ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION: CASE STUDY OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC).

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other university.

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R50/88794/2016

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Supervisor

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University of Nairobi supervisor.

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Signature………………………. Date………………………………

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother Phlegona Agina and my father Amos Agina.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN;   Association of South East Asia Nations

CCM;   Chama Cha Mapinduzi

CHADEMA; Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo

COMESA; Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

DP;   Democratic Party

EAC;   East African Community

EU;   European Union

FDC;   Forum for Democratic Change

FORD;   Forum for the Restoration of Democracy

FPR;   Rwanda Patriotic Front (Front Patriotique Rwandais)

GDP;   Gross Domestic Product

KANU;   Kenya African National Union

KSC ;   Kenya Social Congress

NARC;   National Alliance Rainbow Coalition

NRM;   National Revolutionary Movement

SPLM;   Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Movement

TANU;   Tanganyika African Union

TLP;   Tanzania Labour Party

UDP;   United Democratic Party

UPC;   Uganda Peoples' Congress

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of political parties in regional integration. The study focused the case of East African Community. The success or failure of any regional integration as a matter of fact, largely depends on the role of the political parties; especially the goodwill from political parties. Political parties are key determinants in the realization of regional integration and establishing of regional polity. The main objective of this study was to examine the role of political parties in regional integration and their impact in enhancing the EAC integration agenda. The specific objectives were; to explore challenges facing political parties in their effort to integrate East African Community, to examine an overview of regional integration in EAC and to establish the nexus between political parties and regional integration in EAC. In order to realize these objectives, a questionnaire was drafted and designed with brief, short and precised questions, trying to capture the objectives of this study. A questionnaire was used to collect data as a data collecting instrument. Purposive sampling was employed to arrive at the sampled population. Due to the fact that the research targeted a population of 550 persons, a sample size of 75 respondents as per the table 1.2 was used. The study of this findings revealed that political parties in East African region have done too little to integrate the region politically, economically and socially. It had been envisaged that the East African Federation would be established by 2016. Unfortunately this dream remains a mere dream, for the dream has not seen the light of the day yet. The study also found out that political parties in EAC face myriad of challenges that need to be addressed first so as to achieve full integration. The study concluded that the dream to have East Africa federation polity largely depends on political parties' role. The main theory used to explain, analyze and predict this study is neo-functionalism. Political parties have the potential to make this dream a reality or thwart this envisaged dream of having a federal state of East Africa. It is also important to note that East African Community integration agenda geared towards establishing a federal state of East Africa is too serious a matter to be solely left in the hands of political parties alone. According to Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929), war is such a serious issue to be left and entrusted to the military men alone. The recommendations of this research were: need for political goodwill from political parties- this would enable political party structures to fasten the process of integration and establishment of a federation, political parties should comprehensively capture regional integration agenda in the drafting of their manifesto, a regional political party centre to be formed; a centre geared towards convergence of political parties' within the region periodically. The constitutions of all the six member states need to establish a framework to organize the activities and operations of political parties. Political parties are mandated to play a pivotal role in trying to unite the region. Parties need to develop internal self assessment and evaluation mechanisms. Members of Assembly at EALA should derive their mandate through an election and universal suffrage. Political parties, by and large to try and use a wide stakeholder approach as a means to sensitize members of public.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Regional integration is visualized as 'bringing together various parts into a whole'. Unlike regional cooperation which is more open-ended and less demanding, regional integration is always deep rooted and more demanding; politically, culturally, economically and socially. The concept 'regional' is derived from 'regio' which is a Latin word meaning guidance or direction. It can also be traced from the Latin word 'regere' which simply means 'to exercise authority over'. Regional Integration can politically be identified as bringing together, unifying a group of components or basically more than two units[1] e.g. bringing together of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan.

The ultimate goal of full integration is often to build a political community, within which there are political units as its contents. This always calls for the delegation of the autonomy of the political unit (states') and submission of some sovereignty to the newly political formation (Regional Integrated block). Regional integration of East Africa has proven to be a major challenge since 1967 in the first formation and even currently in the post neo-inception in 1999. The first EAC formed in 1967 included; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The community then later collapsed in 1975. The then presidents of the three countries; Nyerere Julius of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Obote Milton of Uganda had envisaged a regional economic block that would spearhead both economic development in the wider East African region and its environs.

The current heads of states; Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta of Kenya, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, John Magufuli of Tanzania, Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Pierre Nkrunzinza of Burundi and Salva Kiir of the Republic of South Sudan have the ball currently dropped into their court to

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[1] Hoppe, Hans-Hermann, Democracy the God That Failed: The Economics and Politics of Monarchy, Democracy, and Natural Order. New Brunswick U.S.A, Transaction Publishers, 2007.

play and establish stronger ties between member states. It should be understood that no single person in the world can talk about economic success as a lone ranger without good governance and good political will. The question therefore is: can East Africa region grow and develop politically, economically and socially without political players being involved? Definitely not, this is because political players are the key agenda setters, policy makers, opinion shapers and ambassadors of any regional integration in the world.

1.1 Background to the Study
1.1.0 Historical Background

Regional integration efforts within East Africa dates back to over a century during the colonial period whereby a first Customs Union was formed by Uganda and Kenya in 1917 and later joined by Tanganyika, today's Tanzania(a unification between Tanganyika and Zanzibar) in 1927. East African community was conceived in 1967 with three member states, namely: Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania[2]. Unfortunately the community did last for a decade then collapsed in 1977.

As a result of the dissolution of the organization, a mediation agreement on division of various assets was agreed upon. The mediation agreement posited to try find out areas in which the member states would cooperate.

The meetings that followed ensured the signing of a binding Agreement that established a Commission for East African Co-operation. This took place in November of 1993. After which full cooperation in the East African community began in March of 1996 after the establishment of the commission. EAC agreed to reinstate its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania[3].

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[2] www.israelnationalnews.com
[3] Ambasador Juma V. Mwapachu. EAC, Past, Present and Future. First Magazine (pp. 9-15) Retrieved 03/August 2018

There was a need to consolidate regional co-operation, this followed a directive for the Permanent Tripartite Commission issued by the Heads of States to start upgrading and establishing the agreement for the commission for the East African Co-operation. This made the member states to come together under a Treaty[4]. Later on, the three countries resolved to sign and ratify the treaty hence re-establishing the EAC[5]. This replaced the former Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation[6].

The EAC, an intergovernmental organization comprising of five member states as of July 1st 2011, the republics of: Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania, was then re-established by a treaty in 1999. The treaty however came into force a year later, which is in the year 2000 by the original members. The other three member states, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania were the original members[7]. The two republics Burundi and Rwanda joined the community by signing to the binding treaties of Accession in 2007. The community was formed with the aims of improving and strengthening co-operation within the bases of historical ties and understanding between the involved states. Thus in that regard the countries placed emphasis on co-operation in various areas such as those of the transport sector, security, immigration, communication, trade, industry and the promotion of investments within the region[8].

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[4] eprints.lancs.ac.uk

[5] news.mak.ac.ug

[6] MEAC-Ministry of East African Corporation) www.meac,go.ke

[7] Sallie Simba. "Democratization processes in Uganda and their implication on East African integration." Report of workshop on deepening integration in East African Community. University of Dar es Salaam, 2003. Retrieved on 3/08/2018 from www.ijsse.org

[8] East African Community Portal, accessed July 12, 2018. http://www.eac.int/

1.2 Statement of the Problem

East African Community is experiencing an elusive integration process. The process of integrating the region and establishing an East Africa federation is slow and worrying.

In order for EAC to realize full integration, political parties within East Africa will have to step up in their role in integrating the region. Full integration cannot be realized with the current economic and political situation in the region. A situation characterized by: suspicion between the political leaders, uncommon currency, lack of a unifying East African culture, restriction of movement from one state to the other within the region, confiscation of Kenyan cattle herding in the Tanzanian soil, boarder disputes, civil wars and economic challenges.

These challenges cannot be solved within the national context due to intra national complexities.[9] The member states' borders are porous and poorly monitored. For instance, Kenya is battling with the rise in organised crime and smuggling within the country. Her borders with her neighbours are porous; there is instability in the neighbourhood. Large numbers of refugees impose a huge additional burden. Ethnic conflicts and civil wars, slower economic development and limited political participation have escalated within and outside East African Community member states. These have precipitated instability, intertribal and economic wars in the region. Conflicts and disputes between nomads such as the Maasai's in Kenya and agriculturalists (farmers) do not stop at state borders; they escalate to other neighbourhoods. With these conflicts the numbers of poor people continue to increase day in day out.

In trying to find a solution to the above mentioned challenges, I prescribe a political antidote. The big question therefore: what role do political parties play in Regional Integration in the case of East Africa Community? Is there good political will to meliorate the situation?

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[9] Chikwanha A. B . "The Anatomy of Conflicts in the East African Community." Linking Security With Development, accessed June 2, 2018. http://www.ascleiden.nl/Pdf/Lecture Annie.

1.3 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

1. Give an overview of regional integration in EAC?

2. What are the challenges facing political parties in their effort to integrate East African Community?

3. What is the nexus between regional integration and political parties in East Africa?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study will be guided by the following objectives:

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study is to examine the role of political parties in regional integration and their impact in enhancing the EAC integration agenda.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To examine an overview of regional integration in EAC.

2. To explore challenges facing political parties in their effort to integrate East African Community.

3. To establish the nexus between political parties and regional integration in East Africa.

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study

This study's findings after data collection, ratification, interpretation and analysis played a significant role in providing for information to policy makers, law makers, political party officials and scholars.

This study has both academic and policy importance. The policy makers in East African Community for instance the Heads of member states, private sector and civil society organisations involved with the integration will gain by getting new ideas and skills,

especially on how to come up with a cocktail of both socio-economic, political strategies and solutions hence achieving the envisaged East African Community's dream.

The findings of the study can also be of great value in helping to improve and elevate the living standards of East African citizens. That is by understanding vividly what ought to be the role of political parties in East African society. The findings may help political players in East Africa to understand their role in integrating East Africa. It will also help current political parties in East Africa in identifying the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the previous political parties and try to steer the integration wheel a notch high in the right direction.

It is hoped that the study would help in pinpointing the areas and issues that are not adequately addressed by political parties in achieving the vision, mission and objectives of the envisaged East African Community integration.

This study will help external donors who would like to know the roles they can play in supporting political parties achieve their East Africa integration agenda.

1.6 Literature Review
This section looked at theoretical and conceptual frameworks, reviews literature from related documents at global, regional and national levels. Like a funnel this review was then narrow down to East African integration which was the epicentre of this study.

1.6.1 Theoretical Review
In order to review literature, the following theories provided guidance as lenses; neo-functionalism, liberalism, neoliberalism, complex interdependency theory and institutionalism.

1.6.2 Theories of integration in a political sense

Theories of integration can be traced from the classical social contract theories. In social contract theories, the people lend their power to the state hence limit their rights and freedom and instead become subjects of the integration.

A number of great scholars like Jean Jacques Rousseau, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes have contributed immensely to the social contract concept. Hobbes argues that the international system is naturally anarchic.[10] This state of nature is characterized by absolutely no political authorities, lack of order, selfishness and destruction. The end result is war of all against all[11]. Thomas Hobbes in his book The Leviathan says the solution needed for this annoying condition is the Leviathan, which points out the state, as a form of individual or citizenry brought together in a political sense. Likewise, John Locke visualizes the state as the sole protector of human life, custodian of freedoms, liberty and property[12]. This is a form of individual integration within the state. Jean Jacques Rousseau develops social contract further with an envisaged common welfare[13].

At the same period, Immanuel Kant proposes his idea of global federation[14] characterized by republics delegating their sovereignty to upper state level organization for instance United Nations currently hence ultimately achieving global integration in a political sense. Kant's ideas were geared towards perpetual peace, positing that global integration can politically achieve a greater good – perpetual peace. It is from Kantalian peace theory that we today see regions integrating into single units with an objective to foster peace and security.

Institutionalism -Institutionalists view the international system as anarchic just like their counterparts; realists. According to them, states are guided by the principle of self help, being

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[10] Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan or the matter, forme and power of a commonwealth ecclesiastical and civil*. Skopje: Az-Buki. Translated to Macedonian: Uskokov Aleksandar & Moshtanovska Aleksandra, 2010.
[11] ibid
[12] Locke, John. *A letter concerning toleration & Two treaties of government*. Skopje: Az-Buki. Translated to Macedonian: Stamatov Aleksandar & Nichevski Dejan, 2006.
[13] Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Du contract social ou principes du droit politique*. Skopje, 1978.
[14] Kant, Immanuel. "Perpetual Peace" *A Philosophical essay*. London:The Macmillan Company. 1917.

driven by their rational actors in pursuit of national interest[15], for instance Kenya in the East African Community tries to accumulate power. Unfortunately some of her effort to accumulate much power has stumbled relations between countries. Institutionalism greatly relies on microeconomics contrary to functionalists who look at macro societal facets hence emphasizing on cooperation among states.

The argument behind this is that co-operation is not only a rational but also a self-interested strategy preferred by many states in their foreign policy aimed to pursue certain interests under certain conditions[16]. Look at a scenario where two trading partners for instance Kenya and Uganda. Both countries reaching an agreement to lower their tariffs hence trade more, with an objective of making each more prosperous. Unfortunately neither is willing to lower barriers unless on the condition that the other partner will absolutely do exactly the same.

Institutions extend interactions between   states. Institutions facilitate negotiations; they minimize the cost of negotiations and embrace integration. Collective negotiations as one united faction in a round of negotiation enable states to accrue benefits collectively, however not equally. This is one benefit of cooperation[17]. East Africa Community has not only encouraged but also facilitated cooperation among its member states more so on economic matters, little has been done on political integration.

Institutionalists aver that institutions generally increase the efficiency, for instance the case of the United Nations that has greatly tried to prevent eruption of a third world war, by trying to provide for security and stability in the world. It is generally costly, for States to have bi-lateral negotiations; negotiations with and between one another especially ad hoc negotiations. This is why institutionalists encourage multilateral negotiations' by means of international forums. Institutions can minimize the transaction costs that a state is likely to

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[15] See Kenneth N Waltz. *Theory of International Politics*, 1979.
[16] RO Keohane. "Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy." *After Hegemony.* Princeton University Press, 1984.
[17] JJ Mearsheimer 'The False Promise of International Institutions', 1994.

incur incase of several bi-lateral negotiations by providing a conducive, simple and centralized forum in which many states can meet, converse, negotiate and deliberate as a unit. An integrated East Africa community is likely to have more bargaining power and leverage at a cheaper cost while negotiating with other regional blocks. Political parties in East Africa can therefore step up and play a significant role in realization of East African Community's dream.

