

Open Access Journal Available Online

African Union's Single Passport and Free Movement: The Challenges

¹Dimas Garba

Department of Political Science, Federal University Dutsin-Ma, Katsina State Nigeria.
08036557072- +234 (0)8036557072 - Email: dimasgarba@yahoo.com

&

²Alexander, Wancelous Avong

Department of Political Science, Federal University Dutsin-Ma, Katsina State Nigeria.
08131682949- +234 (0)8131682949 - Email: avongtk@gmail.com

Received: 13.04.2021 Accepted: 23.06.2021

Date of Publication: June, 2021

Abstract: This study interrogates the African Union (AU) Single Passport framework for the free movement of people, goods and services within the African continent and its challenges. The research relied on data obtained from secondary sources such as academic journals, books and official reports. Documentary research techniques was also utilized for analysis. It was explained from the context of the Regional Economic Integration Theory that the Single Passport was aimed at deepening Africa's Integration by creating a single market. The study established that AU Single Passport has potentials to boast intra-trade relations among African countries which would serve as a vehicle for Africa's socio-economic development. However, this work confirms the challenge of political instability and insecurity like the evolving complexities of hybrid and asymmetric threats like terrorism, transnational organised crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering and piracy, small arms proliferation, illicit mineral extraction and wildlife poaching, oil and counterfeit goods, advanced fee and internet fraud, illegal manufacture of firearms, armed robbery, and theft. To realize the potentials of the AU Passport, the paper recommended that, the AU countries should ensure joint border patrol; deepening of internal democracy; increasing public funding for rapid infrastructural development.

Keywords: Africa, African Union, Challenges, Regional Integration & Single Passport

Introduction

The world is experiencing economic openness, growing economic interdependence and deepening economic integration between countries through regional and sub-regional intra-trade. Economic integration under the European Union (EU) has shown that the more a regional is integrated (in terms of the size), the more likely it is to lead to economic growth. In addition, the stronger the potential economies of scale are, and the more rapid the autonomous productivity advances, the more likely the integration will lead to growth (Ombeni, 2015). The Post-colonial African states soon realized the need to pool their resources together to attain economic independence. This aspiration has led to creation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 that later transformed to the African Union (AU) in 2002, which significantly strengthened the movement towards the goal of Pan-African political and economic union. The AU strives towards boosting intra-African cooperation and integration in the economic field at the continental level. It saw the formation of several Regional Economic Communities as a strategy for consolidating economic progress and building blocks for eventual formation of a continental economic community (African Union, 2002).

Africa, in its quest to benefit from the increasingly

liberally globalized world and minimize marginalization from the international economic system, has resorted deepening regional integration especially in the aspect of free movement of people across the region. In light of this development, the AU has urged its member States to offer visas on arrival to fellow Africans in line with its vision and Agenda 2063. *“The Vision of the African Union is to become an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena”* (African Development Bank, 2016:4). This vision came one-step closer to realization on June 13, 2016; the AU announced its plan to launch a single African Passport, would permit any citizen of an AU member state to enter any of the other fifty-four (54) states, without a visa. The first issue of these passports was distributed in July of 2016 at the twenty-seventh AU Summit in Kigali; the current plan is to have these passports available for all African citizens by 2020 (African Development Bank, 2016; Ricks, 2017).

Although, free movement of persons would bring significant development in the deepening of regional integration and economic growth in Africa, there are potential challenges that need to be investigated for solutions to be proffered. Therefore, this paper seeks to examine the African Union’s Single Passport and Free Movement with emphasis on challenges. The

study will contribute significantly, in not only identifying the potential challenges with the Single Passport but proffering solution to the challenges. The paper utilized secondary sources of data and documentary research techniques for analysis.

Conceptual Clarification

Regional Integration

There are several attempts at defining regional integration but no commonly accepted definition exists. For example, Haas defined regional integration as, “the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones” (Haas, 1968:16). To De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove (2007), regional integration refers to as “a worldwide phenomenon of territorial systems that increases the interactions between their components and creates new forms of organisation, co-existing with traditional forms of state-led organisation at the national level” (Sheriff, David, & Adams, 2015:463). Haas (1968) and De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove (2007) defined regional integration from political point of view which is referred to as political integration.

