

# Regional Integration Observer

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## Regional Integration Observer (RIO)

In the years 2013 to 2016, the RIO will accompany the ZEI-WAI Research Cooperation as a newsletter. It will report on current events in the framework of the project and in European and West African regional integration. It builds on the ZEI Regional Integration Observer which was published at ZEI in the years 2007-2012.

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*European and African scholars at the first Meeting of ZEI-WAI Study Groups in October 2012 in Praia, Cape Verde.*

## Sustaining regional integration through research and analysis

*\* Ama Konadu and Die Maty Fall*

In light of the existing political and economic weaknesses in Africa in general and West Africa in particular, regional integration is an important challenge. The argument for regional integration is centered on the fact that Africa is fragmented, poor and has a low share in the world market. Various Regional Communities are pushing for the integration agenda yet the results are still limited. This calls for new ways to integrate the sub region for a greater benefit of its people.

It is against this background that the West African Institute (WAI) based in Praia and the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) in Bonn, Germany have entered into a four year (2013-2016) research cooperation partnership in order to influence the decision making process on regional

integration in West Africa through thorough research and analysis. WAI is a think tank promoted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), the Ecobank group and the Government of Cape Verde.

In a first study meeting organized by WAI and ZEI in October 2012 in Praia, gathering academic and other experts from both regions, it was explained that the cooperation between WAI and ZEI as well as the cooperation between West Africa and Europe in general can be perceived as a process of learning by doing. This means learning from the experience and the successes of the EU but also learning from its problems and failures in the past as well as from the changing realities in Africa. ZEI and WAI

will contribute their part to the development of the EU-Africa relationship that is heading towards its next summit in 2014 in Brussels. The research cooperation is being sponsored by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF).

The goal of the first meeting was to look at obstacles to sustainable regional integration in West Africa and Europe in the fields of policy formulation and of economic integration. The presentations focused theoretical as well as on practical aspects.

With regard to West Africa and ECOWAS, it was revealed that the policies to enhance regional integration are not properly coordinated between the regional and the national level. Lack of capacities, missing inclusiveness of the policy formulation process as well as for example infrastructural shortcomings hamper the integration process. The inclusion of the civil society, political parties, unions, the business sector and the media is essential to overcome resistance. These are rather long-term tasks. While

## ZEI-WAI Research Cooperation

Sustainable regional  
integration  
in West Africa and Europe

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in Europe, the integration process has for a long time been an elite process, participants stated that the inclusion of the public in West Africa and the information about the added-value of the integration process can help to enhance legitimacy and acceptance.

Experts were able to find a consensus in arguing that it would be helpful to establish a more knowledge-based process of decision-making with the aim to escape random political will. Furthermore, it was mentioned that an in-depth analysis of the effects of regional initiatives which have already been launched like for example infrastructure projects can help to establish a system of lessons learned. Concerning the sphere of monetary policy formulation, it was stated



*Meeting of ZEI-WAI Study Groups with Cape Verdean State Secretary for Foreign Relations, José Luis Rocha, at the Foreign Ministry in Praia.*

that the current sovereign debt crisis in Europe provides these kinds of lessons for existing and future efforts aiming at a deeper monetary integration in West Africa. This is true with regard to the choice of convergence criteria as well as with regard to the applicability of sanctions. It was mentioned that the overall performance of WAEMU, with the exception of the problem of debt, is not too bad. However, if one looks at individual Member States convergence in the true sense of the word, similar to Europe, convergence has hardly been achieved.

The workshop ended with a public forum on the topic: "The European Crisis: Consequences and lessons learned for Africa", at the University of Jean Piaget in Praia. This debate was attended by students from Cape Verdean universities and stakeholders from different kinds of institutions in Praia. The echo of this discussion was that Europe and West Africa are continents that are deeply intertwined especially because of their geographic proximity and their shared history. In this context, it is obvious that a crisis in Europe will also affect West Africa. However, it was mentioned that even in spite of conflicts and crises that are occurring in the region itself, West African countries are growing economically. Moreover, there is an increasing number of alternative external actors, e.g. China and India but also Brazil, that West African states may choose or have already chosen to be their political and economic partners. Against this background, it was seen as an important task for West Africa as a region to develop an effective strategy of how to deal with the different partners that exist. At the same time, it was stated that also Europe has to redefine its role in this concert.

