S could make a unit measure peacekeeping capacity to support this action and how the considerations of F.O.M.A.C would fit into this. The social occasion endorsed those military coordinators from all of the E.C.C.A.S states structure a get-together to work out the nuances for the power. They moreover proposed the establishment of a joint peacekeeping instructional center point and military exercises

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995) the New Regionalism within Africa as the main Responses towards the Environmental Crises: I.G.A.D.D. and the Development in the Horn of Africa

predictably, the first to have happened in Chad Between 2003 and 2004, different social events were held at the component of masters, the Defense Chiefs of Staff and C.O.P.A.X to get structures and action plans for F.O.M.A.C. In 2004, the Protocol relating to C.O.P.A.X went into power. In any case, all C.O.P.A.X gadgets; F.O.M.A.C included, put aside some push to portray and prepare. By 2006, the establishment of F.O.M.A.C started to get pace, as regional staffs were assigned. A first E.C.C.A.S peacekeeping movement was endeavored as M.I.C.O.P.A.X in 2008. 124

A.S.F approach structure is a key motivation behind departure for F.O.M.A.C's request and frameworks, depicting its terrain obligations towards the A.P.S.A progression. Further direction and frameworks for sending are communicated in the E.C.C.A.S Mutual Assistance Pact, the Protocol relating to C.O.P.A.X and in the Standing Orders for F.O.M.A.C According to the E.C.C.A.S Framework records; F.O.M.A.C is to finish agreements, security and sympathetic assistance missions.<sup>125</sup>

The decision to pass on a F.O.M.A.C mission would need to begin from the Conference. Exactly when there is a veritable peril to amicability and security in the sub-region, the Conference collects a sincere assembling and authorizes the appropriate C.O.P.A.X part. The requesting of the Conference could overcome an alluring part state, at the movement of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Reno, W,(2000) the *Shadow nations and the Political Economy of the Civil Wars*, in Berdal, Mats/Malone David: *Greed and the Grievance. The Economic Agendas within the Civil Wars*. Lynne Rienner: London...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Ibid.

General Secretary, or in accordance with the A.U or the U.N. Thusly, F.O.M.A.C can be passed on under three separate game-plans; as a free E.C.C.A.S mediation in an E.C.C.A.S part state, as an A.U mission – as A.S.F. – with an A.U direction, or by putting contingents of F.O.M.A.C at the exchange of the U.N. Nothing would foresee that an autonomous E.C.C.A.S mission is furthermore maintained through an A.U Peace and Security Council Resolution and U.N.S.C objectives; in that limit support would be searched for. The Conference is the E.C.C.A.S body choosing fitting measures for evasion, the board and rule of conflicts, particularly for any military movement and the establishment of F.O.M.A.C. Tries are chosen to take decisions to mediate by accord, yet if no predictable comprehension can be found, the decision can be taken with a 66% predominant piece of votes. The Conference chooses the request for military undertakings and appoints the Special Representative, the Force Commander, and the Head of Military Staff. <sup>126</sup>

Congruity support errand has been requested, the mission would be set under the course and control of a Special Representative of the Chairperson of the A.U Commission (S.R.C.C.). Besides designating the S.R.C.C, the Chairperson would moreover pick a Force Commander, a Commissioner of Police and a Head of the Civilian Component. Henceforth, once passed on, the regional reinforcement control (for instance F.O.M.A.C.) duty would go under A.U heading and control as an A.S.F. In this game-plan, E.C.C.A.S commitment would be from one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995)the New Regionalism within the continent of Africa as the main Responses towards the Environmental Crises: I.G.A.D.D. and the Development in the Horn of Africa

perspective, control age and preparation and after that once more, course of action of orchestrating, determined and other assistance during A.S.F arrangement.<sup>127</sup>

The Standing Orders show that F.O.M.A.C coordination's support will be given by C.O.P.A.X during the responsibility time span. Regardless, the F.O.M.A.C may get determined assistance from some other foundation of a promoter state, subject to the consent of the chief of the Conference. If there should arise an occurrence of a F.O.M.A.C duty in light of a legitimate concern for the U.N or the A.U, the coordination will be given by these affiliations. Concerning of missions, it is anticipated that all C.O.P.A.X. part states will add to the financing everything considered. Regardless, in like manner outside associates may contribute financially. All part states contributing troops will pre-finance the cost of military errands for the underlying three months of course of action. Past that period, C.O.P.A.X will overwhelm. The pre-financing is to be limited by the C.O.P.A.X spending plan. If there should arise an occurrence of F.O.M.A.C responsibility to help the U.N or the A.U, the sponsoring will be given by these affiliations. 128

A starter summary of troop promises was amassed in February 2008 in the Catalog of units 2010 for the essential neighborhood hold intensity of F.O.M.A.C. In this record, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Schuman, R. (1999.) the declaration of the May 9, 1950. In P. M.R.Stirk & D. Weigall (Eds.) and the *Origin s and the Development of the European Integration: A case of the Reader and the Commentary*. London: Pinter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995) the New Regionalism within Africa as the Responses towards the Environmental Crises: IGADD and Development in the Horn in the Mid-1990s', in J. Sorenson (ed), *Disaster and Development in the Horn of Africa*. New York; St Martins Press.

craving to set up a hold unit of around 5000 work power is conveyed. To the extent power levels, the Catalog segregates the hold control in four vital groupings, which each are to contain 1200 work power and each to fuse police, customary resident and military parts where the last would involve, notwithstanding different things, one infantry unexpected, one request/organization support association, one squadron of light tanks, one guns reinforce battery, one modeler zone, one helicopter squadron and one collaborations association. The troop pledges were from the start to be recognized by 2010. Despite whether the part states concentrated on giving the work power starting at now in 2008, the guarantees have not yet been through and through comprehended. The F.O.M.A.C orchestrating segment (P.L.A.N.E.L.M.), at the present time with 20 used staff, has been set up in Libreville. Two of these staff are cops (they are bound to be joined by a third) and two ordinary people (one of whom is a legitimate specialist). A commonplace collaborations base for peacekeeping exercises is to be arranged in Doula, Cameroon, or and in Angola, while a therapeutic office a planning association for military experts is being made in Libreville.

F.O.M.A.C. join general staff from its assorted part states, which are to be chosen by accord. Concerning the military part, F.O.M.A.C is despite ground troops – to consolidate satisfactory air and oceanic assets. The hold power isn't a formed military troop amassed in

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup>Shaw T.M. (1995) the New Regionalism within the continent of Africa as the responses towards the Environmental Crises: I.G.A.D. .D. and the Development within the Horn in the Mid 1990, in J. Sorenson (ed), *Disaster and the Development within the Horn of Africa*. New York: St Martin's Press.

one spot, anyway made up of contingents of national military which are to be called upon by C.O.P.A.X due to an emergency. 130

Since most by far of the E.C.C.A.S troops contributing countries are past French expresses, the objective is that police would be built up by gendarmerie for ground-breaking missions and may fuse nonmilitary work force police where the mission allows this. According to the Catalog of units, the reinforcement power would require six molded police units, similarly as a police association prepared to perform desert assignments (mounted police limit). Concerning the nonmilitary faculty part, the Standing Orders express that "F.O.M.A.C may get strongholds from customary native units made out of N.G.O.s and affiliations endorsed by the E.C.C.A.S General Secretariat. The Catalog of units indicates when all is said and done terms that civilian parts to be given at demand, and that nonmilitary faculty observers are to be perceived and molded. Everything considered; the structure of the nonmilitary staff portion isn't particularly described at the present time.<sup>131</sup>

Outstandingly, F.A.M.A.C has been having arrangement of difficulties, as far as preparing, E.C.C.A.S discards various focuses of magnificence. Be that as it may, these are national focuses, whose educational programs are as of now not in accordance with worldwide

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Shinoda, H (2006) the national States and the Peace building and the Global Society in the larger extent: Globalisms and the regionalism and also the Nationalism within the Contemporary Theories of the state sovereignty with reference to the Special references towards the discourse on the responsibility to Protect. Hiroshima: Hiroshima University,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Soderbaum, F. (2009.) the Comparative regional integration and the Regionalism. In T. Land man and the N Robinson (Eds.), for the *S.A.G.E. and the Handbook of the Comparative Politics*. London: S.A.G.E.

preparing gauges. The issue in question is whether these focuses can adjust their educational program to be reasonable as A.P.S.A preparing organizations. Seven focuses in the E.C.C.A.S area are by and by on the A.U's rundown, and consequently viewed as connected as A.P.S.A preparing organizations at the key, operational and strategic dimensions. An unequivocal appraisal of which of these focuses will be utilized anticipates the conclusion of a necessity's examination on the E.C.C.A.S preparing needs. The Cours Superior Interarmées de Défense (C.S.I.D.) in Yaoundé/Cameroon appears to have been acknowledged to be utilized at the vital dimension, while Ecole d'Etat-Major.. de, Libreville (E.E.M.L.) in Libreville or Gabon is fittings for the operational dimensions. Concerning strategic dimension preparing, there is a school (E.F.O.F.A.A.) in Luanda/Angola, anyway its profile is considered as excessively strategic and rather implied for the beginning of military bearers. Another alternative is in Bata/Equatorial Guinea, yet this is a fundamental naval force foundation, not in accordance with F.O.M.A.C needs. 132

There are likewise plans to further build up a police power preparing focus (E.I.F.O.R.C.E.S.) in Awae/Cameroon. Likewise, littler national focuses, for example, the one for therapeutic preparing (Libreville, Gabon) and the one for architects (Brazzaville, Congo),

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Tadesse M. (2002) the *AlIttihad on the Political Islams and the Black Economy within the nation of Somalia*. Addis Ababa: Meag Printing Enterprises.

could assume a regional job at the appointed time. C.O.P.A.X. oversees planning preparing programs for the molding of F.O.M.A.C contingents. 133

F.O.M.A.C was imagined as of now in 2000, advance just began to take off around 2006. Be that as it may, constant underfunding from the beginning, and the generous clashes in the regions in the next years, kept on averting the endeavors to set up the regional detachment. Although a national division of work has been made between individual nations of the area, the viable acknowledgment of the regional reserve detachment (just as the thoughts concerning the improvement of a Rapid Deployment Force) still faces numerous specialized difficulties.<sup>134</sup>

Be that as it may, with the most recent global preparing exercise, Kwanza, which occurred in Angola in May/June 2010, advance has been noted and the pace in setting up F.O.M.A.C was grabbed. With Kwanza, authority for F.O.M.A.C was taken Angola took an incredible piece of the obligation and particularly the genuine help, for example, coordination, correspondence and system resources, organization and supply. Most of the subsidizing was additionally verified by Angola. Further the observers note that if Angola did not play this job, the Kwanza exercise would presumably never have been figured it out.

133 **TI** 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Soderbaum F. (2009) the Comparative and the Regional Integrations and the Regionalism. In T. Landman & N. Robinson (Eds.), and the *S.A.G.E. Handbook of the Comparative Politics*. London S.A.G.E.

Kwanza was a key exercise since it planned to serve to guarantee F.O.M.A.C as an A.P.S.A. unit. The activity tended to all dimensions of execution of a coordinated mission political, key, operational and strategic and being a multidimensional and multifunctional practice it considered various exercises: political/discretionary activity (non-military personnel part), adjustment through perception and military activity (military part: spectators and land, ocean and air troops), solidification through police/gendarme activity (police segment) and helpful activity (regular citizen segment). It was the first occasion when that of between administration practice at detachment level occurred, where the entire cycle of a harmony bolster task was considered. A few of the observers, notwithstanding, question whether this was truly preparing for a harmony bolster activity or rather a standard military exercise, and thus, regardless of whether affirmation was achievable. For example, no respectful society partook. Then again, the activity was efficient, and certain eyewitnesses judged it in general as a triumph for E.C.C.A.S. 135

Kwanza was a noteworthy exertion, and the association demonstrated that they can convey and prepare a power of 3700 troops by its own. The confirmation report issued by E.C.C.A.S in October 2010 presumed that "F.O.M.A.C, an A.S.F segment, has been ensured and can be utilized in harmony keeping missions, in the system of a global and

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Elowson, C. Mac Dermott, J. (2010), E.C.O.W.A.S. on the Capabilities for the Peace and the Security A scoping study of the progress and the challenges. Stockholm F.O.I.

multidimensional power". This affirmation, be that as it may, is just within the E.C.C.A.S appraisal, and isn't acknowledged at the A.U level. It has been recommended that most of the targets of the Kwanza exercise were accomplished. Then, one spectator noticed that the standard of the activity was exceptionally low<sup>136</sup>. Specifically, this eyewitness featured that F.O.M.A.C staff still need to improve capacities, particularly shortcomings with respect to the association and arranging, the Communication and Information Systems force (C.I.S.), order and control structure, coordination, genuine help and the scattering of data. So, F.O.M.A.C is a long way from the UN essential standard. As to operability, the military infantry forces are surveyed as pretty much worthy, while others are still needing advancing. Ultimately, as opposed to the (relative) conveyance of the military part, it was increasingly hard for the police/gendarme and nonmilitary personnel segments to perform during Kwanza.

Out of the 3700 members in the activity, the police work force added up to 400 individuals. The police units are commonly in a satisfactory state; however, this evaluation depends on how they achieve their national standard and the national specificities, not as far as being a piece of a universal peacekeeping power. Specifically, for the police/gendarmes, the exchange of obligation during the adjustment stage to the combination stage was a test, particularly the harmony between keeping their job and coordinating in the multidimensional

<sup>136</sup> Ela, E. (2001) the Les mécanismes de. prévention des. conflits en. Afrique. Central. *Guerres Mondiales etConflitsContemporains* Vol.27)

power. While arranging, for the police segment, was in general surveyed as tasteful during Kwanza, the improvement of teachings and operational techniques demonstrated to be perspectives where advancement should be made.<sup>137</sup>

Clear ideas and teachings are key for the police to realize what they are proposed to do. In addition, police units are not all around prepared. Concerning the nonmilitary personnel part, Kwanza was the first occasion when that regular citizen components were available during an E.C.C.A.S peacekeeping activity. These were to a great extent comprised of political and philanthropic onscreen characters. Challenges were noted as far as the fundamental origination of nonmilitary personnel segment; deciding its definite job and considering the specificities of this segment. It is additionally hard for the regular citizen segment to prepare enough assets. For the most part, affable society, which was to a great extent missing from the activity, is frail in the Central Africa region and this area is especially sloppy in the field of security. This suggests troubles as far as figuring activity plans and to have the option to assume a genuine job. The regular citizen segment is in progress attempting to discover a temporary worker ready to give a decent list.

A typical test for all parts is the deficient dimension of preparing of the faculty and that they by and large keep low gauges. During Kwanza, it was obvious that various nations had various dimensions of operational planning and pre-preparing, which hampered the viability.

 $^{137}$  E.C.C.A.S (2002) the Standing Orders of the Central African Multinational Forces among other forces (F.O.M.A.C.) and the Malabo June 17.

Teachings, association and hardware were additionally principle zones of trouble. On an entire, it is in this way hard for E.C.C.A.S to have the option to complete multidimensional peacekeeping activities. The General Secretariat endures an extreme absence of assets and from over-dependence on outer help for practically all exercises of F.O.M.A.C. Significant mainstays of F.O.M.A.C, for example, preparing focuses of brilliance, the calculated base and preparing projects have for long been at a halt halfway on account of non-existing within assets and contending benefactor activities. Basic difficulties, for example, the feeble administrative limit of D.I.H.P.S.S, the moderate basic leadership methodology of C.O.P.A.X and the lacking abilities of numerous officers connected to the very regional P.L.A.N.E.L.M particularly vital arranging) subsequently upset these advancement of F.O.M.A.C.<sup>138</sup>

### 3.8 Process of Regional Integration in Central Africa

Regional Integration is progressively setting new world request where country states are getting to be reliant in each part of life. Even though integration procedure has colossal advantages to the worldwide economy, littler economies are burdened as they can't contend in outright terms with solid and progressively created economies as far as materials and innovative quality. This condition of issue calls for renegotiation for comprehensive procedures.<sup>139</sup>

Regional coordination has been a worldwide want by different States to concoct foundations that speak to and further their interests. This longing is showed by production of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Edi, E. M. (2007) the *Globalization and the Politics in the Economic Community of the West African State*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> The Rox borought on the Theories of the under development. (London, Macmillan, 1979). Pp.78-121)

business sectors which are free of exchange duties, areas with satisfactory security and without strife where individuals live calmly with each other. This procedure is first followed among European nations before spreading to different regions including Central Africa. <sup>140</sup>

In Central Africa the procedure of the regional integration was cultivated by African States after bombed endeavors to industrialize through import substitute methodology which backers for conscious exertion to substitute imported products with regionally created merchandise. <sup>141</sup> Endeavors to hold onto regional integration as a procedure of driving monetary development have been on course among African States. Cross fringe courses of action in post free time filled in as a system for advancing the integration motivation among developing Countries. <sup>142</sup> Similar, Pan African associations have been working for coordination as a component of their improvement plan. From a worldwide viewpoint, exertion to advance regional coordination coalitions in Africa has experienced the Economic and also the Social Council of the United Nation. These E.S.C. was built up in 1958 as one of the commissions in charge of encouraging the integration process in Africa for reasonable advancement. E.S.C was proposed to handle Africa advancement challenges with regards to neediness destruction, great administration and practical development. <sup>143</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Eeckhout, P. External Relations of the European Union Legal and Constitutional Foundations (Oxford:Oxford University 2014) P.14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Ibdi, P.79

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Usoro, E.J., Past and the Present Attempts towards the Economic Integrations within the continent of Africa, (Cambridge University Press, 1982). Pp. 15-34)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Davies, A. Cost Benefit Analysis is within E.C.O.W.A.S. in the World Today Vol. 39, No. 5, May 1983).

In the focal Africa, regional integration prompted the development of one block of the Economic Community of the Central African Nations. E.C.C.A.S was made in the year 1983 and propelled two years after the fact imagined as the mainstay of African Economic Community, (A.E.C). Within the Lagos Plan of Actions, its underlying point were to advance and also therefore to reinforce agreeable collaboration within these individuals. These were likewise entrusted for advancing adjusted and also therefore self-continued improvement in all the fields of the monetary and also the social action within the region of the Central Africa, and the end goal of adding to the advancement and improvement of the African continent.<sup>144</sup>

Included nations are Burundi, Cameroon and also the Central African Republic (C.A.R.), Chad, Republic of the Congo, the vote-based Republic of Congo (D.R.C.) the Equatorial Guinea and Gabon, Rwanda São Tomé and also Príncipe, and Angola, that changed in the year 1999 from the onlooker conditions to the full participation. Rwanda as a country one of the establishing individuals, battled with its various regional enrollments and pulled back in 2007 yet reconnected with the network during the sixteenth summit on 25 May- 2015. 145

Not long after the E.C.C.A.S' foundation and also the network's exhibition that was therefore seriously influenced by the money related troubles and the absence of help from its individuals, bringing about institutional brokenness and a progression of the logiams and also the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> A Meyer Regional integrations and the security state in the Central Africa and the Assessment and the perspectives of the 10 years after the revival. Egmont Paper, n°25, December 2008)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> J Cilliers, on the African Stand by Forces on An update on the progress. I.S.S. Paper (160) in the institute for the Security Studies in March 2008).

bottlenecks. In the course of the 1990s and also the ascent of the political shakiness, emergencies and the clashes within most of the Central African nations, just as well as the commitment of most part of the states on the inverse side within the Great Lake wars, carried for an extra test to the regional participation. From the year of 1992 to the year 1998, thus the network experienced time of the inertia and also the loss of motion, that is frequently alluded to as the E.C.C.A.S.'aspects of the hibernation.<sup>146</sup>

In February 1998 the choice to resuscitate the E.C.C.A.S was brought in at the part nations' phenomenal summit within the Libreville. Recognizing that financial participation needs or demands a setting of the political steadiness, the heads of the nations and the government concurred in June the year of 1999 within the Malabo thus to considerably update network's mandates. The understanding was driven by the familiarity with a changing worldwide setting. The developing hesitance of the global network to effectively participate in refereeing on the African continent had brought about a call for more weight sharing and more noteworthy duty with respect to African states and entertainers. The United countries (U.n) specifically encouraged African regional associations to reinforce their tranquility and security limits with the accordance with the Chapter Viii of Un Charter.<sup>147</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> C Elowsonand C the Hull Wiklund, E.C.C.A.S and the Capabilities in the Peace and the Security. A scoping study on the progress and the challenges.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> C Elowson and C Hull Wiklund, E.C.C.A.S. And the Capabilities in the Peace and the Security. A scoping study on progress and the challenges.