From a slightly different point of view, Balassa (1961), regards regional integration as both a process and a state of affairs. As a state of affairs, it is the “absence of various forms of discrimination between national economies.” As a process, it includes “measures designed to abolish discrimination between economic units belonging to different national states” (Balassa, 1961:1). This suggest regional integration as the process of eliminating discriminatory measures among countries that consider themselves as a region or are aspiring for regional integration. It involves the removal of national barriers to trade, capital movements, migration and the exchange of information such as tariffs, quotas, Visa etc. (Ginkel, Court, & Langenhove, 2003).

In this research, regional integration is defined as a process that involves separate or individual states coming together and surrendering of some aspects of national sovereignty and reduction or elimination of some forms of barriers imposed among themselves for the purpose of forming a single community for the attainment of some shared objectives such as promotion of unity, peace and security, market expansion and economic development, infrastructure development, social and cultural interactions, technology development, etc. Examples of regional organisations are: the European Union (EU), African Union (AU), (COMESA), East African Community

(EAC), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), etc.

Africa's regional integration under the African Union has political, economic, social and security objectives. The single Passport Policy, which this paper discusses, is therefore a strategy of AU that aims to remove the long existing VISA restrictions imposed by individual members to pave way for the smooth movement of persons, goods and services in the continent, which will lead to eventual emergence of a single continental economic union.

AU's Single Passport

The AU Single Passport is a document introduced by the African Union to ensure border openness of AU member-states. The aim of the Passport is to facilitate free movement of people, goods and services; to get more people mobile, to carry out their business easily, spontaneously, quickly, with minimum cost. That applies whether you are a businessman or woman, a student or researcher, a cross-border trader or entrepreneur, reuniting with friends and family or just travelling to visit the sights (African Development Bank, 2016:8). Also, the Single Passport will enable

people to move freely across Africa, which represents a powerful boost to economic growth and skills development. In summary, the document aims to abolish the general restrictiveness on movement of people across all African States, through the issuance of common visas by member states.

Theoretical Framework: Regional Economic Integration Theory

Balassa's book written in 1961, titled: "The Theory of Economic Integration" forms the basis of this theory. This theory assumes that regional integration involves the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers within the integrated area, having a standard external trade policy that initiates common external trade restrictions against non-members, free movement of goods and services, free flow of factors of production across national borders, policies harmonisation, common monetary policies, and acceptance of a common currency. There are four different stages of economic integration which starts with a Free Trade Area (FTA), a Customs Union (CU), a Common Market (CM), and finally an Economic Union (EU) which will lead to the highest stage- a Political Union (PU) (Balassa, 1961; Hosny, 2013).

Free Trade Area (FTA): at this stage, member- states at this stage agree to eliminate all trade restrictions or barriers among themselves, but each maintains its trade restrictions with non-participating countries

(third parties). In other words, tariffs (imposed on imported goods) between member-states are eliminated for sufficient trade to flow between the countries signing the agreement. The general purpose of free trade agreements is to promote economic efficiency by developing economies of scale and comparative advantages. FTA poses less of a threat to national sovereignty and is more acceptable to states with politically sensitive relationships. The NAFTA is an important example of AFTA.

Custom Union (CU): besides the suppression of discrimination in the field of commodity movements within the union, this stage involves the equalization of tariffs in trade with non-member countries. It is an upgrade of a free trade area- removes all trade barriers among member countries in addition to formulating common trade policies against non-member countries. i.e., same tariffs are applied to third party countries; a common trade regime is achieved. Customs unions are particularly useful to level the playing field and tackle the problem of re-exports, which involves using preferential tariffs in one country to enter another. A CU normally creates institutions to administer the common tariff, and the CU members have less ability to make independent decision. Notable Customs unions, include the Customs Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia, the -EU-Turkey Customs Union, Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), the

-EU- Andorra Customs Union, and the -EU-San Marino Customs Union, among others.

