

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**The Role of Regional Integration in Promoting Peace and Security:
A Case of East African Community**

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DECLARATION

I, Akoth Mercy, hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signed Date.....

Akoth Mercy

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university professor;

Signed..... Date

Dr. Martin O. Atela

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Edmund Willis (Ph.D.) for the continued financial and moral support.

This dream wouldn't have been possible without you. To my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Odongo and my brothers- Humphrey, Passwel, Benjamin, and Branham- for your prayers and moral support.

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ABSTRACT

Peace and security are vital components in any integration, and they have continued to major guise challenges in most parts of the world. There have been attempts to form regional integration in East Africa before with failure due to some issues including political and economic bad will disfavoring regional co-operation. The community of East Africa had a significant objective of uplifting the economies of its members namely: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. This could have been achieved through trade.

Nonetheless, the challenges met did not favor the integration. These difficulties arose due to the complexity, interrelatedness, and intertwining of the problems. This research looked into finding out how regional integration can enhance peace and security by cooling down the dust of challenges faced in the region.

In conclusion, the study found out that, even with the existence of the secretariats and frequent technical and ministerial meetings, heads of states meetings in summits, there still is the existence of the same type of conflicts. This recurrence was accredited to slowness in ratifying the protocol, issues in membership and reluctance in implementing agreed policies, the divergence of socio-economic systems and limited capacities nationally and regionally. The progress of the EAC has been slower than expected. The study has given recommendations especially on eradicating policies and implementing the existing ones that have been overlooked by the members.

In conclusion, the study has made an induction that; the EAC has to take a stronger position in the promotion of peace and security. This would enable the popularization of the blocs' peace, security and the framework for conflict resolution.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM- African Union Mission in Somalia

CET- Common External Tariffs

CMA- Common Monetary Area

COMESA- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CU- Customs Union

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

EAC- East African Community

ECOWAS- Economic Community of West African States

FDI- Foreign Direct Investment

FDDL- Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

IBEAC- Imperial British East African Community

ICC- International Criminal Court

IGAD- Intergovernmental Authority on Development

KUT- Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika

RECSA- Regional Centre for Small Arms

SADC- Southern Africa Development Community

SSR- Social Science Research

VAT- Value Added Tax

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This section gives us a clear introduction to the study. It highlights the primary objectives of the study and takes us through the various works of former researchers and their findings in the same discipline. Here, we get a visit of the reason the research is undertaken in the problem statement area where we understand why the study has to be conducted even when EAC has obtained its secretariat in place plus other summits held to discuss the issue of peace and security.

Background to the Problem

Conflicts in East Africa have become a serious concern to the world as its richness in resources has been of help to the other regions in the world. The conflict in East Africa can be categorized in eight categories namely: interstate conflict; intrastate conflict; insurgencies, crime, and corruption; epidemics; environmental degradation; ethnic/religious hatred and globalization. In most cases, these categories interlock as others gives rise to others.¹

Regional integrations have participated actively in attaining and maintaining peace and security. The East African Community has not been left behind in the same course as it has conspicuously joined in ensuring peaceful coexistence and stability.

Most parts of East Africa have encountered conflict in the past. Tanzania has faced conflicts especially due to Islamic radicalization. In 1998 there was bombing in Dar es Salaam

¹ Mark S. Watson

and Zanzibar killings of 2001. The effects of Rwanda and Burundi conflicts have made Tanzania a home to approximately 300,000 refugees.

Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army has carried out several terrorist attacks. The condition is worsening due to radical Islam especially in Northern Uganda.

South Sudan's conflict is majorly around its richness in oil. The locals and the government conflict as the locals have come up with rebel groups. This battle has claimed over 2 million lives. The government supplies oil to China while the latter supplies weapons to South Sudan- such a symbiotic blood and oil relationship.²

Kenya has been experiencing internal conflicts especially ethnicity related ones. The 2007/2008 post-election violence marked greatest recent national conflict.

The East African Community, since its formulation, it has put the effort in combating these conflicts in the region as it is one of the objectives for its formulation. So far, structures have been put in place for issues of peace and security to be addressed. Nevertheless, clear strategic directions are missing that hinders these structures to attain their objectives. The strategy was adopted in November 2006 by the 13th Council of Ministers. The approach is inclined to any adjustments to accommodate any new and emerging security challenges. Furthermore, a Sectoral Council on Interstate Security was formulated to be in charge of implementation of gradually increasing areas of co-operation in internal security as elaborated in the EAC Regional Strategy for Peace and Security. In addition to the strategy, a program to

² Mark S. Watson

control and register small arms and light weapons, cooperation among EAC Police Chiefs and implementation of the Protocol on Illicit Drug Trafficking was established.³

1.1 Problem Statement

Being part of a regional grouping has become the main thing for states nowadays. One of the main rationales has been the hope to curb challenges that commonly affect people like eradicating poverty, improving economic policy and liberalization process management in a cumulative and organized manner. There are recorded efforts to form regional integration groupings in East Africa, but they have faced some challenges like political and economic bad will that deterred the formations. The issue of peace and security in East Africa has been minimally handled as most literature on East African Community only address the main reasons for its establishment: industrialization and economic reforms.

Through trade, EAC member states (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda) economies have to be improved as that is the main aim for its formation. However, some difficulties have been experienced in the past due to highly complex, interrelated and intertwined causes. Such challenges include delays in communication on agreed decisions to implement, deficiency in dedication towards implementation of agreed conclusions, resistance by officials in the higher government offices, and ratification of protocols are suspended. Others are lack of clear set-out plans with given timeframes for decisions to be implemented, periodic retraces on agreed policies due to divided loyalty countries and regional pressures, memberships in multiple organizations and doubling of roles and leadership authorities with other local unions. This is an explicit claim as negotiations with other actors have never solved the encountered problems so far. In this paper, I seek to research on the various East African Community programs and

³ Report by FOI Swedish Research Agency

methods in the quest to enhancing peace and attaining of stability in East Africa. There have been past efforts by the bloc which haven't been successful. Various forms of conflict have been experienced in the area for differing reasons. Conflict threatens an ample environment for attaining the most important objectives of the bloc, and it is associated with the incompatibility of interests, values or needs. At the same time, it has been associated with the proliferation of small arms and ammunition. The North Uganda conflict led by the Lord's Resistance Army is still on; border tensions are always being experienced between Somalia and Kenya and South Sudan and North Sudan. Intrastate conflicts have been on the rise than internal ones. Pressures keep rising in the region especially around national elections, cattle rustling and religious disputes that are the primary cause of terrorism have been experienced in the region. Conflict over natural resources in Burundi and South Sudan is another case in point. The East African Community has put structures like forces given by the member countries for peaceful missions, expert personnel has been hired for different capacities plus a policy established on conflict. This paper seeks to examine the role of EAC in combating the conflicts despite the fact that the struggles are still on.

1.2 General Objective.

The research seeks to analyze the role of the East African Community in attaining and maintain peace and security in East Africa.

1.3 Specific Objectives

- To assess various factors of regional integration and how they enhance peace and security
- To study the opportunities and challenges faced by the EAC in attaining peace and security.

- To examine the appropriateness of the measures undertaken by EAC in various conflict resolution processes.

1.4 Literature Review

This part is in three parts. The first part delves into the promotion of peace by regional integration, the second look into the components of regional peace and security and the last one examines the EAC regards to settling disputes peacefully in the region.

1.4.1 Regional Integration

Despite the long existence of the term regional integration, there is no precise definition given to it. It has been used hand in hand with other terms like regionalism, regionalization and economic cooperation. However, these words, according to Onditi, they are natively inaccurate and indefinite understandings yet at the same time impossible to brush off.⁴ The terminologies have become part and parcel of the analysis of contemporary regionalism.⁵ Rosamond gives another insight in his definition that regionalism is “the tendency of geographically proximate territories or states to engage in economic integration and to form free trade areas and possibly common market.”⁶ In his definition, Rosamond lacks elements of peace and security as he perceives political integration as part of regional integration yet it is essential in any states’ cooperation. Bach adds the identification of geographical setting to a social space in his contribution to the understanding of regionalism.⁷ For a state, depending on the benefits to be accrued from integration, decides which extent of sovereignty it is ready to give out. This is

⁴ Onditi, O. F. (2010). Development or security? *The Dilemma of Policy Prioritization, Institutional Coordination and Sequencing of Integration in East African Community*.

⁵ Emanuel, A. (1994). Imagined (security) communities; Paper Presented at 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, new York, pp. 1-4.

⁶ Rosamond, B. (2000). *Theories of European Integration*, St. Martins Press, New York.

⁷ Bach, D. (2003). New Regionalism as an alias; regionalization through trans-state networks; In Grant A. and F. Soderbaum (eds). *The new regionalism in Africa*. Burlington: Ashgate, P. 21-30.

because it is the political decision of a state to consider any basis whether political, economic, social or geographical to join a regional bloc.

In his paper, 'The End of Geography' Manboah-Rockson, views regionalism regarding scope, number, and diversity and asserts that it is characterized by events that are multi-dimensional such as political re-alignment, increased homogeneity and business transactions.⁸ Countries are also allowed to join more than one regional bloc which sometimes leads to overlapping of membership and independent integration agenda. A case of COMESA, EAC, and SADC can be pinpointed.

In Barry Buzan's ideologies and explanations on security of a specific area, there are complex articulates showing that regional integration has been studied in various settings.⁹ This idea has been of help in the study and investigation of international diplomatic coexistence and as afore script for managing global security issues in the highlight of supranational economic and political cooperation. With an understanding of the diverse views on integration, Lee identifies that the process of regional integration is the voluntary joining of states where access to markets is allowed, and techniques and mechanisms are established to reduce chances of having conflicts thereby increasing mutual relations in terms of trade, diplomatic envoys, social exchanges and cultural integrations.¹⁰ A modern revelation shows that a new wave of regionalism is characterized by complexity, multidimensionality, and fluidity.¹¹ These studies pose some questions such as: what are the impetuses for their establishment and revival? Is there a

⁸ Manboah-Rockson, J. K. (2003). regional and Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Experiences, Issues and Realities at the Close of the Twentieth Century, University of Cape Town, SA.

⁹ Buzan, B. (2003). Regional Security Complex Theory in the Post-Cold War World. In Soldierbaum F. and Shaw T. M., (eds). Theories of new regionalism, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

¹⁰ Lee, M. (2001). SADC and the free trade area in South Africa, In Maloka E. and eddy E. L., (eds) Africa in the New Millenium; Challenges and prospects, Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria.

¹¹ Hettne, B. (2005). Beyond the new regionalism. *New Political Economy*, 10 (4), pp. 543-571.

possibility of them handling security issues at hand? Politico-development scholars have attempted to answer these questions, and they argue that the change is influenced by particular causatives such as globalization of the economy,¹² the perception of European Integration success,¹³ changing concentration from global perspective down to regional and local politics after the end of cold and the consequent shift of roles and mandate bestowed upon local political actors.¹⁴

Trans-boundary plus communal conflicts can be mitigated by regional political and economic arrangements by cutting off historical ties and identities according to Fawcett and Harrell.¹⁵ Examples can be noted in some RECs in Africa. Peace and stability have been influenced by COMESA and ECOWAS in their respective regions. During the 1999 COMESA summit, there was recognition of the relationship between economic development, security, and peace. Subsequently, Peace and Security Committee was established in 2000.¹⁶

Effectively, regional integration has led to political amalgamation, economic growth and partially making security and peace regimes compatible.¹⁷ Faulk claims that new regionalism, as opposed to hegemonic regionalism, involves self-generated processes that often come below and within the region itself depending on its uniqueness and problems.¹⁸ With this in mind-broadening integration shows the broader interdependence between security issues and

¹²Lake, D. and Morgan, P. (1997). Introduction. In D. Lake and P. Morgan (eds.) *Regional Orders, Building Security in a New World*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 3-19.

¹³ Fawcett, H. (1995). *Regionalism in World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁴ Nana, K. P., (2007). *Globalization, Development, Security*; In Collins; *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford, Pp.257-271.

¹⁵ Fawcett, H. (1995). *Regionalism in World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶ Karamgizi, S. (2001). *Sub-regional Agenda for Peace and security: The Case of COMESA*; 'in' Cilliers J. (eds.) *peace, Human Security and Conflict prevention in Africa* (proceedings of the UNESCO-ISS Expert Meeting), Pretoria, South Africa, Pp. 23-24.

