

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Office for North Africa

Consultation meeting with Arab Maghreb Union and North Africa IGO on the prospects of Maghreb integration in the new sociopolitical context of the sub-region

January 15, 2013- Rabat (Morocco)

Analysis of development challenges and priorities for the revival of regional integration process

Synthesis Document



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Introduction

Regional integration is a process to build larger economic spaces and regional solidarities between two States or more for achieving common development goals. In economic terms, the static and dynamic effects of integration can include, inter alia, the development of trade and investment through greater mobility of factors; achieving economies of scale by increasing the markets size, and a better predictability of public policies by anchoring them in a regional perspective. With more advanced institutionalization integration projects, including patterns of South-South cooperation, the establishment of common standards and policy coordination contribute to more efficient management and/or the creation of regional public goods, whether natural (water, climate, biodiversity), intangible (education, scientific research, public health, people's safety) or tangible (transport, energy and communications infrastructure). In some cases, the integration processes can lead to political structures more or less elaborate, on the basis of cultural identities and shared values, which include the ability to prevent or regulate conflicts within and among the states concerned.

With the proliferation of regional agreements that accompanied the globalization of the economy, the region has gradually stood in for the nation-state as an optimum space of development. Increasingly, international relations are defined and negotiated within the framework of regional groupings, seen as factors facilitating the consensus necessary for the progress of international negotiations (Millennium Development Goals, Sustainable Development and Climate Change, Trade, Collective Security). As for developing countries, regional integration is also a means of mitigating the negative effects of an asymmetric multilateralism and a strategy of smooth integration into the global economy.

Since their respective independences, North African countries have undertaken many initiatives to create a dynamic of regional integration. They have institutionalized this will in 1989 with the signing of the Treaty establishing the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). The AMU, which comprises five Member States: Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia aims at searching for "....pursuing a common policy in various fields", "....free movement of people, services, goods and capital", "... achieving industrial, agricultural, commercial and social development of Member States and securing the necessary resources, in particular by establishing common projects and by drawing up global and sectoral programmes". This is a multi-faceted approach, which involves factor mobility, concerted sectoral development and integration by the normative framework (harmonization of policies). The system should allow the Maghreb countries to take advantage of the opportunities offered by regional integration in terms of macroeconomic performance improvement and human development indicators



Opportunities of Maghreb Integration

Gain Optimization of a market of nearly 90 million consumers.

The intensification of trade resulting of static effects of markets integration is an important lever for economic growth. It is an incentive to invest and produce more and, thus, create more jobs, improve incomes and living conditions of the population. With a population estimated in 2011 at about 90 million people in the five countries of the Maghreb (ECA-NA, 2012)¹ and a nominal GDP per capita of more than 4400 dollars, the sub-region has two main assets necessary for an efficient market that would allow, among other dynamic effects, significant economies of scale and a relative decrease in transaction costs.

Trade creation that results from the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers among the states of North Africa would also be enhanced by the continuity of the physical space. The development of trade between two or more countries is indeed based on their commercial potential (production of goods and services), the existence of a preferential regime, the absence of non-tariff protection, but also the geographical proximity. Structural factors such as income levels or distances are often more relevant than the effects of economic policies in a dynamic regional market. Moreover, the existence of cultural, linguistic and sociological strengths among the States concerned under sub-region characteristics of economic zones called "natural", in which "...the exchanges are more intense than the rest of the world in the absence of barriers to trade and preferential agreements (Krugman, 1991)".

Better investment attractiveness.

Economic growth, being the result of interactions between investment, employment and productivity, its sustainability in the long term is dependent on the ability of States to mobilize domestic savings and attract foreign direct investment. The report of the International Conference on Financing for Development (Monterrey, 2002) stresses the importance of FDI in the financing of a long-term growth, development, competitiveness and productivity. Several empirical studies and analyses (Baldwin, RE 1992, Oman, CH. 2000 De Melo.1993;) have, furthermore, supported the link between integration, investment and growth in developing countries and African States in particular.

North Africa has made significant performance during the last decade in terms of attracting investment, the ratio of FDI relative to gross fixed capital formation has increased from 8 % in 2001 to about 20 % in 2010 (ECA-NA; Survey 2011). However, the rate of gross investment in % of GDP has remained almost stable during the same period, with a sub-regional average of about 14 %. According to estimates by the World Bank (Eyeffa, 2008), African countries as a whole should focus their investment rate to 25 % of their GDP to support long-term growth rates of around 6 %, and eliminating poverty. However, the attractiveness of FDI refers inevitably to some fundamentals including market size, cleaned macroeconomic framework, the existence of a network of interconnected infrastructures and political and institutional stability. Investors' decisions are heavily influenced by the fact that they are assessing the risks associated with the uncertainty of public policies (World Bank 2005). The attraction and growth of productive capital require much proactive macroeconomic policies, a transparent and predictable legal framework, enabling organizations to operate optimally.

Through the harmonization of the legal framework and measures of macroeconomic convergence, regional integration generates progressively a group discipline among the states of the concerned area, thereby promoting predictability of national security and the environment of business.

Sharing means for regional responses to common challenges.

The first two paragraphs of Article 2 of the Treaty establishing the AMU provide that the Union aims to "strengthen ties of brotherhood among Member States and their peoples" and to "achieve social progress and prosperity...". To varying degrees, all countries of North Africa face the same challenges of development: the growth of a more decent work opportunities, diversification and sophistication of economies, lack of water resources, the desertification and adaptation to climate change, the deepening of democracy and good governance, security issues.

To the objectives of growth, and despite the differences in estimates related to the nature of the used variables, several studies² and analyses converge on the fact that a real integration of the Maghreb economies will induce, for member countries of the AMU, one to two additional points of GDP growth. The World Bank considers that further integration of the Maghreb, including the liberalization of services and improvements in the business environment would be able to increase real GDP per capita between 2005 and 2015 by 34 %, 27 % and 24 % for Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (Finance News, 2008).

Regional integration also appears as an important lever for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The European experience has shown since the signing of the Treaty of Rome that the convergence of economic interests and the strengthening of interdependence are factors facilitating political dialogue and overcoming antagonisms. It allows, according to Hugon (2003), "matching networks of trade and transnational investment with sociopolitical regulations and institutional framework that goes beyond national territories."

