

**NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY OF  
KENYA**

**By: BRENDA AKINYI OPIYO**

**R50/86970/2016**

**RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES, INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS),  
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.**

**NOVEMBER, 2018**

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

Name:..... Date:.....

Registration No: R50/86970/2016

Signature:.....

**Supervisor**

The project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University of Nairobi supervisor

Name: Dr. Anita Kiamba

Lecturer, University of Nairobi

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

Signature:..... Date:.....

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my mother Susan Adhiambo Opiyo for her support and encouragement. Without her, all this would not have been possible.

## **ACRONYMS**

AMU	Arab-Maghreb Union
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CM	Common Market
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CU	Customs Union
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
LAFTA	Latin American Free Trade Area
MU	Monetary Union
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
PU	Political Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Contents

ACRONYMS.....	iii
1.1 INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY .....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM .....	3
1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY .....	5
1.3.2 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES .....	5
1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW .....	5
1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY .....	12
1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	14
1.6.1 FUNCTIONALISM THEORY.....	14
1.7 HYPOTHESES .....	15
1.8 METHODOLOGY .....	16
1.8.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	16
1.9 CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	17
CHAPTER TWO: NATIONAL INTERESTS AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES .....	19
2.1 THE EUROPEAN UNION.....	19
2.2 NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THE AFRICAN UNION .....	29
CONCLUSION.....	43
CHAPTER THREE: KENYA’S NATIONAL INTERESTS WITHIN THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY .....	44
CONCLUSION.....	57
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS AND DATA PRESENTATION.....	58
4.1 OVERVIEW .....	58
4.2 BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS .....	58
4.2.1 Categories of The Respondents.....	58
4.2.2 Respondents education level.....	59
4.2.3 Respondents gender .....	60
4.3 Awareness of the East Africa Community.....	61
4.3.1 Knowledge of the East Africa Community member states .....	61
4.3.2 Meaning of the East Africa Community .....	62

4.4.2 Instances where Kenya affected the integration process of the East Africa Community negatively .	64
4.4.3 Benefits gained from the pursuit of regional interests over national interests .....	65
4.4.4 Policy recommendations that would enhance the integration process of the East Africa Community .....	66
4.4.5 Has the East Africa Community achieved its mandate and objectives as envisaged.....	68
CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS .....	69
5.1 OVERVIEW .....	69
5.2 CONCLUSIONS.....	69
5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS .....	70
REFERENCES .....	74
Appendixes .....	82

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

Regional Integration is a process where internal boundaries are lowered as member states integrate to create new external boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Regional Integration is also the course where states enter into a regional agreement to promote and improve regional collaboration through organizations and policies.

There are several regional blocs in the world today where the most successful is the European Union (EU). Some regional bodies that have been inactive have been revitalized, unsuccessful ones have been rejuvenated and present ones have been strengthened. Examples include the Association of South East Nations (ASEAN), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which testifies to the amplified importance in regional integration. Others include the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Latin American Free Trade Area (LAFTA), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU) the Arab-Maghreb Union (AMU) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).

The East Africa Community is a geopolitical organization that consists of six countries in the eastern part of Africa, namely Kenya, Tanzania, South Sudan, Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda. The East African Community is significant firstly because it is the outcome of the elongated

---

<sup>1</sup>Lombaerde P & Langenhove L; *Indicators of Regional Integration; Methodological issues.*(United Nations University (UNU\_CRIS), 2005) page 1

history of regional integration in which states formed and joined as a reaction to the region's challenges.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, it provides an explanation on how Kenya's national interests have affected East Africa Community's integration process.

The East Africa Community was formed to promote political, economic, and social agenda in the region. According to East Africa Community treaty, the aim of the community is to develop programs and policies intended to widen and deepen cooperation amongst member states in all areas which include but is not limited to technology and research, cultural and social areas, economic, defense, legal, security and political affairs for the benefit of all member states.<sup>3</sup>

Presently, in the East Africa Community member states are still attached to the ideas of national interests which hinder the process of implementation of a centralized state. The initiative behind the founding of the East Africa Community was to advance partner states political, economic and social agenda. To enable the member states to achieve this, they established a Monetary Union, a Common Market and a Customs Union.

The Customs Union came into operation in 2010 whereas the Common Market came into force in 2005. The Monetary Union came into operation and was signed on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2013 which promoted deeper economic integration among member states. As at February 2017, the East Africa Community agreed on a coalition model instead of a political federation as the final phase of the East Africa Integration where a coalition model is a union of political elements for

---

<sup>2</sup>The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation, Diodorus Buberwa Kamala, June 2006, ISBN: 1-90203 455-4

<sup>3</sup>East African Community; Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community (Arusha: EAC Secretariat, 1999).

common actions for example immigration, infrastructure, science and development, defense and security, common currency, labor movement, education and science and technology enlargement.<sup>4</sup>

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

One of the predicaments that affect the amalgamation process of the East Africa Community is the pursuit of national self-interests by member states. There might be the will to establish the East Africa Community among member states particularly Kenya but there is also the notion that national interests trump regional interests. The argument is that member states particularly Kenya will have to give up the pursuit of some of its national interests for the better of the East Africa Community.

The governments of member states including Kenya are considered to be leading the way in advancing and promoting the East Africa Community integration process at the same time leaders of partner states remain attached to ideas of national interests. It is argued that regional bodies are created because of the many unexpected benefits arising from them.<sup>5</sup> A crucial feature of the greater levels of economic integration is uninhibited trade amongst partner states which is projected to lead to a rapid increase of trade which is likely to lead to increased economic development.<sup>6</sup> This study therefore aims to find why national interests have plagued the integration process of the East Africa Community particularly by Kenya. For example Kenya

---

<sup>4</sup> James Karuhanga, East Africa: How has EAC positioned itself for 2017 and beyond, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2017 accessed at [allafrica.com](http://allafrica.com) on 25<sup>th</sup> May 2017

<sup>5</sup>The Benefits of Regional Economic Integration for Developing Countries in Africa: A Case of East African Community (EAC) Ombeni N. Mwashu page 69-92

<sup>6</sup>Iyoha, A. Milton. Enhancing Africa's Trade: From Marginalization to an Export-Led Approach to Development, African Development Bank, Economic Research Working Paper Series (77), 2005.

imposes a large number of rules and regulations on its imports particularly from East African Community member states. An example is the use of the Kenya Bureau of Standards which protects Kenyan consumers from counterfeits and below par products which measures constrain the daily operations of the East African Community producers and traders.

The predicament is that since the establishment of the East Africa Community, member states have on several instances refused and or failed to comply with some provisions of the East Africa Community Treaty to preserve and or pursue its own national interest. A case to illustrate this is that in 2006 Kenya elected representative members in the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) without following laid down procedures and was directed to repeat the said process by the East Africa Court of Justice in compliance to the provisions of Article 50 of the East African Community Treaty.<sup>7</sup> Kenya being aggrieved with the judgment of the East Africa Court of Justice sought to amend the EAC treaty with an aim to ensure that the security tenure of EACJ judges is removed.<sup>8</sup>

Full integration cannot be achieved in the East Africa Community until member states particularly Kenya fully adopt and enforce the provisions of the East Africa Community treaty at the national level. The aim of this study is to scrutinize if the pursuit of Kenya's national interests will inhibit or hasten the East Africa Community integration process.

---

<sup>7</sup>Prof Peter Anyang' Nyong'o & others vs. AG of Kenya & 5 Others, Reference No. 1 of 2006 <http://www.saflii.org/ea/cases/EACJ/2007/6.pdf>

<sup>8</sup>East Africa Law Society, Press Release, "*Integration Without Rule of Law*" Monday 4th December 2006

### **1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The main objective of this study is to interrogate and evaluate the implications that Kenya's national interests have had on the East Africa Community integration process.

#### **1.3.2 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES**

1. To identify the reasons and drivers for the pursuit of national interest over regional interests within the East Africa Community by member states particularly by Kenya
2. To examine how countries have pursued national interests within other regional economic communities
3. To examine the instances Kenya has pursued its national interests within the East Africa Community
4. To identify and examine what mechanisms can be put in place to mitigate the pursuit of Kenya's national interest within the East Africa Community in order to enhance regional integration
5. To recommend pragmatic policy recommendations for successful integration

### **1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW**

This literature review will focus on the background of the East Africa Community integration process, its challenges and achievements and the cumulative benefits to member states particularly Kenya.

The East African Community (EAC) can be defined as primarily consisting of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda with Burundi and Rwanda later joining. It was in 2000 with the aim to increase

intra-regional trade and to elevate and advance the standing of the East Africa region globally.

<sup>9</sup>In April 2016 South Sudan became a member of the East Africa Community.

Another definition of the East Africa Community is that it is a regional transnational organization whose member states are Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, South Sudan and Rwanda and its headquarters is based in Arusha, Tanzania.<sup>10</sup>The EAC was founded with a concept to set up a successful, competitive, protected, stable and politically integrated East Africa; and offer a podium to extend and intensify political, Economic, Social and Culture integration in order to improve the attribute of life of the people of East Africa via improved competitiveness, trade and investments and efficient and effective production.<sup>11</sup>

Diodorus Buberwa Kamala argues that the amalgamation procedure of the East Africa Community has reached the stage of combining the benefits of the customs union, operationalising the common market protocol and discussing the monetary union which has illuminated how much sovereignty each member state can relinquish to the East Africa Community and its institutions so that they conform to the provisions of Article 126 of the treaty.<sup>12</sup>

He further argues that Article 126(2) (b) of the East Africa Community treaty necessitates member states to synchronize and standardize all their national laws relating to the Community.

He then adds that Article 47 of the Common Market Protocol directs member states to estimate

---

<sup>9</sup>The East African Community – Why this time is different’, INSEAD and Centre for Global Development, May 2010

<sup>10</sup>‘The Non Tariff Barriers in Trading Within the East African Community’, CUTS International, 2010

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup>The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation, Diodorus Buberwa Kamala, June 2006, ISBN: 1-90203 455-4

their national laws and to synchronize their policies and structures in order to implement the protocol but that member states are reluctant and disinclined to relinquish their sovereignty to supra national organizations with the intention to protect their national interests.<sup>13</sup>

J Senghor C argues that regional integration in Africa lacks commitment and a common value system.<sup>14</sup> Senghor adds that in Africa, there is a rule to the promotion of national interests of partner states in relation to regional integration and that there is political pressure at the state level which undermines and confines the success of regional integration. He further states that decision makers approach regional integration with the perception of competing and conflicting national interests and that the main aim is to ensure that a state's national interests are enhanced no matter the cost. He then adds that loyalty plays a major role in regional integration which in turn leads to low levels of integration and limited gains.

Maclean argues that according to realism Southern Africa states participate in regional integration for security reasons.<sup>15</sup> She further argues that even though processes contain a set out regional character, member states and their leaders see national borders as the main solution to most of the problems where they invoke their sovereignty. She then adds that this is the main reason why regional integration has failed in Africa that is national interests and the need for security.

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup>Jeggan Senghor C. "Theoretical Foundations for Regional Integration in Africa: An overview in Nyong'o Anyang (ed), Regional integration in Africa: Unfinished Agenda

<sup>15</sup> S.J Mclean "Challenging Westphalia: Issues of Sovereignty and Identity in Southern Africa" in Dunn Kevin S. and Shaw Timothy M. (eds), Africa's challenge to International Relations Theory (New York Palgrave, 2001) page 157

Ngeno argue that regional integration has costs and benefits.<sup>16</sup> The benefits include but are not limited to enhanced security of member states and reduction of conflicts, strengthened bargaining power of member states as a regional block and enhanced cooperation to deal with trans-border problems among others. They then argue that the benefits of regional integration outweigh the cost or the loss of sovereignty.<sup>17</sup>

Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz argue that the East Africa Community is convincing on paper, but there is poor and pathetic implementation of decisions and that it is doubtful whether the right schedule and agenda can be observed and met thus creating a substantial gap between ambition and reality.<sup>18</sup> They further argue that in order for regional integration to be successful it demands solid and resilient institutions, extensive backing from the involved populace and a sharp obligation to the process. Only then will the full potential be revealed.<sup>19</sup>

They add that on paper, the East Africa Community is a determined organization with illusive goals and that it that has had difficulties in the implementation of the Monetary Union, Common Market and Customs Union.<sup>20</sup> They further state that the East Africa Community has a strong: harmonization of decisions on security policies, it has channels to fight the business of drugs and

---

<sup>16</sup> N. Ngeno K (et al) Regional Integration Study of East Africa: The Case of Kenya , KIPPRA Working Paper No.9 (Nairobi: Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis) 2003

<sup>17</sup> N. Ngeno K (et al) Regional Integration Study of East Africa: The Case of Kenya , KIPPRA Working Paper No.9 (Nairobi: Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis) 2003 page 19-20

<sup>18</sup>The East African Community Regional Integration between Aspiration and Reality by Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz KAS international reports 9/10|2011, page 91

<sup>19</sup>The East African Community Regional Integration between Aspiration and Reality by Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz KAS international reports 9/10|2011

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

arms, there is collaboration between police forces and methods to deal with international terrorism are all referred to in the Treaty yet the implementation is somewhat different.<sup>21</sup>

They then argue that that the challenges facing the East African Community are state self interest, economic benefits do not accrue equally, insufficient involvement in the civil society among others and that the triumph of the East Africa Community will be contingent on the solidification and reinforcement of the supranational institutions. The East Africa Community should also present grave contemplation to its ambitions and persona.<sup>22</sup>

Apuuli argues that regional integration and nationalism are antagonistic in nature.<sup>23</sup> First nationalism creates defined boundaries or territories of states; regional integration undermines the territorial space of a state as it promotes the free movement of persons from a partner state to another. He then adds that nationalism enhances the cultural identity of the people of a specific country while regional integration seeks to create new forms of identity based on the different member states. He further argues that nationalism promotes and enhances the sovereignty of a state while regional integration undermines or impedes it.

National interests are all about goals and objectives of a state which are interconnected to the welfares of its citizens. In the East Africa Community, member states joined with an aim to meet their interests either through political, economic and socio-cultural moves. Each country will

---

<sup>21</sup>The East African Community Regional Integration between Aspiration and Reality by Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz KAS international reports 9/10|2011

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

<sup>23</sup> K P. Apuuli "Fast Tracking East African Federation: Asking the Difficult Questions" (Paper presented in Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations (DENIVA) Public Dialogue on Fast Tracking East African Federation, Kampala, 24<sup>th</sup> November 2005)

work towards pursuing individual interests which are in line with their nation's interests. It is further clear that for integration to be fully realized within the East Africa Community, it will have to overcome the challenges of national interest and sovereignty. The integration process would have more benefits and be more effective but that member states still remain attached to ideas of national interests. There is therefore the need to find a solution and mechanisms to deal with this problem.