The Praia workshop was the first of eight meetings in the context of the ZEI-WAI cooperation. The next meeting will take place in March 2013 in Bonn. Other elements

of the cooperation include the installation of databases, the development of specific evaluation tools for the West African regional integration process and the support for the establishment of a West African Master Program in this sphere.

*\* Ama Konadu and Die Maty Fall are coordinators of the ZEI-WAI Research Cooperation at the West Africa Institute (WAI).*

## ZEI-WAI Coordinator Die Maty Fall



Die Maty Fall is a journalist by training. She holds a communication diploma from France. Being Senegalese, she worked for different newspapers, journals and TV channels in Dakar, where she was an advisor to the Mayor of the city. Her research is focusing on regional integration in West Africa.

In the framework of the ZEI-WAI research cooperation Die Maty Fall is coordinating the research group on „Regional integration and policy formulation processes“ from Praia. She is also the co-editor of the Regional Integration Observer.



# The EU and West Africa – the preponderance of security

\* Matthias Vogl

After the political turmoil in Mali following the take-over of power by different Islamist groups in the North of the country in the first half of 2012 and their encroachment into the south at the beginning of 2013, France has now intervened militarily on behalf of the Malian government. Further European countries like the United Kingdom, Denmark or Germany as well as the United States are about to be involved through the contribution of logistical, medical or humanitarian support.

Based on a decision by the UN Security Council, it is the aim to prepare an intervention of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which is about to bare the main military burden.

Mali is the next chapter in the history of the EU's Africa policy. The EU is speeding up its plans for an engagement in the form of a military training mission in Mali. Just a few months before, in the summer of 2012, the EU started a civilian Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) mission in Niger. In late 2011, the Union published its new Sahel Strategy. Furthermore, at the beginning of 2011 it supported ECOWAS in its efforts to resolve the conflict following the presidential elections in Ivory Coast. In this context, France also intervened militarily on

the basis of an existing UN mandate. What do these developments tell us about the EU's policy towards West Africa? What is the principal motivation behind the EU's approach and the enhanced action? Are we entering a new stage of EU-West Africa relations?

Since the adoption of the Treaties of Rome in 1957, the relationship between Europe and Africa regarding their bi-regional activities was dominated by the issue of trade. However, political aspects became more and more important as a result of the fundamental changes after the end of the Cold War and the changing security environment with bloody conflicts in the Balkans and especially also in Africa.

In the meantime, ECOWAS as the dominant regional integration scheme in West Africa had also developed from its original economic focus into a rather political organization that was actively engaged in conflict management during the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990's.

Against the background of these parallel processes, it was no real surprise that the bi-regional relationship between the EU and West Africa more and more focused on cooperation in the field of conflict prevention and management. Whereas in the field of trade, tensions continued and even

increased, with regard to security issues ECOWAS and the EU steered into a similar direction.

There are several reasons for this development: On the EU side, first, there is a general interest of EU Member States in West Africa because of the close relationship stemming from the colonial past. Second, the security situation in West Africa has not really improved over the last two decades. Rather conflict has spread over the whole region, reaching from cross-border civil wars (Liberia, Sierra Leone) over fierce political struggles and problems of transition of power (Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Niger) to the currently occurring problem of state fragility (Mali). This can be seen as a consequence of a mix of political turmoil, extreme poverty and human suffering, organized crime as well as increased Islamist activity (Mali, Nigeria).

On the West African side, first, ECOWAS itself has further elaborated its security architecture and has become one of the main and best performing pillars of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). It has introduced an impressive set of documents and structures, encompassing among others a "Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security", a "Conflict Prevention Framework", an Early Warning System and finally the ECOWAS Standby Force. Second, as Lucía argues, this was pushed by the support of the EU for regional stability, conflict prevention and good governance, channeled especially through the Regional Indicative Program (RIP) by the Commission or through the African Peace Facility (APF).<sup>1</sup>

With a comprehensive employment of the EU's financial means and because of the asymmetry of the bi-regional relationship, it is obvious that the EU was able to shape certain ECOWAS priorities. However, the initial conflict management efforts of ECOWAS in the 90's in Sierra Leone and Liberia show that the ECOWAS policy focus has not developed exclusively because of a socialization of EU security norms and values but because of internal pressures and comparable basic needs of the Member States. Furthermore, ECOWAS also surely liked to be one of the frontrunners in the development of the APSA which was launched with the foundation of the AU.

