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THE ATLANTIC
DIALOGUES

ATLANTIC CURRENTS

AN ANNUAL REPORT ON WIDER ATLANTIC PERSPECTIVES AND PATTERNS

DECEMBER 2017

4th Edition

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AND PATTERNS**

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About OCP Policy Center

The OCP Policy Center is a Moroccan policy-oriented think tank based in Rabat, Morocco, striving to promote knowledge sharing and to contribute to an enriched reflection on key economic and international relations issues. By offering a southern perspective on major regional and global strategic challenges facing developing and emerging countries, the OCP Policy Center aims to provide a meaningful policy-making contribution through its four research programs: Agriculture, Environment and Food Security, Economic and Social Development, Commodity Economics and Finance, Geopolitics and International Relations.

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List of Abbreviations

AACB	Association of African Central Banks
ACIRC	African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises
ACSRT	African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism
AFDB	African Development Bank
AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
AIM	Africa's Integrated Maritime Strategy
ALG	Liptako Gourma Authority
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
AQLIM	Al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUCISS	African Union Commission of Inquiry on South Sudan
AUHIP	African Union High-Level Implementation Panel
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CADSP	Common African Defense and Security Policy
CEMOC	Comité d'Etat-Major Opérationnel Conjoint
CEMZA	Combined Exclusive Maritime Zone of Africa
CEWS	Continental Early Warning System
CNRS	National Center for Scientific Research
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPI	Consumer Price Index
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FAZOI	Forces in the Southern Zone of the Indian Ocean
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FRONTEX	From French: “Frontières extérieures” for external borders
FTF	Foreign Terrorist Fighters
G-20	Group of 20
GCTF	The Global Counter-Terrorism Forum
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICJ	The International Court of Justice
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFC	Irving Fisher Committee on Central Bank Statistics
IMB	International Maritime Bureau
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ITC	International Trade Center
ITLOS	International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
MINUSCA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MUJAO	Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEF-HOA	Operation Enduring Freedom – Horn of Africa
OEF-TS	Operation Enduring Freedom – Trans Sahara
PKO	Peacekeeping Operations
PREACT	Partnership for Regional East African Counterterrorism

PSC	Peace and Security Council
PSI	USA's Pan-Sahel Initiative
REC	Regional Economic Communities
RM	Regional Mechanisms
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARB	South African Reserve Bank
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TFP	Total Factor Productivity
TSCTP	Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership
UDEAC	Central African customs and economic union
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations and African Union Mission in Darfur
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNOWAS	United Nations Office for West Africa
UNPKO	United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WB	World Bank

Forward

We are delighted to present this year's edition of the Atlantic Currents, an annual report charting the wider Atlantic patterns and perspectives. This report, the fourth edition of its kind, opens up the Atlantic Dialogues conference, an annual high-level conference gathering nearly four hundred experts, policy makers, business leaders, and government officials from around the World. This conference is an opportunity for policy shaping conversations focused on the restructuring of the Atlantic space while also promoting dialogue and analysis of key issues affecting the wider Atlantic — Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, and North America.

As a significant complement to the Atlantic Dialogues conference, the following publication allows for in-depth analyzes of the potential contributions from the above-mentioned “Dialogues”. The objective being to broaden the discussions pertaining to social, economic, political, and security dimensions within the wider Atlantic space, always favoring the elaboration of new and contextualized geopolitical strategies. OCP Policy Center is proud of the role it has played in extending the transatlantic debate, which embraces both Northern and Southern regions of the Atlantic Basin. The year's Atlantic Dialogues will focus on the need for wider and more effective action within the African continent.

The 2017 editions of both the “Dialogues” and “Currents” have dedicated special attention to Africa and its various perspectives and roles in the Atlantic and global contexts. Indeed, Africa's past and present development approaches bring hope for a promising future that should benefit from the continent's diverse regions and economies. Such recent progress will also allow for shared benefits in the Atlantic region in terms of growth, governance and international relations. Furthermore, this year's edition also attempts to bring new meaning to the potential role that a united and effective civil society could trigger in terms of development. In this context, a special thank you goes out to the various authors and experts that have contributed to the fourth edition of the Atlantic Currents and the dedicated staff at OCP Policy Center who made its timely publication possible. Comments on Atlantic Currents are most welcome, and may be addressed to the editors at OCP Policy Center.