Strengthening bargaining powers at the international level.

Beyond their primary objective of increasing trade among the member countries of the area considered, regional economic groupings are becoming increasingly editing tools of balance of power in international negotiations, namely the commercial negotiations. Eloquent examples have been given by the European Union in relation to the management of the WTO agreements, or by OPEC in the oil market regulation. For more than three decades, several groups of developing countries (ASEAN, ACP, CARICOM ...) have focused on taking best advantage of the opportunity offered by the construction of extended and interdependent economic spaces, in order to increase their capacity to negotiate with developed world and emerging countries, and improve the terms of trade in their favor.

Countries of the Maghreb are both engaged in multilateral trade negotiations in the WTO, in the agreements or draft agreements of association with the EU and a strengthened partnership with other riparian States of the Mediterranean (UfM, Euro-Med Initiative 5+5). Moreover, the geographical position of the sub-region is very strategic in terms of security and management of migration flows, being an area of origin and transit of migrants to Europe and, to a lesser extent, for the Americas. Further integration would give the countries of the sub-region more weight in their relationships with external partners, particularly in Europe.



The observation of a sub-regional space weakly integrated

Despite these opportunities, the Maghreb integration project continues to face multiple barriers that keep fragmentation economies of the sub-region and restrain a part of the growth potential. Two decades after the signing of the Treaty of Marrakech, the Free Trade Zone of the AMU originally scheduled for 1992 is still in the draft stage and the North African market is at the moment one of the least dynamic of the Continent with an intra-regional trade hovering around 3% of total imports of the Member States. The 2012 Statistical Yearbook of the ECA / AfDB / AU³ lists the exchange inside AMU at 3.1% of the total exports of its Member States, against about 9.2% for ECOWAS, 11.2% for SADC and 15,0% for WAEMU. This rate is about 19% for the MERCOSUR, 21% for ASEAN, and 65% for the European Union. The draft CEN-SAD, which was intended to bridge between North Africa, West Africa and parts of Central Africa, lack of visibility for the moment, in terms of regional market structure and credible alternative to the weakness of intra-Maghreb.

The existence of several trade agreements - bilateral agreements or agreements concluded within the framework of other regional initiatives (Agadir Agreement, GAFTA) did not bring the results expected, mainly because of the persistence of tariff and non-tariff barriers among States and, in some cases, business environments are not conducive to FDI. Agadir Agreement in particular, which had as a purpose, amongst other purposes, to promote sharing of accumulated production values among the Parties (Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan) to better take advantage of preferential access to the European market, has not substantially amended intra-North Africa trade, nor the countries involved in the global market of manufactured products (AfDB 2012). Similarly, the association agreements signed with the European Union and entered into force between 1998 and 2005 did not generate the expected leverage on export diversification which, for most countries, have remained in a limited range of labor-intensive products and/or using a significant proportion of imported inputs (textiles, leather products, fertilizers, namely electrical equipment).

In terms of factor mobility and free movement of persons, in particular, the achievements are limited and reversible, because of the continuing political differences among some states and the renewed insecurity observed since 2011 throughout the Sahel-Saharan zone.

AMU Community Law (for the seven conventions already adopted) remains insufficiently known to some key agents such as traders, civil society, university communities and the media, all of which limit the visibility of the integration process, depriving it from national partners essential to its settling down in the national development policies and conceptions.

The institutional set up is not yet operational enough to run an integration pattern with a multisectoral dimension. The action of the General Secretariat of the AMU- in particular continues to be hampered by several obstacles including irregular meetings of decision-making bodies of the Union, inadequate staffing in human and financial resources, and a dependence on external partners for studies and other substantive activities.

Funding integration remains an unresolved issue, given the size of the ambitions expressed in the current level of mobilized resources and the objective limits of the system of contributions on national budgets. As mentioned above, the purpose of the AMU-as expressed in its founding treaty, is to develop an integrated economic space, with its classic components: building a common market, setting up a regulatory framework conducive to investment, formulation and implementation of common sectoral policies, promoting an environment of peace and security. Achieving these goals requires the mobilization of substantial financial sustainable resources, beyond the coverage of only operating expenses of the General

Secretariat and other organs of the Union. To establish its long-term legitimacy and good visibility in its member states, the AMU should have the resources necessary for the efficient performance of its catalytic role in the formulation and implementation of programs and integration projects.

The lack of tangible progress twenty years after, accumulated delays and gaps started to generate doubts, at both the population level and the actors of civil society level, as per the States' level of commitment and willingness to give substance to the integration project in North Africa. This skepticism is also amplified by a lack of communication on the activities of Community institutions and a lack of ownership of the Maghreb vision and strategies at various levels of decision making and a high number of actors.

A quick refresher of the integration process of the AMU is a necessity for the needs of a more sustainable growth for the economies of the sub-region and strengthening their resilience to external shocks. It is also needed for the optimal strategic positioning of North Africa on the spectrum of economic groupings under construction - Gulf Cooperation Council, the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (West Africa), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Southeast Asia), Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Southern Africa), and facing the economic and political weight of the European partner. This requirement of recovery and acceleration of the dynamics of the integration of the Maghreb, which is expressed for two years now in the political discourse of the leaders, is being undertaken in an international environment characterized by plural changes and challenges, whose dynamics are selfreinforcing and affect, to varying degrees, the fundamentals of North African economies: delayed effects of the financial and economic crises of the period 2008-2010 on global growth, sovereign debt crisis and near-recession in most countries of the Euro region -largest trading partner of North Africa, moving the center of gravity of the world economy towards East Asia, geopolitical multipolarity with the emergence of new centers of economic and political powers (BRICS, Turkey, Mexico, Argentina), recurring tensions on prices of food and oil. At sub-regional level, the prospect of recovery of the integration process occurs in the dual context of (i) unprecedented social and political upheavals in history of North African countries and (ii) a juxtaposition of several structural challenges of development that could be met more efficiently by implementing regional responses and pooling of resources.



