

POLICY BRIEF

Unpacking the Significance of African Continental Free Trade Area for Africa and its People

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Executive Summary

With free trade under attack in much of the developed world, Africa is forging a new path for itself to foster sustainable wealth and development for the continent. On 21 March 2018, AU leaders met in Rwanda to finalise the signing of a new trade agreement creating the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). The AfCFTA consists of a framework agreement for its establishment and also the Protocol on Trade in Goods and Trade in Services, and the Protocol on Rules and Procedures on the Settlement of Disputes. These developments come on the back of 10 rounds of AfCFTA negotiations concluded in December 2017, with the 11th round underway in May 2018 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The AfCFTA signals the beginning of a new chapter for mega-regional trade relations on the African continent and enhanced efforts at deepening trade and regional integration. This paper gives a snapshot of developments building up to the signing of the AfCFTA and examines the status of the AfCFTA as African governments move forward in their attempt to establish a continent-wide free trade area (FTA) to boost the productivity of their economies and shift the composition and direction of foreign direct investment flows into Africa. However, the big question is whether unpacking the AFCFTA is really significant for Africa and its people and if this effort will also elevate the competitiveness of African economies.

Key Points

On 21th March 2018, 44 African countries signed the first intro-African trade umbrella agreement creating the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) in Kigali, Rwanda. The Agreement went into force on 30 May 2019 and entered its operational phase following the African Union Summit on 7 July 2019. The AfCFTA comes on the back of different rounds of negotiations divided into Phase 1 and Phase 2. While Phase 1 focused on trade in goods and services and the dispute settlement mechanism, important topics remain outstanding. These include the modalities governing the trade in goods, determining the rules of origin and also deciding which sectors within trade in services are involved in the negotiations. Despite the uncertainty about these remaining Phase 1 issues, Phase 2 negotiations aimed to focus on competition policy,



investment and intellectual property matters. Phase 2 pre-negotiation discussions began in November 2018 with a meeting of experts (with the AU and UNECA) to discuss the issues of Phase II negotiations. Thus, the signing of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) has boosted a lot of trade prospects in Africa that will significantly enhance the continent in improving its intra-trade levels, thereby boosting the continent's economy and living standards of the people of Africa.

- The AfCFTA represents a continental vision for a single market for the trade of goods and services and the free movement of persons and capital, which will ultimately contribute towards improved productivity, infrastructure, reduction of non-tariff barriers and promotion of trade in services. It also envisages higher sustainable levels of socio-economic development in Africa with an expected combined current GDP of US\$2.5 trillion, and a population of over one billion, 60 percent of whom are below the age of 25 years. However, it is not without its challenges, and finding political commitment and consensus solution amongst 55 countries is no easy task. Nevertheless, the clarity herein shows that AfCFTA will boost much deeper economic integration levels such as common markets and economic unions. As a result, this allow for manifold impacts of trade to be fundamental significant, which will improve economic welfare of Africa and its people.
- Though the AfCFTA agreement has been signed by 54 of the 55 African countries, with the exception of Eritrea,
 ambiguities persist on just how successful its implementation will be, particularly given the economic disparities between
 larger and smaller economies, as well as the lack of trade standardization and enforcement and the intersecting of
 membership within the existing regional economic communities. Thus, the AfCFTA remains a significant "economic game
 changer" for Africa.

Introduction

Within the past centuries or so, various African communities or countries located in different topographies (e.g., the Sahara, Nile Valley, East and southern Africa) participated in one form trade and exchange relationships on various scales: local, regional, and intercontinental, as well as temporal and spatial. An understanding of the trade, anchored on historiographical background, academic engagement with trade and culture contact can be drawn to the early 20th century, when debates of acculturation and diffusion that defined much of what by 1960s and 1970s economic archaeology and anthropology including historical and ethnographic studies from Africa started. These contexts have shown that African economies towards trade were embedded in reciprocity, redistribution, and administered exchange. For this purpose of this paper, conceivably the most crucial question to ask is, what is trade and exchange? This is pertinent because in spite of being "overused," several professionals use the term without describing it such that trade predictably becomes every form of contact. According to Renfrew, in its comprehensive sense, trade is the mutual traffic, exchange, or movement of materials or goods or services from one person or entity to another or through peaceful human agency often in exchange for money. As with trade, exchange also involves direct or indirect contact, migration, political conquest, and much more. Barter, a system that saw the direct exchange of goods and services for other goods and services without using a medium of exchange such as currency, was the earliest form of trade and exchange.