Thus, it was a kind of mutual reinforcement in whose context the EU could push a longer-term approach for security in West Africa. This means that developments are driven (i) by events on the ground that might even have consequences for the security situation in Europe; (ii) by the EU's inter-



*The EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Catherine Ashton, together with the Malian Foreign Minister, Tieman Hubert Coulibaly, at the sidelines of the meeting of the EU Foreign Affairs Council in Brussels. The EU decided to speed up the deployment of a Mission to train the Malian army. The Malian crisis reveals the urgent need for deeper analysis of the regional integration process in West Africa and its shortcomings and of the relationship between Europe and West Africa. © Council of the EU.*

est in a regionalization of security policy in West Africa; (iii) but surely also by the West African interest in implementing own ideas.

Recently, the EU Sahel Strategy, adopted in September 2011, represents a new development through which the EU seems to be defining zones of strategic importance that do not necessarily match the remit of the existing regional economic communities.

This action is driven by two combined factors: (i) as Rouppert explains there is a pressure of the new European External Action Service (EEAS) to deliver on its demanded role<sup>2</sup>; (ii) and a need to live up to the “hard security” interests of Europe such as the fight against terrorism, trade flows or energy and resource supply. The increased influence of Al-Qaida in Maghreb and its growing independence as an actor in the Sahel is worrying the EU already for some time because of several hostage-takings of European citizens and because of the experiences from Afghanistan. This attitude is visible in the Conclusions of the Council, in the comments of high-ranking EU Member State politicians as well as, of course, in the military action taken now against the rebels.

With the Sahel Strategy, the EU planned to step up its engagement for West Africa. In spite of some existing Member State reservations, the developments in Mali show that this was obviously not a wrong decision. Because of the still striking deficit in institutions, capacities, training and equipment on a regional as well as on a national

level in West Africa, the insight seems to have prevailed that the EU itself must contribute more actively. It is in this sense, that the Sahel-Strategy and the new mission EUCAP Sahel Niger in the framework of the CSDP of the EU can be seen and that now another training mission for Mali is being prepared. Although, these new measures and the military intervention in Mali are mostly seen as right steps, events show that the EU was quite late in doing so. The measures that were taken were not yet able to produce a lasting effect. In fact, the consequence of this hesitant approach regarding its own operational activity in West Africa is that it has now led to a kind of last minute panic.

Coming back to the questions posed at the beginning of this article, one can summarize that security aspects are more than ever determining the policy of the EU towards West Africa and the region will continue to be a place of interest for the EU. This is not a new development but it has recently reached a new level. The military interventions in Ivory Coast and especially the one in Mali show that in light of the challenge of radicalism, ECOWAS security policy in its current state is not able to be a European „security proxy“<sup>3</sup>, even if the political will to act exists on the African side. It seems that the investment in the adoption of norms and values was maybe quite successful but not sufficient to prevent further conflict. Moreover, the situation in Mali is an example of the logic of unintended consequences. Tuareg fighters were trained by the US in the framework of its counter

terrorism program and later changed sides. Many Tuaregs came back to their homeland after the breakdown of the regime in Libya. This does not mean that the decision of European powers to intervene in Libya was wrong. It rather reflects that the EU among other actors, in spite of the experiences of the past, has so far underestimated the explosiveness of the specific problem of the Tuareg and has misinterpreted the connection between North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. This does not shed the best light on the effectiveness of the so called EU comprehensive approach.

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1 See Lucia, Elisa Lopez (2012), 'A Tool for Security Governance: How is the Shaping ECOWAS Security and Defence Regionalization Process?', GR: EEN Working Paper, No. 17, p. 9, available at: [www.greenfp7.eu/papers/workingpapers](http://www.greenfp7.eu/papers/workingpapers).