The new socio-political environment

The events occurred in 2011 marked a turning point in the political and institutional history of most countries in the sub-region. Changes that have occurred there have been underpinned by strong public demand for better political, economic and social governance, more democracy and decent jobs. To varying degrees, most states have faced these protests and demands, expression of a profound social malaise, facing patterns of development and governance that showed objective limits, for not significantly identifying the challenges related to the use of a more inclusive human development and reducing inequality. In some countries, the revolts were accompanied by a sharp slowdown in economic activity, a standby during several months of strategic sectors such as oil exports or tourism, decrease in investments, particularly of FDI, and pressure on public finances to support the prices of commodities. This challenge of models of development and governance that existed previously is a new regional factor which, beyond the immediate challenge of managing peaceful underway transitions, will involve a large number of politic and institutional reforms.

The challenge of a more inclusive governance and strengthening the rule of law

Claiming new political and economic governance was at the center of these protests and revolt. People -especially young people- called for more democracy, transparency and participation. The first reforms initiated by most states in the wake of the events of 2011 focused on expanding spaces of freedom, openness of the political field, the establishment of new institutions and the organization of pluralistic and transparent elections.

Strengthening the rule of law and good governance will be, more than ever, transversal axes of all national development strategies, with specific objectives namely improving the performance of public administration, the fight against corruption and impunity, strengthening the protection of human rights, more inclusive participation of citizens and social groups in public life. The newly set up relationship among citizens and governments will be imbued with a greater requirement in terms of efficiency of public services and obligation and accountability at all levels of responsibility.

This changing environment policy must necessarily be accompanied by learning amongst citizens for a better understanding of their rights, a good use of public freedoms by all, the acceptance of democratic rules and the promotion of a culture of tolerance and respect for human rights. Countries in the sub-region will be required to promote upgrade and capacity building programs, both for different state bodies (local administration, local authorities and other branches, justice, security system, financial authorities...), and for the actors of civil society.

2. The Increase of Security Risk

Developments of the politico-military crisis occurred in 2011 in Libya, and to a lesser extent, of uprisings occurred in Tunisia and Egypt have resulted in an amplification of the security risks throughout a large part of the Sahel-Saharan to whom almost all the countries of North Africa are riparian. This change brings with it the seeds of a questioning of some free movement of persons and facilitation of interstate commerce, including through ad hoc or partial closure of land borders, increased checkpoints throughout regional space or direct threats to the safety of persons and commodities. It could thus delay the resilience of the regional tourism industry and reduce, to varying degrees, the attractiveness of investments. The opening of the political field have also revealed, in some countries, the challenge of building a national consensus on the nature of the state and the foundations of its institutional and legal corpus, all of which affect political stability, social cohesion and performance of national economies.



Development of economic and social challenges

Countries of the Maghreb are mostly middle-income countries with a GNI/PPP per capita in 2012⁴ from 1859 dollars for Mauritania to 12,637 dollars to Libya, and HDI from 0.453 to 0.760⁵. Apart from years 2011 and 2012 characterized by a sharp slowdown in the economy due to political unrest, the region recorded an average growth of GDP of between 4 and 5% in the past five years, despite the cumulative effects of economic and financial crises worldwide in 2008-2011. In social terms, the 2010 and 2011 reports on MDG suggest the implementation of several target goals, namely those relating to the elimination of extreme poverty, reducing child mortality, access to sanitation and Youth literacy. In terms of poverty reduction - in particular, North Africa as a whole has achieved the 3rd best performance in developing regions, the proportion of the population living with less than \$ 1.25 a day has generally decreased from 5% in 1990 to 3% in 2005.

There are still, however, numerous challenges for sustainable and inclusive development, both on the basis of studies and analyzes of the ECA-NA⁶, and on the observations made by the individual States, in collaboration with country teams of the United Nations system, through the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF)⁷. These challenges are common to most countries of North Africa, which requires the formulation of regional responses within the Maghreb integration.

1. Insufficiently diversified economies

Countries in the sub-region are engaged in political transformation of the structure of their economies since the 60s and 70s through import-substitution strategies (Morocco, Tunisia) or heavy industrialization strategies (Algeria). This effort continued throughout the 80s to 2000, and the share of industry sectors and services developed favorably in most states, namely through a dynamic relocation of intensive activities in labor from European countries. The textile industry has been, in this perspective, a typical example of bringing the sector diversification of the 80s.

Despite progress, the results achieved have not yet led to a questioning of the relative marginalization of North Africa in the global economy, due to both the low rate of diversification, nature that has focused on low value-added products (textiles and clothing, citrus, leather and derivatives) and the increasingly large place of emerging countries (China, India and Turkey in particular) in the traditional markets of exporting countries in the subregion (Euro Zone). Primary products remain essentially the main drivers of growth in North Africa. In Algeria, for example, the oil sector accounts for over one third of GDP and 96.6 % of exports, in Mauritania, primary and extractive activities represent about 45.8 % of GDP. Crude oil and other commodities dominate the regional structure of foreign trade. In relative terms, their weight has increased during the decade 2001-2010, increasing from 75.6 to 79.3 % of total exports of all the region.

The change in index of exports, imports and diversification confirms this structural weakness of the economies of the region, compared to other developing economies. The volume index of exports from North Africa has made little progress between 2001 and 2010, increasing

⁴ Sources: Données Pays, Banque Mondiale et Calculs ECA-NA

⁵ ECA-UNDP-OECD-AfDB-ACP; Economic perspectives in Africa 2012; PNUD: IDH 2011

⁶ Reports on Economical and social conditions; ECA-NA; 2008 - 2012

⁷ UNDAF of Algeria 2012-2014, UNDAF of Mauritania 2012-2016, UNDAF of Libya 2012-2014, UNDAF of Morocco 2012-2016, UNDAF of Sudan 2012-2016, UNDAF of Tunisia and Egypt are in progress

from 97.5 to 121.1, against 232.4 for developing Asia. The pace of export diversification is also slow, with a regional index of 0.648 in North Africa in 2010, still well below the average for developing economies (0.212)⁸.

In addition, the significant growth in GDP over the last five years has had a limited impact on employment. Between 1991 and 2010, the employment/population ratio has changed very slightly (43 to 46 %) and so far remains the lowest in the continent. The available data show for most states a lack of tangible progress in the fight against unemployment or, at best, a slight decline in the number of job seekers. In 2010, the (official) unemployment rate fell into a scale ranging from 9.1 % in Morocco to 31.2 % in Mauritania. The economic growth and productive investment recorded during the 2000s were not sufficient to absorb the increase in the labor force. The private sector remains underdeveloped and the absorptive capacity of the labor demand by the public sector is limited due to budgetary constraints.