In general, trade and exchange is driven by several factors, among them are sociocultural and religious needs, economic considerations, political considerations, cultural dimension and much more. From both theoretical view, these factors have created tremendous opportunities and challenges in Africa, and these have drastic have impacted and have implications on Africa's current realities. Against this background, it is, however, essential to trade has existed as the vehicle of economic, social and political integration of African countries for several centuries prior to the creation of Africa's first regional body, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in 1963. The OAU strived towards boosting intra-African cooperation and integration in the economic field at the continental level. It saw the establishment of quite a lot of regional economic communities that were created,



first with a view to consolidating the economic space of a specific region to harness potential benefits of such integration; and second, with the anticipation that these would function as the pillars or building blocks for eventual formation of a continental economic community.

Pushing further, in 1980, the OAU adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980-2000, enunciating a regional development plan for Africa that involved the creation of an African Common Market. While some programmes and institutions proliferated, the level and rate of implementation of trade integration programmes of numerous Regional Economic Communities (RECs) faltered. Weak implementation became a problem at the RECs and Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs) such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECCAS), the Southern Africa Development Corporation (SADC), the East African Community (EAC), and Inter-governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) and also, to a lesser extent, at Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) exhibited in customs unions with multilateral trading agreements and trade relations. This meant that efforts towards building up the continental community also wavered. Further, with the limited performance of RTAs and PTAs across Africa, thus for this reason, the newly created African Continental Free Trade Area agreement (AfCFTA) is in place with the intention to unify intra-Africa RTAs and PTAs towards deepening economic, social and political ties.

However, with a view to reviving and launching the continental integration project, the OAU Abuja Treaty that established the African Economic Community was ratified in June 1991. It articulated the establishment of a continental free trade area as a stepping stone toward the realization of the African Economic Community. Momentum towards realizing this objective gathered speed with the creation of the African Union (AU) in 2002, changing from the OAU. AU member states paid greater focus to continental integration. Actually, Article 3 in the AU's Constitutive Act, states that the third objective of the AU is to "speed up the Africa political and socio-economic integration; this is premised on the fact that integration can significantly increase the size of many countries in Africa that have relatively small economies which are not very viable and enhance their ability to be competitive globally.

Consequently, the AU decided to focus on the process of promoting continental economic integration through trade. At the 2012 AU Summit, Heads of State and Government accepted the decision (Assembly/AU/Dec.394 (XVIII)) to establish a Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) by the suggestive date of 2017 and authorized the Action Plan on Boosting Intra-Africa Trade (BIAT) which recognizes seven areas of cooperation, namely, trade policy, trade facilitation, productive capacity, trade-linked infrastructure, trade finance, trade information, and factor market integration. Then in June 2015, at the twenty-fifth Summit of the African Union, held in South Africa, African Heads of State and Government decided to launch negotiations on the creation of the CFTA by 2017 through discussions on the liberalization of trade in goods and services. This initiative offers significant opportunities and challenges to boost intra-African trade.



African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement (AfCFTA)

However, Africa's models of trade were greatly stimulated by historical developments. The bulk of Africa's trade have been twisted mainly towards the European and American regions. It is just recently that some African countries such as Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe are gradually moving much of their trade focus towards Asian and Middle Eastern countries, especially with China, Russia, Japan and India, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. As a result, Africa's intra trade statistics has lagged behind in comparison with other continents and economic regions. This difference has stimulated a renewed thinking and interest in the continent over the past two decades to improve and boost intra-African trade. In 2008, COMESA, EAC and SADC Heads of States and Governments met in Kampala, Uganda to create the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement (TFTA), which later was signed in 2015 in El Sharm Sheijk, Egypt. Thus, the genesis of the AfCFTA is a product of the comprising resolution of the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA), a free trade area comprising of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC). Equally, trade and market integration are key fundamental of the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) goals and major targets. For instance, ECOWAS's Revised Treaty (Article 3) stipulates the elimination of trade barriers and harmonization of trade policies for the creation of a free trade area, a customs union, a common market and the subsequent culmination in a monetary and economic union in West Africa. This aims to bridge regional divisions by building on the TFTA's regional industrial development policies and boosting of trade among the several RECs, with the objective of incorporating all African economic blocs under integrated standardized rules and regulations.