George Buchan argues that national interests are unique to any one state but they occasionally and provisionally link up with those of other countries which creates the need to have intergovernmental cooperation and alliances.<sup>24</sup> It has been argued that there is no split between national and transnational when dealing with national interests as domestic internal behavior will constantly have an impact on a country's international behavior.<sup>25</sup> The foregoing offers the foundation for the nature of national interests and opposition in the international structure.

National interests are unique to any one state but they temporarily line up with those of other states which creates the need to have intergovernmental cooperation and alliances.<sup>26</sup> It has been argued that there is no separation between domestic and international when dealing with national interests as internal domestic behavior will always have an impact on a state's international

---

<sup>24</sup> National Interests and the European Union Bruges Group 2012 George Buchan February 2012 [www.brugesgroup.com](http://www.brugesgroup.com) page 5

<sup>25</sup> National Interests and the European Union Bruges Group 2012 George Buchan February 2012 [www.brugesgroup.com](http://www.brugesgroup.com) page 6

<sup>26</sup> National Interests and the European Union Bruges Group 2012 George Buchan February 2012 [www.brugesgroup.com](http://www.brugesgroup.com) page 9

behavior.<sup>27</sup> The foregoing provides the basis for the nature of national interests and competition in the international system.

The intention of international organizations is to go beyond domestic sentiments and follow the mutual good of their particular fundamental components. There is a role that national interests play in shaping a country's decision thus leading to a conflict between national interests and regional interests. The nations or states that profit the most should fully participate in regional collaboration and thus have the most concentrated inclinations for agreement.<sup>28</sup> They are thus more disposed to bargain to further it.

Hans Morgenthau distinguished between the dual varieties of national interests which are vital and secondary.<sup>29</sup> Vital national interests are based on the well-being of a sovereign and autonomous nation, the fortification of its institutions, peoples, values which interests have express significance for the sensible existence of a country.<sup>30</sup> The government of that state has the primary oversight of military, security and economic policy of the state, what their objectives are and how to realize them. Hans Morgenthau further argues that national interests determine the international status of a country which involves the capability, strength and status of a state that enables it to pursue its national interests via its foreign strategy and policy.<sup>31</sup> Secondary national interests aren't apprehensive with risks to sovereignty and are therefore all that concerns

---

<sup>27</sup>National Interests and the European Union George Buchan February 2012 Bruges Group 2012 [www.brugesgroup.com](http://www.brugesgroup.com) page 5

<sup>28</sup>National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova page 44

<sup>29</sup>Another Great Debate: The National Interest of the United States, Morgenthau, H.J, American Political Science Review Vol. XLVI No. 4, 1952 at <http://tigger.uic.edu/~bvaler/morgenthau.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup>Another Great Debate: The National Interest of the United States, Morgenthau, H.J, American Political Science Review Vol. XLVI No. 4, 1952 at <http://tigger.uic.edu/~bvaler/morgenthau.pdf>

to the progression, prosperity and progression of the state.<sup>32</sup> Secondary interests are concerned with the development of a state and are exposed and vulnerable to partisan influences as they are determined by circumstance rather than necessity.

National interests involve objectives and intentions in the international structure which are realized via foreign policy. As democracy is a method of governance where the state and the people are tantamount, the welfare of the country are basically connected to the interests of its citizens.<sup>33</sup> Meaning in a democracy national interests can't be specifically distinguished from the interests of the populace as they are interconnected to the benefit of the citizens and society in a country. National interests are fundamentally the goals set by government mainly for its existence and safety and for the guarantee of the well-being, prosperity and wealth of a country.

Even though scholars have written on regional integration in Africa and national interest, there is an absence of a comprehensive analysis of the implications of Kenya's national interest on the integration process of the East Africa Community. There is therefore the gap that this study will seek to fill on the role of Kenya's national interests on the integration process of the East Africa Community.

## **1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

Despite the cumulative gains associated with regional integration universally which includes but are not limited to investment and employment opportunities, free movement of people, trade and goods, increased infrastructure development and increased trade, member states still give priority

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

<sup>33</sup> Constructing National Interests, Weldes J, European Journal of International Relations 1996. Vol. 2 (3): 275 - 318

to national interests over regional interests. This has led to the unhurried stride of the process of integration as the benefits of integration at the regional level are not as effective as they should be.

Scholars have researched and written extensively on regional integration and they have also looked at national interest. Even though they have covered these areas, there is an absence of an extensive scrutiny of the implications of Kenya's national interests on the East Africa Community integration process.

This study aims at assessing and evaluating the implications of Kenya's national interest on East Africa Community integration process and to come up with workable strategies and policies that can enable member states particularly Kenya fully participate in regional integration and achieve the envisaged principles of the East African Community. This study will further enhance strategies towards addressing identified gaps.

This study will also assist the academic organization in elevating its academic archives on integration issues and also bridge the knowledge gap on Kenya's national interest and its implications on East African Community integration process. This study will contribute to literature and data which will be useful to students, researchers and policy makers.

This study will also lead to increased awareness and advocacy for uptake in the concerned institutions and enhanced cooperation among the involved institutions.

## **1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

There are a number of integration and regionalism theories that can be applied in this study two of which are discussed here. They are the functionalism theory, the neo-functionalism theory and the realism theory.

### **1.6.1 FUNCTIONALISM THEORY**

States integrate mostly for economic reasons and the economic aspect of integration is informed by theories of integration one of them is the functionalism theory. The functionalism theory provides that states integrate in functional, technical or economic purposes. The functionalism theory focuses not only on the collective interests and wants shared by countries but also by non-state actors in large scale integration<sup>34</sup>. The theory provides cooperation among states in order to find solution to common issues through the creation of structures and procedures in the form of institutions.<sup>35</sup>

In relation to the East Africa Community, these institutions would include the Customs Union and the Common Market Protocol which would benefit the citizens of the East Africa Community. The functionalism theory more over postulates that successful cooperation in one area provides and incentive for cooperation in other related areas. An example in the East Africa Community is that if cooperation in the Common Market Protocol is successful, a positive attitude towards cooperation in the Customs Union is developed.

---

<sup>34</sup>Garza, D.C; "International Integration Theories; regional scenarios." (ITESM August 19, 2006) page 3.

<sup>35</sup>Theorizing European Integration: revisiting neo-functionalism and testing its suitability for explaining the development of EC competition policy? McGowan, LeeEloP: 25 May 2007

In the process of integration of the East Africa Community, this theory provides the foundation upon which member states came together with the view to expand and strengthen social, political, economic and culture integration with the objective and purpose to advance the quality of life of the human beings of East Africa through trade and investments, efficient and effective production and improved competitiveness.

This theory provides that member states are still important actors in the process but that regional integration is a conflictual process in which national regimes find themselves entrapped in regional difficulties and demands which leads them to resolve their conflicts by surrendering and delegating extra authority to the regional bodies they have formed and ultimately their people's expectations shift to the region and if they are met it will escalate the probability that socio-economic- integration will flow over into political integration.<sup>36</sup> These new entities will in-turn have the decision making supremacy and authority once possessed by the state.<sup>37</sup>

In the integration process of the East Africa Community, the theory informed the advancement of the first East Africa Community that collapsed in 1977 and the European Union. It also informed the prior stages of the current East Africa Community that is the coming into operation of the Common Market, the envisaged Monetary Union, the Customs Union, and political federation.

## **1.7 HYPOTHESES**

1. States use regional integration to advance their own national interests

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

<sup>37</sup> O'Brien, R.. "North American Integration and International Relations Theory," (Canadian Journal of Political Science, 1995) 28: 693-7xx.

2. The pursuit of national interest by member states particularly by Kenya inhibits the East Africa Community integration process
6. Mechanisms need to be put in place to mitigate the pursuit of Kenya's national interest within the East Africa Community in order to enhance regional integration

## **1.8METHODOLOGY**

A research methodology can be described as the process used to collect information and data of a study. The methodology depicts the justification and logic for the use of certain techniques or methods used to pinpoint, choose and scrutinize data that help to understand the research problem hence letting the reader to analytically assess a study's general legitimacy and dependability.<sup>38</sup>

### **1.8.1RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Both qualitative and quantitative procedures of data compilation and evaluation were used. Qualitative data gives the opinion of the citizens while quantitative data provides statistical data. Qualitative data enables the researcher to examine the feelings, experiences and perspectives through a comprehensive framework. By using qualitative research, this study explored Kenya's national interests and its implications on the East Africa Community integration process. Through this analysis, the researcher gave a voice to the citizens to state their views on the Kenya's national interest and its effect on the East Africa Community integration process. The study also relied on analysis of qualitative data from a variety of sources.

---

<sup>38</sup><http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/methodology> accessed on 3rd May 2017 at 11:02 pm

## **1.9 CHAPTER OUTLINE**

This research project is divided into five chapters which include the introduction and the conclusion. The content of each chapter is as follows:

### **Chapter one**

This is the introductory chapter of the study and introduces the entire thesis. It includes the background, the statement of the problem, the justification of the research, the hypotheses, literature review, the theoretical framework, the research methodology and the chapter outline.

### **Chapter two**

This chapter will give detailed information on how national interests have been pursued in other regional economic communities for example the European Union and the African Union. It will also examine the benefits and challenges of the integration process of above regional blocs that is the European Union and the African Union.

### **Chapter three**

This chapter will focus on the instances as to how and why Kenya has pursued its national interests in the East Africa Community. It will also examine whether the East African Community could work better if member states particularly Kenya gave priority to regional interests over national interests. This chapter will ascertain whether Kenya's national interests has an impact on the East Africa Community integration process.

## **Chapter four**

This chapter will present the results of the collected data, interpretation and discussion of the findings. It will also focus on the area where the researcher intends to contribute to the existing knowledge on Kenya's national interests within the East Africa Community.

## **Chapter five**

This chapter will analyze the findings from chapter four. The concerns that will have emerged from the research will be highlighted here. As the concluding chapter, it will also summarize the entire study and the key points that were raised in the other chapters. This chapter will also make recommendations that may assist Kenya, other partner states and the Community on what is to be done to mitigate the implications of member states particularly Kenya giving priority to national interests over regional interests. This chapter will also deal with the analysis of the data collected.

## **CHAPTER TWO: NATIONAL INTERESTS AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES**

This chapter will look at the path in which countries have taken to integrate and it will also address issues of national interests. This chapter will also show how successful regional bodies have addressed the issue of national interests of specific individual countries to form a cohesive regional body. As such it will look at the various regional economic communities that have been formed and what contributes or what impedes their success.

### **2.1 THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Despite the cumulative gains associated with regional integration universally which includes but are not limited to investment and employment opportunities, free movement of people, trade and goods, increased infrastructure development and increased trade, there is the growing concern on the impact of the pursuit of national interests over regional interests. This has led to the unhurried pace of the integration process and some partner states exiting from regional integration bodies. An example to illustrate this is Brexit where Britain is withdrawing from the European Union.<sup>39</sup> Subsequent to the 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2016 referendum vote to leave, on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2017 the United Kingdom's government started the withdrawal process setting the United Kingdom on the Course to leave by April 2019.<sup>40</sup>

The European Union is a Regional Commerce Arrangement that involves twenty-nine countries which eradicates impediments to the movement of labor, goods and capital. It also contains the

---

<sup>39</sup>Hunt, Alex; Wheeler, Brian (3 November 2016). "[Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU](#)". BBC News.

<sup>40</sup>"[Article 50: Theresa May to trigger Brexit process](#)". BBC News. 20 March 2017. Retrieved on 20 March 2017.

synchronization of rules standards and laws, standards. The union was formed after the World War two and was a combination of coal and steel manufacture the then foundations of all military and armed power and dominance.<sup>41</sup>It was propositioned as “the initial tangible basis of a European federation” by the then French Minister Robert Schuman who had the notion that if states share resources and vital raw materials and relied on others for key raw materials they would be less probable to go to war. In 1951 the European Coal and Steel Community was formed with six founding members being France, Belgium, Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands and Luxembourg where they signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957 thereby forming the European Economic Community.<sup>42</sup> This led to the creation of a common market thereby allowing goods and services to move freely among the said countries. Ireland, Denmark and the United Kingdom assented to inclusion to the European Economic Community in 1973 and as at 2018 there are twenty-eight states. The core European Union institutions are the European Commission, the European Council, the Court of Justice, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers.

There are five countries that have candidate status as they are in the course of discussing their appointment to the European Union.<sup>43</sup> They are Turkey, Serbia, Albania, Republic of Macedonia the Former Yugoslav and Montenegro. The Treaty of Lisbon was signed in December 2009 which saw the recent amendments to the European Union treaties.<sup>44</sup> The said treaty revised the treaty establishing the European Community and the Treaty on the European Union. The Treaty Establishing the European Community was renamed to the Treaty on the Functioning of the

---

<sup>41</sup> The European Union-A Brief History Iain Mclver 20<sup>th</sup> May 2016 accessed on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018 at 9:24am

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup>Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, and Paul Whiteley, Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union, CUP, 2016).

<sup>44</sup> The European Union: History and Institutions Achim Hurrelmann accessed on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018 at 9:24am

European Union. The Treaty of Lisbon had four main outcomes which are a more autonomous and transparent Europe with reinforced European and national parliaments, a more proficient Europe with streamlined operational processes and balloting guidelines, promotion of rights, values, freedoms, solidarity and security and lastly the promotion of European interests and values worldwide.<sup>45</sup>

Since the European Union's formation, specific concessions have inclined to mirror the priorities of the union's main countries that is the utmost influential among them even as more bordering states benefit as much or more.<sup>46</sup> For example in 1973 Britain ended up being a big funder to the union's budget. Spain, Greece, Denmark and Ireland were required to assent to agricultural engagements not well-matched to their comparative advantages which involved prolonged conversion phases and no distinctive or unique fiscal remunerations. Once countries have joined the union they substantially do well for themselves since they work more effectively to promote their interests.

The Limited Liability policy of Britain of 1949 states that "Our policy must be to aid Europe to regain as far as we can which is a limited liability concept. We should only assist to the point that we can and at no point should we surrender our sovereignty leading our country to a point of no return."<sup>47</sup> This saw Britain more as a sponsor than a participant and in the immediate post war years, Britain already had its own post war national strategy to post war recovery. This included

---

<sup>45</sup>House of Commons Library (2007) The Treaty of Lisbon: amendments to the Treaty establishing the European Community. London, UK Parliament. Available at <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/RP07-86> [Accessed 17 May 2016]

<sup>46</sup>National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova page 45

<sup>47</sup> Brexit means Brexit. Causes Consequences and Implications L-36 Scienze Politiche e relazioni Internazionali 2017-2018

commonwealth markets, imperial resources among others. These advantages meant that Britain's policy of limited liability was basically dictated by her economic interests.