In 2011, the rate of private investment compared to GDP has been at 20 % in Morocco, 15 % in Algeria and 13 % in Tunisia, against an average of 30 % in East Asia.

Meeting the challenge of structural transformation of North African economies and the challenge of a growth better correlated with employment require the implementation of more effective policies for diversification, in terms of pace and nature of the latter, which should be further shifted towards more dynamic, with higher value-added and technology-intensive products. Modernization, sophistication and diversification of production structures should be in the medium term, the new paradigm of development of the countries of the sub-region.

2. Unemployment and social inequalities increase

Positive trends outlined above in terms of achieving the MDGs hide, moreover, significant disparities among social groups, among countries and among regions within the same country, and other structural imbalances that represent major challenges to be faced in the medium and long term, in the context of a global economic slowdown and recession risks in the countries of the Euro Zone, being the main partners of the region of North Africa.

As far as employment is concerned, labor markets of countries in the sub-region are characterized by a low activity rate of the population, on average of 46 to 51 %, against 71 % in the European Union, quantitative and qualitative imbalances between supply and demand, higher unemployment and underemployment rates among youth and women, especially in urban areas, a predominance of informal employment and a steady rise in the unemployment rate among graduates. With an average proportion of 11 % in 2011, the sub-region continues to experience an unemployment rates among the highest rates in the world. In addition, a high proportion of workers can be found in the area of precarious employment, mainly characterized by the predominance of informal arrangements, low incomes and low levels of social protection. This situation is all the more particularly alarming that North Africa is part of the Continent that will know the fastest pace of the aging of its population. The share of over 60 years is expected to double in the sub-region by a little more than twenty years⁹, which will create significant problems of support of this segment of the population.

Declination of national averages by age and gender also shows a level of insecurity and vulnerability more pronounced among youth and women. According to the ILO¹⁰, the rate of youth unemployment in North Africa in 2011 was 27.1 %, against a world average of 12.7 %. In Morocco, for example, the unemployment rate for young people aged 15-24 was 29.1 % in 2010 in urban areas, against 9 % for the entire population of working age. In Mauritania, the unemployment rate in 2010 was 23.9 % among men and 44 % among women. For the

⁸ Sources: CEA-AN Survey 2012 and UNCTAD Stat; Update December 2011

⁹ Population & Sociétés n° 491, juillet – août 2012

¹⁰ ILO LABORSTA data (2011)

entire sub-region, the gender gap remains important, both among adults and youth, with an unemployment rate of young women about 41 %.

In this differentiation by age and gender of the level of exposure to the vulnerability is also grafted, within each state, spatial inequality in terms of incidence of poverty or ability to create decent jobs, consequence of a regional development that is often unbalanced, at the expense of rural and interior areas. By way of illustration, the unemployment rate in Tunisia reaches 28.3 % in some South-east and South-west areas, i.e. slightly more than the double of the national average (13 %). Poverty rate would be 12.8 % in the mid-west, against 3.8 % nationally¹¹.

In terms of gender equalities, the situation of women in North Africa has greatly improved over the last three decades, in terms of social rights and fundamental rights. Disparities still persist even between boys and girls, especially in rural and suburban areas. Girls are particularly more vulnerable to dropping out of school, and fewer women remain on the labor market and more confined to the informal sector. They are therefore more economically vulnerable and suffer more than men, the impact of financial crises, economic and food in recent years. 'Gender based' approach is insufficiently integrated into the development, implementation and monitoring of national development policies, which leads to more modest progress in terms of gender parity - in the management of public affairs, the persistence of various forms of violence against women and weak enforcement of related laws. These challenges prevailing before 2011 events could also get worse in view of certain developments that have resulted from the opening of the political space and freedom. We note in particular (i) a tendency towards radicalization of the debate on women's rights and gender based equality, and (ii) the persistence of several countries to maintain reservations to the CEDAW and the Protocol thereto on behalf of the cultural and religious specificities.

3. Participation of youth in development

The demographic transition, which started in the 50s in North Africa, has led, inter alia, to a significant change in the age pyramid. The young population has increased 50 % over the past twenty years and is currently a third of the total population of the region. In the MAU space, people aged less than 25 years old represent more than half of the population. This demographic data represents in terms of human capital, a window of opportunity to boost growth. Yet, it also creates significant social challenges, in terms of education, employment and participation in community life.

Access to education has increased significantly in all cycles, but the educational system suffers from an insufficient supply of training geared towards the needs of the economy. High rates of unemployment experienced in the sub-region are essentially a reflection of growth in the number of newly unemployed and poor intermediation or support to entrepreneurship among young people. The high proportion of inactive youth resulting (approximately 27 %), combined with a range of unattractive or poorly diversified leisure, resulting in a greater vulnerability of youth, as demonstrated by the rise in risk behavior: smoking, petty crime, drug and alcohol abuse, unprotected sexual intercourse, illegal immigration.

At this difficult time to empower through a decent job, was added, over time, a lack of youth involvement in government decision-making processes, namely in areas that are more specific. Education for citizenship - where it was started-, was not consolidated by an intergenerational dialogue space planning, nor by a representation of young people in family, community or state decision-making bodies. Over time, young people, for many of them, have ended up rejecting the traditional political framework, and focus on new forms of engagement as activism via social networks, the various forms of protest and, for a minority of them, the radical actions in the name of religion.

The combination of all these factors explains the pioneering role played by young people in the political changes in 2011. The spontaneous nature and extent of these revolts have shown

to what extent young people have experienced pain, and their ambition to reach more equitable distribution of wealth, and more transparent and inclusive governance.

In addition to emergencies associated with institutional changes that are still in progress, states in the sub-region should review in depth their youth policies, up to this point characterized by limited resources and objectives, and focused primarily on sports and leisure. It will formulate more integrated and inclusive new strategies, based on the active participation of primary stakeholders and a stronger political will to reform the same modes of governance, and mobilize more resources to meet the specific needs of young people.

