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PROPOSALS ON INTER-GOVERNMENTAL MACHINERY  
FOR SUB-REGIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION IN  
WEST AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

1. During the Seventh Session of the Economic Commission for Africa which was held in Nairobi from 9 to 23 February 1965, it was agreed that there was an urgent need for economic integration in Africa. The Commission noted with satisfaction the efforts which had been and are being made in the field of economic co-operation at both the regional and sub-regional levels. It was urged that sub-regional activities directed towards economic co-operation should be intensified, but the Commission recognized that the sub-regional approach was essentially a step towards the economic integration of the continent as a whole.

2. With this aim in view, several important decisions were taken, which served to modify the Commission's subsequent work, with greater emphasis from then on being placed on operational roles.

3. By Resolution 142 (VII) the Commission recommended that member states set up at an early date, at the sub-regional level, inter-governmental machinery for the harmonization of development policies, taking into account the experience gained of similar institutional arrangements elsewhere. The resolution further requested the Executive Secretary to provide as early as possible assistance for the setting up of inter-governmental machinery at the invitation of governments, and urged that inter-governmental consultations should be undertaken immediately.

4. The Conference of African Planners, which was held in Dakar from 15 to 27 November 1964, recognized the need for the co-ordination of planning and development in Africa and recommended that the ECA assist the governments in the different sub-regions in establishing Planning Co-ordination Committees composed of representatives of the various planning authorities. It further recommended that each Planning Co-ordination Committee assume the following commitments in its sub-region:

- (a) a review of the developmental prospects of the sub-region; especially of such new perspectives as may be opened up by the integration of individual national markets, and a study of the situation and the problems in each country, taking into account existing national plans and projects;
- (b) the consultations that are necessary in order to assure the prospects of projects contained in national development plans, but dependent upon the markets of other African countries for their success;
- (c) the formulation of integrated sets of development proposals, taking into account especially the need to attain a more balanced development of the various African countries in keeping with the spirit of inter-African solidarity.

5. The Conference also recommended that the proposals of the Planning Co-ordination Committee of each sub-region should be submitted for consideration by Ministerial representatives of the Planning Authorities of the countries in each sub-region. On the basis of such Ministerial consideration, the sub-regional development proposals should be adopted by the governments and incorporated into both existing and new development plans.

6. The Conference requested the ECA to supply such technical help as was required for the work of the Planning Co-ordination Committee both from its own resources and, if necessary, by arrangement with other international agencies.

7. The Seventh Session of the Economic Commission for Africa considered the recommendations of the Conference of African Planners, and adopted Resolution 145(VII) requesting the Executive Secretary to set up at the earliest possible opportunity Planning Co-ordination Committees to be linked with permanent machinery for inter-governmental negotiation. In operative paragraph three of the resolution the Commission requested the sub-regional committees as well as the Executive Secretary and his staff to pay particular attention at all

times to the need for harmonious development of Africa as a whole, and specifically to co-ordinate the sub-regional development programmes at an early date.

8. This paper briefly describes machinery that exists in Africa for economic cooperation, and presents for the consideration of member governments draft articles of association for a possible Economic Community of West Africa.

## II. ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION IN AFRICA

### The East African Common Market and Common Services Organization

9. A wide field of co-operation exists within the East African Common Market. There is a common external tariff, an internal free trade area, a common income tax system and common rates of excise tax. There is further a common monetary and financial system, with no restrictions on the movement of funds from one territory to another. A number of common economic scientific and research services are administered jointly. In the private sector, many commercial enterprises operate in all these territories, having complete freedom of movement for personnel, goods and funds from one territory to another.

10. The East African Common Services Organization consists of:

- (a) The East African Common Services Authority, the supreme and decision-taking body, consisting of the three Heads of State and Government;
- (b) Ministerial Committees on (i) Communications, (ii) Finance, (iii) Labour, (iv) Commercial and Industrial Co-ordination, and (v) Social and Research Services. Each of the five Committees is headed by three Ministers, one from each country, who in turn are responsible to the East African Common Services Authority;
- (c) the Central Legislative Assembly which legislates on the running of the common services. This Assembly is made up

of: 15 Ministers responsible for the five Committees of the Organization, 27 elected members, nine from each of the three countries and the Executive Secretary and Legal Secretary, as ex-officio members.