#### 3.9 Achievements of ECCAS

Looked with weight from the various clashes and emergencies that tormented the central Africa during the years of 1990s, therefore Economic Community of the Central African States that is the (E.C.C.A.S) have generously updated and also expanded that which was at first the financial order. There the advancement of the capacities with respect to looking after harmony, security and soundness as a fundamental condition for financial and social improvement has turned out to be one of its new key needs.<sup>148</sup>

E.C.C.A.S has concentrated on harmony, security, dependability and administration within its institutional structures. Thus the E.C.C.A.S embraced Protocol of the Peace and the Security in February the year 1999, to able to manage contentions and also the political precariousness within the area. These Protocol provided the path for the foundation of Security Council within the Central Africa (C.O.P.A.X) with the three key instruments which included the Commission for Defense and Security and also the Central African Early Warnings Systems and the Central African Multinational Forces. These convention building up of the C.O.P.A.X was officially endorsed in January the year 2004 to incorporate safeguard and also the security instruments lined up for the African Union's Peace and the Security Architecture as appropriate. 149

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Ibid..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Angela and Meyer. On the Preventing conflicts within the Central Africa E.C.C.A.S. that caught between the ambitions and the challenges and the reality, (2015). the Institute for the Security studies. The Central Africa Report ISSUE no3. Which was Retrieved from the <a href="https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/">https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/</a> Central Africa Report No3.pdf

E.C.C.A.S shaped a regional harmony power, the Multinational Forces within Central African Republic in the year 2002, to able to thus advance harmony and also the security within the contention delivered in the Central African Republics among other states. What's more, E.C.C.A.S embraced the Protocol that was relating to the Strategy meant to be able to Secure E.C.C.A.S' Gulf of the Guinea in October in the year 2009 just as the Declaration of the Heads of State and also the Government on the Maritime Safety and Security in the year of 2013 to advance through regional sea security within Central African location. 150

Additionally, E.C.C.A.S has concentrated on exchange and market incorporation as one of its center destinations. In July 2004, E.C.C.A.S propelled its organized commerce zone with the point of building up a tradition's association of basic outside tax by 2008. The timetable for setting up the facilitated commerce territory was anyway delayed because of the feeble taming of concurred strategies by part States. All things considered, part States diminished just 34 percent of levy lines within the intra-E.C.C.A.S taxes to zero, making the E.C.C.A.S the regions to acquire the most minimal offer of the intra-regional exchange conditions of the total national output contrasted with Africa's five sub-regions. To address the incorporation difficulties, thus the E.C.C.A.S Member Nations were embraced in 2007 key integration arrangement and a dream

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Declaration of the Heads of State. And, ,Government, of, Central, and West, African, States on Maritime, Safety, and Security. Retrieved from; <a href="http://pages.au.int/sites/default/files/Declaration%20of%20the%20">http://pages.au.int/sites/default/files/Declaration%20of%20the%20</a> Heads %2

referred to the E.C.C.A.S Strategic Vision at the Horizon within the year 2025 which goes for structure an aggressive regional condition to pull in private interests in development regions.<sup>151</sup>

E.C.C.A.S is executing exchange assistance programs which incorporate; the development of one stop fringe posts that is winding up progressively visit in the area. In addition, E.C.C.A.S has embraced considers on the challenge approach and the protected innovation right and thus is characterizing the regional strategy within the speculation and also the building up a Small and the Medium Enterprises Guarantee Funds. E.C.C.A.S have made the regional economic Program for the period of the year 2009-2015 to draw within the private ventures through tending to the issues identifying with, administration and the macroeconomic dependability, thus making of typical market place and also the solidification of the physical foundation and thus bolster administrations.<sup>152</sup>

To improve exchange the area there has been advancement to execute free development of individuals as set out in the Treaty Establishing E.C.C.A.S. In 1983, E.C.C.A.S received the Protocol on the Freedom of Movement and also the Rights of Establishment of the Nationals of the Members nations. This convention incorporates arrangements for the opportunity of development, living arrangement and foundation for all natives in the E.C.C.A.S regions. Execution, as per the Protocol, was booked within the four and twelve years separately after the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Declaration, of Yaoundé by Member, States of the Council for Peace and Security of Central Africa(COPAX) on the, fight, against, the terrorist group, Boko, Haram, Yaoundé 16, February, 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> African, Development, Bank, Economic, Community, of, Central, African, States, Regional, Integration, Assistance, Strategy, paper, for, Central, Africa, 2011-,2015. 2011,

foundation of the Treaty Establishing E.C.C.A.S. In addition, an activity to quick track free development of people was embraced in January 1990 and changed in June 2000. The activity was intended to be viable by March 2005, however, is yet pending.<sup>153</sup>

The free development of individuals is just viable in four C.E.M.A.C part States; Cameroon, also the nation of Chad, Congo and also the Democratic Republic of the Congo that are well known. The remainder of these member States require visa for individual E.C.C.A.S natives. Some part States underline security issues as the fundamental explanation behind deferring execution. The political duty can take care of the issue of free development of people and is, seemingly, the fundamental purpose behind the moderate usage of the Protocol. Even more as of late, be that as it may, more part States are putting forth individual E.C.C.A.S natives' visa on landing and in certain nations, the development of individuals is generally fluid. 154

In summary, this section has covered the arrangement of the Economic Community of the Central Africa states, the individual from the nations, procedure of regional integration in Central Africa and the accomplishments made by Economic community for the Central Africa nations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup>International, Organization, for, Migration, Free, Movement, of, Persons, in, Regional, Integration, Processes, International, Dialogue, on, Migration, Intercessional, Workshop, 2007,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> African, Union, Highlights, Status, of, Integration, in, Africa, V, 2014,...

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

# CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AFRICA

#### 4.1Introduction

The current chapter discusses the integration efforts of the member state within regional economic blocs within the continent of Africa, which provides great insights to examine the main challenges and the prospects of the regional integration configuration face. In this case, areas to do with promoting media public opinion, foreign aid as a hindrance to development, Preference of democratic leadership, addressing of multiplicity of regional integration membership, redirecting China and FDI into infrastructure connectivity, strengthening human security, RIA's aim to be a regional security community and ICT data availability and accessibility are examined.<sup>155</sup>

#### 4.2Media Promoting and Public Opinion

According to Nazir Hussain the media refers to the means of the aspects of the communications that reaches and even influences people widely as an important place within the state machinery especially as with the age of the wave of the information transitioning. Therefore nearly all the forms of media has become reliable source of the information for the community as a whole regarding any matter in whatever state or aspect whether it is domestic,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Otieno, M., Moyi, E., Khainga, D., &, Biwott,,, P., (2013, p67,) the, regional, ,Integration and ,also, other, forms, of ,the, Foreign, Direct, Investment, within, East, African ,nations,. *Journal, of, the, World, Economic,. Research*,. Vol., 2, No., 4, 2013, pp., 67,-74,. Do.: 10,.11648/j.jwer,.20130204.11,.

regional or even if it is global. It has been observed that the major functions of the media is mostly to provide information (hence a source of the information) and also considered as the major channel of the communication that takes place.

Media transformations in Africa casts a substantial focus at the Africa's rapidly evolving economic and the socio political landscape as well as security coverage. Nonetheless, the African nation's democratic growth have only been just 50 years and there has been all the forms of the media development that have been coupled with the proliferation of the new media deregulation and also the proliferation of the new media technologies. The media has sometimes been utilized to marginalize and also to limit the functions of other groups, culminating to the tension, conflict and also the violence. Analysts of the nation's threat towards security apparently focuses and also observe the direction of the media information as the means of conceptualizing the regional economic integration conduction and also the direction within the continent of Africa. The flooding of the digital technologies in the twenty first century have revolutionized the knowledge of the close and also the distant happenings such that it has become even impossible to be able to separate the economic, socio political and also the threat towards the state of security within the context of the regional and also the economic integration and also not to mention the processes of the media within the continent

In this regard the E.A.C attaches a substantial importance towards the functions of the media as regards to promoting the awareness, discourse and also the involvement within the wide range of the stakeholders within the East African regional integrations agenda. Indeed, as region integrations process deepens the E.A.C is challenged further and more to achieve and also to demonstrate greater effectiveness and also efficiency as well as being more transparent towards its functions, achievements and also the competitiveness within the continent of Africa and even beyond. Within the processes of the media, occupants of East Africa are expected to observe it and take cognizance of its presence in order to appreciate it substantially and also to recognize its benefits and also the prospects. In the long run the individuals ought to acquire assets and also to participate in its programs and projects as well. They may also therefore be in the position to apply the pressure on the management to ensure the suitability and the sustainability of the community as a whole.

The media occupies a certain special and important place of informing individuals. The media also take the responsibility for interpretation of all of the events they deliver, and also their interpretations, in return they define the understanding of the programs by the people

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> The *Treaty for the Establishment of the E.A.C.* (2006.), this was also being retrieved from the websites of the : <a href="http://www.wipo.int/edocs/treaties/en/eac/trt\_eac.pdf">http://www.wipo.int/edocs/treaties/en/eac/trt\_eac.pdf</a> on the 16, February (2016).

who read and also those who views. It has been observed that the media personnel's are capable of just reporting the facts but nonetheless there doesn't exist any such thing as fact that lacks the value of interpretation. The main concern as to why most of the scholars appreciate the importance of the mass media to society include; the role of the media in providing the information that the members of the community require to be able to make necessary decisions and also as a means by which the mass dissemination of the information can be achieved successfully. The East Africa has benefited from media being a source of the information and also as a medium through which the public discuss and assemble their opinions thus breathing life into integration and also regionalism. However, as regards the individual member states including the (Burundi-Kenya-Rwanda-Tanzania and Uganda), there is a differences in the quality the breadth and also on the depth of the media coverage and also on the content. This mainly depends on the editorial media policies the target audiences and also including the ownership and the management among other variable. For example, apart from East African newspaper published through the Nation Media Group whereby majority of the other print and also the electronic media broadcasts focuses on the national matters while at the same time the integration matters are deemed to be secondary. This is done at the expense of the target audience who are also the states citizens. <sup>157</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Makame, Abdullah (2012.) *The, East, African, Integration,,: Achievements and also the Challenges,,*. G.R.E.A.T. Insights, Volumes 1, Issue 6 August 2012,,, Maastricht: E.C.D.P.M.

In most of the African Regional Integration individuals have not been able to appreciate the concept of the integration. This was supervised by the Kenya's Minister of Trade in the month of July in the year 2010, he reported that the media gates have been left opens thus no control was in place. The transit of the goods and services across the borders has intensified even more. Yet the growing integration is still fairly unknown to the majority of the Kenyans. The challenges and also the opportunities it portends for the citizens remains fairly dealt with. Apart from the Ministry of the east African Community and also the members of the organizations of the business, had remained to be broadly disengaged in the ongoing advancements.

The individuals social economic status will also be able to determines the quality and the level of the media consumptions coupled with other factors such as the location if one is living either within the urban or rural areas, the education level, age and also to an extent the gender of the people consuming the media. Majority of the individuals of E.A.C regularly and also increasingly have been able to gain information with regard to the public affairs from the media houses. Further, the media has successfully managed to function as a disseminating body of the integration matters and also the ideas, it has also acted as a vehicle for filtering, analyzing and also disseminating the collective national conversations within and across the borders of the nation. This role therefore facilitates and sustains the broader regional

# understanding.<sup>158</sup>

The media communication within E.A.C is a pivot for the regional integration within Africa this is so because it contributes and adds value towards the creation and also the establishment of the bondages that exists between the national and the supranational political organizations, on one hand and also the individuals on the other hand. The public opinion thus set the agenda for the media and this also tends to confer the legitimacy on the functions of the member state administrations, the leaders and also the other actors as well. As regards to this situation, therefore, there would be a minimum doubt that the extent to which individuals are involved with the public matters and also the political processes rests significantly on the quality and volume of the communication that is carried on the issues in the public mainstay. These media information develops individual's interest within the public affairs which therefore ultimately generates the public opinion on the various issues. In this regard there exists a direct proportionate relationship that exists between the interest within the public affairs and also on the exposure towards the media, to the extent that the level of the individual people's attention towards the public affairs are considered as a measure of their own level of the contact with the media as has been observed by Norris in Nyaoga.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Makame,,, Abdullah,, (2012),,,*The, East, African, Integration,: Achievements and the Challenges*;. G.R.E.A.T Insights Volume 1. Issue 6 August 2012, Maastricht: E.C.D.P.M;

Therefore the Media can play a very significant duty of enabling the very regional integration exercise to be inclusive and also to participatory by all the members of the community. This has been as such since at the national level there need to be coherent coordination public awareness engagement with the private sector and also with the civil society as well as whole hearted political goodwill, rule based implementation and the idea of being accountable and also responsible. Subsequently the media can also be able to facilitate so to strengthen the technical capacity for conducting the informative cost benefit analysis and thus also to be able to ensure that there is fair and equitable sharing of the costs and the benefits of the regional integration as a starting point among the members.<sup>159</sup>

#### **4.3Foreign Aid and Development**

In an article, analyst Mhaka observes that the French Philosopher and revolutionist, Franz Fan- on in his anti-colonial writings referred to the early leaders of independent Africa as the irresponsible children of the previous colonialism without sense of human who used natural calamities as means of being successful through the scheme. This can be accredited to the way majority of the African nations' leaders immediately after independent resulted to foreign aid to run the new governments. The Western leaders on the other hand had acquired

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Martin Hvidt (2013) *Economi, Diversification in the G.C.C. Countries: Past Record and the Future Treads for the. Kuwait Programme on the Development and the Governance and also the Globalization in the Gulf States,..* The London School of the Education and also the Political Science. London...

knowledge of Africa's resources through colonial administration. Their view of Africa was as a source of raw material for their recovering economies from the devastations of the WW1 and WW2. Consequently, the West became intimate with the African leaders. 160 Also the west was made to believe that Africa was engulfed with war, disease and poverty. This was the easy way to make the western societies to sympathize and empathize with African people. This ended up having these societies authorizing their governments and leaders to channel aid through international governmental organizations including the United States Agencies for the International Development (U.S.A.I.D) and the Danish International Development Agencies (D.A.N.I.D.A) and also the European Community (E.C) to spearhead the development assistance. The foreign aid or the development assistance were provided in terms of the operational and managerial or even the financial enhancement which were offered to the N.G.O. and also the government of African nation. The contractors in this case happened to be companies from the nations providing the foreign aid or developmental assistance and so were the managers of the project. Consequently, there were no technological and managerial skill transfer as a result there was unsustainable development of infrastructure that got worn out in a couple of years due to lack of maintenance.

The African leaders became the new "colonial masters" amassing wealth through corrupt contracts and deals with the Western multinationals corporation. As Dambisa Moyo

160 Ibid

observes in the 2004 case of the British envoy to Kenya then, who had to be forced to give an apology for commenting on corrupt ministers who were "eating like gluttons and vomiting on the feet of the foreign donors". On the other hand, it is in the public domain that the late leaders like Mobutu Seseko of former Zaire now DR Congo and Sani Abacha of Nigeria had rooted their nations and stacked the money in Swiss Banks accounts. The corruption in African states, view's Dambisa Moyo, had reached what she called "the vicious cycle of aid that chokes off desperately needed investment". Nevertheless, this does not mean that African countries are off the hook of donor aids since majority's budgets are depended upon it. A case in point is the Uganda's and Tanzania's donor funded at levels of 23.5% and 10.3% of their annually budget respectively, in 2015/16 financial year. <sup>161</sup>

African states can work out on such issues of aid dependency, corruption and sale of natural resources at face value thus reversing the plague of poverty and underdevelopment of Africa. According to the president of Gabon, Mr. Ali Bongo there is an African solution that can deliver a peaceful and prosperous Africa. Africans and African leaders should develop their national development approaches based on their national values and within their economic capacities and the regional interconnectivity that would ensure sustenance. This in contrast to the western model approach which has been used as a case of what is tailor made

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Daily Nations (25 July, 2012) The *Media Urged to be able to Promote E.A.C Integration. Which was* Retrieved from the Nation News Paper website; <a href="http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Mediaurged">http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Mediaurged</a> to be able to promote-E.A.C-integration /-/1056/1462984/-/view/print Version/-/4fnlrxz/-/index.html, on the 19 March 2016.

for the West also fits any state in Africa, but this approach has failed. In this regard, it would be prudent for the African leaders to strengthen their economies while improving available opportunities within reach of the population and to device frameworks for new economic models that value local sustainability. A case in point is Kenya's vision 2030, that even before the year is attained, Kenya was declared a middle industrial state although in the lower end of the scale. 162

## 4.4Democratic Leadership Need to Prevail

The nation building approaches of the African countries continues to be a significant complication even after struggling with the experimentation of the neoliberal political and the economic mechanisms. There exists the pressured democracies within most of the African countries which have culminated with the unregulated perennial cycle of the deprivation and poverty to their population. After the fifty years of attaining the independence the political governance is still crippled by the weak institutions that contribute towards the human insecurity that therefore has made a household name within the national and also the international media houses that has been reporting about continent of Africa.

Although many of the heads of state of the African countries thought that creation of the organization at the national and within the regional levels could address the perennial poverty and also insecurity within the state. Nonetheless, to be able to institute the international empire

109

<sup>162</sup> Ibid

requires especially the Structural and architectural changes Programs (S.A.P.s), on their fibbed economy culminated to the uncoordinated and unsynchronized management of the organizations that could not support the growth of the economy. The heads of state especially within the East Africa have embraced the democracy with a focus on one of the key elements which is the election, which in the most cases have culminated to the pseudo democratic systems where the winner takes it all also called the big man syndrome, nevertheless some had a genuine democratic regeneration. With regard to the former the most commonly discussed state of affairs was the citizenship appearing to have been arm-twisted into downplaying the willing participant within the enthronement of the self serving political classes. This has therefore also been the elite belief that would arm-twists the donors to continue giving their donor funds that may corruptly be utilized to gain triumph in the elections. 

