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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF
AFRICAN INTEGRATION: A COMPARABLE CASE STUDY OF
THE COLLAPSED AND REVIVED EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY**

BY

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Declaration

I declare that this is my original work and has not been presented for academic award or qualification in any institution of higher learning. In addition, appropriate referencing has been made where concerned.

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This research had been submitted for examination with my approval as the assigned university supervisor.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific
ADB	African Development Bank
AEC	African Economic Community
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
ARII	African Regional Integration Index
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
BIAT	Boosting Intra-Africa Trade
CASSOA	Civil Aviation Safety and Security Oversight Agency
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EAC	East Africa Community
EACSO	East Africa Common Services Organization
EACA	East African Competition Authority
EADB	East African Development Bank
EAHRC	East African Health and Research Commission
EAKC	East African Kiswahili Commission
EAMU	East African Monetary Union
EASTCO	East African Science and Technology Commission
EC	European Commission
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EEC	European Economic Community

EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IUCEA	Inter-University Council for East Africa
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LVBC	Lake Victoria Basin Commission
LVFO	Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRA	New Regionalism Approach
OAU	Organization of African Unity
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RIAs	Regional Integration Agreements
RIP	Regional Indicative Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UN	United Nations

ABSTRACT

Regional political integration has been integral to the broader aspiration of African continental integration dating back to the inception of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 25th May 1963. The 1991 Abuja Treaty formally established the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks for the eventual creation of a single Pan-African union, the African Economic Community (AEC). The East African Community (EAC) is one of the RECs in Africa. Despite the ambitious aspirations by the African continent to use regional integration as development strategy, the continent still lags behinds in development matters, more than fifty years since the dawn of independence. Several studies have been done on the challenges and prospects of implementation of regional integration and recommendations advanced to help EAC fulfill its unmet aspirations. However, the EAC is yet to fully meet its aspirations more than two decades after its revival. The objective of this study was therefore to do a comparable study of the challenges that led to the collapse of EAC in 1977 and those identified to affect the current EAC as well as evaluate the prospects of the EAC and thus make informed recommendations that would assist EAC fully meet its aspirations. The study used published secondary data and found that there are similarities and differences between the challenges and prospects of the collapsed and revived EAC. The similarities in challenges include political economy, nationalism, overdependence on donor funding, lack of capacity, low infrastructural development, low public awareness and participation, weak internal cohesion and wide-ranging ambitious projects. The differences in challenges include shaky foundation, political instability, lower political will and weaker institutions in the collapsed EAC while increased infrastructural development through debt capital from extra-regional states in some member states arises in the revived EAC. The study found the efforts employed to address the challenges in the current EAC are much higher than those employed in the collapsed EAC. The current EAC has higher prospects due to inter alia economic growth, strong institutions, technological advancement and having a youthful population. However, some of the prospects of the collapsed EAC like supernatural commercial and educational institutions, which would help deepen regional integration and overcome challenges of economic nationalism are yet to be embraced by the revived EAC. The study therefore recommends fast tracking of implementation of political mechanisms that will cede substantial sovereignty to supernatural institutions starting from functions that fall under the custom union and common markets that have been noted to be among the integration achievement of the region. The study further recommends establishment of a framework for the revival of supranational institutions, which would lead to achieving the ultimate goal of a political federation, such as common currency board for issuance of common currency, institutions dealing with development of road and rail network, those dealing with harnessing and distribution of hydro and solar power and harnessing of alternative source of financing to stem donor dependency.

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Chapter One

1.1 Background to the study

Regional integration refers to a situation where states that are neighbours or have common interests decide to enter into cooperation for their mutual benefits such as expansion of their markets, enhancing of military capacity, formation of political federations, solidifying trading block and thus negotiating power among others. Regional integration may either take the form of regionalization where neighboring states have a closer transnational cooperation caused by non-political forces or it may take the higher form of regionalism which is a deliberate political move to steer the process of regionalization.¹ Regional integration has been a phenomenon witnessed in various continents of the world and even across continents. For instance, we have the European Union (EU) whose membership is mainly drawn from European continent, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) whose membership is drawn from the North America Continent and Europe and the African Union (AU) whose membership is drawn from African continent. We also have regional integration within continents drawing membership from a smaller section of the continent such as the East African Community. Regional integrations are governed by formal Regional Integration Agreements (RIAs) that are executed by the participating states and take effect in accordance with the conditions of the instruments establishing them such as the requirement for ratification by member states by the specified dates.

¹ <https://ceurapemeurateb.wordpress.com/2010/10/23/regionalism-and-regionalization/trackback/>. Accessed on 11 November 2020.

Regionalism is one of the predominant form of inter-governmental cooperation that various states around the world have pursued in recognition of their inherent differences which when combined provide them with synergies. Successful implementation of regionalism in the European Union (EU) has taken a considerable number of years to achieve and still has not attained its full expected vision. The EU has also suffered setbacks such as the withdrawal of United Kingdom (UK) from EU but despite these setbacks, the EU remains focused to achieve its ultimate vision. The EU is among the most successful RIAs and therefore its resilience serves as an encouragement to other RIAs that have not been as successful but still continue to pursuing regionalism as a development strategy with the attendant benefit of enhanced security.²

The African continent's aspiration for development through the use of regional integrations aimed at providing a framework that would accelerate development as well as promote peace and security remains vital to development and economic growth. The African continent suffered the blunt of colonization with various colonial masters dividing the continent based on the areas that they occupied. These colonial masters came from different countries in Europe, which had various languages. Naturally, the African were inclined and/or forced to learn the language of their colonial masters and thus various countries in Africa speak different languages, which at times have tended to create a sense of disunity. In the middle of the 20th Century, African countries enhanced their efforts of seeking independence from the colonial masters, which eventually led to independence starting from the late 1950s and early 1960s though some countries took longer to attain their independence like South Africa which got its independence from the Apartheid rule in 1994. Regional political integration has always been integral to broader African continental integration

² European Union. At https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en#from-economic-to-political-union. Accessed on 10th March 2020

aspiration dating back from the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on 25th May 1963 with a membership of 32 member states, based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and was made operational on 13th September 1963. The OAU was subsequent replaced by the African Union (AU), which was officially launched on 9th July 2002. In the intervening period, the Abuja Treaty, which had been signed by all OAU members, in 1991, had the ambitious goal of establishing a single Pan-African arrangement, the African Economic Community (AEC) through establishing Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as its building blocks. The Abuja Treaty had anticipated an African single currency and therefore called for its adoption by the year 2023.³

The East Africa Community (EAC) first came into being in 1967 when Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania formed it with its headquarters based in Arusha, Tanzania. Unfortunately, the then EAC lasted for 10 years only and formally collapsed by 1977 due to, inter alia, ideological differences of the then leaders of the three countries. A fresh initiative to revive the EAC bore fruits with the signing of the treaty re-establishing EAC, on 30th November 1999, which became effective on 7th July 2000 after ratification by the three member states. Subsequently, Rwanda and Burundi joined the EAC in 2007 while South Sudan joined the EAC in 2016.⁴

In accordance with Article 2 paragraph 2 of the EAC treaty, establishing a customs union and a common market were integral and transitional stages of EAC. The EAC's objectives are to develop policies and programmes to widen cooperation amongst the partner states with the goal of establishing a political federation through economic integration of creating a custom union,

³ Ecdpm. 2016. Prospects for supporting regional integration effectively. An independent analysis of the European Union's approach to the 11th European Development Fund regional programming. Discussion Paper No. 192 www.ecdpm.org/dp19

⁴ East African Community. At <https://www.eac.int/>

followed by common market and then monetary union. These objectives are meant to strengthen and regulate parameters that are necessary to accelerate development and have sustained economic activities for the mutual and equitable benefits for all partner states. The key consideration was relations amongst partner states in industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social, political fields.⁵ These aspirations are in essence similar to those of the collapsed EAC and thus the challenges leading to the collapse of the first EAC may impact on the revived EAC if not well addressed.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Regional integration in Africa has arguably been seen as a rational response to the difficulties faced by the continent that has many small national markets and some landlocked countries. Several attempts have been made to attainment of regional integration as a strategy for development including transformation of the integration framework. The continental integration body, OAU went through a transformation in 2001 to become AU with an aim of fast tracking the integration under different arrangements. The RIAs in Africa have followed different paths and processes in their formation and management with varying degrees of success at implementing their integration agenda. A comparative analysis of challenges and prospects of a RIA, that has undergone transformation, would aide in identifying similarities and differences in challenges and prospects of implementation of African integration prior to and after transformation of the integration framework to determine whether the integration process has taken a different path that would ensure successful implementing of integration objectives. The EAC was therefore selected

⁵ The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, 1999

since it has undergone a transformation from being a collapsed RIA to a revived RIA that has substantially achieved its agenda.