The Maghreb Institutions for Economic Co-operation

11. A Maghreb Ministerial meeting, held in Tangier in November 1964, laid the foundations of economic co-operation between the Maghreb countries. A Council of Ministers of Economic Affairs and a Standing Consultative Committee were set up.

12. The Council of Ministers of Economic Affairs of the Maghreb is the policy-making organ. The Council will meet at least twice a year and approve the decisions taken by the Standing Consultative Committee.

13. The Standing Consultative Committee is an agency composed of two senior officials from each country - one permanent and one alternative member - and a chairman. The Ministers will fill the office of Chairman in turn. The Committee will have a permanent secretariat headed by an Administrative Secretary, designated by the Chairman, and also correspondent in each member country, preferably in agencies and departments responsible for planning. The Committee will meet at least once every three months. Its agenda which will include proposals from member countries, will be communicated to them. The minutes of every session of the Committee must receive the unanimous approval of the members. The draft budget designed to cover the expenses of the Committee must be approved by the Council of Ministers. At its meeting in March 1965, the Standing Committee set up commissions responsible for trade and for the different industrial sectors.

14. The four countries submitted a request to the Special Fund for the establishment of a Centre for Industrial Studies, which would carry out studies aimed at fostering industrial co-ordination, in co-operation with the industrial development agencies of the member countries, and help train their research assistants.

The OAMCE (OCAM)

15. The African and Malagasy Organization for Economic Co-operation was founded in 1963, as the economic organ of the Union of African and Malagasy states. The organization includes 14 French speaking African states, and has within it two sub-groups: the West African Customs Union made up of Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta; and the Equatorial Africa Customs Union, consisting of Chad, the Congo(Brazzaville), the Central African Republic and Gabon with Cameroun to be gradually integrated into the Union following a decision taken in June 1961.

16. The main lines of action of the OAMCE are:

- (a) co-ordination of agricultural production and industrialization;
- (b) co-ordination of efforts to obtain higher prices for export commodities;
- (c) establishment of a common external tariff and increased intra-regional trade;
- (d) close co-operation in the monetary and fiscal fields.

17. In pursuit of this aim, four technical committees were set up to deal with: scientific and technical research; monetary problems; foreign trade and customs co-operation; and economic and social development. Later, a fifth committee was established for the co-ordination of transport in the area covered by the Organization.

18. The OAMCE was recently dissolved and replaced by the Organisation Commune Africaine et Malagache.

The Central African Customs and Economic Union (UDEAC)

19. Member of the Union are: Cameroun, the Central African Republic, the Congo(Brazzaville), Gabon and Chad. The main institutions of the Union are: the Council of Heads of State, the Management Committee and the General Secretariat.

20. The Council is formed by the Heads of State or their representatives who in turn are advised by ministers or experts. The Council is the

supreme decision-making organ of the Union and ensures the carrying out of the Union's aims. That is to say it:

- (a) co-ordinates the economic and customs policy of the various member states;
- (b) supervises the management committee;
- (c) establishes the international rules of the organization;
- (d) establishes the seat of the Union;
- (e) nominates the general secretary of the Union;
- (f) establishes the Union's budget and determines the share of each member state on the advice of the management committee;
- (g) settles tariff negotiations with third countries as well as the overall general tariff;
- (h) settles those issues which have not received the unanimous approval of the management committee;
- (i) arbitrates in any disputes between member states that may arise with regard to the Treaty;

With regard to economic, customs and tariff questions, its rulings are translated into legal terms by the legislative institutions of the member states.

21. The Council meets as often as required, and at least once a year. It is presided over each year by one of the Heads of States, taking office in turn in alphabetical order.

22. The Management Committee is composed of two members from each State: the Minister of Finance or his representative and the Minister in charge of economic development or his representative. The delegation of each member state must include at least one minister. Each delegation may be assisted by a maximum of four experts. The Committee meets as often as required but at least

twice a year, and is presided over each year in turn by one of the two ministers of each delegation, in alphabetical order. It acts on matters that are delegated to it by the Council. The decisions of the Committee must be taken unanimously, and have legal force in each member state after the arrival in the capital of each member state of the Official Journal of the Union, in which they are published. Such decisions are also published in the Official Journal of the member states.

23. The General Secretariat is headed by a Secretary-General who is directly responsible to the President of the Council in the chair.

