

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| DEDICATION.....                                                                   | 5  |
| ABSTRACT.....                                                                     | 7  |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....                                                             | 9  |
| List of Tables .....                                                              | 17 |
| List of Figures .....                                                             | 19 |
| Annexes.....                                                                      | 19 |
| List of Acronyms .....                                                            | 21 |
| 1 INTRODUCTION .....                                                              | 31 |
| 1.1 The Concept of Regionalism .....                                              | 31 |
| 1.2 Pan - African Integration – Historical Background.....                        | 33 |
| 1.3 Regional Integration and Development .....                                    | 37 |
| 1.4 The Central African Region .....                                              | 40 |
| 1.4.1 Conceptualizing the Central African Region.....                             | 41 |
| 1.5 Review of the State of the Art.....                                           | 43 |
| 1.6 Problem Statement and Research Questions .....                                | 46 |
| 1.7 Objectives and Hypothesis .....                                               | 47 |
| 1.8.1 Methodology .....                                                           | 49 |
| 1.8.2 Research Problems .....                                                     | 51 |
| 1.9 Structure of the Work.....                                                    | 52 |
| 2 IR THEORIES AND THE AFRICAN INTEGRATION PROCESS: A<br>CRITICAL ASSESSMENT ..... | 57 |
| 2.0 Introduction .....                                                            | 57 |
| 2.1 State-Centric Theories.....                                                   | 58 |
| 2.1.1 Realism/ Neorealism .....                                                   | 58 |
| 2.1.2 Hegemonic Stability .....                                                   | 61 |
| 2.1.3 Power Transition.....                                                       | 62 |
| 2.2 Supranational Theories .....                                                  | 64 |
| 2.2.1 Neofunctionalism .....                                                      | 65 |
| 2.2.2 Interdependence Theory .....                                                | 67 |

|                                                                       |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.2.3 Regime Theory .....                                             | 67  |
| 2.2.4 Intergovernmentalism .....                                      | 68  |
| 2.3 Theories of Political Economy .....                               | 69  |
| 2.3.1 Customs Union Theory .....                                      | 70  |
| 2.3.2 The Optimal currency Area Theory .....                          | 71  |
| 2.4 Comparative Politics Theory .....                                 | 72  |
| 2.5 Conclusion .....                                                  | 75  |
| 3 INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN CENTRAL AFRICA .....                  | 77  |
| 3.0 Introduction and Background .....                                 | 77  |
| 3.1 Regional Organizations in Central Africa .....                    | 77  |
| 3.1.1 CEMAC: Origins, Aims and Structures .....                       | 78  |
| 3.1.2 The CEMAC Reforms .....                                         | 81  |
| 3.2 ECCAS: Origins, Aims and Structures .....                         | 83  |
| 3.3 The State of Integration .....                                    | 85  |
| 3.3.1 Political .....                                                 | 85  |
| 3.4 Cooperation in Other Sectors .....                                | 104 |
| 3.4.1 Environment and Forestry .....                                  | 105 |
| 3.4.2 Governance in Natural Resources Management .....                | 106 |
| 3.4.3 Physical Integration .....                                      | 108 |
| 3.4.4 Circulation of Persons, Goods and Services .....                | 111 |
| 3.4.5 Food Security and Agriculture .....                             | 111 |
| 3.4.6 Energy .....                                                    | 114 |
| 3.4.7 The fight against HIV/AIDS .....                                | 116 |
| 3.4.8 Conclusion .....                                                | 118 |
| 4 THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN ECCAS SECURITY ARCHITECTURE ..... | 119 |
| 4.0 Introduction .....                                                | 119 |
| 4.1 Operationalizing APSA .....                                       | 120 |
| 4.2 ECCAS Security Architecture .....                                 | 123 |
| 4.3 Policy Framework .....                                            | 124 |
| 4.4 EU Support .....                                                  | 125 |
| 4.4.1 Funding for Operations .....                                    | 126 |