¹⁷ World Bank (1994). *Accelerated Development and UN Committee for Program and Co-ordination, Proposed Revision to the System _Wide Plan of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, Thirty-Forth Session, E/AC. 51/7, 7.*

¹⁸ Richard, F. (1997). *State of Siege: Will Globalization Win out?* *International Affairs*, pp. 316-24.

development interventions. Eventually, internal issues have been externalized. Felicio claims states that the rise in regional integration, there still has been sluggishness in the importance of peace amongst member states.¹⁹ In the past years, local integration issues have dominated the agenda for African leaders. With the coming together of Africa states through the Africanisation process, unity has been attained which gave rise to the plan of regional integration. However, the main contention has been whether the combination should include economic or political alliance.

The neo-functional theory explains that regional integration is an inherently sporadic and conflictual process, but still, politics find themselves entangled in environmental pressures under democratic and pluralistic representation conditions. This situation helps them resolve the arising disputes by admitting a broader view and devolving most authority to the relevant and most close organization they created. As a result, the expectations of the citizens of the members divert their attention to the regional bodies. The EAC is pegged on the neo-functional theory to some extent since the cooperation emphasizes the role of the secretariat that is expected to reduce the power of individual member states on others during decision making.

Most parts of Africa have enjoyed a long period of trade and cultural integration. Concrete steps to re-launch economic integration institutions were taken in the 1970s and 1980s even though majority of African leaders were instrumental in pushing for such relations immediately after independence. Their motive was aimed at providing a reliable scale to inform their policies on industrialization and international trade thus motivating regional integration. The vision for creating a united Africa also pushed for the move towards creating a politically and economically unified Africa.

¹⁹ Felicio, T. (2005). Management Security as a regional Public Good; A Regional-Global mechanism for Security. *UNU-CRIS Occasional Papers*, No. 48.

Besides the African Union, other sub-regional blocs include COMESA(19 members); the SADC (12 members); the Preferential Trade Area (PTA); IGAD (six members) and EAC.²⁰ As cooperation increases in the blocs, attention is focused on improving peace, stability and security within the regions occupied by the member states.

The COMESA, positioned in the Preferential Trade Treaty of 1993, focuses on the integration of markets via removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade and investment. Hence, a free trading zone, a common market is established and eventually an economic community is created to achieve full financial cooperation. The COMESA treaty gives a clear guideline for its integration agenda. Nonetheless, it does not provide particular guidelines for its agenda implementation.

In 2000, Free Trade Area (FTA) was established.²¹ Its customs Union was launched in 2008. Moreover, the implementation of the treaty involved adherence to particular protocols. Some of them include the COMESA protocol concerning visa requirements in the local travels and trade and the COMESA protocol other relevant policies and integration guidelines. According to Harbom, conflict is mostly motivated by economic attachments being associated with forced labor, looting or the expulsion of local communities to stabilize exclusive control over resources, therefore, causing migrant labor for exploitation of resources.²²

Jenkins claims that preventing conflicts and sustaining peace and stability is at par vision of the community to establish security and political stability within East Africa. An emphasis is put by article 6 and 124 of the treaty for the citizens to co-exist peacefully, good neighborliness,

²⁰ Jenkins, K. (2000). *Regionalism in World Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

²¹ FTA comprises of 11 countries: Burundi, Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

²² Harbom, L., & Wallenstein, P. (2005). Armed conflict and its international dimensions, 1946-2004. *Journal of peace Research*, Vol. 42 (5), pp. 6623-635.

settlement of disputes, good governance, democracy and highlighting social and economic development in the region.²³ The absence of peace and stability can result in threats to the regional trade, political alliances, social and cultural welfare of the people within the member states.

SADC was established for the region's integration to ensure the improvement of the living standards, economic development, social justice, exemptions, and maintenance of stability and peace. A plan dubbed SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development (RISDP), a 15 development framework, was adopted by heads of states and government to come up with policies, priorities, and strategies to achieve SADC goals. Its primary objectives were to review integration and coordination of the activities in the region. Moreover, it defined the focus areas for the fifteen years of its operation, and ensure adequate sectoral connection and enhances synergy amongst sectors. Additionally, it aimed at setting up a logical implementation program necessary for the achievement of the region's objectives and provision for regional and international stakeholders with a coherent and comprehensive implementation of the agenda.

IGAD, established in 1996 was created to take up from IGADD.²⁴ The primary goals to be achieved in IGAD's establishment included the following: improve diplomatic and economic cooperation among members for the improvement of food security, economic integration, environmental conservation and harmony and peaceful coexistence. An elaboration of its plan was done in 2003 then adopted during the 10th Heads of States Summit in Kampala, Uganda. A consistent and well-structured framework is provided to guide the regional organization on

²³ Jenkins, K. (2000). *Regionalism in World Politics*, Oxford, oxford University Press.

²⁴ IGAD comprises of 6 members states: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.

implementing its development programmes with the aim of reducing poverty and attaining higher (and maintainable) regional economic growth.

Ramesh and Langenhove claim that improving relations between member states requires regional integration to create a web of functional skills.²⁵ Therefore, a peaceful environment needs to be built through regionalism to ensure a protection of trade and development, labor and capital markets and investments in the region.

Hence, all relevant issues about regional peace and security as a critical priority of themes need to be identified.

1.4.2 Security and Peace in Settlement of Disputes in the Region

Dispute resolution is one of an essential measures in ensuring peace and security.²⁶ When conflict has arisen; it has to be dealt with in whichever stage it is. Whether prevention of a foreseen conflict or resolution to an already active conflict for peace to be restored in the society. Peace envoys and deliberations, the signing of peace agreements and implementation of the accords constitute conflict resolution measures.²⁷

Post Conflict peacebuilding includes the present challenges of resolving the conflict, reconstruction, and transformation of the society.²⁸ All this calls for confidence and trust (social capital) restoration and empowering nationals (political capital) so that each of the states involved takes up the responsibility of building a society they want. Therefore, it is paramount that private actors assume full duties of shaping, owning and driving the process.

²⁵ Ramesh, C. & Langenhove, V. L. (2005). 'Inter-Regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of International Relations.

²⁶ Lawrykwa, W., Mjema, G., & Rutasitara, R. (2002). *Regional Integration Study of east African Community*, EAC Secretariat, pp. 32.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Preference to private actors does not necessarily mean that they will come up with better policies but experience has concluded that external interference creates resentment, resistance, and inertia; as a result, peacebuilding with foreign domination is usually unsustainable.²⁹ In situations where international actors would be preferred like for instance a mediation process, they are required to understand the interests at play and the differing perspectives and agenda present. Therefore, peacebuilding needs an approach that is facilitating and supportive of national processes, but not directive and pressured.³⁰ According to Hattne, regional integration has been a vital tool in the fight against conflict and creating a conducive environment of regionalism that reduces the possibility of conflict for peacebuilding. Such inclusions can change economic stagnation and low living conditions which are the most common causes of political turbulence, war, and unrest. At the same time, ethnic tensions are likely to reduce as different people frequently interact that positive results can be noted in the interactions. In addition to this, integration amongst societies kills conditions for survival of warlords and tyrants.³¹

Moreover, this section highlights the key challenges to peace and security within the region and the causes of friction and management of these disputes in the region.

Various barriers to regional peace and security have been noted. They include political landscape, bureaucratic inertia, expansion of EAC, globalization, economic, social, and challenges in financial resources. Others are duplication of mandates and overlapping memberships, nature conservation, natural resources and the environment, consistency between national policies, lack of adequate measures to ensure continuity of organizational programmes.

²⁹ El-Affendi A., 'The Impasse in the IGAD Peace Process for Sudan: The limits of regional peace making?' in *African Affairs*, vol. 100, 2001, pp.581-99.

³⁰ Ramesh C. & Van Langenhove L., 'Inter-regionalism and the future of multilateralism' in a paper presented at the 5th Pan European IR conference of the Standard Group of International Relations, 2005.

³¹ Gakwandi A, S., 'Towards a New Political Map of Africa', in AbdulRaheem, T. (ed), *Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economic and Social Change in the Twenty-First Century*, London, Pluto Press, 1996, pp. 12.

Others are the modalities for implementation, definition of regional programmes, national and regional coherence, wide scope in approach towards regional integration between Developing Partners (DPs) and those from Regional Economic Countries, Economic and Institutional Obstacles to Integration, Regional versus Continental Challenges, Political obstacles to Integration, Economic Cost of Implementing Regional Commitments and Sector Policy harmonization. These challenges are essential to the success of Regional Integration.

According to Kamala (2006), a committee of three persons was formed to fast-track the federation came up with several hindrances to regional integration. The biggest hindrance touched on decisions that require amendments to national laws are left pending for long periods.³² Other factors identified include the following:

- Distinct lack of commitment in implementing agreed decisions
- Delays in ratifying protocols
- Failure to communicate in time or at all
- Clear resistance by high-level bureaucrats in government institutions
- Implementation of agreed decisions is only by bureaucrats
- Frequent reviews of decisions made due to divided loyalty between states and
- Regional pressures and absence of directions with implied timeframes for implementation of decisions taken.³³

The political picture is rather dismal presently as strong constitutional, and governance issues distract member states. Therefore, there is little room for the community business. These

³² Kamala D. B., *The Achievements and Challenges: Memorandum Research*, United Kingdom, University of Hull, 2006.

³³ Sarbo. D.N., 'The challenges of Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)', *in a working paper on Global Economics Governance Programme*, University College, Oxford, 2010.

can be noticed in the postponement of summits and council of ministers' meetings at short notice without considering how urgent the matter that was to be discussed was and the inconveniences caused to other members.³⁴ Political challenges are a threat to the member states as they consider losing political independence if they become part of the integration. Political goodwill and public support are critical in the establishment of a peaceful and secure region. This becomes impossible as states are threatened by an undermining of their political power in the integration.³⁵ Legal illiteracy and ignorance of the law is also a challenge in the integration. Majority of people in East Africa understand the law and its implications or their rights.³⁶ Friction has been caused in the EAC by lack of implementation of agreed positions specifically on the customs Union since Rwanda and Burundi joined the community as allowed by article 3 of the treaty. The expansion should be an appositive indicator of development that can have a great impact on the attainment of peace and security as ethnicity is expected to diminish. Nevertheless, progress became slower with the joining of the two states as areas of disagreement multiplied. The same challenge bars the enacting of the meaningful protocol. It is the obligation of those whose responsibility it is to ensure priority is given to speedily purpose the protocol.³⁷

The collapse of the EAC in 1977 was due to amongst other reasons poor economic bad will. The collapse was ascribed to out of balance sharing of profits accrued from the regional market and absence of a way of resolving the matter. We can conclude and say that the main challenge to the EAC integration is from lack of a process of implementing the treaty. The

³⁴ EAC Secretariat, "EAC Governance Conference Opens in Nairobi", <http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/481-egovernance-conference-opens-nairobi.html>, 2010a, accessed on 26-6-2017.

³⁵ Kamala, D. B., *The Achievements and Challenges: Memorandum Research*, United Kingdom, University of Hull, 2006.

³⁶ EAC Secretariat, "EAC Governance Conference Opens in Nairobi", <http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/481-egovernance-conference-opens-nairobi.html>, 2010a, accesses on 26-6-2017.

³⁷ Kamala, D. B., *The Achievements and Challenges: Memorandum Research*, United Kingdom, University of Hull, 2006.

adoption of the treaty prevents the negative economic effects that arise from the provision on trade liberation and cooperation as a result of regional integration.³⁸

Due to globalization, Collier and Gunning claim, the East African Community is confronted with global competition as a result of the globalization of economies. To stand at par with other economies, the EAC has to unite in contributing to WTO negotiations and the EU trading blocs agreements. This can be effective if they present themselves as one trading bloc to benefit from globalization.³⁹ As one bloc, they would reduce business cost and access a readily available market for their goods and services. At the same time, the impact will be noted in infrastructure such as improvements in ports like the Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam Ports, improved road and rail network to improve handling capacity. The EAC has recently started fighting this challenge by the construction of Standard Gauge Railway. With its completion, the EAC will be able to withstand global competition.⁴⁰ Dinka and Walter explain that in the EAC, the citizens should play an active role in following up the continuous application of the treaty as it is people oriented. Hence, the EAC should establish a community that ensures a successful procedure as a step to establishing peace and security in the region.⁴¹

Therefore, the efforts aimed at campaigning for, building and maintaining trade and good infrastructural development leads to achievement and establishment of stability and peace. The facilitation of both social and economic development assist in achieving this. There is great

³⁸ Goldstein A. & Ndung'u N., '*Integration and Cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa*', in OECD Development Centre, working paper No. 171, 2001.