The Secretariat acts as such to both the Council and the Committee, and includes the following divisions: foreign trade, taxation, statistics and demography, and a division for industrial development. Other divisions could be established, when required, by a decision of the Council.

#### The Projected Free Trade Area in West Africa

24. Four West African countries: Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Liberia and Sierra Leone have under consideration the possibility of setting up a Free Trade Area in West Africa. The four countries not only have differing institutional and administrative systems, but also reflect the diversities of the region on a smaller scale; consequently the successful conclusion of these discussions could provide the needed impetus for economic co-operation in Africa.

### III. PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MACHINERY FOR WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

25. The institutional arrangements that have been made to support movements towards economic co-operation in other regions of the world indicates the range of possibilities that could be applied in Africa. But the choice between these possibilities must be made from a clear appreciation of the similarities, and even more important, the differences, between the objectives which the various groups of



countries have sought through economic integration. It must also take into account the practical possibilities in Africa, considering such factors as the availability of manpower and of resources to run new institutions.

26. There is one difference between co-operation movements in developing continents such as Africa, and in more advanced areas such as Western or Eastern Europe, which must be considered of the first importance. Among the more advanced countries, economic co-operation seeks either to fuse existing industrialized economies with a view to making each one of them more efficient or to create wider opportunities through trade liberalization for factors of production which are already organized in production units, but the maximum utilization of which is inhibited by restraints on trade. Therefore, the institutions for economic integration among advanced countries have tended to be primarily institutions for the liberalization of trade, and for the rationalization of the location of industry. In Africa, and in other developing areas, industrial economies have yet to be built. The aim of economic co-operation is, therefore, not to fuse a number of existing industrial economies, but to build them up in the first place. What we are entering upon is a process of integrated development, rather than one of economic integration.

27. The potential benefits of co-operative development among less advanced countries can readily be summarized. The utilization of known resources of labour, of natural endowments, and sometimes even of available capital, is inhibited by the limited economic size of most African countries. The economic prospects of the smaller nations are particularly constricted by such limitations of market size. The unification of these small national markets into larger multi-national markets will enable more of the potentially available economic opportunities to be exploited. In addition, a more balanced pattern of growth, as between the various African countries, can be promoted.

28. There is another aspect to the case for integrated development, which is of outstanding importance for the African countries, but which tends to be obscured when summarized in the economic shorthand of "indivisibilities and economies of scale". The inability of many African countries to use some of their productive resources, or to take advantage of their own markets for various goods, owing to the smallness in the total size of their markets, is readily apparent. But in addition, there is the well-established fact that in many branches of industrial production, larger volumes of output can be manufactured at lower costs per **unit** than smaller volumes of production. This is either due to economizing on various elements of production cost, or to the fuller utilization of production capacity. Often, however, the most important reason for this reduction in cost lies in the possibility of using more advanced methods of production in large plants, a possibility not open to smaller plants. Efficiency in production would be sacrificed to an intolerable degree in the process of Africa's industrialization if, in many lines of industrial development, small production units, geared to national markets, were set up by each country in isolation. This inefficiency would result not only in a waste of resources, which the ordinary citizen cannot see, but also in generally high prices for locally manufactured goods, which he can see.

29. The widening of the African countries' prospects of economic growth, which integrated development implies, lies not only in the opportunities for an increase in the volume of production or in the efficiency of African industries. Perhaps even more important, it lies in the opportunity for a change in the structure of production. For one of the greatest causes of economic backwardness in Africa, as in the other less-developed regions, is the lop-sided structure of the economies.

30. As integrated development makes possible lower prices of goods through enhanced efficiency in production, so also the institutions for co-operative development must contain appropriate

means for ensuring that these advantages are passed on to the ordinary citizen, in the form of reasonable prices for good quality products. It will often happen that economies of scale can only be obtained by limiting the number of production units in the integration area at each stage of economic advance. These production units will, therefore, enjoy a monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic position, which could lead to the exploitation of the individual consumer, either through the supply of low-quality goods or through the charging of exorbitant prices.

31. The new industries, which the African countries can set up by co-operating in the process of industrialization will also often need to be protected, at least during a transitional period, from the competition of goods produced by similar industries long-established in other countries. This protection will enhance the monopolistic position of the new industrial enterprises. The pressure on these protected enterprises themselves to attain a maximum level of physical efficiency will decrease. Hence, there will be a danger of there growing up sheltered, inefficient and technologically backward industries, unless institutional arrangements are made to prevent this.