Institutions as 'focal points' establish rules and regulations that enable countries to quickly take a certain course of action. Without institutions bringing states together would be anarchic if not chaotic. However under established set of rules, regulations and principles, institutions act as fundamental channels for accomplishing negotiated deals; this enhance cooperation between states. Realists however remain skeptical about this school of thought and instead advance state's interest at both national and international level. This is in order to dominate the anarchic international system. There are some scholars who argue out that the architecture behind the United Nations is to advance the interest of the countries with veto powers; France, United States, China, Russia and United Kingdom. Unlike institutionalists, realists argue that states form large supranational institutions to advance their interest and continue dominating smaller states; a major character of the more powerful states.

Liberalism –Key proponents of this theory are John Locke (1632-1704), one of the founding fathers of the United States of America Thomas Paine (1737-1809), the French philosopher Voltaire (1694-1778), who staunchly believed that a people set free and given liberty would minimize chances of authoritarian and dictatorial political patterns emanating. These dictatorial and authoritative regimes and patterns would disappear, there would be no war, democracies would flourish, and world peace, tranquillity and prosperity would surely follow. The question is, what are the characteristics of East African political parties? Are

they liberal and democratic or rather dictatorial? Are they carrying citizens' aspirations in matters regional integration or are they simply vehicles for ascending to power?

The word "liberal" simply refers to someone who is noble and free, and is committed to pursuit of freedom, autonomy and the right of self-determination. Liberalism advocates for; a government controlled and guided by the constitution, collective rule of law and a representative democracy. In the lenses of liberalism; political parties in East Africa can therefore step up to foster and enhance East African regional integration efforts. This is primarily due to the fact that they should carry with them, citizens' aspirations, they are also representing citizens. There is this assumption that the lacuna between East African Community regional integration and political parties are the main reason behind unsuccessful regional integration. Political parties in East Africa are more ethicized hence have done too little to spread democratic ideals.

Political party organizations are more than simply forums within which individuals compete and cooperate with one another to take power. They thus engage in agenda setting as well as in providing information which may influence how states within a region define their interests. Similarly, liberalists argue, that States are interdependent and non-state actors like opposition political parties, MNCs, civil society organizations (CSOs), TNCs, human rights groups, some individuals and environmental groups also play a vital role in the international system. Political parties in East Africa can step up and take up the role of international organizations.

Liberal institutionalism posits that institutions and organizations like political party organizations influence the behaviour of actors in the international system. Cooperation hold the key to understanding the system by nature and so the state. It is only through institutions

and cooperation that ensures international security and stability. A functioning East African regional integration will therefore ensure security and stability.

Neoliberalism It is pro capitalist ideologies and against anti capitalist ideologies such as Marxism, socialism, and fascism[18]. The main proponents of Neoliberalism are Keohan and Joseph Nye. Neoliberalism defines "security" in broad terms, it argues that the term security is broad and includes numerous factors such as welfare, health, and environmental issues need to be included in regimes and institution-building efforts. East Africa region has a lot of issues affecting not only one country but rather cutting across the rest. HIV Aids pandemic, environmental degradation, civil wars characterize the nature of East Africa. With the current trends of globalization member countries have often tried to come together to sought out the mess as a united faction.

Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder have demonstrated convincingly that democratizing States are more likely to go to war than either autocracies or liberal democracies. This is a strong critic against Democratic Peace theory. East African states are quasi democratic, none has ever waged war against another since independence[19].

Complex Interdependence theory

Complex Interdependence theory argues that survival of any state may remain a key goal, however a states ideological beliefs commercial interest may also be of great importance for the survival of a state.   It is due to this that East African countries saw it wise to form the East African Community. According to complex interdependence a lot of emphasis is not put on militaristic cooperation but rather economic integration. In East Africa region, gone are the days of coup d'etat and military interventionism. However there is still the challenge of

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[18] Nye, J. "Redefining the National Interest."*Foreign Affairs* 78(4): (1999)22-35.
[19] Singer, J. "The Level of Analysis: Problem in International Relations." In J. Rosenau (Ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy,* NY: Free Press, (1969) Pp. 19-34.

civil wars in some countries e.g. in Burundi and South Sudan. There is minor role of military over economic issues. This view was supported by Henry Kissinger when he posited that security as a topic had expanded to cater for a lot of issues which were not secured security threats in the previous decades. Initially the term security, majorly meant militarism. Kissinger argued that the term needed to be expanded to include: problems of; resources, hunger, drought, environmental degradation, energy, population, the use of space and the seas now rank with questions of military security, ideology and territorial rivalry, which have traditionally made up the diplomatic agenda[20]"

Complex interdependency posits that there is a great mutual relationships among and between various states, majority of states today have minimized the use of war as a means to foreign policy[21]. Witnessing tremendous incidents such as Rwandan genocide of 1994 crisis, rise of transnational advocacy groups, spread of MNCs such as Safaricom, Equity, Barclays, Facebook; scholars have begun to realize that realism do not always provide adequate theory for every historical event. Consequently, scholars are in pursuit of alternatives to realism.

Liberalism theory

Proponents of liberalism include; John Locke (1632-1704), American founding father Thomas Paine (1737-1809) and Voltaire-one of the French philosopher (1694-1778), staunchly believed that if people are given as much liberty as possible and much freedom then authoritarian political patterns would definitely disappear, wars would never be fought, democracies would thrive, finally world peace and prosperity would definitely follow. East Africa has democratic and governance issues that probably can be addressed by giving more freedom to the citizenry. All the member states are struggling with democratic issues.

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[20] Kissinger Henry "A New National Partnership", Department of State, Bureau of Public Affair, Office of Media Services, Loss Angeles, 1975.
[21] Keohane O. Robert and Nye S. Joseph. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*, 2nd Edition, Boston Toronto, 1989.

Evans and Newnham aptly summarize beliefs of classic liberalism as follows[22]: Peace can significantly be achieved through the spread of democratic institutions and ideals on a world-wide basis. If disputes occur, they should be settled by a well established judicial procedure under the guidelines of rule of law. Finally collective security should replace of self-help which widely applied by many states in the international system.

Collective security is of great vitality for the success of any regional integration in the world; for instance the East African Community. Therefore anyone who is thwarting the efforts of regional integration geared towards collective security is an enemy to the success of regional integration.

1.6.3 Regional Integration

Regional integration is a term derived from two words; region which has to do with territories and integration which has the aspect of bringing together. For further understanding, in any case when countries form alliances or pacts to achieve a certain objective collectively, then regional integration shall have occurred. Examples of international regional integration alliances include the European Union (EU)[23], the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN), the Economic West African States (ECOWAS) and the North Atlantic Free Trade Area (NAFTA). Most of these regionally integrated pacts are derived from liberalism principles. Most often, it is through these alliances that most nation states can become involved in global issues. One of the most successive regional alliances is the European Union.

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[22] Evans, G. &Newnham, J. *The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations*. NY: Penguin, 1998.
[23] Draper, P. "Breaking free from Europe: Why Africa Needs another Model of Regional Integration", *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, (2012) 47:1, 70-80. Retrieved on 19th May, 2018

Indirectly, the success of the EU's integration[24] has pushed many developing countries to follow its integration model by establishing both political and an economic union. This spill over effect has resulted to establishment of a number of l regional models, in Latin America and Africa that has similar objectives, with varying degrees of success.

Worldwide, leading states are active in the advancement of regional integration and most states in most parts of the world are members of multiple regional organisations.

Most conceptual and theoretical models on regional integration seem to be in agreement that, regional integration progresses along three proportions; economic interaction, political interaction and regional identity. These can vary between two scopes; one putting emphasis on fragmentation and conflict, the second one integration and cooperation. In this regard regional integration projects in East Africa and South America have developed complexities of their own. Africa and Middle East is evidenced for a much slower and less progression.

Africa by and large, has virtually had fairly a long history as far as integration is concerned. Immediately after independence, some leaders within the continent led by then Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah called for African integration. It is only until the 1960's and 1980's that those efforts of establishing integration were visible in all sub-regions within the continent. First integration calls were motivated by the political vision of African Unity[25].

Promoting regional integration in Africa still remains to be a tall order which is sophisticated based on the states' internal arrangements. Successful integration within the region is anchored in the pre-existing conditions such as; financial management, economic stability, peace and security. As well as sufficiently broad national reforms to open markets.

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[24] Baregu, Mwesiga. "The African Economic Community & the EAC: any Lessons from the European Union" in Ajulu, R. *The Making of a Region: The Revival of the East African Community*. Institute for Global Dialogue: South Africa, 2005.
[25]Leonard Wanyama. "The economic diplomacy of Kenya's regional interests." *Economic Diplomacy, Trade and Investment*. SAIIA Occasional Paper No 137.

A number of gains have been realised through the continents' integration effort. These include; increased trade returns and competition, investments, domestic reforms, coordination and increased bargaining power as well as increased security.

The membership of any regional integration arrangement solely remains a political choice of any sovereign state. There are numerous challenges threatening integration efforts in African continent. These range from, poverty, lack of proper infrastructure, suspicion and discomfort between heads, non-participation of the private sector as an integration motor, geographical difficulties to small country economies that have further contributed to a complicated system of division of labour. As well, the continent lacks one powerful country with the influence the system, a country with enormous economic muscles to steer regional integration. The challenge of hegemonic role trickles down to regional economic communities. This has led to unnecessary competition characterized with ill-motives. Tanzania and Kenya for instance are still in a "cold war" on who should dominate, set agenda, and control the community.

Integration in Sub- Saharan Africa especially in the case for East Africa, the prospects seem to be much better in terms of cooperation but sluggish in terms of integration. This is so because the EAC has slightly showed progress since its revival in the year 2000. EAC Secretary General Ambassador Juma V. Mwapachu, in an article published in the First Magazine pointed out, the EAC had very powerful and elaborate framework for making critical decision on matters of East African Community.

The EAC Common Market Protocol in 2010 had four provisions that are guaranteeing freedoms of movement within and between member states. This included free movement of: people, goods and services, and capital. It also provided for the right to not only reside but also establish oneself or business venture anywhere without limitations within the boundaries

of the East African Community. The question is; has these been realized or is still there some fear between the citizens of the member states?

In matters Trade, EAC trades at about 20% within East Africa Community member states; this is internal trade. The current level of intra-Africa is also significantly low, translating to only 2.2% of the total GDP of the continent-by 2004. The situation seems not to be getting better because by 2010 it had only increased by 0.5% that is 2.5% in 2010 and about 3% by the year 2016. This is a clear evidence intra-trade within the continent is significantly low.

The ultimate goal for regional integration is always to establish a political federation or union where several states submit part of their sovereignty.

1.6.4 East African Community (EAC)

This is an inter-governmental organization comprising of six member states, having its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. As the name suggests, EAC is a community operating in East Africa region. EAC was first formed in 1967 with three pioneer states; Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Despite the history of cooperation, the EAC collapsed in 1977 as a result of many challenges. Some of which being Kenyan dominance and divergent political positions and ideologies.[26]Kenya was seen as an economic and political bully on matters of East Africa by the other two member states; Uganda and Tanzania. There was also extreme suspicion among the founding fathers.

EAC was later revived and re-established under Article 2 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community that entered into force in July 2000[27]. Currently member states of East African Community comprises of; Republic of Kenya, United Republic of Tanzania, Republics of Burundi, Rwanda, South Sudan, and the Republic of Uganda. East African Community has populace of about 160 million, funny enough only 22% reside in

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[26] Mathieson, Craig. "The political economy of regional integration in Africa*", The East African Community (EAC)synthesis report*, 2016. Retrieved on 13/09/2018 from http:// ecdpm.org/ peria.
[27]See Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC (1999)

urban centres while the compact majority, a population of about 78% reside in rural areas. EAC has a GDP of US $ 1466 billion[28].

Since the kick off of the neo-EAC, the EAC Partner States have established the following unions: Customs Union established in 2005, Common Market established in 2010 and the Monetary Union established in 2013. These have eased the movement of people, goods and services[29]; movement of workers and even capital across East African member state. The Monetary Union was established in 2013[30]. It was expected to introduce a common currency in East Africa upon completion so as to facilitate easier movement of goods, workers, people, capital and services. EAC member States are aiming at establishing a Political Union of East Africa in the future.[31] For all these to be achieved then the role of political parties cannot be submerged or rather underestimated for they are key players. The success of all these economic success will definitely depend on the political good will of political parties in all the member states.

Since time immemorial it has been realized and even documented by a number of scholars that the economic and political successes are two sides of the same coin. The two work together, for one needs good leadership for great economic transformation and progress. As Aristotle puts it "Man is a political animal." I too agree and elaborate further the quote that by being a political animal, man competes so as to pragmatically play a role in authoritative allocation of resources. This is to define and decide on who gets what when and how. Lasswell Harold defines politics as; "Who gets what, when and how?" The 'what' aspect is a clear indication that economics and politics are very important when it comes to integration?

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[28] East African Community facts and figures, 2016.
[29] Establishment of the EAC Customs Union Protocal (2005)
[30] East African Monetary Union's establishment Protocol (2013)
[31] 4th EAC Development Strategy (2011-2016)

Therefore politics in a big way defines economic landscape, growth and development of a region.

The second EAC development strategy (2001 to 2005) identified various programmes to be implemented within the 2001 – 2005; unfortunately these most of these programs have never seen the light of the day. These have thwarted broad goal of deepening and widening cooperation in all areas where all partner states' are likely to benefit. It took into consideration the experiences learnt during the first development strategy (1999 – 2007). That is aspects like the provisions of the treaty, implications of globalisation and the EAC's influence in the world market[32]. Could it be because political parties didn't have a good will in the implementation of the programs? The overall assessment of the 2001-2007 EAC development strategy concluded that it was a bit too ambitious incorporating a broad area of activities to be covered. Implementation of various elements in the strategy's action has terribly lagged behind the set out time frame.