4. Dependence on basic foodstuffs imports

Agriculture is one of the pillars of the economies of the AMU and has a special social dimension. The sector employs on average 30 % of the total active population and is the main source of income and employment for 75 to 80 % of the rural population. However, despite the importance of investments to develop irrigation, agriculture has mainly remained rain-fed and uncompetitive. According to the ECA-NA¹², the share of irrigated lands compared to the overall of cultivated lands varies between 7 and 18 %, except in Libya where 50 % of cereal production comes from irrigated agriculture.

Agricultural models that have favored the development of extensive agriculture have not taken sufficient account of environmental constraints and led to a decline in the productive potential of cultivated ecosystems, with yields that remained broadly low, about half of the average global yields for cultivation of cereals. The coverage rate of cereals needs through domestic production may vary considerably over the years. In an average year, it is 30 % in Mauritania, 40 % in Tunisia, 60 % in Morocco, 30 to 35 % in Algeria and would be less than 10 % in Libya (World Development Indicators, 2011). Thus, the region suffers a structural deficit of cereals and its supply of basic foodstuffs is based heavily on international markets. North Africa alone accounts for 16-17 % of world imports of wheat and 10-12 % of world imports of corn. According to FAO¹³, this dependence is expected to grow in the coming years due to population growth and the productivity gap. All countries in the sub-region will remain, to varying degrees, net importers of cereals till 2030. Moreover, due to the volatility of world prices of basic foodstuffs, the North African countries continue to face a steady rise in their food import bills, digging all their trade balances and public finance, consumer prices could not be partially stabilized thanks to tremendous drain on the national budgets.

The ability of countries in the sub-region to ensure their food security is therefore more than in the past, a priority strategic issue. New integrated approaches and policy instruments should be developed to meet the challenges of agricultural productivity, security of supply on the market and the availability of food, especially for the poorest people. These approaches must imperatively take into account the risks associated with climate change and natural disasters and favor a more rational management of scarce productive resources (land and water).

¹² Report on the economic and social conditions; March 2012

5. Desertification and climate change adaptation

North Africa is an area predominantly arid and semi arid, subject to periods of droughts and a high inter-annual and spatial variability of rainfall. Desertification affects about 85 % of lands that are increasingly threatened by erosion, salinization and unsustainable farming practices causing a loss in fertility and topsoil. Agricultural irrigation uses currently more than 80 % of all surface water and groundwater and non-agricultural water demand is growing rapidly. Most countries are already suffering from a shortage of water resources (less than 1000 m3 / person / year, UNEP 2008). This shortage could worsen, particularly because of climate change, and causes, accordingly, a major obstacle to improving agricultural productivity, sustainability of natural resources and their conservation.

The sub-region is also among the areas most vulnerable to climate change (IPCC, 2007). General Circulation Models (GCM) indicate a probable warming of the region of about 2°C to 4°C during the 21st century, especially with more than 1°C of warming between 2000 and 2020¹⁴. Extreme weather events (droughts, heat waves, floods) will become more frequent, with the acceleration of climate cycles and a general decrease in rainfall that could reach 10% in the next 50 years (World Bank, 2008) and could lead some countries (Algeria, Morocco) to a decrease of 40% of their dry crop production (WB & FAO, 2009). Climate change threatens heavily rained agriculture, which still prevails in most countries, and its effects are already being felt, with socio-economic impacts of relative importance across countries and years: reduced production, lower farm incomes, increasing poverty in rural areas, ecological migration ... etc.

Adaptation to climate change is therefore a major challenge for the sub-region, but also an opportunity to re-launch the development of technologies to improve agricultural productivity and promote the rational management of natural resources.

6. The challenge of regional energy transition

North Africa presents the paradox of a sub-region with abundant and varied energy resources (oil, gas, solar, wind) and whose power consumption is more than the electricity supply capacity. With statistical data prior to 2011, Libya produced about 1.8 million barrels of oil per day and 15Mm3 of gas per year, only 15% and 30% of which were for domestic consumption. For Algeria, the domestic consumption of oil and gas corresponded to 15% and 34% of annual production of 5. Tunisia, the production of gas is equivalent to about 77% of the annual national consumption. Oil production in Mauritania is currently very limited (about 10,500 barrels / day), and Morocco is almost entirely dependent on imports for its energy needs

Despite this potential of production and trade within the Maghreb, the flow of export and import of energy products remain largely dominated by trade with Europe, and according to several estimates (World Bank 2010, AUPTDE 2010), all countries in the sub-region will double production capacity of electricity over the period 2010 - 2020 to face a significant increase in their domestic demand, mostly covered by fossil based energy. Electrical interconnections do exist between several Maghreb countries (Libya-Tunisia, Tunisia-Algeria, Algeria-Morocco), but electricity trade is, for the time being, very limited (5 % of available capacity between Algeria and Tunisia 16 % between Algeria and Morocco), and national networks are more synchronized with those of European countries. Morocco in particular imports from Spain about 20 % of its electricity consumption. Major gas projects and projects of electricity cross-border exchanges target extra-regional markets as a priority, Spain and Italy namely, although the economic attractiveness of electric interconnection projects within the Maghreb is -in terms of cost-benefit ratio- considerably proved much more for projects like Trans-Mediterranean (AfDB, 2012).

¹⁴ IPCC, 4th report (2007).

AfDB; Unlocking North *Africa's* Potential Through *Regional Integration; May 2012*

At the same time, all countries in the region have potential in renewable energy (RE) sufficient to cover almost all the needs of the long term current and projected demand. Particularly, solar potential is the most important field, and this form of energy should be long-term leading in the energy balance of North Africa. However, the share of renewable energy (RE) in the regional energy mix is not yet significant; it fell well below 3% of the current capacity of electricity generation. Policies and strategies have been initiated namely in Morocco, Algeria and Libya, but with a relatively limited number of projects and forecasting capabilities. Many obstacles still exist for the development of renewable energy, in terms of funding for the implementation of major investment required in training, research and development and industrial integration, constrained by the limited size of domestic markets. The North African area is not yet a homogenous market; the production and distribution of energy products, the development of energy infrastructure and manufacturing equipment (PV panels, LBC, wind turbine components) do not meet the criteria of economic profitability at the regionally level.

To meet these challenges – that are in fact exhaustive, strengthen their resilience capacities to external shocks, and win the bet of an access to the rank of emerging economies, the countries of the sub-region should act simultaneously in two strategic lines (i) implement national institutional reforms, economic and social measures to accelerate the process of diversifying and improving the competitiveness of their economies, while integrating sustainable development issues and (ii) invest more in real dynamics of regional integration to take advantage of opportunities to a wider market and harmonized sectoral policies.