|                                                                                           |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 4.4.2 Capacity Support .....                                                              | 128 |
| 4.4.3 Bilateral Cooperation .....                                                         | 130 |
| 4.5 Interests .....                                                                       | 131 |
| 4.6 Impacts .....                                                                         | 134 |
| 4.7 Conclusion .....                                                                      | 135 |
| 5 OBSTACLES AND DRIVERS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN<br>CENTRAL AFRICA.....                 | 137 |
| 5.0 Introduction .....                                                                    | 137 |
| 5.1 Internal Deficiencies .....                                                           | 138 |
| 5.2 Political Factors .....                                                               | 138 |
| 5.2.1 Poor Governance .....                                                               | 138 |
| 5.2.2 Leadership tussle and the difficult relationship between Cameroon<br>and Gabon..... | 147 |
| 5.2.3 Security and Stability .....                                                        | 151 |
| 5.2.4 Exclusion of Civil Society.....                                                     | 153 |
| 5.2.5 The Question of Regional vs. National Identity .....                                | 155 |
| 5.3 Economic Factors .....                                                                | 156 |
| 5.3.1 Poor Infrastructure .....                                                           | 156 |
| 5.3.2 Lack of Economic Complementarity .....                                              | 160 |
| 5.4 Institutional Problems .....                                                          | 163 |
| 5.4.1 Overlapping Membership .....                                                        | 163 |
| 5.4.2 Weak Supranational Institutions .....                                               | 166 |
| 5.5 External Factors .....                                                                | 169 |
| 5.5.1 Colonialism .....                                                                   | 169 |
| 5.6 Driving Factors.....                                                                  | 171 |
| 5.6.1 Institutional History .....                                                         | 171 |
| 5.6.2 Commonalities.....                                                                  | 173 |
| 5.6.3 Cooperative Development Arrangements .....                                          | 174 |
| 5.6.4 Cultural and Ethnic Affinity .....                                                  | 175 |
| 5.6.5 The AU and the New Partnership for Africa's Development<br>(NEPAD). .....           | 176 |
| 5.6.6 The EU and Economic Partnership Agreements.....                                     | 177 |

|                                                                                                 |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 5.6.7 Globalization .....                                                                       | 180 |
| 5.6.8 The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) .....                                       | 182 |
| 5.7 Conclusion .....                                                                            | 183 |
| 6 CHANGING STATE PRACTICE IN CENTRAL AFRICA THROUGH THE<br>MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE APPROACH ..... | 185 |
| 6.0 Introduction .....                                                                          | 185 |
| 6.1 Governance in the Central African Communities .....                                         | 185 |
| 6.2 The Multilevel Governance Theory .....                                                      | 188 |
| 6.2.1 Multilevel Governance in Central African Communities? .....                               | 189 |
| 6.3 Institutional Reforms .....                                                                 | 193 |
| 6.3.1 An ECCAS Commission? .....                                                                | 195 |
| 6.3.2 Centre of Excellence .....                                                                | 196 |
| 6.4 Engaging the Civil Society .....                                                            | 197 |
| 6.5 The Role of the Diaspora .....                                                              | 200 |
| 6.6 The role of the Media .....                                                                 | 202 |
| 6.7 The Role of Parliaments .....                                                               | 205 |
| 6.7.1 National Parliaments .....                                                                | 208 |
| 6.8 Subsidiarity .....                                                                          | 208 |
| 6.8.1 Distribution of Competences .....                                                         | 211 |
| 6.8.2 What Role for the State? .....                                                            | 212 |
| 6.9 Conclusion .....                                                                            | 213 |
| 7 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....                                                 | 215 |
| 7.0 Conclusions .....                                                                           | 215 |
| 7.1 Recommendations for further research .....                                                  | 218 |
| Deutsche Zusammenfassung .....                                                                  | 219 |
| REFERENCES .....                                                                                | 221 |
| ANNEXES .....                                                                                   | 243 |