1.6.5 Recent Dynamics in East Africa
1.6.5.1 Political integration vision and political parties
East Africa has more than two hundred active political parties. These political parties are diverse, complex and sophisticated[33]. "EAC is aiming for Political Federation as its ultimate goal of its cooperation. The opposition as the alternative government in waiting has a crucial role to play in enhancing integration" EALA Speaker, Rt Hon Daniel Fred Kidega in 2016[34].This goal seems to be a tall order especially in analyzing the coarse relations between East African Community political classes. A united federation will simply imply that countries give in their sovereign power, something I am pessimist about due to the confusion

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[32] Ogalo. Victor. *Achievements and Challenges of Implementation of the EAC Common Market Protocol in Kenya: Case of Free Movement of Labour*, October 2012.

[33] Rose, Gavin M. "Taking the Initiative: Political Parties, Primary Elections, and the Constitutional Guarantee of Republican Governance." Indiana University School of Law , *Indiana Law Journal, vol. 81, No. 2*. Retrieved on 09/06/2018 http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/cgi/ viewcontent.cgi? article=1454&context=ilj&sei-redir=1

[34] East African Legislative Assembly, Arusha, Tanzania: May 30th, 2016

and suspicions between EAC heads of states. This lack of good will marred with suspicions has further made the roadmap to full integration in the region, murky.

According to Jonasson's lenses, East Africa is seen to be having four types of political parties;[35] Catch-all party ; these parties do not put much effort in trying to recruit new members. They need not any requirement for any citizen to join. These parties are likely to use and disuse electorates by attracting huge populace during the time of election so as to attain maximum votes in the polls after which forget about the electorates aspirations. Majority of East African political parties fall into this category. This is evidence that even intrastate integration is a problem in East Africa since many states are still grappling with unity issues. Finally, the Clientelistic party; these parties deploy various means of securing votes and vote-buying techniques. The main objective of these parties is to maximize number of votes from all over the state during election. Their main aim is to secure a maximum number of votes, and in this process, they do not take an ideological stance[36]. This is the major characteristic of majority of coalitions formed in East Africa in the eve of elections. Many political parties conglomerate to come up with a bigger coalition so as to get the majority of votes cast in their quest for state power.

In Kenya, political parties are highly ethicized. Kenya is a multiparty state with over fifty political parties some of which are briefcase parties. The system is a winner takes it all in accordance with the promulgated 2010 constitution. Most of these political parties do not have parliamentary representation. The current (2018) ruling party in Kenya is Jubilee led by the incumbent president Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta, mainly comprising of ethnic communities in central Kenya and parts of Rift Valley. On the opposing side is Orange Democratic Movement headed by former Prime Minister Raila Odinga,Wiper Party led by former vice

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[35] Jonasson Ann, Kristin. At the command of God? On the Political Linkage of Islamist Parties , Kompendiet Aidla Trading AB Goteborg, 2004.
[36] ibid

president Kalonzo Musyoka, Amani National Congress led by Musalia Mudavadi among many others.

Kenya in her effort to enhance regional integration also faces challenges[37]. There is a lot of suspicion in that the other members look at Kenya in the leans of Hegemonic Stability theory. They see Kenya as a state with hidden intentions and interests. Tanzania and Kenya have had poor diplomatic relations. In 2017 Tanzanian president John Pombe Magufuli ordered for the burning of chicks' worth about ksh570, 000(Tsh12million)[38]. Veterinarians in Tanzania condemned the country's s decision to burn the 6,400 chicks which were illegally imported from Kenya. This later escalated to the auctioning of 1,300 cows belonging to Kenyan herders; of Maasai origin between Kenya and Tanzania border. The cattle were confiscated for grazing in Tanzania. Kenya said the "hostile actions" against its citizens if not checked unto will make the East African Community waters murky and messy. The big question therefore is, in all these, what is the role of the political parties? Secondly are the failures in the East African Community integration attached to political goodwill, political insubordination?

Suspicion has developed between Kenya – Tanzania, over tourism row. The suspicion and mistrust widened in 2015. On the other hand Uganda shifted and rerouted its oil exports through Tanzania and not Kenya as it had earlier planned. It has been noted that there's a clear lack of cooperation among partner states.

Burundi has a multi-party system[39], with only two or three dominant parties. Parties in Burundi just like any other African country which is usually based on ethnic background, either Hutu or Tutsi. Until 1993, Burundi had never witnessed any contestation of multi-party

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[37] "Strengthening Popular Participation in the East African Community: An EAC Guide to EAC Structures & Processes, EAC, Tanzania": Arusha. Retrieved from http://www.eac.int EAC on 03/06/2018.
[38] Why East Africa Community has refused to come of age. An article by Jane Wachira
[39] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multi-party

elections. National Council for Defence of Democracy-Forces for Defence of Democracy led by Pierre Nkrunzinza, is the current ruling party and it mainly comprises of the former main Hutu rebel group[40].

Uganda has a multiparty system with about thirty political parties[41]. The ruling party; National Resistance Movement, is led by Yoweri Kguta Museveni.The main opposition party is led by Kiza Besijye. Uganda has a lot of issues with its democratic process. The democratic space in Uganda is too limited domestically. In East African Community Uganda seems to be playing a second violin especially after Kenya and Tanzania, it behaves as a passive member and not all that committed. Uganda has got boarder disputes with her neighbours' e.g Rwanda and Kenya over an island in the Lake Victoria called Migingo. Bi lateral ties between the two states have been threatened by the efforts to own this small island.

South Sudan has two major political parties; Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) led by the incumbent president Salva Kiir, it is also the ruling party and the conglomeration of opposition parties led by Riek Machar who currently(2018) is in exile. South Sudan politics is highly ethicized, marred by rivalry between two major communities the Dinka and Nuer. There has been war in Southern Sudan for over a decade, many South Sudanese are today hosted in neighbouring countries as refugees. The political parties seem to being doing too little too late to salvage the crisis in South Sudan. The question therefore remains to be what is their role in regional integration? Are they up to task of integrating East African Community?

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[40]https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Council_for_the_Defense_of_Democracy-Forces_for_the_Defense_of_Democracy
[41] *"List of Registered Political Parties In Uganda." Uganda Electoral Commission (UEC), 2011.* Archived from the original *on 4 February 2018*. Retrieved 4 February 2018.

From the above it's evident that East African political parties are not formed on the basis of ideologies but rather as ladders to access power and take control of resources. Many political parties in East Africa are ethnic based.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This research was mainly guided by a neo-functionalism theory. The theory explained, predicted and analyzed the role of political parties in regional integration: the case of the East African Community.

Neo-functionalism - The theory of neo-functionalism posits that a supranational organization would become a political union,[42] According to others; this is the final stage of integration[43]. The key principle in the theory of neo-functionalism is the spill-over effect[44]. The effect of spill-over takes the central position in the theory of neo-functionalism. According to Leon Lindberg: spill over is a situation in which a change in one sector leads to a ripple effect in other sectors[45]". The spill-over effect is therefore felt from one sector to another. This is likely to lead to integration from one sector to another. This is what is generally referred to as the spill over effect, for if East Africa is politically and economically integrated then the other institutions of the society are likely to follow suit in a political sense. This will consequently make the region to be integrated culturally, ideologically and even socially. The region has partly introduced economic cooperation, still a long way to economic and political integration. For instance Kenya's leading African trade partner is Uganda.

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[42] Michel, Stefan. "European Integration Theories and African Integration Realities: Federalism, Neofunctionalism and Liberal Intergovernmentalism in African Integration." MA Thesis, Leiden University, (1977) available on: https://openaccess. leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/ handle/1887/ 19220/MSc%20 Thesis% 20Stef

[43] Kovacevic, Bojan. *Hidden Federalism: The Federal Experience in the processes of European Integrations.* Albatros Plus, Beograd, 2013.

[44] Majone, Giandomenico. *Europe as the would-be world power, The EU at Fifty*. Cambridge university press, USA, 2009.

[45] Laursen, Finn. *Theories of European Integration*. The Graduate Institute of European Studies, Tamking University, Taipei, 2002.

1.8 Summary of Literature Review and Research Gaps

Bokoe and Dorina have explored the challenges to governing systems in East Africa. The work looks at the conflict situation in East Africa, the trade in weapons' especially the small firearms, the refugee crisis and how these issues directly impact governance structures[46].Kaiser, Paul and Wafula investigates the challenges facing democracies in East Africa.[47] These consequences include issues such as the Rwandan genocide, ethnic clashes, violent civil wars, and other factors in the quest for democracy. Other scholars have also done much on East African Community, putting emphasis on the economic dynamics. The challenge is that they have been unable to dig deep and establish the nexus between political dynamics and economic success of the region.

From empirical studies done in regards to regional integration case of East African Community and the following gaps are evident. Little has been done in examining the role of political parties in EAC regional integration.

Lots of researchers have been more inclined on the economic aspect and conflicts within East Africa without keenly delving deep into the role of political parties in East African Community integration agenda.

1.8.1 Research Hypotheses
The following are the hypotheses for this study.

1. Political parties in East Africa are part of the problem in the integration process.

2. Integration of East Africa is difficult being that it is a heterogeneous society.

3. East African regional integration solely depends on the good will of the political parties.

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[46] Bekoe, Dorina, ed. *East Africa and the Horn: Confronting Challenges to Good Governance*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006.
[47] Kaiser, Paul, and F. Wafula Okumu, eds. *Democratic Transitions in East Africa*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004.

1.9 Research Methodology

This describes the methods that were employed to provide answers in addressing research questions in this study as listed in the previous pages.

1.9.1 Research Design

A research design spells out how an investigation was carried out. It encompasses how data was collected, the instruments that were used and means of data analysis employed. These include; type of data, methodology of data collection, and methodology of data analysis.

1.9.2 Target Population

The targeted population of this study composed of journalists, organs of the Ministry of East African Community, politicians, specialists and political party officials from various political parties within East Africa.

1.9.3 Sampling Procedure
Sample Size

According to Morgan as illustrated in the table below used to determine sample sizes for research. The research targeted a population 550 persons from the table 1.2, the sample size used was 75 respondents (Where N is the population and S is the sample size)

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	265	3000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3500	2s46
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000	278	4500	351
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100	285	5000	357
40	36	160	113	380	181	1200	291	6000	361
45	40	170	118	400	196	1300	297	7000	364
50	44	180	123	420	201	1400	302	8000	367
55	48	190	127	440	205	1500	306	9000	368
60	52	200	132	460	210	1600	310	10000	373
65	56	210	136	480	214	1700	313	15000	375
70	59	220	140	500	217	1800	317	20000	377
75	63	230	144	550	225	1900	320	30000	379
80	66	240	148	600	234	2000	322	40000	380
85	70	250	152	650	242	2200	327	50000	381
90	73	260	155	700	248	2400	331	75000	382
95	76	270	159	750	256	2600	335	100000	384

Table 1.2 The sample size

Sampling Techniques

Non probability sampling was used to select the sample. This is due to the fact that the study targeted cases or respondents with specific characteristics that provided the required information with respect to the objectives of this study. The research mainly used purposive sampling to obtain data. By use of purposive sampling the researcher singled out journalists, politicians of national political parties and various scholars within East Africa. Many East African citizens are not well conversant with matters of East African integration and politics within it hence a selected few helped in provision of the required data.

1.9.4 Methods of Data Collection

Secondary data was dominant in this study. An examination of subject interest was conducted to identify relevant key words. After which search of the guides, catalogues, party manifestos relevant literature review from dissertations/thesis, journals, Archival records which included text narratives, key speeches from various political leaders in East Africa in matters East African Community and the internet. The University of Nairobi Library was the key institutional library. Policy papers were obtained from Kenya.

Internet sources were extremely important for data collection of other selected countries of study other than Kenya for instance Uganda, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. This was aimed towards controlling and reducing the cost of data collection.

Primary data on the other hand included transcripts and recordings from interviews with government officials, political party officials and scholars as well from selected countries.

Primary methods of data collection included the following; transcripts and recordings from interviews with government officials, political party officials and scholars who not only showed but also demonstrated a keen interest in the topic of study[48].

1.9.5 Methods of Data Analysis

The major form of data analysis that was deployed in this study was content analysis. On the policy prescriptions, manifestos, excerpts of speeches were used to determine the role of political parties in regional integration within the confines to East African Community, in matters economic development, geopolitical interests in policy making and development. Content analysis as usual assisted in making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages.[49]

Primary data was collected from the sampled respondents from the sampled. Structured questionnaires were administered through either email or physical copies. The questionnaires had three sections; each looking at the specific objective.

1.9.6 Validity and Reliability
Validity of the Research Instrument

According to Borg and Gall, Validity refers to the degree to which the sample of a test items represent the content that is designed to measure. Here the instrument measures the characteristics or traits for which it is intended[50]. It is therefore evident that if the instrument contains a repetitive sample then content validity is relatively good. Ultimate validity is reached upon through repetition[51].

To ensure validity, the questionnaire was examined by experts in this field to ensure that all the relevant information regarding role of political parties in East African community is

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[48] Mugenda, M., and Mugenda, G. *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*.2003.
[49] Nachmias CF and Nachmias D. Research *Methods in the Social Sciences(5th Ed)*,St Martins PRESS, Inc (1996) p319-325
[50] Borg and Gall. *Education Research. An Introduction.* Longman, Newyork, 1993.
[51] Creswell, J.W. & Miller D.L. *Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry: Theory into Practice*, 2000.

covered. In addition, the research supervisors led by Dr Maluki who are competent in the area being studied assessed the relevance of the content used.

Reliability simply means the degree to which a research instrument continues to give consistence outcomes or data after repeat after repeat. This is the repetitive consistency in producing reliable results.

1.9.7 Data Collection Procedure
This involved identification of the data collection instruments and defining their relevance. Ethical issues and considerations were also put in place by the researcher so as to ensure that all the respondents participated with informed consent.

1.9.8 Data Analysis
This process involved a number of stages namely; data collection, data clean up, data reduction, data ratification, data differentiation and explanation. Data cleaning is the editing, coding, and tabulation of data in order to detect any anomalies in the responses and assign specific numerical values to the responses for further analysis. Collected questionnaires were edited for accuracy, completeness and consistency of data. The data was then coded and checked in detail to minimize anomalies and errors.

1.10 Limitations
The research faced the following limitation: time and space-the time allocated for the research was limited having looked at the vast number of political parties in East Africa. The other challenge was that of finance that limited the researcher to travel from one capital to the other within member states of East African Community.

1.11 Chapter Summary
This chapter covers the introduction then traces the historical background of East African Community. The problem statement identified in the chapter is the elusive and unsuccessful regional integration efforts. The solution suggested in combating this challenge is the role of

political parties in integration of East African region. Relations among the partner states' of East African Community seem to be gradually deteriorating day in day out. The next chapters are going to find out better ways in which the political parties can mitigate the big elephant in the room, that is the integration deterioration.