³⁹ Collier P. and Reinikka R., '*Reconstruction and Liberalization: An overview*, In Uganda's recovery: *The role of farms, firms and government*' in *Regional and Sectoral Studies*, Washington D.C., The World Bank, 2001, pp. 33-42.

⁴⁰ Ramesh C. & Van Langenhove L., '*Inter-regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism*', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of Internal relations, 2005.

⁴¹ Lawrukwa W., Mjema G. & Rutasitara R., *Regional Integration Study of East African Community*, EAC Secretariat, 2002, pp. 32.

potential in the region for trade. This possibility will lead to poverty eradication and establishing interactions hence the opportunity to promote peace and security.⁴²

Odhiambo claims that the main barrier to regionalism in the region is the inadequate financing of the budget.⁴³ There have been experienced hardships in accessing donor funding, or they take too long to be accessed and other funding needed reciprocation from the recipient countries. Lwarukwa et al. mention that this has strained implementation of the treaty. But, for a successive implementation, the substantial and sustainable fluidity of resources is required in funding projects. Most times funds are established, but challenges arise in the allegiance of the members to give the required amounts.⁴⁴ Members face challenges in committing due to duplication of mandates with other integrations that come with its implications and also difficulty in managing relations among the member states.⁴⁵ Instances of overlapping memberships can be seen in the case of Kenya and Uganda being members of IGAD and the COMESA at the same time, they are members of EAC. The same case is to Tanzania which is a member of SADC and the memberships of Burundi and Rwanda in COMESA. The mentioned states still belong to EAC at the same time they are in the other regional groupings.

Considering this, the EAC ensembles IGAD and COMESA members, Kenya and Uganda, with SADC member Tanzania, COMESA and CEPGL members, Burundi and Rwanda (Rwanda also belongs to ECCAS). These multiple memberships that overlap also threatens the

⁴² Dinka T. & Walter K., 'Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges', In discussion paper No. 74, European Centre for Development Policy Management, 2007.

⁴³ Odhiambo W., 'Equity Issues in Regional Trade Arrangements: The Case of EAC in The Making of a Region, *The Revival of East African Community*, Rok, A (eds), Institute of Global Dialogue, South Africa, 2005, pp. 15

⁴⁴ Lawrukwa W., Mjema G. & Rutasitara R., *Regional Integration Study of East African Community*, EAC Secretariat, 2002, pp. 32.

⁴⁵ Ramesh C. & Van Langenhove L., 'Inter-regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of Internal relations, 2005.

loyalty and divides the commitment and distribution of resources from the member countries. Severe deductions fall on the role of the integration in maintaining regional security and peace.⁴⁶

Military power incapacitation is also another challenge faced. Kenya being the dominant force in the region, it lacks military capabilities, and the governmental tilt that can help her to takes its full responsibilities in ensuring regional stability. The EAC has included the military into the political arena because they have pit emphasis in building up military capability instead over investing on other essential sectors. Cases in point include two military coups in Uganda, a guerrilla insurgency that pushed Yoweri Museveni to power and an invasion in Tanzania. Kenya encountered a single premature coup in 1982 that makes it the only state in the region that has not faced any big forceful authority take-over in the government.⁴⁷ As a result, many oppositions in the form of military insurgencies have emerged to overthrow the military governments hence posing risks to the peace and security of the region.

A conflict arose between Kenya and Uganda concerning fishing rights around Migingo Island in Lake Victoria. Earlier President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda had degraded the Luo of Kenya through his remarks over the Migingo controversy. His comments shook the regional economic and political integration. Calls were made later for leaders in the region to control loose talks and establish good relations that would promote integration and maintain peace and security among its citizens.⁴⁸ More conflicts have been arising from the pastoralist ecosystem. This lifestyle is practiced by a recognizable portion of the population in the region. Among them

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Sarbo D. N., 'The Challenges of regional Integration in Africa: The Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)', *in a working paper on Global Economic Governance Programme*. University College Oxford, 2010.

⁴⁸ Shimoli E., Museveni Insists Migingo No Danger to EA Unity. <http://theeastafrican.co.ke/news/-/2558/599216/-/index.html,2009>, accesses on 26/6/2017.

are the Turkana in Kenya and Uganda's Jie and Dodoth. Threats faced by this group are agricultural encroachment, cattle rustling, and drought. Due to harsh ecological zones uncontrollable by governments, they have in most times been forced to cross state boundaries in search of manageable ecologies. These movements have given rise to cattle rustling along state boundaries. Initiatives to attain peace and security usually calls for elders to hold talks to end the conflicts.⁴⁹

The governments, in addition to the negotiations, should help the pastoralist by pulling together their resources and form research stations to promote their welfare and increase their production systems. Presently, governments are enticing the groups to change their way of life, but improved technologies can improve animal husbandry together with marketing facilities can be a solution to the harsh environments that will reduce movement across boundaries. As a result, the tension between the pastoralist of Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan border will end.

Sarbo claims that sustainable economic development can be attained in natural resources and the environment. Nature conservation can boost agriculture, medical resources, energy, construction and building materials, integrated biodiversity (research on developing breeding disease-resistant crops), genetic products, local and international tourism, and carbon segregation. Apart from enhancing pure water supply, forests and water conservation services reduce the speed of stormwater run-off, filter pollution and reduce downstream flooding. International, regional commerce produces coffee, myrrh, frankincense, *prunus Africana* (for prostrate treatment) and gums. However, East Africa faces severe challenges in deforestation, degradation of plants and soil, desertification and loss of biodiversity. Also, forests are being

⁴⁹ Sarbo D. N., 'The Challenges of regional Integration in Africa: The Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)', in a working paper on *Global Economic Governance Programme*. University College Oxford, 2010.

depleted due to increase in population that results to rise in demand for land for construction, agricultural production, and firewood. Deforestation has also led to seasonal rivers, increased soil erosion and the rise of tides of flooding towns and countryside in the rainy season. Therefore, lives are threatened due to a decrease in agricultural production and increase of epidemics.

For sustainability and accelerated development, states should work together to conserve the environment through appropriate utilization of natural resources, alternative fuel to firewood, forestation, harvesting water, watershed management, natural resources conservation, promotion of diversified action plan (both local and national) and conserving wildlife resources and species. Furthermore, states will build socially cohesive, ecologically and economically reliable societies.⁵⁰

The World Bank argues that regional programmes most times have no clear objectives in its policies hence ineffective in meeting the interest of the country. A significant challenge is in committing to implement investment as most of the states have shown interest in regional integration initiatives. With lack of implementation, priority cannot be given and also can lead to duplication and overlapping of projects. The gap between commitment and implementation results to constraints regarding budgetary allocation and capacity to implement all the proposed programs relative to both internal and external objectives. As a result, there is a feeling that strategic models are not designed from country plans, nor are country strategies developed within regional structures. Programming may not be at par with national needs priorities and developing

⁵⁰ Sarbo, D. N., ‘The Challenges of regional Integration in Africa: The Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)’, *in a working paper on Global Economic Governance Programme*. University College Oxford, 2010.

strategies but donor-driven. Frequently, this has led to complex and multiple procedures that point to lack of control and ownership, high demand of staff and lack of good coordination of resources to meet the financial implications imposed.⁵¹

Disbursement and implementation of aid are observed as really slow at the ordinary and regional category. Even though the capacities of Regional Organizations are advancing, their methods are always burdensome as they lack technical capabilities needed. On the other hand, DPs are better structured to handle the local partners and at times provide the priorities over partner from other member states. Understanding that regional projects are slower and burdening is discouraging and can make Developing Partner's staff not to disburse if they are under pressure.⁵²

Regional Economic Communities cannot receive loans from development partners directly but can receive grants. As a result, there is a constraints in the financial capacity of Regional Economic Communities in the implementation of desirous programmes.⁵³ World Bank Environment Department claims that the results from the programs are successfully applied, and the member states are always assisted to continue implementing them amidst challenging and limited budgets. For instance, some of these arrangements have resulted in infrastructural development, but the end of the plans ended the ambition as there have been sufficient implementations at the national level. Programme outcomes have been put at risk like for

⁵¹ World Bank. (2007). 'IEG Evaluation of Regional programmes', - http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTREGPROPAR/Resources/reg_pgms_full.pdf. Accessed on 20-05-2017.

⁵² Muuka, G. N., Harrison, D. E. & Mc Coy, J. P. (1998). Implements to Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of COMESA. *Journal of Business in Developing Nations*, vol. 2, 1998.

⁵³ World Bank. (2007). 'IEG Evaluation of Regional programmes', - http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTREGPROPAR/Resources/reg_pgms_full.pdf. Accessed on 20-05-2017.

instance; the World Bank supported the provision of electricity at a lower cost to 26 beneficiary countries by helping the African Hydropower development project. With the achievement of its objective, utility pricing policies in the beneficiary countries have not been changed.⁵⁴

1.4.3. East African Community

This regional body comprises of the following countries; Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. Its headquarters is based in Arusha, Tanzania. The treaty that led to the establishment of EAC was formulated in 30th November 1999, but it effectively took effect from 7th July 2000. Three founding countries namely; Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania ratified the treaty. On 18th June 2007, Burundi and Rwanda acceded to the agreement the two republics became full members of EAC 1st July 2007.⁵⁵ President John Magufuli of Tanzania is the current chairperson.

The central vision for the formation of the EAC was for the regional organization to get “prosperous, competitive, secure, stable and politically united East Africa.” Its mission was to ensure collaboration and integration in a broad scope of issues include economic, social, political, and cultural interactions through various strategies that encourage competitiveness, production, trade, and investment. The core values expected to be upheld by the member countries include transparency, accountability, unity in diversity, professionalism, teamwork and allegiance to EAC objectives and ideologies. Deepening coupled with widening cooperation in

⁵⁴ World Bank Environmental Department, ‘*Strengthening Policy Dialogue on Environment Learning from Five Years of Country Environmental Analysis*’ http://www.wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSC/IB/2008/03/17/000333038_20080317013929/Rendered/PDF/428210NWP01NO011PUBLIC10EDP01140CEA.pdf, 2008, Accessed on 16-04-2017.

⁵⁵ EAC, ‘EAC Develops Draft Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (CPMR) Framework’, http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/368-press-release-eac-develops-a-draft-conflict-prevention-management-and-resolution-cpmr-framework_html, 2010, Accessed 12-03-2017.

political, economic and social sectors for shared benefits among member states are the main aims of the EAC. To achieve this dream, a particular customs union was established in 2005 and a common market commencement took place 2010. In 2013, plans were put underway to begin a monetary union in 10 years. This is a roadmap to a stable economic and political bloc.

Nevertheless, there has been experienced lagging since the dissolving in 1977 with the following causatives. First, there is a drop in domestic policies quality. Corruption and internal political tensions have stagnated the Kenyan economy- considering it's the largest economy in the region. Socialist experiments legacy has hindered development in Tanzania as the implementation of reforms has been limited. Second, the frequency and intensity of cross-border tensions have raised. The most likely state in the region, Uganda has been affected by these tensions in the regions surrounding Great Lakes and this has caused domestic political pressures. Interstate wars and internal civil strife in South Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the former Zaire have reduced cooperation and lowered economic potentials. Thirdly, poor economies have created possibilities of poor maintenance of infrastructure, (Road and rail networks and postal services) has resulted in high costs in communication and production activities. This has made countries in the south like Tanzania who is also a member of SADC to opt for South Africa rather than EAC member states. It is also noted that South Africa has been preferred even by countries that are not members of SADC.⁵⁶

A peaceful and secured region is essential for cooperation in regional integration. The issue of whose responsibility security and peace is has been changing over time in the different areas depending on the level of participation and coordination among states. In the pre-

⁵⁶ Goldstein A. & Ndung'u N. '*Integration and Cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa*' in *OECD Development Centre*. Working Paper No. 171, 2001.

Westphalia age, there was minimal interaction between policies, and so each country took the responsibility of ensuring its peace and security. As expected, rising of feuds within nations did not affect the neighboring countries positively or negatively. These configurations have been profoundly changed in the post-Westphalia era. The consolidation of states caused by integration has resulted to their securitization. Therefore national security has become a relational strategy. Countries were playing out each other in keeping peace within their territories. The United Nations report on the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change observes that times have changed and threats are interrelated that never before in that a threat to any given state is a threat to the rest of them in the organization. Both the weak and able one are regarded as vulnerable.⁵⁷

By definition, to be secure is to live in an environment devoid of threats and intimidations. Security was understood as the absence of excruciation which happy life depends on.⁵⁸ Plus risks and terrors have varied givers and receivers resulting to ten types of conflict. Where regional level acts dominantly in whichever case (either receiver and/or giver) are the types which shadow threats. However, most of the conflicts are civil wars or related to terrorism that sometimes doesn't have an association to the regional level. With globalization, attack (or threat) to the national security of a state arouses seismic reactions from neighboring countries inevitably. Be it that the danger has been caused by a domestic resistant fronts or a regional

⁵⁷ United Nations, *Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*, New York, United Nations, 2004.