In the European Union context, it has been argued that national interests are determined by domestic constituents having regard to their local and international conditioned interests that allow for flexibility in inter-state bargaining.<sup>48</sup> This means that in the European Union context national interests are conditioned by benefits and costs of cooperation and also that European policies can disadvantage national economic, social and other interest.<sup>49</sup> In the European context, national interest is raised as a justification for member states deciding to disengage with their commitments and has enabled member states to secure preferential political treatment at the European Union level. Cooperation in pursuance of shared interest and mutual commitments among states are the norms that govern the European integration. The treaty objectives necessitate equal compliance by every member state which require that member states should mutually treat the interest of other member states as they would treat theirs. This principle advocates for loyalty and demands that member states comply with their commitments and refrain from pursuing interests capable of frustrating the common interests of the partner states of the union.

The preamble of the European Union Treaty makes it clear that the commitment of the partner states to European integration is in their interest and that the membership obligations in the union can be secured by joint action which they cannot achieve by acting alone. This means that member states are enabled to pursue their shared interests in a social, economic and political

---

<sup>48</sup> The National Interest in European Union Law MartonVarju page 3

<sup>49</sup>A. Moravcsik, 'Preferences and power in the European Community: a liberal intergovernmental approach', 31 *Journal of Common Market Studies* (1993) 473, 483.

environment undertaken for the communal advantage of the participants. Partner states can secure mutual benefits in pursuance of shared interest through collective action.

In the European Union legal context, national interests are raised as a justification for member states to disengage with their treaty commitments.<sup>50</sup>

It has been suggested that the United Kingdom's fixation with its sovereignty is extra ordinary related to other fellow partner states and that it has persuaded the choice to leave the European Union and to hold a referendum initially.<sup>51</sup>For some the European Union epitomized distinctive prospects while for others it signified stability and peace, prosperity and jobs but to some extent the same doesn't seem beneficial at all or any longer.<sup>52</sup> The British citizens view and realize that the European Union is the source and origin behind countless undesirable transformations for example migration, inequality and escalating house rates and thus Brexit was a way for the United Kingdom to become an economic power house by itself.<sup>53</sup>Britain had planned to impose limits on the issue of migration while the union advocated for the free movement of people. This contributed to Britain leaving the union. Brexit was triggered by resentment towards immigration which is a manifestation of national self-interest and movements.

Britain viewed the European Union as a business arrangement with the notion of combining sovereignty with fellow partner states which must be grounded on a computation and estimation

---

<sup>50</sup>M. Aspinwall, 'Government preferences on European integration: an empirical test of five theories', British Journal of Political Science (2007) 37 89, 90, 91-96.

<sup>51</sup>Why the British Conception of Sovereignty Was The Main Reason For Brexit – And Why The British 'Leave-Vote' May End Up Saving Rather Than Undermining The EUSSUP WORKING PAPER SERIES 3/2017-Marlene WindCSF - at page 3

<sup>52</sup>Glencross Palgrave Studies Why the UK voted for Brexit,2016 , page 7

<sup>53</sup>Leonard European Council on Foreign Relations Europe seen from the outside – the British view, (2016) .

of costs and benefits and the United Kingdom quit because it had higher cost than benefits.<sup>54</sup> To illustrate this, in February 2016 David Cameron had a deal with other European Union authorities on procedures that promoted the economic interest and protected British sovereignty. Further in 2011 David Cameron used his veto vote to prevent a new European Union inclusive treaty which left at least twenty three countries to reach an agreement to save the single currency. The European Union leaders in turn straight away decided to circumvent Britain's decision and create a new pact on the euro amongst themselves. This illustrates that Britain put its national interest ahead of the regional interest of resolving the European Union's worst crisis.

Another reason as to why the United Kingdom left the European Union is that some British people saw national identity and interests are linked not just to institutions but to birthplace and ancestry where they placed greater value on order, stability and tradition.<sup>55</sup> National sovereignty was just as important an issue for leaving the union with immigration and the Eurozone debt crisis which precipitated mass employment across Southern Europe being as equally contributory. The time and capabilities used in managing United Kingdom's withdrawal might reduce the union's capabilities for dealing with further challenges and maybe diminish the European Union's role as an international actor. Brexit has emphasized fears over the loss of national autonomy and sovereignty.

The national interest as a concept can be interpreted in the European Union framework as overlapping with the interest of the union and that member states interests which are in

---

<sup>54</sup>Boris Johnson Brexit: Vote leave, take control? Sovereignty and the Brexit debate  
<https://publiclawforeveryone.com/2016/06/23/vote-leave-take-control-sovereignty-and-the-brexite-debate/>

<sup>55</sup> Brexit: Causes and consequences Analysis on the rising global risk- Matthew J. Goodwin November- December 2017 at page 59

contravention with their treaty commitments can be on a collision course with the interests of the union. For example, there exists a trade relation between Britain and Germany through exports.

<sup>56</sup> The single market of the union and its whole veracity is of prominence to Germany as Germany places value on holding the integrity of the political stability and single market of Europe in its entirety however Germany still benefits from the input and assistance of Britain. These aspect plus pressure from national business lobbyists to preserve and retain British access might result in Germany relaxing its negotiating stand to provide a advantageous partnership for the two states. This illustrates that Germany puts its national interest first in dealing with Britain even after Britain has decided to leave the Union instead of putting the interests of the union first.

Further, the European Union has experienced internal tensions between Germany and France because the two countries entertain dissimilar notions on how the union ought to be run.<sup>57</sup> Many of the conflicting sentiments are articulated via economic policies and the probability of revolutionizing the Euro zone domination. France favors the formation of Eurobonds and greater macroeconomics as a means to mutualize liabilities while Germany supports grander guidelines on single governments. Germany and France are putting their national interests first in relation to the issue of how the union should be run instead of reaching a compromise that is favorable to all member states. Germany has its private two-sided relationship with Britain and so it has extents that they will desire to protect. This illustrates that the diversity between member states has impeded the work of the union as national regimes continue to persist in discharging and pursuing their domestic policies.

---

<sup>56</sup> BREXIT: the challenges facing both Britain and the European Union, an, ICPS visiting expert 2017 International Centre for Policy Studies International Centre for Policy Studies and Foreign affairs Cameron Gibson page 19

<sup>57</sup> Ibid at page 21

The Eurozone crisis which started in 2009 created pressures amid fellow partner states in regard to the proper balance between executing austerity processes vis-a-vis encouraging development plus if better European Union financial integration was required.<sup>58</sup> France and Italy advocated for the partisan significance of conserving the integrity of the Eurozone while Netherlands, Germany, Slovenia, Finland and Slovakia advocated for the need to observe the Eurozone fiscal policies. In the said negotiations many countries backed Germany's hard-line position because they did not want to encourage other struggling Eurozone governments or anti-austerity by making concessions to the Greek demands. The Eurozone crisis indicates that European Union member states are putting first national interests over the European Endeavor. It should be noted that Germany was highly opposed to debt relief for Greece as it asserts that Greece has an unsustainable debt load.

The migrant crisis in Europe has also illustrated that member states in the union act from a position of national interests and not regional interests. Greece and Italy voiced disappointment at the absence of European cohesion where Germany announced in 2015 that it would no longer apply the European Union's principle which deems that the foremost European Union state an asylum seeker arrives in is accountable to scrutinizing that being's request.<sup>59</sup> This was seen as a move to not commit to the approved and decided European Union asylum processes and declining to contemplate the repercussions for the broader European Union. The said countries feared that the refugees and migrants whom are Muslim could change the Christian individualities of Europe and their specific countries.

---

<sup>58</sup>James Kanter, Jim Brunsten and Eleftheria Kourtali, "Eurozone Set to Miss Deadline for Greek Bailout Deal," "Eurozone Agrees to Debt Relief and Bailout Aid for Greece," May 24, 2016; February 16, 2017.

<sup>59</sup> James Kanter and Steven Erlanger "Plan on Migrants Strain the Limits of Europe's Unity," September 22, 2015

There are fundamental differences among European Union countries about how best to manage Russia in relation to Russia backing separatist forces in eastern and southern Ukraine and its invasion of Crimea in March 2014.<sup>60</sup> Despite conflicts in Ukraine, Germany and Italy are optimistic that Russia can be a partner for the union claiming that it is too great to separate and overlook and that Europe's security and stability depends on building suitable interactions with Russia. Many European nations have commercial connections with Russia as they depend on Russia to meet their gas and oil needs.

Another illustration of the promotion of national interests over regional interests in the European Union is that four countries Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic formed the Visegrad group in order to collaborate on common relevant issues by exercising common influence jointly within the European Union.<sup>61</sup> For instance Czech Republic vied for the European Council presidency in 2007 and attained the position in 2009 where it advocated for an unrestricted market economy plus strengthening the union's energy security based on the Russia-Ukraine energy crisis of 2006. Czech lobbied and promoted its approach on expanding the Union's resources, routes and energy suppliers and similarly advocated for the establishment of a precise shared peripheral energy strategy to supplement the union's current core energy market. The remaining members of the Visegrad group supported Czech's determinations and as a effect together with the unilateral promotion of its state preferences, Czech framed its inclination inside the greater Visegrad background consequently formulating usage of the other Visegrad

---

<sup>60</sup>Gabriele Steinhauser and Laurence Norman "Germany, Austria Favor Gradual Phasing Out of Russia Sanctions," "European Ministers Wrestle with Future of Russia Sanctions," EurActiv.com Wall Street Journal, June 20, 2016.

<sup>61</sup>Dangerfield, M. (2008): East European Politics and Societies The Visegrád Group in the Expanded European Union: From Pre-accession to Post-Accession Cooperation, page 22, 3

associates in similar with its individual lobbying determinations. The Visegrad group became an invaluable partner in advancing Czech's interests within the union during Czech's presidency of the council. Czech Republic adopted a multi-vectored tactic in fostering its partialities at the European Union forum. The Czech Republic used the Visegrad unit as a means of advancing and promoting its own national self-interests in during the 2009 Council Presidency in Brussels and it did not shy away from pursuing its national interests. Further, even though Britain is leaving the Union and has operated as a champion against the European integration it might be used by the Visegrad group to re-adjust the balance of influence inside the union. Britain can improve the status of the Visegrad group as it might empower the said group on various issues.

In 2015 Pierre Moscovici the former European Union Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs a French Minister, was one of the foremost to sign a application from the French Socialist Party for communitization of debt of the national government on the European Level.<sup>62</sup> This goes against the earlier official view that members of the European Union Commission must stay independent and separate from partner states internal politics and solely represent the collective interests of all partner states. This means that the members of the Commission should not give priority to their national backgrounds and hence work and be independent.

In the 1980's Germany was skeptical about a bid for a European defense organization which would alter the agricultural policy meaning that Germany would receive less but pay more hence

---

<sup>62</sup>Stephan A. Schneider Towards the Greater Good? EU Commissioners' Nationality and Budget Allocation in the European Union Abstract: Kai Gehring 1 2 June 23, 2015 page 1

it objected to additional monetary integration until capital flows were liberalized.<sup>63</sup> In this case Germany was opposed to further monetary integration until its national interest of liberalization of capital flows was realized thus giving priority to its national interest over regional interests.

Another illustration is that the referendums conducted on the Maastricht Treaty in Denmark where France and Ireland initiated extensive ranged unrestricted debates and elite disagreement regarding the institutions and appropriate ends of the European Communities.<sup>64</sup> In 1992 at a Danish referendum the Treaty was rejected but one year later it was accepted when the Treaty was amended to enable and allow Denmark the option and right to opt out of a single currency.

From the foregoing, it is evident that member states in regional bodies pursue their national interests first and foremost and place regional interests in second place. National interests are in an antagonistic relationship with the interest of the Union and are overlapping with the union interest. Due to the foregoing, the benefits of regional integration are not as effective as they should be.

## **2.2 NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THE AFRICAN UNION**

The African Union is the continental champion on and economic and political integration and cooperation in Africa. With its fifty-four member states, the African Union is the largest and very diverse regional organization in terms of member income levels, populations and

---

<sup>63</sup> Gisela Hendriks, The German stand against more intensive monetary cooperation softened in 1988-89, once the initial condition of increased capital mobility was being met. "Germany and the CAP: National Interests and the European Community," *International Affairs* 65 (Winter 1988-89), pp. 75-87.

<sup>64</sup> Andreas Føllesdal ARENA – Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo Legitimacy Theories of the European Union PO BOX 1143 Blindern N- 0317 Oslo AndreasFøllesdal@arena.uio.no

geographical size it will be essential to investigate how the African Union is able to address issues of national interests. The African Union was established in 2000 by the Lome Summit which implemented the Constitutive Act of the Union which in-turn led to the Lusaka Summit of 2001. The Lusaka Summit of 2001 drew the map as to how the African Union would be implemented. The major milestone was in 2002 where the Durban Summit launched the African Union and assembled the first assembly of the heads of states of the 53member countries.

The Constitutive Act had set out objectives and plans as to how the African Union would achieve regional unity. The Act sought to increase economic, political and social integration of the region. The African Union saw it fit to establish various specific deadlines with regards to the realization and actualization of African Unity. A five-year phase was set up that would work out a plan to actualize the deliberations of the Abuja Treaty. This chapter will also look at the quest for African Unity and the role national interests have played in the said quest.

The notion of African unity can be traced to the black diaspora where Pan-Africanism began as a cultural and political movement aimed at opposing colonial rule that was discriminatory and oppressive.<sup>65</sup> Pan- Africanism nurtured the spirit of brotherhood, solidarity and continental unity.<sup>66</sup> The Manchester Congress advocated for all Africans living abroad to return home and fight for individual independence of their countries and also introduced the concept of economic and social development via cooperation.<sup>67</sup> The Manchester Congress introduced the notion of inter-African cooperation and anchored Africa's development on cooperation of political, economic, security, social, cultural, good governance and peace issues.

---

<sup>65</sup>Mazrui A A.1965.East African Institute of Social Research Conference Paper Pan-Africanism in the Cold War.

<sup>66</sup>Padmore,G. 1956. The Coming Struggle for Africa Pan-Africanism or Communism:.. London.

<sup>67</sup>Thompson,V B.1969. The Evolution of Pan-Africanism. Africa and Unity: Longman, London.p133

The convention of the sovereign African states assembled in April 1958 in Ghana, Ghana which was expected to cement the need for a united Africa but individual countries' national interest thwarted this idea as states advocated for national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.<sup>68</sup> The issue of national interests can be traced to the beginning of the continent's independence with each member state stressing the need to protect its sovereignty. In as much as the countries advocated for a united Africa, there was a lot of hesitation with regards to surrendering their individual sovereignty.