Common Market (CM): this stage is where a higher form of economic integration is attained. It has all of the above-mentioned economic integration characteristics in addition to unimpeded mobility of capital and labour among member countries. The increased labour mobility induces members to establish similar health, safety, educational, and social security standards so that no country's workers have a competitive advantage. Successful common markets are rare because they require high levels of integration. Here, member countries make a joint decision on common policies that guide and regulate factor flows with non-participating countries. The Caribbean Community (formerly the Caribbean Community and Common Market, or CARICOM), and the EC from 1957 to 1992 are typical example of a common market.

Economic Union (EU): this stage combines the suppression of restrictions on commodity and factor policies, in order to remove discrimination that was due to disparities in these policies. All tariffs are removed for trade between member countries, creating a uniform (single) market. There are also free movements of labour, enabling workers in a member-country to move and work in the union. i.e., it is the most advanced form of economic integration—shares all the characteristics of PTAs, FTAs, Customs unions,

common markets, and monetary unions, but unlike these, member countries create and share common monetary, fiscal, industrial, and welfare policies, which signifies a level of political integration. CARICOM, ECOWAS, ECCAS, SADC, EAC are example of a common market.

Political Union (PU): this has the characteristics of an economic union and harmonises member’s foreign and defense policies. Represents the potentially most advanced form of integration with a common government and the sovereignty of member country is significantly reduced such as federations where there are a central government and regions having a level of autonomy. The above discussed is succinctly presented in the table below:

Table 1: The Stages of Regional Economic Integration

	No Tariff or Quota	Common External Tariffs	Free Flow of Factors	Harmonization of Economic Policies	Unification of Policies and Political Unification
Free Trade Area	X				
Customs Union	X	X			
Common Market	X	X	X		
Economic Union	X	X	X	X	

Political Union	X	X	X	X	X
-----------------	---	---	---	---	---

Source: Balassa, (1961)

It is important to note that, although various authors approach the theories of economic integration differently, the discussions above clearly show that economic integration is an ongoing process occurring at different stages, including free trade areas, custom unions, common markets, economic unions, and political unions. These stages of integration are models that do not fully describe reality.

The African paradigm is that of linear market integration, following stepwise integration of goods, labour and capital markets, and eventually monetary and fiscal integration. The achievement of a political union features as the ultimate objective in many African RIAs. The various regional economic communities (RECs) in Africa and at a Pan African level follow this process; eight of the RECs have been identified as the building blocks of the African Economic Community. However, no one can yet predict when the eight AU recognized regional and economic blocs would reach advanced stages of monetary, economic, and political union for a complete economic integration in Africa.

The AU’s Single Passport as a Strategy for Regional Integration in Africa

In a bid to deepen continental integration and unity in

the spirit of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance, the African Union Assembly adopted Agenda 2063 which aims at achieving “*An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena*” (African Development Bank, 2016:2). The Agenda, which was, officially adopted in 2015, provides a new collective vision and roadmap to building a prosperous and united Africa based on shared values and a common destiny. In furtherance to that, the African Union launched an African Passport in July, 2016 i.e. Single Passport to be circulated effective year 2020 to allow citizens of the 54 member states to travel visa free across the continent (African Union, 2014; Okunade, 2019).