163

Notwithstanding the bad situation of the nation building challenges that was experienced by many nations in Africa, the same head of states continued to hold an office a case in the point is the former president of the republic of Kenya Daniel Arab Moi who was in leadership of Kenya for twenty four years and also the present serving president of the Country of Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who is on his 30th year of continuous ruling. The insignificant economic growth that has been experienced by the continent averaging

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Martin Hvidt (2013) the economic Diversification in G.C.C. Countries: in the Past Record and the Future Treads, in the Kuwait Programme on the Development and the Governance and also the Globalization in the Gulf States,,. The London School of the Education and the Political Science. London.

approximately 5 % is nothing to cheer about disregard to the economic recession that has been experienced in the world within the recent past. This is due to the economic growth especially within the E.A.C. location this has not translated into job creation for the majority of the unemployed young people.<sup>164</sup>

The nation leadership within Africa is a matter that is emerging as a limitation to the regional integration. Subsequently it has also been observed that out of the thirty three African nations that have had the constitutional term limits, twelve of them have successfully transition the provisions that have also allowed the incumbent state leaders to be able to extend their existence in power, nonetheless a number of them were not successful but they still realized their way to stay and keep power. The substantive cases of those who succeeded in this approach were Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda while Pierre Nkrunziza of Burundi in a disturbing self-serving interpretations of the constitution that has been managed to be able to stay put through the contested election. Further all of the three presidents are Summit Members of the E.A.C highest decision body. From the five members of the E.A.C only two of them that being Kenya and Tanzania can claim preference of the democratic governance through a substantive and also democratically elected government.

The disfuntional constitutional offices in Africa are the indicator of the likely unresolved

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Lumu, David & Baguma, Raymond (2013) the *Regional Media that Challenged on the Regional integrations*. That was retrieved from the website; http://www.newvision.co.ug/new\_vision/news/1335130/regional media challenged regional- and the integration, on the 19 March 2016.

consequences of the poor management of that Millennium Development Goals (M.D.G.s) which targeted the poverty eradication that has also become a millage that goes beyond the horizon. More importantly, this can have a very negative influence to the R.I.A's integration processes that are the pillars which supports the Africa's time board vision of the agenda 2063. In essence, the contradiction of the democratic leadership of the member states of the African heads of states cannot provide the clean organization of the government and the policies to guarantee the regional economic integration within Africa.<sup>165</sup>

The continent of Africa is still struggling with the devastating animosity and political crises varying from the Burundi DR Congo Central Africa Republic and Somalia and to the South Sudan. On the other hand, the grand corruption and the scourges of terrorism effects, have continued the unabated within West Africa North Africa and the East Africa. The heads of states of the African nations in the R.I.A.s are expected to reinforce their social pacts that bring together the nations within the integration bloc and with the commitment and also the courage to strengthen each member nation's organizations of the leadership with regard to be in line with the A.U economic agenda for the future. These also demands for getting rid of the tyrannical and big man syndrome form of the leadership. 166

Books. London.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Maathai, Wangari (2009,) on the *Challenges for the Africa*. On the Arrow Books. London.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Dambisa Moyo (2009.) *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not not Working and also Why there is another Way for the Africa.* Penguin.

## 4.5Addressing Multiplicity of RI Membership

The African regional and the economic integration and also the cooperation processes in Africa is characterized by a multiplicity of the program and the overlapping of membership and the mandates. Generally, within the African regional integration it has become very widespread to find nearly one out of two countries belongs to more than one grouping. In this aspect, twenty seven out of the fifty three member nations of African Union (A.U) are attached to the two or more integration organization or institutions. In the main locations of the world, this makes Africa to be a region and continent with high concentration of the economic integration and also the cooperation programs.<sup>167</sup>

# **4.6The African Economic Community (AEC)**

The OAU Summit of the leaders of the state and Governments implemented the Lagos action plan in the year 1980 in furtherance of objectives of the regional integration and the rapid socio economic development of the continent of Africa. The idea developed as a strategic plan was meant to accelerate Africa developments that should be involving collective and self reliance measures, regional cooperation and also the idea of integration. Further in 1991 regional integration impetus was maintained through the implementation of the Abuja's Treaty that established Africa Economic Community (A.E.C.). with the main aim off the A.E.C. as enshrined in the Article4 of Abuja Treaty was to extend the economic social

<sup>167</sup> Ibid

and also the cultural development including the integration of the African economies so as to propel the economic self-reliance and also to promote an endogenous and also the self sustaining developments. The Abuja Treaties provided six stages for establishment of a complete Pan Africa Economic communities that extended for a period of thirty four year, utilizing the R.I.A.s as its constructing blocks. In this aspect African integration road map got into a period of deepening and broadening both at the global scale and at the regional level. <sup>168</sup>

## **4.7 Recommitting Political Leadership to AEC Aim**

The governance problems aspect is one of the main discourses of the regional integration within Africa. Most scholars observe that most of the African institutions are not committed to the integration. Although they have committed themselves to the regional agreement and protocols they lack instruments, and institutional policies necessary to achieve regional integration objectives. The *big man syndrome* form of leadership style where the winner takes it all nature coupled with ethnic cultural believes as observed by John Kithongo "it is our turn to eat mentality" brings to the surface African governments deficient in the political goodwill or respect to the regional and economic integrations, this is because their interest are diverted to the demands of their ethnic society. <sup>100</sup> The unwillingness by the African leaders to cede sovereignty is another problem associated with the process of the regional integration. The long period of the regional cooperation and the integration within Africa does not seem to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Padma Mllampally & Karl P. Sauvant (1999.) the Foreign and the Direct Investment within the Developing Countries a case of the *Quarterly Magazine of the I..M.*F, March (1999), Volume 36, Number 1.

address this problem. But as a result the continent has witnessed establishment of numerous multiplicity of the regional integration varying from Preferential Trade Area (P.T.A) to Economic Union. Current major African regional integrations groupings within Africa are described by the overlapping and duplication of mandates.<sup>169</sup>

The continent of Africa great demand for the regional economic integrations have been considered not to link with its political goodwill and also the commitment of the members of the state to efficiently implement the agreements that had been reached under the different integration commitments. The African states should be prepared surrender and to pool a portion of their sovereignty as a prerequisite for success of any of the regional integrations processes. A mechanism for the execution and implementation of many protocols already signed need to be devised since there no effective sanctions to enforce the members. Further, scholars have identified the absence of the political goodwill and also the commitment from the African leaders and also the many overlapping R.E.Cs can be attributed to leaders as excuses for lack of meeting desired targets.

The effectiveness of the regional integration might not be realized within current the multiplicity of the RECs which result to heavy load of financial administration and the abilities

<sup>169</sup> Padma Mllampally & the Karl P. Sauvant (1999.) the Foreign Direct Investments within the Developing Countries in Africa and the world at large. *A Quarterly Magazine of the IMF*, March 1999, Volume 36, Number 1. <sup>170</sup> Ibid.

of states involved and the conflicting responsibilities. This also describes the reasons why the nations are unable to realize their annual monetary remittance responsibilities for REC administration and management. Some scholars further argue that African experience so far seems to indicate that collections with less member states are likely to be more progressive and must indicate better progression than the other larger organization. This has been evidenced in RECs of EAC and SAKU/CMA. To an extent awareness is rising in the presence of the perils of the marginalization and the declining opportunities that are availed by the increment in the globalization.<sup>171</sup>

With this view, therefore, the AU Summit need to formulate a strategy that would guide on de-conflicting and sequencing the overlapping of RECs for them to support the AEC objectives effectively. This would also enable to eliminate wasteful and the expensive duplications of the several memberships and also the rationalizing a section of the overlapping subregional groupings. The A.U Summit ought to view REC based on priority needs and efficiency founded on comparative advantage. To achieve this objective of harmonization, the AU need to conduct a thorough analysis of rationalizing the amount of the blocs and also the membership that have been offered to them through critically examination their comparative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Nantchoung R. (February 2014.) What are the Regional Economic Communities (.R.E.C.s) on the overlapping membership as an issue? A discussion on the free rider syndrome as have been applied towards the small economy or economies (Evidence from Burundi).this was retrieved online on 5<sup>th</sup> July 2016. http://elibrary.acbfpact.org/pdf.

## **4.8Redirect FDI into infrastructure Connectivity**

From the face value of China-Africa relations, trade and investment can be argued to cement the relation between the two. This can be viewed in the number of Chinese Organizations that has metamorphosed into super investors in the continent of Africa in the course of the last decade. They range from major building and construction companies to small individually owned enterprises inform of restaurant to acupuncture clinics. According to Ambassador David Shinn China was the only bilateral source of the annual foreign direct investment (F.D.I) within Africa 54 states. Nonetheless, no major research has been carried out to ascertain what constitutes Chinese investment in African. Nevertheless, China FDI loans are directed to African nations that are rich in minerals such as Angola, DR Congo and also Sudan for the exploration and mining of natural resources. The payment mode is mainly by back-shipping of same mineral resources to China. The other form of loans which are not F.D.I are the commercial consignment mostly with the concessionary loan component. 173

The level and quantum of investment of China to Africa cannot be estimated as argued by Larry and Morris, that China do not establish data on foreign direct investment within Africa by industry basis. Secondly, with regard to the economic experts China data on the FDI

<sup>172</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Mothae Maruping (December 2005.) the *Challenges for the Regional Integration within the Sub Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic and the Convergence and the Monetary Coordinations* which occurs from the Africa in the World Economy; the National,regional and international challenges in the Fondad, the Hahue; on the Online at www.fondad.org.

had several shortcomings that influence their functionality, this includes issues that are related with the incomplete reporting, discrepancies between F.D.I flow and the stock data and also the varying definitions of what F.D.I is made up of. In these Chinese economic statisticals disclosures. These problems compounded culminates into a wide range of the estimates of the China F.D.I within Africa. A case in point is the China Minister for Commerce Chen Denning announcement in the year 2012 that the Chinese F.D.I to the Africa had exceeded \$14.7 billion in the year 2010, upto 60% from the year 2009. On other hand within the same year Ambassador to South Africa from China, Tian Xuejun, commented that the investment of china in Africa of various kinds exceeded \$40 billion".

In respect to these discrepancies in the two statements by the Chinese officials, the Economists concluded that, presently the first amount is for the African assets possessions that have been reported to the institution of the state. The other one included approximates of the Chinese money that is flowing in from the tax shelters all over the globe. Thus according to economist in Larry and Morris it was argued that going by the official position of the Chinese economic data given by the sector for commerce, Chinese F.D.I movements in Africa had risen to even six fold between the year 2005 and the year 2012 from \$392 million to \$2.5 billion. Chinese F.D.I stock in Africa had risen to thirteen fold, from the 1.5 billion in the year 2005 to 21.23 billion in the year 2012. Nevertheless David Shinn argues that many Chinese

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Hannah Marieidmar (2015) The East, African, Community,: ,Questions, of ,Sovereignty,,, ,Regionalism, ,and the Identy this was Retrieved online on the 6<sup>th</sup> July 2016, <a href="https://etd.ohiolink.edu/">https://etd.ohiolink.edu/</a>

scholars either from China and elsewhere view Chinese FDI in Africa have no consensus, but what is common in them is that they agree its total cumulative is quite higher than the official figures.<sup>104</sup> The top recipient of Chinese FDI although not connected or linked to the total bilateral transactions in trade between China and also the African states.<sup>175</sup>

Critics of China-Africa relationship view that the developing economies of Africa are too much dependent on China to the extent that when China's economy's shake the African states economies nose dive to the extent of collapsing. A case in point sited by Norimitsu Onishi where the West view's sub-Saharan Africa era of rapid economic growth that stimulated optimism of a successful new period to the world's most deprived population was coming to an end. The emerging economies of poor Africa depended on China's tumbling economy. Hence the demand for Africa raw materials was waning, in which the West cited the China demand for copper in Zambia that left many unemployed. The entering economies of the control of the contro

What these pessimistic view did not take into consideration was that most of African state economies have been diversified and mineral resources are no more dependent as the major drivers of the economy. Yet, some sectors of the economy in an African nation may be affected but it is most cases stabilized by another. A case in point is the Nigerian crude oil

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Brenner, Neil, Bob Jessop, Martin Jones, and Gordon MacLleod (2003, p12) the Introduction towards the State Space in the Question within the *State/Space: A Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher.)

<sup>176</sup> Ibid

market affected by the China's economy shake. Although the prices of crude oil came down world over the services industry in Nigeria supported the economy well and so was in Kenya, Ghana, Gabon and Ethiopia.

The western pessimistic scholars ought not to lose sight of the China's level of economic growth levels that did not come overnight and its diversification aspect that would ensure its stability for quite some time. In addition, the investment it has made in the world and in Africa is a major aspect to consider as the stabilization effect. Further, the African economies have also renewed attraction aspect of the Americans and the European investments as well as investment of emerging economies of Asia and South America. China's involvement in the whole of Africa is varied and ranging from the poor and the weak nations to middle income states. Within the states like the D.R Congo and also the Mozambique, China is within extractive manufacturing sectors and thus the construction of the infrastructure projects, while within the Countries like the Ethiopia, Egypt, Morocco and also Kenya China merchandise is involved in the manufacturing industry that has also created the necessary connections with the local economy facilitating the structural transformations. These impact of the Chinese investment in an individual country in Africa can be viewed through the policies of that country and also the capacities of the native manufacturing industries. A case in point is how the China African economic partnership is triggering structural transformation in Kenya and Ethiopia.

#### 4.9FDI accelerates structural transformation of RECs

The worlds emerging economies such as the Brazil China India and others demand of the raw materials considered as the major controllers of the structural adjustments within Africa. China has therefore made impact within Africa in the last decade through investment within Africa, but this may be sustained over for the longest time possible if the correct and right fiscal policies are also being put in the right place. Richard Schiere and Alex Rugamba argue that the regional economic communities (R.E.C) serve a very critical role within this aspect since these are enabled to extend the market friendly fiscal measures and also the regional integration. Relevant fiscal policies especially those for customs and markets culminates to the improvements within the productivity of the investments which is one of the critical elements that accelerate structural transformation. For real development to occur Africa states are expected to extend the value chain and therefore be able to export more of the manufactured goods instead of raw materials.<sup>177</sup>

Thus the regional Economic communities are therefore synchronizing the regional infrastructural investments plans that are also within the regional framework that culminate into the economies of the scale that leads into a more friendly prices for the ventures and the final users of the products. These are expected to reduce the production cost and to raise the Africa's competitiveness in the international market. In the long run, this is expected to create

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> The European Commission (2015.) the Economic Partnership and also the Agreement that existed between the E.U and the E.A.C that Retrieved oline at www.trade.ec.europa.eu/ on 6<sup>th</sup> July 2016.

power pools for the regional power market with the organized supply processes. A case in point is the power grids in EAC and SADC state that are planned to be interconnected into a sole regional power pool. Within the regions systems that China is extending through the African integration through the financing and the building of the ports, hydroelectric power industries and the telecommunications and the roads and the railways infrastructure development programs. In view of these projects only RECs power pools and also the Africa state institutions can adopt the lead towards the harmonizing fiscal policies and also the improvement of the investment conditions, that are key to improving physical infrastructure in promoting regional integration.

Scholars of RECs argue that although they have varying mandates and the memberships, these are very clear treads of the convergences within these organizations. A case in point in the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement that are expected to merge the Common Market for Eastern and the Southern Africa (C.O.M.E.S.A) and also the East African Community E.A.C. and the South African Development Community (S.A.D.C. into a one free trade area with an expected market of more or less 500 million people. Similarly, the West African Regional Economic Communities have followed suit with the economic community of west African states (E.C.O.W.A.S) and also the Economic Community of Central African States

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Hamid R. Davoodi (2012 p1) *Overview*. The East African Community After the Ten Years: the Deepening Integration. That was retrieved online at )https://www.imf.org. pdf on 6th July 2016).

(E.C.C.A.S forging ways of merging into a one free trade region. The emerging trend emphasizes on the importance of R.E.C.s as a key driver for continued China Africa cooperation.<sup>179</sup>

## 4.10 Strengthening Human Capacity

Human resource is argued to be the most important resource a nation can ever be proud of. Hence empowering human capital should be the prudent, judicious and lucrative investment a nation can undertake. This is because human capital is the driver to national productivity. Nevertheless, higher productivity ensures the individual higher earnings, and for the collective to enjoy a higher output. African nations with a desire to come out of the quagmire of poverty and underdevelopment have no better alternative than to invest consistently in their citizens" human capital. However the global economy is inclined more towards knowledge based sector where processing of the I.C.T devices, pharmaceutical, telecommunications and also other I.C.T. devices based services and also the research and the advancement require the skills and also the human capital advancement that results into a focus for the policy developers and practitioners who are involved in the economic development both at the institutional level and also at the regional levels. <sup>180</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup>Veit Bachmann & James D Sidaway (2010) "African Regional Integration and european Involvement: Eaxter- nal in the East Africa Community," South African Geographical Journal, 91 (2010) 1, 1 – 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Paul Collier (2012 p14) the *Emerging East Africa: the Achievements and the Goals of the East African Community*. The East African Community After the Ten Years: the Deepening of the that was Integration. Retrieved online at the https://www.imf.org.pdf on 6<sup>th</sup> July 2016.

At independence, African nations had to forge their nation's ways forward as states in a self-help world arena. Economic development was therefore in the fore as a national priority to generate the necessary impetus to build the new nations administrative, political, and socio economic institutions. Majority of the African leaders were well educated to meet the necessary threshold for the leadership portfolios, but the masses had little or no formal education. The expectations from the citizens were as high as the ambition and eagerness to make a difference. A case in point was the Kenyan president Jomo Kenyatta's government policy document that addressed poverty, disease and ignorance. Latter the scholars observed that the expected outcomes by the African leaders were hardly achieved. Most scholars argue that leaders matter for the country's economic growth, this is because they invest in initiating social connection networks and innovating the right direction for the economic growth. Leaders depend on these interpersonal connection networks to build trust and solidarity in work environment. Knowledgeable and skilled leader set norms, rules and strategies for success. They deploy the workers according to their knowledge and skills in the available jobs to achieve the institutions desired results. 181 These leaders motivate and inspire workers to work hard in order to achieve institution goals and objectives. In this view the African leaders could not achieve much due to the low levels of human capacity and as such the expected performance was jeopardized.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Kenya Daily Nation; Wednesday, 20 February 2013. The E.A.C. Court to the Hear Customs of the Disputes. Retrieved on 6<sup>th</sup> July (2016). Online at, www.tradebeat.com..

#### 4.10.1Poor Human Capacity could not Support the FDI flow

An open economy which participates in the international trade establishes the necessary pre-requisite for the FDI to flow in the country. Although the states of Africa at independence never exhibited virtues of free market economy and foreign investment, however it may be argued that this was due to their small markets and they were grabbling with western economic culture that was foreign to Africa. Soon after the first crop of African leaders, well educated in their former colonial master's schools became economically inward looking. They protected their young economies dearly. Unfortunately, with lack of well skilled human resource the FDI's were directed and managed by foreigners who took advantage of the masses. Fear set in with new leadership due to the former colonial foreign masters underhand to control the activities in their former colonies through use of FDI's that supported the economy of the young nation. Poor or lack of planning, policy formulation and implementation resulted with poor or little management and control of the FDI's activities that more often than not interfered with running of the government. 182

On the other hand, African states had no or little comprehensive plan to control and manage the foreign aid. Consequently, this assistance specifically in the course of the cold war that was used by the hegemonic powers of East and West determined the kind of market economy, capitalist or communist within the political ideology inclination an African state would be. It

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Kenya Daily Nation; Wednesday, 20 February (2013). E.A.C the Court to Hear Customs the Disputes. Retrieved on 6<sup>th</sup> July (2016). Online at, www.tradebeat.com.

could also change with change of leadership. A case in point was Congo Kinshasa under Patrice Lumumba and leadership under Mobutu Sese Seko.