African unity became dependent on nation states themselves which informed the need for African states to form regional bodies or blocs where they could retain their sovereignty. Bearing this in mind various regional blocks were formed which include the Maghreb Union, the East African Community, and the Ghana Guinea Union among others. The Ghana Guinea Union is the only group of independent member states that came close to a political integration however the union failed to attract any additional countries after Mali joined the union. This led to a continent-wide hostility to federalism with two conflicting groups arising, on one side was the Brazzaville- Monrovia group and on the other was the Casablanca group. The division was caused by many factors key among them being ideological differences, national interests considerations among others.<sup>69</sup> Each group was driven by national interests and the benefits that they would obtain, for example in the Casablanca group Egypt saw a chance to increase its influence in Africa and to gain support from African states against Israel. Sékou Touré believed

---

<sup>68</sup>Legum C.Frederick A Praeger Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide. 1965. New York. P 42

<sup>69</sup>Legum C.Frederick A Praeger Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide. 1965. New York. P 42

that the Casablanca group would provide support against France while Kwame Nkrumah saw it as a platform to promote his idea of a union of African states.<sup>70</sup>

These groups laid the foundation for the creation of the Organization of African Unity where each group came up with a charter as opposed to a constitution which is enforceable by a court of law. This explains why most regional blocks have treaties or a Constitutive Act to guide integration agendas. At this time, there was a consensus that inter-African integration which incorporates economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation was necessary.<sup>71</sup> Kwame Nkrumah proposed the creation of a Commission which would establish a monetary union a common market and a central bank which idea was opposed. Tafawa Balewa on the other hand proposed that the most reasonable approach to African Unity was to first form regional organizations where Africa would be divided into five regional groupings namely; East Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, North Africa and Southern Africa. African unity was to be promoted and fast tracked by different regional groupings.

The key objective for the creation of the Organization of African Unity was to liberate the remaining African countries that were still under colonial rule. This increased African countries cohesion and the materialization of the Organization of African Unity was one of the steps that promoted unity in Africa and cementing solidarity of African states.<sup>72</sup> After South Africa became independent there was the need to restructure the objectives of the Organization of African Unity because the objective of liberating African countries from imperialism became null and void.

---

<sup>70</sup>Thompson, V B. The Evolution of Pan-Africanism Africa and Unity 1969 Longman, London page 51

<sup>71</sup>Thompson V B. The Evolution of Pan-Africanism Africa and Unity 1969 Longman, London. page 172-3

<sup>72</sup>Cowan, C. 1968. The Dilemmas of African Independence, New York.pg 156

The Organization of African Unity was reconstituted and renamed to the African Union where new structures were put in place to expedite the new objectives that African leaders deemed necessary in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

The integration process in Africa was and still is hampered by the fear of losing an individual country's sovereignty as when countries integrate to the point of forming a monetary union, a country would give up its own currency and adopt a regional currency. Most countries and their citizens feel that once they give up their currency they lose their sovereignty. The other thought of strong economic countries merging with relative weak economies is also disheartening.

The main basis and foundation for the establishment of the Organization of African Unity was to liberate African countries from colonial rule, the principle of non-interference was also being adopted. This means that the notion that member states would give up their sovereignty was out of the question. The principle of sovereignty has indeed hampered the achievement of full integration as is illustrated in the case of Brexit.

The African Union came into existence in July 2002 when the fifty-three member countries adopted the Constitutive Act as African leaders recognized the need to speak in one voice as a continent which would promote economic, political, social, technological and security prosperity. The African Union has also adopted the principle of non-interference in the internal matters of another state which is a hindrance to the functions of the union. A case to illustrate this is during the Libyan armed Conflict of 15<sup>th</sup> February 2011 to 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2011 fought between forces seeking to oust Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and those loyal to him, the African

Union failed to act despite the fact that many people lost the lives. The North American Treaty Organization carried out a military intervention which resolved the issue. The principle of non-interference has led many people to question the strength and effectiveness of the African Union. The African Union has also failed to intervene and stop the violent activities of dictators such as Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and to stop the destructive conflicts and the increasing threats of Boko Haram and Al-shabab among others.

Article 4 of the African Union Charter gives the Union the mandate to interfere in the domestic matters of a country where crimes against humanity, genocide and war crimes are being carried out. Despite this, the Union has still been slow to act as is evidenced in the Libyan Conflict of 2011. It has been argued that the African Union was slow to act in the Libyan conflict as Muammar Gaddafi was a major final contributor in the union. Wars and civil unrests are still occurring in South Sudan, Central African Republic, DRC Congo, Mali and other African states but the union has still failed to act.

The African Union has set out organs and institutions in the Constitutive Act that empowers it to conduct its role and objectives efficiently and effectively. The said institutions are organs are tasked with ensuring that the African Union achieves the set objectives the main one being the actualization of the African Economic Community. The main organs of the Union are listed in Article 5 of the Charter which are the Economic, social and Cultural Council, the Specialized/Technical/Committee, Assembly of the Union, the Permanent Representatives Committee, the Court of Justice, the Executive Council, the Commission and the Pan-African Parliament. The African Union has also established monetary bodies specifically the African

Investment Bank, the African Monetary Fund and the African Central Bank. In Lusaka Zambia in July 2001 at the 37<sup>th</sup> session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government the New Partnership for African Development was adopted. This is the economic development program of the union.

Another example of the presence of national self-interests in the African Union is the formal withdrawal of Morocco from the African Union in 1984 on the ground that the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic became a legitimate member of the union.<sup>73</sup> Morocco claimed that Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic was part of its territory dating back to the eleventh century while SADR claimed sovereignty over the whole territory of Western Sahara.<sup>74</sup> The dispute between Morocco and SADR had impaired its relations with all African countries and created serious divisions within the union.<sup>75</sup> It should be noted that Morocco adopted the stick and carrot policy in the dispute over SADR in that it threatened to withdraw troops from peace keeping missions in Africa and secondly it pressurized countries closer to it to mobilize for the expulsion of SADR from the union.<sup>76</sup> Morocco actively lobbied for international acceptance of its claim to the territory of SADR while Algeria and Libya sought recognition for SADR.<sup>77</sup> This dispute saw several reversals with formal recognition extended and withdrawn by foreign governments.

---

<sup>73</sup> Morocco's readmission in to the African Union: Global Journal of Human Social Science: Linguistics & Education Implications on Collective Security- Regina Tambwari & Jeffrey Kurebwa Bindura University of Science Education Volume 18 Issue 3 2018 ISSN:2249-460X

<sup>74</sup>Emerging Markets Monitor. (2017). Retrieved from [www.emergingmarketsmonitor.com](http://www.emergingmarketsmonitor.com) Morocco rejoining the AU: influence to increase, Western Sahara stalemate to continue. (Accessed 20 July 2017).

<sup>75</sup>Ndlovu, J., M. (2010). The AU-SADC interface on peace and security: challenges and opportunities. Kampala: University Peace Studies Publications.

<sup>76</sup>Al Monitor (2017). Why Morocco really wants back in the African Union. Retrieved from [www.al-monitor.com](http://www.al-monitor.com) (Accessed 20 March 2017).

<sup>77</sup>Khadad, H. (2016). *Morocco wages expensive lobby to gain re-entry into Africa Union*. Retrieved from [www.morocoworldnews.com](http://www.morocoworldnews.com) (Accessed 20 July 2017).

From 2000 Morocco made efforts to engage with the African Union on several fronts despite claiming that SADR was part of its territory.<sup>78</sup> Morocco reopened several diplomatic representations and it reinforced its presence in several African related forums such as the Franco-African summit and the first Euro-African Summit in 2000. King Mohammed VI of Morocco announced a debt forgiveness plan and removal of customs duty to other countries. It however maintained that it had the right to continue occupying the SADR and was not going to decolonize it even if it was admitted back to the African Union.<sup>79</sup> Morocco requested to join the African Union on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2017 which move was welcomed by partner states of the union. The Union wasn't supposed to allow Morocco's readmission into the union if Western Sahara was still colonized by Morocco because readmission flouted some of the guiding principles of the union as a collective security organization.<sup>80</sup>

The African union member states were more concerned with what their personal relationship with Morocco could do to their national interest rather than sticking to the principles of integration, independence and collective security. The African Union member states were pushed to act on the impulse of national interest or individual foreign policy objectives.<sup>81</sup> This issue has caused division among member states and disrupted the Union's work. For example in August 2017 in Maputo Mozambique during a ministerial meeting of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development, the foreign minister of Morocco was prohibited from

---

<sup>78</sup>Kimenyi, M. S. (2015). Singapore: Pearson Education *An African union for an emerging continent: reforms to increase effectiveness*

<sup>79</sup>Mogherini, A. (2017). *Morocco's readmission to the AU: a multi-faceted strategy*. Retrieved from [www.allafrica.com/morocco](http://www.allafrica.com/morocco) (Accessed 21 March 2017).

<sup>80</sup>Pham, J, P., &Laremont, H. (2014). Retrieved from [www.atlanticcouncil.org](http://www.atlanticcouncil.org) *Morocco's emergence as a gateway to business in Africa*. (Accessed 20 July 2017)

<sup>81</sup>Kuwomu, C. (2017). *Morocco flexed economic muscles and returned to the AU*. Retrieved from [www.un.org.africarenewal](http://www.un.org.africarenewal) (Accessed 20 March 2017).

taking part after he opposed SADR's inclusion, a disagreement that evolved into a physical altercation.<sup>82</sup> Also in the arrangements for November 2017 AU-EU summit, an abundant amount of political goodwill and time was used persuading Morocco to take its seat, though the king later in the long run participated fully. This has frustrated and hindered the work of the union which effort would have been directed to support or achieve one or some of the region's objectives.

Since the materialization of the African Union, Nigeria has adopted foreign policy processes considered to be coherent with the goals and intentions of the organization.<sup>83</sup> However, Nigeria's pledge to the union is of cautious and vigilant pronouncement with her national interest priorities. To illustrate this President Jonathan Goodluck observed that "In the age of globalization; at a time of serious challenges to international and national security, of youth restiveness and massive poverty in our country, we have no option but to alter, modify and adapt the way we conduct foreign policy. As we respond to the drivers of globalization, our diplomacy must be put at the service of our domestic priorities."<sup>84</sup> From the foregoing and in the context of the effects of the Arab Spring on Africa, the armed conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and Sudan, and the security state in Mali which requires attention from Nigeria, Nigeria is of the view that it should respond appropriately acting alone to service its national interests. The realities of these threats on Africa need cooperation and commitment amongst African Union partner states in tackling them.

---

<sup>82</sup>Group Africa Briefing N°135Seven Priorities for the African Union in 2018Crisis, Addis Ababa Nairobi/Brussels 17 January 2018 page 4

<sup>83</sup> C.Nna-Emeka Okereke Nigeria and the African Union in light of the Arab Revolts Lecture Series on African Security 2012

<sup>84</sup>President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Federal Republic of Nigeria GoodluckEbele Jonathan, , at the Retreat on the Review of Nigeria's Foreign Policy, Monday, 1 August 2011.

Another example of the presence of national interests in the African Union was the tussle for the chairperson of the African Union Commission in 2012 between South Africa's former Home Affairs Minister Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma and Gabon's Jean Ping and which revealed the concealed rivalries between certain powers in Africa.<sup>85</sup> South Africa decided to suggest a contender which went against the previous resolution among Africa's big five not to pursue headship of the African Union Commission. South Africa's move was deemed as an act to maintain her mission to represent Africa at the United Nations Security Council as a permanent member a standing which was also pursued by Ethiopia, Egypt and Nigeria. Nigeria supported the submission of former African Union Chair Jean Ping however South Africa's Dlamini Zuma emerged victorious. With this, South Africa adopted a position that best served their interests and shows that the African Union is driven by interests of individual member states.

It should be noted that in July 2002 Nigeria made some advances at the African Union summit.<sup>86</sup> Firstly, Aisha Laraba Ambassador to Nigeria was elected as the African Union Commissioner for Peace. The political affairs department is responsible for credible elections, good governance and promoting democracy in Africa. The said nomination coincided with the selection of Salamatou Sulaiman from Nigeria as a Commissioner for Political, Peace and Security in ECOWAS. It was expected that Nigeria would leverage her leadership of the positions to intensify her quest of stability, security and peace in Africa. Even though Nigeria advanced its national self-interests for the promotion of peace in the continent which was with good intentions, it still advanced its national interests to the detriment of the African Union's interests. Nigeria then again used her

---

<sup>85</sup>Jideofor Adibe, "Nigeria: Dr Zuma's Emergence As Chairperson of the AU Commission," 19 July 2012.

<sup>86</sup>Ogbole Amedu Ode, "Dlamini-Zuma's Election: Amedu Ode is the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Nigeria's Crushing Defeat – A Rejoinder," This Day, Saturday, 4 August 2012., Tafawa Balewa House, Abuja.

inclusion at the African Union to get backing and support for the re-election of her citizen one Dr. Kanayo Nwanze as the executive president of the International Fund for Agricultural Development.<sup>87</sup> Likewise, Dr. Olumuyiwa Benard Aliyu obtained the African Union support for appointment as president of the Executive Council of International Civil Aviation Organization based in Montreal. Nigeria additionally obtained the African Union presidency endorsement of Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala for the World Bank prior to the selection of US-backed Jim Yong Kim.<sup>88</sup> This illustrates that Nigeria used its position in the African Union to advance its national interests and that of its nationals.

It has also been argued that between December 2010 and March 2011 South Africa adopted approaches during the Ivorian post-election crisis which revealed components of diplomatic contest for hegemony in Africa.<sup>89</sup> Nigeria advocated for regional intervention through ECOWAS and the African Union's position which would guarantee the departure of former President Laurent Gbagbo while on the other hand South Africa supported Gbagbo's triumph and deployed troops to Abidjan. In this situation South Africa went against the objectives and the position of the African Union on the matter to drive its national self-interest of being the dominant state in the continent. There have been several instances of rivalries between South Africa and Nigeria at the African Union based on their competition for supremacy. This is illustrated in the diverse tactics to the anti-Gaddafi revolt in Libya where Nigeria was barred from the Union's ad-hoc mediatory committee on Libya which was made up of the former chair of the AU Commission, Jean Ping, presidents Denis Sassou Nguesso of Congo, Mohammed Abdel Aziz of Mauritania,

---

<sup>87</sup>Ode, "Nigeria's Crushing Defeat, Dlamini-Zuma's Election:— A Rejoinder".

<sup>88</sup> Ibid

<sup>89</sup>"Perspective on Nigeria at the African Union Olugbenga Ashiru, Wednesday, 8 August 2012.