32. The experience of other countries which have attempted to implement programmes of national development commensurate with the social and demographic needs of the developing world has been that such national development programmes cannot be sustained in the absence of a substantial degree of economic self-sufficiency. The balance-of-payments problems, which constantly interrupt the advance of the poor countries, are only partly a reflection of the insufficiencies of their export markets. To an important degree, they are also the result of the extreme dependence of their economies upon outside sources for all but a very limited proportion of the whole range of goods which they need. To be meaningful, the process of integrated development must ensure for the African countries some protection from the constraint on national progress imposed by balance-of-payments difficulties, by encompassing the planning of the requisite

measure of industrialization and general economic self-sufficiency. And the institutions devised to carry out integrated development must be framed to this end.

33. This last consideration merges into the question of economic independence, which is a widely-held objective of the political revolution in Africa. One aspect of such economic independence is the national control and direction of the economies of the African countries. This control can only be assured if the African people or their governments have the capital and the managerial capacity to own and operate modern business enterprises. But even the most complete national ownership of the means of production is inadequate to ensure economic independence when the means of production are, in fact, unable to supply the major part of the needs of the country. For then the country is dependent on other countries for most of the physical commodities required to sustain economic activity and the day-to-day lives of the people. Such dependence is often of more crucial significance than that which is due to the fact that other countries own the capital assets within the borders of an African country.

34. Finally, co-operative development among various groups of African countries must be viewed as a contribution towards that overall unity which the African countries have adopted as a principal objective and to which their inter-governmental institutions are consecrated.

#### Principles Underlying Inter-governmental Machinery

35. The ideal form of organization for the integrated development of the area covered by any group of existing African countries would obviously be to join these countries in a political federation, and plan their development as the development of a single new nation. For the present, however, the institutions for economic co-operation in Africa must be set up as institutions jointly created by a number of independent sovereign states to promote their common purposes. The principal differentiating characteristics of such inter-governmental machinery are (a) whether they are supra-national or "confederal"

and (b) whether they have or have not independent powers of executive action.

36. Broadly speaking, supra-national organizations would have powers to take final decisions on the subjects within their competence. There would, on the other hand, be persons, organizations, or governments that were obliged to implement these decisions. Such obligations would arise either because the latter agencies had undertaken in advance to implement these decisions, or because they derived financial and other resources from the supra-national organizations for the execution, on their behalf, of the decisions. "Confederal" organs, by contrast, are organs the decisions of which are in the form of recommendations to the co-operating governments to adopt certain policies and undertake certain courses of action. These recommendations only become binding when they have been individually accepted by the member governments.

37. The governments could also set up organs which, while not being supra-national in the sense of being able to take decisions which are binding on those governments, would nevertheless be empowered to carry out specific functions on the basis of their own decisions. The most routine form of such multi-national and executive body would be if a number of governments set up a commercial venture to run a designated activity, say, telephone communications. A second form would be the sort of ad hoc authority that has recently been set up by the West African countries to develop a steel industry in the sub-region. This is differentiated from a conventional jointly-owned steel company by the fact that the governments intend to participate continuously in its decision-making processes, with a view to making these serve broad national development purposes. In general, the access of such an organ to financial resources would be limited, the government either providing it periodically with funds, or guaranteeing its loans from other sources of funds. The governments could entrust action not in a single field, like the steel industry, but over a wide area to such a body: thus they could conceivably

set up an industrial development corporation, which was empowered to undertake industrial projects in the territory of any member government, these governments exercising a more or less close control over the decision-making process within the corporation itself. A third variant is where the decisions of the organization cannot be carried out until they have been explicitly adopted by all, or by a majority, of the participating governments, and where the execution and implementation of these decisions is left to the participating governments themselves.

38. The type of inter-governmental organization which it is suggested that the West African governments set up to promote integrated development in the sub-region is the third variant mentioned above. It is proposed (a) that there be a formal forum for the discussion of the various lines of economic development that are of mutual interest to the countries of the sub-region; (b) that the decisions arising from these inter-governmental discussions and negotiations be subject to adoption by the participating governments; and (c) that the implementation of these decisions will in general be the responsibility of the individual governments.