2 See Rouppert, Berangère (2012), 'The European Strategy for Development and Security in the Sahel Rupture or Continuity?', Note d'Analyse, 16th January 2012, Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la sécurité, p. 2, available at: [http://www.grip.org/sites/grip.org/files/NOTES\\_ANALYSE/2012/NA\\_2012-01-16\\_FR\\_B-ROUPPERT.pdf](http://www.grip.org/sites/grip.org/files/NOTES_ANALYSE/2012/NA_2012-01-16_FR_B-ROUPPERT.pdf).

3 See Nivet, Bastien (2006), 'Security by proxy? The EU and (sub-)regional organizations, the case of ECOWAS', Occasional Paper 63, EUISS Paris.

## The Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI)

The Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) was founded in 1995 on the basis of the Bonn-Berlin-law and by a decision of the Senate of Bonn University. The institute is affiliated with the faculties of Law and Arts at Bonn University. ZEI contributes to finding solutions to unresolved issues of European integration and the global role of Europe. The work of ZEI is based on two research areas: European Governance and Regulation and Comparative Regional Integration. Here ZEI is conducting projects on the Future of the EU, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, the influence of “globality”, regulation and competition law as well as on the problem of sustainable regional integration in West Africa and Europe. The institute combines research, consultancy and postgraduate education in an interdisciplinary way considering political, legal and economic issues.

Alongside its general focus on the global role of Europe, ZEI places special emphasis on Comparative Regional Integration studies to reflect the current political developments as well as the growing relevance of this field of research. The global phenomenon of regional groupings is one of the most remarkable developments since the breakdown of the bipolar world order. In recent years, regional approaches aimed at political community-building have become an important element for political, economic and cultural autonomy across the globe. These regional integration processes must be seen as one of the key responses to the challenges of globalization. The concept of European integration often serves as a source of inspiration. Against this background, ZEI conducts intensive research on the different integration systems around the globe. ZEI consistently broadened and strengthened its partnership and contact network. This forms the basis for the ZEI-WAI Research Cooperation. \* Compiled by Ilva Iffland (ZEI)

### ZEI-WAI Coordinator Matthias Vogl



Since 2008, Matthias Vogl is Junior Fellow at the Center for European Integration Studies (ZEI) in Bonn. He holds a Master's Degree in Political Science, History and Public Law from Bonn University. At the moment he is working on a PhD thesis about EU security policy in Africa. His further research focuses on aspects of comparative regional integration and European Foreign and Security Policy.

In the framework of the ZEI-WAI research cooperation Matthias Vogl is coordinating the research group on „Regional integration and policy formulation processes“ from Bonn. He is also the co-editor of the Regional Integration Observer.



# Cape Verde and the regional integration process in West Africa – success and expectations

\* *Wautabouna Ouattara and Avelino Bonifacio Lopes*

## Introduction

In June 2007, the ECOWAS authorities and Heads of State and Government adopted a vision for West Africa that would transform the region from an „ECOWAS of States“ into an „ECOWAS of the people“ (so called Vision 2020).

The Republic of Cape Verde is an archipelago consisting of ten small islands of volcanic origin, scattered in the Atlantic Ocean about 600 miles off the coast of Senegal. Their total area covers approximately 4.033 km<sup>2</sup>. Its eccentric geographical location might suggest that Cape Verde is isolated. In fact, this country, which is a member of ECOWAS since 1976, remains very attached to the values of the continent and shares the same aspirations as other West African populations, expressed in vision 2020 of the ECOWAS. For Cape Verde, the ECOWAS regional integration process is not only a political decision as a result of its geographic proximity with the West African region. It is also a consequence of the rationale of its own development, which is to look for larger markets and to vitalize its own transformation by establishing a number of clusters that highlight its geographic position and, therefore, its hub function. This imperative brings together Cape Verde and the process of regional integration in West Africa in a constructive way.

## Cape Verde and the process of regional integration in West Africa

The West African regional integration process has been marked by three periods. The infancy period from 1960 to 1970. The period from 1970 to 2000 called the “thirty glorious years” with the birth of the main institutions of regional integration in West Africa, and the period from 2000 to 2012 marked by the “consolidation of the process of regional integration”.