Amadou Toure of Mali and Jacob Zuma of South Africa.<sup>90</sup> President Jacob Zuma actively participated in the mediatory efforts between the rebel National Transition Council and Ghadaffi's government, the African Union mediation committee was incapable of securing a ceasefire among the belligerents. Nigeria recognized the National Transition Council in Libya which position became the African Union's official response despite protests from South Africa that Nigeria's activities dishonored the projected continental approach to the Libyan crisis.<sup>91</sup> The said incidents have been painful points in Nigeria's relationship with South Africa at the African Union where they compete and promote their individual national interests for supremacy in the continent. Nigeria and South Africa must abstain from playing great power politics in the African Union and in-turn focus on the achievement and promotion of the objectives of the union. Nigeria and South Africa should stop using the African Union as a platform for their diplomatic engagements. The two states have much more to gain from collaboration and team work than from working to out-compete each other.

Another illustration is that in the 2007 Zimbabwe crisis marked by inflation, joblessness and the intensification of human rights cruelties by ZANU-PF Robert Mugabe's government versus supporters of Morgan Tsvangirai and his Movement for Democratic Change opposition party where South Africa was authorized by the African Union to mediate in the crisis but it failed.<sup>92</sup> South Africa instead opted for quiet diplomacy that intended to persuade rather than force Robert Mugabe to change paths. South Africa further failed to abate the continuing crisis after the elections that were held in 2008. South Africa being the mandated mediator chosen by the

---

<sup>90</sup>I. Back, Journal of the Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle East Studies "The Arab Spring an Sub-Saharan Africa" Africa Geo-Politics, Vol. 5, No. 10, 2011 , Tel Aviv University.

<sup>91</sup>Libya: Nigeria and the African Union," <http://theeconomyng.com/editor15.html> (accessed 12 July 2012).

<sup>92</sup> John Akokpari The Dark Side of South Africa's Contribution to Peace, Security and Governance in Africa: A Fading Peacemaker? January 2017

African Union foiled efforts to get ZANU-PF into acquiescence with the aims of the African Union. It should to have used all available economic and diplomatic means necessary to influence transformation in Zimbabwe. South Africa could not confront and criticize Zimbabwe as it is its largest market and it had fears that Mugabe would in retaliation implement autocratic policies on it. South Africa's national interests were at play in relation to their actions in the Zimbabwe matter.

South Africa also went against the African Union in the 2011 Libyan Crisis where the African Union had recommended a plan for negotiations between the belligerents and the rebels which would have ended the conflict and brought about democratic reforms.<sup>93</sup> As the number of injuries, casualties and refugees increased Western governments proposed Resolution 1973 of the United Nations Security Council which instituted a no-fly zone in Libya. The African Union in turn authorized for the usage of external armed force however South Africa supported the United Nation's resolution thus contradicting the collective position of the continent and undermining the African Union's peace proposals for Libya. South Africa wanted to preserve cordial relations with the west and also to portray or paint itself as the main defender of western values and human rights in Africa. South Africa later put in efforts to stop NATO's military actions by blaming the West of violating Resolution 1973 which was too late.<sup>94</sup> Here national interests influenced South Africa's contradiction of the African Union. It also demonstrates that South Africa was reluctant to forgo its national interests for the greater good of Africa.

---

<sup>93</sup> Ibid

<sup>94</sup>Mail and Guardian Online <http://mg.co.za/article/2011-06-14-zuma-lashes-nato-for-abusing-un-resolutions-on-libya> "Zuma lashes NATO for 'abusing' UN resolutions on Libya" 14 June 2011 (Accessed: 11 October 2015)

Another illustration is tension between the Gulf powers being Qatar on one hand and Saudi Arabia and its allies on the other hand which has trickled into the Horn of Africa.<sup>95</sup> This has added to Somalia's insecurity and has increased the friction over the Nile between Ethiopia and Egypt which have assumed differing stands on the disputes. Egypt and Ethiopia have adopted opinions that best suit their national self-interests or views thus inhibiting the Union's function to present a common position on the matter. This has hindered the function and objectives of the Union and it has caused disruption to the institution's work.

Another illustration is the failure of the African Union to intervene and help to enhance elections preparations in the Democratic Republic of Congo. President Joseph Kabila in 2017 prolonged his term of rule till late 2018 in violation of Saint Sylvester December 2016 pact which necessitated that in December 2017 free and fair elections were to be conducted. There was killing of fifteen United Nations peacekeepers in Beni in Eastern DRC which led the European Union and the United States to impose sanctions. Several of the African Union's member states expressed annoyance with Kabila behind closed doors but their unstated public backing has given his government space to breathe. This was caused by the adoption of positions by member states that best serve their national interests.

Governments are inclined to tend to embrace stands that serve their national self-interests which allow them to gather assured benefits meaning the sense and idea of national self-interest still exists and flourishes. The African Union's decisions are still compelled by the welfare and interests of partner states. The inability of the African Union to convert into a supranational

---

<sup>95</sup>Seven Priorities for the African Union in 2018Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°135, Addis Ababa/Nairobi/Brussels 17 January 2018 page 2

organization has emasculated its capability to portray a collective stand point. There are plans to transform the organization into a supranational organization however this has been obstructed as partner states do not want to relinquish or concede sovereignty to the body. With the foregoing in mind, national self- interests compromise shared mutual interests as states choose themselves to advocate their collective position instead of authorizing the union to do the same. This in-turn prevents compromises to be made.

## **CONCLUSION**

From the foregoing, it is evident that majority of countries in regional integration and bodies want to still preserve their individual countries sovereignty and advance their own national interests. Africa has for a long time sought to speak as one voice as a continent but countries still cling on to their individual sovereignty and advancement of national interests. It is evident that regional communities are marred with issues of national interests which at times impede the actualization of its objectives. In order for the African Union to effectively carry out its functions it needs to be endowed with supranational authority which is no easy task as it impinges on the issue of state sovereignty which is held in high regard amongst nation states.

### **CHAPTER THREE: KENYA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS WITHIN THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY**

As countries come together to form a regional block, they each have unique resources and economic landscapes that allow them to benefit from the opening up of borders with their partners. However, power asymmetry of countries in their national interests can allow some members to advance their strategic interests at the expense of others creating inequality in sharing of welfare gains from the integration process. Regional integration proposes a way to circumvent the challenges of specific economies by sharing resources, enlarging markets and solidifying domestic policy making. Regional integration can lead to collective self-reliance of member states.

The pursuance of national interests within the East African Community has presented a major challenge for the Community as national state interests overweigh long term cooperation gains. The member states are not only partners but are competitors who set out to achieve their individual economic development and political superiority. In the eighth Heads of State Summit of the East Africa Community in 2006, President Mwai Kibaki observed that attempts by any one organ to exceed its powers or disregard national sovereignty at any point of the integration process would undermine the treaty and the vision of the peoples of East Africa. He added that it is only through strict observance of the treaty's provisions that confidence building and commitment will be sustained in the integration process.<sup>96</sup>

The Community has on several instances been perceived as a tool for the pursuance of national self-interests. To illustrate this is the talks between the European Union and the East African

---

<sup>96</sup>Report on the 8th Heads of State Summit of the EAC, November 2006, Arusha, Tanzania. Page 7

Community on the Economic Partnership Agreement where partner states had originally led talks on the Economic Partnership Agreement in individual units. Tanzania discussed as a participant of the Southern African Development Community and not the East African Community. The representatives suddenly shifted their allegiance to the East African Community after they received pressure from the European Union when there was likelihood that the talks would stall.<sup>97</sup> This resulted in the Economic Partnership Agreement being negotiated hurriedly in ways that did not favor the East Africa Community.

Another illustration is that during the negotiations for the Customs Union there was the prerequisite to safeguard government revenue which generated a predicament for member states.<sup>98</sup> The problem was connected to the issue as to whether to remain with high tariffs to maintain the revenue flow or to liberalize their markets and economies. Abolition of tariffs would lead to decreased revenue inflows meaning that member states agreed on the requirement to protect loss of government revenue that would exist as a result of the implementation and materialization of the customs union.

The customs union was created with guidelines in mind which were intended and expected to create mutual practices and rules for all industrialists within the East Africa Community.<sup>99</sup> This

---

<sup>97</sup>Steven Buigut, Convergence Evidence from A Co-integration Analysis," "A Fast-Track East African Community Monetary Union? *International Journal of Economics and Finance*, 3 (2011) 1, 255-261.

<sup>98</sup>Alva M., and Behar A. World Development Report 2009. Development in 3D: Density, Distance and Division Factors that Contribute to (or detract from) Successful Outcomes in African Regional Arrangements. CSAE: Oxford University (2008)

<sup>99</sup>.,Kweka J., Booth D., Cammack D,Kibua T and Rudaheranwa N (2006) Understanding the Political Economy of Integration in East Africa, DFID: London.

implies that the involved states would remove were required to eliminate biased and prejudiced guidelines and strategies that were aimed at shielding the private sector from antagonism in the community. At that Kenya had the most prevalent and leading manufacturing sector of all the states however there was the existence of diverse tariff and non-tariff barriers to protect the said sector from imports. The said barriers include but are not limited to quantitative restrictions, tax exemption schemes among many others. Political leaders in Kenya formulated a strategy which would open up the markets of all the involved member states but also maximize import duty revenue collection and remain to shield the domestic manufacturers.<sup>100</sup> It should be noted that Kenya was originally opposed to the harmonization of trade related provisions.

Similarly, a study carried out in Tanzania, found out that the unrestricted access of Kenyan products into Tanzania would out outdo local industries and lead to the failure and end of the still new domestic products.<sup>101</sup>With this reasoning, Tanzania set out and was determined to maintain and sustain a high duty of tariff on imports and from Kenyan goods with the aim to protect its local private sector.

Further, Tanzania advocated for the rules of origin to be executed by a private sector organization that is compassionate and supportive to the susceptible situation of their local private sector compared to the member states.<sup>102</sup> Uganda similarly embarked on the started the procedure of liberalization of their markets and economies long before consultations and discussions started by applying the least tariff level on imports from the three partner states.

---

<sup>100</sup>Busse M and Shams R. Discussion Paper for the Hamburg Institute of International Economics Trade Effects of the East African Community: Do We Need a Transitional Fund?: (HWMA). 2003

<sup>101</sup>Castro, L., C. Kraus; and M. De la Rocha Washington, DC: World Bank, Africa Region Working Paper 72 Regional Trade Integration in East Africa: Trade and Revenue Impacts of the Planned East African Community Customs Union, 2004

<sup>102</sup>CTI CTI Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Implications and Impact of the EAC Customs Union Protocol on the Tanzanian Manufacturing Sector: 2004

Uganda established a point to levy low import tariffs on goods from outside the region in order to support importations of intermediate and raw products. Further, Uganda argued that because the largest part of the actors in the private sector in the country were importers they had no concern in the customs union due to the fact that they were encouraged to attend meetings but they never did.<sup>103</sup> This displays that they never took the procedure seriously which position established by Uganda mirrored the interests of the public sector parallel to the other member states standings.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2004 the draft Customs Union protocol was presented by the council of ministers to the Summit of heads of state nonetheless the ratification and adoption was deferred and postponed as a discrepancy arose when the President of Uganda constructed a list of imports he required excused from duty despite the fact that the same had not been included and or mentioned during the negotiation process. Uganda argued that the new stand would open up the economy to competition and reduce tax rates however the delay was prompted by the steps Uganda took to protect its local producers. It should be noted that the Ugandan president arrived at the meeting escorted by eminent Ugandan manufacturers.<sup>104</sup>

Another illustration is that during the negotiations for the harmonization of custom tariffs and procedures, there was demand to rearrange the diverse sensitive commodities in accordance to the new tariff arrangement which would shield specific industries and sectors from worldwide competition. Kenya which has a more developed manufacturing sector advocated for the classification of more manufactured goods to be deemed to be sensitive and invite higher levies

---

<sup>103</sup>DeRosa D., M. Obwona and O. Roningen The New EAC Customs Union: Implications for Ugandan Trade, Industry Competitiveness and Economic Welfare, Kampala: EPRC, Occasional Paper 17, Apr. 2002

<sup>104</sup> Ibid

and dues than the maximum agreed tariff. Kenya throughout the discussions advocated for the application of levies on rolled iron sheets due to the fact that they were categorized as intermediary supplies in Kenya. Other member states protested this on the ground that Kenya will be a monopoly in East Africa which would in-turn lead to decline of the economies of other member states.<sup>105</sup>

Before the discussions commenced member states had anxieties with regard to the effect of the removal of regional tariff on local economies. Kenya due to its huge production foundation advocated for complete liberalization for the benefit of the extended market. Uganda and Tanzania opposed this position arguing that comprehensive trade liberalization would uncover local producers to Kenyan competition. Further, the Kenyan private sector was unhappy with the outcome of the internal tariff liberalization discussions and blamed state officials of not protecting their local producers due to the fact that they were more concerned with regional integration.

It should be noted that after in March 2004 after the Customs union was signed into law member states were obligated to accept the protocol and adjust their institution and legal in conformity with the requirements of the protocol of the customs union by January 2005. Kenya however persisted in the application of previous prevailing regulations till 2007 when it incorporated harmonized policies and directives into the protocol.<sup>106</sup> Kenya in adoption of the protocol did not complete the said adoption. This is evident by the fact that Kenya had not set up an appeal

---

<sup>105</sup>Jones C., Morrissey O., and Nelson D World Development Did the World Bank Drive Tariff Reforms in Eastern Africa", 31(3:324-335. 2011

<sup>106</sup>Kibua, Thomas N. and Tostensen A. Kenya's Reform Agenda at the Crossroads The Development Challenge; Nairobi: IPAR Discussion Paper 072/2005.

mechanism and a dispute resolution mechanism while the East Africa Community had settled and approved on the harmonization of one thousand one hundred regional standards but Kenya did not gazette the harmonized criteria till later. The inability to gazette the said standards was accredited to undue delay in repealing local laws associated to quality testing and standards. Other provisions that were properly not addressed and put in place by Kenya were countervailing measures and safeguard regulations, subsidies, free ports and regional export processing zones and anti-dumping measures. The reason behind this was that Kenya was motivated by the aspiration and yearning to continue the liberalization that started in the 1990's. With the foregoing in mind, Kenya had a position which reflected its preferences that is protection of domestic private sector from competition by member states and fear of revenue loss. Kenya appeared reluctant to transform from a national to a regional direction as illustrated by the non-existence and non-enforcement of regional laws.

Another illustration is that after the Customs Union protocol was adopted Kenya via the council of ministers applied for the revision the tax on rice and wheat from Pakistan with an aim to alleviate the effect of the implementation of the protocol on Kenya. Kenya argued that the reduction of the tax on Pakistan rice was due to the fact that it was consumed by almost all Kenyans and would thus interfere with the purchasing power of most Kenyans. The main reason behind the request by Kenya to reduce the tax was because of the importance of Pakistan as a major importer of Kenyan tea and as Pakistan had threatened adverse consequences for the high rice tax. Uganda objected to this but Kenya convinced the East Africa Community Council of Ministers that it lacks enough local rice provisions and the reason behind Uganda's pronouncements was based on the fact that Uganda was protecting a major producer of rice in

Uganda. Further, Kenya also requested for escalation in wheat tax in order to shelter its domestic manufacturers yet the East Africa Community was a net importer of wheat.