The chapter then highlights the research objectives, research questions and research hypotheses as outlined. These objectives include: to examine the impact of political parties' activities and programs in regional integration, and considers how these dynamics play out in the East African region, to explore challenges faced by political parties in their effort to integrate East African Community and prescribe remedies to these challenges and to examine whether or not there is regional integration among East African states and the extent to which political parties in East Africa have contributed towards regional integration if there is.

The findings of this study after data collection, interpretation and analysis is expected to provide information and skills to policy makers, law makers, political party officials, East African Legislative Assembly and scholars. The information is likely to help stakeholders re-strategize oh how to tackle the deteriorating East African regional integration efforts.

The chapter then delves deeper to look at theoretical framework, reviews literature from related documents at global, regional and national levels on matters role of political parties in regional integration. Like a funnel the review is then narrowed down to the case of East African Community which is the epicentre of this study.

It further outlines the intended data collection methods, putting much emphasis on secondary data, methods of data analysis and data collection procedure.

CHAPER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

2.1 East Africa Today

The state of regional integration in East African community can be examined by having a vivid examination and assessment on its political, economic and cultural facets. East African Community's population is of about 155 with a combined GDP of around 160.5 million U.S Dollar (2018)[52]. The headquarters of EAC are located in Arusha Tanzania. The community was first established in 1967 as a three member states community comprising of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The community however it collapsed in 1975 then got re-established later in July of 2000. EAC today has six member states' namely; Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan. The newest entry to the EAC is South Sudan, joining the community in 2016. The current heads of stated in EAC member states include: President Uhuru Kanyatta (Republic of Kenya), President Pierre Nkrunzinza (Republic of Burundi), President Paul Kagame (Republic of Rwanda), President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (Republic of Uganda), President John Pombe Magufuli (United Republic of Tanzania) and President Mayadit Salva Kiir (Republic of South Sudan)

2.2 Demographic at a Glance

East Africa has a vibrant, promising youthful population with untapped potential yet. The region is urbanizing rapidly. The increase and growth of this population is definitely putting pressure on the leadership to create them opportunities so that their workforce can be utilized to the fullest. If the governments in the region will fail to empower and steer this population then the repercussions will be detrimental. Below is a deeper analysis of the demographics situation in East African Community.

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[52] Data UNDP 2015 HDR Country Profiles in The East Africa 2016: Consolidating Misery? The Political Economy of inequalities (2015) page 48.

Table 1.3: Data: UNDP 2015 HDR Country profiles

	Kenya	*Tanzania*	*Uganda*	*Rwanda*	*Burundi*	*South Sudan*
Population in terms of millions	45.5	50.8	38.8	12.1	10.5	12.9
Dependency ratio, old age 65 and above per 100 people	5	6.2	4.9	4.5	4.5	NA
Dependency ration young age(0-14)(per 100 people	75.4	85.9	96.6	74.1	85.3	NA
Population, ages 65 and older (millions)	1.2	1.6	0.9	0.3	0.2	NA
Median age (years)	19	17.6	15.9	18.4	17.6	NA
Ethnic groups						60
Population, urban (%)	25.2	28.1	16.8	20	11.8	
Number of active political parties as of 2018	57	26 active 22	14	16	36	5

There is little about South Sudan on the above table due to the fact that it joined EAC in 2016.

2.3 Integration in East Africa

Regional cooperation and integration have hugely been advanced by globalization and interdependence in the international system, and East Africa is not an exemption. With technological advancements, globalization and a variety in resources, there is need for countries to cooperate and integrate for economic and political benefits. There is no one country in the world today that can survive on her own despite the fact that the world is a self help system as realists posit. Economically, socially and sometimes politically states need each other hence form regional blocks for their common good and regionally interest; for instance, the European Union negotiate economic deals as a union. This puts emphasis on centralization[53].

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[53] Hoppe, Hans-Hermann, Democracy the God That Failed: The Economics and Politics of Monarchy, Democracy, and Natural Order. New Brunswick U.S.A, Transaction Publishers, 2007.

In assessing and examining political parties' role and importance in regional integration process, one key question keep doing rounds: Is East African Community integrated? This question has been amicably addressed in this chapter in accordance with findings of this research. Other questions often asked are: have the political parties in East Africa succeeded in integrating the region; economically, politically and socially?

It is vital to explicitly understand the meaning of the term integration and its importance. The term integration has been used by various scholars in and outside Africa. The term has been derived from the Latin word "regere" meaning to control over.

The term integration is broad and has been used in various fields; for instance Mathematics, political science and social science. The research broadly looked at social, economic and political integration. However the research emphasized more on political integration. This is due to the fact that the ultimate goal of integration is to establish a polity, in this case the East African Federation under one government as envisaged by the community. Establishment of a political federation is the top most aim of integration process.

Full integration according to Ilievsiki[54], demands the following conditions; establishing of unified low frames, developing decision –making centre, projecting identity and creating common institutions. Generally, political integration is always geared towards an establishment of a political organization under one government at the top most pinnacle of authority. The question is therefore, is East African Community politically integrated?

The obvious answer is No, that is I accordance with the findings of this research. East African Community is far from being politically integrated.

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[54] Ilievski, Nikola. "The significance of the concept Multi-speed Europe as a model for the political integration of the European Union". MA th. Law faculty. University of St Clement of Ohrid, Bitola, 2015.

2.3.1 Political Integration

The term political integration is ambiguous and enormous, politically. Political regional integration is more inclined to the social science. In layman's language, political integration may simply mean uniting, gathering or rather unifying of two or several units. It can also mean bringing together various parts into one to form one. In a political sense it could mean bringing of various states in a certain geographical area together as one formidable unit.

Ernst Haas; a German scholar and prolific political researcher in matters of European Integration defines political integration verbatim, as a process in which nations give away their sovereign power to the larger supranational organization and forget the desire and the ability to conduct foreign interaction, key policies independently hence instead make joint decisions as a unit. The state in all these delegate their law making process to the newly established organ..

Integration process largely depends on the delegation of sovereignty. This is not done instantly but rather gradually in a certain period. This means that, the activities of delegating sovereignty and period of time of delegation hugely determine the process of political integration. For instance the case of the current federal state of United States of America that originally started with only thirteen states yet over a period of time has grown to fifty states coming together. There is no specification on the exact amount of time that a region should take so as to be fully integrated. However what is clear, integration depends on a number of factors.

Delegation of sovereignty according to Ernst Haas is a process; it includes delegation of domestic and foreign policies, security policy from the state to the newly established institution or polity. Functionalism theory argues that this will enhance operations of the newly established polity.

The process of integration can broadly be sub-divided into several stages. Theses stages are as follows; cooperation between the states, institutionalization of cooperation, intergovernmental treaty (at this phase an institution is formed), from cooperation to integration and finally establishing of a full political community; Political Federation.

Soren Dosenrode[55] elaborates phases of regional integration, the process of political integration can be categorised into the following phases: First Phase: This is also referred to as the Impromptu inter-governmental political cooperation; Second Phase: This is intergovernmental cooperation but with an Institutionalized system – this is characterized by willing agreements of member states'; Third Phase: Institutionalized intergovernmental coordination – this involves arrangement of activities between and among the states so as to enhance cooperation. Regional Integration in East Africa seems to be at this stage; Fourth Phase: This is characterized by partial integration – at this stage states pass over their sovereignty to the newly established organization, giving the new establishment autonomy later which, policies are expected to follow suit; Fifth Phase: Full integration – the member states are expected to take part in serious decision making ("sovereignty"), to the newly formed regional political entity[56]. Regional integration is a key vehicle for economic growth and development in Africa. It facilitates trade, raises competitiveness, diversifies economy and creates enough jobs for citizens from the respective economic block.

This final stage of integration is what we refer to as "finalite politique" by Kovacevic[57].

Hann Heinon summarizes the process of integration into three major phases namely; Coordination-this is the rudimentary stage of cooperation; it is also the lowest stage of

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[55] Dosenroden, Soren. *Federalism Theory and Neo-Functionalism: Elements for an analytical framework. Perspectives on Federalism*, (2010)Vol. 2, No. 2. P. 1-30.
[56] Ibid
[57] Kovacevic, Bojan. *Hidden Federation Experience in the processes of European Integrations*. Albatros Plus,Beograd, 2013.

integration, Harmonization-this is the peak or top-most pinnacle of cooperation by states and the Integration which is the final level of Integration[58]. It is at the final level that full political integration can be achieved.

It is quite obvious that the East African Community is trying in vain to integrate the people of this geographical region; citizens of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan and Tanzania. This is due to the fact that countries within the East African Community have not delegated their autonomy to the envisaged establishment; newly formed political community (EAC). These countries seem to be strengthening nationhood hence very conservative on matters East Africa. Many of these countries have refused to fully play out-door policy.

According to the findings of this research, there are reasons as to why these countries are hesitant in delegating their autonomy hence converging to form a federal polity comprising of all the EAC member states. Some of the reasons include: a strong nationalism in some states like Tanzania, a strong economy as compared to other states like Kenya, lack of a common currency, suspicion among member states, lack of a common culture, lack of unity among political leaders in the region and lack political good will from the political class in the region[59].

However integration in one sector is expected to spill over or consequently lead to integration in another sector. This is what scholars refer to as the spill over effect. In the lenses of Neo-functionalism the spill-over effect is highly emphasized. Leon Lindberg defines spill-over effect as[60] a scenario whereby the original goal can only be achieved on conditions that one takes actions, the ripple effect is a condition and a need of more actions, and so

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[58] Heinonnen, Hannu. Regional Integration and the State:The Changing Nature of Sovereignty in South Africa and Europe, 2006. Available on: https://helda.helsinki.fi/ bitstream/handle/10138/2170/ regional pdf
[59] Carothers, T. *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Washington, DC, 2000.
[60] Lindberg, Leon N. and Stuart A. Scheingold, eds. *Regional Integration: Theory and Research.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

forth[61].According to the principle of spill over effect, integration in one sector should lead to integration in another sector.

East African Community established a legislative council (EALA) expecting it to come up with policies to further integration in East African Community. EALA however is finding it difficult to come up with laws that bind the region together despite the fact that prima facie the region is one. Reasons for EALA failure largely depend on incompetence of some members, poor selection process and unclear mandate.

Prima facie, political integrations seems to have "succeeded" in the European Union despite of the few challenges e.g. 2016 BREXIT; withdrawal of Britain from the European Union. East African Community is still lagging behind to politically integrate. Political parties in East Africa should be at the forefront in trying to make this happen however from the research it is evident that there is little energy and lack of synergy in trying to push for political integration by the political parties' in East Africa. There are a lot of underlying issues thwarting this initiative, key of them being lack of political goodwill. As the old saying goes; where there is a will there is a way and the reverse to this statement is true, "where there is no will there is no way."

A region cannot be politically integrated if it is not culturally and economically integrated, political integration is evidenced by the presence of a functional institution with a legally abiding treaty to all member states. States even go forward to delegate part of their authority to the newly established community. This is ideal in the case of East Africa; for the region is far away from achieving this coexistence as a federal state of East Africa.

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[61] Laursen, Finn, "The Amsterdam and Nice IGCs: from output failure to institutional choice," in Amy Verdun and Osvaldo Croci (eds.), The European Union in the Wake of Eastern Enlargement: Institutional and policy-making challenges. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005 pp. 153-173.

There are reasons to why these countries are hesitant in converging to form a Federation. These reasons are vividly discussed in the subsequent chapters.

2.3.2 Socio-Cultural Integration
2.3.2.1 Socio-Cultural facet: Language, Religion and ethnicity

East African Community lacks a common culture, this is contrary to the European Union. The economic block has diverse languages with no single language playing the lead role of uniting the region. Kiswahili is widely spoken in the region however not spoken by all the member states' of EAC. Kenya's dominant languages are English and Kiswahili, Rwanda's main languages are French and Kinyarwanda, Tanzania has Kiswahili, South Sudan has English, Arabic and some native languages e.g. Nuer and Dinka , Uganda has Baganda and English while Burundi has French and kirundi. Lack of one unifying language is consicously evident in East Africa.

Below is a table showing the diversity in East African culture.

Table 2.4: Diversity in East African Culture.

Country	Languages	Dominant Religions	Colonial Master	Largest Ethnic Groups
Tanzania	Kiswahili, English	Christianity, Islam	German till 1920 then British	Sukuma, Chagga, Haya, Nyamwezi
South Sudan	Arabic,Nuer English,Dinka,	Islam, Christianity	British	Dinka, Nuer, Bari, Luo
Kenya	English, Kiswahili, Kikuyu,luo	Christianity, Islam	British	Kikuyu, Luhya,Kalenjin Luo, Akamba
Rwanda	French, Kinyarwanda, English, Kiswahili	Christianity, Islam	Belgians	Hutu, Tutsi
Uganda	English, Luganda,	Christianity, Islam	British	Baganda, Ankole, Batoro
Burundi	Kirundi, French,	Christianity, Islam	Belgians	Hutu

Dominant languages in East African Community are languages introduced by the colonial masters e.g. French and English. Native languages are merely seen to be playing a second fiddle. Integrating EAC with one cohesive language has proven to be a hard task since the formation of the first model of EAC. Proposals to have Kiswahili as the solitary language in the region haven't been successful yet. Political parties within East Africa haven't pushed enough the agenda to have one unitary language in the region, so as to ease communication across the boundaries.

2.3.2.2 Identity

Identity according to James D. Fearon refers to a social category, a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and alleged characteristic features or attributes[62]. Fearon further elaborates the meaning of individual identity. He refers to this as an identity in some distinguished characteristic(s) that makes an individual takes a special pride. In the lens of social constructivism; identity is socially constructed in terms of sex, gender, religion[63] etc. Wendt argues that anarchy in the international system is what sates' make of it[64]. The researcher argues that identity too is what individual citizens in states' make of it. Identity can be broadened into two categories; state identity and personal identity. State identities are important for understanding international politics and foreign policy[65]. This justifies the reason to why the conglomeration of East African states needs to come up with some common identities, especially in the envisaged political federation. This will help the federation in negotiating with other regional blocks as one polity.