To this end, the AfCFTA is the first continent-wide agreement of its kind to bring together all African countries expect Eritrea that is yet to sign under a single free trade agreement (FTA) with a focus on establishing a common market for goods, services and investment, and permitting the free movement of persons. Conversely, this proved evidence at the African Union's (AU) 18th Ordinary Session in January 2012, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The heads of state and government of African countries agreed to establish the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) and formerly began negotiations in June 2015. Consequently, this posits to support the view that the AfCFTA shoots from the African leaders' understanding that intra-African trade is analytically low and that regional economic communities (RECs) and PTAs have not done enough to prioritize the development and enhancement of regional trade. However, with the coming together of all African countries and with a combined gross domestic product (GDP) of between \$2.2 trillion and \$3.4 trillion, the AfCFTA goes beyond a traditional FTA by focusing on cross-border movement of goods, people and services, together with investment and increased connectivity among Africa's 1 billion citizens. The AfCFTA also complements the AU's Agenda 2063 and the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, and is an important tool that can advance inclusive growth through industrialization and increased opportunities for African citizens.

The AfCFTA has seven priority areas: policy, infrastructure, facilitation, finance, information, market integration, and increased productivity. The main goals of the AfCFTA are to create a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of business persons and investments, and hence pave the way for fast-tracking the establishment of the Customs Union. It is also to increase intra-African trade through better harmonization and coordination of trade liberalization and facilitation of instruments across the RECs and across Africa in general. The AfCFTA is also anticipated to boost effectiveness at the industry and enterprise level through exploitation of prospects for scale production, continental market access and better reallocation of resources. Accordingly, creating the AfCFTA will inspire total African exports by 4% (\$25.3 billion) and result in a general 52% (\$34.6 billion) growth in intra-African trade compared to the baseline figure (no trade reforms in 2022), with growth covering an extensive range of sectors including agriculture and agro-processing industry. UNECA predicted that AfCFTA will raise intra-African trade by 15 to 25 percent, or \$50 billion to \$70 billion, by 2040, compared to Africa without AfCFTA.

Furthermore, comprehensive review of theoretical literature examining free trade agreements has been extensive and varied, but inconclusive with regard to the ex post effect of trade agreements on several trade flows. The various theoretical models and/or arguments merely pointed to the prospective significant effects and causal channels through which trade agreements can impact on trade without coming up with conclusions. Although each of these arguments might be thoughtful with inconclusive evidences insights to help navigate trade complexities that come with pathways for AfCFTA implementation.

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To this end, a leading theoretical argument advanced by those who are pessimistic about the impact of trade agreements on trade is grounded on the traditional Heckscher-Ohlin model (Wage Effects of a U.S.-Mexican Free Trade Agreement," in Peter M. Garber. 1995). However, key insights of the Heckscher-Ohlin model were that factor endowment differences could be a basis for trade, and that trade could be central to factor price convergence between trading partners. According to the Heckscher-Ohlin model, countries should export products that utilize their abundant factor endowments and import products that utilize the countries' scarce factor endowments. This suggests that a capital-abundant country will export products from its capital-intensive industries to labour abundant countries, and the labour-abundant countries buy capital-intensive goods and will in return export labour-intensive products to the capital-abundant countries.

For African countries endowed with abundant natural resources, the Heckscher-Ohlin model implies specialization in the production and export of natural resource based (i.e. primary) products to capital-abundant developed countries. Thus, based on the Heckscher-Ohlin model, African countries will be projected to trade more with countries beyond Africa or other capital-abundant countries (i.e. North-South trade) than among themselves (South-South trade). However, findings in the trade literature show that the three key factors responsible for substantial trade creation and benefits are geographical proximity, intra-industry and inter-industry trade determinants. However, understanding the drivers of these from AfCFTA, it will not only open and expand trade flow but will enhance trade liberalization and competitiveness, promote cooperation and integration, and improve effective participation of the academia, private sector and civil society in the AfCFTA discussion, so that the resulting agreement can create opportunities for businesses to exploit and bring about benefits to ordinary citizens.