Another illustration is that Kenya levies quite a number of guidelines and rules on its imports predominantly from East Africa Community member states. An example is the use of the Kenya Bureau of Standards which protects domestic consumers from below par goods and counterfeits which measures constrain the daily operations of the East African Community traders and manufacturers. Further, Kenya is the only nation that levies additional guidelines regulations and rules on imports from the East Africa Community associates.<sup>107</sup> This includes inspection rules, measures and regulations which include Non-Tariff Barriers. The Non-Tariff barriers are viewed as protectionist mechanisms and range from testing and certification procedures for food products, cumbersome processes for food products, non-recognition of certificates by Kenya on Ugandan tea, cumbersome registration, administrative delays in clearance, use of weighbridges, protectionist policies, and other charges and bonds. The use of non-tariff barriers by Kenya and failure to eliminate the same was an indication that Kenya did not have the required political will to enforce the said protocol. Further the delays in processing documentation and existence of road blocks displayed Kenya's reluctance to punish non-compliant regulated agencies. This also illustrated the unavailability of mechanisms to prevent and punish non-conformity to the protocol.

Another example is that there was the presence of insufficient implementation of regulations and or policies in regard to goods export produced by means of raw materials that profited from duty exceptions.

---

<sup>107</sup>Deepening Kenya's Integration in the East African Community Special Focus: Edition No.6 June 2012 at page 20

Annex 15(1) to the protocol constrained the local sale of goods from EPZ's to 20%. Kenya however kept a successful export processing zone agenda that excused raw materials for commodities manufactured in the zone from levies from imports. Kenya also exported to partner states above the twenty percent despite the element that the East Africa Community is one territory and requires that trades with local markets from export processing zones need to be restricted to twenty percent. In other words, Kenya has charged the other countries duties due on import of raw materials.

Kenya remained also lenient and careless in the implementing of policies associated with Article 33 of the protocol of the Customs Union. For instance, in 2008 the Ministry of Finance and Planning supplied fresh tax exceptions via the Tax Remission for Export Office (TREO) in accordance to Article 33. This displayed that Kenya was not committed to the execution of the protocol's provisions thus making the implementation and application of the protocol of the customs union in Kenya inadequate as they weren't capable to dissuade disruption of the requirements in the protocol. This is supported by the popularity of non-tariff barriers in Kenya. The unproductivity and ineptitude procedures of enforcement in Kenya arose from Kenya's aspiration and desire to restrict intra-regional trade and to guard local industries.

Kenya also failed to apply business associated guidelines provided for in the customs union protocol which was attributed to the deferments in putting up the official framework to permit harmonization of regional strategies. To illustrate this, Kenya was unable to failed to submit names of representatives to be nominated to the regional trade remedies committee.

A feature of the goals of the union was to advance trade in the area via harmonization of trade data and simplification. Member states needed to streamline custom practices to remove interruptions in goods clearing at the various borders. The necessities connected to the oversimplification of procedures and the use of documents weren't adequately observed by Kenya as illustrated by the existing deferments in goods clearing at Busia, Malaba and Namanga customs stations because it took more time to process exports to the country parallel to the time where states traded independently. One cause of the delay was the failure by Kenya to harmonize regulations and information management techniques.

In 2006 Kenya elected representative members in the East African Legislative Assembly without following laid down procedures and was directed to repeat the process by the East African Court of Justice in order to fulfill the requirements of Article 50 of the Treaty of the East African Community.<sup>108</sup> The clash was based and founded on the validity and authenticity of the selection and appointment of Kenya's East Africa Legislative Assembly representative where the then National Assembly of Kenya clerk presented an illegitimate list to the EALA.<sup>109</sup> The case was brought before the East Africa Court of Justice by Professor Nyong'o and the East Africa Court of Justice ruled that the Legislative Assembly and the Community would suffer irreparable damage if Kenya's East Africa Legislative Assembly members weren't lawfully selected and instructed that the selections be redone. Kenya being aggrieved with the decision of the EACJ and acting with hostility against the said ruling sought to amend the East African Community treaty with an aim to ensure that the security tenure of East African Court of Justice Judges are

---

<sup>108</sup>Prof Peter Anyang Nyong'o & others vs. AG of Kenya & 5 Others, Reference No. 1 of 2006  
<http://www.saflii.org/ea/cases/EACJ/2007/6.pdf>

<sup>109</sup>Giovanni Finizio Lucio Levi and Nicola Vallinoto Centre for Studies on Federalism The democratization of International Organizations First International Democracy Report 2011 International Democracy Watch East African Community Korwa G. Adar

removed, to split the Court into two chambers that is the appellate division and the first and to limit the court's jurisdiction.<sup>110</sup>

Kenya has on several instances put its national interests first over regional interests. An example is that in 2016 Ban Ki-Moon the then United Nations Secretary General made a decision to dismiss the General of Kenyan named General Ondieki grounded on information that Indicted and faulted the said troops of declining to protect innocent non-combatants in the 8-11th July 2016 violence in South Sudan.<sup>111</sup> President Uhuru Kenyatta in turn stated that Kenya will halt its support and aid to the peace mission in South Sudan resulting from the firing of the Lieutenant accusing the organization of using Kenya as a scapegoat.

Kenya stakeholders in the Community's integration process proposed a national strategic plan which clearly marked out its strategic national interests which must be safeguarded throughout the various regional integration engagements.<sup>112</sup> This would safeguard the country's growth and prosperity in the regional body. Further, they argued that there is the need to come up with clear indicators about identification of each East Africa Community partner state's unique competitive advantages that would be harnessed to avoid intra-regional competition.

Kenya through the Ministry of Trade came up with a national strategy titled "Buy Kenya Build Kenya" in 2015 which seeks to enhance competitiveness and consumption of locally produced goods and services. The strategy proposes providing subsidies and incentives to local producers

---

<sup>110</sup>East Africa Law Society, Press Release, "*Integration Without Rule of Law*" Monday 4th December 2006

<sup>111</sup>Bainomugisha, A. & Rwengabo, S. ACODE Policy Briefing Paper Series No.41 *The Promise and Efficacy of the East African Community.*, Kampala (2016).

<sup>112</sup>Stakeholders want EAC Integration process hastened Ministry of East African Community and Regional Development 172/2017 accessed at 10<sup>th</sup> August 2018

in targeted sectors and enhancing quality infrastructure to produce quality and competitive goods and services. The strategy offered prospects for improved competitiveness of local industries which may come as a perceived risk to the East Africa Community regional integration.<sup>113</sup> Promoting consumption of goods and services from East Africa Community, developing local content for East Africa Community goods and services and enhancing market for East Africa Community products will ensure the regional agenda is kept alive. It is of importance to know that the East Africa regional integration has widened the scope of trade opportunities for Kenyan businesses however Kenya has not yet fully exploited these opportunities a setback that is related to regulatory and structural barriers to regional trade. Adoption of such strategies could improve competitiveness of local industries however the same resort to protectionist measures that could hamper efforts towards the East Africa Community regional integration by locking out products from neighboring countries.<sup>114</sup> Kenya should ensure that the promotion of development of local industries does not come at the expense of the East Africa Community regional integration. Rather, such strategies should leverage regional integration to ensure competitiveness and trade performance of local industries. For example, Kenya should promote consumption of commodities produced within the East Africa Community and also develop standards for commodities that partner states have to meet to be allowed access to the Kenyan market. Kenya could also lower the cost of conducting business in order to improve the competitiveness of industries within the community.

Another example where Kenya put its national interests above regional interests is that via a July 2012 gazette notice the Kenyan Ministry of immigration created immigration laws changes that

---

<sup>113</sup> Briefing Paper Buy Kenya Build Kenya: Preserving EAC regional integration Martin Mulwa February 2018

<sup>114</sup>Njiraini Muchira (2017). Industrialist Fear the Return of Protectionist in East Africa.

could negatively affect young working class from the other Community member states who are looking for work opportunities in Kenya. <sup>115</sup>The Director of Immigration Services was mandated to not give residence to an individual who does not earn an income of \$24,000 annually. The foregoing means that no worker from the East Africa Community state can get employment in Kenya that pays less than \$2,000 per month. It should be noted that the above stated amount is earned by a very small percentage of Kenyans in employment. Kenya through the above gazette notice inhibited the unrestricted movement of other East Africa citizens in the country. Despite the removal and elimination of work permits, Kenya is still strongly holding on to strict measures on the labor inflow from other East Africa Community member states. To illustrate this, from the time the East Africa Community common market took off in July 2010 Kenya has only allowed Rwandans to work without work permits. The strict guidelines are a protection measure grounded on the increased unemployment of Kenyans as foreigners are taking employment opportunities away from the Kenya youth.

The solidification of supranational arrangements offers a huge problem for the East Africa Community as collaboration has mostly been between governments.<sup>116</sup> The self-interest of countries is logical and plausible but there has to be supranational counterbalance for resources to be appropriately and effectively distributed.

Comprehension of a common market compels all partner states to be ready to prepared to undertake very huge amounts of risks which may entail uncertainties which may have negative consequences. Regional integration generates trade and also transforms the economies of

---

<sup>115</sup><http://Corporate+News/Kenya+locks+out+young+and+low+paid+foreign+workers+/-/539550/1450584//item/0/-/eemrk7/-/index.html>

<sup>116</sup>Cf. Veit Bachmann and James D Sidaway, external agents in the East African Community, "African regional integration and European involvement:" *South African Geographical Journal*, 91 (2010) 1, 1-6.

member states. Coordination within the East Africa Community is primarily aimed at profit making rather than at continuous synchronization of shared activities. Previously the East Africa Community has experienced specific complications and tribulations in effecting mutually decided choices at the national level for example the presence of unequal legislation and non-tariff barriers, and the halting of the implementation of the common market and customs union implementation. The commotions of the market are caused by the egoism of member states. If integration is to be progressive in nature, it is crucial that the East Africa Community institutions are strengthened. For example, the Secretariat will need to prove and show that it can deal with problematic issues at the national level.

The main challenge towards the establishment of the Political Federation of the East Africa Community is that member states fear that as a confederation member states shall lose elasticity in the exercise of national power and decision formulation.<sup>117</sup> Further, member states fear that the differences in the local structures with regard to the Judiciary, Legislative and the Executive.

Partisan debates within the community are still carried out within the local domestic setting that favor self-interests. There needs to be national consensus within the East Africa Community. There are existing fears and anxieties that are explicit to respective member states might obstruct and thwart the federation process.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>117</sup>Isabelle Waffubwa Principal Officer, Towards Political Federation in the East African Community Achievements and Challenges Political Affairs at East African Community Secretariat

<sup>118</sup>Report of the Team of Experts on Addressing the Fears, Concerns and Challenges of the East African Federation, 2011, Page 7

## **CONCLUSION**

Member states of the East Africa Community are not only partners but are competitors who set out to achieve their individual economic development and political superiority. This means that the goals of the East Africa Community cannot be effectively and efficiently achieved because each country is in pursuit of its individual interests which conflicts with the general interests of the cooperation. Kenya should adopt a way of advancing and protecting its national interests while avoiding injuring or jeopardizing the interests pursued by the East Africa Community. Member states may need to realize collaboration and team work in the East Africa Community and in turn fulfill their national goals. No country including Kenya is self-sufficient. Most of its set out national goals can be achieved through collaboration and cooperation. Kenya may have to be committed in cooperation with bordering countries in order to transform the East Africa Community into the organization that it was created for and intended to be.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS AND DATA PRESENTATION**

### **4.1 OVERVIEW**

This segment will analyze whether Kenya has pursued its national self-interests within the East Africa Community and how the same has affected the its integration process. The deductions drawn from this chapter will lead to the conclusions of this study which will have an impact on policy and academic areas. This chapter will also include presentation of the results in table forms and there is also interpretations and discussions of the findings. A critical evaluation of the findings will improve the performance of the East Africa Community and regional integration in general.

### **4.2 BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS**

#### **4.2.1 Categories of The Respondents**

The categories of respondents were selected by random sampling where the categories were further divided into both informal and formal occupations of the respondents. The first category consisted of various professionals while the second category consisted of civil servants and various government officials. The third category was made up of students who are pursuing degrees in various academic institutions while the fourth category consisted of respondents who are unemployed and are seeking job opportunities. The table below delivers a summary of the number of respondents interviewed per classification, the categories, and the type of category.

**Table 4.1 Categories of the sample**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Number interviewed per category</b>
Professionals	Lawyers, accountants doctors and engineers	15
Civil servants and government officials	Government workers, Secretaries, Teachers, Clerical officers, procurement officers and research officers	15
Students	University students	15
Unemployed	Employment seekers	15
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>60</b>

**Source: Author 2018**

#### **4.2.2 Respondents education level**

The respondents who were interviewed were required to specify their education level. 1.666% of the respondents indicated that they had a Doctorate degree while 15% had a Master's degree. 33.33% of the respondents had a Bachelor's degree while 18.33% had a diploma certificate. 16.66% of the respondents had completed secondary school while 15% had primary level education and below. The table below indicates the education levels of the respondents herein.

**Table 4.2 Respondents education level**

Education level	Frequency	Percentage
PHD	1	1.666
Master's Degree	9	15
Bachelor's degree	20	33.33
Diploma	11	18.33
KCSE	10	16.66
Other	9	15
TOTAL	60	100

**Source: Author 2018**

#### 4.2.3 Respondents gender

The interviewed respondents were required to indicate their age and gender. 61.66% were male while 38.33% were female. 11.66% of the respondents were men aged between 15-25 and in the same category 8.33% were female. 18.33% of the respondents were men aged between 26-35 and in the same category 10% were female. In the 36-45 age category, 15% of the respondents were male while 5% were female. In the 46-55 age category, 10% of the respondents were male while 8.33% were female. Lastly in the over 55 age category 6.66% of the respondents were female while 6.66% were female. The gender and age distribution is summarized in the table below

Gender	Age Set										Aggregate	
	15-25		26-35		36-45		46-55		Over 55			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Male</b>	7	11.66	11	18.33	9	15	6	10	4	6.66	37	61.66

<b>Female</b>	5	8.33	6	10	3	5	5	8.33	4	6.66	23	38.33
---------------	---	------	---	----	---	---	---	------	---	------	----	-------

**Source: Author 2018**

### **4.3 Awareness of the East Africa Community**

#### **4.3.1 Knowledge of the East Africa Community member states**

This question assessed if Kenyans know which member countries form the East Africa Community. Majority of the interviewed respondents knew that Kenya, South Sudan, Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Rwanda were member states. Only 18.33% of the respondents stated that they did not know that South Sudan was a member of the East Africa Community. The table below summarizes the said information.