⁵⁸ Waever Ole, 'Peace and Security: Two Concepts and their Relationship' in Stefano Guzzini and Dietrich Jung (eds) *Contemporary Security Analysis and Copenhagen peace Research*, London and New York, Routledge, 2004, pp. 6.

terror groups, the response is the same. Harbom and Wallensteen (2005) record that there were 30 armed conflicts in 2004 -27 being intrastate and three internationalized interstate.⁵⁹

In this regard, a platform is provided by regional integration for dialogue and consultation on matters peace and security. The conference called upon EAC member states during the Speke Commonwealth meeting to own the responsibility of peace the region. In response, the members agreed that there is preeminence of stability in the integration, stressing the inbred correlation between the form of the conflicts, initiators of the disputes and frequency of occurrences.

The Speke Commonwealth meeting majored on discussing transnational criminal acts plus inters agency coordination among security agencies, good governance, and conflict to promote a peaceful and stable East Africa, foreign policy, and security. On the subject transnational crime and interagency relations in the security agencies, it was concluded that member states should see to it that they are at par with international standards in the scrutiny of financial transactions, sharpening investigators and enforcers technical and technological skills, client due diligence and accentuate sharing of information between nations and agencies. A recommendation was made that the law enforcement agency should amplify their technical skills to curb the technology used by international criminal cabals.⁶⁰

The EAC formulated a code of correct conduct on peace and security that was published in November 2013. The articles therein directed prevention and combating cattle rustling,

⁵⁹ EAC Secretariat, '*EAC Partner States Urged to Take Full Responsibility for Peace and Security Matters as Conference Ends in Kampala*', <http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/459i.html>, 2009, accessed 16-02-2017.

⁶⁰ EAC Secretariat, '*EAC Partner States Urged to Take Full Responsibility for Peace and Security Matters as Conference Ends in Kampala*', <http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/459i.html>, 2009, accessed 16-02-2017.

transnational and cross-border crimes, control of usage and distribution of illicit weapons. Additionally, it proposed measures of management of refugees, disaster risk reduction, management and crisis response. Moreover, it enhanced peace support operations, combating and suppressing piracy, combating terrorism, prevention of genocide, conflict prevention, control and resolution and cooperation in the exchange, detention, custody, and rehabilitation of prisoners and offenders.

1.5 Theoretical framework

An understanding for the study of peace and security building by regional integration is drawn from the experience of Western Europe in the post-world War II and the European Union history. The relevance of regional integration to peace and security can be hard to look into because it is both an economical and geopolitically based process. The understanding of integration used as a means of dispute resolution is different from the classical model formerly employed by experts in the field. It portrays a coordinated effort of members within a particular region in the process of institutionalization of relations that is elite-led working out to preserve individual autonomy and representation.⁶¹

The principles highlighted in the membership requirements, political allegiances and solidarity, interdependence, common territorial citizenship and subsidiary define integration.⁶² Also, it has shown significant peace-building effects. An example can be drawn from the European Union which developed a network of institutions to manage regional interdependence which as a result ensured the irreversibility of post-World War II settlement in Europe. On the other hand, if the European experience is exemplary for integration's systematic effects of the

⁶¹ Gagnon V. P., 'Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia', in *International Security*, 19, no. 3, 1994 pp. 130-166.

⁶² Ibid.

termination of conflict and a strategy for reconciliation, then the role of EAC must be perceived in a different analytical dimension as it works towards attaining tranquility in the region.

Another scholar, Block, explains functionalism. He argues that functionalism perceives society as a social system of parts that are interconnected just the same way the heart, lungs and the brain work in well-coordinated manner for the normal physiological functionality of the body. In place of the lungs and the heart, there are authorized and formal organizations in the society that must work together to bring about societal survival. A society functions efficiently if it shares common beliefs. These beliefs should be as a result of the commitment of the members of the society to work towards adherence mutually shared consensus, otherwise termed as “collective conscience.” Attainment of the goals is also defined as the activities shared by all the members of the society through engaging individually formulated goals where society’s value consensus is reinforced. Making profits for the benefit of the whole community is a goal and therefore the need of political institutions aids in establishing these goals. If this has to be considered, the aim of integration becomes cohesion. Therefore, with cohesion in the society, peace and security is the final result as opposed to a deviant society.⁶³

Regionalism and functionalism in international relations are the theoretical tools used in this study. This helps in the assessment of the progress and the impact of the programs directed by EAC. Regionalization refers to that process whereby civil societies, governmental policies and the co-operate sector combine resources and share interests to an agreed end regionally unlike the national or global level. The difference in the co-operation is always significant but overlooked. A case in point is the rise of several sub-regional groupings in East Africa through

⁶³ Block N., ‘What is functionalism? A revised version of the entry on functionalism,’ in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy Supplement*, Macmillan, 1996, pp. 400-402.

coining of the words “regional’ and “functionalism”-the EAC (6 members); the COMESA (20 members); the SADC (12 members); the PTA; the IGAD (6 members). Most of the blocs focus on economic trade except IGAD which works on reducing insecurity and political stability. In the same regard, this study looks into the impact of EAC on peace and security which most studies have ignored. The reestablishment of the EAC stimulated the growing need for peace and security through military collaboration to curb imminent threats.

However, a functional working relationship in the bloc determines how agreements are reached. Recognizing distinctive strengths and weaknesses bears mutual relations between states that eventually minimize conflicts. Still, functionalism has to work on building reliable security institutions for resolving disputes in the East African Region as the conflict experienced in Kenya in 2007/2008 highlighted the stable importance states as the foundational proposition for regionalism for identity, prosperity, and security.

The Economic integration process has been taken as the elixir for settlement of disputes. Incompatible interests, needs, and values cause conflict. The conflicts can end through: withdrawal from contestation; free will agreement; conquest by one of the conflicting parties; integration on equality basis or a deceptive agreement. The EAC also established a protocol to prevent conflicts in the region.

1.6 Hypotheses

- The East African Community has not been useful in the achievement and maintenance of security and peace within the member states and in East Africa as a whole.
- There are security challenges which hinder regional integration.

- There is no relationship between regional integration and resolution and regional integration and maintenance of peace.

1.7 Justification of the Study

Peace and security are threatened by the conflict that is majorly caused by the proliferation of small arms and ammunition, difference in religious orientations (Muslims and Christians) and revenge missions that have for a long time been the cause of terrorism. If all these reasons are prevented, peace will be attained in the region. However, there is limited literature that gives suggestions on how regional integration can promote transparency, accountability, the rule of law, democracy, good governance, social justice, defense of the fundamental and universal human rights, and promotion of equal opportunities aimed at attaining peace and security in the region. Also providing food ensures security and safety in the region. Due to low productivity of water, labor, and land, food security resources are underutilized. Nevertheless, the importance of food security in the region has called for excellent strategies for the common market. It is unfortunate that majority of the agreements, treaties and policies signed by leaders in EAC forums and conferences have not been fully implemented partly due to inadequate structures and frameworks of execution and lack of good will from politician in the member states.

Conflict resolution can be achieved through withdrawal from contestation, freewill agreement, domination by one of the conflicting parties; compromise; integration of the basis of equality or deceptive understanding. Nonetheless, the ability of EAC is yet to be explored if it is to act in a more refined and systematic manner. However, the member states must seek to determine areas and factors that inhibit the mutual consensus and implementation of mechanism for conflict or dispute resolution.

Therefore, this study is significant as it will highlight the challenges encountered by the EAC in attaining peace in the region. It also aims to popularize the current EAC framework for peace, security, and conflict resolution to share propositions for citizens' participation in the peace and security goal. It enhances identification of potential security challenges that threaten the stability of the region and determination of legal problems facing institutions that deter attainment of peace and security. Moreover, it makes appropriate recommendations for collected and combined approaches towards future threats that include boundary disputes, political instability, terrorism and cybersecurity and the like then come up with ways of curbing them.

Also, law enforcement agencies will need the conclusion of this study to prepare themselves with appropriate skills to make their laws and regulatory framework compatible to eliminate crime. The study will also: promote peaceful conflict resolution and good governance in developing programmes for conflict resolution. A suggestion targeting the looming threats will be made openly and regularly so as to sensitize members and develop educational basis for steering peacekeeping. Some of these programmes will help in developing improved political good will, and providing the necessary information required by the EAC policy members for them to make informed decisions that shall attract the support of citizens from the member states. This will influence the magnitude of responsibility attached to the policies thus pushing for their implementation towards ameliorating peace and security in the region.

The research will call for the cooperation of member states in the implementation of EAC policies for the goal of having a peaceful and secured region conducive to trade and good neighbourliness. A suggestion of measures to be undertaken by the member states will be made to address; among them include defense, amicable resolution of disputes and observing good

neighborliness, human rights observation, cooperation on issues of protection and managing the disaster.

1.8 Methodology

The research design to be employed is explorative as explorative research gives insights and a better understanding of a problem or situation. With extreme caution, definitive conclusions can be drawn. When a researcher lacks a precise position of the phenomena, explorative research would be appropriate as it helps to determine research design, selection of subjects and data collection methods to be used.⁶⁴ The study will mainly be qualitative in nature base on primary and secondary data.

Primary data collection will be done through open and closed-ended questions on questionnaires. According to Maholtra, surveys are a valuable data collection tool as they are efficient and effective within a short time. The open-ended ones will give an insight of new ideas while the other closed ones will ensure the respondents are restricted to given sections in their responses. Secondary data will be collected from EAC records on peace and security, written texts available from existing literature, public documents for the relevant theories and online resources like East African Community website on the press release.

Research that is explorative aims to discover concepts, ideas, insights, hypotheses and generate possible explanations. Conclusive evidence cannot be drawn from explorative analysis as there is expected subsequent investigation that is qualitative. Decisions cannot be made from

⁶⁴ Cooper D. R. & Schindler P. S. (2000), *Business Research Methods*: New York, McGraw Hill.

them, but they help understand a given situation. Qualitative study cannot tell us how frequent or ‘how many’ although it can give indications to ‘why,’ ‘how’ and ‘when.’⁶⁵

Therefore, explorative research is the most appropriate as it aims to depend on baseline data for analyzing the EAC policies and reports from workshops held at the EAC offices in the determination of the role in executive all their mandates and the strategies laid in place to promote harmonious coexistence in the region. Interviews will also be carried out with EAC representatives at the Nairobi offices.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO

2.1 An Analysis of Factors of Regional Integration in Peace and Security

Introduction

The chapter delves into four factors namely; globalization, trade liberalization, geography and shared a historical experience that resulted in the integration of the EAC. Concurrently, it looks into the analysis of the various effect of regional integration namely: political stability, governance, and the environmental context. The research examines into how each one of them has impacted the cumulative effort directed towards the attainment of harmony in the region. Some writings, journals, and reports have been of benefit for secondary sources of information. An interview with correspondents from the foreign affairs departments from the various quarters, peace and security directorate, gave me in-depth knowledge of essential facts.

2.1.1 Globalization

Introduction

Globalization is a crucial aspect of the integration process. It can be viewed differently hence different definitions. Africa shares the same views as those stipulated by IMF and World Bank while the rest of the world sees it as a market-driven process. This part focuses on how globalization plays its role in the nations with EAC. The aspect creates a uniting structure among economies in the region. It motivates cross-border movements according to the CMP signed on November 20, 2009. However, this has aroused dissatisfaction and untrustworthiness among the nations of the countries. Eventually, the EAC has ended up exploiting the less developed states hence marginalizing a few. This fact has been a significant cause of insecurity in the region, peace notwithstanding.

An influential role has been played by this phenomenon in the establishment of cooperation which tends to lead to reliance. This reliance forces the member countries to develop an environment that is peaceful and secured for the sake of success in the set policies. Developing countries, namely; Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, and Tanzania, have been housed therein. The EAC, as a global region, has put in place a common market and a customs union which has consequently established what is needed for comprehensive regional infrastructure. Plans are underway for the establishment of a harmonized monetary union and policies that will govern the terms of trading such as the rates of exchange, financial policies, and the applicable systems of settlement and contracting which will result in a single financial market. However, there seems to escalate risks in the macro-economic matters as there are imbalances in the economic situations of the member states.