The first EAC had ambitious economic and political aspiration which were not fulfilled due to its collapse in 1977. The EAC was revived in 1999 with a resolution of restoring it to its original form. Studies have been carried out on the challenges that led to the collapse of the first EAC and the challenges and prospects of the current EAC. Given that these two processes have the same ultimate goal, it is essential to have a comparable analysis of the challenges and prospects of the collapsed and revived EAC to identify whether there are challenges and prospects not effectively addressed from the collapsed EAC which may affect the current EAC and thus determine whether the revived EAC has taken a different integration path. This study therefore did a comparable analysis of the challenges that contributed to the collapse of the first EAC process with those so far identified from research work that affect the current EAC as well as the prospects that the collapsed EAC had as compared to those of the current EAC and made a determination on whether the current EAC process has taken a different path from that of the collapsed EAC that will help it overcome its challenges and attain its prospects of using regional integration as a development strategy, which would therefore advance the concept of utilization of regional integration, with transformation in the integration framework, as a viable strategy for achieving development.

1.3 Research questions

1. Is regional integration a viable strategy for achieving development?
2. Are there similarities and differences in the challenges that have hampered implementation of regional integration in the collapsed and revived EAC?
3. Are there similarities and differences in the prospects for regional integration in the collapsed and revived in EAC?

1.3.1 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to examine whether the revived East African Community has taken a different integration path from that of the collapsed East African Community. This was achieved through making a comparative analysis of the challenges and prospects of the collapsed and revived East African Community and thus making a case for the continued use of regional integration, with appropriate transformation of the integration framework, as a strategy to achieve development in Africa.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

1. Analyze the role of regional integration as a strategy of achieving development.
2. Evaluate the challenges that led to the collapse of the East Africa Community and those affecting the revived East Africa Community.
3. Assess the prospects of utilizing regional integration as a strategy in contributing to development in East Africa.

1.4 Literature review

The literature review looks into the emergence of regional blocs, with a focus on African integration, making an analysis of the driving factors behind the establishment of regional blocs, their intended benefits, successes made through a historical perspective, identified challenges to implementation of African integration as well as other regional integrations with an aim of identifying the prospects and challenges of implementing African integration.

Regional and sub-regional economic integration and cooperation of African countries is widely recognized as a critical pre-requisite condition to achieve long-term development that is sustainable. The countries in African and the international community, have underscored in various convergent declarations and policy statements, that socio-economic transformation of Africa heavily depends on intra-African economic integration and cooperation.⁶ The pertinent issues that have faced the independent African continent have been economic growth and development as well as harnessing peaceful con-existence through establishment of peace and security mechanisms within and amongst the countries in Africa. There is an urgent need for exploration of ways and means of improving the living standards to benefit the majority in African considering that a substantial number of Africans lead poor lives with most countries being classified as least developed countries. This position is made worse by unfavorable trade patterns between Africa and the developed countries leaving Africa in a disadvantaged position

⁶ Asante, S, 1997, *Regionalism and Africa's Development: Expectations, Reality and Challenges*, Basingstoke, Macmillan Press.

economically.⁷ The desire to wade of this disadvantage led to the adoption of regional integration and cooperation as a strategy for development in independent Africa.

Africa has witnessed various sustained initiatives towards the realization of regional economic integration from when the Kinshasa Declaration was adopted in December 1976 by the Council of Ministers with an aim of establishing of an AEC to the signing of the Abuja Treaty that was done in June 1991 whose main objective was to establish AEC.⁸ After a number of the African states gained independence, ECA the then regional integration champion, proposed dividing Africa could into regions to foster economic growth. The regionalism in Africa falls under two regimes; those that arise from the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), formulated in Lagos, Nigeria in 1980 by the OAU and those that existed or exist outside the LPA. The LPA anticipated creation of three additional regional arrangements one in East and Southern Africa, another in Central Africa with one being in North Africa to complement the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in the West Africa region established under the LPA in 1975.⁹

The African continent was directly exploited, by the colonial masters, in the colonial period and later during the two first decades of independence, up to 1980, where the exploitation was carried out through measures by neo-colonialist external forces, aimed at influencing the economic policies of African States and directions thereto. Further, by 1980, the African continent was still a least developed continent as it had not been able to post impressive or satisfactorily economic growth rates despite all efforts made by its leaders to improve its well-being within the first 20

⁷ Nalule, Caroline. 2017. *Advancing regional integration: Migration rights of citizens in the East African Community*. Johannesburg. University of Witwatersrand.

⁸ OAU, The Lagos Action Plan for Economic Development of Africa, Lagos, Nigeria 1980

⁹ Matthews, Alan. (2003). *Regional Integration and Food Security in Developing Countries*.

years of independence. This was attestable by the low total Gross Domestic Production by African countries that stood at only 2.7 % of global per capita income despite Africa having immense human and natural resources while the average annual economic growth rate on a continent wide basis had been no more than 4.8 per cent with the project future growth rate being lower than that. The implementation of the Monrovia Declaration therefore indicated the devotion by OAU to address African economic problems.¹⁰

The LPA aimed to increase self-sufficiency amongst African states by the year 2000 covering the period 1980 to year 2000. This was in line with the Monrovia Declaration that was a commitment made by heads of states and governments to establish a new international economic order though having national and collective self-reliance measures and guidelines, by the OAU member states, on economic and social development. The then determination by OAU to achieve economic growth and development was manifest in its resolution, taken during its 16th Ordinary Session, that gave economic issues special attention at each subsequent annual session of the OAU Assembly. The determination was further attested by the OAU tasking its Secretary General to collaborate with the United Nations through its Executive Secretary for the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), and develop annual specific programmes and measures that would guide economic co-operation in Africa cascaded from continental level through regional levels.¹¹

The OAU had anticipated that it would pursue African economic integration with renewed determination and thus create a continent-wide economic co-operation framework for collective self-reliance development. The LPA therefore had various action plans touching on sectors that

¹⁰ OAU, The Lagos Action Plan for Economic Development of Africa, Lagos, Nigeria 1980

¹¹ OAU, The Lagos Action Plan for Economic Development of Africa. Op cit.

deed into economic growth such as food & agriculture, energy, industry, natural resources, human resource & utilization, science & technology, transport & communications and trade & finance. LPA anticipated the building and strengthening of economic and technical co-operation together with institutional capacity that would include creating new institutions and strengthening of existing ones. Notably, most economic development plans of countries in Africa lacked implementation plans, which made them unattainable and susceptible to political and world economic changes. The underlying theme in the LPA's action plans was therefore the call for physical and economic regional integration and cooperation to achieve the objectives of the LPA.¹²

By the 1980s, there was a noticeable huge gap between the expected benefits from African economic cooperation and integration and the reality achieved then, which created frustration that led to a significant reduction in the interest of regionalism as a policy issue. This led to policy makers retreating into economic nationalism to address national economic growth and development matters in priority to regional or sub-regional economic activities. This meant that many member states committed their scarce resources to domestic economic management that compromised their financial commitment to their respective regional or sub-regional bodies. However, this trend started changing from early 1990s when economic integration was once again prioritized as a policy agenda in most sub-regions of Africa. This move was not purely independent but was guided by the then worldwide trends that favored regional economic solidarity. Integration was therefore viewed as a vehicle for achieving faster, robust and sustainable economic growth in

¹² OAU, The Lagos Action Plan for Economic Development of Africa. Op cit.