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[62] Fearon, James D. "Why Ethnic Politics and 'Pork' Tend to Go Together." Mimeo, Stanford University, 1999.
[63] Wendt, Alexander. "Collective identity formation and the international state." *American Political Science Review 888*: 1994 p 96.
[64] Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is what states make of it." *International Organization.* 1994 pp391-426.
[65] Lapid, Yosef and Friedrich Kratochwill, eds. The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner. and Karzentsein, (1996).

According to the findings of this research, East African Community residents lack an identity that integrates them together as one unit. East African residents often prefer referring to themselves by the states they come from rather than the wider East African Community. Just as people belong to various social categories, states too belong to various social categories. Examples include; Commonwealth, major power, North Atlantic Treaty Organization[66], superpower, European Union[67], federation, democracy, Least Developed Countries, net creditor, federation, Sub-Saharan African states' etc[68]. East African Community lacks a distinct identity. A Ugandan anywhere in the world will refer to himself/ herself as a Ugandan and not an East African. The same scenario spills over to the citizens of other member states e.g. Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan.

One of the findings of this research is that; political leaders in East African Community appeal and advocate for heavily to national, cultural and religious symbols. After which they retreat to their cocoon and forget about uniting the regional block under a common identity. As Nicolo Machiavelli posits in his book *The Prince* that, 'the end justifies the means[69]', political parties retreat after ascending to power, before which they pretend to be more patriots, advancing great national values and aspirations to assist their respective countries grow and develop. Lack of a common identity was also found to be one of the reasons for sectarianism championed by the elite taking advantage of the situation so as to advance their political interests[70].

Maybe the common negative identity well conversant to all East Africans is corruption. This is a matter that has thwarted integration efforts across the board. East Africa corruption index

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[66] NATO stands for North Atlantic Treaty Organization. An organization formed by U.S after the Second World under the theory of collective security.It has U.S allies as member states.
[67] EU stands for European Union.
[68] Wendt in 1994 defined "social identities" in terms of roles, and used examples of this sort to illustrate the meaning of" state identity."
[69] Machiavelli N. *The Prince*, translated by W.K. Marrriott, 1515.
[70] Dani Rodrik, How the Rich Rule, Project Syndicate-September 20,2014. http://bit.ly/1 TcgEJV

is extremely high; many citizens staunchly believe that their leaders are corrupt. Many citizens instead of fighting the vice seem to be giving up hence slowly accepting and endorsing the war on graft.

2.3.2.3 Education

S.S Mackenzie defines Education as a lifelong process of acquiring skills, knowledge and values. There are three types of education; formal, informal and non formal.

At independence all the original member states, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda adopted a similar education system of 7-4-2-3; this meant that one was required to spend a minimum of 7 years in primary school, followed by 4 years in secondary, 2 years of high school and between 3 to 5 years in the University. This system integrated the region to some extent in terms of education. During this period of time, many Kenyans were abl to go and pursue their education in the neighbourhood especially Makerere in Uganda.

In this research a lot of emphasis is directed on formal education. Education system in the member states' of EAC vary from one country to another. This has made it difficult for some expertise to be accepted across the member states. Some sectors in various countries find it difficult to recognize qualifications of some member states.

Today the region has different education systems; Kenya for instance has 8-4-4 system, Uganda and Tanzania still embraces the 7-4-2-3 system, Rwanda has 6-3-3-4, Burundi has 6-7-4-3 while South Sudan has 8-4-4 system.

This has made it difficult to transfer labour across the borders. Many of the citizens that cross the boarders tend to cross in pursuit of business opportunities. Relationship between some member states has made it difficult for some nationals of East African Community to acquire job or business opportunities. Tanzanians for instance are always uncomfortable with Kenyan

professionals and businessmen within their boundaries; this is the same scenario to Uganda. Kenyans seem more aggressive and entrepreneurial than citizens of other member states. Citizens of EAC member states find it easy to study in Kenya; this is due to the fact that Kenyan government has tried to subsidize the tuition fee East African nationals pay; an amount almost equivalent to the one Kenyans pay. Kenya has the best education system in the region with high transition rate. Most of her universities keep featuring among top 200 in Africa with University of Nairobi predominantly blazing the trail. This is highly commendable in as far as regional educational integration is concerned. The only challenge to this is that many locals from Kenya's neighbourhood find it difficult to study in Kenya due to the high cost of living especially within the Kenyan cities, for instance Nairobi[71].

According to the UNDP report of 2015, it was noted that East African Community member states have a big disparity in regards to their education system.

The table below shows the disparity in the disintegrated education system across the region.

Table 1.5: Data: UNDP 2015 HDR Country profiles

	Rwanda	Tanzania	Burundi	Kenya	Uganda
Expected years of schooling	10.3	9.2	10.1	11	9.8
Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and older)	65.9	67.8	86.9	72.2	73.2
The Pupil-teacher ratio in primary school	59.8	43.4	44.8	56.6	45.6
Population with at least some secondary education in % , people above age 25	8.4	7.5	6.7	28.6	28.8
% GDP spent in education	5.1	6.2	5.8	6.6	3.3

From the above data it is therefore evident that integrating East African Community's education system is a tall order. Countries need to harmonize and integrate the system in a manner that all the citizens of East African Community member states' can easily access

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[71] Table 4: Data : UNDP 2015 HDR Country profiles

education regardless of the boarder. As posited by early philosophers such as Plato "education for all", East African Community has a hard task to provide a uniform qualitative education to all the nationals of this region. According to Uwezo findings, 20% of the children completing primary school in EAC haven't mastered basic numeracy and literary skills[72]. According to Global Information technology the ranking of EAC countries education system were rank in the following order from 1 to 6; Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and finally South Sudan[73]. Achieving this goal will clearly take a bit of some time, success though isn't impossible if the change in the system can begin soon.

The finding of this research on education is that the region is educationally disintegrated and lacks standardization; this is hugely detrimental to any regional block aspiring to have highly skilled personnel beneficial to the regional growth and development.

2.3.3 Economic Integration

Kenya's relations with Tanzania have slackened since the 2015 election of the current president John Pombe Magufuli.

This can be understood by the latest changes in the region and the personality of President Magufuli. Magufuli is in a campaign to restore Tanzania's influence and dominance in the region. This is being challenged by the leading economy in the region; Kenya. Tanzania has been trying to sideline Kenya in her engagement; Tanzania conspicuously missed in the coalition of the willing. A coalition with: Rwanda, Uganda and Rwanda.

Tanzania's frosty relationship with Kenya is catalyzed by a mixture of hidden interests. There is tension and competition between the two countries on who among them should host multibillion projects; large regional projects. This competition has widened the rift, making the two countries to be antagonistically apart.

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[72] Uwezo 'Are Our Children Learning? Literacy and Numeracy Across East Africa', Nairobi.
[73] Global Information Technology Reports (2013).

Since the ratification of the Customs Union Treaty in 2009, East Africa has really made some forward steps economically. This has continually put much emphasis on free movement within the region, apart from liberalizing of goods and services. This initiative is focused on enabling free movement of goods, labour, capital and services across the regional boundaries. In spite of the ratification, some countries in the region are still adamant and limiting the agreed terms in the treaty, making the regional progress and development a tall order. This has made it difficult to build an exemplary, sustainable and powerful economic bloc in the region.

Some countries have also refused to cooperate on a number of policies, for instance EPA in 2016. Kenya and Rwanda ratified the agreement in 2016. Kenya ratified the agreement so as to avoid being expelled from duty-free and quota access in the EU markets.

It is quite unfortunate that Tanzania failed to endorse the European Union EPA in 2016 hence withdrawing in fear that of the BREXIT. Tanzania was fearful of the post BREXIT European Union after the exit of Britain. This is an evidence of countries not embracing regional integration, unable to speak in one voice hence poor negotiations. Functionalists argue that a disintegrated region is likely to fail in international negotiations, something that has been hitting the EAC region[74].

Tanzania fear about the industrialization process in the region, it wants to attract big projects by the East (Asia)[75]. Compared to other regional blocks, EAC has made some strides in economic cooperation and almost achieving economic integration[76].

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[74] The United Republic of Tanzania Backs Out of EAC Trade Pact with the EU: *Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU)*. 14/07/ 2018). Available at: http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?
[75] ibid
[76] *United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)*. Africa Regional Integration Index Report. Addis Ababa, 2016.

Common documentation has been introduced at the port. This is to reduce the tension and relax the constraints between the states[77].

There are complaints on unequal distribution of gains and profits from trade within the region. This has been a stumbling block to integration efforts since some states in the region operate in accordance with George Orwell's narrative. George Orwell posits in his book *The Animal Farm*, "all animals are equal but some are more equal than others." The big economies, dominate smaller economies. The region also lack compensation mechanisms[78]. Refugee and poverty crisis in the region are not amicably addressed by the EAC. The region has close to three million people in need of assistance; a population that has been displaced, violated and suppressed economically[79].

2.4 Chapter Summary

The above findings explicitly reiterate the fact that East African Community is not yet socio-culturally integrated. There are diverse cultural practices that political parties ought to have embraced. Little effort has been made by political parties in trying to integrate East African Community's culture. The region has different educations systems, a variety of religions, numerous ethnic groups with no single unifying cultural practice hence lack of identity.

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[77] Gasiorek M, Byiers B, Rollo J and CUTS International. *Regional Integration, Poverty and the East African Community.* Amsterdam: European Centre for Development Policy Management, 2016.

[78] De Melo J and Tsikata Y. Regional integration in Africa: Challenges and Prospects. In Monga DC and Yifu Lin J, The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics: Policies and Practices. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014.

[79] United Nations. "Seeking Fourth Term Would Undermine Efforts for Sustainable Resolution of Deepening Burundi Crisis, Officials Tell Security Council." Available at: https://www.un.org/press/ en/2017/

CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES FACING POLITICAL PARTIES IN EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

Political parties in East African community faces myriad of challenges. In this section the researcher critically analyzes the historical development and evolution of East African political parties since independence. Later see how some of the challenges faced over certain epochs of history still throw tantrums to the current political parties' operations and organizations; ultimately hindering their effort to integrate EAC.

3.1 History of Political Parties

Political parties can be traced way back in European continent during the Industrial period in the 18th century and in Africa during the struggle for independence in the 20th century. John Lock argues in his Second Treatise of Government that the core role of any government is to protect human rights and right to own property. According to him, this is the vital role of a government[80]. It is from this statement that we try to trace the origin of political parties. Since majority of governments are formed through a democratic exercise by citizens who willingly lend their sovereignty to a group of people to establish an organization to preside over matters of the kingdom, monarch, state or region; the area of jurisdiction. It is due to the great appetite of trying to control or govern the states by being solely in charge of state resources that political parties keep on emerging and subjecting themselves to the constituents to get the mandate to rule from the people. Even after winning an election, political parties have continually renewed their mandate by seeking consent of the people to continue ruling over them. East African Community has political parties that keep on emerging with an intention to take control over state's power and authoritatively allocate state's resources. State power in East African region is such high stake games that sometimes lead to massive bloodbaths. Charles Darwin in his book 'The Origin of Species by Natural Selection', Darwin posits and I

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[80] John, Locke. *Two Treatises of Government*, 1690.

paraphrase, Survival is for the fittest; it is only the strong that survive, the week are faced out or rather face extinction[81]. Parties that are able to compete in this murky, vicious and pervasive political arena carry the day, win and govern. Other parties have also been established from the bush by leading a coup hence find it difficult to trust another party by states power. For instance the case of National Resistance Movement led by current Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni that ousted president Idi Amin Dada in 1986. The research found out that a party that ascends to power through a coup finds it difficult to give away state's power through a democratic process; such political parties would rather cling on to power regardless of the will of the people. Examples include NRM and CCM in Uganda and Tanzania respectively. NRM in Uganda has followers in the rural areas of Uganda while on the other hand CMM seems to claim that it is at the centre, representing interests of all the communities in Tanzania. Inclusivity in these two East African countries seems to be rhetoric and not based on any ideology. These parties like other parties in East Africa are mainly interested in acquisition and clinging onto states power. All the laid down strategies are always geared towards access to state's resources, clientelism and patronage. They lack genuine ideology and programs that can instil party discipline and intra party democracy[82].

The power of the government therefore rests solely on the will of the governed. This was the case in the Glorious Revolution of 1668 in Great Britain, American Revolution in 1776, French Revolution in 1789, Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and Iranian Revolution in 1980. In most of these revolutions a certain function of the population has always tried to topple the existing system so as to widen the scope of space and enjoy democratic ideals. According to Samuel Hunnington, the current political parties have undergone three different historic

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[81] Darwin, Charles. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, London: John Murray, 1860. Retrieved on 09/08/ 2018
[82] Okuku, J. *Ethnicity, State Power and the Democratisation Process in Uganda*, Nordic African Institute, Uppsala, 2002.

waves, namely the period after World War One (1914-1918), after World War Two (1939-1945) and finally after cold war ended in 1989[83].

3.2 Development of political parties in (EAC) since Independence.

The current political parties' and political party system can be traced from the colonial period. Political parties' in East Africa region were at the forefront demanding for independence and self determination. Some of their grievances included: to end; land alienation, forced labour, high taxation, racial segregation, brutal harassment of Africans and kipande system. Political parties emerged to address the above stated grievances, back then in the colonial period in the early 20th century, majority of them were led by African elites; erudites who had gone through missionary schools hence were expected to articulate Africans' grievances to the colonial masters; the British, Germans and Belgians.

Drive and aspirations towards African Nationalism and self determination, characterized by use of the liberation ideology was the pillar unto which political parties in the region were established and anchored at independence.

The parties were well organised as they spiritedly aired Africans' grievances for self government and liberation. They put pressure on the colonial masters[84].These parties constitute what we today refer to as the "old" parties, examples include: Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and Kenya African National Union (KANU) in Kenya; Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) and Democratic Party (DP) in Uganda; Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in Tanzania and Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) in Zanzibar. The "new" political parties formed in the period after establishment of defacto single party rules in most countries in East Africa in the early 1990s were against the defacto single party system.

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[83] Huntington, Samuel P., *The Third* Wave: Democratization in the Twentieth Century. University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)

[84] Wanjohi, N. G. "Sustainability of Political Parties in Kenya", in Salih, M.A.M. (Ed) *African political parties: Evolution, institutionalism and governance*. Sterling: Pluto Press, 2003.

These parties played a key role by pushing and advocating for multi-party system as they opposed and resisted authoritarianism established by one-party rule[85].