The period of infancy is especially marked by the independence movements in the territory of former French and Portuguese West Africa. These movements were also striving for the West African region to be more united. In Cape Verde, the claims of independence were brought forward under the leadership of Amílcar Cabral. This charismatic leader has struggled for a joint independence of Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, both former Portuguese colonies. After the turnover of power in 1975 in Portugal, the so-called Carnation Revolution, these two States obtained independence under the aegis of a single party (PAIGC)

until 1980, the year in which the unity of two countries was permanently abandoned following a coup d'état in Guinea Bissau.

During the second and third period, the “thirty glorious years” and the “consolidation of the regional integration”, Cape Verde has experienced mixed fortunes in terms of success and expectations. It is important to note as a success that Cape Verde has benefited, like other members of the West African integration community from many projects of the two main organizations of regional integration, ECOWAS and WAEMU. Furthermore, in recent years, the Investment and Development Bank of ECOWAS (BIDC) has extended its projects to Cape Verde, a regional centre of renewable energies (ECREEE) was established and the West Africa Institute (WAI), which is a regional institute in charge of research on regional integration, was set up.

However, the expectations of Cape Verde remain numerous. The continent has everything to gain from Cape Verde. Being a part of ECOWAS, it gives an Atlantic dimension to the regional organization. We must not forget that the Atlantic Ocean will become a strategic challenge with regard to trading routes and resources. There is an interest in ECOWAS to highlight this Atlantic dimension. ECOWAS has a long coast along the Atlantic but Cape Verde offers an even greater dimension concerning the economic space and even the continental shelf. At the same time, the Continent may find some answers in Cape Verde: being a “small” country has led Cape Verde to find solutions much faster than others, and these solutions found in Cape Verde may serve as models. Recently, the country has engaged in a program to make itself 100% independent of fossil fuels for the benefit of renewable energy. The implementation of this program will be able to pave the way for other countries in the region to see that it is possible to use West African natural resources like wind or sun. What can be done in a “small” country like Cape Verde would take much more time to do so in the major countries. But once carried out in Cape Verde, it can serve as an example and provide lessons to be learned.

Beyond all that, it is even more important to mention that Cape Verde remains an example of democracy and good governance. The fact that the former President of the Republic of Cape Verde, Pedro Pires, is the recipient of the prestigious Mo Ibrahim Prize „for leadership of excellence in Africa“ says enough about the outstanding work of the democratic institutions in Cape Verde. When we look at the evolution of the perception of corruption index, Cape Verde

has grown from 4.9 to 5.5 between 2007 and 2011, (ADB, 2012, the corruption perception index ranges from 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (very low level of corruption)). This is a quite remarkable performance for an African country.

## Conclusion

Despite its location, Cape Verde in West Africa is a win-win model. The country wins by integrating into the region, but the region also wins to have Cape Verde among its members. The question that arises is how to effectively ensure democratic governance in the framework of regional integration. This regional integration cannot be made if it's only “large” countries who decide. The sovereignty of a country, as “small” as it could be, should not be reduced: democratic governance is lacking when its interests are not taken into account, when it is the interests of two or three “large” countries who decide for others.

If integration is real, Cape Verde believes in the respect for the right of all members to express themselves. For Cape Verde, the debate should primarily focus on three principles: the principle of subsidiarity between the national and the regional level, the principle of enhanced cooperation which should enable groups to advance more quickly, waiting to be joined by others, and the principle of the inclusion of all members as well as the terms and conditions of opening and greater involvement of civil society.

\* *Wautabouna Ouattara is Program Director at the West Africa Institute (WAI). Avelino Bonifacio Lopes is Administrative Director at the WAI.*

## WAI Director General Prof. Djénéba Traoré

“Knowledge has become a key source for wealth creation and as a consequence, the transformation of information into knowledge is a major imperative [...]”

(ZEI Discussion Paper, C208, Bonn 2011)



© Rocare

Professor Djénéba Traoré from Mali is the new Director General of the West Africa Institute (WAI), which is based in Praia, Republic of Cape Verde. Prof. Traoré has a very clear and structured idea of her mission as the head of WAI. She sees WAI as a new and important scientific research instrument for West Africa, which helps politicians and stakeholders in preparing and making decisions.

Prof. Djénéba Traoré held key positions in the administration of her country and at the sub-regional level. She was the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Literatures and Humanities in Bamako, Republic of Mali.