Africa to enable the continent to respond effectively and deal with emerging challenges world's trading blocs, rapid technology changes coupled with globalization in production.¹³

The Abuja Treaty became integral to promoting integration of African economies, social and cultural development aimed at increasing economic self-reliance as well as promoting self-sustained development in order to establish a continental framework for development. This was through mobilization and utilization of human resources, promotion of cooperation to uplift the standards of living among African people geared towards enhancing and maintaining economic stability. The Abuja Treaty had other objectives that included fostering for peaceful co-existence amongst the member states, contributing to economic integration and development of the African continent and coordination and harmonizing economic policies to foster gradual establishment of the AEC.¹⁴

The Monrovia Declaration had postulated the creation of a common market for African as a prerequisite to an AEC which was however not achieved and thus the Abuja Treaty provided for gradual achievement of AEC's objectives, through stages, with establishment of a common market being one of them but not the first one. Among the first steps was the focus on Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to strengthen the existing ones and create others where they did not exist, conclude agreements to harmonize and coordinating policies among RECs and liberalization of trade through creation of a free trade area at each REC level.¹⁵

¹³ Asante, S. 1997. *Regionalism and Africa's Development: Expectations, Reality and Challenges*, Basingstoke, Macmillan Press.

¹⁴ OAU, *The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community*, Abuja Nigeria 1991

¹⁵ Ibid.

The Abuja Treaty anticipated establishment of RECs as the bridge to an AEC and thus their formation in regions where they did not exist. This informed to the establishment of EAC in 1967 that collapsed in 1977 after only ten years of existence. The Abuja Treaty's implementation has seen establishment of overlapping RECs and institutions though the AU has formally recognized only eight RECs with EAC being one of them. The other recognized RECs are the Southern African Development Community (SADC) covering mainly the Southern region and parts of East region, Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CENSAD) that stretches from West, North, Central and East regions , the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) found in Horn of Africa and East Region, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in Central, North and Western regions, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) mainly in the West region, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) found in North, South, Central and East region, and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) in Northern and Western regions.¹⁶

The signing of The Treaty re-establishing the East African Community (EAC Treaty) revived the EAC and sets forth the anticipated benefits to partner states from the regional integration principally being the ultimate creation of a political federation through economic means of a custom union, followed by a common market and thereafter a monetary union. These were to be achieved through formulation of policies and programmes that will climax into the above. These objectives were meant to strengthen and regulate parameters necessary for accelerated development and sustained economic activities for the mutual and equitable benefits for all partner

¹⁶ Ecdpm. 2016. Prospects for supporting regional integration effectively. An independent analysis of the European Union's approach to the 11th European Development Fund regional programming. Discussion Paper No. 192 www.ecdpm.org/dp19

states. The key consideration was building relations, amongst partner states, in the fields of economy, culture, social and politics that would also embrace the industrial, commercial and infrastructural sub-sectors. The signing of the EAC Treaty was a culmination of a process that had started in 1984 in Arusha Tanzania when the East African Community Mediation Agreement had been signed¹⁷

Regional economic integration arrangements have had a share of challenges across the globe hampering the full achievement of their objectives despite numerous measure put in place to implement regionalism. Ravenhill argues that in the first decades of the twenty-first century the progress of regional institutions has not been impressive. In this regard, he asserts that EU, which has one of the deepest and extensive collaboration has been negatively affected by the global financial crisis while though the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) declared some form of partial success achieved in November 2015 through creation of an economic community, it had failed to achieve the deep economic integration it originally envisaged. He further notes that the more traditional regional schemes are threatened by the emergence of mega-regional agreements.¹⁸

Melo et al argue that the fragile states of the economies across Africa support the necessity of having these economies to integrate in a regional manner for efficiency, tapping into economies of scale benefits and the reduction of the thickness of borders.¹⁹ On the other hand, Matthews argue

¹⁷ The Treaty for the establishment of The East African Community, 1999

¹⁸ Ravenhill J. (2016) *Regional Integration in Africa: Theory and Practice*. In: Levine D.H., Nagar D. (eds) *Region-Building in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. p37

¹⁹ Melo, J. D., and Yvonne T. (2014). "Regional Integration in Africa: Challenges and Prospects." *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, 1–22.

that almost all the efforts in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) at regional integration have failed despite there being a strong political motive backed up with economic arguments for regional co-operation given the small economic sizes of many SSA countries.²⁰ This therefore points to a possibility of existence of challenges that have hampered the implementation of African integration, which if well addressed would propel the continent on the development trajectory to reduce the developmental gap between countries more so in Africa.

Matthews further argues that the efforts of regional groupings in the SSA, even with multiplicity, have been ineffective. He suggests that factors giving rise to this include foreign debt service burdens, low comparative intra-regional trade, lack of trade finance, severe macroeconomic disequilibria, over-valued currencies and a narrow tax base heavily relying on customs duties for substantial raising of revenue. He argues that other factors includes mismatch between the economic costs and benefits created by the inward-looking industrialization design of African integration schemes around with immediate costs to Member states while the anticipated benefits are long term, dependence on former colonial powers by substantial number of African countries while the former colonial master's interests are not in tandem with the regional integration goals, state-centric nature of regional integration lacking support from the private sector and the general public, existence of many regional organizations causing financial strains from Member states in term of meeting their financial obligations to the regional organizations, institutional weaknesses that hamper effective meetings, lack of follow up on sectorial assignments, weak states and political oppositions.²¹

²⁰ Matthews, Alan. (2003). Regional Integration and Food Security in Developing Countries.

²¹ Matthews, Alan. (2003). Op cit.

Matthews also argues that there is new momentum of regionalism in Africa though with competing regional integration visions in terms of their objectives and design. He therefore states that the issues that are partly responsible for poor performance of regionalism must be addressed in the new regionalism. He provides such issues as being; overlapping membership to competing regional groups, lack of peace that is a prerequisite for a common market to function, poor participation in the integration process by the private sector, inadequate policy instruments to deal with economic disparities that exist among member states of different regional groupings, weak dispute resolution mechanisms that do not ensure policy credibility that is vital to attract investors.²²

Regional integration is anchored in EU's development and international cooperation policy which has given the EU a real value addition in the way it has dealt with cooperation with countries in African, Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP).²³ The European Commission (EC) has therefore been able to identify some of the challenges in West African and East African regions that hamper regional economic integration. These include delays negotiations on Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and inadequate projections of priority areas in the regional integration process couple with lack of proper preparation of the implementation phase of EPA and lack or limited management and absorption capacities among regional organizations. The EC also noted there has been low consistency between national and regional goals that makes some member states delay in implementing regional integration agreements, it also noted that despite efforts by AU to streamline RECs, multiple and overlapping regional organizations still exist leading to duplication of responsibilities, which cause inefficient utilization of resources. The EU further noted that there

²² Matthews, Alan. (2003). Op cit.

²³ Ecdpm. 2016. Op cit.

has been little achievement in harmonizing national and regional law through incorporation of the latter into national law for improved compliance. Non-tariff barriers such as the free movement of people, goods and services still exist while the subsidiarity principle between national and regional levels had been misunderstood. EC also observed that the overall regional integration planning and monitoring mechanisms were ineffective both at regional and national levels.²⁴

The EC also identified problems, as contained in a report by European Court of Auditors, which were adversely affecting its support for regionalism in ACP. These problems included focal areas as outlined in its Regional Indicative Programme (RIP) that were too broad lacking clearly identifiable plans of actions and priorities. This structural challenge leads to vagueness in integration support owing to lack of a clear strategic vision, governance structures that are inappropriate to manage regional cooperation as they lead to dialogues that are not structured amongst stakeholders, which in turn makes the coordination of the regional and national programmes by European Development Fund (EDF) inadequate and weak due to weak capacity of EU delegations and weak feedback mechanisms for regional programmes.²⁵

The African Development Bank in its East African Economic Outlook 2019 notes that structural transformation remained markedly absent in the region. ADB further noted that EAC is not ready for a monetary union as there is only partial convergence on key macroeconomic variables used to assess readiness. The report notes that in order for EAC to achieve the objective of establishing a monetary union, member states will have to strengthen their efforts and cooperation. Further, the report notes that the countries of East Africa affiliate to multiple and overlapping RECs namely,

²⁴ Ecdpm. 2016. Op cit.