The second phase of political parties in East Africa was in the late 1990s. This was at the brink of the cold war. There was a lot of pressure on some of the regimes within the region. External pressure, internal partners; civil society within and outside the continent among other groups tirelessly fought for the end of one party system. They wanted the region to embrace to multi-party system.[86]

Consequently, there was mushrooming of political parties. During this period political parties such as the Reform (NCCR-Mageuzi), TLP, UDP and CUF in Tanzania, DP, FDC in Uganda; (FORD) with its subsequent splinter off-shoots; KSC, FORD Kenya and FORD Asili in Kenya were formed. Constitutions were repealed to give room to the new development, expanding the democratic space by having alternatives to the ruling parties[87].

A third category later emerged in Kenya. These were parties grouping together to form coalitions so as to win the general elections. The trend was witnessed in Kenya in the 2002 General elections, when parties opposed to then ruling party came together at the eve of the election and won the presidential election under National Alliance Rainbow Coalition.

In 2013, ODM merged together with Ford Kenya and Wiper Democratic Party to form a coalition known as Coalition of Reforms and Democracy (CORD. In the same year, The National Alliance Party (TNA) merged together with United Republic Party (URP) to form Jubilee Alliance. In the year 2017, the same system of coalition seemed to have dominated

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[85] Oloo, A. G. R. The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation, in Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy (Eds. Godwin Murunga and Shadrack Nasong"o) Codesria, Dakar, 2007.

[86] Musambayi, K. "After the Floods-The Rainbow: Contextualising NARC"s Election Victory- Lessons Learnt and the Challenges Ahead", in Chris Maina Peter and Fritz Kopsieker (Eds) *Political Succession in East Africa: In Search of a Limited Leadership*. Nairobi: 2006 pp 13-51.

[87] Wanjohi, N. G. Sustainability of Political Parties in Kenya, in Salih, M.A.M. (Ed) African political parties: Evolution, institutionalism and governance. Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2003.

Kenya's party politics. Despite the election having been marred by irregularities and illegalities, Jubilee coalition; a coalition of several parties led by the party's flag bearer then President Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta "beat" the NASA coalition led by former Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

The idea of coalitions hasn't been embraced by Kenya's neighbours, for instance in Tanzania, Burundi, Uganda, Rwanda and South Sudan. Politics however is diverse hence keep on changing from time to time due to latest political developments. Uganda's National Resistance Movement (NRM) currently led by President Museveni which also the ruling party in Uganda, came into being as a revolutionary movement ousting Idi Amin Dada in 1985. The party later mutated into a political party in 2003. The party later took power in Uganda through a coup that ousted then President Dictator Idi Amin Dada[88] .

Rwanda on the other hand was rescued from the pangs of genocide by the current president, Paul Kagame who has indirectly established an authoritarian regime with one formidable political party in the country. South Sudan is a young state established in 2011. However seven years since it attained her autonomy, South Sudan still remains fragile with two dominant political parties that operate like militias; SPLA and SPLM,led by President Salva Kiir and Riek Machar consecutively.

Despite the societal changes and the passage of time, this research found out that those ideological foundations of the parties established at independence within East African community for instance Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in Tanzania and Kenya African National Union (KANU) in Kenya, haven't changed much. It is also worth noting that,

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[88] Dr. Sallie Simba. "Democratization processes in Uganda and their implication on East African integration." *Report of workshop on deepening integration in East African Community*. University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, 2003.

Tanzania's CCM still possesses autocratic tendencies and undemocratic ideals. This has made the party to face a stifling opposition and criticism both internally and externally.

KANU on the other hand disintegrated on the eve of 2002 elections when some members accused the party for lack of internal democracy. This took place after then President Moi imposed Hon Uhuru Kenyatta as his successor; a move that did not excite other party officials.

Kenya Amendment Act, 1991 leading to Multipartism was as a result of internal and external pressure put on the ruling party then; KANU[89].

Multiparty system was introduced in 1992 through a constitutional amendment in 1992 in Tanzania. Institutions were established in the same year in Tanzania by the government so as to manage the democratization process.

Uganda took long to introduce and embrace multipartism. It was until 2005 that Uganda through a referendum paved way for return to multipartism. Countries in East African region especially the original three states have developed frameworks under which political parties can operate. Legal guidelines have been put in place to guide and guard party operations, however these legal frameworks are always not adhered to. Political parties in power are the ones enjoying the bigger potion of freedom stipulated in most the constitutions, opposition parties are limited.

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[89] Ibid 86

3.3 Challenges facing Political Parties in EAC

3.3.1 Lack of Internal Democracy

The findings reveal that political parties in the region lack internal democracy. They often mobilise political support along tribal and regional lines. Some of the parties in East Africa also use violence, threats and intimidation to deal with their rivals. These parties' are merely vehicles for use and disuse, used to acquire power, after which the parties remain dormant till the next election[90]. These parties are only revived at the eve of the next election[91]. Challenges facing political parties are both within the party organs and outside. They are affected by both internal and external factors. Political parties in East Africa face the following challenges in their effort to integrate East African Community: leadership wrangles, rise of splinter groups, financial challenges, incompetent leadership, lack of intra-party democracy, and political suppression by the sitting government, big man syndrome, negative ethnicity and lack of a strong ideology.

3.3.2 Big Man Syndrome

African political parties are anchored around one strong man or a group of strong men; oligarch. Here the term 'strong men' has been used to mean those with huge political support or muscle within the party. These parties have a few individuals at the topmost echelon of power, who are the key decision makers; the public is simply used as a rubber stamp. Political influence and power within the political parties in the region is overwhelmingly rested upon party leaders and a few of their cronies. For one to survive politically in the murky political terrain, he/she must be able to obey and play a second fiddle to the party leader. Political players in East Africa have chosen to operate by Robert Green's first law in his book The 48 Laws of Power; never outshine the master[92]. In this case, the political masters. In most East African political parties, overwhelming power and influence is vested

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[90]"How political parties are failing Kenya yet again" on star newspaper published on 30th Jan 2016.

[91] Chege, M. *Political Parties in East Africa: Diversity in Political Party Systems,* Stockholm, IDEA, 2007.

[92] Green R. (2000) *The 48 Laws of Power*:Profile books limited, London

and concentrated in the party officials, party leaders or a few of their cronies. Party delegates are merely playing the ceremonial role, with very little powers to influence party operations and activities.[93] Decisions are often reached without incorporation of members of public, especially party followers.[94]

3.3.3 Negative Ethnicity

The findings posit misuse of political parties which have been used to advance ethnic interest at the expense of both national and regional interests. In 2013, The National Alliance (TNA) in Kenya led by the current president of the Republic of Kenya was seen as a Kikuyu Party advancing kikuyus' interest; the United Republican Party of Deputy Ruto articulating kalenjin grievances, ODM was seen as a Luo party advancing the Luo's interest[95].

The challenge of negative ethnicity affects both the ruling and opposition parties in the region. The internal party organs and structures are highly ethicized. Ethnicity makes it difficult for the political parties to sustain themselves. Many of these parties are formed and later die a natural death when there is a shift in alliances. This is apparently evidence that these parties are a cocoon of several ethnic groups put together. Few political parties are able to survive after four consecutive general elections; many of them are always rendered defunct after the general election[96].

In Tanzania, CHADEMA has been amassing support from the people of Tanzania gradually due to its national character. This is contrary to the case of Uganda's Democratic Party (DP) which has been perceived by Ugandans as a party championing the interests of the Catholics and Buganda (central region). Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) on the other hand has been

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[93] Oloo, A. G. R. *The Contemporary Opposition in Kenya: Between Internal Traits and State Manipulation, in Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy* (Eds. Godwin Murunga and Shadrack Nasong"o) Codesria, Dakar, 2007.
[94] Ibid .
[95] ibid
[96] Wanjohi, N. G. "Sustainability of Political Parties in Kenya", in Salih, M.A.M. (Ed) *African political parties: Evolution, institutionalism and governance.* Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2003.

branded as a representative of the protestants especially in the northern part of the country[97].

Party alliances in East Africa are merely seen as a cooperation of ethnic communities with baseless ideology, poor angry and anchored on ethnicity[98].

3.3.4 Power Wangles and Struggle at the Top

There is power wrangles within political parties in East Africa. In the case of Kenya, many splinter political parties have emerged after a split from the original party. From KANU in 2002 when political leaders like Raila Odinga, George Saitoti , Martha Karua and Charity Ngilu were dissatisfied with President Moi's selection of Uhuru Kenyatta as the party successor. They walked out of the party and formed new political parties. The opposition conglomerated together under National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC); a coalition that went ahead to win elections in 2002 with Mwai Kibaki of Democratic Party (DP) as the coalition's flag bearer. A similar scenario was again seen after 2007 elections, when Musalia Mudavadi walked out of Orange Democratic Party led by Raila Odinga, claiming it was undemocratic. Other leaders followed suit, for instance William Ruto, Najib Balala among others.

3.3.5 Insufficient Funding

East African political parties are affected by insufficient funding to run their day to day activities. Others cannot even pay rent, pay their agents or finance campaigns comfortably. This has made it difficult for the small parties to reach grassroots. When elections are nearing, political parties with huge financial muscles carry the day in this high stake game. In Uganda, NRM is the party with proper funding, in Kenya today it is Jubilee, FDC in Rwanda and CCM in Tanzania. This has made it difficult for small parties with clear manifestos and a strong will to galvanize support to compete on equal platforms. Elections in all the six countries are damn expensive; high stake game.

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[97] Okuku, J. *Ethnicity, State Power and the* Democratisation Process in Uganda, Nordic African Institute, Uppsala, 2002.
[98] ibid

3.3.6 Lack of Ideology

Parties in East Africa stand for nothing hence can push for nothing. Many of the parties are ethnic based with neither clear ideology nor principles. A big number are briefcase parties that do not even have political muscles and a strong following. When elections are nearing in many states in East African Community, high stake politics emerge characterized with battle of the mighty political factions with emphasis on personalities. The case of Kenyan 2017 election, for instance was a contest between President Uhuru Kenyatta and former premier Raila Odinga. Manifestos and other party documents are literally a formality. Party followers do not even interact with party rules, party regulations, and party manifesto among other party documents. Party followers do not even understand what their party stand for; hence can't put their leaders' to task. There is a lot of jingoism in the system. Ugandan elections are always a contest between President Museveni and the strongest opposition leader; who happen to be Kizza Besigye today.

As Mahatma Gandhi posited that politics without principles is detrimental, I emphatically coin and paraphrase this to mean political parties' formed without a clear principles, mandate and ideology will simply abort the future goals and aspirations of EAC integration. This is because we will be preparing for a journey to nowhere, a journey without any objective, a journey without a motivating factor. Most of these political parties are simply rooted around personalities, lack of strong party ideology and principles. These parties are often geared towards clinching of states power and nothing more.

3.3.7 Lack of Distinct and Disciplined Party Membership

One of the most conspicuous challenges facing political parties democratisation process is lack of party discipline among party members[99].In 2018, many politicians in CHADEMA crossed the floor in support of the ruling party; Chama Cha Mapinduzi. Kenyan opposition is also gradually being swept under the carpet by the incumbent president; Uhuru Kenyatta.

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[99] See Oloo, A. G. R. 2007.

Ever since the handshake witnessed in March of 2018 between President Uhuru Kenyatta and former premier Raila Odinga, the opposition has remained numb in a number of domestic issues. As Robert Green avers in his book, *The 48 Laws of Power*, strike the shepherd and the sheep scatter, for the sheep shall be rudderless, directionless and leaderless. This is what happens quite often with the opposition political parties in the region when their leaders choose to dine and wine with the ruling party.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This section has traced the evolutionary trajectory of political parties in East Africa since independence from political pluralism, single-party autocracy and then back to multiparty.

It has also covered some of the challenges that are affecting the political parties in their quest to integrate East African Region. The findings of the research elaborate comprehensively some of these challenges faced by these political parties.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NEXUS BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EAST AFRICA

4.1 General Overview of Political Parties

Political parties worldwide play essential role both domestically and internationally, that is within and outside the state's boundaries. Political parties since time immemorial have been used as ladders to climb to state's power, represent the grievances of a people and offer checks and balances to the government in power. Due to the fact that not all political parties can rule and govern affairs within the state at the same time, many end up being opposition parties' for instance in the case of East African Community where each and every country has got only one ruling political party or one coalition with many opposition parties. The research found out that it is impossible for one political party to control power within a state from epoch to epoch unless the state is predominantly single party state. East African Community member states largely embrace multiparty system. Tanzania and Kenya have a multiparty political system contrary to Uganda and Rwanda that run a movement political system characterized by one dominant political party. National Resistance Movement (NRM) in Uganda and Front Patriotique Rwandais (RPF) of Rwanda are the sole monopolistic political parties in the two countries. In Uganda, the NRM has a strong grip to the states' power; the party intimidates, harasses and even jails opposition leaders[100].

East African Community has about 155 active political parties; Kenya for instance has 57 registered political parties out of which only 38 are active. Jubilee Party is the ruling party after it won election in the year 2017. The research also found out that some of the parties in the East African Community had become defunct. From simple logic it is therefore evident that there are many opposition parties than the ruling parties in the East African Community.

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[100] Nabudere, D, The Fast-tracking of Federation and Constitutionalism in East Africa, Dar es Salaam, 2004.

According to the findings of this research, the roles of political parties keep changing depending with the people over a certain period of time and area of jurisdiction. Role of political parties in East Africa during the colonial period and the period after colonialism has slightly changed. There are a lot of similarities in regards to their composition and membership. During the colonial period, some of the grievances aggravated by the political parties included: land alienation, racial segregation, forced labour, kipande system, etc. Today their key roles include policy making, law making and amendment, laying decision making institutions, distribution of resources, representation, winning election, protection of human rights and agenda setting.

In matters regional integration the roles remain the same however coined to address the needs of a specific region, in this case the broader East African Community. At the region level, political parties' roles cross the boundaries of the state. Their roles are geared towards realization of EAC

4.2 Role of political parties' in East African Community
4.2.1 Political Parties and Citizens' Participation in EAC Integration

While tracing the concept peoples' centeredness and participation in the quest for EAC integration, we realize that the terms 'centeredness' and 'participation' were emphatically included in the East African Community treaty to ensure that the treaty upheld and embraced the ideals and aspirations of East African people[101].

The idea of peoples' centeredness was brought into light basically to gear and act as a stepping stone towards the envisaged formation of the East African Federation. It was realized that one of the main reasons why the first model of EAC failed was due to the fact that it lacked people's participation and centeredness.[102] The people didn't own the integration process and ideas behind it hence didn't participate adequately and effectively. Majority within East Africa didn't even know the objectives and goals of the community.