This quest for economic integration, which started under the structures of the defunct OAU and now AU, has taken various initiatives and made substantial progress in many areas, which paved the way for the establishment of current efforts. Notable among these efforts is the Lagos Plan of Action, the Abuja Treaty, the Minimum Integration Programme, the Programme for Infrastructural Development in Africa (PIDA), the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), and regional and national plans and programmes. In the Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community

Relating to Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Right of Establishment;

- i. The objective of the AU on free movement is to facilitate the implementation of the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community by providing for the progressive implementation of free movement of persons, right of residence and right of establishment in Africa (Article 2);
- ii. Member States shall permit nationals of another Member State who are holders of registration or pre-registration documents, to take up education or research in their territory in accordance with the policies and laws of the host Member State; A host Member State shall in accordance with national or regional policies issue student permits or passes to nationals of other Member States who are admitted to pursue studies in the host Member State; and Member States shall develop, promote and implement programmes to facilitate exchange of students and researchers among Member States (Article 13);
- iii. Nationals of a Member State shall have the right to seek and accept employment without discrimination in any other Member State in accordance with the laws of the host Member

- State; A national of a Member State accepting and taking up employment in another Member State may be accompanied by a spouse and dependents (Article 14);
- iv. Nationals of a Member State shall have the right of residence in the territory of any Member State in accordance with the laws of the host Member State; A national of a Member State taking up residence in another Member State may be accompanied by a spouse and dependants; and Member States shall gradually implement favourable policies and laws on residence for nationals of other Member States (Article 16);
- v. Stipulates that Nationals of a Member State shall have the right of establishment within the territory of another Member State in accordance with the laws of the host Member State. The right of establishment shall include the right to set up in the territory of the host Member State: a business, trade, profession, vocation or calling; or an economic activity as a self-employed person (Article 17) (African Union, 2018).

The free movement of people has been high on the regional integration agenda, primarily because of the potential trade gains. This protocol is modelled on the EU Schengen's free movement agreement, which led

to the creation of a single external border and abolished many internal borders, enabling citizen's visa free movement across the region for business, tourism and education. It is believed that free movement of persons, goods, will foster intra-Africa trade, integration, and socio-economic development. Expectedly, it will discourage transnational organized crimes and promote cooperation, regional integration, and development. Practically, the AU as a regional organisation does not have the capacity to operate as an organization without the support of its members who are of course, states that make up the African continent. It is worthy of note that these states belong to sub-regional groupings that have been in existence before AU examples of such include COMESA, EAC, CEN-SAD, ECCAS, ECOWAS, IGAD, SADC and UMA. Some of these Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have long existing protocols or a microscopic manifestation of free movement among member states that belong to such groupings. Within the African Union Commission (AUC)/African Economic Communities (AEC) framework of cooperation, a number of RECs like ECOWAS has enacted a Protocol on free movement of persons, and the right of residence and establishment in 1979. The EAC has ratified the Common Market Protocol (2009) elaborating an implementation Action-Plan with a sequential period. In addition, SADC has in place a

Free Trade Protocol encompassing free movement of persons and other factors of production while COMESA signed an FTA and a Customs Union protocol with the objectives to facilitate free movement of persons among other free trade agreements (Okunade, 2019).

The application of the free movement protocol in the African Continent through the auspices of the AU has many implications on the cultural, political, social and economic structure of Africa.

The Political and Security Challenges to AU's Single Passport and Free Movement

The motive of Africa's regional integration has been the coming together of countries to achieve large markets for themselves, reap the benefits of economies of scale, and attain a coherent political cooperation. However, political and security challenges are envisaged to be the challenges of regional integration in Africa via the AU Single Passport (Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Right of Establishment).

The political system of Africa during the colonial era was that of divide and rule for the exploitation of resources. The post-colonial era saw the colonial political structures bequeathed to African independent countries. From the early days of independence in the 1960s right through the 1980s, some form of dictator ruled almost every African country. No doubt the post-

Cold war period witnessed the widespread acceptance of democracy which accompanied a significant decline in inter-state conflict, military coups, and civil wars in Africa because democracy is a political system of government that encourages popular participation of citizen in governance, competitive politics, multiparty system, periodic elections and constitutional change of government. However, the practice of democracy has also caused internal struggle for political power, internal division, violence and killings amongst citizens even though on the decline due to increase in democratization and intervention by AU and RECs (African Development Bank, New York University & Africa Travel Association, 2013).