39. It is for the governments of the sub-region to decide, after they have had experience of co-operative development, and as their mutual interests may indicate, at what stage they can increase the degree of their commitment to the policy of multi-national economic co-operation. At successive stages, the decisions of the inter-governmental organs can acquire more binding force, and these bodies which the West African countries agree to establish can also be given greater powers of independent action.

40. But the loose form of association suggested in this paper will be able to secure for the countries of the sub-region a good proportion of the benefits that might be expected from the ideal solution of a federal union. The possibilities of exploiting the natural, human and capital resources of the sub-region will be enhanced by the possibility of organizing these factors of production to serve a larger market. The smallness of economic size which blocks the path of

economic advancement for the smaller countries of the sub-region in particular need no longer be a hindrance. By decisions, deliberately taken in the interest of a balanced distribution of benefits between states, the countries of the sub-region can overcome whatever other obstacles may stand in the way of the general development, and particularly the structural transformation of the economies, of any of their members. Concerted industrial policies geared to this new larger market can embrace the development of those new lines of production which are needed to bring about the necessary structural change in the economy of the sub-region. A policy of integrated sub-regional development can realistically aim at avoiding the overall imbalance in the transactions between the sub-region and the rest of the world which would otherwise emerge as soon as a programme of ambitious development got under way. The countries of the sub-region can jointly look forward to a greater degree of economic independence than they could hope for in the absence of these co-operative arrangements.

41. The new institutions herein proposed assume the continued existence of the arrangements for economic co-operation that already exist among groups of countries in the sub-region. It is assumed that existing contacts between ministers and officials, for the consideration of matters of economic policy and development in those countries, will continue as a source of local ideas on the economic development of the sub-region as a whole. It is also assumed that technical agencies dealing with statistics, transport, posts and telecommunications will continue to run the existing services, and to participate in the work of the new sub-regional institutions for the further development of these services in West Africa as a whole.

42. Some formal links will have to be established between such institutions as already exist and the new sub-regional machinery, especially in order to make sure that there is full awareness in each group of the action planned or contemplated in the other group. Only thus can wasteful duplication and contradictions be avoided.

43. In view of the limited degree of economic co-operation that is at present envisaged, and of the pressures on the available manpower and time, the proposals presented here involve the establishment of a limited number of institutions, which will themselves be free to lay down, from time to time, their work programmes in accordance with their capacity to handle such work. The sub-regional machinery will in the near future require specialized groups dealing with Industry, Agriculture, Transport and Communications, and Trade and Payments, Manpower and Natural Resources. An economic committee composed of planners should, for the present, deal with all other questions such as agriculture, tariff protection, prices, standards and research, finance and investment, in which it is possible to foresee a substantial degree of economic co-operation from the very beginning. Special organs to deal with these need not, however, be set up until a sufficient body of new ideas has grown up in these fields, and the volume of work justifies the establishment of new organs.

44. Experience of other movements towards integration indicates that unless the permanent organization, especially the secretariat which is set up to service the movement, is of a high calibre, and commands adequate standing with the governments of the sub-region, the integration movement itself soon gets bogged down in a maze of conflicting interests and opinions. It is, therefore, proposed that the governments of the sub-region appoint on a full-time basis a small body of high-level advisers, who will have the responsibility of seeing that decisions jointly taken by the governments on economic co-operation are implemented in the manner agreed. The experiences of the European Common Market, and of the Latin American Free Trade Association, suggest that the success of the programme for sub-regional economic co-operation in West Africa will depend on the effectiveness of this secretariat.

(a) The Economic Community of West Africa

45. It is proposed that the governments of the sub-region enter into an agreement establishing the Economic Community of West Africa.



This Agreement would commit the governments to enter into joint consultations and negotiations, with a view to the integrated development of the sub-region, especially in the fields of industry, agriculture, transport and communications, trade and payments, manpower and natural resources. The Agreement could run for a period of ten years in the first instance. It would be subject to extension of its scope during this period, and to such extension or simple renewal after the expiry of ten years.