The political changes mentioned above are accompanied with the remains of a spike in interests in regional cooperation, as a framework and strategy for harmonizing means for the formulation of regional responses to common challenges of development. A revival of Maghreb integration process would be in the short term, and should result in the reassessment of a large number of policies and strategies underpinned by the Treaty establishing the UMA. The effectiveness of this re-launching of regional dynamics will, however, depend on a definition of relevant orders of priority, resource mobilization to the size of ambitions and a greater involvement of all stakeholders of the Maghreb integration and their partners.



Priorities for efficient stimulus of Maghreb integration

1. Implementation of a fast-track program for factors movement

The revival of the Maghreb integration process should start with the implementation of structural parameters of a regional market: free-trade area, trade facilitation and the free movement of persons. Among the short term priorities, the AMU should make a rapid and substantial dismantling of tariff and non-tariff barriers on inter-State commerce, with implementation tools that meet companies' production conditions in the Maghreb sub-region and concerns all partner States. Member States and the Secretariat General of the AMU would have thus a large free-trade area which goes well beyond the limits of existing trade agreements. The adoption of a large scale exclusion lists would mean mitigation of dynamic effects of integration on growth and risks of non-enforceability of preferential treatment to third countries. Rules of origin and approval procedures for the regional preference in particular should neither induce adjustment costs which would have negative impact on the competitiveness of regional economic operators or their de facto exclusion of the community market.

Trade facilitation measures should be immediate corollary of trade liberalization scheme. The elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers must go hand in hand with the simplification of customs procedures and reducing the time and cost of inter-State transport, usually induced by a high number of administrative documents, the multiplicity and duration of road or border checkpoints. A regional plan of action should be formulated and implemented simultaneously as the free trade area is implemented. It would include in particular the implementation of key standards defined by the conventions of international road transport, upgrading HS nomenclature of AMU member States, the adoption of a single customs declaration, harmonization of axle load and dimensions of inter-State vehicles for goods transportation, regional auto insurance and strengthening the capacities of the Maghreb border administrations. These measures of inter-State trade facilitation should also serve as a catalyst for the formulation, for the medium term, of an integrated strategy to improve business environment in North Africa and optimize, among other things, the use of new information technologies for the processing of formalities and documents relating to the creation of business and commercial transactions.

Third component of minimum factor movement program, free movement of persons and the right of residence should be included in the short-term agenda of the AMU. A regional market cannot be dynamic if its main actors-producers, exporters and importers cannot get to business opportunities in all Member States. The persistence of obstacles to the movement of persons essentially affects the dynamic effects expected from regional trade preferences, investment and employment. Some progress has been made in removing visa requirement for temporary stays, and among some States. Still, the gains remain below the standard levels of integrated economic areas. The lifting of visa and residence permit requirements is essential to the revitalization of the regional market and the gradual emergence of a Maghreb citizenship.

2. A regional strategy for youth employment and workers movement

The role young people played in 2011 revolts in almost all Maghreb countries and the identical nature of their demands highlight the need for the formulation of a regional strategy for better integration of young people into working life, to illuminate the multiple dangers which they are potentially exposed to (marginalization, crime, illegal immigration, extremism). Young people under the age of 25 account for more than half the population of North Africa. Nevertheless, there are still several constraints to their participation in the development process. And this is mainly because training is not always adequate with the needs of the economy, job insecurity, or difficult access to finance self-entrepreneurship. Some significant efforts have been made by governments and there are tangible results achieved during the last two decades towards achieving the Millennium Development Goal of Education for All. These advances, however,

are altered by a relatively low level of integration of the 'products' of the education system in the labor market, and the still high inactivity rates.

The empirical evidence of high rates of youth unemployment (27 % at the sub-regional level) and especially among young graduates (25.9 % in Tunisia, 21.4 % in Algeria, 18.1 % in Morocco, in 2011) along with a growing use of labor force from third countries indicate that there's a mismatch or inadequacy between training and employment in the Arab Maghreb Union and a lack of synergy among national labor markets. The sensitive nature common to all states regarding the issue of employability of graduates justify a regional strategy built around the following components: (i) the gradual and concerted revision of national training curricula to adopt them more to the needs of the economy, (ii) the gradual harmonization of curricula, coupled with mutual recognition of diplomas, and (iii) a synergy of skills and complementarities via the intra-Maghreb movement of workers. Mixing future elites by creating regional centers of excellence on the themes of the green economy in particular and the establishment of student movement programs such as "ERASMUS" will help pave the way for this progressive regionalization of the labor market. For the medium and long term, it will be an important medium to promote and deepen Maghreb integration and strengthen regional solidarity.

Given the complexity of migration issues both in countries of origin and host countries, which is more in the context of plural crises, efficient movement of workers will require an adapted regional legal framework, which will ensure balance between migration flows and the real needs of the labor market. To be an effective tool for the promotion of employment at the sub-regional level, movement should be a way to adjust national labor markets, linking permanently needs and labor offers among the AMU member States. It requires, in this respect, guidance and monitoring by a sub-regional structure. A Maghreb agency for youth employment may be the answer. It would be built on existing national structures and some community tools including a regional observatory for skills, employment and employability, a database for professional movement and exchange of expertise and a Maghreb center for training and skills development. It could be an interface tool and ensure synergy of existing complementarities through regular dissemination of information to workers and employers.

To be predictable and beneficial for all, labor movement among North African countries must be based on a legal framework common to the member States. The formulation of this framework shall be led by the Secretary General of the AMU. This common core should be guided by international standards of labor law and include particular conditions of formation and rupture of employment contract, the principle of equal treatment among national and Maghreb workers, spatial and time portability of their pension and social protection, protection of migrant workers and their property against arbitrary and massive expulsions, in situations of political crisis in particular.

3. Implementation of agricultural strategy and 2011-2020 plan of action

Food security is a major strategic issue of Maghreb integration with respect to the extent of dependence of the sub-region vis-à-vis international markets for food supply - particularly cereals. Faced with growing food needs and limited resources, no country in the Maghreb has the means to reduce the structural deficit in agricultural production alone. Despite the existence of several bilateral and multilateral agreements (Convention on facilitation and development of trade among Arab countries, agreement on the exchange of agricultural products among AMU countries, ratified in 1993), the volume of agricultural trade among Maghreb is still insignificant.