With all its benefits to the region, globalization seems to be double-sided. Many scholars have argued that democratization of growth to a worldwide scale, especially in third world countries, have resulted to increase of terror acts. Furthermore, they argue that in as much as citizens' desire political freedom, the dispersal of democratic values led to societal instability at the same time. It is postulated that, after an experience of political and civil liberation, there occur civil strife shortly. This occurs due to the exposure and the vast opportunities availed through globalization thus increase the magnitude of connectedness of people from both remote places and modern cities. In these cases, violence erupts to try to address the human economic existential anxiety that results to due to loss of economic support system.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Olufemi Oludimu, (2014) European Scientific Journal: Globalization, Special edition. Human Security and some Intervening Concerns, Nigeria.

Globalization is key element in as much as peace and integration is concerned. Majorly, through direct investment between EAC member states, increased flow of trade, technology, direct interaction of people as well as sharing of ideas across national borders.

EAC as a global region has come up with policies that have been adopted by its member states hence enhancing the degree of integration. In addition globalization has enhanced peace and security through different channels. One, the increased peace that is observed between EAC member states that has helped through bilateral trade interdependence and secondly, the country's GDP and relationship with other non EAC member states but which are developed.

Uganda has tried to form very close ties with Kenya and Tanzania because being a landlocked country depends on these two countries in as much as they want to receive goods and services from the outside world. Therefore trade helps in the flow of people which results into the decline of the probability of military disagreements between EAC members. Also, globalization has prevented its members from initiating war against any trading partner because the members are keen to do business with a peaceful player.

In the year 2013, Kenya and Uganda almost fought because of Migingo which is an island located between Kenya and Uganda borders. It took negotiations between the two governments and the EAC to come up with a strategy to ensure that the issue is resolved and that no more clashes could be observed on the border. The reason why Kenya went to Somali to fight was because the Al-Shabaab was interfering with the movements of goods and services on the Indian Ocean which carries 80% of East Africa's import and export. This lowered the economic status of East Africa in general because the outside world became afraid of importing items to East Africa. After Kenya sent its soldiers to Somalia, the EAC decided to help its

member state by appealing other members to send its soldiers to Somalia and help to liberate Somalia as well as ensuring that the Indian Ocean is safe for transport.

In addition, the EAC is coming up with the use of one common currency which will be used among its members. This is proposed so as to establish a trade bloc and to reconcile financial policies in order to come up with a common bank that would effectively serve all the member states. This as part of globalization provides currency stability thereby boosting the ability to freely trade and also minimizing volatility and fluctuation. This also will eliminate transaction costs, quicken cross border payments and make investments and movements of people more viable. This decision was agreed putting the fact that EAC member state with exception of Burundi has a similar GDP per capita. This as part and peace and security will see people work together and interact freely hence promoting international integration. Moreover, the EAC has eased the movement of people whereby with only a national identity card, one is free to move from one east African country to another.

Scholars have argued that EAC as a global region is double sided, some countries tend to benefit more than the rest. The diversity in the membership makes it difficult to balance the probable benefits and the ever increasing common market due to the underlying complications. According to Mr. Moore, one of the directors from CIDA-Tanzania, successful integration is considered as an end-to-end win for all the involved parties. This compares to what is observed in North America organization (NAFTA). The director has made efforts to encourage participation of member in the deliberations that inform policy formulation. He discourages reliance on mass media alone but also encourages publicizing of the policies through the same means in order to educate the public. Such moves help in fine-tuning of the strategies and policies.

Additionally, Kenya's Minister of Finance, Hon. Githae, stated that the advantages accrued from monetary collaboration were greater than the cost implications. Some of the few disadvantages include moral decadence, communicable effects, and decline of the hold a government has in executing its own national policies and agenda. However, Professor Collier claims that the underlying benefits have not been enjoyed by EAC members due to lack of the relevant institutions that can ensure the market integration is achieved. He observed that policy makers have focused too much on the financial gains and the possibility of having a common currency at the expense of creating the enabling environment such as improving road, railways and other infrastructure within the region. A section of the UNDP meeting of 1994:24 highlights some of the pertinent issues that must be considered, which include peace and security. The security of the people comes from the initiatives that are people centered, giving them the ability to freely exercise their will and choices.⁶⁷

With it comes a number of insecurity issues that have really shaken the peace and security of the region. Issues of terrorism and transnational crimes have been facilitated through globalization. With free movements of people and universal market, crime issues increase inevitably causing major insecurities among EAC member states.

Different communities have different beliefs and a different way of doing things. This creates a big challenge with movements and trade among various groups of EAC. One group may not feel free to interact and trade with the other simply because of different diversities. This is a big challenge in ensuring that there is integration of peace and security. EAC is not able to counter this issue of different diversification of people since it is an inward thing that cannot be removed from them by all means.

⁶⁷ United Nations Development Programme. (1994). Paper 24.

Going by arguments of Kenton (1999), there is a likelihood that globalization will widen the opportunities for African countries in the world market since most of these states still operate below the income and resources threshold. Additionally, there has been an increasing demand for the agricultural produce from Africa that leads to increasing in the earnings garnered from foreign currencies. With globalization in full force, efficiency and specialization is improved as countries tend to major on what they best at, and relying on other member states to supply what any one of them lacks. In the long run, the regions gets an overall gains in terms of income.

EAC has ensured that political stability is a key objective among its member states. The changes related to political influence and the technological advances especially in information technology have accelerated globalization to a wider margin in both individuals and the entire states. The current digital age has also positively impacted research in science and improved management of businesses within the region. There is transformation in communication where there is the use of satellite and fiber optics. Example the fiber optic cables which have been installed to almost all EAC member states. These have ensured that business is effective through the use of technology; also online money is easily assessed for the purpose of business transactions

There is an improvement in communication on EAC member states which has given rise to mass access of information. EAC has used the same IT platform to develop new mechanisms for handling financial systems at international levels thus enabling it to better placed to handle even the private sector that is mostly interactive. Therefore these events and factors of trade have been catalyzed by internet which has increased the availability of information, and facilitated transaction of business from all over the world. This has hence enhanced the free sharing of

information among the EAC member states which in turn has enabled them to have confidence on each other's ability hence promoting peace and security.

Globalization has led to an increase in economic growth among the EAC member states and therefore each state can stand on its own without relying on the western countries for loans and grants. These states have also been able to liberate and industrialize themselves and this has led to sustainable growth and development which in turn has significantly reduced levels of global poverty. There has also been development in confidence in the investment sector. EAC members have sought support financial from one another based on the largeness of governments. The investment decisions have also made it possible for companies and countries to develop an enabling environment even for the private sector. This has therefore enabled private investors from EAC member states invest in these countries without fear or alarm of losing their properties and this has greatly influenced peace and security in these regions.

In addition, the new legislation that EAC has mitigated on finance sector has greatly enhanced the free flow of capital among the EAC member states and the new mechanism for raising funds. The strength of the financing bodies has been greatly improved where there have been mechanisms which has enabled brokers from EAC member states to reconstruct multibillion dollar opportunities from their initial investments at a tune of million dollars. This has led to different investors engaging on the stock markets and ensured that East Africa becomes the world leading investment platform. This way people from the outside world are getting attracted to come and be part of this great regional integration. In addition, the increase of investors means that people will come together for the benefit of each other and therefore this will bring cohesion and integration among the EAC member states.

2.1.2 Shared Historical Experience

Introduction

EAC members have enjoyed a long cooperation since history. Though both have been faced with similar challenges, these have enabled them to come together and form a strong bond and cohesion and the formation of EAC. Initially Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya had a working and relatively good relationship for a long period of time with cooperation and regional integration agreements. However, following the dissolution of EAC in 1977, the member states negotiated on the new move. These agreements could later explore the future cooperation of these states. Later on in 1996 operations kicked on and Arusha became the headquarters. And in July 2000 there was a formation of a treaty which led to the launch of EAC.

The first three member states of the organization shared a long history since time in memoriam. Both of the countries were under similar colonial master; the British. The timing of colonialization was almost at the same time, Tanzania (1890), Uganda (1894), Kenya (1895). Similarly, these three states achieved their own political independence in 1960's.

East Africa was under the Imperial British East African Community (IBEAC) which was the main administration center for most of the British colonies within Africa. The association was based on trade and exchanges geared at controlling economic activities in their colonized territories. The administration provided protection and immunity to the British officer and allowed them to raise custom duties and taxes, solve disputes without adherence to legal justice, sign agreements and act in the capacity of the country's government.

Case study of similar experiences in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania

When the settlers arrived in East Africa they ensured that they took the best places in Kenya highlands, Uganda and coastal regions of Zanzibar. When missionary arrived they settled in the prime settlement areas at the coastal regions of Mombasa to the fertile lands surrounding Mount Kilimanjaro under the protection of the sultan of Zanzibar. The British encouraged its members to take dominion and influence of the regions they had occupied. To ensure this was adhered to they formed the imperial British east African company which was administered both in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. To ensure that they had full control, the British signed the Berlin conference treaty which ensured that there was extension from the coast to the inland across Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

To show how similar the history of these three countries was in terms of history was, the British system of colonialization introduces postage stamps that was used among these three states... Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika (KUT) is the logo that the colonialists used on the postage stamps that circulated the said region whenever letters were sent. Their usage was between the year 1935 and 1963, carried out by a single postal service company that served all the three states. The usage of KUT stamps continued though independently within the three nations even after independence till 1977 where each country operated with their own postal companies.

In addition to history, the other two members of Rwanda and Burundi, though under different colonial master compared to Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania also underwent similar experiences which have enabled them come together and be part of EAC. Rwanda and Burundi were one state until later when they split. Initially, Rwanda and Burundi were colonized by Germany but after the First World War the League of Nations mandated Rwanda and Burundi to Belgium. Just like British colonialism in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, the Belgians also took

advantage of the status quo and they also ruled through the Tutsi chiefs and princes. Just like east Africa where they introduced cash crops like coffee and tea, in these two countries, Belgians also established coffee plantations which resulted in the concentration of wealth among these two countries.

After war arose between the Hutus and Tutsi, the Hutus sought refuge in Uganda and Tanzania. The experiences that these five countries had have spearheaded them to come together and form an international body, the EAC which has helped them to enhance peace and security among these states. This has also enabled them raise up issues that affects them as members of east Africa and come up with ways to tackle them as part of promoting peace and security. In addition, these similar historical experiences have enabled them to come up with specific objectives that have shaped EAC.

The EAC member states have English as the designated official language. In addition, Kiswahili also is familiar among all the EAC member states and its has developed with time to become a lingua franca among the EAC community.

2.1.3 Geographical Relatedness

East Africa encompasses the region from Burundi and stretches through to Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda till the highlands of Ethiopia. The major physical features covered within the region include the Great Rift Valley, the Savannah grasslands of Kenya and Uganda, Lake Victoria among other lakes. Lake Victoria is a source of water and fish to the people dwelling in these regions.

In addition, L. Victoria is the source of White Nile which flows to Sudan, supplying water and fish to the people living along the river. The lake is a great source of livelihood to

aquatic animals that provide food to people of east Africa. Lake Victoria also brings together fishermen from these countries together as they fish therefore promotion togetherness and peace. Mt. Kilimanjaro, highest in Africa, also ensures the region enjoys a good climate in most parts. And due to its nature and the home of animals, tourists from all of east African come to see and enjoy the beauty of Mount. Kilimanjaro. The same case applies to Mt. Kenya which is strategically located near the capital city of Kenya, Nairobi, as well as the equator. Mt. Kenya, just as Mount Kilimanjaro is a great source of rivers some of which find their way to other countries in east Africa. In addition, being a home of many wild animals and trees, the mountain provides a great visitation by people from east Africa, who in turn appreciate the beauty of the country and therefore providing a platform that can help in the provision of peace and security in the country.

Another similarity in the two mountains is the fact that they are dormant volcanos and their peaks are always covered by snow throughout the year. The mountains also contribute to high rainfall in the regions surrounding them since they cut off moisture from the westerly equatorial winds thereby causing rain shadow effect. Due to these geographical similarities, east Africa is meant to bound together since one country depend on each other directly or indirectly and therefore there is need for mutual collaborations between them and EAC is the main platform that provides this great collaborations and therefore it acts as the main agent that pulls these countries together.

2.1.4 Political Stability

A peaceful and secured region is an automatic attraction to foreign direct investment and a direct strengthening of the democratic process. Eventually, an expected rise in the economy is seen. For a long time now, the East African region has been combated with civil wars, social

strife, cross-border conflicts and arms trafficking. Such cases are the sure courses for conflicts in Somalia, South Sudan and conspicuous post-election violence. At the same time, there are experienced restive situations between Rwanda and Congo boarders⁶⁸. A recent blast in Somalia dated 15th October 2017 marked a still existing strife between the government and rebel groups or maybe a case of terrorism. Despite Somalia having not confirmed as a member, its proximity to member states of the bloc threaten the integration framework to the member states as they have to take responsibility for their actions.