(b) The Council of Ministers

46. The principal organ of the Economic Community of West Africa could be a Council of Ministers, on which the member countries would be represented by ministers responsible for planning or economic affairs, or ministers otherwise designated by the governments. The Council of Ministers could lay down, in reasonable detail, the broad lines of co-operative development to be undertaken jointly by the governments of West Africa. It would assign the task of working out the specific contents of these programmes of integrated development to the subsidiary bodies to be created at this initial stage, and to other subsidiary organs which it may be found necessary to set up at a later stage. The decisions of these subsidiary organs would be submitted for adoption to the Council of Ministers. The agreement in principle of the governments of the sub-region to any proposals for integrated development would be deemed to exist when the Council of Ministers approves such proposals. The ministerial representatives would also be responsible, each in his own country, for ensuring the firm adoption by their governments of these proposals, their incorporation into national development plans when necessary, and the provision of short-term budgetary and other resources for their implementation on due dates.

47. At this stage in the acceptance by African governments of the concept of integrated development, it would be advisable to provide for decisions in the Council of Ministers to be taken on the basis of a consensus reached after full negotiation and discussion. During

the first five years of the Agreement, decisions on matters which the Council of Ministers itself decides to classify as matters of major policy would require the approval of all the parties to the Agreement, or at least of two-thirds of them. In addition, it is desirable to provide that no decision be taken which involves action of a certain specified character by an individual member without the consent of that member.

48. The Council of Ministers should also be responsible for the negotiations of specific agreements among the countries within the overall framework of economic co-operation - for instance, an agreement setting up a West African Common Market. Some of the discussion regarding the drawing up of such agreements may, of course, be entrusted to one or other of the permanent subsidiary organs, or to any ad hoc body set up for the purpose. But the Council of Ministers should lay down the terms of reference, working programme and guiding principles in every case. Such specific agreements may also be drawn up to cover the joint development of various branches of industry, or the joint running of various services in transport and communications, research, etc.

49. The Council of Ministers would be responsible for the composition of differences in the interpretation of the responsibilities assumed by the various governments, both under the general agreement setting up the Economic Community and under specific agreements. It would also supervise, on a continuing basis, the working of all these agreements.

(c) The Economic (or First) Committee

50. The principal technical organ under the Council of Ministers could be an Economic Committee composed of economists and planners who, in their own countries, are charged with the main responsibility for national planning at the technical level. This Economic Committee would advise the Council of Ministers on all aspects of its work, including especially (a) the formulation of general policies of

integrated development; (b) the drawing-up of work programmes for the Council of Ministers and the other subsidiary organs; (c) the elaboration of the principal outlines for specific agreements between the member governments; (d) the harmonization of national development plans in the areas chosen for integrated development, including the identification of objectives which deserve priority and the setting up of time-tables for the implementation of various lines of joint development; (e) the consideration of all other areas of integrated development which are not at present assigned to other subsidiary organs, including especially agriculture, finance and investment, protection and pricing, and the recommendation, where necessary, of such other bodies as the Council of Ministers may usefully set up to deal with those subjects; (f) the examination of proposals by the other subsidiary organs and the integration of these into consistent programmes for adoption by the Council of Ministers; (g) the preparation in all other ways of the work programme and the meetings of the Council of Ministers; and (h) the supervision of the work of the Permanent Secretariat of the Community.

51. The Economic Committee could meet fairly frequently, say, two or three times a year, or oftener if business so demands. It should, as far as possible, prepare the consensus on all matters for adoption by the Council of Ministers, and where such consensus is not possible, it should define the possible alternatives for negotiation at the Council of Ministers.

(d) Other Organs

52. It is suggested that the countries of the sub-region establish, at the time of setting up the West African Economic Community, the following principal committees: (a) the Industry (or Second) Committee; (b) the Transport and Communications (or Third) Committee; and (c) the Trade (or Fourth) Committee.

53. In order to ensure implementation of the programme of integrated development in the sub-region, it would be ideal if these committees could also be established at ministerial level, so that discussions within them could guarantee an adequate degree of commitment on the

part of the member governments of the Economic Community. Failing that, it is suggested that these committees be established at the level of the principal policy-making officials in the respective government ministries responsible for these subjects.