Political instability in Africa is like a hydra-head monster that resulted into civil wars, border clashes, refugee problems, assassination and interference in the internal matters of member states of AU. African leaders and intellectuals held as they are in the grip of colonial ideology have been unable to see or fully to appreciate the path to African political and economic unity and development. The arbitrary partitioning of Africa into colonial territorial units at the Berlin Congress of 1885 lumped together disparate communities and peoples into an uneasy administrative entity called a state. This led to ethno-nationalist wars and secession, aggravated in the

postcolonial period by the domination, exclusion and disposition of land and resources of particular communities in the new political entity (Ibrahim, 2016).

In respect to crises, the African nations suffered a lot of setback particularly the situation where both political and social crisis thwart the developmental path of the nations. Prominent among these includes the crisis in Sudan (Darfur, Janjawid and Sudan Liberation Army), Rwanda (Tutsi and Hutu), Ivory Coast, Chad, Niger (recent coup by the Military), Madagascar, Nigeria (Religious and ethnic crises in Jos, Kaduna, Borno and Yobe states), Somalia (Al-Shabbab and the fragile government backed by the AU), etc. The cold war ideological divide has directly instigated conflicts in Angola in 1975 and Somalia in 1977. Corrupt and tyrannical regimes in states such as Siad Barre's Somalia, Mobutu's Zaire the 'America's greatest friend in Africa', Mengistu's Ethiopia, and Stevens' Sierra Leone were maintained in power to serve the vested interests of the super powers and their allies making the political system of African countries to be unstable. Wars of secession in Africa includes Sudan 1955–1972, Nigeria, 1966–69, Namibia, 1999 (Caprivi Strip), Senegal, 1982 to present (Casamance), and Somalia, 1984–89 (North West). Among the inter-state wars in post-colonial Africa included; Ethiopia-Somalia in 1977–78, Uganda-Tanzania in 1978–79,

Ghana-Mali in the 1980s, Nigeria-Cameroon, Mali-Burkina Faso 1986, and recently between Eritrea and Ethiopia, 1998–2000. These wars were resultant to disputes over contested inter-state borders, in particular when the territory in question has strategic resources such as the Nigeria-Cameroon conflict over the Bakassi peninsula. In terms of identity-based violence, in particular ethnically motivated armed conflict is emerging as a common feature in Africa. In Rwanda (1960–64) and Burundi (1970–74) there were outbreaks of ethnic strife and genocide. In Rwanda alone, the 1994 genocide claimed an estimated 1 million people (David, 2011; Coning, Gelot, & Karlsrud, 2016; Ibrahim, 2016).

These crises in the African Continent has necessitated African peace operations, like Economic Community Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia, African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB), Economic Community Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL), African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), African Union Mission for Support to the Elections in Comoros (AMISEC), African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), African Union Electoral and Security Assistance Mission to the Comoros (MAES)/Operation Democracy, United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), Regional Task Force of the African Union-led Regional Cooperation Initiative for the Elimination of

the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA), African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA), African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA), Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) of the Lake Chad Basin Commission against Boko Haram, etc. However, the continent of Africa is still a place of mass displacement (Coning, Gelot, & Karlsrud, 2016). Conflict and violence is still linked to political upheavals, communal and ethnic tensions and Boko Haram extremism. This meant that most countries in West and Central Africa for example, are affected by internal or cross border displacement, although the magnitude varies dramatically (International Organization for Migration, 2020).

The interrelated threats of terrorism; transnational organized crime, and the illicit economies that it engenders are issues the member states of the AU and its RECs have to contend with. Terrorism is undoubtedly one of the hybrid threats confronting Africa in the twenty-first century. Organized crimes like drug trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering and piracy, small arms proliferation, illicit mineral extraction and wildlife poaching, oil and counterfeit goods, advanced fee and internet fraud, illegal manufacture of firearms, armed robbery, and theft are symptoms of regional vulnerabilities defined in terms of bad governance, weakness of law

enforcement agencies and state institutions, unemployment, poverty and porous borders in Africa (Aning & Abdallah, 2016).