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[101] Rwekaza Sympho Mukandala and Nestor N Luanda, "Tanzania's Regional Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation," Mimeo. Dar es Salaam, University of Dar es Salaam, July 2002, p.7-10.
[102] EAC Secretariat (2000), op cit.

This consequently led to the collapse of the first EAC model in 1975. What is the situation today? This research has tried to find an answer to this. In the first quarter of the 21st century, one of the major catalysts of regional integration which are the political parties is expected to seal this gap.

Political parties have the role to involve and maximize citizens' participation in regional integration. In the case the EAC this has not been achieved. Political parties have done too little in sensitizing citizens and increasing their awareness on matters of East African integration. As the EAC secretariat is busy spearheading talks to come up with a political federation, political parties are therefore expected to intensively sensitize citizens within and around East Africa on the same. According to Andrew Kiondo, the issue of citizens' participation was of vitality even at the birth of the first model of the EAC. He says that the question of lack of peoples' participation was even being asked by scholars and intellectuals during the signing of the treaty by the leaders that gave birth to the current model of EAC in the year 2000[103]. This is evidence that the intellectuals were worried whether the EAC integration was going to be thwarted by the lack of peoples' participation in the region. It also justifies how important people's participation is in realization of integration.

The findings posit that political parties in East Africa have done too little to sensitize and create awareness among the party followers; East African citizens. Apparently many political parties in East Africa do not even have an agenda on East African regional integration. Many of East African political parties' are like flightless birds flying to no destination in matters of regional integration. For a bird to fly, it needs wings, in this context I equate wings to people's participation. Remember, people make places, places don't make people. Failure to

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[103] Andrew Kiondo, "The people's involvement in the establishment of the EAC", in Sengndo Mvungi (ed), The *Draft Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community: A Critical Review,* Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2002.

involve people has been one of the major causes for the slow pace of integration[104]. Many political parties in East Africa may have subscribed to O'Neill's school of thought about politics. United States House of Representative Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jnr (1912-1992) coined the phrase "All politics is local[105]." In delving deep into this, politics is domestic and many political parties tend to be omitting the idea of bringing matters of EAC integration into their campaign either by default or by design. While focusing on the latter, political parties seem to fear citizens' controversial reaction about EAC integration and therefore intentionally keep off debates on EAC integration. In Kenya's 2017 presidential election, absolutely no political party tried to sensitize the public about the importance of having a political federation integrating all the states within the East African Community. The two major political parties in the 2017 election, NASA and Jubilee seemed to have swept the debate on EAC federation agenda under the carpet. Political parties in EAC seem to be very sensitive hence fear championing controversial debates that are likely to face mixed reaction from the citizens. In political parties' lenses, this would engineer rejection and hostility within then state's borders. In 2016 Tanzanian election, the United Republic of Tanzania's president John Pombe Magufuli of CCM[106] trumped Edward Lowassa of CHADEMA[107] by 58% of the votes cast[108]. Both the two antagonistic political parties didn't try to sensitize the public on the need and importance of having an EAC political federation. The question then is why?

Failure by the political parties within the EAC to sensitize the public has been attributed to the following reasons according to the findings: nationalism among the respective member states, fear of the unknown, maintenance of the status quo by the hegemony in the region.

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[104] Olu-Adeyemi, L. and Ayodele, B. "The challenges of regional integration for development in Africa: Problems and Prospects." Journal of Social Sciences. Vol. 15, No 2 and 3 page 202-240, 2007.

[105] . "All politics is local " is a phrase coined by United States House of Representative Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jnr (1912-1992)

[106] CCM stands for Chama Cha Mapinduzi.

[107] CHADEMA stands for Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendleo.

[108] http://www.google.com/amp/s/www.bbc.com/news/amp/world-africa-34669468 retrieved on 9/9/2018

Both Tanzania and Kenya are at logger-heads on who to control the region's politics and economics. Other reasons include: ethicized political parties with myopic political mandate, fear of the respective political parties losing relevance among domestic voters, little is demanded by citizens on EAC integration due to lack of knowledge about EAC, citizens not putting their leaders to task on matters of East African Community.

East African Community's current political party system has little to do with sensitization and creating awareness to the citizenry. This is due to the nature and focus of these political parties; they are ethnic based with no ideology

The research also found out that EAC have more than 350 ethnic groups. These ethnic groups and communities have no unifying regional culture, language nor identity. Any effort to sensitize the public is likely to be misinterpreted by one community from another. It is therefore difficult and challenging to sensitize a people with different culture, religion, beliefs and values unless you are ready to appreciate and embrace their diversity, something that political parties in East Africa seem to have failed to do. In fact the research discovered that majority of these political parties have ethicized connotations hence are part and parcel of the problem in efforts to achieve integration. Majority also fear setting the East Africa Federation agenda to the public. It is true that the public always behave like a pendulum hence difficult to predict, many political parties have therefore chosen to be extremely cautious and numb on reigniting the agenda on East Africa federation. Parties have decided to keep low profile or rather remain mute on matters EAC integration instead of bringing up a controversial debate. This was witnessed in the just concluded 2017 Kenyan election and 2016 Tanzanian elections[109].

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[109] "Regional Integration has taken a back seat" an article by Sekou Toure Otondi on 16th July 2017.

4.2.2 Political Parties' Manifestos and EAC Integration Agenda

This research found out that many East African citizens are not well conversant with their respective political parties' manifestos, leave alone the content therein. Out of the 64 East African members of public interviewed, only twelve had a clue on the content of their political party manifesto. Many people within East Africa are therefore green on the content of those manifestos. One of the interviewee told the researcher verbatim, "How do you expect me to know about the ODM's party agenda on EAC yet I don't even know the agenda they have for me as a citizen of this country?" Many of the citizens within East Africa, especially the elites just know about their party leaders; most of whom haven't interacted with their party manifesto document.

Political parties within East African Community are mainly associated with the personalities at the top most pinnacles of party authority; most often the party leader. They are not guided by ideologies within their manifestos like political parties in Scandinavian Europe and North America. Despite the fact that party manifestos in many third world countries do not shift voting patterns, they do provide a policy blueprints of what the parties ought to prioritise on, after forming the next government or as the opposition party.

Of the political party manifestos sampled, it was realized that majority do not have any agenda on East African Integration, and the little that was noted simply touches on economic integration and not political integration. It was also evident that of all the key six political parties governing various areas of jurisdiction within the state; Jubilee party manifesto in Kenya, National Resistance Movement in Uganda, Chama Cha Mapinduzi in Tanzania, SPLA Sudan People's Liberation Army in Sudan do not have any goodwill on the establishment of a political federation. There is absolutely no political party manifesto in East Africa as per 2018 that are advancing for the idea of having a conglomeration of states put together under one political administration as East African Federation.

Below is a list of the six ruling political parties and main opposition parties' sampled. This is the situation now (2018), subject to change, maybe with time.

Table 6.1: Major political parties within the East African Community.

Political Party	Country and status	Does the manifesto have an agenda on regional integration	Any agenda on political integration:Regional Integration
Jubilee Party	Ruling party in Kenya	YES; Establishing cold chains for drugs and vaccine	NO
NASA Coalition (ODM, WDP,ANC and FORD K)	Main Opposition coalition in Kenya	YES; advocates for Cooperation on industrial growth. Lack laid down policies in other segments of integration.	NO
CHADEMA	Main Opposition in Tanzania	YES; Emphasis put on security and regional development. Lack laid down policies in other segments of integration.	NO
National Resistance Movement	Ruling party in Uganda	YES; Has played a huge role in reviving EAC. NRM's manifesto put emphasis on regional economic development.	NO However at the forefront for advancing need for East African Federationthough their party leader; Yoweri Museveni
Chama Cha Mapinduzi	Ruling party in Tanzania		NO
SPLA	Ruling party in South Sudan		NO
SPLM	Main opposition in South Sudan	NO	NO
RPF	Ruling party in Rwanda	YES; slightly touches on economic development	NO
DGP	Main Opposition in Rwanda	YES	NO
CNDD-FDD	Ruling party in Burundi	NO	NO
FDB	Main Opposition in Burundi	NO	NO

In the just concluded 2017 presidential elections in Kenya, NASA coalition, Jubilee party and even Wiper Democratic Movement (WDP) never took much account of relations between East African Community member states. This is really disturbing, meaning their manifesto were more domestic.

While perusing the two main antagonistic political manifestos in that election; Jubilee and NASA manifesto which were the main political outfits in Kenya, shows that neither had a comprehensive coherent plan for integration in East Africa. This is a key concern to people in the region, Kenya inclusive. Remember Kenya is hegemon in the region and therefore if the hegemony does not have a plan for regional integration then there is nowhere the body can go without the head. The critical question is therefore, how a party without an agenda on EAC integration can send its members to represent the interest of citizens in the EALA on matters regional integration. Does it mean that these political parties represent something they don't believe in fully? The research found this as ironic. Why are the political parties blackmailing their citizens that they are in full support of EAC agenda, yet they are exercising the principle of selective honesty[110] and lack of political good will?

Hon Raila Amolo Odinga; former Kenyan Prime Minister in the year 2011, during the opening of East African political parties' consultative meeting, suggested an inclusion of the issue of East African integration agenda in the political parties' manifestos[111].He said this would catalyze and fasten the envisaged political merger hence making it a reality. Political merger in this context was synonymous to East African federation.

However, the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga in 2013 and 2017 vied for presidency in Kenya, without having implemented his sentiments. His political party Orange Democratic

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[110] Green, R. 48 Laws of Power; Viking, a division of Penguin Putnam Inc. New York, 1998.
[111] The First EAC Consultative Meeting for Political Parties in East Africa 15th-16th September 2011 Nairobi-Kenya

Party (ODM) up to date still do not have an agenda on East African Community political federation. The first question any layman would ask is; did he mean his words? This is a clear case that verbally the idea of having a political merger seems to be coming from various politicians in East Africa but rather lacks the political goodwill from the same same politicians themselves. Both Coalition of Reformation and Democracy and NASA never had an agenda on East African Community. The same cuts across other political parties' within the region.

A key look and investigation of the six member states' constitutions found out that all the six constitutions don't necessarily address matters of East African integration. All the constitutions were found to be practising isolationism[112] to a larger extend in their approach to East African integration agenda. Little has been addressed on economic integration with almost nothing on cultural and political integration. Kenya's current constitution which was promulgated in 2010 for instance, does not make much reference to the EAC integration.

4.2.3 Political Parties' Role in Ensuring Peace, Security, and Stability in EAC

Any East African resident would ask; are the political parties doing enough to ensure citizens of East African Community member states are peaceful, stable and secured? This is an area that is ambiguous to assess. Can there be peace? Many scholars in the field of international conflict management argue that peace is temporal and not permanent. A number also argue that war can only be managed and not eradicated. Kenneth Waltz-a realist scholar, in his book; *Man the State, and War* argues that due to the fact that man by nature is evil, war is inevitable[113]. Kenneth vividly elaborates that man is naturally selfish and is perverse by nature; he is likely to pursue his interests at the expense of other men regardless of the factors at play. In this pursuit he is likely to get into conflict with others, this is rather absurd. Neinur

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[112] Isolationism is a policy of trying not to engage much on matter international relations; domestication of policies.
[113] Waltz, K. *Man, The State, And War*. NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 2001.

and Eddy share the same world view with Waltz, for them they posit man as a definite being who is aggressive though with unclear aspirations. Man has gone further to develop political and economic theories to justify his selfish ambitions. He fails to understand that he has been born in insecure environment though tries to make himself secure. Despite of the fact that he is a man, he thinks himself a god. He himself is evil and can be best understood as a proud being.[114]"

A lot of conflicts in East Africa that have consequently resulted into bloodbaths have been witnessed. All these have been contributed by human activities. Many of the political leaders in East Africa are driven by Machiavelli's principles of 'real politik'. In his book the Prince, "the end justifies the means[115]." This means that man basically basically care less about the grievances of the electorates. If this is the nature of men and political parties comprises of men, then political parties cannot collectively advance interests of all men.

Most of the wars and conflicts in East African Community have been caused by majorly two factors, ideological differences and fight for resources. Most of these have been caused by political leaders either in their quest for power or by depriving the marginalized their rights by unevenly distributing state's resources. This research found out that most of East African political parties have been the key catalysts and chief propagators of these wars. For instance the civil war in South Sudan between the two key political players Riek Machar and John Garang which has left the country in turmoil. Burundi after the renewal of the incumbent president's term Pierre Nkrunzinza in 2016 has also turned into a fragile country. Opposition in Uganda is always at war with the incumbent; President Yoweri Museveni, who has made it

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[114] Niebur and Eddy, Doom and Dawn:*The Nature and Destiny of Man*, 1,137,150, p.16:
[115] *The Prince* by Niccollo Machavelli.

difficult for the opposition to operate[116]. Being that political players cause war, political parties should then provide for solution?

The research found out that political parties in East Africa prefer operating under isolationism policy rather than interventionism on matters of East African Integration. Majority of their role in securing the region are being carried out by other international organizations such as the African Union, United Nations and other Non Governmental Organizations. Media and religion were also cited as key players in trying to pacify the region if correctly used, for if not then they can propagate propaganda hence fuelling war instead[117].

4.2.4 Political Parties' Role in Promoting the Establishment of Shared Values and Norms in EAC

According to the findings, EAC low integration is partly contributed by the political parties' failure to sensitize and show direction on matters EAC in the region. Most of these political parties have also failed to instil values needed to speed up integration.

Having people of multi languages and of various ethnicity, finding a common ground for shared values was found challenging. EAC member states do not have one unifying language to be used as medium of instruction in the sensitization process. Kiswahili is widely used in Tanzania; English and Kiswahili in Kenya;English and Baganda in Uganda; Kinyarwanda and French in Rwanda; French in Burundi and Dinka in South Sudan. It is very evident that EAC do not have one unifying language.

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[116] Chege, M. *Political Parties in East Africa: Diversity in Political Party Systems*, Stockholm, IDEA, 2007.
[117] Powers, Gerard. "Religion and Peacebuiding."*In Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World*. Oxfoed:Oxford University Press. Pp 315-360, 2010.