54. The work programmes of these specialized committees would be established by the Council of Ministers, on the recommendation of the Economic Committee and the Permanent Secretariat of the Community. The objectives which are being sought through economic integration in Africa and which have been summarized in an earlier section, would determine the content and emphasis of this work programme. Broadly speaking, the Industry Committee will aim at proposing, for the agreement of the governments of the sub-region, a series of industrial development programmes designed to achieve the extension of the industrial sectors of the West African economies, the amelioration of their structure, the increased economic self-sufficiency of the sub-region, and the enlargement of its opportunities for new lines of export. The Industry Committee would in particular examine periodically the industrial development programmes of the member countries, with a view to harmonizing them and to making suggestions for such enlargements or modifications as will contribute to the realization of the industrial objectives of the Economic Community.

55. The Transport and Communications and the Trade Committees should look to the development in West Africa of a network of transport facilities and lines of communication, which can serve to make economic co-operation between the countries of the sub-region a reality. Conditions must be established for the exchange of goods generally and, in particular, for the exchange of goods which have been produced under the programme of integrated industrial development. This will involve both the working out of the system of tariffs and other trade conditions which will be applied by each member to its imports from other member countries, and also agreement on corresponding conditions to be applied to imports into the sub-region from non-member countries, either for a limited range of commodities or over the whole area of the member countries' trade. As this becomes necessary, problems of payments and clearing will be dealt with by the Fourth Committee.

(e) Permanent Secretariat

56. It is suggested that, from the very beginning, the West African Economic Community establish a Permanent Secretariat, although at this stage the Secretariat would necessarily be limited to a fairly small number of officials. If integrated development in West Africa is to be placed on a firm footing, the volume of technical work that will be required to elaborate programmes of joint development, and follow their progress until final implementation, will be very heavy. The most important need at this stage is for the governments of the sub-region to select their own advisers who, in each field, can imprint on the programme of integrated development the sort of policy orientation which the governments desire. The rest of the technical personnel can be obtained either with the assistance of the ECA and other international agencies, or by hiring commercial consultants for these services.

57. It is suggested that, at the present time, the West African governments appoint four Commissioners for the Community, of whom the most senior, and the head of the Permanent Secretariat, should be in charge of the work of the Council of Ministers and the Economic Committee, and the others in charge of work respectively on industry, on transport and communications and on trade. The responsibilities and status of these Commissioners should be written into the agreement setting up the Economic Community. Their number might be added to as required subsequently. Other staffing requirements - for general economic analysis, for technical planning and for administration - would be established by the Council of Ministers, on the recommendation of the head of the Secretariat and the Economic Committee. The budget for the operation of the Permanent Secretariat and all other aspects of the Agreement, would be voted by the Council of Ministers.

(f) Relations with ECA

58. In the initial stages, it might be expected that the ECA would,

on request from the member governments of the Community endeavour, within the limits of its resources, to provide some of the staffing and other facilities for the running of the Economic Community. The countries of the sub-region are invited to decide whether (a) they will set up the Economic Community and mandate it through the Council of Ministers to enter into an agreement covering its relations with ECA, or (b) they will provide a place for the ECA within the agreement setting up the Economic Community itself, in such a way that the programme of integrated development in West Africa can be co-ordinated with similar programmes in other sub-regions.

(g) Transitional Agreement

59. Prior to the formal establishment of the Economic Community of West Africa through a negotiated Treaty, certain articles of association require to be adopted. These would constitute a transitional agreement governing the principles and means of co-operation between the Member States. A draft memorandum of the Articles of Association for the Community is set out in the Annex.

ANNEX 1

DRAFT ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION  
FOR A POSSIBLE  
ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICA

The Signatories to these Articles of Association hereby confirm their Governments' acceptance of the recommendation to establish the Economic Community of West Africa and undertake to negotiate a Treaty by which the Community shall formally come into being and to seek ratification of this Treaty by the Member States.

Pending ratification of the Treaty by the Member States, the Signatories being duly constituted as the Interim Council of Ministers as provided for in the above Resolution, do hereby accept on behalf of their Governments the Articles of Association as hereunder described.

These Articles of Association shall constitute a transitional agreement governing the means of co-operation between the Member States prior to the formal establishment of the Community.