The necessity and urgency of promoting regional cooperation in the field of agriculture have been reiterated in various forums and meetings since 2009. We mention in this regard, particularly, the Council of Maghreb Ministers (June 2010, Tripoli - Libya), which adopted a draft convention for the establishment of a free trade area for agricultural products among the AMU countries, the forum on Maghreb agricultural investment, held in November 2010 in Algeria, the meeting of the group of "5+5" on food security in the Mediterranean (February 2012, Algiers), which highlighted the need to strengthen regional cooperation in the area of information exchange and monitoring of agricultural prices on international markets, the regulation of markets of agricultural products and foodstuffs, and development of complementarity opportunities in trade of agricultural products.

The Maghreb agricultural strategic vision 2030 and Plan of Action 2011-2020 adopted in December 2010 at the 16th session of the Maghreb ministerial committee in charge of food security have identified several priority areas of cooperation, including: scientific research, sustainable management of natural resources, improving productivity, access to markets and investment. Although this vision and plan of action have great importance they haven't yet been translated into regional programs. Some partnership agreements are concluded, but only on a bilateral basis. Algeria and Morocco signed in 2011 a cooperation agreement to provide food security in the two countries through scientific research, production and agricultural exports, fight against desertification, exchange of experiences and promotion of partnerships among agricultural operators in both countries.

The regional approach remains the optimal framework to secure supplies and boost production by taking advantage of economies of scale related to the size of the regional market, strengthening bargaining power with external partners and complementarities that exist among the countries. It could also facilitate exchange of experiences, transfer of technology and agriculture investment. The rapid operationalization of a large free trade area in the Maghreb and a complete elimination of tariffs on most of the interstate commerce related to raw products contribute to this regional dynamic action to promote agricultural investment and increase outcome. The following would be other areas of intervention and priorities in the short and medium term:

- Full endorsement, by member States, of the Maghreb agricultural vision 2030 and coherence of national policies and programs;
- Identification of high-impact integrating regional programs and mobilization of stakeholders and partners to implement them;
- The establishment of a regional mechanism to monitor activities and share the results of scientific and technological research;
- The establishment of a Maghreb observatory to analyze and follow-up the international food market.

In addition, environmental requirements and development opportunities related to the green economy should be crosscutting themes of the Maghreb strategies in agriculture and energy. Full endorsement by all stakeholders of the 2011-2020 Sub-Regional Action Plan to Combat Desertification is expected to respond more effectively to the challenges of desertification and land degradation, management of water and food security in the context of high vulnerability to climate change and persistence of rural poverty.

For the short-term, the Secretariat General of the Arab Maghreb Union and affiliated organizations or associations should tackle the popularization and promotion of this subregional action plan with Member States, populations and development partners for collective awareness, resource mobilization and capacity building related to adaptation techniques to climate change.

The group of "5 +5" is made for the southern shore of Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, Morocco, and Libya and also France, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Malta, which are the countries of the northern shore.

4. Speeding up the implementation of a regional electricity market

The energy sector, with its components ('electricity' and 'renewable energy' in particular), is meant to be one of the main catalysts for Maghreb integration. Increase in domestic consumption of electricity (+6 to 8 % per year), the foreseeable exhaustion of fossil energy sources, the implications of sustainable development agenda in reducing carbon emissions and the strong demand by the European Union of clean energy from North Africa may lead to an energy transition that would be an important tool for growth, economic diversification, technology transfer and job creation. According to the African Development Bank (2012), the installation in the sub-region of solar-thermal energy production capacity of 20 GW will generate job creation equivalent to 235,280 persons-years.

The rapid growth of energy demand, the abundance and diversity of resources, the existence of a formal framework for functional cooperation among actors (COMELEC), the few achievements in interconnection of national networks, modest exchange of power, the commitment of most States to the development of renewable energy and the interest of European partners through the Mediterranean Solar Plan and 'Desertec' initiative for this new energy source are the structural parameters of a common energy strategy and a promising regional market.

The Council of Energy Ministers, met in November 2010 in Rabat (Morocco), and the different forums and gatherings organized in recent years (e.g. MENAREC 5, Marrakech, May 2012, International Energy Forum, Rabat, September 2012 ...) have particularly stressed the urgency of further reflection on a Maghreb strategy on renewable energy development and a regional approach to promote the creation of an integrated market for electricity which will benefit at the same time from the opportunities offered by the interconnections with Europe.

The harmonization of normative frameworks, the synergy of resources for capacity development planning, production, trade and the empowerment of national operators should be the three strategic areas of intervention for the creation of this regional electricity market. Priority actions in the short and medium term would include:

- Gradual harmonization of regulations and codes of networks;
- Formulation of a regional strategy for capacity building and knowledge transfer;
- Accelerating the formulation process of a Maghreb strategy on renewable energy which promotes the emergence of regional industrial poles;
- Development of regional federating programs, particularly in the field of scientific research on renewable energies.

5. Prerequisite of capacity building and greater functionality of institutional actors

Credible stimulus to the Maghreb integration will also depend on the dynamism of the institutions that will be responsible to lead a multi-sectoral regional cooperation. This prerequisite will concern the General Secretariat of the Arab Maghreb Union, legislative bodies, national administrations and non-state actors.

The AMU has the ambition to achieve in the medium term some of the fundamental bases of a regional integration: free trade area, free movement of people and the implementation of common sectoral strategies. The General Secretariat of the Union and its specialized agencies will play a central role in the formulation, negotiation, adoption and monitoring of integrating programs and projects that will contribute to achieving the objectives set by the Treaty. They should therefore have structures more suited to managing a multi-dimensional integration scheme, sufficient human and financial resources, and powers to encourage a strong regional dynamics and mobilize development partners around community projects.

On the issue of financial resources, the objective limits of the classical system of contributions on national budgets for research and advocate for the establishment of an alternative mechanism for funding, more independent and able to secure and make irreversible the

process of integration. The Arab Maghreb Union and its existing or yet to be created specialized agencies must have a minimum capacity of initiative and action for the implementation of their goals and objectives through regular funding from their operating budgets, technical studies, a fund of equalization or adjustment of regional market costs and benefit, capital endowments from the Maghreb Bank for Investment and Foreign Trade (BMICE), some integrating programs and projects.