Thus before 1970s most African states resulted with trade barriers and capital control as way of an import-substitution procedures targeted at protecting home factories and securing the foreign exchange. These could be attributed to little knowledge in appreciating the western economy as a driver to development. This resulted in discouragement of international trade growth in the African countries that also locked out foreign direct investments. The impact of this mix resulted with poor economic growth and living conditions in the African people as observed by Ro- drick in Soutana Sako. 184

Poor human capacity building can be argued to have contributed to 1970s and 80s leaders of new African states resulting to dictatorial or authoritarian leadership styles as the impacts of the superpowers for the cold war played out. Majority of these leaders got into power through military coups or through undemocratic means. Such military dictators like Idi Amin and Bokasa took over power in Uganda and Central Africa Republic respectively. With Amin's poor level of formal education, the progressing growth of Uganda and the EAC was jeopardized. In the whole of Africa, the masses could be manipulated in whatever way which left the RIAs in limbo. In the EAC region the masses had little or no knowledge about the

15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Paul Collier (2012, p14) the *Emerging East Africa and the Achievements and the Goals of the East African Community*. The East African Community and After the Ten Years of the Deepening Integrations. As Retrieved online at the https://www.imf.org.pdf on 6<sup>th</sup> July (2016).

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

EAC and and its functions. The "leaders" project", the EAC broke down in 1977, although it had achieved higher levels of integration than the current one today.<sup>185</sup>

In the 1980s and up to mid-1990s African states were imposed with condition for acquisition of loans and grants to support their economies from the Bretton Wood institutions (The International. Monetary. Funds and also the World Bank.) Including the Structural Adjustment Programs (S.A.P.s). But the greater undoing of the African state leadership was not to have strengthened human capability for the comprehensive and also the consistent planning, policy formulation and the implementations at the national levels to be able to reduce the risks of the conflicts that imposed developmental initiatives by the Bretton Wood institution or to comprehend their complementarity aspect. As a result, there has been no or little sufficient improvement as regards the economic performance within the African countries. The overall economic growth pattern in Africa remained anemic notwithstanding the overlapping RIAs.<sup>186</sup>

#### 4.10.2African State Leadership Aim at Human Capacity Building

In light of the previous failed developments, African leadership in post-cold war era aimed at human capacity building to enable and enhance the masses to contribute to the economic development and hence reduce poverty. In this regard regimes in Africa aimed at

<sup>185</sup>Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Paul Collier (2012 p14) the *Emerging East Africa: the Achievements and the Goals of the East African Community*. The East African Community After the Ten Years of the Deepening Integration which is Retrieved online at https://www.imf.org.pdf on 6<sup>th</sup> July (2016).

improving the education levels, improvement of labor force training while ensuring that it is flexible, culturally responsive, healthy and productive to compete in the world labor market. Ultimately this would enhance RIAs sustainable economic growth and the deeper integration and also the competitiveness within the global economy. Therefore the society is aimed to be in a position to support the activities of the RIA with good understanding of their accruing benefits. Further the society will contribute towards reduction of poverty, combating of pandemic illness like the Malaria and also the HIV/AIDS, utilization of the science and also technology, Information & Technology (I.C.T) & empowerments of gender equitably.<sup>187</sup>

## 4.10.3RECs Aim to be a Regional Security Community

Under anarchic circumstances countries look out first and foremost for their own security interest, which tend to jeopardize existence of the state due to the competitive nature of the world arena. This aspect tends to lead to a security dilemma. However according to neo-liberalist they posit that although states are actors in an anarchic environment, rationality prevails in their actions. Hence States in a RIA should are believed to act rationally to maximize mutual benefits. In this case therefore they create institutions that promote cooperation that take a wide range of forms. The creation of such institutions enables control the existence of such security dilemma. These institutions are inform of collective security,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> EAC Vision (2050) Draft; October .2015). Retrieved on the 6<sup>th</sup> July 2016, at www.eac.int.pdf.

collective defense or cooperative society or peace and security department. 188

In a collective security, the enemy is viewed to threaten regional or even the international peace and the security. When these collective security institution is of international nature like the UN, a threat can emanate from any region of the world. Thus any nation that commits aggression threatens peace and may be considered to have exceeded the limits of a civilized behavior hence it would be considered to violate the norms of the security system and therefore subject to enforcement action by these members of the communities. AU member nations subscribe to the UN hence they are members of the international collective security. Within the same arrangement the A.U's of the African Peace and the Security Architecture (A.P.S.A.) with its African Stand by Forces (A.S.F.) in every REC is in furtherance of collective security that has been regionalized within Africa. 189 The most developed of them is the East Africa Standby Force (EASF), which is managed from Kenya and Ethiopia to develop major institutions including Headquarters, a logistic base and a training school. EASF encompasses the EAC member states without Tanzania that belongs to South African Standby Force (SASF) under SADC. The SASF and the Western Africa Standby Force (WASF) are in the formative stage. Nevertheless, the EASF has laid the basis for the regionalized collective security.

1.0

<sup>188</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Article 5 of the E.A.C. Treaty, signed in the year 2000 the commits of the participating nations towards the establishment of the custom union and also the common market and therefore the ultimately on the monetary union.

In this respect a Security Community can be viewed as an affair of the states that tend to coagulate countries into a community of states. It facilitates a state to feel secure from external threats of other states and hence provide an environment that is conducive for the state to conduct its internal matters of the sovereign nation and these responsibilities vested to it by the cooperation membership. In today's world security communities depends largely on state's measure of political leadership that ensures stability. The Unity in the system of security community is normally followed by a strong economic cooperation within the region. Member states develop mutual respect and observation of the rule of the law and also the human rights which create the very necessary climate for growth of the R.E.Cs that ensure sustainable development and equitable standard of living. 190

#### **4.11Dispelling Land Loss Fears**

Diversification of land can be described as activities on the farm that do not involve agriculture- all production on a piece of land as an alternative for generating income. For example use of land by an entrepreneur for wildlife conservancy to attract tourist or for electing windmills or laying solar panels for electrical power generation. The importance of landmass as a major variable of production cannot be over emphasized. All other things that people utilize can be tracked back to surface. Thus landmass can be considered as the provider

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Sanjeev, Gupta, & Jmmy, McHugh, (2012, p5,9,) ,*East, Africa, Monetary, Union, and, Fiscal, Policy,: Current, and, Fu,- ture, Challenges,.* The, East, African, ,Community, After, Ten, Years,: ,Deepening, Integration,. Retrieved, online, at https,://,www,.imf.,org.,pdf on 6<sup>th</sup> July ,2016,

of all material acquisitions. In this regard economic successfulness of a nation is closely connected to the abundance in its natural resource availability. In context, African states the quantity and the quality of agricultural ownership rests on the type of soil, climate and also the rainfall or availability of water resources that can be used for agriculture. Agricultural produce in turn provides the fundamental base for industries in Africa. Land is peculiar in the sense that it is a costless gift of nature, permanent, immobile and limited. People accept land as it is and their efforts as well as innovation can make it productive in whatever sense. Hence people can de- grade the land but it can be restored.<sup>191</sup>

According to Maathai land ownership and distribution in Africa is a very emotive and volatile issue. It continues to be controlled through title deeds introduced by the colonialist. However, Population growth in the African states as resulted to pressure on demand for farmland leading to marginal subdivisions of land into uneconomic parcels. In addition, growth of urban centers and cities has displaced many communities furthermore demand for construction of infrastructure projects like transportation network development has added more pressure. Historically land distribution in most African states has continued to favor colonial settlers. A case in point as observed by Maathai is that white farmers owned 96% and 50% of arable land in South Africa and Namibia respectively by 2005, while 70% of prime land in Zimbabwe was in the hands of whites in 2000. Nevertheless it is altruism that too often

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> E.A.C Vision .2050 Draft; October (2015). Retrieved on the 6<sup>th</sup> July (2016), at www.eac.int.pdf.

prime land in Africa is always found in the possession of the affluent and political elite. 192

Luckily, Tanzania which was not affected very much by white settlers is the most and the greatest populous of the five E.A.C member states. Although it has the lowest density of people, it has major fears of its land from the other members of the community. The fear is based on EAC integration which is likely to open the flood gates of Kenyans, Rwandans and Burundians into country in search of land. The three countries have scarcity of arable land. a case in point of land disharmony in Tanzania was the expelling of Banyarwanda in August 2013 from the Akagera region located at Northern Western part of Tanzania. 193

Demographically according to UNECA in Chemelil, Tanzania have an estimated number of people of 45 millions accounting for 32% of 139 million East Africans hence it has the right ad- vantage in the region. In projection the EAC population is projected to increase to 237 million by 2030, translating to about 34% or 82 million Tanzanians. The major advantage of a large and growing population is creation of a larger domestic market for the nation. It also leads to attraction of investors and multinational institutions. Ultimately it achieves the stimulation of investment in new knowledge and generation of new ideas which improve productivity, innovation, with more workers, increased consumption which will drive manufacturing and in- creased national savings according to Durgesh in Chemelil. In this view

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> E.A.C facts and the figures (2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Ibid.

such countries as Tanzania have an opportunity to diversify land as variables of production so as to attract investors from the very regional member states and dispel land fears.<sup>194</sup>

## 4.12 ICT Data Availability and Accessibility

The RIAs need to address the aspect of information requirement. The Africa Sub-region and the regional institution that are complemented by the targeted and also the regionally coordinated international professionals assist to cross pollinate the regional capacities that can contribute with a meaningful function. To achieve this objective the SubSaharan Africa need to utilize the maximum significance of the global information grid, that was provided by the international development institutions like the Canada, International, Development, Research Centre (I.D.R.C) and also the United Nations Development Programme (U.N.D.P) which worked in connection with the Sub Saharan African nations, the civil society groups and the transnational corporations such as the C.I.S.C.O, Alcatel and the Microsoft for building the information communication infrastructures. Such programs were being done and also focused towards interlinking Africa by a round ring of fiber optic internet cable and to the rest of the world were, African Optical Network (African ONE1) and the sub-marine optical fiber cable South Africa Telecom 3West African Submarine and the South Africa Far East (S.A.T.-3/W.A.S.C/S.A.F.E) respectively but the latter's aim was to interlink Africa with Asia and Europe. In addition to these two another project was aimed to provide the satellite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> A.f.D.B (2013.) The State of the Infrastructure in the East Africa. This was Retrieved at the www.afdb.org on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2016.

communications with effective connection between Sub-Saharan Africa telecommunications networks with those of the other continent was Regional African Satellite Communications Organization (RASCOM)<sup>195</sup>. These projects were geared to scale up the region integration towards the global information exchange systems. Thus the call was for the African government to introduce institution changes such as the divestitures of the public enterprises and also the commercialization, liberalization and the privatization of the nations telecommunication sectors which have not been realized as yet. Information flow privatization and liberalization in a REC can be key to information sharing and resource allocation that could contribute immensely to the integration process.

Certain environments or areas if well addressed provide strong projections for the regional integrations within Africa. In regard to this case, strengthening the progressive media public opinion may become a good tool to promote the integrations issues. As the realization that foreign assistance hinders development may be the first approach to strengthening opportunities within the nation. These may be achieved by harnessing economic organizations and developing the local, operational and implementable economic approaches that may enable economic stability far from donor reliance and propel the African countries to development as argued earlier. While responding to the multiplicity of the regional

 $^{195}$  A.f.D.B. (2013.) The state of the Infrastructure in the East Africa this was retrieved at the www.afdb.org on  $7^{th}$  July 2016.

integrations it may ensure value for the resources especially the time factor and the money factor. In this regard R.I.A.s member countries may tend to align their interest towards the most valuable groupings where their efforts may count wholly. On the other hand, democratic leadership would promote citizen participation thus strengthening institutions and accountability of leaders to the masses.

The Chinese foreign direct investment can be negotiated between member states in the RIAs in order to direct regional connectivity through communication and infrastructural projects to en- sure increased volume of trade between partner states. Further so as to be in a good situation to support the local institutions and activities RIAs requires a sustained strengthening of human capacity policy through education and training of human resources within member states. Such well trained and skilled labor from member countries can be attracted to take jobs in the regional bodies and to steer them to the desired aim. <sup>196</sup>

In order to achieve higher projections of development every R.I.A. within Africa should aim at achieving a secure community, a form of the security interdependence between the states which ensure democratic variables are maintained as well as the groupings' policy alignments and the implementations. In the Meantime, the fixing of the data cables within and without Africa provides projections for the good connectivity between member nations within the sub-

196 Ibid

region and also the African region and to the rest of the globe. The existence of these aspects that confronts the regional integrations efforts within Africa support the assumption that, regional integrations arrangements within Africa have challenges and the projections to realizing the overall Africa dream of economic integrations. 197

In summary, this chapter has covered the shortcomings and the prospects of the regional integrations organizations in the continent of Africa, where it has dealt with the Media promoting the public opinion, the foreign Aid and development and the democratic leadership demands to prevail and among others it has also looked into the multiplicity of the RI membership.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Ibid

#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

# CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AFRICA

#### 5.1 Introduction

This current chapter four covered the general challenges and the prospects of the economic Community of the central Africa nations, measures adopted by the ECCAS to address the security challenges, force Multinational encentrique four (CEMAC Mission), the Gulf of Guinea Maritime security coordination among others and the need for the Hegemon regional leader as a major challenge to the ECCAS.

This chapter examines the root causes of the insecurity in the Central African sub-region, the challenges affecting the regions as well as the measures adopted by E.C.C.A.s to address the issues of peace and security. Some of these causes of security challenges that will be examined here include State Failure, Politics of the "Belly", Colonial Legacy, transnational criminality, lack of good governance, the presence of arms/rebels groups as well as the manifestation of insecurity in the E.C.C.A.S' region.<sup>198</sup>

 $<sup>^{198}</sup>$  ECCAS (2008) DecisionCEEAC/CCEG /XIII/08 andtheportantMandat dela Mission dePaix du, 12 juillet. au 31 décembre

<sup>2008</sup> etMissionde Consolidation de la Paix du 1er janvier 2009 aux environ de l'année 2013 du Conseil dePaix et de Sécurité del'Afrique CentraleenRépublique CentrafricaineKinshasa, June, 12

#### 5.2 State Failure (CAR, DR Congo, Chad, Burundi)

Frail statehood, state disappointment is a marvel use to recognize one of the underlying drivers of security challenges in Central Africa Sub-area. Frail statehood alludes to an express that is unfit to give fringe security just as human security for it natives. It has been derived in a comprehensively acknowledged arrangement of state disappointment. It depends on the essential theory of the state existing to provide decentralized approaches for conveying the political and the merchandise to the people living within the assigned indicators (fringes). Within this community the state works in a wide edge of "measurements" organized by the particular circumstance in which it is acting yet also depending on the pecking order of political merchandise. The supply of security" ends up being the most significant one which this is deficient in a considerable lot of E.C.C.A.S's states. Past the human security and with the idea of the regional security, and the other political products involving the "techniques for settling debates and managing the standards and many and also for the other privilege to partake" that are the focal ones a nation is dependable to provide.

Proceeding further the restorative and also the human services, "institutions and instructive guidance", "streets, railroads, harbors and other physical frameworks", "correspondence systems" and different essential prerequisites for promising conservative movement pursued

<sup>199</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Maiyaki Theodore Bala (2017) These Challenges and also the Prospects for the Regional and the Economic Integrations

through an impartial sharing equally of the natural hall" are regarded as the political merchandise. Because it is hard to gauge these various leveled outline, Akude provides an option which is dependent on the restraining infrastructure of the 3 instruments which are the verbatim "brutality, tax assessment (counting asset extractions and also the law making. A model may be the nation losing its very own imposing business model of viciousness in the legitimate zone. When the guideline of general principle of law and autonomous region evaporates, or the standard of law winds up immaterial, support legislative issues become simpler as the elites make a situation free of charge from responsibility and also the other control instruments. Thus the democratic republic of Congo (D.R.C.) and Central Africa Republic (C.A.R) are model in various respects Political issues which hampers the regional integration process within some of the Central Africa is competition between the Central African Nations. It has been seen in a few cases that some of the Central African nations contend to assume the job of pioneer within the sub-area. These practices have prompted wasteful activities for the sub-regions, another greater political concern that has the negative effect within the regional reconciliation within the Central Africa is nation more extensive clashes between Central African States. As to, Central Africa shows up as a flimsy area with various inner clashes within the nations.

The rationale that surrounds this is clear as "powerless nations demonstrate a blended structures." Therefore a nation may function very well in giving the security but not giving investment to the very residents, for example, the instance of Chad. To recognize solid,

powerless, fizzled and crumbled states the characterized political merchandise must be thought about. Though solid states "convey a complete range and a very high caliber of the very political merchandise to their residents "powerless states conventionally fail to meet expectations in specific viewpoints. To gauge the shortcoming of states Rotberg proposes different markers involving the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P) per capita and also the United Nations Development Programme that is the (U.N.D.P.) and the human development Index, the transparency international Corruption and the perception index or even the freedom of World Reports which a significant number of the states in Central Africa sub-regions performs exceptionally poor in these positioning. For example, Burundi has the least per capita G.D.P in the realm of \$90 [2005] and half of its population is under 14 years-demonstrating likely floods of savagery when they achieve development just to grasp neediness and desperation.<sup>201</sup>

Eight of the E.C.C.A.S' membership nations are sorted as not being free as concerns the provision of the Freedom within the World Index, thus the staying to the C.A.R and also the Equatorial Guinea that are in the class including the ten nations within the planet factoring in the most reduced rating within the political powers and also the common freedoms. In situations where state shortcoming is joined by extraordinary savagery and warring groups, acting against government, states might be described as fizzled or fallen.<sup>202</sup> Along these lines, "the suffering

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> ECCAS (2000) the Protocol and the Establishing of the Peace and the Security Council for the Central Africa (COPAX), Malabo, 24 February.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Cotton, J.(2009). Australia and the Asian Institutional Networks; Bilateral and the Preferences Multilateral Gains. In N. Thomas (Ed.) *Governance and the Regionalism in Asia*. London & the New York: Routledge,.

character" and "the devouring quality" of the happening savagery are significant instead of "the supreme force. Among subsequent pointers of the nation disappointment, inhumane brutality" may assume a job. A center piece of the Rotberg significant argumentation comprises of these idea which bombed nations are not greatly capable or within the acceptance spirit to satisfy the very duties (the instance of C.A.R., D.R.C., Burundi). The two situations are altogether separate, however may similarly amount to the very motivation behind the reasons a state loses the authenticity.<sup>203</sup> This shortcoming in state is one of the real reasons for instability as other gathering exploits the shortcoming or disappointment of the state to come to control through upset or any illegal methods.

The primary financial elements which have made genuine hindrances to monetary reconciliation in Central Africa incorporates; low development, poor foundation, weakness to unpredictable oil costs, absence of financial complementarity, and aberrations among beach front and landlocked nations. Because of the nonappearance of a solid development, E.C.C.A.S has not created adequate dynamism to pull the regional economies and empower the regional integration. The area has poor transport foundations, because of a blend of thick backwoods and lacking upkeep, the street system is deficient, and there is no well-created correspondence system interfacing the capital urban areas and the nations in the regions. The landlocked nations rely upon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Collier, P. (2007) *The, Bottom Billion and explains Why the Poorest Countries are the Failing and What can also be done about it.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

overland transport to acquire merchandise and enterprises and different imports, and in this manner their defenselessness to disturbances in supply.

The absence of satisfactory framework by method for streets, vitality, control, rail, media communications and different connections for the help of the free development of products, capital, administrations and people, including the privilege of home represents a noteworthy test to these fulfillment of these incorporation dream in these focal Africa states. This circumstance is principally because of the rates of feeble profitable and mechanical segments in much of the part states, emerging to a great extent from poor and rotting infrastructural conditions. Financial coordination is a total of the craving of country states to collect their assets together for the motivations behind increasing similar favorable circumstances within the regions. In any case, the more noteworthy test here is that of a region so deprived of foundation as a pre essential for the foundation of an association with another nation.<sup>204</sup>

The area is looked by financial asymmetry between the more extravagant beach front financial matters and the less fortunate landlocked financial aspects. Huge salary aberrations, combined with enormous contrasts in monetary dynamism, have unavoidably made feelings of dread of further and maybe quickened imbalances among nations, and a circumstance of contention as opposed to a feeling of shared and expanded success. Enrollment issues is an issue on the continent premise and furthermore also within the sub-areas, E.C.C.A.S not exempted,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Maiyaki Theodore Bala (2017) The Challenges and also the Prospects for the Regional and the Economic Integrations
In Africa..

numerous African nations have a place with a few of the groups or the sub groupings which occasionally contend, strife or cover among their own instead of supplementing one another. This contributes to the weight of harmonization and coordination and this is therefore very inefficient repetition with the perspective on obliged available resource.