<b>Response</b>	<b>Kenya</b>		<b>Uganda</b>		<b>Tanzania</b>		<b>Burundi</b>		<b>Rwanda</b>		<b>South Sudan</b>	
	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Yes</b>	60	100	60	100	60	100	60	100	60	100	49	81.66
<b>No</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	18.33
<b>Total</b>	60	100	60	100	60	100	60	100	60	100	60	100

**Source: Author 2018**

### 4.3.2 Meaning of the East Africa Community

The research paper sought to find out what the East Africa Community meant to the respondents. Many respondents were of the view that the East Africa Community enables citizens to work anywhere in the region. This was expressed by 68.33% of the respondents. 81.66% of the respondents were of the view that the East African Community enables citizens to unrestrictedly travel from one state to another using minimum documentation. 63.33% of the respondents were of the view that the East Africa Community would provide better business opportunities for citizens while 50% of the respondents who were interviewed were of the view that the East Africa Community provides reduced taxation, tariffs and improved infrastructure. It should be noted that 6.66% of the respondents did not know if the East Africa Community had any benefits.

<b>Meaning of EAC</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Authorize all citizens to work anywhere in the region	41	68.33
Authorize all citizens to unrestrictedly travel from one state to another with minimum travel papers	49	81.66
To provide better business opportunities	38	63.33
Reduced taxation, tariffs and improved infrastructure	30	50

I don't not know if there are any Benefits	4	6.66
--	---	------

#### 4.4 National interests and the East Africa Community

##### 4.4.1 Kenya's national interest in the East Africa Community

In this section, the respondents were asked to state if and whether the pursuit of national interests by member states particularly by Kenya affects the integration process of the East Africa Community. 70% of the respondents were of the view that the pursuit of national interests by member states particularly Kenya would affect the integration process of the East Africa Community. 30% of the respondents interviewed were of the view that the pursuit of national interests by member states particularly Kenya would not affect the integration process of the East Africa Community. The reasons given for not affecting the integration process ranged from the notion that it would give Kenya an upper hand among its neighboring states to it would improve Kenya's economic sector and thus maintain Kenya's hegemony in the region. The information provided has been summarized in the table below.

<b>Response</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Yes</b>	42	70
<b>No</b>	18	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source Author 2018**

#### **4.4.2 Instances where Kenya affected the integration process of the East Africa Community negatively**

The research project sought out to find out if there are instances where Kenya in pursuit of its national interests has negatively affected the integration process of the East Africa Community.

76.66% of the respondents interviewed indicated that there were instances where the pursuit of national interests by member states has negatively affected the integration process of the East Africa Community. Some of the instances expressed included non-tariff barriers, Kenya's development programs and strategies for example 'Buy Kenya Build Kenya' which are present in Kenyan retail stores among others. 23.33% of the respondents interviewed indicated that there were no instances where Kenya pursued its national interests in the East Africa Community. The information provided by the respondents interviewed has been summarized in the table below.

<b>Response</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Yes</b>	46	76.66
<b>No</b>	14	23.33
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source Author 2018**

#### **4.4.3 Benefits gained from the pursuit of regional interests over national interests**

The research project sought to establish if and whether there are aware of any benefits expected as a result of the promotion of regional interests rather than national interests. Since the establishment of the East Africa Community, it has managed to have a number of accomplishments. The respondents interviewed were required to state if they at any time received some of the said benefits. 65% of the respondents interviewed stated that there are benefits that have been accrued as a consequence of the quest of regional interests over national interests. The benefits expressed included the free movement of people across member states, business and or employment opportunities, a united stance and one voice in a wide range of matters among others. 35% of the respondents interviewed stated that there are no or minimal benefits that have been accrued as a result of the pursuit of regional interests over national interest. The 35% of the respondents further stated that East Africa Community integration has instead led to the loss of sovereignty by Kenya and the loss of identity as Kenyans. They further argued that there has been loss of business opportunities and increased employment caused by regional integration as non-Kenyans have taken their employment opportunities. The 35% added that Kenya should leave the East Africa Community or ensure that the integration process remains at the existing level as a Common currency would destabilize Kenya's economy and a Political Federation would lead to loss of political power, sovereignty and loss of decision making powers at the national level. Another reason cited by the respondents is that free trade in some countries has not yet been fully implemented and that when they travelled to other East Africa countries the respondents stated that they were discriminated against. The information provided by the respondents has been summarized in the table below.

<b>Reply</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Affirmative</b>	38	63.33
<b>Negative</b>	22	36.66
<b>Aggregate</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Author 2018**

**4.4.4 Policy recommendations that would enhance the integration process of the East Africa Community**

The research project sought to establish whether there are any policy recommendations that would enhance the Integration process in the East Africa Community despite the pursuit of national interests by member states particularly by Kenya. 78.33% of the respondents interviewed expressed that there are policy recommendations that would remedy that. Some of the policies cited are that Kenya should review its foreign policy in order to promote regional integration and member states should show more political will towards strengthening the East Africa Community. Another policy recommendation cited is that key organs and institutions in the East Africa Community should be given prominence in order to make them indifferent to the national interests of individual member states. Another policy recommendation is that East Africa Community organs and institutions should be allowed to carry out their work

independently and that there needs to be mechanism for implementing, monitoring and evaluating the East Africa Community Charter where member states should ensure the implementation of the charter in their respective countries. Further, East Africa Community organs and institutions should be broadened as their roles and responsibilities should be deepened to empower them create binding decisions and directives on members. Financial support to key organs and institutions of the East Africa Community should be increased so that they are able to carry out their mandate effectively and efficiently. The East Africa Community should be reconstructed to create a political and bureaucratic institution that functions in accordance with the law and demand strict adherence to fundamental democratic values. The respondents further expressed that there is need to eliminate all trade barriers in order to promote regional integration of the East Africa area. 21.66% of the respondents interviewed expressed that there are no policy recommendations that are able to cure the pursuit of national interests over regional interests by member states in the East Africa Community. The information obtained from the respondents I summarized in the table below.

**Table 4.4.4 policy recommendations**

<b>Response</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Yes</b>	47	78.33
<b>No</b>	13	21.66
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Author 2018

#### **4.4.5 Has the East Africa Community achieved its mandate and objectives as envisaged**

The research project sought to establish whether the East Africa Community has achieved its mandate and objectives as envisaged. 28.33% of the respondents interviewed stated that the East Africa Community has achieved its objectives as envisaged with regard to the Common Market and Customs Union. 71.66% of the respondents interviewed expressed that the East Africa Community has not achieved its objectives and mandate as envisaged with reasons ranging from national self-interests by states, fear of loss of sovereignty by member states, distrust among member states among others. The information obtained from the interviewed has been summarized in the table below.

**Table 4.4.5 East Africa Community mandate and objectives**

<b>Response</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Yes</b>	17	28.33
<b>No</b>	43	71.66
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Author 2018**

## **CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **5.1 OVERVIEW**

This chapter gives the conclusions of the project. It further gives policy recommendations for further research.

This research project has focused on national interests and how they influence the actions of regional communities as states protect and advance their own national interests. The African Union as discussed in chapter two has worked towards achieving an all-encompassing prosperity in the region. The formation of regional institutions in East Africa was a mode of achieving the said objective with the East African Community being tasked with the authorization to promote cooperation in the area. This research project has focused on Kenya as its case study in helping us understand the effects of a country pursuing its national interests over regional interests. The research sought to demystify the hypothesis as to why the advancement of national interests by Kenya has had an effect to the integration process of the East Africa Community plus it has objectively assessed the institutional capacity of the East Africa Community of dealing with the advancement of national interest by member states. This study has illustrated the extent in which national interests impede the integration process with regard to Kenya's advancement of its national interests.

### **5.2 CONCLUSIONS**

It should be noted that African leaders and or representatives perpetuate the issues of national interests which limits the functions and objectives of the East African Community. There are no

effective checks and balances initiatives by the East African Community to make sure that states are actually adhering to the principles and norms of the union.

The secretariat and other organs of the East African Community have minimal powers allocated to them. Further, regionalism is an adequate strategy to advance security in addition to stability of the East Africa Community.

There is lack of willingness to invest in the regional process and a disinterest in setting up regional structures which may be in a better position to make decisions and take action in areas where domestic institutions are unable to solve problems.

The inability of the East Africa Community member states to sustain one voice on a number of regional issues places it at a disadvantage in advancing the region's self-interests.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS**

Kenya should review its foreign policy with regard to the East African Community integration process and adhere to promoting regional integration. Kenya should look at the East Africa Community like a mode of achieving cohesion in the region and it should thus work with other member states to better achieve the integration objectives. Kenya should also show more political will and work towards strengthening the East African Community as opposed to impeding the integration process by pursuing its national interest.

There is need to give prominence to all key bodies and structures of the East Africa Community to enable them implement key milestones in achieving regional prosperity. These organs should at all times be indifferent to the national interests of individual member states. Member states

must complement the East African Community so that their mandate of achieving major objectives within the region materializes.

There needs to be coordination and cooperation on the regional and at the national level. There is also a need for a mechanism for the monitoring and evaluating implementation in regard to East African Community Charter. Member states should ensure the implementation of the charter in their respective countries. A peer review mechanism can be introduced to monitor and ensure that the charter of the Community is implemented by member states which will ensure consistency and harmonization of strategies by member states and the Community.

To address the issues of national interests in the East Africa Community the decisions of the EACJ should be final. Furthermore, the structures and bodies of the East Africa Community should continue to be allowed to carry out their work independently and should not be threatened.

It is critical that the mandates of the East Africa Community bodies are rationalized with the aim to widen, enlarge and intensify their duties, responsibilities and functions. They must also be permitted and embolden to issue binding directives on member states.

The secretariat and other organs of the East African Community have minimal powers allocated to them and they only exist administratively. To cure this, some of the institutions should be given better financial support so that they are able to carry out their mandate effectively and efficiently. As such, they will not be easily influenced by member states to advance one country's national interest and they can work without fear, favor, manipulation and or threats. The key to making the East African Community to be a successful body is to reconstruct the institution and its organs to create a political and bureaucratic institution that functions fitting to

the required rule of law. The East Africa Community also needs strong leadership and well qualified technical staff two things that the body lacks.

There is need for stricter rules and well-coordinated funding so that those in breach of the union's principles will not exploit others in the context of funding or promoting programs. The East African Community must start demanding strict adherence to fundamental democratic values. This has made it difficult for the East African Community to manage delinquent behavior among member states.

There is need to eliminate all trade barriers and engagement in multilateral trade would allow East African countries to facilitate the creation of a regional security framework using diplomatic, political, economic and military means.

National strategies, policies and procedures must be aligned with regional ones. Regional rules need to be formed where national rules can be derived from. All the regional rules created must be of the utmost quality as they will be given the highest precedence among the East Africa Community operational principles.

Member states must work together for the benefit of the region. Member states should encourage mainstreaming regional integration by ensuring that adequate budgetary resources are made available for regional integration related activities and ensure engagement of East Africa Community institutions. Deeper regional integration can help the East Africa Communities to cooperatively achieve its key policy priorities. East Africa will succeed if countries put aside nationalistic tendencies and sentiments and understand that they will benefit collectively.

A regulatory trade committee should be established to assess the existing policies and regulations on Non- Tariff barriers at the national and regional level by for example eliminating the non-reasonable and accepted ones. Regional Integration is one of the tools that Kenya can leverage to ensure development of the country.

## REFERENCES

Lombaerde P &Langenhove L; *Indicators of Regional Integration; Methodological issues.*(United Nations University (UNU\_CRIS), 2005) page 1

The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation,DiodorusBuberwa Kamala, June 2006, ISBN: 1-90203 455-4

East African Community; Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community (Arusha : EACSecretariat, 1999).

East African Community; “The East African Political Federation”; *Addressing East Africans’ Fears, Concerns and Challenges and Consolidating its Pillars*,(Arusha, The EAC Secretariat, 2010), page 10

James Karuhanga, East Africa: How has EAC positioned itself for 2017 and beyond, 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2017 accessed at [allafrica.com](http://allafrica.com) on 25<sup>th</sup> May 2017

The Benefits of Regional Economic Integration for Developing Countries in Africa: A Case of East African Community (EAC)□Ombeni N. Mwashu page 69-92

Iyoha, A. Milton. Enhancing Africa’s Trade: From Marginalization to an Export-Led Approach to Development, African Development Bank, Economic Research Working Paper Series (77), 2005.

The East African Community – Why this time is different’, INSEAD and Centre for Global Development, May 2010

‘The Non Tariff Barriers in Trading Within the East African Community’, CUTS International, 2010

EAC Development Strategy Deepening and Accelerating Integration’, EAC, Aug 2011

The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation, DiodorusBuberwa Kamala, June 2006, ISBN: 1-90203 455-4

Jeggan. Senghor C. “Theoretical Foundations for Regional Integration in Africa: An overview in Nyong’o Anyang (ed), Regional integration in Africa: Unfinished Agenda

S.J Mclean “Challenging Westphalia: Issues of Sovereignty and Identity in Southern Africa” in Dunn Kevin S. and Shaw Timothy M. (eds), *Africa’s challenge to International Relations Theory* (New York Palgrave, 2001) page 157

N. Ngeno K (et al) *Regional Integration Study of East Africa: The Case of Kenya* , KIPPRA Working Paper No.9 (Nairobi: Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis) 2003

*The East African Community Regional Integration between Aspiration and Reality* by Stefan Reith and Moritz Boltz KAS international reports 9/10|2011, page 91

K P. Apuuli “Fast Tracking East African Federation: Asking the Difficult Questions” (Paper presented in Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations (DENIVA) Public Dialogue on Fast Tracking East African Federation, Kampala, 24<sup>th</sup> November 2005)

Garza, D.C; “International Integration Theories; regional scenarios.” (ITESM August 19, 2006) page 3.

*Theorizing European Integration: revisiting neo-functionalism and testing its suitability for explaining the development of EC competition policy?* McGowan, LeeEIoP: 25 May 2007

*Neo-Neo-Functionalism* Philippe C. Schmitter European University Institute July 2002

O’Brien, R..“North American Integration and International Relations Theory,” (Canadian Journal of Political Science, 1995) 28: 693-7xx.