The political stability on the EAC member states has threatened the societal expectations. The power of dynamics and developments in the region can trigger troubling adjustments in both the social fabrics and political strategies of neighboring countries. There has been political instability among the EAC member states which have brought different security challenges in different ways: to start with, it undermines the established patterns of core-periphery or federal-state relations due to the extent to which the benefits obtained are fairly distributed. Secondly, EAC member states can make it even more difficult to ensure the alliances made with the relevant groups within the civic society are majorly influenced marginally, poverty and inequality. Finally, the integration of EAC member states erodes distinction observed in the local political arenas and the policies enforced by foreigners in trying to incorporate external factors. As a result, there is a deep correlation between the attempts of individual state to contain disputes within its borders and the ever changing pressure from international organizations and transnational bodies to which the states are members.

⁶⁸ Olsson R. A. (2008) Planning Metropolitan Regions: Institutional Perspectives and the case for Space [Doctoral Thesis], Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm.

2.5 Governance

In terms of effectiveness voice and accountability rule of law and corruption perception, a amalgamated picture of relative governance is created. There is an alignment of the regions performance with SSA standards but a weakness is seen in corruption. Fragility still remains in the democratic system. Nonetheless, majority of countries have agreed to the African peer review mechanisms (APRM), the method of governance that adheres to international standards in revenue management and open taxation have been adopted and given special consideration. Security governance is a deliberate rule that calls for coordination management and regulation of issues by various concerned authorities like both public and private sector intervention, formal and informal arrangement which are geared towards particular policy outcomes.

We can only conclude that there are three components of governance namely: coordination, management and regulation plus three tools of testing it empirically. Precisely, coordination entails interactions between and among actions and who among them heads the process of policy making, implementation and control. Management is related to risk assessment roles, negotiation, monitoring, mediations and resource allocation. Regulation on the other hand is understood as the policy result and what it was intended for, its fastening motivation, the effort required and the setting created.

2.6 Environmental Factors

Environmental issues like deforestation, illegal logging and land degradation affect all countries. It can only be safe for everyone to adhere to the international standards forest management. Trans-boundary wildlife corridors have to be maintained for the sake of migrating species. A case in point is the Mara and Serengeti national parks between Kenya and Tanzania.

Approaches need to be adopted to maintain the members of wildlife like the campaigns organized during conventions and international trade fairs to protect the endangered species. Furthermore, the marine and inland fisheries have to be conserved and managed as shared water resource might be a bone of contention. As well they need a regional approach.

Recent complication faced by the region has been climate change. Major effects can be noted on water resource, coastal development, food security, biodiversity, human health and tourism. For some time now, hydropower has been in use, though disturbed by frequent, prolonged periods of drought and rain. The horn of Africa has of late been faced by food crisis. The major causes being climate change and drought enhanced by the current and prolonged civil war and the frangibility of institutions in within her borders.

EAC has established a policy which stipulates that provision be made for setting a special climate change fund to take care of unprecedented circumstances as the one currently in Somalia.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE

Opportunities and Challenges Faced by the EAC in Attaining Peace and Security

Introduction

Since the formation of EAC, there have been a lot of efforts to ensure that there is peace and security in the region. EAC has come up with so many ideas and implementation which has seen it elevate to greater heights and even made it be recognized internationally. More so, EAC has had a lot of opportunities that have made it escalate to greater heights in as much as peace and security is concerned. Some of these opportunities have also enabled it to attract more countries who have submitted their applications so that they can be part of this community. Among these countries include the republic of southern Sudan and the procedures of examining her inclusion and the implications thereafter are still underway.

The EAC has customs union protocol and community law which are under the management act. This law was so well implemented until it attracted other two counties, Rwanda and Burundi to enter into the agreement in the year 2006 and later the two countries became members with equal rights as the founders in July 2007. However, it is until 2009 that the two states began executing the customs union. This is an achievement of EAC in providing a regional integration and has also catapulted peace and security in the region. It has provided a greater opportunity to East African countries to work together towards a common goal of peace and security in the area.

Currently, EAC has obtained international recognition and representatives from various countries and international organizations have to submit their credentials to the organization's secretary general. In addition, many countries have started to envy EAC and they even want to

be part of this great community. East Africa has increased in trade at international and intra-regional scope, and has also witnessed the increase in intra EAC foreign direct investments within the region and to the rest of the world. There is mutual recognition of standards marks to authenticate the trading activities and products circulated within the region. Apparently, an EAC catalogue of standards have been developed to take care of this requirements.

The EAC, in improving its operations in enhancing trade, have started the process of formulating a single border post in accordance to the rubrics of the community law. The most recent activity is the approval of the EAC custom manual, courtesy of the efforts of the council of ministers from the member states. The document clearly defines the valuation provisions applicable in the region for uniformity, fairness, and justice in dealing with the challenges that may erupt. This plus others are the milestones that EAC has covered in the process of building permanent cohesion and peace n Eat Africa.

The EAC has been faced with many challenges in trying to maintain peace and security in East Africa. Some of these challenges are beyond them and it has made it difficult trying to come into consensus on some of the mitigation that can be put into place. It has also become very hard for these countries to come together towards a common goal. There has been disintegration because some countries feel like they are being left behind or some of the methods used are against them. The EAC is therefore torn between a rock and a stone in ensuring that these challenges are tackled without affecting any of the side.

The EAC is unable to implement the Common External Tariff (CET) to its members. This is due to the variation in the computed values of taxation through customs valuation. Beginning 2005, Uganda has been in the forefront in manufacturing products that are not

approved by CET. These exempted products are listed. A similar order is also found in Rwanda and in Burundi. Also, in Tanzania which is both SADC and EAC member has taken integration commitments in both regional contexts thereby having to implement two CET that is one for the EAC and the other one for the SADC. Other remaining four countries are also members of COMESA thus facing similar challenges as the one encountered by Tanzania in terms of multiple commitments taken in the contexts of various integration agenda. This poses a great danger between these countries because of the divided loyalty. Countries might not commit greatly to EAC and hence endangering peace and security between these east African nations.

In addition, different agenda on peace and security may cause an alarm either because they might be discussed on COMESA and SADC platforms. This hence poses a great challenge when discussing these security details that concerns the countries that are not members of EAC but are members of COMESA and SADC. There have been many wrangles when it comes to the rules of origin such as countries that come with certain rules that other countries adopts. Disputes have arisen and there has been a challenge to verify the missions and to address the problems.

Even though the EAC has tried to ensure that common market is completed, there are still unanswered negotiations which has made the organization to still push forward for better agreements that would ensure solid monetary union, otherwise referred to as third stage of negotiations. This stage call for all the involved stakeholders to apply nontechnical reasoning. As it were, most of the past policies have simply reached ratification stage and more is yet to be done if the benefits are anything to go by. It is quite unfortunate that some of the negotiators have ignored the pertinent issues such as economic turbulences that have always impeded macro-economic convergence. This hence seems to cause disintegration between the EAC members. This as peace and security is concerned has made it impossible for it to be attained.

Some of the answers that I got from the questionnaire had mixed reactions when it comes to the free movement of people and goods. Majority felt that still they were curtailed because of the issue of monetary. Since currency differs from one country to another, it is inconvenient for them to have a free movement. This poses a challenge if then integration can be achieved.

3.1 Overlapping Membership

EAC is unable to handle the issue of double duality. Members of EAC are also members of either COMESA or SADC. This has greatly affected the promotion of peace and security. Members feel threaten when an issue is affecting them and some run to other communities they are affiliated with. Some issues cannot be tackled properly by EAC because members are not willing to contribute effectively due to the divided loyalty.

According to Wolfe Braude, the overlapping of membership has generated many problems and uncertainties. The disputes in the roles and the extent of application of authority result in the case where distinct integration bodies have similar mandates and have some of the members belonging to all the organizations. Such a case may be seen in the agenda and obligations that each of the organizations would bestow upon themselves thus overstretching the members. Uncertainties, sometimes in the conflict in jurisdiction cause unnecessary confusion when one members has to implement the same agenda using different platforms provided by the integration bodies.

According to Stahl (2005), the rise of uncertainties not only undermine the proper execution of the programs in the treaties, but also add considerably to financial repercussions and repeated or overlapping trader agreement or terms with external partners. This is a big blow

to the EAC in ensuring that integration is promoted. Also the existing trade bloc membership is altered because these blocs by multiple splits in internal trade obligations.

In addition the EAC is unable to fully implement the trade agreements between its member states. It is entirely impossible and cumbersome to belong to many trade partners. There are different guidelines of originality relative to each of the trade agreements particularly those linked to exports and imports. A CU differs because all members have to avoid exercising their control of the external tariffs and allow them to be centralized and standardized as a common external tariff applicable to any state that trades with any member outside the CU. In other words, not any single country can apply more than one CET. Therefore, EAC is affected by these contradictions since the same members are in SADC and COMESA. EAC is therefore caught between the cross line in ensuring that trade which is a major form of integration is fully implemented between its member states and that there is good trade as a part of bringing together the EAC members. It looks more than impossible for EAC to fully accomplish this because it cannot force its members to withdraw membership from other international organization that is COMESA and SADC. In addition also EAC is limited on discussing treaties that are geared around the ultimate creation of another country and this therefore undermines the existence of the EAC. This therefore imposes the withdrawal of members from EAC and even the existing economic communities which will damage the relationship between the members. EAC is not able to come up with a way of dealing with this issue to avoid conflicts among its members. This has reduced the mandates of EAC as a tool of integration and just made it as an hide out of its members from other regional memberships.

3.2 Tanzania's involvements to SADC

Tanzania is the only country in EAC that is the member of SADC. The country withdrew from COMESA in July 1999 since she regarded the proposal by COMESA to reduce CUs by 90% as unfavorable to her trading terms. The country also claimed that wanted to put all its focus on her membership to EAC and on application of the SADC trade protocol. Industrial experts in the country foresaw that remaining in COMESA would kill the infant industries that were slowly gaining ground in the regional trade. Other members feel that since Tanzania is the only country that has SADC membership, they feel that if she tries to choose to be a member of SADC permanently, the idea of EAC and common currency could be fatally undermined.

According to Braude (2008), Tanzania has been receiving pressure from Kenya and Uganda, urging her to quit SADC in entirety. Other commitment entangling Tanzania includes the presidential commission that she set up with South Africa in 2005. A similar agreement has only been seen between Mozambique and Namibia. Evidently, it is clear that South Africa regards Tanzania not only as a trade partner from a distance but also as an important neighbor in Africa.

Also the new EAC members, Rwanda and Burundi, admitted in June 2007, are also members of COMESA. It is only Tanzania's membership to SADC that now creates an overlap in trade jurisdiction in the regional bloc. Therefore, she is left at a dilemma because the challenging circumstances to which trade agreement and customs pose to her operations. This is a critical challenge faced by the EAC to promote integration.

The expert in the Tanzanian business sector have been conducting research to weigh the benefits and disadvantages of belonging to both SADC and COMESA. The preliminary results for their work portray the notion that the country benefits more from COMESA than from SADC. However, the civil society has reiterated that the work done by SADC is more impactful

on the ground than the one from COMESA. Consequently, the enlarging trading activities and exchanges in Rwanda, Southern Sudan and the Eastern DRC show that lots of potential yet to be explored are available in COMESA. It has become difficult to out rightly decide on which of the two integration should be left at the expense of the other, though most of the findings are theoretically based. Most of the dissenting opinions are from the private sector, hence it is not until the individuals from the group speak in one voice that the government would make a move towards rejoining COMESA. This is so as to be in one alignment with other EAC members since it is not easy for Tanzania to convince all other five members to join SADC. This has brought the issue of division between the EAC members since they cannot agree on a similar issue.

3.3 Political Clashes among EAC Members

Many east African countries who are members of EAC have been faced with a lot of political clashes which has been a major blow in the running of the EAC. The community is unable to intervene and come up with measures that can help these countries to be at peace from political clashes. Politics have become a major issue of insecurity among EAC members. Countries themselves live in fears from themselves with fears that one community will attack the other. In addition, there are demonstrations which are politically mitigated. The demonstrators are taking this as an advantage to loot people's property hence causing major tensions between business workers. Other EAC members cannot also do business with these countries because of the fear of their goods and services.