It is seen that the present insecurity in Africa's political, monetary decrease, and social discontent mirror an initiative emergency on Africa as a continent. On the off chance that this means that individual nations, it is similarly substantial for the regional reconciliation process. The development of more grounded administration could supply the vision and important bearing and show the penance and responsibilities that are basic in any helpful undertaking. Be that as it may, not all nations are given a similar energy about the requirement for collaboration. Doubtlessly some must be urged, influenced and pulled along by others.<sup>205</sup>

E.C.C.A.S. is working under projects and game plans in the key to improve regional integration. The recuperation plan tends to nine need regions including; struggle avoidance, limit building, and advancement of exchange, free development of people, improvement of network framework, HIV/AIDS control, nature, nourishment security. Harmony and security are therefore being considered as the requirements by these heads of the state that set up the Central African summit for Peace and security. To be able to reinforce their abilities within the harmony, security, strife counteractive action and great administration, the E.C.C.A.S arranges to start activities,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Mutasa, C. (2004)the Regional Integrations and the direct Debt, the Comparative Report of the Africa's Regional Groupings Harare, A.F.R.O.D.A.D.

prominently, the fast functionality and also the operationalization of its contention anticipation structures the M.A.R.A.C and also the F.O.M.A.C.<sup>206</sup>

Therefore the capacity building, the E.C.C.A.S and the general Secretariat have been distressed by the out of date structure of its present architecture and also the insufficient assets at once it needs to quickly actualize the work program. Thus the Secretariat demands the fitting ability within the territory of the tax assessment, traditions and also the insights to the pool traditions strategies and also the guidelines just as remote exchange measurements. Concerning the reception of African Economic Commission (A.E.C.) settlement and these amendment for the E.C.C.A.S arrangement, Central Africa appears to have the institutional system important to push ahead on the regional integration, the future course and accomplishment of that procedure can't be underestimated. Money related integration is additionally required so as to orchestrate financial arrangements, improve large scale monetary administration, and in the long run supplant the frail inconvertible household monetary standards of the region with a solitary regional currency.

# 5.3 Colonial Legacy and shadow- statehood as a cause of Insecurity in ECCAS

The idea of shadow-statehood is alluded to a definition expounded by the William Reno as within his book Warlord Politic and also the African nations in the year 1999. While the ideas of state disappointment underscore the institutional systems, this methodology rather indicates the additional organizational sectors. Reno utilizes the concept shadow nation to depict the political situation portrayed by these presence of the circle found consistent to the authority and also the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> The regional integrations and the assistance strategy paper (2015)

establishment based nation. These shadow nation refers to an undeniable, however not officially perceived, support framework that was inflexibly composed and focused on rulers mandates over assets. In a shadow state, private systems challenge formal foundations. All things considered, as Akude contends, "outside acknowledgment is the premise of power" in as much as "shadow states have legal, however genuinely need experimental sway and even authenticity. 207" Yet that acknowledgment infers no additional need or demand to create regional authenticity, as may be a routine assembling the very basic assets may be from the superpowers supporters or may be from the financial specialists having the spirit to contribute" is never again subject to tax collection of household profitable divisions. The greater part of the states in E.C.C.A.S zone are constrained by previous pioneer ace, for example, France and other E.U part state. Also, as a result of this control, express never again works to suit the enthusiasm of the residents yet the enthusiasm of those outer bodies.

In most of Sub-Saharan states essential assets and outside guide speak to a fundamental method for power assignment. Hence, administering elites are entitled to move the dimension of control far from organization to the casual territory. Within this territory there is neither straightforwardness nor responsibility: The decision routine can be viewed as a vital purpose of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Cotton, J. (2009) the Australia and the Asian Institutional, Networks, Bilateral, Preferences, Multilateral, Gains,". In N. Thomas (Ed.), *Governance and Regionalism in Asia* London& New York: Routledge.

legislative issues though establishments expected to provide the general freedoms to zones of the open intrigue that are denied of their very capacities and also the duties.<sup>208</sup>

These therefore adds up to a species of catch of the nation permitting an interest "of intensity by the way of simply close to home methods. This interest ends up synonymous with and vague from their private advantages." Such interests don't stop at the private designation of riches. It is fairly a guideline in powerless states. Subsequently, frameworks of "support. Governmental issues have supplanted bureaucratic courses of action, which have ended up being feeble. In such frameworks, the leaders do therefore face a need to react to the interests of the one or may be a few customers to profit by their help. Thusly, "private expert" of decision elites' abrogates thoughts of "aggregate specialist. This prompts the perception that the arrangement of merchandise in powerless states isn't declining similarly yet as Reno calls attention to, "occupants detest the status of the security by the right of the participation in the nation. Or maybe through enrollment of specific meetings within the nation. Different gatherings accordingly will in general structure comparable set-ups, permitting additional legislative pioneers to seek after their thought processes by utilizing talks of complaint. Outside guide intended to by and large upgrade advancement or soothe enduring is probably going to be caught by the shadow state<sup>209</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Curley, M. G., & Thomas, N. (2007). The Advancing of the East Asian Regionalism on an Introduction *Advancing towards the East Asian Regionalism; Politics in Asia*. New York: Routledge...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Cotton, J. (2009) the Australia and the Asian Institutional Networks through the Bilateral Preferences Multilateral Gains In N. Thomas (Ed.) there are the *Governance and the Regionalism in Asia*. London & New York: Routledge.

#### **5.4** The Politics of the Belly

The term legislative issues of the Belly are a French word utilized by Jean-François Bayart "La politique du ventre". The meaning of this idea alludes to the condition of being the milk-cow for the very occupants of political power. Therefore this is connected to wonders of the debasement and also nepotism. These endless shortcoming of the post pilgrim nation in Central Africa connected by the precise absence of beneficial ventures has debased the nation into a compensatory sort of big business. In the course of the Cold War which caused a very significant number of the supposed intermediary conflicts, African pioneers were essentially not authorized but rather bolstered from the outside, notwithstanding when they rehearsed degenerate legislative issues or even not. With the finish of worldwide bipolarity and for the sake of the good administration and also the activities of the market, the political atmosphere has transitioned amazingly and the global network currently denounces debasement freely, however that is regularly minor lip administration. Globalization then again has generally encouraged unlawful financial exercises<sup>210</sup>

It has been contended that the, "the connection between financial collection and the residency of intensity within the continent of Africa presently resides within the new conditions. As it has been referenced earlier, highlights of the African political economies, the

<sup>210</sup> Collier, P. (2007). *The Bottom Billion the Why the Poorest Countries are the Failing and What canbe doneabout it.* Oxford: OxfordUniversity Press.

impact of the western thoughts of nations, permitted these developments of the purported kleptocracies within the continent of Africa. The explanations behind that are across the board: Moreover the possibility of these country nations and the western market economy is not converged with the pre-colonial methods of administration. These regional nation looks like a top driven over through the African Continent. Be that as it may, rather than introducing a duplicate of the conventional Westphalian state, settlements used to capacity like undertakings extricating however much merchandise as could reasonably be expected. 211 This clarifies why postcolonial African routines see the state as a type of big business. The endless loop we face these days has basically been set up by the primary routine in any state starting to utilize the state with the aim of the individual advancement and the accompanying occupants performing also so as to remunerate the created confound. Akude suggests this circle, taking note of that on the side as well, advantages of the globalization and also the neoliberal belief system facilitated Trans border participation among states and privately-owned businesses just as between non-state on-screen characters and privately-owned businesses. Such exchange associations previously had a protracted custom not lesser since the African pioneers got enticed to be able to appreciate a larger amount of the living relative to also the remainder of their very own social orders. Repeating to the Bayart, thus this has already been perceived as the very procedures of the extraversion within the logical writing, as the pre regional wonder

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Coleman, & Underhill, G. (2002) the *Regionalism and the Global Economic Integrations and the Europe Asia and the Americas*. London: Routledge..

continued within an altered structures in the course of the pioneer and also the post-frontier periods. The two clarifications fortify the basic theory of the state being a result of this direction of the extraversion and also an instrument of this very system.<sup>212</sup>

# 5.5 Other Causes of Insecurity in the Central Africa Sub Region

## **5.5.1 Spill Over Effect from Rwanda Genocide (Refugees Crisis)**

The issue of outcasts is a verifiable issue that has enormously undermined the regional security. Inability to repatriate the 1959 Rwandan displaced people has been the focal issue of contention that set off the Rwandan common war in 1990. Issues of exiles as a reason for struggle can't be inspected in segregation of political power control and monetary insatiability. This is the central point supporting constrained dislodging.

Ms. Sadako Ogata, the previous United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (U.N.H.C.R), in her assessment of U.N.H.C.R readiness and reaction, follows the starting point of contention in the D.R.C Congo and Burundi from diligent convergence and reluctance to settle the evacuee issue. She recognizes that the ethnic pressure and struggle within the very great lake region of the focal Africa that have been the reason for rehashed occurrences of human relocation. The example of occasions over the most recent 50 years is established in a long history of viciousness, yet it is likewise a background marked by botched chances, for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Coen, D., & Thatcher, M. (2008) the Network and the Governance and also the Multilevel Delegation for the case of the European Networks of Regulatory Agencies, *Journal of Public Policy*, 28.

example, the privilege to nationality. Paul Collier in his article, the economic that causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for policy, introduces a very high danger of the contention in nations where salaries are low. He contends that when individuals are poor, they have little to lose from the integration a revolutionary gathering, with the goal that dissident associations discover enrollment being shoddy.<sup>213</sup>

In any event, there ought to be no uncertainty about the connection between evacuees, botched chances and equipped resistance. Ogata fights that inability to seek after only answers for old complaints has in very numerous cases, years or decades later, prompted a repeat of savagery and to phlebotomy on a much more prominent scale than previously. To her, the inheritance of the emergency in Rwanda was the nearness of Tutsi displaced people in every single neighboring nation and the denied ideal to return home. Right now, equipped gatherings, for example, the F.D.L.R, use displaced people dwelling in the D.R.C as a simple wellspring of selecting.<sup>214</sup>

#### 5.5.2 Dictatorship, Coup d'etat and Unconstitutional means to Power.

Overthrow d'état and illegal ascent to power has been the request of the day in the Central Africa sub-regions. For example, C.A.R has observed only one chosen government

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> P. Williams, D. M. Goldstein & J. M. Shafritz (Eds.) *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations*. Boston: Wadsworth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Cawthra G. (1997) this was towards an Holistic Approach towards the Security Management at the Regional Level, the *African Security Review*, Vol. 6. No. 5)

since picking up freedom. Since André Kolingba"s powers took control in 1981, C.A.R presidents have stayed in power for a normal of ten years. Kolingba, who ousted David Dacko in 1981, was president for a long time before losing to Ange-Félix Patassé in the 1993 presidential decision. Patassé drove the nation until 15 March 2003, when he was ousted by his previous head of staff, François Bozizé. The cycle has been rehashed. Like his forerunner, François Bozizé was president for a long time before being ousted by Michael Djotodia, head of Seleka volunteer armies. Likewise, an examination of the political setting within the Central Africa demonstrates that these absence of the good administration, absence of the standard of the law and also the poverty rates that are the genuine, and also those variables that are the primary components that establish frailty and precariousness in the subregion. Debasement is viewed as a revile nations for example the following are some of them; Cameroon, Chad, Equatorial Guinea and also the D.R.C are among the greatest degenerate nations on the planet.<sup>215</sup>

In addition the personalization and life span in power in the Central Africa has constantly been a difficult issue. Therefore the Paul Biya of Cameroon Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo the Does Santos of Angola, Obiang Nguema of the Equatorial Guinea, Idriss Deby of Chad have all therefore been in the position of power for 20years and

<sup>215</sup> P. Williams, D. M Goldstein & J. M. Shafritz (), the *Classic Readings and also the Contemporary Debates in the International Relations*. Boston: Wadsworth.

more. Omar Bongo of Gabon who kicked the bucket in power has been for over 20 years too. In a portion of the E.C.C.A.S express, the different despots in instances of dissent, utilizes unnecessary military power over the nonmilitary personnel population, this was the situation of Cameroon in 2008. Some of these pioneers had all the more frequently controlled the constitution to empower them remain in power.<sup>216</sup>

In a meeting with Professor Lambi, he derives that, there can never be harmony where there is bad form, when the general population dissent, they are squashed by the military and the main path is to permit the pioneer until his term of office arrive at an end, when this occurred, he controls the constitution to permit him remain in power like was the situation of Cameroon. The well-known saying is "just passing will take him from that situate" and notwithstanding when such pioneer kicks the bucket in power, the youngsters or close relative assumes control over power similar to the case in Gabon and consequently the issue of Governance and popular government in E.C.C.A.S regions is likewise one of the real reason for weakness since it is described by absence of good administration, non-regard for standard of law and extreme infringement of human rights.

What's more, the utter poverty has turned into a casualty in this parts of the African continent. Population have turned out to be helpless, criminal and fear based oppressor due to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Caporaso, J. A. (2005). the Possibilities of the European Identity *Brown on the Journal of the World Affairs*, Vol 12(1

Carr, E. H. (2006). The Realist Critique and the Limitations of Realism In the City of Bloodness.

the poverty levels. Others express their view in a meeting by saying that, a few tyrants even have great arrangements which helps the country referring to the instance of Muamat Gaddafi, however in Central Africa sub-regions, the rate of neediness is horrendous and some even accept that it is the approach of the state to keep the population in interminable poverty in order to purchase their heart in the midst of hardship, for example, races.

# 5.5.3 The Presence of Arms/rebels groups in the Region

The Central Africa Sub-area has been a place of refuge for some, rebel gathering, for example, Forces the Armées and the de la République, Démocratique du the Congo (F.A.R.D.C), the Forces Armées Congolaises (F.A.C.), Southern Peoples' Liberation Army (S.P.L.A), Mayi-Mayi civilian armies, the Séléka volunteer armies, the Anti-Balaka. This various arm gatherings present a genuine risk on harmony in the E.C.C.A.S' regions. These civilian armies and arm gatherings indulge in unlawful exercises in the area, for example, poaching natural life, enrollment of kid officer, human dealing, hijacking for payoff just as instances of influential assault (Africa Capacity Building Foundation, 2008). The utilization of Small and Light weapons by these volunteer armies make weapons effectively accessible to the young population in the whole sub-regions consequently causing security danger. A portion of these volunteer armies are even enlisted by power mongers to expel genuine government in power, for example, the Anti Balaka and Séléka civilian armies in The C.A.R.<sup>217</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup>Caballebo Anthony, M. (2009) the Evolving of the Regional Governance within the East Asia from A.S.E.A.N towards an East Asian Community. In N. Thomas, and the *Governance and also the Regionalism in Asia*.New York: Routledge..

# 5.6 Manifestations of Insecurity in the ECCAS Region

#### 5.6.1 The CAR case

In the Central Africa Republic, the underlying foundations of the present uncertainty in enormous pieces of the nation, particularly in the North East and North West, can to a degree be followed to the serious political and financial emergency toward the finish of the years of the 1990s, when the general discontent runs over the developing neediness and also the non-installment of the pay back payments towards the government workers and also the officers that finished in common agitation and armed force rebellions. The porosity of national borders, the uncontrolled development of warriors and furnished gatherings crosswise over fringes and between various regions of the contention and also the multiplication of the unlawful arms and the weapons increment of the danger of the overflow from the clashes in neighboring nations and these all extraordinarily added to the insecurity in C.A.R. For Debos, this hazard is amplified on account of Chad Sudan Uganda and also the C.A.R specifically through the ability of the warriors to be able to promptly move loyalties across the struggle gatherings and also the renegade developments.

The nearness of outfitted gatherings, for example, the Seleka civilian armies just as Anti-Balaka regional armies are likewise an immediate wellspring of instability among the population. In the outskirt regions of the C.A.R, the abnormal state of brutality by possess that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Buzan, B (1991) on the *People State and the Fear: on An Agenda for the International Security Studies in the Post Cold War Era* Boulder Lynne Reinner.

assault nearby individuals and towns, torch houses, seize youngsters for payoff, poach natural life and stir steers has prompted the relocation of right around these 200,000 of the Central African within the nation and also a further 150000 to neighboring nations, particularly Chad (U.N.H.C.R 2010). A general security limitations therefore lies in within the political insecurity of Central African states. Feeble political authenticity prompting delicate social attachment undermines the dependability of political structures and difficulties the capacities of state foundations, the various upsets in the C.A.R is a glaring precedent.<sup>219</sup>

#### 5.6.2 The Burundi Case

Much the same as the D.R.C. Burundi considered as a nation of the Central African sub locations. It is therefore considered as a landlocked nation situated within the region of the great Lake. The population is made out of the Hutu lion's share and also the Tutsi and the Twa minorities. This very poor and also thick populated nation has experienced cycles of war since independence was achieved on 1 July 1962. The contentions in Burundi have been especially founded on the ethnicity like the case that was reported in Rwanda. Subsequently, the primary significant clash in Burundi occurred in 1972 when the Hutu dissidents' bunch from within the south utilized within Tanzania to attack the nation. These contention exhausted the demise of several individuals.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Burgess M. (2004). The Federalism In A. Wiener & T. Die *European IntegrationTheory*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> Biswaro, J. M. (2005). Perspective son Africa's Integration and Cooperation from the Organization of African Unity to the African Union: Old Wine in a New Bottle? Dar es Salaam Tanzania Publishing House Limited. Thomas (Eds.) Advancing East Asian Regionalism: Politics in Asia,

The second significant clash was in the month of October the year 1993. This was brought about due to the death of the primary equitably chosen by the Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye pursued through the killing of his very successor Cyprien Ntaryamira and also the Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana in a plane accident in April the year of 1994. These two clashes have therefore divided Burundi towards a vicious clash and also the uncertainty for quite a long time. To handle this therefore the bitter common war within the Nation of Burundi which has resulted into the slaughtering of thousands of the individuals, these worldwide network sent a peace keeping process in the nation. In these regard the South Africa assumed a significant job in the rebuilding of harmony within the nation of Burundi. Therefore after the demise of the Julius Nyerere, thus the previous leader of Tanzania in the year 1999 that was so profoundly included within the dealings that existed within the diverse renegade gatherings, Mandela Nelson the previous leader of the nation of the South Africa that was designated as facilitators of the harmony procedure within the nation of Burundi in December the year 1999. While in the month of December the year 2001, without precedent for its history South Africa therefore sent a peacekeeping mission to the nation of Burundi to be able to ensure the returning of political pioneers. This intercession by South Africa therefore marked the country's commitment in harmony tasks within the nation of Burundi and was a noteworthy

New York Routledge.

piece of the Mandela's key contribution towards the Arusha agreement within the month of April 2003.<sup>221</sup>

African Union organization therefore sent a peace keeping delegation in the nation of Burundi (A.M.I.B). Their sole mission and aim was likewise the main experience of the African union, this was therefore involved in the 3335 troops that came from South Africa, Mozambique and also Ethiopia with extra spectators from the nation of Gabon, Burkina Faso, Togo and also the nation of Tunisia. Under the two years after that fact, the U.N.S.C consistently received the resolution named as 1545 on 21 May in the year 2004 approving the organization of the U.N that was in Operation in the nation of Burundi (O.N.U.B) to be able to change the current A.M.I.B into an U.N peace keeping processes. The contention in Burundi demonstrates the sign of instability in the E.C.C.A.S' area.<sup>222</sup>

#### 5.6.3 Gulf of Guinea Case

These Gulf of Guinea is a piece of the Atlantic Ocean that exists between the Cape Lopez in Gabon, north and also the west to the Cape Palmas in the nation of Liberia. It envelops West and also the Central African nations, for example, Benin Côte d"Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Liberia, Nigeria, Angola, Cameroon and also the Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, the Republic of Congo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Buzan, B (1991), *PeopleState and Fear: AnAgenda forInternational SecurityStudies in the PostCold War Era.* Boulder: Lynne Reinner.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Caballebo-Anthony, M (2009)Evolving of Regional Governance East Asiafrom A.S.E.A.N to an East Asian Community". In N. Thomas (Ed.) *Governance and Regionalism in Asia* New York Routledge.