To 2020 Global Peace Index report, the overall deaths from terrorism in the region remained stable at 4,635, compared to 4,523 in 2018. Whilst this is still lower than the peak seen in 2014, it is a 200% increase from a decade ago. In total, under 50,000 people have been killed in terrorist attacks in the region since 2002. Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia recorded the highest economic impact at \$12.5 and \$5.6 billion respectively, with MENA accounting for an additional \$4.7 billion. The economic impact of terrorism of the UN 18 focus countries increased from \$661 million in 2007, to \$12.3 billion in 2019, an increase of over 1,760%. Over the same period, terrorist attacks increased from 288 to 1,577, and fatalities associated with terrorism increased from 1,328 to 5,522 across the 18 focus countries. This increase since 2007 is largely driven by Nigeria characterized by 4,383 terrorist attacks and 23,354 fatalities since 2007, which equal \$141,889.4 billion impact (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2020).

The Amnesty International in 2017, reported that 2.3million people has been displaced out of which 1.6million were internally displaced in Nigeria, 303,000 in Cameroon and 374,000 in Chad and Niger.

More than 7million people across the region face serious food shortages, including 5million in Nigeria and 1.5million in Cameroon. There are 515,000 children suffering from severe acute malnutrition, more than 85% of them in Nigeria (Garba, 2018). At the end of 2018, the Democratic Republic of the Congo was home to more than half a million refugees, while at the same time it was the country of origin of over 700,000 refugees, with 300,000 of them residing in Uganda and significant numbers in other neighbouring countries, including Rwanda (77,000) and Burundi (71,000). Both the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic ranked among the top 10 origin countries of refugees in the world in 2018, with the Central African Republic producing nearly 600,000 refugees and more than half a million conflict IDPs. With more than 2.2 million IDPs, Nigeria ranked among the top 10 countries with the highest number of people displaced due to conflict and violence by end of 2018. In the same year, there were more than 600,000 IDPs in Cameroon and over 156,000 in the Niger (International Organization for Migration, 2020). Civil unrest in sub-Saharan Africa rose by more than 800%, from 32 riots and protests in 2011 to 292 in 2018. The 2020 Global Peace Index, report that, Sub-Saharan Africa had the highest proportion of violent demonstrations, with riots making up 42.6% of total events (Institute for

Economics & Peace, 2020). This is to say, that socio economic development -the primary goal of every well-meaning government has been retarded by insecurity in Africa. It is essentially dependent on the level of economic activities in a member-states; the level of economic activities is in turn enhanced by peaceful co-existence of people. In the absence of security, socio-economic development cannot be sustained as it destroys economic, human and social capital. Therefore, the continent is currently very unstable affecting both the economic stability and the commitment that AU member-states can make to the regional agenda like free movement.

With Africa as the poorest in Human Development as it was ranked 0.398 in 1990, 0.421 in 2000, 0.498 in 2010, 0.514 in 2012, 0.526 in 2014, 0.531 in 2015, 0.534 in 2016, 0.537 in 2017 (United Nations Development Programme, 2018). Africa remains poorly equipped to respond to these hybrids threats of today. One wonders how has the AU and its respective RECs' response strategies changed to tackle these asymmetric and hybrid security challenges. What restructuring, if any, should occur to make security and health more responsive to the rapidly changing security and health environment? These hybrids threats and the lack of capacity to contend with it in Africa suggest that the free movement policy of the AU will not be realistic as envisaged. It will rather

increase the complexities of the evolving complexities of hybrid and asymmetric threats in the African continent.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The above discourse delineates the political instability and insecurity challenges of AU single passport free movement in Africa. Africa's regional integration is poised to achieve large markets for themselves, reap the benefits of economies of scale, and attain a coherent political cooperation. AU single passport is expected to accelerate or achieve these said objectives. However, political instability and insecurity challenges like the evolving complexities of hybrid and asymmetric threats like terrorism, transnational organised crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking, money laundering and piracy, small arms proliferation, illicit mineral extraction and wildlife poaching, oil and counterfeit goods, advanced fee and internet fraud, illegal manufacture of firearms, armed robbery, and theft. The paper therefore, recommend the establishment of joint border patrol among member states of RECs to curb the incidence of trans-border criminal activities. Internal democracy within AU member-states should be deepened so as to make citizens civil in their dealings, imbue in leaders and security agencies greater respect for people's rights and freedoms. Public funds and enlightenment should be employed to provide public education.