AS for the functioning of institutions, it should be noted that the irregularity of meetings of AMU's decision-making bodies has been for the last two decades one of the major blocking factors of the Maghreb integration. The experience of the European Union and some African Regional Economic Committees (ECOWAS, SADC) highlights the importance of the role of policy makers in community decision-making and the optimal adaptation of regional strategies to the changes of the international environment. The revival of Maghreb integration must be underpinned by a decision-making devolution, a short periodicity and greater regularity of meetings of all statutory bodies. Similarly, the need for more participatory governance that underpins the ongoing political reforms in the Union's Member States should be reflected in the functioning of the Union's bodies. The broadening of the mandate of the Advisory Council in the normative area or its gradual transformation into Maghreb parliament and the creation of an economic, social and environmental council would give the populations, according to modes of representation to be defined, the means to participate more actively in the process of making community laws and control the implementation of regional policies.

The institutional architecture should also be complemented by an effective relay mechanism in Member States, both to facilitate interaction between the General Secretariat of the AMU, on the one hand, and governments, on the other, and avoid, at the national level, piecemeal management of community policies and programs. Without prejudice to the existence of ministries or departments specifically dedicated to regional integration, it would be desirable to have a national commission in each State of AMU or AMU-CENSAD (as appropriate). This ad-hoc structure, whose activity would require no specific budget, would be composed of representatives of national administrations involved in the management of the integration process: Customs, Taxation, Trade, Industry, Transportation, Energy, ICT, Immigration, Agriculture, etc. It would be mandated to regularly and inclusively monitor regional strategies, mainly to identify national positions and to provide services-advice to policy makers, the implementation of community decisions, the periodic evaluation of the functioning of the regional market and the process of integration as a whole. The commission would have a permanent secretariat provided by the administration that has the authority of regional integration in each country. It would be expanded to include representatives of employers' organizations and national platforms or networks of civil society organizations working on issues related to regional integration.

6. Promotion of functional cooperation among other actors

Beyond boosting institutions' traditional orientation, leadership and facilitation missions, the integration of the Maghreb in its socio-economic dimension should be further supported by other actors such as the parastatal sector, the private sector and civil society, with various forms of partnership, ranging from simple coordination of programs to the implementation of joint projects.

In the area of market services in particular (energy, transport and logistics, telecommunications, banking and insurance), the existence of a critical mass of national actors in the Maghreb offer real opportunities for the implementation and/or acceleration of sectoral cooperation that would be a driving force of a progressive networking of Maghreb economies. The construction of a regional economic base in terms of infrastructure and services would promote increasing scale returns, necessary to maximize the potential of existing trade and production, particularly in the food and petrochemical sectors, fertilizers, renewable energy and tourism. It would also allow economic operators to achieve their projects more easily in a competitive and expanded environment, following specialization logic based on their respective comparative advantages, regional organization of their production through

networks and/or the creation of poles to provide training, in border regions in particular. The development of a regional legal framework to facilitate private sector projects following a win-win approach is a priority to promote the exploitation of existing partnership opportunities among Maghreb businesses under various forms: contracts for the supply of goods and services, joint ventures, outsourcing, co-sourcing, BOT, processing, etc. Hugon (2003) notes that in the experience of Southeast Asia, alliances among firms and foreign direct investment in the area have structured regional trade in the form of intra-industry or exchange of complementary goods within regional networks, without the benefits of a strong institutionalization.

The promotion of functional cooperation could thus be an important catalyst for the acceleration of the Maghreb integration. It's carried out by networks of corporatist, existing or yet to be, Maghreb actors (Maghreb Employers' Union, Maghreb Banks Union, *Union Maghrebine de Conditionnement*, Maghreb Farmers Union...), specialized IGOs (COMELEC, BMICE, Maghreb Academy) or sectoral partnerships among autonomous parastatal entities. In the same vein, the networking of civil society organizations involved in the issues of sustainable development, good governance and strengthening the rule of law would facilitate the formulation of common responses to the challenges of concerted management of regional public goods, participation of youth in development and the promotion of the culture of democracy and human rights.

The necessary devolution of AMU' decision-making bodies would therefore be more effective if it was combined with a decentralization of certain areas and levels of prerogatives for the benefit of national parastatal entities, private sector and civil society networks for the promotion of interregional partnerships around common sectoral interests which fall within the strategic objectives of the Union. Without questioning the role of States in their ordinary tasks of economic regulation, Maghreb integration must cease to be a reserved area of governments, and move towards a more participatory process and tripartite strategy for partnership that includes public, private and civil society stakeholders.

Conclusion

It is thus evident that the challenges and objectives of the Maghreb integration are topical issues in terms of the nature and similarity with the development challenges facing the countries of the Maghreb sub-region, despite the delay of the process of creating a North African integrated economic area. At the same time, the Maghreb sub-region has most of the advantages of an efficient market, able to create significant economies of scale and attract more foreign direct investment. Reinforced-Maghreb integration in various dimensions (trade liberalization, factor movement, coordination of sectoral policies, harmonization of rules, programs and joint projects) will have a positive impact on the economic efficiency of enterprises and countries and to some extent determine their opportunities for growth and future development.

The political changes in the sub-region over the last two years are a driving force of economic and social reforms that integrate the regional dimension as a constant in national development policies. Indeed, there is a need for a stimulus and acceleration of community dynamics, so that the Maghreb optimizes its own growth potential and takes full advantage of the opportunities offered by its strategic position at the crossroads of Africa, Europe and the Middle East.

Without prejudice to the relevance of all strategies of cooperation already existing or being formulated, the definition of short and medium term priorities would contribute to having a more efficient stimulus process, by focusing on areas and sectors likely to have a short-term ripple effect on building a Maghreb economic space. This exercise of prioritizing areas of intervention should also be accompanied by greater operability of the institutional framework of regional cooperation and a review of the roles of all potential stakeholders to facilitate the synergy of capacities and complementarities. A new space initiatives and powers should be given, in particular, to the private sector, autonomous para-public sector and civil society for the formulation and implementation of rapid regional programs and projects around their respective areas of interest.

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