In the year 2007, Kenya was faced with a major blow. There arose post-election violence that paralyzed the countrywide businesses. There arose fights between different communities majorly the Luos, the Kalenjins and the Kikuyu. Many people lost their lives due to this, houses were burnt and people were misplaced from their own places. The Kenyan economy dropped so

rapidly. This was a result of power. During this time the EAC was unable to do anything to help the deteriorating Kenyan economy. Other members also did not offer any assistance they just kept a distance watching what will happen.

It took the intervention of an international community; the United Nations to send its secretary general, Kofi Annan to come and offer a platform for negotiation in order to offer a peaceful solution. During all this time the EAC was at work and so much functional yet it did not offer any solution at all concerning the Kenya's state. It also took the intervention of the international criminal court (ICC) to send a member, Morine Ocampo, to come and investigate what was the source of this violence. Even after these members were identified, they had to be prosecuted in a western country leaving EAC as a toothless dog. Its mandates towards peace and security was totally crushed down and it was seen just tool for show than a tool for integration.

To some extent the Kenyan political crisis was a means to proof the solidarity and steadiness of the regional mechanisms such as EAC which is tasked with conflict resolution in East Africa. Despite the many years that were used to build this institution so as to divert these issues, EAC brought it out that it was unprepared to solve these civil conflicts that arose among its member states. So the question still arises, is the EAC still able to resolve another conflict like this once it arises among its member state? In addition EAC is also not able to offer solution on the Uganda chiefdom clashes. In 2016, there were massive killings of royal soldiers of Rwenzururu by the police and the government said that this was to counter attack the attacks on the police posts in the region two weeks earlier. This was not mentioned by the EAC and so still questions arise if surely EAC is equal to the task.

Another instance in Burundi (2016) there were a massive demonstrations after the then president Pierre Nkurunziza wanted to run for the third term in office. This resulted to a lot of run offs in Burundi. The high court also approved the rerun for the third term in office. This led to the shutting down of the country's internet and telephone work. Consequently, a vast population of the citizenry fled the country and some have been arrested with many protestors getting killed. While Nkurunziza was attending a meeting in Tanzania, there was an attempt coup which was led by major General Godefroid Niyombare. The following day the coup collapsed and the government regained control.

EAC interventions were not conspicuous enough to save the, lives that were lost during the menace. A majority of respondent from peace and security directorate office in the ministry of foreign affairs pointed out that the EAC was not involved in the Burundi conflict of 2016 as compared to the south Sudan and the Kenyan cases. This is because the president at the time (Nkurunziza) was not willing to let EAC get involved as compared Kenya and Sudan cases where EAC took charge.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR

Appropriateness of EAC's Measures for Peace and Security

Introduction

EAC has come up with various measures in the process of maintaining peace and security among its member states. These measures have both encouraging and adverse effects when it comes to the maintenance of harmony. Among these measures includes; the promotion of exchange of goods and services through a common market (trade), establishment of reciprocal organs on matters of peace and security, the introduction of common currency, free movements of members from one state to another. These are some of the measures that shall be discussed below one by one citing their appropriateness.

4.1 Promotion of Trade through a Common Market

Trade is one factor that greatly promotes peace and security among different countries not only in East Africa but also in the world at large. This is one of the main and the key factor of any international member in the promotion of peace and security. Therefore the EAC has taken this with great seriousness in ensuring that its member states are actively involved through trade. Trade between the EAC member states has ensured that these states are always checking on each other and also provide a healthy competition among them and this is a great step that has been taken by the EAC to ensure this is spearheaded.

EAC member states have the obligation therefore to ensure that each of its members is actively involved in trade to ensure that they rise to the next level. EAC has facilitated economic partnership within the region. This is covered in the article 5 (2) of the treaty which facilitated the establishment of E AC. This stated that the initial phase of the integration was in the

formulation and formation of Custom Union (CU) which became operational by 2005. The central role of this protocol used in designing CU is to enhance both intra and inter-regional trading of products from the member states.

This measure has seen EAC to be and recognized globally and has seen other members want to be part of it. For instance, through this Rwanda and Burundi have become fully fledged members of the EAC as from July 2007 and have begun implementing the requirements of CU all as part of trade. This move has enabled peace prevail among these two countries who in the past had involved in a lot of wrangles. Additionally, southern Sudan has also applied to be a member of EAC and the procedures of determining her fate are yet to be concluded. All this in as far as peace and security is concerned is a major booster because different countries with different ideas are coming together for a common goal.

Through trade there has been increase in intra-EAC FDIs internally and externally. Through this the legislative body of the EAC has managed to come up a number of community laws and there has been the establishment of various sectorial council which are meant to spearhead and supervise the implementation of the orders. Trade has also made it possible to have a mutual adherence to the set standards through the bureaus developed to execute the levels and guidelines provided in the standard catalogue.

To ensure trade is enhanced EAC is working to ensure that there is only one point is used as a check point (stop border post) that would verify observance of the laid down procedures in the integration laws. In addition also the EAC is coming up with an EAC customs valuation manual which will provide detailed procedures of how to apply the rules using the appropriate interpretation in accordance to the valuation provisions which will tackle any challenges that

may arise in the future. Trade therefore is one of the best methods that the EAC has come up with and it is greatly promoting peace and security within the East African region. States are able to function together as one entity through trade

There have been a lot of initiatives that have been put forth by EAC to ensure cooperation and peace building. These initiatives include the sustainable development of Lake Victoria Basin, East Africa infrastructure master plan, the regional marine systems, unilateral concessioning of railroads, Lake Victoria transport project, and joint forum for marketing of the states' tourism packages such as game reserves, tour cities, hotels, breathtaking physical features among others. These initiatives have spearheaded the development of EAC member states and ensured that peace and security remain intact across all borders. These initiatives are directly tied to regional drivers. There has been a conflict on EAC member states, and the effects of the disputes have been disruption of the settlement patterns due to massive migration of people which has in turn destroyed markets and the initially established trade system applicable to a particular region. When such initiatives are therefore put in place by the EAC, there are unintended consequences for all neighboring states to start appreciating the importance of the other state for the accomplishment of these long term goals.

Nevertheless, the sovereignty is reduced as porous borders increase in the region. Armies, militia, and the people fleeing region with civil wars take advantage of the porosity in the borders and utilize them inappropriately. This will result to aggression emerging from within neighboring states hence destroying peace among the member states. Therefore tensions and suspicions will exist between these states where the level of confidence will be limited and the ability of each state to address the causes of the conflict will be limited. For example, the Al-Shabaab in Somalia can easily cross the northern part of Kenya and cause havoc in these regions.

People living in these areas are always in fear of an attack from Al-Shabaab. Another militia group has emerged within the neighboring of Rwanda and DRC Congo where a group called the *Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda* (FDLR). Its operations began as a result of the foreign army occupying certain regions of DRC, around the province of Kivu as a result of the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

Regional cooperation in EAC also holds other critical stumbling blocks that hinder the institutionalized regional cooperation through trade. There are political commitments to show ownership on regional cooperation among the member states. Some of the member states are not adequately capable in engaging in the commerce and goods and service exchanges and this has bred mistrust in dealing with cooperative affairs in EAC. To some extent, some member states assume that others are less committed to the organization's agenda and thus withdraw the urge to support the institutions put in place to facilitate the well-being of the EAC in executing its mandate. If such an environment of mistrust and suspicion is allowed to continue, a looming failure in the sustainability of the created environment is likely to occur. The political differences must also be resolved to protect the dynamisms that could be aggravated by unresolved issues, however minute they may appear.⁶⁹

4.2 Establishment of Reciprocal Organs on Matters of Peace and Security

EAC is combining different security organs in member states to ensure that peace and security is enhanced in East Africa. This is achieved by combining the technical and political advisory of different countries so as to ensure good organizational development and better management in peace and security. This move also is meant to ensure that there is strong

⁶⁹ Petruczynik, E. 2007. Changing concepts and methods of conflict management in Africa. *Africa insight*, Vol 36 (3&4), Dec. 2006.

interaction and good collaboration between regions and national levels as well as among regional organizations so as to have a good and a peculiar regional structure for peace and security.

The establishment of reciprocal organs is also a means of implementing the goals of EAC in the areas of peace, security proper and better governance and also to spearhead the regional strategy for peace and security which later will also increase and foster political integration. The move also is put having in mind that when crisis occur, children, women and minorities suffer greatly in case of a big conflict arises that involves the use of arms.

For instance there was the establishment of a small and light weapons control in East Africa in the year 2012. This was established to ensure that members get rid of small and light arms among themselves in the view to ensure that everyone is safe and are harmless to one another. This also is in agreement of the EAC's objectives of peace and security. This move has seen EAC get support from other international countries such as German and America to ensure that this objective is achieved. In addition also, this has been emulated by other regional organizations such as SADC, COMESA and IGAD to ensure also that their members remain harmless so as to enhance peace and security among these areas.

Corporate have been formed to ensure this is achieved. These corporate take the role of EAC in their countries to ensure that the main agenda of EAC is met in their countries. One of the cooperation is the Regional Centre for Small Arms (RECSA). This cooperation has its headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. Apart from this cooperate being in Nairobi, each member state has RESCA offices in their countries only that the main headquarter is in Nairobi. RECSA is created to ensure that all military and police weapons are marked and marked throughout the five partner states. This move will ensure that weapons that are not marked either do not belong to the

military or to the police and therefore they are easily controlled from getting to the people. In addition, the unmarked weapons can be taken away from people in the process of disarming them. The EAC therefore has ensured that the RESCA is fully functional because it is the integral part to ensuring that peace and security is evident in its member states. This initiative also ensures that the member countries receive direct support from the EAC which is according to the guidelines of the protocol that formed this initiative in the year 2002. The cooperation ensures that the civil society in the member states is totally engaged so as to promote participation and cohesion among people. This initiative enables different communities to see the positivity of disarming them these weapons.

In the year 2014, EAC conducted a security threat assessment of the EAC region. This assessment was meant on focusing the conflict dynamics, the emerging threats as well as the need to adopt preventive measures. This assessment gave rise to the EAC protocol on peace and security. This protocol was built using three pillars. The first one was promotion constitutionalism; secondly promotion of fundamental rights and lastly fighting corruption and the promotion of economic justice. The main purpose of this protocol was to silence the use of guns by the year 2020. This was being addressed through addressing the root cause and sources of grievances that have allowed conflict to thrive and take violent dimensions and also promoting trade through free movement of people. This initiative is controlled by the EAC itself at the Arusha headquarters.

Another mechanism is controlled by the EAC summit of heads of state. This initiative was established by a panel of eminent persons. Its main mandate was to promote preventive diplomacy. This has enabled heads of state to sit together and discuss events that can lead to

peace and security in their countries. A state which faced by a crises can get an advice from other members of states thank you to this initiative.

There is also the establishment of military camps on EAC member states. Each state has an obligation to at least have one military camp where different soldiers from these countries can come together and train as one group. This is in the effort of the EAC to acknowledge the defense sector as the key pillar to protecting democratic gains and enhance good practices developed at regional level and national levels. The joint exercise by the defense forces is meant to enhance and strengthen cooperation in the defense sector. This also serves as a means of enhancing confidence among the partner states. The EAC has also adopted the security sector reforms through development, harmonization and regional best practices. This is EAC's tactic of addressing the historical skepticism and restoring confidence of the population towards the security agencies, this also acted as a means of improving accountability and oversight over these organs. The EAC has reiterated on the issue of sharing of security sectors and their centers of excellence among the member states. Through this it means there will be a harmonization of laws which embody international best experiences and practices that are being employed by the EAC.

Through intervention strategies, EAC security forces have ensured peace and security not only to their members but also the neighboring countries which are not members. The military is ensuring that peace is maintained on the borders. Through this approach there is a feeling that if one state is either faced by an external security threat, then other members are willing to get involved for the sake of protection of the whole region. For example the entry of the Kenya defense forces into Somali country. Since this was not only a Kenyan issues, the EAC member states decided to send its members and help the Kenyan forces. Therefore this led to the

formation of the AMISOM forces that are fighting the Al-Shabaab militants in Somalia with one mission of securing the Indian Ocean.

The United Nation Mission in Sudan an establishment of the United Nation was used to intervene in the conflict of Darfur South Sudan. The EAC member states gave out their forces as part of United Nations members to curb the situation for the sake of the region

The establishment of different organs on peace and security is the EAC's objective of strengthening cooperation within the region and the whole continent at large. Moreover, the uses of these reciprocal organs do not directly engage members at the grass level. Therefore these organs are not so effective in ensuring the major objectives of the EAC is met. Members feel that they are not totally involved in these organs and therefore will not fully cooperate. These organs also fail to address the major issues for peace and security. According to the respondents, the use of militia groups to disarm people does not help since police are seen as brutal. People will therefore not share their secrets with the police because of fear of being harassed.