Prof. Djénéba Traoré holds a PhD degree from the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Humboldt University Berlin, a postgraduate degree in the Educational Integration of Information Communication and Technology (ICT) from the Faculty of Graduate Studies at the University of Montreal and a Master's degree in German from the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Bamako.

Being a Professor at the Faculty of Literature, Languages, Arts and Humanities (FLASH) at the University of Bamako, Djénéba Traoré has held several positions.

Prof. Djénéba Traoré is the author of several publications. Selected by the Fulbright Program of the United States of America, she has been visiting the Indiana University in Bloomington from October 2008 to March 2009, where she conducted research on African literature.

The E-Learning/E-Health for Africa (ELES4A) Conference 2012 awarded Prof. Djénéba Traoré the 2012 ELES Research Excellence & Lifetime Award. This award recognizes the exemplary contribution of Prof. Traoré in research capacity building in Africa and her pioneering role in Educational Integration of Information Communication and Technology (ICT).

### *The West Africa Institute (WAI)*

The West Africa Institute (WAI) was born out of the initiative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), the Government of Cape Verde and the Ecobank Group. It is a think tank exclusively focused on regional integration and social transformations, based in Praia, Cape Verde. The idea of its creation dates back to 2005 and is a result of discussions initiated by UNESCO on the topic: « States-nations in the face of the challenges of regional integration in West Africa ». Approved by UNESCO as a category II Institute, the establishment of WAI was confirmed by the Heads of States of ECOWAS in 2008 and the Council of Ministers of WAEMU in 2009. WAI mission is essentially (i) to promote knowledge on regional integration through innovative research, (ii) to be a platform for dialogue and exchanges on regional integration, (iii) to train a new generation of elites on regional integration and (iv) to negotiate a strategic partnership with similar institutions.

#### **Challenges of regional integration and justification of WAI**

In West Africa, regional integration is currently being undermined because of the political situation in a number of countries. As a result, organizations that should have focused on regional integration are more concerned with conflict resolution. One of the first priorities is to revitalise the regional integration agenda aiming not only at the regional integration organizations such as ECOWAS, WAEMU or Mano River Union (MRU), but also at civil society organizations, academia and the public sector. The second priority is to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of policies, either at the public policy level which must be more efficient and effectively to meet its objectives, or in functioning institutions. Other challenges are the demographics and social aspects including the consequences of urbanization, economic and cross-cutting issues, the concept of regional citizenship, relations of West Africa and the rest of the world in light of globalization and the role of emerging countries. The system of decision-making on regional integration should be revised. It should be based on research, on realistic assessments and not on common sense. The institute undertakes multidisciplinary and specific research on regional integration in West Africa, taking into account the political, economic, social and cultural context of the region. Its research focuses on policies related to complex issues which form part of regional integration in West Africa. Research is concentrated on the development of policies and its principal aim is to support the Commissions of ECOWAS, WAEMU and the Executive Secretariat of MRU in their regional integration efforts.

In the context of the establishment of a platform for scientific and political dialogue, WAI organizes conferences to discuss the issue of regional integration, bringing together policy makers, economic actors and researchers. At this level, the institute plays a key role in bridging the gaps, which have existed for a long time between policy formulation, decision-making and their implementation. Concerning the training of a new generation of elites for regional integration, WAI is involved in the capacity building of stakeholders in charge of regional integration issues. As a member of the global network of regional integration policies established in 2006 in Montevideo, Uruguay, WAI maintains strategic partnerships and relations with research centers and structures in Africa and worldwide.

Despite significant progress in the process of regional integration in West Africa, the obstacles to its consolidation are still high. WAI adds value by presenting itself as the missing link between different experiences of regional integration in West Africa. Moreover, it expects to contribute to the success of the ECOWAS Vision 2020, which is to achieve the transformation of the region from an "ECOWAS of States" to an "ECOWAS of people".

# The European sovereign debt crises in perspective – a boost for deepened integration

\*Ludger Kühnhardt

The sovereign debt crises in several Eurozone states has been transformed into a set of new efforts to advance a genuine monetary and fiscal union and, moreover, a strengthened political union. While the root causes of the turbulences that have affected the stability and, as importantly, the image of the euro since 2008 are national, the solutions have been – and will continue to be – European in nature.