Similarly, The AfCFTA was heralded as a milestone for deepening regional integration and the quest for stronger and sustained growth in the overall success of AfCFTA's trade objectives. In view of this, the AfCFTA main objectives, according to the African Union encompass creating a single continental market for goods and services facilitated by the free movement of business persons and investments in order to deepen the economic integration of the African continent. Whilst the agreement reinvoked chatter of Pan-Africanism, in accordance with the pan African vision of "An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa" enshrined in agenda 2063. The agreement also recognizes the instrumental role that existing regional economic communities such as Economic states of West African states (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), East African Community (EAC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) have played in advancing intra-Africa trade and further aims to liberalize trade amongst RECS member states as well non-member states through successive rounds of negotiations. This supports the contribution to the movement of capital and natural persons toward facilitating investments building on the initiatives and developments in the State Parties and RECs on the obligations to reduce tariffs and to remove non-tariff barriers (NTBs) and restrictions on external service providers.

The AfCFTA also aims to "lay the foundation for the establishment of a continental customs union at a later stage". Such a far-reaching step will reinforce competition, cooperation and regional integration and also enhance market access and entry conditions on the border and within the border. Additionally, the aim of AfCFTA trade is hinged on enhancing the competitiveness of the economies of State Parties within the continent and the global market through advancing industrialization by facilitating intra-African trade and creating an integrated African market of 1.2 billion people; As a result, the commercial opportunities and competitive pressures unleashed by the AfCFTA stimulate not only increased domestic and foreign direct investment, for African countries, industries and firms to diversify, specialize and benefit from economies of scale and value chain, allowing them to become more productive and competitive but in turn foster technological upgrading – an important driver of industrialization.



Challenges that Could Derail the Successful Implementation of the AfCFTA

Though the signing of the AfCFTA umbrella agreement in March 2018 signaled political support and pledge from African leaders to work towards deeper African economic integration, it can simply come into effect if a minimum of 22 AU members ratify it. Originally, some AU members desired ratification from only 15 countries in order to bring the agreement into force and ensure its implementation possibly. However, countries of the SADC group (led by South Africa) wanted the Abuja Treaty's two-thirds requirement to be utilized as the foundation for ratification – meaning 28 countries would have to pledge instruments of ratification with the AU before the AfCFTA would be brought into force. This was because the SADC bloc was worried that the AfCFTA agreement would come into force prior to the completion of its domestic ratification process, and that it would hence be left out of significant decisions at the agreement's inception. Finally, however, by July 2019, twenty-seven countries out of 54 signatories had ratified the agreement.

Nevertheless, it will not be easy getting the AfCFTA off the ground. There are a number of political and economic issues that could obstruct its successful implementation. African countries face many endemic challenges including poor infrastructure development, NTBs, lengthy customs procedures and poor inland transportation. Further, there are also challenges in harmonization and the need for basic rules of origin. In addition, the lack of standardization within RECs is complex and has negatively impacted the establishment of regional value chains. Besides, the free movement of persons resulting in migration and population explosion remains one of the biggest challenges facing the continent. Despite the high levels of domestic unemployment and the securitization narrative related with freer movement of persons, full transition to mobility of labour and services is an extremely contentious issue for several African countries. Further, at a political level, the build-up to the signing ceremony also saw disagreement between the regional country groupings, which has stretched to other issues in the negotiations, particularly in the measures of different treatment in economic development, incomes and revenue, tariff liberalization and intra-regional integration. Notably, while negotiations and discussions seemed to arrive at a compromise, the question remains how the needs of smaller and less-developed countries could be unified particularly in relation to membership to RECs, and the future power balance between the AfCFTA Secretariat and the RECs as the latter might not be willing to cede their policy space to a future AfCFTA Secretariat.