São Tomé and Príncipe. These piece of Continents has inconceivable common assets that when deliberately oversaw, may add towards worldwide thriving.

The Gulf of Guinea is a zone, where recoverable oil stores are accounted for more than five billion barrels of unrefined petroleum and oil generation surpasses one million barrels for every day. In addition, the region has other huge stores of mineral assets, for example, jewels and also the gold and encompassing nations involving the nations of Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon, Republic of Congo, Gabon and also Chad are oil makers and therefore will be required to end up significant providers of vitality. Henceforth, it gives the idea those six-part conditions of E.C.C.A.S which includes the following; Gabon, Republic of Congo, Cameroon, the Equatorial Guinea, Angola and also the São Tomé and Príncipe that are legitimately connected to Gulf of Guinea. Be so as it may, that region has therefore turned into a helpful area for privateers and, as indicated by certain spectators, the Gulf of the Guinea which is the second just to the nation of Somalia as far as these assaults, that some privateer go slow announced within initial nine months of the year 2009.

Subsequently, as with the key position, they have presently said that the water of the Gulf of the Guinea are in any event have been considered as being hazardous as has been to those of the Somali coast, when not more so. Thus, every one of the nations of the area and particularly those of the Central Africa sub-regions are casualties of demonstrations of theft that jeopardize the security for the location. With regard to this, it is critical to be able to specify the very distinctive ongoing assaults that have occurred around there: in the year 2007,

there was the assault on the grocery store in the Port-Gentil (Republic of the Gabon), within the year 2008 as well as another assault that was accounted for in the Bank in Bata thus the Equatorial Guinea and also during that year, the two different assaults occurred within the three banks within Cameroon within the town of the Limbe and also the latest in Douala.<sup>223</sup>

# 5.7 Measures adopted by ECCAS to Address Security Threats

#### **5.7.1 Force Multinational of Central Africa FOMUS (CEMAS mission)**

CEMAC has been more emphatically holding fast to its financial targets than ECCAS. All things considered, in 2002, the contention in the CAR constrained the association to go past its bargain and widen its motivation towards harmony and security. Indeed, since the change procedure of ECCAS had not been settled in 2002, CEMAC was compelled to, as the primary Central African association, send a joint global power to CAR to mediate in help of harmony and security. As of now in 1997, the conditions of Cameroon, Gabon, Chad, the Republic of Congo and also the Equatorial Guinea set up the joint harmony mission under Gabonese order in the CAR.<sup>224</sup>

Working under an UN section VII mandates, the mission managed the MICOPAX (ECCAS mission) execution of a harmony understanding between the administration, armed force rebels and political restriction. This mission likewise checked the demobilization

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Camps, M. (1964) *Britain and the European Community* 1955-1963. London OxfordUniversityPress.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Caporaso, J. A. (2005)The Possibilities of a European Identity*Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol 12(1) Carr, E. H. (2006)The Realist Critique andthe Limitations of Realism. In

procedure (Meyer, 2009:160). The mission was supported by France and when France, in accordance with the "neither impedance nor apathy" arrangement of the new communist government, cut the financing in 1998, the mission was eliminated. The UN mission MINURCA in this manner supplanted the Central African power.<sup>225</sup>

In 2000, the circumstance in the CAR was viewed as steady enough for MINURCA to pull back. In any case, throughout the following two years CAR's possesses security powers confronted challenges in balancing out the state. The unsteadiness in CAR was considered by the CEMAC states as a risk to the dependability in the whole area. At the CEMAC summit in October 2002, it was in this manner chosen that the CEMAC part states would send a worldwide harmony power to CAR to help the security powers and avoid a topple of the CAR government. ECCAS ought to have been the regional integration to build up such a power, in any case, since ECCAS recently made security offices – COPAX and the CDS – were not yet operational it was chosen that the Force Multinationale en Centrafrique (FOMUC) would work as a CEMAC mission, until the ECCAS structures were practical.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>225</sup> P. Williams, D. M. Goldstein & J. M. Shafritz (Eds.) *ClassicReadings and the Contemporary Debates in InternationalRelations*. BostonWadsworth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup>Cawthra G. (1997)Towards an HolisticApproach to SecurityManagement atRegional Level *African and the Security Review*, Vol. 6. No. 5.

#### 5.7.2 Missions for the Considation of Peace in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX)

In 2000, these circumstance in the C.A.R was viewed as steady enough for MINURCA to pull back. By and by, throughout the following two years CAR's possesses security powers confronted challenges in balancing out the state. The insecurity in CAR was considered by the CEMAC states as a danger to the steadiness in the whole region. At the CEMAC summit in October 2002, it was in this way chosen the CEMAC part states would send a worldwide harmony power to CAR to help the security powers and anticipate an oust of the CAR government (Meyer,2009:159). ECCAS ought to have been the regional integration to set up such a power, be that as it may, since ECCAS recently made security offices. COPAX and the CDS – were not yet operational it was chosen that the Force Multinationale en Centrafrique (FOMUC) would work as a CEMAC mission, until the ECCAS structures were utilitarian. The modifying and expanding of the order that had begun under FOMUC, has proceeded under MICOPAX. The general mission goal is currently to add to strong harmony and the security in the C.A.R by making the pre- conditions for reasonable advancement within the nation.<sup>227</sup>

To encourage the political exchange started by President Bozize, troop contributing states have extended to incorporate not just Gabon, the Republic of Congo and Chad, yet additionally Cameroon and DRC. What's more, Cameroon and the Republic of Congo give a police unexpected. A few part states contribute eyewitnesses to the mission. Regular citizen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Cini, M. (2003) European Union Politics Oxford Oxford University Press.

faculty, including a strategy unit, likewise go with the powers. The nonmilitary personnel part comprises of the Special Representative, the Chief of Staff, a Political Advisor and a SSR counselor. M.I.C.O.P.A.X is sent within the Bangui and within the north of the nation, incorporating into Ouham Pendé. (Paoua a Bozoum, Nana Gribizi (Kaga Bandoro) and the Ndélé (Bamingui Bangoran prefecture). Thus the mission is upheld through a unit of the 241 French troopers from the operation Boali and also subsidized by the European Union that contribute a total of the 66% of the financing through the African Peace Facility (A.P.F) set up in the year 2004.<sup>228</sup>

The U.N mission within the Central African Republic and the Chad (M.I.N.U.R.C.A.T). MINURCAT, a one of a kind UN mission pointed exclusively at the assurance of regular citizens, finished its order in December 2010, upon solicitation from the Chadian government. France was the primary main impetus behind the organization of MINURCAT. Regardless of a comparable order, coordination among MICOPAX and MINURCAT never added up to more than constrained data trade. So also, despite the regional integration between the contentions in CAR and the DRC, MICOPAX has not had any noteworthy data trade with the neighboring UN Mission in the DRC MONUSCO. 229

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Cilliers, J. (2008)The African StandbyForce Anupdate onprogress *Institute forStrategic Studies*, I.S.S paper 160

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Coen, D., & Thatcher, M. (2008)NetworkGovernance and the Multilevel Delegation theEuropean Networks of RegulatoryAgencies. *Journal of Public Policy*, 28

As expressed already, the MICOPAX spending plan has to an enormous degree been secured by contributors. The EU Commissions through the very African Peace and the Facility, gives the principle heft of subsidizing. In 2009, the EU purportedly gave €14.6 million to installment of troop remittances and general upkeep. France, additionally a noteworthy giver, allotted around € 9,5 million while the commitments by ECCAS part states added up to about € 6 million. This suggests around half of the assets are given by the EU, around 30% by France and 25% by the ECCAS part states in the system of the Africa-EU organization, the very joint E.U or the A.U. or the E.C.C.A.S assessment delegation that was led in June 2009 to evaluate the effect of the power. On this premise, it has been consented to proceed with the help by the African Peace Facility to MICOPAX<sup>230</sup>

#### 5.7.3 The Gulf of Guinea Maritime Security Coordination

Seven-part nations within the E.C.C.A.S had therefore drifts on the Gulf of the Guinea, a territory where the robbery had relentlessly ascended in course of these most recent decade. The assaults against and plundering of transportation, oil taking, illicit angling and pirating compromise both the security and also the monetary improvement within the nations that is concerned and that have in this manner made a veritable political will to build the observation of the assets adrift. To handle this issue of insecurity in the Gulf of the Guinea, E.C.C.A.S undertook the significant measures<sup>231</sup>. On the 24 October in the year 2009, the part nations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup>Coleman. W & Underhill, G. (2002)the regionalism and Global Economic Integration: Europe, Asia and also the Americas. London: Routledge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Collier, P. (2007) The Bottom Billion Why the Poorest Countries are Failinand

received the Protocol on technique to be able to therefore verify the E.C.C.A.S nations' indispensable advantages adrift in the Gulf of Guinea. The most noticeable outcomes apparently have so far been accomplished within the sea zones constrained by the Cameroon the Equatorial Guinea and also the Gabon with an abatement within the assaults since the year 2009.<sup>232</sup>

E.C.C.A.S was thus the very principal responsible association to be able to receive a methodology for the sea security in the year 2009, a dedication that has been strengthened within the Yaoundé summit in the year 2013 when ECCAS chose to build up a joint procedure to battle theft. the Protocol sets up the very regional Maritime Security and the center of the central Africa (C.R.E.S.M.A.C), Therefore the multinational center of the coordination (C.M.C.) and also the very an operational center of the marine (C.O.M.) that are the very principle institutions that are responsible for the usage of the delegations that are given by the Protocol. The C.R.E.S.M.A.C is situated within the Pointe Noire (Republic of Congo) and its very fundamental target which has been to be able to control the oceanic space of the E.C.C.A.S part conditions of the Gulf of the guinea through the assurance of the regular assets, the verifying of sea streets, thus the battle against the unlawful movement, sedate dealing, robbery and sea contamination amongst the others. To be able to accomplish that mission the Protocol

What can be doneabout it. Oxford University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Cotton, J. (2009) Australia and Institutional Networks Bilateral Preferences Multilateral Gains. In N. Thomas (Ed.), *Governance and the Regionalism in Asia*. London & New within the York Routledge.

partitions these sea zone of E.C.C.A.S into the three zones that are the A, B, D of the E.C.C.A.S. Protocol on sea security Zone An is made out of the Angola and the D.R.C. zone B incorporates Angola Gabon and the Republic of Congo lastly zone D includes Cameroon Equatorial Guinea and the São Tomé and Príncipe. Every one of these zones have one CMC which is under the order of CRESMAC.<sup>233</sup>

It should be noted that the exercises of the C.R.E.S.M.A.C are completed with the direction of the C.O.P.A.X. That the political and also the military organ of the E.C.C.A.S. is. With this regard, tasks in the Zone D the Cameroon Equatorial Guinea and also the São Tomé and the Príncipe that have just been started under the name of the S.E.C.M.A.R.1. Henceforth, on 6 the May the year 2009 within the Yaoundé a specialized understanding had been marked by the very clergymen of the Defense of the section conditions of the zone D so as to be able to begin controlling the waters that belongs to it, ensure indispensable benefits of the various nations with the desire to expect to encourage uncharged course of the people and also the products within this very zone or the region. These tasks comprised of starting of the linked blended watches within zone D. On the 16 of September the year 2009, the main propelling of such linked blended watches occurred in Malabo the Equatorial Guinea and the three Patrols

<sup>233</sup> Curley, M. G., & Thomas, N. (2007)Advancing East Asian and the Regionalism an Introduction *Advancing East Asian Regionalism Politics in Asia*. New York: Routledge.

Patrol vessel Cabo San Juan of Equatorial Guinea, Patrol pontoon Akwayafe of the Cameroon and also the Patrol Betseng of Gabon that were included.<sup>234</sup>

Within this present field the interests of the E.C.C.A.S. community group compare to the very interests of the effectively drawn from the partners for example the U.S the U.K the France and also the Germany and thus this seems too had been therefore so very critical to the advancement of the aggregate reactions. Precedent concerns the improvement of oceanic improvements that will fixates on the dimensions: a between the regional coordination focus in the nation of the Cameroon so as to interface with the E.C.C.A.S and also the E.C.O.W.A.S, the regional arrangement that will focus on the C.R.E.S.M.A.C. in the Republic of Congo, one global organization that will focus for every sea zone built up in the Nation of Cameroon and also Angola individually and therefore the national sea focuses. These capacity of the organizations will focuses may in anyway be hampered by the absence of the organizational and monetary limit, prepared employees and the specialized hardware both of them being broadly and within the E.C.C.A.S just as through the multifaceted nature of the cross outskirt joint effort by and by.<sup>235</sup>

# **5.8 Challenges Facing ECCAS**

<sup>234</sup> Curtis.M. (1965). WesternEuropean Integration NewYork Harper & Row. Duchene F. (1994)Jean Monnet, the First Statesman ofInterdependence New York: Norton,,.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid

# **5.8.1** The problem of Regional Identity

Focal Africa is an exceptionally heterogeneous region, particularly as far as topography, financial improvement, the history, the language and also the culture. It assembles as the assorted nations as Chad within the Sahel Burundi and also D.R.C within the Great Lakes area and Angola in the Southern Africa. Thus the D.R.C. and the C.A.R. and also the nation of Chad are those among the regions that are less developed nations, while the Equatorial Guinea and Gabon had the most astounding G.D.P.s or the capita in the land of Africa. While French wins as the principle the working language within the Secretariat, thus the E.C.C.A.S participation incorporates the Anglophone Francophone Arabophone Lusophone and also the Hispanophone nations.<sup>236</sup>

Therefore the heterogeneity among most member states hampers the integration, just as the capacity to achieve a concession to the regional security issues and advance harmony and security collaboration. It rather encourages disunity and fracture among member states just as the development of alliances. States put their advantage first rather than the region's intrigue.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>236</sup> ECCAS (2000) the Protocol Establishing on the Peace and the Security Council for CentralAfrica (C.O.P.A.X), Malabo, 24 February

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> E.C.C.A.S (2002) the standing Orders of the Central African Multinational for the Force (F.O.M.A.C), Malabo, June. 17..

Chad is particularly worried about the advancements in his neighbor nation, and thus has profoundly been engaged with the nation's legislative issues. Soundness and security, and a circumstance in consistence with his advantages are in fact basic for Déby for the most part understand his monetary and political aspirations. Within the beginning of the oil extraction within the year 2003 within the southern territory of Chad, Déby's consideration had been chiefly centered around the fringe with the C.A.R. and also the Republic border regions, that anyway may be able to present the most instable one. The Bozizé"s insufficiency to have mandates over these fringe zones and uncommonly to contain those diffusive developments that are antagonistic to Déby's routine assumed a key job in Chad dropping his previous partner (ICG 2013). A moment violation of social norms of Bozizé that had both the tested and also the activated Déby's regions commitment had been the strengthening of their relations to the R.S.A. In spite of the fact that Pretoria's explanations behind helping the CAR routine in his battle disregard the Séléka radicals has never plainly been set down appropriately, it very well may therefore be expected that they are both of the financial mining concessions and also the political (growing capacity to the Central Africa) nature. <sup>238</sup>

Particularly, the nearness of 400 South African troops within the C.A.R. region should obviously had been duly considered by the Déby as an extreme incitement and also there should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> E.C.C.A.S (2008)Décision CEEAC/CCEG /XIII/08, portantMandatde laMission de Paix du 12 juillet au 31 décembre

<sup>2008</sup> et Mission deConsolidation dela Paix du 1er janvier 2009 auxenvirons de l'année2013 du Conseil de Paixet de Sécurité de l'Afrique Centraleen République Centra fricaine, KinshasaJune, 12

be a clear insult against him. It unquestionably fundamentally affected the E.C.C.A.S that has been changing the demeanor from the first helping these Bozizé routine in the month of December to stay in the capacity towards recognizing their adversaries as the new political pioneer in the month of March. Other than the very responsive Chadian interests basic these regional emergency goals considerations, and therefore it tends to be accepted that therefore the fall of the Bozizé and also the manner in which these circumstance are also taken care of are therefore additionally agreeing to specific worries of different nations in the regions. An initial issue is therefore the previously mentioned close links that the Bozizé had made with South Africa President who is Jacob Zuma. Therefore South Africa surely shows a significant financial partner for practically all ECCAS states.<sup>239</sup>

Be that as it may, the organization among the Bangui and the Pretoria are exceptionally opposed provided that the dread of the raising South African may be able to impact all through these regions. Likewise, a few reciprocal hatreds have developed among Bozizé and a portion of his partners in the area: Gabon therefore took it gravely that the C.A.R. routine upheld the Nkosazana, Ndlamini Zuma from the R.S.A. disregard to the Gaboneses competitor Jean, Ping within the race for the A.U Commission seat. Within a very comparative manner, pressures emerged among the Cameroun and also the C.A.R within the reappointment of the C.E.M.A.C Commission President and also the Cameroonian which is also against the turn guideline which

. .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> E.C.O.W.A.S. (1993)Treatyof E.C.O.W.A.S. Retrieved July 29th, 2016from <a href="http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=treaty&lang=en">http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=treaty&lang=en</a>

could have therefore been agreeable to the Bangui (ICG, 2013). That has been impacted and also been driven by the very specific interests and also the very powerless against erosions upon them, thus the central Africa regional integration is extensively feeble and delicate. Whatever the advancement towards some kind or the sort of supernationalism and alos the links that is thus also driven by the foundations that is being tested by the very intricate exchange of the very specific intentions and the desires.<sup>240</sup>

Locational basic leadership, particularly as respects harmony and security questions, just as the usage of approaches and understandings are principally subject to explicit essentially transient concerns and duties, and frequently progressively dependent on dominating designations of one nation or a shallow trade off more than on any of the common solidified objective. With regard to this point of view, which the procedure is missing is some kind of the self-powerful that may make it less reliant upon the political good will of the member nations and provide it with more independence and also the congruity. For whatever length of time that Central African's regional organizational structure, and particularly the Peace and also the Security Architecture mirror the as of now connected intergovernmental rationale, their capability to add to any long-haul manageable type of regional dependability anyway stays more than questionable.<sup>241</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> E.C.O.W.A.S. (2006)Regional IntegrationFor Growthand Poverty Reduction inWest AfricaStrategies and Plan of Action RetrievedFebruary 3rd2016from <a href="http://www.ecowas.int/publications/en/macro/srrp.pdf">http://www.ecowas.int/publications/en/macro/srrp.pdf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Edi, E. M. (2007) *Globalization and Politics in the Economic Community of West African State*. Durham Carolina Academic Press.