²⁵ Ibid.

COMESA, the EAC, IGAD and SADC, principally driven by their economic interests and regional political alignments. However, there appears to be minimal negative impact on regional integration development arising from the overlapping membership since the RECs focus on the special sub-regional needs.²⁶ The EAC has quite a vast ground to cover in realization of the objectives establishing the community. The EAC has remained predominantly at the economic though its stated ultimate goal is attainment of political objectives. The obtaining situation advances the reality that EAC's political federation objectives are overshadowed by it being an economic community.²⁷

Gichohi found that the political will amongst the EAC Partner States is domiciled at the top echelons level though minimal impact is felt at the other levels. He avers that there are some non-tariff barriers hindrances to the integration process such as challenges in free movement of people and products which EAC should strive to completely eliminate to achieve objectives of regionalism. He suggests that for the integration process to succeed, it should incorporate the public more.²⁸ Ngari on the other hand asserts that creation of strong prospects for regional integration in Africa requires certain environments or areas to be well harnessed. He therefore argues that positive media public opinion can be harnessed for utilization as a good vehicle for promotion of integration agenda while the first step to harnessing internal opportunities within states would be the realization that foreign aid hinders development. This may be achieved through enhancing factors that stem donor dependency such as promoting capacity of economic institutions

²⁶ African Development Bank Group, East Africa Economic Outlook 2019

²⁷ Nalule, Caroline. 2017. Op cit.

²⁸ Gichohi Marvin Muhammad. (2015). Challenges to Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of the Revived East Africa Community 2000-2012, University of Nairobi

and development of homegrown, functional and executable economic models, which would steer the African countries to development.²⁹

Though studies have been done on African regional integration, focusing on EAC, among other RECs, there has been continued efforts, such as the transformation of OAU to AU and ratification of African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) all aimed towards strengthening the use of regional integration as developmental strategy. Further, there has been considerable change in political leadership from independence Africa to contemporary times thus raising the need for comparable studies on the challenges and prospects of regional integration after independence and currently to evaluate whether a transformation in the regional integration implementation strategy strengthens the case of utilization of regionalism to achieve development. This therefore forms the knowledge gap that this study seeks to address using EAC as the case study.

1.5 Justification of the study

Academic: The findings of this study have added to the body of knowledge that exists on utilization of regional integration, in a transformed integration framework, to enable overcome challenges to regional integration and thus achieve prospects of regional integration as a strategy for development. This was achieved through a comparable case study of the challenges and prospects of the collapsed and revived East Africa Community (EAC). Specifically, the study evaluated whether the revived EAC has taken a different path from the collapsed EAC by addressing the challenges that contributed to collapse of first EAC and whether the revived EAC

²⁹ Ngari David Ngochi. 2016. Challenges and Prospects of Regional Integration in Africa: A Case Study of East African Community. University of Nairobi

has embraced the viable unmet prospects of the collapsed EAC in its endeavors to use regional integration as a development strategy and ultimately whether the integration transformation has been a success.

Policy: The study findings will aid decision makers in identifying the challenges that affected the collapsed EAC and still pose a risk to regional integration that require addressing. The findings will also assist policy makers in understanding the benefits of transforming an integration framework to overcome impediment to implementation of Africa regional integration as a development strategy. The findings will further provide more insights to policy makers on the viable unmet prospects from the collapsed EAC regional integration and serve as an eye opener that collapsed or abandoned integration initiatives could still offer viable prospects. The study proffers recommendations, from its findings, whose implementation may enable realization of using regional integration as a development strategy in Africa.

1.6 Theoretical framework

The theory guiding this study is the functionalism theory which is also known as the functionalist theory that was advanced by Mitrany. The theory holds that all aspects of a society play a specific role to create the functioning and stability of the society, which outweighs the sum total of the individual parts.³⁰ The focus of this theory is on the macro level rather than the micro level of social structure.³¹ The rationale of this theory lies in the synergies created by the interdependency

³⁰ David Mitrany. *A Working Peace System: An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization*. (1943).

³¹ <https://www.thoughtco.com/functionalist-perspective-3026625>

of a society working as a system to create stability, order and harmony based on the realization that each part cannot function independently from the rest. The classic functionalist approach is guided by the assumption that states can create a world with a peaceful society through pragmatic and gradualistic mutual economic and technical cooperation. Functionalism offers an alternative to the international relations classical model of realism which is characteristic to the power politics. Functionalism and nationalism are therefore mutually exclusive to a great extent. The idea of functionalism therefore is elimination of nationalism that is viewed as the main source of war through undermining national sovereignty. As such, the classic functionalist theorists argued that to undermine national sovereignty would therefore require cooperation between states in economic areas.³²

Some of the studies that have looked at the issue of regional integration have been guided by theories such as the institutionalism and neo-institutionalism, integration theory and neo-functionalism theory. One study that did a comparable analysis of regionalism in Africa, Middle East and Asia used the New Regionalism Approach (NRA) that looks at cross-border flows and contemporary forms of transnational co-operation through comparative multilevel and historical perspectives. The study underlined “the socially constructed character of ‘the new regionalism’”. There are no ‘natural’ regions, but these are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed — intentionally or non-intentionally — in the process of global transformation, by collective human action and identity formation.”³³

³² <http://ocw.umb.edu/political-science/international-relations/lectures-assignments/polSci%20220/lectures%20and%20assignments/Lecture10.pdf>. Accessed on 15th April 2020

³³ Söderbaum, Fredrik. “Key Issues in the New Regionalism. Comparisons from Asia, Africa and the Middle East.” In Björn Hettne, Andras Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (Eds) *Comparing Regionalisms: Implications for Global Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, Pp. 234-276, 2001.

The functionalism theory was considered appropriate for this study as the study explores the use of regionalism as a strategy for development while the theory looks at cooperation along functional areas to create synergies through interdependency of the society rather than functioning independently. Further, the theory is also considered relevant as the society becomes more globalized and state sovereignty in terms of territorial integrity continues to diminish while functional agencies continue to gain more traction thus attracting more loyalty from populations across territorial domains thereby creating an area of integration. This theory is backed by advancement of expert knowledge on scientific and technology fields which aides in meeting human needs by international agencies. The theory is in line with the proposition of the study which postulates that regional integration would result in establishing better mechanisms of meeting human needs within the area of integration and thus result into development.

1.7 Research hypotheses

1. Transformation of a regional integration framework that leads to a Regional Integration Arrangement taking a different integration path can assist in realization of the benefits of regional integration as a strategy for development.
2. There are perennial challenges to implementation of regional integration in Africa that can be overcome through taking appropriate measures.
3. There are viable unexploited prospects that can be embraced to enable realization of using regional integration as a strategy for development in Africa.

1.8 Methodology

This study used the case study design in making a comparable analysis of the challenges and prospects of implementing African integration prior and after transformation of the integration framework through a case study model using the EAC. A case study involves the investigation and collection of in-depth data of individual circumstances of an entity. Case studies are known to turn opinions into fact using data that has been collected in real-time.³⁴ The study utilized both qualitative and quantitative designs in collection and analyzing data. For the qualitative data, secondary data on various literature on RIAs such as the EU and the EAC were explored. For the quantitative data, non-sampling methods were used to identify economic data from published literature, as the indicator of development.

1.8.1 Data collection techniques

The study utilized secondary data in answering the research objectives. Secondary data was sourced from published data on selected regional integration arrangements such as the EU, NAFTA and EAC and the status of the implementation of the EAC Treaty.