Between 2008 and mid-2012 the debate was very much absorbed by soul searching and contrasting interpretations of the root causes of the crises – looking at the nature of the euro, looking at the national budgets and public debt data of several countries, looking at the objectives and effects of rating agencies and rescue packages, in nature: debating market and policy failures. Since the decisions of the European Council in June 2012, there is consensual understanding in the European Union about the root causes of the crises: They are systemic in nature and require a comprehensive overhaul of the mechanisms of the fiscal and monetary union. The first solid steps have been taken: the European fiscal and growth pact has been ratified in 25 countries, the European Stability Mechanism has been installed, and a banking union has been decided upon. The awareness to couple austerity measures and growth initiatives in order to reinvigorate competitiveness in the European Union – a challenge that clearly goes beyond the countries that made particular headlines in recent years, i.e. Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, and Italy – has finally been coupled by the EU leadership and linked to forge a comprehensive policy approach that will facilitate economic recovery of the private sector.

The next step will require measures to balance the priority needs of stabilizing the Eurozone with the longer term interests of those EU member states that will join the common currency in the coming years. Latvia will be the next to introduce the euro most probably in 2014. None of the “pre-ins” ought to be decoupled from decisions taken in the foreseeable future that are aimed at consolidating a rigidly overhauled monetary and fiscal union. The measures taken by now include the need for national budget proposals to be overseen by the EU Commission before they can be decided upon in the respective national parliament. As a consequence of the crises of past years and without naming it as such, budgetary sovereignty will be shared by the national and by the European level. The banking union will be implemented gradually in 2013, and it remains to be decided how to

balance the key role of the European Central Bank to safeguard stability and cohesion of the Eurozone with its future role of overseeing the EU banking sector. The EU has begun to address continuously existing bottlenecks that impede a full realization of the potential of the Single Market, including the need to fully implement a single digital market and a single energy market.

The most long term question relates to the global context of the European Union and its Eurozone. The euro has become the second largest reserve currency in the

## EU President Herman van Rompuy

“[...] deeper integration, democratic legitimacy and accountability are essential to a genuine Economic and Monetary Union.”

(Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union, European Council, The President, 2012)

world. It is a stable currency, here to stay. But the European understanding of the global economy remains fragmented along country and sector lines. The very notion of growth and its sources remains tied to the experience and constellation of current industrialized countries extended by way of exporting European products into the emerging markets from China to Brazil. A genuine global perspective on the parameters that define future growth must, however, take into account more than the usual Western experience that growth will be generated by improving the things, technologies included, that Western industrialized countries have been successful with in the past.

For Europe, the time has come to broaden the very notion of growth. The EU would be well advised to link its own genuine desire for stability and continuous affluence with the desires of the poorer people and regions across the whole world to achieve a decent life in dignity and based on the principle of fairness. The idea of reverse innovation could add another dimension, long overdue, to the European discourse about long-term perspectives beyond the

current crises of debt and growth. Dartmouth College professor Vijay Govindarajan has developed the concept of reverse innovation to near perfection. He argues that the sources of growth in industrialized, largely saturated economies originate in innovations used or likely to be used in poorer countries before trickling-up to the affluent parts of the world. The spectrum is broad from medicine to housing to health to transportation to energy and production lines. Without going into details here, it is recommendable for the European Union to reach out with its partnerships across the globe by broadening the inherent European and Western perspective of root causes of economic stimulus and growth. Time has come for a global perspective on growth that includes the global poor as well as the global rich. Ageing societies with lower birth rates would be well advised to reflect about desires elsewhere and couple them in intelligent ways with the potential of their innovative education, science and research structures and their creative industries and service sectors. Here lies potential that could truly turn the European Union and its respective economic and technological potential beyond the usual litany of growth and innovation, starting with the premise that it must all be about the inherent needs of the European societies. A global currency requires a global thinking on matters of economic and sociological innovation.

For the EU to advance such thoughts, time has come to organize public debates truly EU-wide. In the absence of a European people (demos), European societies must come together and debate those issues that affect the societies of all EU member states. The EU has reached a new stage in consequence of the sovereign debt crises. The sovereign as such has to be included in the search for better European solutions. This includes the level of societies; eventually it also includes the level of European politics.