ARTICLE 1

AIMS OF THE COMMUNITY

1. The aims of the Community shall be:
  - (a) to promote through the economic co-operation of its Member States a co-ordinated development of their economies, especially in industry, agriculture, transport and communications, trade and payments, manpower and natural resources;
  - (b) to further the maximum possible interchange of goods and services between its Member States and, to this end, to eliminate

progressively customs and other barriers to the expansion of trade between them as well as restrictions on current payment transactions and on capital movements;

- (c) to contribute to the orderly expansion of trade between the Member States and the rest of the world and, to this end, take measures which render their products relatively competitive with goods imported from outside the Community, and to seek to obtain more favourable conditions for their products in the world market; and
- (d) by all these efforts and endeavours to make a full contribution to the economic development of the continent of Africa as a whole.

## ARTICLE 2

### GENERAL UNDERTAKINGS

2. In order to achieve the aims of the Community, the Member States shall:

- (a) within the Community and without, work in close co-operation with one another and co-ordinate and harmonize their economic policies;
- (b) keep each other informed and furnish the Community with the information required for the achievement of its aims;
- (c) within the Community, consult together on a continuous basis, carry out studies and, in their light, determine the areas and lines of economic development to be undertaken in common;
- (d) endeavour to formulate and adopt common policies, and negotiate and conclude Agreements between themselves or through the medium of the Community, designed to serve the achievement of its aims, including the common

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development of specific branches of industry, the joint operation of specific transport and communications services, joint research, training of manpower and the joint implementation of other projects as well as of common trade and payments arrangements; and

- (e) ensure, within the Community and without, that the common policies that have been adopted and the Agreements that have been concluded for the achievement of the aims of the Community are carried out.

3. Member States shall take all steps required for the implementation of the Decisions and Recommendations of the Community, duly adopted and ratified by responsible Member States and for the provision of budgetary and other resources for their implementation.

#### ARTICLE 3

##### CO-OPERATION BETWEEN MEMBER STATES AND WITH OTHER BODIES

4. Nothing in these Articles of Association shall be deemed as preventing individual Member States from taking, within the Community or without, common measures of economic co-operation without the agreement of other Member States provided that such measures do not prejudice the aims of the Community.

5. Member States which belong to or join other systems of economic co-operation shall inform the Community of their membership and of those provisions in their constituent instruments that have a bearing on these Articles of Association.

#### ARTICLE 4

##### STRUCTURE

6. The Community when established shall have, as its principal organs, a Council of Ministers, an Economic Committee and a Permanent Secretariat, the composition, powers and functions and procedures of which shall be described in the Treaty. The Community may also establish subsidiary organs and other bodies as may be required and provided for in the Treaty.

ARTICLE 5

DECISIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

7. Pending ratification of the Treaty which shall make provisions, inter-alia, with respect to Decisions, Resolutions, Recommendations and Voting Rules, the Interim Council hereby agrees that its Decisions, Resolutions, and Recommendations, adopted unanimously, shall provisionally apply between the Member States. Decisions which are arrived at unanimously at any Meeting of the Interim Council at which some Member States are not present shall be referred back to absent Member States for their assent, such assent to be signified to the Permanent Secretariat of the Interim Council in writing within three months of such referral.

ARTICLE 6

INTERIM COUNCIL OF MINISTERS - COMPOSITION, POWERS AND PROCEDURES

8. Membership of the Interim Council of Ministers of the Economic Community of West Africa shall be open to all such Members and Associate Members of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa as fall within the area known as the West African sub-region, namely the area comprising Dahomey, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Upper Volta and such other countries as the Interim Council of Ministers or the Council of Ministers may decide to admit.

9. Pending creation of its Council of Ministers under the Treaty, the Interim Council of Ministers shall be composed of Ministers responsible for economic affairs or planning or of other Ministers designated by the Member States or, in exceptional circumstances, by plenipotentiaries at Ministerial level; shall determine those areas of economic development to be undertaken in common by Member States, the manner and degree of such development and the time required therefore; shall meet at times and at places as it may itself deem necessary, a quorum for such meetings being two-thirds of the Member States.

10. The Interim Council shall have power to establish an Interim Economic Committee and its subsidiary bodies.

11. The Interim Council shall have, as its principal immediate task, the drafting of the Treaty governing this Economic Community of West Africa, the submission of the Treaty to Member States and the initiation of action as may be deemed necessary and appropriate to facilitate the ratification of the Treaty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Members of the Interim Council, duly empowered, have appended their Signatures to these Articles of Association.

DONE in the City of                      this        day of        , Nineteen  
Hundred and sixty-

Member State

Signature