1.8.2 Data analysis

The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods in analyzing the data. Comparative analysis was done on the quantitative data to examine whether progress has been made while

³⁴ <https://brandongaille.com/12-case-study-method-advantages-and-disadvantages/>. Accessed on 15th April 2020

content analysis was done on the qualitative data to arrive at the conclusion on whether the revived EAC has taken a different integration path and thereafter make recommendations.

1.9 Chapter outline

This study is organized in five chapters as follows: -

- Chapter 1 – Introductory chapter covering the introduction, statement of the problem, literature review, objectives of the study, justification of the study, theoretical framework, research hypotheses and methodology.
- Chapter 2 – Evaluates whether the regional integration is a viable strategy in achieving development. This chapter looks at the regional integration mechanisms that exist in the world with specific focus to regional integration mechanisms that have been used as a strategy to achieve development.
- Chapter 3 – Evaluates the challenges which led to collapse of East Africa Community in 1977 and those that have been identified to hamper implementation of regional integration in the revived East African Community as a strategy to achieve development.
- Chapter 4 – Evaluates the prospects for regional integration in contributing to development in East Africa through a comparable analysis of the prospects in the collapsed East Africa Community and those of the revived East Africa Community while taking stock of the status of implementation of the treaty establishing the East African Community.

Chapter 5 – Findings, conclusions and recommendations. This chapter handles data collection and its analysis and thus the findings from the study that assisted in answering the research questions. The chapter also draw conclusions from the study and make recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

Regional Integration as a Viable Strategy in Achieving Development

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the regional integration mechanisms that exist in the world with specific focus to regional integration mechanisms that have been used as a strategy to achieve development and concludes that regional integration remains a viable strategy for development if well-structured and implemented.

2.2 Regional integration and development

Regional integration is principally governed by RIA that provide the framework and nature of the regional integration. States cooperate in areas of security, economic and culture among other emerging areas with the aim of reaping from synergies that arise from such cooperation. The definition and understanding of region is fundamental in a study of regional integration. In common usage, region means a smaller part or area of a state while under the international relations studies, the term region is used to mean areas consisting of more than two states. The definition of a region ideally encompasses certain essential economic, cultural, historical or ideological characteristics or features that distinguishes it as a region.³⁵ The term can both refer to geographical area or a construct based on ideologies. In such regions, it is possible to have states that have unequal development status with some being the core of the region referred to as the regional

³⁵ https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/86856/11/11_chapter%202.pdf. Accessed on 9th March 2020

hegemonies. Other classifications such as the core and periphery states within a region can be discerned from the member states of a region.³⁶

The phenomenon of regional integration has mushroomed in the world and takes the form of either intra-regional and extra-regional integration.³⁷ Regional integration is also known as regionalism, which is described as a form of inter-governmental cooperation, and is considered the predominant form of cooperation in different areas of the world. Regionalism in its common usage is the theory or practice of a regional system of administration, cultural, economic or political affiliation as opposed to central systems.³⁸ It can also be defined to mean the regional quality or character devotion to one's own geographical region.³⁹ However, in international relations, regionalism takes the form of several states deliberately cooperating on various aspects that ranges from economic, military, cultural and even on the political arena which is considered the highest level of cooperation where in its perfect ultimate form produces a political union.

The United Nations (UN) Charter notes the importance of regional arrangements though the focus by the time of crafting the Charter was more focused on security and maintenance of international peace rather than economic development. The UN Charter in Article 52 provides that “nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with

³⁶ Söderbaum, Fredrik. Op cit.

³⁷ André C Jordaan (Professor) (2014) Regional integration in Africa versus higher levels of intra-Africa trade, *Development Southern Africa*, 31:3, 515-534

³⁸ <https://www.lexico.com/definition/regionalism>. Accessed on 9th March 2020

³⁹ <https://www.yourdictionary.com/regionalism>. Accessed on 9th March 2020

the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.” The preamble of the UN Charter provides, inter alia, that the “peoples of the United Nations are determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom” and therefore to achieve these, “the people of the United Nations are determined to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.”⁴⁰ The preamble of the UN Charter lays the foundation for all peoples to engage in cooperation within regions on economic and social development issues. This foundation implies that regional integration arrangements ought to take cognizance of the impact of their activities on other peoples of the United Nations not only for those within their respective regions.

2.3 Regional Economic Integration

Regional economic integration is a term synonymous to regional integration whose key focus is in economic integration aimed at broadening the market access and increasing the levels of trade within and outside the regional economic bloc for the purpose of attaining economic growth. Regions that have integrated economically are usually referred as RECs, which are more of economic territories rather than geographical areas. Regional integration that are of economic

⁴⁰ United Nations Charter. (1945)

nature have several stages through which they progress. The first stage sees the creation of a free trade area then progressing to a common market, then a customs union, which leads to an economic union and ultimately creation of a political union. The instrument establishing RECs may make express provisions of the intentions of the states or be implied from the stated goals and objectives. Regional integration is pursued by states for several reasons that include security through attainment of peace as well as economic growth and development through a wider market. The aspect of increasing trade provides opportunities for ease access of inputs and as well as markets for products through widened markets of member states.

2.4 Regional Integration in North America

There are several regional integration arrangements in the world that have proved that regionalism contributes to achieving development. The two notable ones are the EU and NAFTA. NAFTA consists of the United States of America, Canada and the United Mexican States. It targeted creating a free trade area aimed to “eliminate barriers in trade, facilitate the cross-border movement of goods and services between the territories of the parties; promote conditions of fair competition in the free trade area; increase substantially investment opportunities in the territories of the Parties; provide adequate and effective protection and enforcement of intellectual property rights in each Party's territory; create effective procedures for the implementation and application of this Agreement, for its joint administration and for the resolution of disputes; and establish a framework for further trilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation to expand and enhance the benefits of this Agreement.”⁴¹ NAFTA illustrates that states at different levels of development can

⁴¹ North American Free Trade Agreement.

cooperate on developmental matters for their mutual benefits. Its ability to bring together two highly developed state and one developing state in a free trade area has been lauded as an accomplishment, which lends credence to utilization of regional integration as a strategy for development.⁴²

2.5 Regional Integration in Europe

The EU, which is a unique economic and political union, was until 31st January 2020 made up of twenty-eight states in Europe out of the possible forty-four states in Europe. The reduction in membership was occasioned by exit of United Kingdom (UK) from EU, which was in accordance with the referendum held in May 2016 where the voters in the UK voted to leave the EU. The EU has been cited as the most progressive form of regionalism globally that has progressively moved through the various stages of regional integration towards its stated ideal state of formation of a political union. The EU's achievements include raising the living standards of its 340 million citizens, providing Europe with peace, stability and prosperity for more than fifty years and further the launch and use of the Euro, as a single European currency.⁴³

The EU's goals are "to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its citizens; offer freedom, security and justice without internal borders; sustainable development based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive market economy with full employment and social progress, and environmental protection; combat social exclusion and discrimination; promote

⁴² https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/86856/11/11_chapter%202.pdf. Accessed on 10th March 2020

⁴³ European Union. At https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/eu-in-brief_en#from-economic-to-political-union. Accessed on 10th March 2020

scientific and technological progress; enhance economic, social and territorial cohesion and solidarity among EU countries; respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity; and to establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro.’⁴⁴

The EU started in 1958 as a purely economic union aiming to increase economic cooperation amongst six European countries being Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, France and the Netherlands. This was born out of the necessity of avoiding conflicts in Europe, which had suffered the blunt of various wars with the second world war devastating Europe. The idea of starting an economic cooperation was informed by the notion that with economic interdependency amongst the countries it would be unlikely that they would engage in conflict. The six states therefore formed the European Economic Community (EEC) that was later transformed to the EU in recognition of the evolution that it had undergone. Twenty-two other states have since joined the EU making its coverage extend to a substantial portion of Europe creating a huge market that has helped and continues to help the EU progress towards meeting its full potential. Membership to the EU is granted to any European state that meets some set standards for membership by meeting the democratic, political and economic criteria of membership. However, there was a moratorium of allowing states to joining the EU during the legislative period from 2014 to 2019. The EU has evolved to become an organization dealing with policy areas in climate, external relations, environment, health, security, migration and justice. This has made the EU become an economic power block in the world being the largest exporter of services and manufactured goods and the biggest importer for more than half of the states across the globe.⁴⁵

⁴⁴European Union. Op Cit.