# 5.8.2 The Problem of Multiple or Overlapping Membership

Overlapping has been distinguished as a noteworthy issue of African regionalism. To them, the nature of covering enrollment in African regional integration indicates exactly how confused Africa's battle for solidarity is. Eventually, this may result in specific states giving more consideration to the regional groupings than to the continent plan. Another test influencing E.C.C.A.S is the issue of covering enrollments with different R.E.C.s and the regional integration. E.C.C.A.S is framed by the nations that are additionally individuals from C.E.M.A.C, S.A.D.C, the East African Community (E.A.C.), thus the Common Markets for the Eastern and the Southern Africa (C.O.M.E.S.A), the Lake Chad Basin Commission (L.C.B.C or the C.B.L.T. and also the Community of Sahel-Saharan States. Monetary people group of the Great Lake nations (E.C.G.L.C 242

Numerous enrollments might be a bit of leeway with regards to tending to the trans-fringe and Trans regional components of uncertainty. In focal Africa this potential is anyway to a great extent ignored. The participation of certain states in different networks is bringing about internal discontinuity. The CEMAC states have in certain cases shaped an alliance disregard to the rest, and also the Rwanda left E.C.C.A.S in the year 2007 as its financial advantages that are increasingly situated towards the East Africa and also its regions of the E.A.C. Subsequently, collaboration and also the trade with the different R.E.C.s stay restricted to a number of issues. A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> El-Affendi, A (2001)according to the Impasse in the I.G.A.D. Peace the Process for the Sudan and the Limits of Regional Peacemaking for the *African Affairs* vol.100.

few states have appeared at other regional incorporation alliance than others, that likewise represent the motivation behind why installment of participation due is disregarded by certain states, it is hard for a state to pay yearly duty in a few regional coalitions, and consequently states pay in the alliance that serves it intrigue most. Most individuals from ECCAS who are CEMAC part like to pay participation due to CEMAC first before considering ECCAS which is the principle the regional economic community (R.E.C. in the Central Africa as perceived by the A.U.<sup>243</sup>

## 5.9 Short comings of the ECCAS in its peace and security Architecture

# 5.9.1 ECCAS failure to respond to Conflict in DRC

The D.R.C. is one of biggest nations within Africa and also the eleventh on the planet and had around 71 million occupants. These nation is likewise among the most extravagant nations on the planet as for its normal assets. However, in the previous decades, DRC confronted a contention which has killed many individuals and particularly the individuals who live in the eastern piece of the nation. As indicated by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) somewhere in the range of the year 1998 and also the year 2004 some other 3.8 million individuals kicked bucket in the D.R.C. These period denoted the Second World War in D.R.C. These second clash were therefore being exacerbated through the contribution of the seven multitudes of the African, nations, for example, the nation of Rwanda, the nation of Uganda,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Ela, E. (2001)Les mécanismesdeprévention desconflits en Afriquecentrale" *GuerreMondiales et Conflits Contemporains* Vol.27

the nation of Zimbabwe, the nation of Angola and the nation of Namibia. The contention have kept on causing the passing of individuals in spite of the marking of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement in August 1999.<sup>244</sup>

SADC has likewise assumed a significant job in the DRC struggle. Its intercession in this nation was a chance to give its very first peacekeeping and also the mediation power to help the administration of the late, Laurent Kabila Desire. Without a doubt, DRC is likewise individual from S.A.D.C, it is upon this ground and particularly based on the S.A.D.C. Protocol on the Politics, Defense and the Security Co task that the S.A.D.C advocated and its very mediation within the nation. Consequently the Southern African sub regional establishment added to these rebuilding of harmony and also the security in the D.R.C. regardless it assumes the job up to date. In opposition towards the U.N and also the S.A.D.C, the job of the E.C.C.A.S in the contention in the D.R.C is misty yet the D.R.C is an establishing individual from ECCAS and profoundly situated within the Central Africa.<sup>245</sup> Thus the Central African sub regional organization have never been involved in any genuine estimates, for example, coming up with a peace keeping mission or even the sending troops to add to the reclamation of harmony and the security in the DRC. This quiet with respect to ECCAS in the contention in the DRC might

\_

Elowson, C., MacDermott, J. 2010 E.C.O.W.A.S the Capabilities in the Peace and the Security scoping study of the progress and the challenges. Stockholm: F.O.I.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Shaw T.M. (1995)The New Regionalism within the continent of Africa as the Responses towards the Environmental Crises: I.G.A.D.D. and the Development in the Horn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Elowson. C & Wiklund. C.H (2011) E.C.C.A.S the Capabilities in the Peace and also the Security. A scoping study on the progress and the challenges. Stockholm: F.O.I

be legitimized by the way that right then and there, ECCAS was in the torpidity because of the various clashes that happened in seven of its member states and furthermore by the way that the Protocol identifying with COPAX which is the premise of the ECCAS overall mandate in upholding harmony and the security had not yet gone into power. In any case, that Protocol went into power in January 2004, therefore, E.C.C.A.S could have completed a few exercises so as to merge harmony and security in the D.R.C as accommodated in the Protocol identifying with C.O.P.A.X, yet it isn't the situation and therefore this might be the reasons why the E.C.C.A.S isn't viewed as a practical security body.<sup>246</sup>

# 5.9.2 ECCAS Failure to address the Conflict between the Cameroon and Nigeria Concerning the Bakasi Peninsula

Apparently, the conflict within the Peninsula of the Bakassi among the Cameroon and Nigeria did not have any of the components of a common war. This has been a contention dependent within the Bakassi Peninsula, therefore the oil rich land, upon which the two nations guaranteed their power. Bakassi Peninsula is a region of nearly 1000 km of the mangrove marsh that is submerged highlands for the most part involved by anglers' pioneers. This has been the expansion of the continent of African region of the Calabar within the Atlantic Ocean and also as have been expressed above, it isn't just an oil well off spot however it additionally has vessels of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Fanta E. (2009) on the Capacity of the African regional organizations in the peace and security Paper was presented at the E.R.D. on the Workshop which was *Transforming the Political structures and the: Security, Institutions and also the Region of integration Mechanisms*, in Florence, April 20 <a href="https://erd.eui.eu/media/fanta.pdf">https://erd.eui.eu/media/fanta.pdf</a>.

substantial fish store. Be that as it may, the revelation of these possibilities has just elevated pressures between the two nations.<sup>247</sup>

Henceforth, the genuine issue with regard to the Bakassi promontory has been to figure out which nation had power upon it. These pressure among the two neighbors has been so obvious and also the military battle wound up warmed on the 16 May in the year 1981 when the Cameroon national radio news report educated the whole world that the Nigerian military watch armed force abused Cameroun's region by infiltrating the Bakassi promontory to the extent the Rio del Rey and starting to shoot at the Cameroun-Navy. Thus to be able to react to the circumstance the Cameroon troops were therefore murdered among the Nigerian fighters. These insecurity within the area endured and this therefore caused the demise of numerous individuals on the two corners of the borders. Within this light, however the Cameroonian administration alluded to the situation under the very steady gaze of the very International Court of Justice (I.C.J) in the year 1994, these killings of the individuals did not cease in the region. Thus the I.C.J following the 7 years declared its choice on 10 October of the year2002 for the nation of Cameroon.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Fukushima, A. (2007)Politicaland SecurityCooperation in EastAsia Promoting theFunctional Cooperation. In R. A Cossa & A. Tanaka

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Irvine, R. (1982). The Formative Years of A.S.E.A.N: 1967-1975". In A Broinowski (Ed.), for the *Understanding of the A.S.E.A.N*. and the New York: St. Martin's Press

An investigation of the Bakassi strife demonstrates which neither the C.E.M.AC nor E.C.C.A.S were associated with the contention to help the Cameroon, a member state of the two community. Progressively faulty, thus the Equatorial Guinea, a member state of the two communities mediated in favor of Nigeria at the legal dimension. This hesitance of the E.C.C.A.S and C.E.M.A.C had been supported on the very grounds that right then and there, the two institutions essential duty was to manage financial integration and along these lines there was no motivation identified with compromises. In addition, the represents of the E.C.C.A.S at the A.U asserts that by therefore bringing the issue before the I.C.J, E.C.C.A.S couldn't take a stand any longer in light of the fact that the case was pending under the steady gaze of the Court and as per him it could have been unsafe for the legal procedure.

These contentions fought by the Representative of ECCAS may be reasonable, by and by, it ought to be reviewed that the basis behind the creation or the foundation of a network is to assemble a genuine network which comprises a block and consequently, when an individual from the network has an issue or a question with some other express, all the network must participate so as to determine the debate. This thought is substantiated by the approach that took place on the 24 February the year 2000 these individuals from the E.C.C.A.S embraced through the Protocol on the Mutual Assistance, subsequently, the quietness of the very member states of the E.C.C.A.S

in the course of the Bakassi struggle delineated by and by the absence of solidarity among ECCAS individuals.<sup>249</sup>

## 5.9.3 The Ongoing Boko Haram Crisis

The Nigerian based islamist bunch Boko Haram has likewise take part in battling in Cameroon especially at the North just as Chad. The two nations which are the two individuals from CEMAC just as ECCAS has been truly battling the Islamic order, the two nations are bringing the troops to the Multinational linked Task Force (M.N.J.T.F) made by Lake Chad Basin Commission (L.C.B.C.), presently working within an A.U mandate. E.C.C.A.S Leaders of the nations have proclaimed their help for the M.N.J.T.F verbally and no E.C.C.A.S state has contributed troops or other type of help to Cameroon and Chad. This quietness might be because of irreconcilable situation among member state and question of who is in danger, since just two of the 10 member states are influenced, neither ECCAS nor CEMAC has send in troops to help, clearly in light of the fact that they feel that Cameroon and Chad has the military solidarity to contain Boko Haram and in addition they don't see the likelihood of overflow into a third ECCAS member state.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Intergovernmental Authority on the Development (I.G.A.D). on the year 2005Communiqué of the 24thOrdinary Session of I.G.A.D and the Foreign Ministers March 18 Nairobi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Intergovernmental the Authority onDevelopment (IGAD). 1996. *Agreement that was Establishing on the I.G.A.D* Djibouti: .I.G.A.D

In sum, the chapter dealt with the critical analysis of challenges facing the regional integration in ECCAS and the future prospects. Where chapter six will deal with conclusion and recommendations of the Study.

# **CHAPTER SIX**

# SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

This study's objective was to evaluate the mechanisms of the regional integration within Africa and identify its problems and limitations. It is worth noting the recognizing by the ECCAS partner states on the importance of integration despite the earlier failings of the previous ECCAS, this has not deterred their efforts in pursuing economic integration. This section therefore provided a summary, conclusion and also the recommendations based on the study.<sup>251</sup>

## **6.2 Summary of Findings**

The examination set out to research the reasons for security challenges in the ECCAS regions, against this foundation, advance towards putting the regional harmony and security design into activity is chiefly determined on an impromptu premise by single state or gatherings of states within the community. These endeavors in this manner result from specific political, monetary or vital concerns as opposed to from a common regional vision. The investigation anyway opines that Poor administration, tyranny, common difficulty, neediness, blunder of regular assets just as debasement which described the sub-regions has been the fundamental driver of instability in the ECCAS sub-area. The various clashes have acted like a hazard factor to occupants of these regions and this help the main theory of the investigation which propose

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Inter peace (2009). The Search for Peace: A History of Mediation in Somalia since 1988. Nairobi: Interpeace..

that "the episode of contentions in ECCAS member states presents uncertainty to the whole sub-area.<sup>252</sup>"

Therefore the trans-national progressions of the booty limits the state fabricating and also therefore propagate the frailty within the Central Africa, Moreover, the reaction of E.C.C.A.S has been transcendently military however these association had also recognized the demand to be able to create instruments for knowledge assembling and also the sharing, and to encourage both key and specialized joint effort among the flanking nations. One hindrance is the absence of appropriately segmented fringes, which is tended to be in the E.C.C.A.S outskirt program built up in 2008 to constrain crimes.<sup>253</sup>

Likewise, the absence of regional pioneer (hegemon) is another issue which has hindered the regional integration exertion in the ECCAS area and this disclosure ties with speculation which demonstrate that the nonattendance of the regions adverse effects the advancement of ECCAS. No state is eager to go about as a regional chief to push combination further. This is primarily because of doubt among member states just as impact from previous pilgrim ace, (for example, France). The EU and France are the biggest worldwide partners. Without a solid regional pioneer among the ECCAS nations, this job has regularly been taken

<sup>252</sup> Kitzinger, U. W. (1963)*The Politics and Economics of the European Integration Britain and the Europe and the United States*. New York: Praeger.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Khadiagala, G.M. (2008) Eastern Africa Security and the Legacy of Fragility on the New York International Peace Institute.

in a roundabout way by France. Truth be told, contributors have greatly affected the setup of the focal African harmony and security design. France has, for instance, financed 25-30 percent of the MICOPAX task, and gave roughly 150 military work force to guarantee its operational help. Accordingly, France has as a rule been viewed as giving a more grounded reaction than the ECCAS states themselves. The dependence on contributor financing and backing nearby an absence of political enthusiasm among member states have driven ECCAS open to benefactor driven needs. It could be contended this has just additionally disintegrated the political duty of the part states to the association.<sup>254</sup>

The study additionally battles that the main point being not regional coordination but rather regional intergovernmental participation, the Central African security commitment should principally reinforce and bolster the member states governments through worldwide powers and normal protection components and to revamp their feeble and inadequate limits. It is brought about by the states' agents as an approach to secure their interests, to help political partners and to commonly affirm sway and expert if these are undermined by rebellious powers or clashing interests. In such manner, communitarian security methodologies and exercises remain very shallow and are not expected to address issues and strategy fields considered as customary save of the state, for example, remarkably inquiries of residential arrangement.<sup>255</sup>

<sup>254</sup> Kioko, B. (2003) on the Right towards the Intervention under the African Union Constitutive Act: from the non-interference to the nonintervention, *International Review of the Red Cross* 85(852).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Laffan, B. (1992)the *Integration and the Cooperation within the Europe* London: Routledge.

As an outcome, the Central African regionalization procedure should prompt the rise of another and solid supranational acting dimension. Thus, it gives no essential and manageable answer for the states' insufficiency in reacting to their populations' security needs and to the incomplete impropriety and wastefulness of single state approaches intending to security challenges with transnational measurements or of general region concern. A noteworthy test to the regional harmony and security in E.C.C.A.S area identifies with the concern of the political responsibility through the administration of member nations. Since nations pioneers perceive that their own capacity to apply the nation power is constrained by feeble organization structures, limits and also the foundation also by the very presence and incendiary exercises of the non-state of the political powers, their ability to be able to surrender sway to the network level has stayed low.<sup>256</sup>

Without a typical vision or regional cognizance, regional governmental issues are additionally limit by the individual interests and concerns and also the inability to subsequently extend the regionalization procedure. In this way, network exercises will in general be progressively utilized by political entertainers to show their job as genuine leaders of republic nations and to subsequently be able to guard their political advantages. These manner by which the network summits and also the meetings are commended, just as the squabbles about the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Makinda, S. M., & Okumu, F. W. (2008) for the *African Union Challenges of the Globalization and the Security, and the Governance* London & New York: Routledge.

area of central station and dissemination of posts in the regional bodies and organizations, undoubtedly brings up the issue whether these occasions and foundations are not utilized by national elites to upgrade their esteem and exhibit their political significance instead of for advancing understandings and the regions strategies.<sup>257</sup>

### **6.2 Conclusion**

This paper has given a basic examination of the regional integration in Africa. Regional integration in itself has not bombed in Africa, but instead advancement has been hampered by the absence of political will in executing and gathering the vital assets for its accomplishment. Subsequently while the world has been harvesting the products of regional integration, such advantages have escaped Africans. It should be said that the Abuja Treaty spelt out unmistakably Africa's longing for change. Likewise, the paper has additionally evaluated how African nations' routine with regards to various enrollments has comprised an obstruction in the achievement of the regional integration. Issues, for example, common difficulty, clashes and the absence of transport and correspondences foundation have assumed a negative job and have postponed advance in the regional integration. Truly these are only a portion of the exercises and difficulties that the ECCAS should be fought with. The ECCAS will presently need to concentrate on both political and financial difficulties, an errand that will be loaded with complexities and troubles.<sup>258</sup>

<sup>257</sup> Mattli, W. (1999a). the Logic of Regional Integration Europeand Beyond. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup>Mattli W. (1999b) *The Logic of Regional Integration Europe and also the Beyond*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Regional integration is a confounded procedure whose comprehension can't be immediately gotten from insignificant hypothetical hypotheses. Landing in the most fitting hypothetical way to deal with disclose regional integration needs to mull over the exceptional examples pursued by the specific regions under investigation. For the ECCAS, functionalism is best put in that it doesn't just oblige itself to the regional coordination solely yet rather to the more extensive idea of worldwide participation.<sup>259</sup>

Financial people group of focal African states have confronted a ton of difficulties, Low dimension of political precariousness in some ECCAS individuals contrarily influences venture streaming in the region. Fundamental framework in the ECCAS regions remains a test contrasted with different areas in the continent. Difficulties, for example, lacking interconnection of national transport organizes between ECCAS member states stays one of the significant hindrances to financial and physical incorporation and accordingly to free progression of merchandise and venture. Additionally, power and water supply troubles add an additional weight to create focused economies in ECCAS.

#### **6.3 Recommendations**

The member nations should move in the direction of complete disposal of non-levy hindrances in order to ease regional exchange. Member states ought to understand that opening up of the borders will in the end lead to adjusting of industry fixation and subsequently there is no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Odongo, M(2011)Towards anEast AfricanCommunity Common Market Challenges and Opportunities, *Trade Notes*, Institute ofEconomic Affairs Issue 33January 2011.

compelling reason to misleadingly secure the region enterprises. There ought to be a component of checking as well as laws to manage individuals who are not participating in the presentation of ECCAS.

The member states ought to build up a typical arrangement for framework that will ease development of products and individuals. Member states ought to hurry harmonization of duty routines as this will diminish the exchange uneven characters, tax avoidance plans like pirating as their will be no motivating force to keep away from authority visitor focuses. Member states should push through their pledge to full incorporation and focus more on structuring the ECCAS instead of spreading their energies on numerous exchanging blocks.

The study prescribes that ECCAS government ought to enhance outskirt security to keep overflow struggle from neighboring area. This is on the grounds that the examination uncovers that the Central African sub-regions is a host to numerous radicals gathering and furthermore there ought to be all out demobilization.

Additionally, the real reason for struggle being poor administration, unlawful intends to power and need majority rule government, in this manner, the ECCAS government ought to advance great administration and vote based system and to advance human right and standard of law. Because of absence of regional hegemon, the advancement of ECCAS has been hampered and in this way, the examination additionally prescribes the need of a regional chief. <sup>260</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Mattli, W., & Woods, N. (2009)In Whose. Benefit ExplainingRegulatory Change. in Global Politics. In W. Mattli & N. Woods (Eds.), *The Politics of Global Regulation* Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press

Likewise, ECCAS government ought not just concentrate on mobilized type of security and should take a gander at security from human security point of view. Non-state entertainers ought to be urged to further impact and take an interest in the regionalization procedure as it displays a suitable method to address their needs and concerns where single state acting demonstrates lacking to do as such.<sup>261</sup>

Non state entertainers ought to see the collaboration with state on-screen characters and with the worldwide network on the communitarian level as an opportunity for having their interests better considered. Improving the participatory components on the communitarian level and utilizing them would permit the common society's entertainers to balance the intergovernmental idea of the procedure and to give more significance and consideration regarding issues and concerns other than those stressed by the states. In this manner, they ought to advance the regional methodologies likewise in strategy fields where these are as of now still less grew yet where they could facilitate the fulfillment of people's concerns, for example, in social, societal or ecological inquiries. For common social orders, regional reconciliation could at long last additionally present a chance to more readily coordinate among them on the intraregional and interregional level, just as to even more likely speak with the universal network.