References

African Development Bank. (2016). *Africa Visa Openness Report 2016*. Abidjan: African Development Bank.

African Development Bank, New York University & Africa Travel Association. (2013). *Africa Tourism Monitor*. Abidjan: AfDB, NYU & ATA.

African Union. (2002). *Treaty Establishing the*

African Economic Community, Article 43. African Union. Retrieved 12 19, 2016, from www.au2002.gov.za/docs/key_oau/aectreat1.htm

African Union. (2014). *Agenda 2063 'The Africa We Want' 2nd Edition*. Retrieved 03 10, 2017, from <http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/au-handbook2014.pdf>

African Union. (2018). *Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community Relating to Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Right of Establishment*.

Aning, K., & Abdallah, M. (2016). Confronting hybrid threats in Africa: improving multidimensional responses. In C. d. Coning, L. Gelot, & J. Karlsrud, *The future of African peace operations From the Janjaweed to Boko Haram* (pp. 20-38). London: Zed Books.

Balassa, B. A. (1961). *The Theory of Economic Integration*. Homewood, Illinois: Richard Dale, Inc. .

Coning, C. D., Gelot, I., & Karlsrud, J. (2016). Towards an African Model of Peace Operations. In C. D. Coning, I. Gelot, & J. Karlsrud, *The Future of African Peace Operations: From the Janjaweed to Boko Haram* (pp. 1-19). London: Zed Books.

David, F. J. (2011). Africa at War Against Itself: Civil Wars and New Security Threats. In E. McCandless, & T. Karbo, *Peace, Conflict, and Development In Africa: A Reader* (pp. 53-69). Switzerland: University for Peace.

Garba, D. (2018). Transnational Insurgency: Boko Haram and Regional Insecurity in Africa. *FUDMA Journal of politics and International Affairs*, 82-98.

Ginkel, H. V., Court, J., & Langenhove, L. V. (2003). *Integrating Africa: Perspectives on Regional Integration and Development*. Tokyo: UNU Press.

Haas, E. (1968). *Uniting of Europe*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Hosny, A. S. (2013). Theories of Economic Integration: A Survey of the Economic and Political Literature. *International Journal of Economy, Management and Social Sciences*, 2(5), 133-155.

Ibrahim, A. A. (2016). African Union and the Challenges of Underdevelopment in Contemporary Africa. *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science*, 14(4), 1-10.

Institute for Economics & Peace. (2020). *Global*

- Terrorism Index 2020: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism*. Sydney: Institute for Economics & Peace.
- International Organization for Migration. (2020). *World Migration Report 2020*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration.
- Okunade, S. K. (2019). The African Union Protocol on Free Movement: A Panacea to End Border Porosity? . *Journal of African Union Studies*, 8(1), 73-91.
- Ombeni, M. N. (2015). The Benefits of Regional Economic Integration for Developing Countries in Africa: A Case of East African Community (EAC). *Korea Review of International Studies*.
- Ricks, T. (2017). From the Abuja Treaty to the Sustainable Development Goals: Realizing Economic Integration in Africa. Retrieved from ncilj.org/wp-content/uploads/10/12/2020
- Sheriff, G. I., David, O., & Adams, J. W. (2015). An Intergovernmentalist Approach To Regional Integration In Africa: The Efficacy Of The African Union (AU). *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research And Modern Education*, 1(1), 461-479.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2018). *Summary Human Development Indices and Indicators 2018 Statistical Update*. USA: UNDP.
- United Nations Development Programme . (2019). *Human Development Report 2019 Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human Development in the 21st century*. USA: UNDP.