4.2.5 POLITICAL PARTIES IN STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY IN THE EAC REGION

Political parties all over the world are ideally tools for spreading democratic ideals. Some political parties within East Africa have tried to spread democratic ideals within and among all the member states of E.A.C. This has mainly been done by opposition parties within the region. To begin with, is there democracy in E.A.C? The answer to this question from the findings is both a No and a yes. I am a strong proponent of the former, reason being; democracy in EAC is still a tall order. EAC electoral processes are often marred with irregularities and illegalities; for instance the case of Kenya's 2017 election that nearly divided the country into two; "Peoples' Republic of Kenya" and the "Central Republic of Kenya." Some of the governments for instance the one in Uganda has been imposed to the citizens. The challenge to this is that you end up having a country whereby some governments lack legitimacy. High stake elections in EAC has consequently led to the undermining of democracy; electoral malpractices, election rigging and sometimes suppressing free media hence arm-twisting electorates. Some powerful politicians in East Africa have gone to an extent of imposing leaders to the people by hand-picking their relatives to represent the will of the people in EALA. These members lack legitimacy and so lack the political muscles to advance East Africa political federation and integration agenda. Some are persona non grata in that assembly. Joseph[118] argues that, "because the Assembly's members do not reflect the makeup of the East African population, let alone the small number of the representatives, they will not have a constituency in the wider population to whom they will feel obliged to report back to, and to reflect their views in the Assembly"[119].

There has been a proposal doing rounds that EALA members' should be elected by the people and not nominated. A plea which has not seen the light of the day.

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[118] Joseph, R. 'Democratization in Africa after 1989': Comparative *and Theoretical Perspectives, Comparative Politics*, April, Vol.29, No.3 1997.
[119] Ibid

Historically some countries like Uganda have never had a peaceful and successful transfer of power. All the preceding take-overs were engineered through coups. The incumbent Yoweri Museveni acquired power through a coup.

Can there be democracy in the extended EAC if internally democracy is a precious commodity, rare to find? Kenya on the other hand has never witnessed a free fair election except the election at independence in 1963 and the 2002 election that brought to an end the reign of KANU's Daniel Moi. Kenya for a long period of time was a single party state, especially after the ban of KPU of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga in 1966. This phenomenon continued till 1992 after section 2A was repealed leading to the re-emergence of multiparty.

Democratic ideals like in the European Union need a strong political party with very strong internal structures, ideology and fundamental principles. A party embedded on democracy and not ethnicity, making it to propagate its agenda both locally and internationally.

EAC electoral processes are often characterised by electoral gimmicks and innuendos with a predetermined winner. Citizens are made to believe prima facie that the election are conducted in a free fair manner yet while focusing into what happens behind the scenes; the elections have lots of discrepancies, bloodbaths, rigging etc.

The research found out that the democracies are more likely to integrate faster than authoritarian regimes being led by despots or dictators. This has been the case of European Union model where majority of the states embrace democratic ideals. East African governments are quasi authoritarian, prima facie they look democratic but while digging deep into the internal structure of these political parties whether the ruling parties or opposition parties, you shall disagree to agree with me that majority are not yet democratic. This cuts across almost all political parties in East Africa. Many of these political parties in EAC are glued around personalities and not ideology. States governed by non-democratic political

parties are always characterized by totalitarianism whereby civil societies are suppressed and democratic space is narrowed down[120]. This is the case with Uganda and Rwanda in East African Community.

In Kenya for instance, being nominated as ODM candidate for an elective position in Luo Nyanza by the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga who is currently the party leader is almost a guarantee to win for the position.

The ultimate goal of trying to establish a polity in E.A.C is greatly hindered by lack of political goodwill among political parties in East African Community member states. Burundi under Pierre Nkrunzinza was in 2016 ranked by IMF as one of the poorest country in Africa. Studies further revealed that many Burundians are not happy with the government of President Pierre Nkrunzinza. The ruling political party led by Pierre Nkrunzinza tends to myopically believe that Nkrunzinza should and must be Burundi's life president. This consequently led to change of Burundi's constitution to allow the incumbent president Pierre Nkrunzinza to vie for another term. This is a clear scenario where leaders forget about the electorates and instead driven by their selfish interest. The incumbent has been unable to provide for a democratic political space within Burundi. Can one expect such like a leader to promote democracy or stand tall to condemn other undemocratic governments in the larger region; this will be difficult, for the kettle can't call the pot black.

In Tanzania the central committee of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi party (CCM) possesses too much power hence dictates, who takes control or arises to power within the CCM party organs. Consequently directly or indirectly influencing the country's general election; of leadership. This idea of imposing leaders to the people undemocratically is a clearly indication that there is no internal democracy in most political parties within the region.

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[120] Linz, J. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. London, Lynne Rienner, 2000.

Charity begins at home; consequently democracy begins at the party level. If there is no democracy in the internal party structure then one should not expect it at the regional or the international level. Many of these political parties are not democratic, yet democracy should start domestically then cross the borders so as to democratically integrate the region.

Burundi, South Sudan and Kenya have been in election turmoil leading to post election violence. This has mainly been attributed to, by the act of subverting the will of the people, marred with election rigging and extrajudicial attacks and killings in the electioneering periods. Political parties in the region were unable to try in salvaging the situation in these countries. In East Africa's election process those who vote do not count, those who count the votes determine who wins the election.

The call for political parties to champion for democracy in East African Community is blind optimism; this is mainly because these political parties have no absolute agenda for the integration of EAC. Secondly the internal structures of these political parties have still a lot of morass that need to be cleaned up. Thirdly, these political parties are undemocratic, that is before spreading democratic ideals in EAC?

4.2.6 Political Parties as Institutional Transmission Belt
Political parties ideally, should play the role of conveyor belt in disseminating and airing voters' will and grievance to the government. After which, revert back to their followers; the public. They should act as ladders by which majority's will is expressed then later transformed into public policy.

In a multiparty system, for instance the case of East Africa, political parties' should be intrinsically motivated to act as channel for disseminating the policies passed by the EAC to the public. This can only be achieved when effective and efficient representation both domestically and regionally is catered for, failure to which then it is not a guarantee. Instead

what do we see? A scenario in which beautiful manifestos are used as ladders to lure voters and access state's power at the expense of the source of power; citizens.

4.2.7 Political Parties in Peace Building

Political parties sometimes play the role of brokering peace among warring parties. Museveni's NRM's has a played a significant role in peace building process in South Sudan. Other political parties within the region should also step up in such like roles.

Carothers holds that the most negative consequence of weak political parties is the inadequate representations of citizens' interest and inability to address citizens' grievances[121]. Arguably the most vital role political parties can play in peacekeeping and peace building is to represent the interest of different groups. These groups include marginalized groups and varied interests. They help in bargaining processes between state and society over the post conflict political settlement, both during peace negotiations and post- conflict life. Wild and Foresti argues that it is in these negotiations that political parties fuel the conflict into a serious stalemate. He further argues that political parties generally operate like vehicles for erudite in the society; with an aim of wielding power and having access to resources as front organizations for armed groups[122]. Reilly et al reaffirms the above statement that these political parties are normally driven by the elastic interest[123].

4.3 Chapter Summary

Political parties' agenda in East African in matters of regional integration is not clearly stipulated. Their role is not explicit and is often misunderstood. Some of the political parties have a narrow mandate that do not cater for regional interests e.g. matters of EAC political agenda; East Africa federation. This research found out that many East African political

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[121] Carothers, T. *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Washington, DC 2006.
[122] Wild, L. & M. Foresti. "Support to political parties a missing piece of the governance puzzle." *ODI Briefing Paper*.London: 2010.
[123] See Reilly, B. et al. 2008.

parties don't even have an agenda to spearhead and embrace regional integration. This was evident due to their lack of regional integration agenda in their party manifesto. Little if not nothing have been done in trying to realize East African Community's dreams and visions. Political parties should also come out clearly and give out their position on matters of EAC integration.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

In conclusion Regional integration in East African Community has proven to be a challenge.

East African Community was conceived in 1965 with three member states; Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. These were the bona fide founding members of the EAC. The idea to integrate the region was spearheaded by the following founding fathers; Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Milton Obote of Uganda and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

These three states ratified the Permanent Commission for East African Co-operation. Unfortunately the commission only lasted for a decade, after which collapsed and died in 1975. Life was later injected back to the community in 1999, when the heads of states felt it revival of EAC was not only necessary but also noble. This consequently led to the re-establishment of the EAC for regional growth and development. Even after the neo-inception, the community has been unable to fully integrate as one supranational polity under one federal government. EAC is marred with myriad of challenges that make the dream to have East African federation a blurred dream. Political parties all over the world have played the catalyst role to integrate regions; however in East Africa the reverse is true. Political parties which are ideally expected to spearhead the integration vision walk the integration talk and actualize the integration dream of having a federal state of East Africa, seem to have done too little. In some cases, the same political parties are often at the forefront thwarting the integration agenda.

There is lack of political good will from the political parties in the region. While analyzing the political systems and political parties in East Africa; their characteristics; and what they stand for; it is rather absurd to solely sit back and watch political parties trying to integrate the region politically, economically and socio-culturally. This dream is too big to be left for political parties alone; it needs to be all inclusive. The long awaited integration agenda of

East African region with the political parties at the forefront is what refers to can be referred to as blind optimist. This is due to the fact that most of these political parties seem blind in advancing the integration agenda.

The nature and the architecture of political parties in the region at the moment are unlikely to lead East Africa into full integration. They are characterized by lack of ideology, ethnic based with very myopic mandate. They also lack intra-party democracy hence prima facie do not represent the interests of the citizens in this region. These parties are o4ften used as vehicles in pursuit of states power, after which dumped or rebranded awaiting the next general election. Integration agenda conspicuously misses in their main party document; their manifesto. The question therefore is; how can a flightless bird without wings fly from tree A to tree B? Wings in this context mean the integration agenda in the manifesto which seems to lack.

There is a lacuna between the political parties and the public. There is lack of public participation, the gap seems to be widening every single day. This research is not a pessimistic justification about integration of the region, there is still hope and light at the end of this dark tunnel. A lot of stones still remain unturned and the political parties ought to step up and be the trail blazers in this process so as to fully integrate the region. Other institutions such as: the church, media and nongovernmental organizations can also step in. Integration is too serious a matter to be left to the political parties alone.

5.2 Recommendations

There is need for political goodwill from political parties. This will enable political party structures to fasten the process of integration and establishment of a federation. East African Federation can only be realized on condition that there is political goodwill from the political leaders.

Political parties to comprehensively capture regional integration agenda in the drafting of their manifesto. They need to review their manifesto and try to incorporate regional integration process and agenda in them. This can only be achieved if political parties can deeply understand their role in regional integration, rebrand themselves to have a regional outlook and not the current ethnic identity. Political manifestos therefore need to be relooked at, reviewed and revised so as to address issues of regional importance.

A regional political party centre to be formed; a centre geared towards convergence of political parties' within the region periodically. This would bring together political parties so as to dissect critical issues of regional importance. It would as well be used as a platform for exchange program, so that political parties can compare notes across and within the region.

The constitutions of all the six member states need to establish a framework to organize the activities and operations of political parties. This should be done in an effort to make the political parties in the region more effective and efficient in addressing regional needs. Political parties can also be transformed into agents of democracy, national development, regional development and regional cohesion. These constitutions should also device means to put political parties; to task. Parties should start by having a national character; i.e. by drawing support from all over the country of origin after which try to merge together with other political parties in the region.

The challenge of uniting the region solely rest upon political parties' agenda and programs. They are mandated to play a pivotal role in trying to unite the region. This will require an establishment of a strong foundation for promoting regional cohesion and unity through cooperation between political parties in the region. Political parties need to advocate for and front the use of one native language within the region, an East African language as the main medium of communication, possibly Kiswahili; since it is widely spoken by majority of people in the region. Kiswahili language is likely to ravel other facets of integration; politically and economically. Remember construction of Tower of Babel in the bible started stumbling at the point the people were unable to understand one another due to disconnect in the language. East Africa's integration tower is also likely to stumble if there is no one culture and medium of communication.

Political parties to practise good governance and enhance internal democracy at the party level. Parties should develop internal self assessment and evaluation mechanisms. This would help them in addressing pertinent issues of aborted elections, issues of transparency and accountability, organizing of party activities and also provide for a room for consultations within the party organs. Consequently, this will lead to free and fair elections at the party level hence spilling to the general elections. This according to the neo-functionalists will have the spill over effect hence promoting spread of democratic ideals within and across the national boundaries up to the region.

Members of Assembly at EALA should derive their mandate through an election and universal suffrage. This will make members more accountable and with direct mandate from the people, they will be answerable to their electorates' hence better representation at the regional legislative assembly. By doing this EALA members will have legitimacy from their constituents hence able to up their game at the assembly knowing vividly that they are servants to the electorates.

Political parties, by and large to try and use a wide stakeholder approach as a means to sensitize members of public. This will promote sensitization of the members of the public. This would make sensitization reach the grassroots. This can be achieved by educating the public after which call upon a referendum similar to BREXIT held in Britain in 2016.

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RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE
ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY
OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY by Paul Aginnah

Interviewee	
Age	
Profession	
Nationality	
Political party	

This questionnaire is intended to solicit information about the role of political parties in regional integration in East Africa.

QUESTIONNNAIRE

1. Do political parties play a significant role in the integration of EAC?

   a) If YES how?

   b) If NO, what are the challenges that hinder the Integration process especially establishment of the EAC federation?

2. Which is the most important in trying to sensitize the public on the importance of integrating EAC?(Tick at least two)

- Media houses in Kenya(TV and Radio)

- Print Media(News papers and journals)

- Political parties

- None

- International Organization e.g. UN

3. Who among the current heads of states in East African Community is a strong advocate of the establishment of East African Federation

   Give reasons as to why?

4. Are you for the idea that EAC member states should delegate their sovereignty to the EAC hence come up with a regional political unit called East African Federation under one government? YES/NO

   Why?

5. Should EAC member states have one currency? YES/NO

   Why?

6. Is there political good will from the political party in the quest for the establishment of East African Federation?

   Why?

7. What are some of the challenges faced by the political parties in their effort to integrate EAC?

8. Is EAC integrated(Tick where necessary):

- Economically?(YES/NO)

- Socially(YES/NO)

- Politically(YES/NO)

- Regionally(territorially)(YES/NO)

9. What could be the benefit of EAC having one government?

10. What could be the disadvantage of EAC having one government?

11. Have political parties within EAC managed to pacify the region? YES/NO

How?

12. What are East African political parties doing in their effort to integrate East African Community?

Thank **you!**