Another related challenge is African countries' ability and willingness to align their respective regional trade agreements with a future AfCFTA. While finalizing a continent-wide agreement among all 55 countries is not a small accomplishment, the AfCFTA's success rests on its successful implementation which demands support and buy-in from AU members. Highlighting from this, implementation challenge is constrained by a lack of institutional structure, absence of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, and lack of adequate resources. If not guarded against, the same challenges could also affect the implementation of AfCFTA. However, while the operationalisation framework on Phase II is ongoing, the Phase I framework covers the introduction of a single passport and the Belt and Road Initiative and talks about a single airport route. Accordingly, I also suggest the following point on what need to be done for AfCFTA to succeed:

- 1. There is a need for commitment and strategic focus on industrialization to improve economic diversification and productive capacity supportive of industrial ecosystem. Currently, intra-Africa trade is limited to 15% of Africa's total trade indicating that the intra-regional value chain is very weak in contrast to Asia, where it stands at 80%. The trade volume in Africa is also constrained by the relatively slow economic growth in the continent, which averages 4.6% since 2000, in contrast to Asia's 7.4%.
- 2. While increasing intra-Africa regional value chains is necessary, African countries also need to increase their current marginal share in global exports, which currently stands at only around 3%. Scaling up of economic exports will create decent jobs for Africa's booming young population.
- 3. Focus should also be made on investment in connectivity and infrastructure through creation of industrial economic hubs and harmonization of different sectors.



Conclusion

The AfCFTA processes continue beyond 2012 with more research, engagement and workshops lined up. AU leaders have shown their preparedness to complete all negotiations. However, significant issues for further discussion to realize AfCFTA include industrialization, product diversification and expansion, and the development of regional value chains. Also monitoring and evaluation processes should be strengthened by including civil society, religious organizations and others to handle many vital issues outstanding and problems that could arise from protracted negotiations, as was evident in the TFTA one. Furthermore, like in all other trade agreements, financial capacity challenges could arise. This may lead to misinterpretations of the agreement and some countries may eventually fail to fulfill their obligations due to national interests and other responsibilities. Therefore, an inclusive development-orientated AfCFTA must address issues of equitable distribution of benefits to member states so that they show strong commitment. However, how further negotiations and discussions unfold will be telling about the future of Africa's trade and successful implementation of AfCFTA goals.

Recommendations

So far, despite a half-century concerted efforts at economic transformation, African economies have not been very successful in modernizing productive capacities. However, the AfCFTA reflects significant and great opportunities for Africa to turn things around for the better. Yet, it is therefore, essential to understand that the success in the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement depends on the conditions surrounding the initial implementation-level, which in turn heavily relies on the willingness of individual member states and their leaders to take action to implement the agreement. In this regard, this paper structures recommendations as follows:

First, a meaningful schedule of commitment must be developed for dispute settlement practice mechanisms among member states in sectors relating to tariff concessions, trade in services, and rules pertaining to country of origin.

Second, at a political level, the display of greater will among most AU members should be sustained, which will help carry through the momentum from 2019 onwards regarding AfCFTA 21 March 2018 onwards to further guide implementation of the AfCFTA, address further capacity constraints and undertake advocacy and sensitization. This will be required to ensure inclusivity and buy-in for the AfCFTA vision.

Third, beyond political determination, the larger operationalization task of the AfCFTA lies in the ownership and participation of the African population. Critical buy-in that will bear local ownership and sustainability depends on the active involvement of the private sector, banking and local manufacturing sectors, small and medium cross-border traders, academia, civil society groups, organised women's groups, cooperative societies and the media, in and across African countries.

Fourth, the provision of financial, human and technical resources or phasing-in some AfCFTA obligations for some less developed member states (so that they can reach the same commitment levels as their more developed peers) will be a viable 'in-house' solution that could be exploited without the assistance of donors. Another option would be to develop cooperation annexures and skills transfer clauses that could be built into the AfCFTA's annexures. This would also allow countries to share technical expertise and engage in skills development that would serve as panacea to address the equitable distribution of benefits, thereby showing commitment to widespread infrastructural development and moving towards greater participation, bearing in mind the vastly different socio-economic challenges facing African countries.

Finally, it is significant to expand inclusiveness in the operationalization of the AfCFTA, particularly in the regular engagement of key national stakeholders. This should facilitate linkages between the RECs and also effectually communicate the benefits of the "celebrated continental arrangement". It is useful to note that, among other things, supporting the operations of the Secretariat of the AfCFTA in Accra, Ghana, is of crucial importance.



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