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Introduction

Wider Atlantic Perspectives: Views from the South

The Atlantic Ocean has been, and remains, a privileged development space for the riverside countries. In recent decade, along with the important transatlantic trade in the north, there is an unprecedented increase in south-south and south-north ties. These include goods, services, labor, but also values, ideas, projects and programs. This dynamism means, in such circumstances, that it is, maybe, time to rethink the Atlantic cooperation and its borders. In fact, growth, trade, and investment prospects in the Atlantic Basin are fueling optimism about the increasing potential and contributions of the southern Atlantic to the global economy.

Beyond the Atlantic identity, several factors come together to motivate and encourage the Atlantic basin countries to reconsider the possibilities of development of the transatlantic relations in terms of their type and degree of intensity. We firstly highlight the succession of the financial crisis and subsequently banking and economic ones, which have destabilized many countries of the globe, since 2008, including the Atlantic basin countries. The key strategic challenge here – for the Atlantic basin countries — is to establish a convenient cooperative environment that is able to contain the pressures associated with this situation. There is also a need for implementing and putting in place some cooperation guidelines in order to encounter tensions, and ensure medium and long-term prosperity for the Atlantic populations. Secondly, the abundance of resources, the remarkable economic and social dynamics in the south is increasingly attracting the attention of many weighty global economic players, including China and Russia, but also the United States of America and the European Union. Thirdly, the leaders of the north Atlantic countries realize that cooperation with the south is much needed in a context where the security situation is challenging, and threatening, with a terrorism that continues to invade more and more lands in the southern hemisphere of the Atlantic. In fact, many areas previously

considered as being immune to terrorism turn out to be the target of terrorism. In addition, international migration has made its way to the forefront of the security agendas of the Atlantic in recent years.

In light of these challenges and other global ones, it appears that a transatlantic alliance is vital. Cooperation in the Atlantic basin can take several aspects (multidimensional cooperation) integrating trade agreements, treaties of security and defense...

With reference to trade, we are witnessing a commercial phenomenon marked by the multiplication of negotiated trade agreements, or in negotiation, inside the Atlantic space. The key goal is to encourage forms of transatlantic partnership, and/or association, to forge valuable links of cooperation between the two shores of the Atlantic, and to promote trade and investment flows in a favorable atmosphere to all the stakeholders. In fact, the strengthening of trade, and investment flows, is conveyed by a set of motivations ranging from looking for opportunities until the consolidation of infrastructures, the encouragement of development initiatives, and the irradiation of unemployment and poverty.

The regional integration process is often seen as a privileged way to promote trade and investment flows and to achieve economic and social development. Economic theories show how number of advantages can be offered to countries that decide to participate in this process. For example, regional integration tends to have a positive effect on trade volume due to the lower prices of imported goods, by dint of the reduction or removal of customs barriers. Trade development should enable the countries involved to become more efficient through economies of scale, which should in turn lead to increased production and employment (Krugman and Obstfeld 2001). Two conditions - necessary but not sufficient - may enable African countries to accelerate the process of regional integration, i.e. convergence of both their levels of development and their respective macroeconomic frameworks.

At the general economic level, over the last fifteen years, various African economies have experienced sustained growth accompanied by a rise in average per capita income. Adjusted to the cost of living, per capita incomes in African countries increased by almost half between 2000 and 2009 thanks to an average annual growth rate around 5% in all Africa and 6.3% in Sub-Saharan Africa during this decade. This rate is 3 percentage points higher than the rate observed in OECD countries. Because of this difference, and despite the significant

increase in the African population, the average gap between the per capita income of developed countries and that of African countries has decreased. However, not all African countries will converge at the same time, but the “catching-up” process will be at different speeds. At present, North, South and West Africa seem to be at the top of the pack, followed by East Africa, and finally Central Africa, which still has some big challenges ahead.