⁴⁵Ibid.

The EU's single market is its main economic engine that enables free movement of most goods, services, money and people. Among the EU's founding principles was free trade among its members that the EU has been able to achieve this through the single market, which it aims to expand to other sectors such as capital markets, energy and knowledge for maximum benefit to its citizens. The EU boasts of having eliminated border controls amongst its Member states to allow the EU citizens more freely and decide where to work, live and even retire in any EU Member states. The EU Member states are required to accord similar treatment to EU citizens from among the nineteen Member states that are part of this free movement of EU citizens in a similar manner as they would grant to their citizens. Further, the EU Member states are equally to accord all EU citizens the same treatment as they would accord their own citizens in social security, employment and tax matters. EU's key focus for has been economic growth as the driver to meeting the underlying objective of a political union.⁴⁶

The ultimate goal of EU is attainment political objectives through economic cooperation taking cognizance of the fact that smaller Europe constitute a smaller percentage of the world population. The population distribution for 2019 shows that Asia contributes the highest number of people at 59.64% of the total world population, Africa is second as it contributes 16.97% of the world population, Europe is third contributing 9.69% of the world population, South America is fourth contributing 5.53%, North America is fifth contributing 4.77% while the Oceanic is the last contributing 0.55% .⁴⁷ In contrast, Europe ranks as the second biggest economy in the world after North America. Most of the bigger economies in Europe are in the EU zone lending credence that

⁴⁶ European Union. Op Cit.

⁴⁷ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/237584/distribution-of-the-world-population-by-continent/>. Accessed on 6th March 2020

the goals of using regional integration to achieve development in Europe among the member states of EU has been successful.

An important point to note is that despite the membership of the EU being open to any European state, there are set conditions that the aspiring state must meet. These conditions were set in 1993 by the European Council following membership application by former communist states. These conditions demand that by the time a new member joins the EU, they must have the capacity to meet and support membership obligations that includes ensuring their institutions are stable to guarantee democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the protection of the minorities. They also need to have in place a functioning and competitive market economy commensurate with the standards of EU and have public administration capacity to apply and manage laws applicable and practiced in the EU.⁴⁸

Europe is comparatively an economically developed continent and the success can be traceable to the strong economy of the EU. This can be evaluated through analysis of economic indicators like the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which provides information on the total value of goods and services produced over a period in an economy. The GDP of EU-28, in 2018, was valued at EUR 15 877 billion with Germany being the largest economy, then, among the EU Member States, valued at EUR 3,386 billion, or 21.3 % of the EU-28 total. The second country was the United Kingdom, which had 15.1 % of the EU-28 total followed by France and Italy with 14.8 % and 11.1 % respectively. The smallest economies in the EU, then were Malta and Cyprus that both had 0.1 % of EU-28 total.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ European Union. Op cit.

⁴⁹ European Commission. Key figures on Europe, 2019 Edition

2.6 Conclusion

There are lessons drawn from the success of EU principally being on the need to ensure that there is a clear integration framework in any regional mechanism and a clear goal of the ultimate objective it wants to achieve and the means for achieving the same are well laid out in the integration mechanisms. Regional integration in Europe that started with a focus on economic cooperation has metamorphosed over the years to encompass broader integration that is geared towards attaining a political union through economic means. The setting of a clear criteria for new states seeking membership has helped in ease of implementation of various protocols as member states subscribe to the same principles of governance. The E has the ultimate goal of becoming a political union while the means of achieving the same is through economic growth. The transformation of EEC to EU has produced development at a much faster rate, which lends credence to the hypothesis that transformation of a regional integration framework that leads to a RIA taking a different integration path can assist in realization of the benefits of utilizing regional integration as a developmental strategy. This recovery of Europe after the devastation from the second world war to stand out as a leading region among the conceptual North states attests to this more so after the transformation of EEC to EU.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ European Union. Op cit.

CHAPTER THREE

Challenges of Implementing Regional Integration in East African Community

3.1 Introduction

This chapter commences by looking at the status of Africa in the global development map and measures put in place to strengthen response to challenges through measurement of the challenges. The chapter then proceeds to evaluate the challenges that have been identified to have led the collapse of the first EAC only ten years after its inauguration and also looks at the challenges that have been identified to impede regional integration in the revived EAC. The chapter provides a comparable basis to identify challenges that are similar to the collapsed and the revived EAC and those that are different between the two periods. This aide in finding out whether the revived EAC has taken a different integration path from the collapsed one. The chapter further sets the basis of identifying some challenges that contributed to the collapse of the EAC, which may have been overlooked and which could affect the revived EAC and thus require being addressed lest they mutate and impede the gains made so far by the revived EAC.

3.2 Africa's global position and integration challenges measurement mechanisms

Africa is classified by the UN, as a developing economic region, in the World Economic Situation Prospects Report 2019, which means the countries in Africa are less developed economically as

measured by economic indicators such as GDP.⁵¹ Achievement of some of the targets of regional integration remains an on-going exercise with new initiatives being witnessed aimed at lifting the African continent from being a developing continent into a more developed continent noting that it is more than fifty years since OAU's formation, which adopted regionalism as a strategy to achieve development. Given the developmental status of the African continent coupled with the underdevelopment that was externally induced through colonization, the African continent suffers from lack of capacity to utilize her resources to generate enough revenue and thus the funds required to implement the various programmes spelt out under various integration instruments. This has led to Africa having to rely and in most cases to over-rely on external financial support from other state and non-state actors who are labeled development partners. Such development partners include the EU, UK, France, USA and the recent entrant that is taking Africa by storm, China.

The discussions of African integration from a political point of view – the pan Africanism angle has been noted as one of the challenge to African regional integration.⁵² This was witnessed during the period preceding OAU's formation where two camps had emerged with one, the Monrovia group advocating for loose regional integration while the other, the Casablanca group advocated for a more stronger regional integration. Eventually, the two groups converged in Addis Ababa and formed the OAU.⁵³ Integration is believed to be encumbered by the existence of weak states

⁵¹ https://www.un.org/development/desa/dpad/wp-content/uploads/sites/45/WESP2019_BOOK-web.pdf. Accessed on 16 April 2020

⁵² Carlos Lopes. Executive Secretary, ECA. Interview with CNBC Africa. 2016

⁵³ Harshe, Rajen. "Reflections on Organisation of African Unity." *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, no. 8 (1988): 373-76. Accessed April 16, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/4378141.

and political opposition to the idea of sharing sovereignty.⁵⁴ The African Governments have therefore formed several regional integration arrangements with very ambitious targets but with dismal implementation record.⁵⁵ Low intra-Africa trade has also been cited as another challenge facing implementation of African integration.⁵⁶ For instance, in 2017, Europe had an intra-trade of 68.1% while in Africa it stood at 16.6%. Comparatively some continents had higher intra-trade than Africa such as Asia which stood at 59.4%, America at 55.0% while Oceania had a lower intra-trade than Africa at 7.0%. Africa recorded a lower intra-trade of 2% for the period 2015-2017, as compared to Europe that had 67%, Asia that had 61%, America that had 47%, and Oceania that had 7%.⁵⁷

The lack of mechanism to measure progress on integration was noted as a hindrance to effective implementation of regionalism. To address this, the 8th AU-ECA Conference of Ministers held in April 2015 launched the concept of creating an integration index. The index became a reality on 2nd April 2016 with the launch of the first African Regional Integration Index (ARII) report in Addis Ababa during the African Development Week. The second report was due for release in 2019 though only a partial draft of the same was released. The strong collaboration of ADB, ECA and the African Union Commission (AUC) is what made ARII and its Reports a reality. The Index consists of five dimensions namely free movement of people, infrastructure, integration in financial & macroeconomic, production and trade. Indicators are then build on these dimensions and used to assess the AU member states.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Oneya, Anthony. (2007). The Prospects and Future of Regional Integration in Africa” (Comparing the AU and the EU).