The investigation likewise prescribes the requirement for CEMAC consumed by ECCAS, the issue of covering enrollment has turned into an issue instead of an answer as far as regionalism

<sup>261</sup> Mbete, B. (2008) The Pan AfricanParliament. Progress and. Prospects. In J. Akokpari, A Ndinga-Muvumba & T. Muruthi (Eds.), *The African Union. and its Institutions*. Johannesburg: Fanele, Jacana Media)

in Central Africa's sub-area. CEMAC has been more following than ECCAS and individuals from CEMAC pays a larger number of allergens to it participation than in ECCAS. To sponsor regionalism, the money related association in CEMAC could incorporate the various four individuals from ECCAS. In any case, pilgrim ties with the CFA and what others see as French controlled of CEMAC could likewise obstructs the procedure. Be that as it may, the administration of ECCAS should see the significant of combining the two regional combination plans since both CEMAC and ECCAS has comparative targets.<sup>262</sup>

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Mbu, M (2004)the *International law andconflicts Resolving borders and sovereignty dispute inAfrica*. Pretoria: I UniverseInc.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Aderanti Adepoju (2004) Configurations of Migration in Africa. Retrieved from migration policy Retrieved from; http://www.migrationpolicy.org/
- African Development Bank (2011) ECCAS Regional Integration Assistance Strategy for Central Africa 2011-2015.
- African Economic Community (AEC) (2016) 'History and Present Status' Retrieved from EAC website; http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/aec.htm, on 22 November 2018.
- African Development Bank. (September, 2015) 'Eastern Africa Regional Integration Strategy Paper.
- Africa Regional Integration Index: Report 2016
- A Meyer (2008) Regional integration and security in Central Africa Assessment and perspectives 10 years after the revival. Egmont Paper, n°25, December 2008.
- Atieno Ndomo (2009) Regional Economic Communities in Africa A Progress Overview, Study Commissioned by GTZ.
- Chingono and Nakana (2008), The Challenges of Regional Integration in Southern Africa, African Journal of Political Science and International Relations Vol. 3.
- COEGA (2016) Development Corporation Africa's Trade Potential, The ECCAS region: the belly belt of Africa.
- Dr.Ashak Hussain Malik (2016) North Asian International Research Journal of Multidisciplinary ISSN: 2454 2326 Vol. 2, Issue 6 June 2016.
- Ebo Tukson, F. (2012) Trade Agreements and Bilateral Trade in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA): Estimating the ex Post Trade Effects of the EU-ACP Preferential and Regional Trade Agreements. Work in Progress School of Economics. University of Nottingham.
- Economic Commission for Africa (2004): "Assessing Regional Integration in Africa" Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
- Esedebe, P. Olisanwuche. 1994. Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991,2nd Edition. Washington DC: Howard University Press.
- Gabriella Ingerstad and Magdalena Tham Lindell (2015) Challenges to Peace and Security in Central Africa: The Role of ECCAS
- Gathi J.T, African Regional Trade Agreements as Flexible Legal Regimes. (Working Paper Series No. 20. 2009),p .5
- Global edge (2018) Economic Community of Central Africa States, Retrieved from; https://globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/eccas
- Haas, Ernst B. (1971) 'The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pre-theorizing', pp. 3-44 in Leon N. Lindberg and Stuart A. Scheingold (eds.), Regional Integration: Theory and Research. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hannah Marie Vidmar (2015) The East African Community: Questions of Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Identy. Retrieved from; <a href="https://etd.ohiolink.edu/">https://etd.ohiolink.edu/</a>

- Hamid R. Davoodi (2012 p1) *Overview*, The East African Community After Ten Years: Deepening Integra-tion. Retrieved from; https://www.imf.org.pdf on 6th July 2018
- Hazlewood, Arthur (1967) African Integration and Disintegration: Case Studies in Economic and Political Union, Oxford University Press, London
- Jackkie Cilliers. (2003) "Terrorism and Africa." Retrieved from International Security Studies website; http://www.issafrica.org/pubs/ASR/12No4/Cilliers.pdf
- Joseph Nye (2012) Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges. European center for development policy management (ECDPM) (2012) P. 38
- Kasaija, P.A. (2004), Regional Integration: A Political Federation of the East African Countries. African Journal of International Affair
- Lahiri. S., (2012). "Controversy: Regionalism versus Multilateralism" in the Economic Journal, No. 108 (Blackwell, 1998) pp. 1126-1127.
- Lebale. N. et al (2009), Economic Development in Africa Report: Strengthening Regional Economic Integration for Africa"s Development, UNCTAD, Geneva.
- Madyo. M. R. (2008), The Importance of Regio.al Integration in Africa, University of South Africa Maiyaki Theodore Bala (2017) The Challenges and Prospects for Regional and Economic Integration in West Africa. Department of Private Law, Faculty of Law, University of Abuja, Gwagwalada, Nigeria.
- Makame, A. (2012) The East African Integration: Achievements and Challenges. Great In-sights Volume 1, Issue6 August 2012, Maastricht: ECDPM
- Mangachi M W (2011). Regional Integration in Africa: East Africa Experience. Safari Books ltd. Ibadan
- McCarthy (2013) The challenges of regional integration in Southern Africa,' African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, Vol 3, (2013)., Pp. 396-408
- Mengesha.Y. N. (2009) Trade Effects of Regional Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of SADC, Debre Birhan University, Ethiopia.
- Mutasa, C. (2004), "Regional Integration and Debt: A Comparative Report of Africa's Regional Groupings", Harare, AFRODAD.
- Mwamadzingo, M. (2001/2) "Regional Integration in Africa: Getting it Right", The Challenge of Globalisation in Africa: The Trade Unions response, in Labour Education 2001/2. No.123. ILO, Geneva.
- Nepad (2015) Agenda 2063, Retrieved from; http://www.nepad.org/cop/agenda-2063
- Nkurumah. K, Africa Must Unite, (1965), New York: International Publishers, p.p. 1-5
- Olukoshi, A. (2001) West Africa's Political Economy in the Next Millennium: Retrospect and Prospect. CODESRIA Monograph Series 2/2001
- Omotunde, E. J., (2015) Economic Integration in Africa: Enhancing Prospects for Success' Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. No 29, No. 1(2015) Pp. 1-26.
- Oscar Kimanuka (2015) What Pan Africanism means in the context of regional integration. Retrieved from; https://www.tralac.org/news/article/7900-what-pan-africanism-means-in-the-context-of-regional-integration.html

- Otieno, M., Moyi, E., Khainga, D., & Biwott, P. (2013) Regional Integration and Foreign Direct Invest-ment in East African Countries. *Journal of World Economic Research*. Vol. 2, No. 4, 2013
- Setsuko Tamura (2011) Rethinking Pan-Africanism in the AU (African Union)-led Regional Integration of Africa.
- Shaw, T. M., 'Regional Co-operation and Conflict in Africa' in International Journal, Vol. 30, No. 4, (2015) Pp. 671-688.
- Solomon Mekonnen (2013) 'Economic integration and Pan-Africanism'.
- Soumana Sako (2006) Challenges facing Africa's regional economic communities in capacity building. The African Capacity Building Foundation, Occasional paper No 5.
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2011) Assessing Regional Integration in Africa, Addis Ababa
- United Nations Development Programme (2011) Regional Integration and Human Development: A Pathway for Africa
- United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2018) Retrieved from: https://www.uneca.org/oria/pages/about-observatory-regional-integration-africa
- William (1997), Regional Integration in Sub Saharan Africa: A review of Experiences and Issue, Regional Integration and Trade Liberalization in Sub Saharan Africa, vol. I: Frame work, Issues and Methodological Perspectives, AERC publication.
- Acharya, A. (2007). "The ASEAN Regional Forum and Security Regionalism:
- Comparing Chinese and American Positions". In M. Curley
- & M. Thomas (Eds.), Advancing East Asian Regionalism. London: Routledge.
- Adar, G. (2000) Conflict resolution in a turbulent region: The case of the intergovernmental authority on development (IGAD) in Sudan *Africa Journal in Conflict Resolution*. vol 1.
- Adetula, V. (2004). *Integration in Africa: Prospect for Closer Cooperation between West, East & Southern Africa*: Paper Presented at the meeting of IDASA/FREDSKORPSET Exchange Programme on Governance &
- Democracy, Braamfontein, South Africa
- Agwu .A.(2009).ECOWAS Community Court of Justice: In search for Common Ground, in Ogwu, U.J. & Alli, W.O. (2009). ECOWA Regional Integration. Lagos: Nigeria Institute of International Affairs.
- African Union (AU) (2007) Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in the area of peace and security between the African Union, the Regional Economic Communities and the Coordinating Mechanisms of the Regional Standby Brigades of Eastern Africa and Northern Africa. African Capacity Building Foundation 2008 report on CAR.
- Akude,& Emeka J (2009): Governance and Crisis of the State in Africa. The Context and Dynamics of the Conflicts in West Africa. London: Abbey.

- Ayangafac, C.& Mpysi, K. (2010). The Proposed African Union Authority: Hybridisation, balancing Intergovernmentalism & African Journal of Social & Economic Policy issue vol 63
- Bach, D. (1983). "The Politics of West African Economic Co-Operation: CEAO and ECOWAS". The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol 21.
- Bachmann, O. (2011) The African Standby Force: External Support to a Solution to African Problems. London: IDS Research report
- Balassa, B. (1961). The Theory of Economic Integration. Homewood:Irwin, Inc
- Baldauf, S (2010) "Pirates take new territory: West African Gulf of Guinea"

The ChristianScience Monitor 1.

Banlilon V.T & Etta-Nyoh.A.Y (2014) Furthering African Regionalism. Challenges and Prospects. *Journal of Applied Social Sciences* Vol. 3,

Barash, P (2000) *Approaches to peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Bayart, J et al, (1999): *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*. London:

James Currey.

Bayart, J.F (2000): Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion. African Affairs, Vol. 99.

Braude, W. (2008). Regional Integration in Africa: Lessons from the East African Community. Johannesburg: Jan Smuts House.

Biswaro, J. M. (2005). Perspectives on Africa's Integration and Cooperation from the Organization of African Unity to the African Union: Old Wine in a New Bottle? Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House Limited.

Thomas (Eds.), Advancing East Asian Regionalism: Politics in Asia.

New York: Routledge.

Burgess, M. (2004). "Federalism". In A. Wiener & T. Diez (Eds.), *European Integration Theory*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Buzan, B (1991), *People, Staes and Fear:An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner.

Caballebo-Anthony, M. (2009). "Evolving of Regional Gvernance in East Asia: from ASEAN to an East Asian Community". In N. Thomas (Ed.), *Governance and Regionalism in Asia*. New York: Routledge.

Camps, M. (1964). Britain and the European Community: 1955-1963.

London: Oxford University Press.

Caporaso, J. A. (2005). "The Possibilities of a European Identity". *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol 12(1)

Carr, E. H. (2006). "The Realist Critique and the Limitations of Realism". In

P. Williams, D. M. Goldstein & J. M. Shafritz (Eds.), *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates inInternational Relations*. Boston: Wadsworth.

Cawthra G. (1997) "Towards an Holistic Approach to Security Management at Regional Level", *African Security Review*, Vol. 6. No. 5.

Cawtra, G. (2002), The future of security sector reform in Africa. Pretoria: DCAF

- Cini, M. (2003). European Union Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cilliers, J. (2008) "The African Standby Force: An update on progress". *Institutefor Strategic Studies*, ISS paper 160
- Coen, D., & Thatcher, M. (2008). "Network Governance and Multi-level Delegation: European Networks of Regulatory Agencies". *Journal of Public Policy*, 28(1)
- Coleman, W., & Underhill, G. (2002). *Regionalism and Global Economic Integration: Europe, Asiaand the Americas*. London: Routledge.
- Collier, P. (2007). *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What can be doneabout it.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cotton, J. (2009). "Australia and Asian Institutional Networks: Bilateral Preferences, Multilateral Gains". In N. Thomas (Ed.), *Governance and Regionalism in Asia*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Curley, M. G., & Thomas, N. (2007). "Advancing East Asian Regionalism: an Introduction" *AdvancingEast Asian Regionalism: Politics in Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Curtis, M. (1965). Western European Integration. New York: Harper & Row. Duchene, F. (1994). Jean Monnet, The First Statesman of Interdependence.
- New York: Norton.
- ECCAS (2000) Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council for Central Africa (COPAX), Malabo, 24 February.
- ECCAS (2002) Standing Orders of the Central African Multinational Force (FOMAC), Malabo, June, 17.
- ECCAS (2008) Décision CEEAC/CCEG /XIII/08, portant Mandat de la Mission de Paix du 12 juillet au 31 décembre 2008 et Mission de Consolidation de la Paix du 1er janvier 2009 aux environs de l'année 2013 du Conseil de Paix et de Sécurité de l'Afrique Centrale en République Centrafricaine, Kinshasa, June, 12
- ECOWAS. (1993). "Treaty of ECOWAS" Retrieved July 29th, 2016, from <a href="http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=treaty&lang=en">http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/index.php?id=treaty&lang=en</a>
- ECOWAS. (2006). "Regional Integration For Growth and Poverty Reduction in West Africa: Strategies and Plan of Action" Retrieved February 3rd, 2016, from <a href="http://www.ecowas.int/publications/en/macro/srrp.pdf">http://www.ecowas.int/publications/en/macro/srrp.pdf</a>
- Edi, E. M. (2007). *Globalization and Politics in the Economic Community of West African State*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
- El-Affendi, A (2001). "The Impasse in the IGAD Peace Process for Sudan: The Limits of Regional Peacemaking?" *African Affairs* vol.100
- Ela, E. (2001). "Les mécanismes de prévention des conflits en Afrique centrale" Guerres Mondiales et Conflits Contemporains Vol.27

- Elowson, C., MacDermott, J. 2010, ECOWAS Capabilities in Peace and Security A scoping study of progress and challenges. Stockholm: FOI
- Elowson.C & Wiklund.C.H (2011) ECCAS Capabilities in Peace and Security. A scoping study on progress and challenges. Stockholm: FOI
- Fanta E. 2009, "The Capacity of African regional organizations in peace and security". Paper presented at the ERD Workshop *Transforming Politicalstructures: Security, Institutions and Regional integration Mechanisms*, in Florence, April 20 <a href="http://erd.eui.eu/media/fanta.pdf">http://erd.eui.eu/media/fanta.pdf</a>
- Frost, E. L. (2008). Asia's New Regionalism. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers
- Fukushima, A. (2007). "Political and Security Cooperation in East Asia: Promoting Functional Cooperation". In R. A. Cossa & A. Tanaka
- Ingerstad G. & Lindell M.T (2015) *Challenges to peace and security in Central Africa: The Role of ECCAS.* Stockholm: FOI
- Irvine, R. (1982). "The Formative Years of ASEAN: 1967-1975". In A. Broinowski (Ed.), *Understanding ASEAN*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2011) "Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (I): Central Africa", Africa Report, 181, November, 7
- International Crisis Group (ICG). 2006. "Can the Somali Crisis be contained?"

Africa Report 116. Brussels: ICG

- Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). 2005. "Communiqué of the 24th Ordinary Session of IGAD Foreign Ministers", March 18, Nairobi.
- Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). 1996. Agreement Establishing IGAD. Djibouti: IGAD
- Interpeace, (2009). *The Search for Peace: A History of Mediation in Somalia since 1988*. Nairobi: Interpeace.
- Kitzinger, U. W. (1963). *The Politics and Economics of European Integration: Britain, Europe, and theUnited States*. New York: Praeger.
- Khadiagala, G.M. (2008). *Eastern Africa: Security and the Legacy of Fragility*.New York: International Peace Institute.
- Kioko, B. (2003), The Right of Intervention under the African Union's Constitutive Act: from non-interference to non-intervention', *International Review of the Red Cross* 85(852)
- Laffan, B. (1992). Integration and Cooperation in Europe. London: Routledge.
- Makinda, S. M., & Okumu, F. W. (2008). *The African Union: Challenges of Globalization, Security, and Governance*. London & New York: Routledge
- Mattli, W. (1999a). the Logic of Regioal Integration: Europe and Beyond.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mattli, W. (1999b). The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Mattli, W., & Woods, N. (2009). "In Whose Benefit? Explaining Regulatory Change in Global Politics". In W. Mattli & N. Woods (Eds.), *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Mbete, B. (2008). "The Pan-African Parliament: Progress and Prospects". In J. Akokpari, A. Ndinga-Muvumba & T. Muruthi (Eds.), *The African Union and its Institutions*. Johannesburg: Fanele, Jacana Media.
- Mbu, M (2004) International law and conflicts: Resolving borders and sovereigntydispute inAfrica. Pretoria: I Universe Inc.
- McAulay, C. & Karbo, T. (2008) "Up to the Task? Assessing the ability of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to protect human security in Central Africa", in Ayangafac C. (ed.) *Political economy of regionalisation in Central Africa*. Pretoria: ISS Monograph.
- McCormick, J. (2005). *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction* (3 ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meyer, A (2008) Regional integration and security in Central Africa and perspectives 10years after the revival. Uppsala: NAIC
- Reno, W, (2000) Shadow states and the Political Economy of Civil Wars, in: Berdal, Mats/Malone, David: Greed and Grievance. Economic Agendas in Civil Wars. Lynne Rienner: London.
- Rotberg, R. I. (2004) When States Fail. Causes and Consequences.
- Princeton: University Press.
- Schuman, R. (1999). "Declaration of May 9, 1950". In P. M.R.Stirk & D. Weigall (Eds.), *The Origins and Development of European Integration: A Reader and Commentary*. London: Pinter.
- Shaw T.M. (1995). 'New Regionalism in Africa as Responses to Environmental Crises: IGADD and Development in the Horn in the Mid-1990s', in J. Sorenson (ed), *Disaster and Development in the Horn of Africa*. New York: St Martins Press.
- Shinoda, H (2006). Nation States, Peacebuilding and Global Society: Globalism, Regionalism and Nationalism in the Contemporary Theory of State Sovereignty with Special Reference to the Discourse on the Responsibility to Protect. Hiroshima: Hiroshima University.
- Sumbeiywo, L. 2006. The Mediator's Perspective in Peace by Piece.
- London: Conciliation Resources.
- Soderbaum, F. (2009). "Comparative Regional Integration and Regionalism". In T. Landman & N. Robinson (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics*. London: SAGE.
- Tadesse, M. (2002). *Al-Ittihad: Political Islam and Black Economy in Somalia*. Addis Ababa: Meag Printing Enterprises.
- Taylor, P. G. (1983). The Limits of European Integration. New York: Columbia University Press

## **APPENDICES**

# **Appendix 1: Interview Guide**

- 1. Explain the role of media in promoting the public opinion towards regional integration in central African.
- 2. To what extent has foreign aid and development influenced regional integration in your Country?
- 3. How would you describe leadership within your Country, does it promote regional integration?
- 4. What is your government doing in addressing multiplicity of regional integration membership?
- 5. What contribution has AEC (African Economic Community done towards enhancing regional integration?
- 6. What role does foreign direct investment play in strengthening regional integration in Central Africa?
- 7. How does the regional integration impact on strengthening human capacity?
- 8. How instrumental is ICT data availability and accessibility essential towards regional integration?
- 9. In your opinion what are some of the causes of the insecurity in Central Africa subregion?
- 10. What are some of the measures adopted by the ECCAS to address security threats in Central Africa?