Sparknotes. (2016). *International Politics: Theories of International Relations*, 13 October 2016

Goeffrey Stern *The Structure of International Society* , Published London and Washington. first published 1995, reprinted 1995, 1998, 1999 page 11 paragraph 2

Retrieved from [www.sparknotes.com/us-government-and-politics/political-science/international-politics/section2.rhtml](http://www.sparknotes.com/us-government-and-politics/political-science/international-politics/section2.rhtml)

Pease, K-K.(2012). *International Organizations*, 5<sup>th</sup>Edition.Routledge

<http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/methodology> accessed on 3rd May 2017 at 11:02 pm

*National Interests and the European Union* George Buchan February 2012 Bruges Group 2012 [www.brugesgroup.com](http://www.brugesgroup.com)

National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova

Another Great Debate: The National Interest of the United States, Morgenthau, H.J, American Political Science Review Vol. XLVI No. 4, 1952 at <http://tigger.uic.edu/~bvaler/morgenthau.pdf>

Another Great Debate: The National Interest of the United States, Morgenthau, H.J, American Political Science Review Vol. XLVI No. 4, 1952 at <http://tigger.uic.edu/~bvaler/morgenthau.pdf>

Constructing National Interests, Weldes J, European Journal of International Relations 1996. Vol. 2 (3): 275 - 318

Hunt, Alex; Wheeler, Brian (3 November 2016). "[Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU](#)". BBC News.

["Article 50: Theresa May to trigger Brexit process"](#). BBC News. 20 March 2017. Retrieved on 20 March 2017.

The European Union-A Brief History Iain Mclver 20<sup>th</sup> May 2016 accessed on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018 at 9:24am

Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin, and Paul Whiteley, Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union, CUP, 2016).

The European Union: History and Institutions Achim Hurrelmann accessed on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2018 at 9:24am

House of Commons Library (2007) The Treaty of Lisbon: amendments to the Treaty establishing the European Community. London, UK Parliament. Available at <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/RP07-86> [Accessed 17 May 2016]

<sup>1</sup>National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova page 45

Brexit means Brexit. Causes Consequences and Implications L-36 ScienzePolitiche e relazioniInternazionali 2017-2018

The National Interest in European Union Law MartonVarju page 3

A. Moravcsik, 'Preferences and power in the European Community: a liberal intergovernmental approach', (1993) 31 Journal of Common Market Studies 473, 483.

M. Aspinwall, 'Government preferences on European integration: an empirical test of five theories', (2007) 37 British Journal of Political Science 89, 90, 91-96.

Why the British Conception of Sovereignty Was The Main Reason For Brexit – And Why The British ‘Leave-Vote’ May End Up Saving Rather Than Undermining The EU-Marlene WindCSF - SSSUP WORKING PAPER SERIES 3/2017 at page 3

Glencross (2016) Why the UK voted for Brexit, Palgrave Studies, page 7

Leonard (2016) Europe seen from the outside – the British view, European Council on Foreign Relations.

Boris Johnson cited in Mark Elliot, Brexit: Vote leave, take control? Sovereignty and the Brexit debate <https://publiclawforeveryone.com/2016/06/23/vote-leave-take-control-sovereignty-and-the-brexite-debate/>

Brexit: Causes and consequences Analysis on the rising global risk- Matthew J. Goodwin November- December 2017 at page 59

James Kanter, “Eurozone Agrees to Debt Relief and Bailout Aid for Greece,” May 24, 2016; Jim Brunsten and Eleftheria Kourtali, “Eurozone Set to Miss Deadline for Greek Bailout Deal,” February 16, 2017.

Also see Steven Erlanger and James Kanter, “Plan on Migrants Strain the Limits of Europe’s Unity,” September 22, 2015

Laurence Norman and Gabriele Steinhauser, “European Ministers Wrestle with Future of Russia Sanctions,” Wall Street Journal, June 20, 2016; “Germany, Austria Favour Gradual Phasing Out of Russia Sanctions,” EurActiv.com, June 20, 2016.

Dangerfield, M. (2008): The Visegrád Group in the Expanded European Union: From Pre-accession to Post-Accession Cooperation, East European Politics and Societies, 22, 3

Towards the Greater Good? EU Commissioners’ Nationality and Budget Allocation in the European Union

Abstract: Kai Gehring<sup>1</sup> Stephan A. Schneider<sup>2</sup> June 23, 2015 page 1

Gisela Hendriks, "Germany and the CAP: National Interests and the European Community," *International Affairs* 65 (Winter 1988-89), pp. 75-87. The German stand against more intensive monetary cooperation softened in 1988-89, once the initial condition of increased capital mobility was being met.

Legitimacy Theories of the European Union By Andreas Føllesdal ARENA – Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo PO BOX 1143 Blindern N- 0317 Oslo [AndreasFøllesdal@arena.uio.no](mailto:AndreasFøllesdal@arena.uio.no)

Mazrui A A.1965. Pan-Africanism in the Cold War. East African Institute of Social Research Conference Paper.

Padmore,G. 1956. Pan-Africanism or Communism: The Coming Struggle for Africa. London.

Thompson,V B.1969. Africa and Unity: The Evolution of Pan-Africanism. Longman, London.p133

Legum C.1965. Pan-Africanism: A Short Political Guide. Frederick A Praeger. New York. P 42

Cowan, C. 1968. The Dilemmas of African Independence, New York.pg 156

Morocco's readmission in to the African Union: Implications on Collective Security- Regina Tambwari& Jeffrey Kurebwa Bindura University of Science Education Global Journal of Human Social Science: Linguistics & Education Volume 18 Issue 3 Version 1.0 year 2018 ISSN:2249-460X

<sup>1</sup>Emerging Markets Monitor. (2017). *Morocco rejoining the AU: influence to increase, Western Sahara stalemate to continue*. Retrieved from [www.emergingmarketsmonitor.com](http://www.emergingmarketsmonitor.com) (Accessed 20 July 2017).

Ndlovu, J., M. (2010). *The AU–SADC interface on peace and security: challenges and opportunities*. Kampala: University Peace Studies Publications.

Al Monitor (2017). Why Morocco really wants back in the African Union. Retrieved from [www.al-monitor.com](http://www.al-monitor.com) (Accessed 20 March 2017).

Khadad, H. (2016). *Morocco wages expensive lobby to gain re-entry into Africa Union*. Retrieved from [www.moroccoworldnews.com](http://www.moroccoworldnews.com) (Accessed 20 July 2017).

Kimenyi, M. S. (2015). *An African union for an emerging continent: reforms to increase effectiveness*. Singapore: Pearson Education.

Mogherini, A. (2017). *Morocco's readmission to the AU: a multi-faceted strategy*. Retrieved from [www.allafrica.com/morocco](http://www.allafrica.com/morocco) (Accessed 21 March 2017).

Pham, J, P., &Laremont, H. (2014). *Morocco's emergence as a gateway to business in Africa*. Retrieved from [www.atlanticcouncil.org](http://www.atlanticcouncil.org) (Accessed 20 July 2017)

Kuwomu, C. (2017). *Morocco flexed economic muscles and returned to the AU*. Retrieved from [www.un.org.africarenewal](http://www.un.org.africarenewal) (Accessed 20 March 2017).

Seven Priorities for the African Union in 2018Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°135, Addis Ababa Nairobi/Brussels 17 January 2018 page 4

Nigeria and the African Union in light of the Arab Revolts C.Nna-EmekaOkereke Lecture Series on African Security 2012

Federal Republic of Nigeria, Address by His Excellency, GoodluckEbele Jonathan, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, at the Retreat on the Review of Nigeria's Foreign Policy, Monday, 1 August 2011.

JideforAdibe, "Nigeria: Dr Zuma's Emergence As Chairperson of the AU Commission," Daily Trust, 19 July 2012.

OgboleAmedu Ode, "Dlamini-Zuma's Election: Nigeria's Crushing Defeat – A Rejoin- der," This Day, Saturday, 4 August 2012. Amedu Ode is the spokesperson of the Minis- try of Foreign Affairs, Tafawa Balewa House, Abuja.

Ode, "Dlamini-Zuma's Election: Nigeria's Crushing Defeat – A Rejoinder".

Olugbenga Ashiru, "Perspective on Nigeria at the African Union," Daily Trust, Wednesday, 8 August 2012.

I. Back, "The Arab Spring an Sub-Saharan Africa" Africa Geo-Politics, Vol. 5, No. 10, 2011, Journal of the Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle East Studies, Tel Aviv University.

Libya: Nigeria and the African Union," <http://theeconomyng.com/editor15.html> (accessed 12 July 2012).

A Fading Peacemaker? The Dark Side of South Africa's Contribution to Peace, Security and Governance in Africa John Akokpari January 2017

Mail and Guardian 14 June 2011 "Zuma lashes NATO for 'abusing' UN resolutions on Libya" Online [http://mg.co. za/article/2011-06-14-zuma-lashes-nato-for-abusing-un-resolutions-on-libya](http://mg.co.za/article/2011-06-14-zuma-lashes-nato-for-abusing-un-resolutions-on-libya) (Accessed: 11 October 2015)

Seven Priorities for the African Union in 2018 Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°135, Addis Ababa/Nairobi/Brussels 17 January 2018 page 2

Report on the 8th Summit of the EAC Heads of State, November 2006, Arusha, Tanzania. Page 7

Steven Buigut, "A Fast-Track East African Community Monetary Union? Convergence Evidence from A Co-integration Analysis," *International Journal of Economics and Finance*, 3 (2011) 1, 255-261.

Alva M., and Behar A. (2008) Factors that Contribute to (or detract from) Successful Outcomes in African Regional Arrangements. Background Note: World Development Report 2009. Development in 3D: Density, Distance and Division. CSAE: Oxford University.

Booth D., Cammack D., Kibua T., Kweka J., and Rudaheranwa N (2006) Understanding the Political Economy of Integration in East Africa, DFID: London.

Busse M and Shams R. (2003) Trade Effects of the East African Community: Do We Need a Transitional Fund? Discussion Paper for the Hamburg Institute of International Economics: (HWMA).

Castro, L., C. Kraus; and M. De la Rocha (2004) Regional Trade Integration in East Africa: Trade and Revenue Impacts of the Planned East African Community Customs Union, Washington, DC: World Bank, Africa Region Working Paper 72.

CTI (2004), Implications and Impact of the EAC Customs Union Protocol on the Tanzanian Manufacturing Sector: CTI Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

DeRosa D., M. Obwona and O. Roningen (2002) The New EAC Customs Union: Implications for Ugandan Trade, Industry Competitiveness and Economic Welfare, Kampala: EPRC, Occasional Paper 17, Apr.

Jones C., Morrissey O., and Nelson D (2011) Did the World Bank Drive Tariff Reforms in Eastern Africa", World Development, 31(3):324-335.

Kibua, Thomas N. and Tostensen A. (2005a), The Development Challenge: Kenya's Reform Agenda at the Crossroads, Nairobi: IPAR Discussion Paper 072/2005.

Special Focus: Deepening Kenya's Integration in the East African Community Edition No.6 June 2012 at page 20

Prof Peter Anyang Nyong'o & others vs. AG of Kenya & 5 Others, Reference No. 1 of 2006 <http://www.saflii.org/ea/cases/EACJ/2007/6.pdf>

The democratization of International Organizations First International Democracy Report 2011 International Democracy Watch Giovanni Finizio Lucio Levi and Nicola Vallinoto Centre for Studies on Federalism East African Community Korwa G. Adar

East Africa Law Society, Press Release, "*Integration Without Rule of Law*" Monday 4th December 2006

Bainomugisha, A. & Rwengabo, S. (2016). *The Promise and Efficacy of the East African Community*. ACODE Policy Briefing Paper Series No.41, Kampala

Stakeholders want EAC Integration process hastened Ministry of East African Community and Regional Development 172/2017 accessed at 10<sup>th</sup> August 2018

Briefing Paper Buy Kenya Build Kenya: Preserving EAC regional integration Martin Mulwa February 2018

Njiraini Muchira (2017). Industrialist Fear the Return of Protectionist in East Africa.

<http://Corporate+News/Kenya+locks+out+young+and+low+paid+foreign+workers+//539550/1450584//item/0/-/eemrk7/-/index.html>

Cf. Veit Bachmann and James D Sidaway, “African regional integration and European involvement: external agents in the East African Community,” *South African Geographical Journal*, 91 (2010) 1, 1-6.

Towards Political Federation in the East African Community Achievements and Challenges  
Isabelle Waffubwa Principal Officer, Political Affairs at East African Community Secretariat

Report of the Team of Experts on Addressing the Fears, Concerns and Challenges of the East African Federation, 2011, Page 7

## **Appendixes**

### **Appendix I: Introductory Letter**

My Name is Brenda Akinyi Opiyo, a Masters student at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) undertaking a study on the “**National Interests And The East African Community: A Case Study Of Kenya.**”

Kindly respond to the questionnaire items as accurate as possible. The responses are confidential and will be used for purely academic purposes. Thank you.

### **Appendix II: Questionnaire**

#### **SECTION A: PERSONAL DETAILS**

Marital status: Married [ ]    Single [ ]

Gender:        Male [ ]        Female [ ]

Age: Please indicate in the space provided \_\_\_\_\_

Your highest level of education (please tick)

KCSE            [ ]

Diploma        [ ]

Degree         [ ]

Masters        [ ]

PhD [ ]

Other (specify).....

**SECTION B: AWARENESS OF EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY**

**Please indicate your awareness levels about the EAC integration from VERY HIGH TO NOT AWARE**

Very High	Medium	Low	Not aware	Total

Which countries make up the EAC Partner States?(Please tick)

Response

	Yes	No
Kenya		
Uganda		
Tanzania		
Burundi		
Rwanda		
South Sudan		

**What does EAC mean to you as a Kenyan citizen?**

Enable to East African citizens to	
------------------------------------	--

work anywhere in the region	
Enables East African citizens to move freely from one country to the other, using a minimum identification papers	
To provide better business opportunities	
Reduced taxation, reduced tariffs, and improved infrastructure	
I don't not know if there are any Benefits	

**What is your perception of the East Africa Community integration process?**

---



---



---



---



---



---



---

**SECTION C: KENYA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY INTERGRATION PROCESS**

**Does the pursuit of national interest by Kenya impact the integration process of the East Africa Community?**

<b>Response</b>	
Yes	
No	

**If YES, give**

**reason** \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**If NO, give**

**reason** \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Are there instances that Kenya has acted in ways that could or have affected the integration process in the EAC negatively? If yes, name them.**

<b>Response</b>	
Yes	
No	

---



---



---



---



---



---



---

**Are there any links or returns that could be gained from the pursuit of regional interest over national interest?**

<b>Response</b>	
Yes	
No	

**If YES, give reason** \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

**If NO, give**

**reason**\_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

**How can the region deal with the issue of pursuit of national interest over regional interest?**\_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

**How can the issue of national interest be corrected to ensure that regional integration in the East Africa Community leads to convergence rather than divergence?**\_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

**Are there any policy recommendations that would enhance the integration process of the East Africa Community process?**

<b>Response</b>	
Yes	
No	

**If YES, give**

**reason** \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**If NO, give**

**reason** \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION D: HAS THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY ACHIEVED ITS MANDATE**

**Do you think the East African Community will attain its mandate and objectives as envisaged?**

<b>Response</b>	
Yes	
No	

**If YES, give**

**reason** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**If NO, give**

**reason** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_