It is therefore encouraging that the parties represented in the European Parliament prepare the next elections to the European Parliament in 2014 with the perspective to not only present common platforms but also common candidates for the future EU leadership. A representative of the biggest parliamentary faction will hence become the next EU Commission President in 2014. This will be another indicator that the old theory holds true: Crises have been and will remain engines for deeper integration in the European Union.

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# Three Questions to José Brito – Chairman of the WAI Board

## Which are the key elements of a regional integration agenda for innovation in the next 10 years?

At the moment we have a regional integration crisis in West Africa, which means that the political situation in a certain number of countries led the organizations in charge of the regional integration process to be more concerned with the resolution of conflicts than with regional integration as such. One of the first priorities, therefore, is to renew the agenda of regional integration in a way to become a key interest not only for the regional integration organizations like ECOWAS or WAEMU, but also to fill the large deficit regarding the inclusion of civil society organizations, the academic and the private sector. In this context, regional integration is an engine for the resolution of the problems that our countries are facing.

Apparently, another aspect is the improvement of the effectiveness and the efficiency of governance. I especially think of a better governance of organizations as well as a better governance of all national institutions, because it is clear that the regional institutions are a reflection of the functioning on the national level. I think that there is a need to improve this governance on all institutional levels. I am thinking of the Summit of the Heads of State, of the Council of Ministers, of different meetings on the expert level where the inefficient and false decision-making has to be prevented through sound research and by founding it on realities and not on common sense. We live in a more and more complex society where common sense is not sufficient anymore. We also need to have a good knowledge base.

## Which role can new technologies and renewable energy play in the process of regional integration in West Africa?

The ICTs and renewable energies are just instruments. We slightly tend to mix the instrument with the goal. The instruments should enable to achieve the goals. I think that we have the experiences, like here on Cape Verde, where the use of the ICTs allowed us to establish the electronic government procedures to improve business administration. It is evident that also financial



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management is facilitated by a professional handling of information technologies. These are positive effects that enable a better management of regional integration. Since information circulates faster, we have the sources that permit detecting the decisions we can take. In this sense it is clear that in a globalized world, Africa must take advantage of the technical evolutions.

We tend to speak of globalization especially with regard to its negative effects. But it is evident that globalization enabled the provision of new technologies to everyone, on all levels. This can accelerate the development progress of countries in a certain number of sectors, at the level of education, of health and of others. Yes, one must prioritize new information technologies, but one must not consider them as goals. We can have very nice instruments, but the most important is to give them content. And this is where we Africans struggle a little bit, we want to have the technology, but we continue to consume the contents that come from the North. At the regional level, yes, indeed, efforts have to be made to allow a better control of the contents to make them more appropriate to our African realities. I think that this is how one should look at technologies.

Regarding energies, Africa currently has

a large gap in terms of energy consumption. When we look at the energy consumption per capita, it is one of the lowest in the world. At the same time this is an opportunity because it means that the power of market growth is big and it is about to be exploited. The question is: Are we going to do it on the basis of traditional technologies? Or are we going to do it on the basis of the natural resources that we have such as solar energy, wind energy and biomass? The risk to copy the models of the Northern countries, which have so far focused on fossil energy sources, is high. We must not reproduce the mistakes that have been made. In this context, there can be an exchange between African countries, even if it is just that those countries with the biggest energy potential and production come to help others. At the same time renewable energies offer the possibility to have decentralized solutions, which enable even remote populations to have access to energy.

## What is the specific advantage of Cape Verde for hosting a research center like WAI? What is the added value of WAI for Cape Verde?

It might seem paradox that the country being the most remote of the region is chosen to be the chair of an organization aiming to promote regional integration. But this is a false friend because regional integration implies that all parts can benefit from the advantages of the regional integration process. Here, in Cape Verde, we really think that the future of Cape Verde is linked to the future of the continent and in this context it is our interest to be able to develop our relations with the continent. WAI will help exactly to improve these relations. The country's size might result in specific solutions for its voice to be heard. Cape Verde also wants to profit from ECOWAS infrastructure projects. At the same time it gives ECOWAS a further Atlantic dimension and it convinces with pragmatic solutions for example in the sectors of energy and technology. I believe that this is a win-win situation. Cape Verde benefits from the integration into the region, but the region also benefits from the inclusion of Cape Verde as a promoter of regional integration.

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