⁵⁵ World Trade Organization, Regional Integration in Africa, 2011

⁵⁶ Fatima Haram Acyl. Commissioner Trade & Industry, AU Commission. 2016

⁵⁷ <https://unctad.org/en/pages/PressRelease.aspx?OriginalVersionID=520>. Accessed on 16 April 2020

⁵⁸ <https://www.integrate-africa.org/>. Accessed on 16th April 2020

The dimensions and indicators have their base on operational framework of the Abuja Treaty. The ARII seeks to collect data on bearings of regionalism and was informed by the need to assess the current situation on the continent and highlight gaps and best practices. Measuring where Africa stands in terms of regional integration is considered a verifiable way of giving an assessment on the status of the African continent and highlighting gaps to guide taking the appropriate actions to move Africa forward. The factors that are critical in getting regional integration dimensions to work together include strategies that are well thought-out and commensurate policy reforms that are supported by adequate capacity building. This will further require mobilization of political commitment, leadership and resources. Networking and engagement by a variety of players such as continental organizations, regional bodies, national governments, policy makers, business sector, the civil society, academia, partners in development, the public and the media too will also be necessary.⁵⁹ The dimensions and their respective indicators are as shown in Appendix 1.

The dimensions and indicators incorporated in ARII are the pointers to some of the challenges to implementation of African integration as explained in the ARII 2016 report. The report noted that regional integration is most visible through infrastructure development within the continent. It also notes that reduced business costs is the major benefit from better regional infrastructure that would make businesses thrive and provide a wider cross-border customers access to services. This would greatly boost economic growth of regional hubs and small or landlocked countries. The report further notes that at regional level, funding partners continue with their investment in Africa's infrastructure. In terms of trade integration, the report notes that regional integration would be boosted by efficient free movement of goods across the continent, which impacts of trade

⁵⁹ <https://www.integrate-africa.org/>. Accessed on 16th April 2020

efficiency that has a direct impact of livelihoods through incomes that would accelerate Africa's development. The report also notes the intricate web and interrelationship that would come from the small economics across Africa which would benefit from access to a larger market and regional hubs through integration. This therefore gives credence to the idea that integration of trade in Africa remains a vital component in the ongoing integration journey.⁶⁰

In terms of the dimension of productive integration, the report notes that African internal markets will require more intermediate goods in the production of finished goods to meet demand as consumer purchasing power rises. This will also require efficiency in production works, through regional and global integration of value chains, across different economic sectors in the continent for Africa's economic success. To achieve this, the African continent would need to unlock productive potential in various fields both in agriculture and industrial production, which will require injection of investment and overcoming bottlenecks that make sectors uncompetitive. The African continent would need to prioritize removing non-tariff barriers plus movement from low value production to higher value production for improved competitive trade that would benefit more the landlocked countries and least developed ones. In terms of the dimension of free movement, the report indicates easing of restriction of movement of people for business, education and leisure that provide mutual benefits for countries opening up their borders. The report notes that efforts have been made towards this though still gaps exist. Based on this, the report makes progressive recommendations such as measures to promote issuance of visas on arrival with reciprocal treatment to participating countries or having visas for regional. For this to work, it would require cooperation and teamwork from leaders and policy makers with determination to

⁶⁰ <https://www.integrate-africa.org/>. Accessed on 16th April 2020

ease immigration logistical controls across Africa for ease of movement of her people within the continent.⁶¹

In terms of the financial and macroeconomic integration dimension, the report notes that establishment of a monetary union in accordance with the Abuja Treaty is a key priority to the continent. However, this has been hindered by lack of measures by many of the RECs to make their currencies convertible as well as coordinating macroeconomic policies towards convergence. To overcome this, the report recommends implementation of actions that would make a difference such as promoting cross-border banking outside the regional centres, standardizing regional payment mechanisms, multilateral fiscal policies and guidelines on public finance, inflation and exchange rate among others to promote stability.⁶² The framework put in place through ARII provides a scientific basis for monitoring the integration progress in Africa. The identified dimensions and indicators broadly cover the scope of integration from an economic perspective that is inclusive of public and private sectors. Regional integration is considered to have taken place where it does not have much impact. Barriers still exist while the key regional integration challenge remains the political will for integration. This has been attributed to political changes that occurs due to democratization.

⁶¹ <https://www.integrate-africa.org/>. Accessed on 16th April 2020

⁶² Ibid.

3.3 Challenges that led to the collapse of the first East African Community

The challenges that contributed to collapse of first EAC in 1977 are discussed below with some of the other challenges that affected the collapsed EAC and still affect the revived being discussed under the next section. The similarities and differences of the challenges is captured in chapter five that deals with data analysis.

3.3.1 Shaky foundation

The East African Community established in 1967 was founded on a shaky foundation owing to factors such as being a foreign concept prior to independence of the then three member states and later dependent of the personal goodwill of the three presidents who founded the EAC in 1967, which was basically a top-down approach as opposed to a bottom-up approach or a combination of the two approaches. Prior to the independence of the three member states of the then EAC, the colonial powers had come up with various mechanisms to administer their three colonies in East Africa. These arrangements ranged from the custom union of Kenya and Uganda that was established in 1917 with Tanganyika joining in 1927 to the establishment of East African High Commission (EAHC) on 1st January 1948 and finally to the East African Common Services Organization (EAHC) established in December 1961 to replace EAHC.⁶³ Around this time, the three member states had attained their independence and thus took over the regional integration arrangement, EACSO, which was a colonial legacy institution. Eventually, the treaty to establish EAC was signed by the member states and came into effect in 1967 to replace EACSO. It can be

⁶³ Mngomezulu R. Bheki (2013). Why did regional integration fail in East Africa in the 1970s? A historical explanation

argued that at that point in time regional integration was not an East African idea and thus embracing it as a strategy for development may not have been a key idea among the three member states.

3.3.2 Political ideologies and idiosyncrasies

The first EAC was formed at a time when the world had a bipolar system with some states leaning towards the eastern bloc which followed a communism/socialism approach while other states were leaning towards the western bloc which followed the capitalism approach. These different political economy ideologies were also evident in the first EAC since Kenya subscribed to the capitalism approach, Uganda had an initial leaning towards socialism but after General Amin overthrew President Obote, it seems to have had no tangible ideological grounding while Tanzania subscribed to the socialism approach. These two bipolar mechanism were foreign and thus there was direct and indirect foreign interferences that affected the collapsed EAC due to political alignment to external forces.⁶⁴ The functioning of the collapsed EAC was also affected differences between the presidents of the three countries especially after the overthrow of President Milton Obote by General Idi Amin, who demanded that Tanzania stops providing him with asylum. However, President Nyerere did not bulge and went ahead to assist Obote who eventually toppled Amin.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Mngomezulu R. Bheki (2013). Op cit.

⁶⁵ Ibid

3.3.3 Nationalist tendencies

The structure of the collapsed EAC left major areas of cooperation within the competencies of the respective national government, which pursued their national interests or nationalistic tendencies to the detriment of the integration objectives. This led to the closure of East Africa Currency Board and establishment of individual Central Banks for the three member states.

3.3.4 Weak supernatural institutions and their collapse

The collapsed EAC inherited an institutional foundation of having supernatural organizations operating across the region. However, lack of cooperation in the management of these institutions such as the federal University of East Africa (UEA) where differences in education systems and academic years lead to its collapse meant higher cooperation would be difficult to sustain. This disagreement in managing jointly owned enterprises led to the collapse of East Africa Airways (EAA) due to demand for more compensation by Kenya. The growth in population which was not commensurate with the available infrastructure such as availability of university slots to accommodate qualified students may also have accelerated the collapse in the management of these institutions and thus the collapse of EAC.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Mngomezulu R. Bheki (2013). Op cit.