4.3 The Introduction of Common Currency

The use of the common currency is an initiative that is stimulated by the EAC so as to improve the individual economies of its member states and promote economies of scale in production and distribution. EAC has adopted this method after realizing that it can work on its member states. Examples include the common monetary systems found in the South African CMA and the CFA in the franc zones.

The EAC integration has greatly continued to gain a lot of momentum since the establishment of the CU and the established CMs. Negotiations to use common currency began in the year 2011. The use of currency will replace the partner states currencies and therefore

there will be integrated payments systems and also the removal of capital controls at the national levels.

Currently, plans are almost complete and soon the EAC member states will be enjoying the use of common currency. EAC use of this method is to ensure that there is reduction in transaction costs on goods and services from one state to another. This therefore will increase profitability on goods that are sold within the EAC member states. Initially any good that is taken from one state to another has to pay the VAT at the border. A lot of money is used and so business people are discouraged from doing the inter-state businesses.

The EAC is optimistic that the proposed currency will attract support from many quarters since it would boost the capabilities and purchasing power as opposed to the use of different currencies. The EAC is establishing a working framework in its institutions to handle the monetary systems which is meant to discipline the member to strictly adhere to the fiscal policies. The move also protects the regional central bank from getting the direct pressures to finance their programs.

According to Bagnai 2010, the common currency helps in the moderation and control of prices of product as well as the standards for determining wages for regional workers. The assistance is also important whenever the member countries have to make adjustments in the nominal exchange. Additionally, the common currency solves the puzzle of having to absorb the asymmetric shocks that come with exchange of currencies thus avoiding changes in the terms of trade to adjust to prevailing condition on the ground. It also does away with the issue of attracting good political will.

The use of common currency will not only promote peace and security in the area but also enable in the balancing of the sustainable development of all economic activities. In addition there will be a sustainable and non-inflationary economic growth will enable in efficient allocation of resources.

The use of common currency does not put into consideration the economic growth of each country, according to respondent, a country like Kenya, has a higher GDP compared to other EAC member states. Also, the Kenyan shilling is pretty higher compared to other member states and therefore having a common currency will make Kenya be like other states and try to function at the same level with them. This will push it down in terms of economic growth and development.

In conclusion, different measures put in place by the EAC have been able to promote peace and security greatly and has made it possible for integration of the East African states. These measures also have raised the level of confidence of these states towards each other and also given them a chance to work together as one entity. However, some measures also have done more harm than good between these states because they lower the level of confidence and create a lot of tensions which interfere and reduce the function of EAC.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Hypothetical Analysis

- **The East African Community has not been effective in the attainment of peace and stability in the region and individual member states**

Strategic and geopolitical significance has been bred by failure to attain of an economic block having all the member countries of East Africa on board. There has been imposed a responsibility on the EAC partner states to ensure regional stability. Initiatives set forth are governing cooperation in matters security which at present are advanced hence staging deep and wide cooperation in regional.⁷⁰ Initially, EAC has gone for successful missions and has established peace and security even beyond its borders.⁷¹ Among others, the Burundi and IGAD peace processes, the International Conference on the Great lakes process which ended in the 2006 signing of the Packed of Security, Stability and Development of the Great Lakes Region. EAC defense forces cooperation operating in Somalia insecurity situation, Indian Ocean waters security of the East African coast; and restriction on the ownership of the weapons and firearms which could threaten the regional security.

Therefore the study has established that the researcher accepts the null hypothesis on the claim that the East African Community has not been effective in the attainment of peace and stability in the region and individual member states. Due to the fact that the regional integration

⁷⁰ Berman, E. (2004) African regional organizations. Experiences and capabilities. Conflict trends, vol 4.

⁷¹ Boshoff, H. (2006). Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration during the transition in Burundi: a success story? In Southhall, R (ed.). 2006. South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peace keeping in Africa. Pritoria: HSRC.

is not embracively integrated, individual countries may sometimes have to work on their own security if need be. However in other cases the insecurity of the whole block directly affects individual member states.

- **There are security challenges which hinder regional integration.**

The East African integration has been facing a number of challenges that are posed on its security as a whole. These security issues arise from various sectors among them; food security, environmental degradation, civil wars and border conflicts and political clashes. The member states of the bloc, as much as they are in the same basket even when these challenges might not face them all at the same time, have come together to get control of the situation. Matters of climate change that are perceived to be knowing no boundaries have been established for initiatives and policies to curb exploitation of water, air and soil.

Nonetheless, the challenges that are evaluated to be dissolving the sovereignty of states have been at times handled with extra care. This extra care have resulted to particular member states clashing hence segmenting the co-operation. A clear case is the Migingo Island strife. Both Kenya and Uganda had a difficulty solving the case to an extent that a strife had to occur between members of a common bloc.

All the same, the security challenges that have been experienced since the re-establishment of EAC have been cooperatively handled or steps have been taken to curb them even when the results were negative.

Therefore, this research study renders this hypothesis null as the commonness of the challenges have only but strengthened co-operation.

- **There is no relationship between regional integration and resolution and regional integration and maintenance of peace.**

Conflict resolution, peace building and security are not incompatible the integration of the member states. It is a broader measure of ensuring peace and security, not only at international levels, but also internally. This presupposes a common understanding on peacemaking, peace keeping and peace enforcement.⁷² This is opposed to the mentality that Africans have not attained this level of strategizing and planning. The peace of Africa can only be achieved if the African countries are in the forefront in pushing for it. The already existing organizations in West and Southern Africa is enough proof that regional integration is important in achieving stability within the member states.

However, the examples from the already signed treaties have shown that the integration ought to go beyond either trade or peacekeeping to a stable system that facilitates permanent cooperation between and among the members. The African Union has shown interest in trailing in this path to launch missions and mandates that go beyond just resolving conflicts. The same should be seen in EAC in its integration agenda and future plans.

Various problems which include incapacitation, lack of adequate funds, poor political will and support, the impact of super power influences still has greatly effect on the sovereignty principle. Therefore the study disapproves the hypothesis that there is no relationship between regional integration and resolution and regional integration and maintenance of peace.

⁷² Aguilar, M. 2005. Who should determine the just cause of humanitarian intervention? Social alternatives, 3rd Quarter, vol 24(30)

5.2 Summary of Study Findings

EAC as a unifying factor has a great role to play in promoting peace and security not only in East Africa but in the whole of Africa. It has achieved a lot in ensuring that East Africa is a safe place for trade and also a place where the rule of law is followed strictly.

EAC has put into consideration the need for its member states to pull its resources together for the benefit of all and also as a way of ensuring that there is need for integration for peace and security purposes. East Africa is greatly enriched with natural resources but still it continues to be a, marginal player in the world. Hence EAC is trying to ensure that these resources are utilized to the latter and make east Africa a global competitor.

The political instability in east Africa has also led to low development and hence EAC has to a large extent played a major role to ensure that this menace does not occur in East Africa and also come up with rules to mitigate such events. EAC has used different approaches to ensure this is achieved.

In general the approaches include:

1. Ensuring there is a working constitution adhered to strictly by EAC member states
2. Establishment of a common market for the members
3. The use of the common currency on its Member states to ensure that there is promotion of trade.
4. The free movement of people from one state to another by the use of a national identity card. This is to promote the oneness of citizenry.

5. The collaboration of different agencies to promote peace and security in East Africa.

Usually the use of military from these states who either work together or even train together.

6. The sensitization of the importance of disarmaments of people so as to promote peace among each other.

EAC therefore has ensured that members are quite aware for the following need in order to full fill its agenda:

- a. The need and the benefits for integration
- b. The need and benefits for economic growth
- c. The social and political benefit

5.3 Conclusion

The following are conclusions from the research

1. The establishment of the EAC has brought the unification of East Africa. However there are still loopholes that EAC is unable to handle and as such there arising some wrangles among member states which are compromising the day today activities of the EAC.
2. Other regional communities are compromising the value of the EAC. Since those in EAC are also in COMESA and SADC, the value of EAC is put into question. Is it really able to promote peace and security? Some issues cannot be discussed well because of the fear from other members. Therefore this is a dangerous way and therefore unless these member states pledges their allegiance either to one of these groups otherwise the issues of peace and security will always be compromised
3. The benefits accrued from the integration and majorly from globalization remain a part to be worked on in the way it has affected the peace and security of the region. National

economies that were once isolated have to give way to alliances that are strategized so that knowledge is harnessed for the sake of comparative advantage in the co-operation.

The conclusion made from the research is that, despite the policies set forth by the EAC, conflicts still arise meaning that maybe the reality faced on the ground are different from the ideals in treaties, MOU's and protocols. This has led to lower results than expected.

5.4 Recommendations

The progress of the impacts of EAC has been relatively slow and reality has fallen too far out of aspirations. So much is yet to be done in yet to be done in terms of implementation. The study recommends that in order for regional integration to lead to peace and security, workable strategies have to put forth towards eliminating disastrous or expensive duplicated memberships and rationalizing some overlappings. This need should also be based on the priority needs and efficiency from comparative advantage.⁷³ Dealing with this challenges requires a strict and careful scrutiny on the benefits and disadvantages in belonging to integration organizations with overlapping jurisdiction and role to help make the necessary actions.

There is a need to secure an irrevocable commitment that goes beyond mere political rhetoric amongst member countries of EAC to ratify and implement treaties and protocols without inefficiencies, lapse or reversals. There should be prior informed analysis and internal consultations, including bringing civil society and private sector on board pretty earlier, which should precede integration programmes so as to enhance ownership that motivates full implementation reducing risks affecting free movement of labor and capital. Such markets helps finance the integration process itself in other pertinent sectors. The harmonization of financial

⁷³ Neethling, T. (1995). The Security- Development Nexus and the Imperatives of Peace building with special reference to the African context. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, vol. 5(1).

market also reduces risks of differences in the impact of monetary policy measures that may be taken by the common central bank under monetary union. The study therefore suggests the pulling of resources and expertise to tackle cross cutting regional challenges which include infrastructure, governance, gender, peace and security and conflict prevention which can help reduce the average cost of delivery.

There is need also to strengthen and empower the institutions that implement and monitor regional integration programmes both at the regional and country levels. Any central authority overseeing convergence and integration should be independent for all national authorities' influences. It should have a mandate that is well anchored on the agreed key objectives such as ensuring price stability, with sufficient authority to enforce compliance by all members for the attainment of the shared objectives. The roles for central banks and the common central bank should also be clearly defined beforehand. The study recommends that member states should agree on the time frame for transition to macroeconomic and monetary convergence. Also an amicable decision that is realistic for all members should be reached on whether the transition was gradual or accelerated based on analysis of the pros and cons and cost and benefits of either options as well as on ability of members to comply.⁷⁴

Unambiguous treaties, leadership, protocols and priorities should be put in place to provide binding rules-based plans milestones that are result oriented to give guidance to national, regional and sub-regional actions. This would result to continental integration. After this study, the researcher would wish to recommend continuous and effective monitoring and corrective mechanisms. At the same time, staffing of regional and continental bodies should be given

⁷⁴ Meyns, P. 2002. The ongoing search for a security structure in the SADC region: the re-establishment of the SADC organ on politics, defense and security.

priority so as they can act as necessary. This includes giving them authority and necessary resources for effectiveness. The negotiation capacity of east Africa particularly in the area of trade requires strengthening from a point of regional vantage.

A closer look into the integrations formed in Africa gives an indication that, the major reason for their formation was political rather than development in terms of economies.⁷⁵ There have been shallow plans for development that has resulted to other integrations not following the needed sequence of progression in the development stages. It is important that the following terms and conditions are followed for successful macroeconomic convergence:

- Effective arrangements on compensatory financing for affordability of domestic costs of adjustment.
- Undistorted markers for factors of production and product.
- Equity in profit sharing from the integrations costs and benefits.

As integration, the researcher strongly recommends creation of employment opportunities for the active age groups. This is a clear curb of a big percentage of cases of terrorism and food crises. It has been noted that a majority of youths tend to join these rebel groups as a means of income. The level of production will be increases. The employment opportunities to be created can be casual for those whose education levels cannot take professions.

Religious awareness campaigns should be conducted. This kind of awareness can target creating appreciation in the different religious divides. As a number of active conflicts arise from difference in religious affiliations, an acceptance of others different religious believes can subside the cases in North Uganda and Al-Shabaab attacks in the region.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

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