Economic convergence is essential for a continental economic and monetary union realization and hence, of a pan-African parliament establishment. Indeed, achieving real sustainable convergence is important to support the economic and social cohesion of African regions and the continent as a whole. In addition, the sustainability of real convergence is important because it allows a harmonization of macroeconomic policies, which is one of the different manifestations of a monetary and economic union. This is particularly the case since the concept of macroeconomic convergence is becoming more and more widespread amongst economists in developing regions, particularly in Africa. This growing popularity, encouraged by the experience of the European Monetary Union, reflects the strategic importance of macroeconomic convergence which is the foundation of all efforts aimed at regional and continental integration.

Regarding issues related to migration, we know that migration flows have a remarkable impact on the host countries as well as on countries of origin in political, cultural, social and economic layers. In this regard, a transatlantic cooperation in matter of migratory flows control may reverse the equation and make of these migration flows a resource, a capital, for the hosting communities rather than a problem. In addition to the enhancement of the transatlantic migration phenomenon, some parallel cooperation agreements (matching to those dealing with migration flows problems, including the agreements about trade and investment flows) can contribute intensively to the reduction, and the depreciation, of the pressures produced by the migration phenomenon. However, a control of the demographic variable within the countries of origin is a crucial step in the process of the migration flows control.

The current demographic revolution in Africa and the resulted migration could translate on positive economic and social development in both host and origin countries. In this context, security and defense may have a great importance in the transatlantic cooperation calendars.

Apart from this set of factors, the Atlantic – especially south-cooperation faces today numerous problems that reduce the opportunities and the possibilities of its expansion. These include gaps in terms of GDP, GDP per capita which makes it hard for south countries to integrate as well as divergence of the foreign policies of many countries within the Atlantic basin, which constraints the elaboration and the adoption of coherent agendas.

The Atlantic Current 2017 focuses on the African continent and highlights the continent's performance regarding economic, security, social and governance strata. The first chapter looks closely at how the construction of a partnership between the two continents could prove to be mutually beneficial and lays the foundations of a genuine strategic partnership. The human, emotional and cultural ties that unite the people of the two continents, their economic potential and the contribution they are capable of making, were at the center of narrative. Africa is moving forward and, in the future, it could meet the needs of its people, ensuring that they remain settled. The stronger the integration of the continent, the more free movement and the more intra-African migration will prevail over migration out of Africa. African migration and, to a large extent, its underpinning narrative are central ideas presented in the second chapter that attempts to examine the nature of African migration, its causes and consequences. It is a trial to correct misconceptions or even to adjust some stereotypical thoughts. The chapter will address issues and figures that have been circulated on African migration, and will place them in their appropriate context and rid them of magnifying slogans turning them into a scourge. Africa is accused of being the source of other scourges such as terrorism, arms, and drugs traffic. In the five past years, terrorist attacks have killed nearly 20,000 people across Africa, in addition to damages on basic infrastructures, and on economic and political performance of affected countries. Given this background, the third chapter discusses possibilities to face new generation of terrorism and the opportunities for common continental responses capabilities. Migration, security conditions and terrorist threats in Africa as well as the acceleration of Africa's move towards globalization opens up new strategic challenges and prospects for a number of maritime countries. Given these challenges and prospects, chapter four tracks the maritime-route strategies adopted by some African countries. Chapter 5 will discuss regional integration patterns in Africa and other developing countries. It focuses on the

economic and macroeconomic convergence concepts in Africa. Several relevant questions are analyzed. This includes both the verification of the presence of real convergence in African regions and the discussion of the reasons for its absence, as well as the definition of the macroeconomic convergence criteria and their evolution at the level of different African regions countries. This work draws on the work of several institutions, such as the African Development Bank, as well as other African regional organizations, the European Union and international financial institutions. Finally, chapter 6 will present some selected indicators for integration process assessment within the Atlantic space.