3.3.5 Political instability and lack of internal cohesion within member states

The state and status of the EAC was tested when President Milton Obote of Uganda was toppled by his Army General Idi Amin, in 1971, leading to political instability in Uganda. Amin was not a signatory of the treaty establishing EAC in 1967 and thus considered an outsider besides reluctance by Kenya and Tanzania to recognize the government of Amin as he had acquired power through unconstitutional means. Uganda also suffered from lack of internal cohesion where the Buganda Kingdom did not consider themselves as part of Uganda and thus this weakened their unity in EAC.⁶⁷

3.4 Challenges affecting the revived East African Community

The challenges that have been identified to hamper implementation of regional integration in the revived EAC can broadly be summed up as economic nationalism coupled with lack of political will, overlapping membership, lack of peace and security, very ambitious projects, low infrastructure development, reliance on donor funding and low public awareness and capacity. These challenges are discussed herein below with some being broken down into smaller components.

⁶⁷ Mngomezulu R. Bheki (2013). Op cit.

3.4.1 Political economy

The major challenges of regionalism in East Africa have been noted to be, inter alia, weak institutional capacity to advance regional integration, low intra-trading, uncompetitive supply goods as well as low political will to address regional integration political issues. Among these factors, political will has been cited as the key challenge among the major challenges.⁶⁸ The political leadership have demonstrated their commitment at the Summit level. The conflict between Kenya and Tanzania over movement of animals and goods along their common border is one such conflict. The political systems and governance systems in the partner states differ and these may have added to the challenges of regionalism. For instance, in Kenya, the devolved system of governance that has created forty-seven county government that are still in the nascent stage and consider themselves semi-autonomous is contrary to the spirit of regional integrations. Growing national protectionism among member states has also been cited as another challenge. Different countries have different trade practices that make the cost of doing business expensive. For instance, Tanzania has a national control on bandwidth making it five times more expensive in Arusha than it is in Nairobi, Kenya.⁶⁹

3.4.2 Lack of fiscal convergence

The fiscal convergence in EAC is only partially achieved amongst key macroeconomic variables, which points out to the need for aligning monetary policies by EAC Partner States and allowing for a period of coordination of monetary policies before the formation of a monetary union. The

⁶⁸ African Development Bank Group, East Africa Economic Outlook 2019

⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Eaec8f9Xs>. Accessed on 17 April 2020

EAC partner states have been slow in addressing macroeconomic convergence, which has affected the achievement of monetary union timelines.⁷⁰ However, there is little indication that this would be achieved seamlessly. Prospects however abound in that the legal framework is in place and technical expertise available among the partner states, which can be mobilized.

3.4.3 Trade tariff barriers

There has been some intra-regional trade growth that is attributable to an increase in trade of agricultural and manufactured products and a reduction in non-tariff barriers.⁷¹ Further, notwithstanding considerable challenges, EAC's customs union and the common market are assisting it deliver on its mission. However, high tariffs still remain as a challenge especially on goods that are consumed by the less fortunate despite the EAC's trade policy being fairly transparent and efforts being made to remove non-tariff barriers.⁷² There is therefore considerable cross-border trade potential that is either unexploited, underexploited that is available to EAC, especially in creation of transport corridors for landlocked countries, when the trade tariff barriers challenge is effectively addressed.

3.4.4 Structural challenges

Though the revived EAC has substantially been able to address the structural weaknesses of the institutions of the collapsed EAC, there still remains some structural weaknesses in the political

⁷⁰ Annette Kuteesa, East African Regional Integration: Challenges in Meeting the Convergence Criteria for Monetary Union

⁷¹ https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/macroeconomic_social_uneca_sro-ea_feb24.pdf. Accessed 16 April 2020

⁷² <https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Frazer-2012-Working-Paper.pdf>. Accessed 20 April 2020

pillar in that the pillar lacks a specific sectoral council on political affairs, which leads to delayed consideration or adoption of recommendations and this is compounded by the fact that EAC has not given its Secretariat the requisite executive powers needed to enforce policy directives and decisions.⁷³

3.4.5 Overlapping membership

The African continent is divided into eight RECs that are recognized by the AU. These RECs draw membership from multiple countries with a number having membership of more than one REC. Due to multiplicity of membership in different RECs, a country may do well in one REC while it does not perform well in another REC⁷⁴ The overall performance of states may be dependent on the performance of other states within the REC in terms of implementing their respective regional integration protocols. An overlap in obligations, may therefore hinder the overall integration agenda for Africa as multiple membership produces complexities. For instance, the United Nations noted that challenges in implementing a Common External Tariff (CET) may be attributed to member states belonging to multiple free trade blocs.⁷⁵ The members states in the EAC also belong to other RECs. Rwanda and Burundi are COMESA and ECCAS members, Kenya has membership in COMESA, IGAD and CEN-SAD, South Sudan is a member of IGAD, Tanzania has membership in SADC while Uganda has membership in IGAD and COMESA. Gichohi notes that memberships in multiple RECs can create loyalty conflict and that membership to regional institutions that have overlapping mandates produces complexities that cause governments and the

⁷³ EAC, *Towards Political Federation in the East African Community, Achievements and Challenges*, 2013

⁷⁴ Stephen Karingi. Director Regional integration & Trade, ECA, presentation at AU. 2016

⁷⁵ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa, Towards an African Continental Free Trade Area*, Addis Ababa, 2012.

private sector to get confused as well as giving rise to duplication of effort more so through application of differential customs tariffs.⁷⁶

3.4.6 Lack of peace and security

The other challenges to regional integration in EAC include insecurity and lack of peace, which are considered critical components for attainment of regionalism. The EAC region has witnessed both intra-country and inter-country conflicts. South Sudan is still struggling from intra-county conflicts while Uganda is stabilizing from years of conflict in its northern region which have witnessed conflicts orchestrated by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Subtle intra-country economic conflicts have been witnessed despite the EAC having working protocols guiding various aspects. However, this is an area that has not received adequate funding in EAC.⁷⁷

3.4.7 Very ambitious wide ranging objectives

All RECs in the African continent have wide-ranging ambitious objectives stemming from the divergent interests across their members whose accommodation is desirable for accelerating development.⁷⁸ The EAC has objective pillars that it has been working towards realizing its fully implementation. Notably, EAC is a sub-set of the larger AU, which also has integration aspirations. These wide ranging objectives require funding which has not been commensurate to the needs as EAC relies on Partner States for its primary funding. The lack of funding, in adequate measure, has been a hindrance to integration with EAC as the Partner States and has been cited by the East

⁷⁶ Gichohi Marvin Muhammad. Op cit.

⁷⁷ EAC, Towards Political Federation in the East African Community, Achievements and Challenges, 2013

⁷⁸ African Development Bank Group. Op cit.

African Legislative Assembly (EALA) as a crisis.⁷⁹ Partner States using debt capital to finance their infrastructure projects stand the risk of inability to fully servicing of such debt capital and obligations to EAC. There would therefore be need to focus on priority integration areas to achieve maximum impact to the prospect for effective integration.

3.4.8 Low infrastructural development

There is a wide infrastructural gap in EAC, which affects the supply of good within EAC. The road and railways infrastructure have been inadequate for the growing demand for movement of products in the region. The region has key infrastructure challenges that include inadequate or shortage of power, low penetration of electricity due to low connection rates and high production costs due to ineffective cost of electricity especially to the manufacturing enterprises. There is therefore need to improve infrastructure development within the region by expanding the existing road infrastructure through improving the quality of road networks and border crossing point through having multiple lanes for effective clearance of multiple vehicles.⁸⁰

3.4.9 Donor funding

There is over-reliance on donor funding especially for infrastructural projects mainly from the EU and the German International Cooperation (GIZ).⁸¹ The nature of donor support in that the donor may have substantial input in utilization of the donor funds by regional organizations has been

⁷⁹ <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/1583-community-s-financial-status-worrying-assembly-states,-calls-on-council-of-ministers-to-fasttrack-remittances-to-remedy-situation>

⁸⁰ African Development Bank Group. Op cit.

⁸¹ EAC, Towards Political Federation in the East African Community, Achievements and Challenges, 2013

noted presents both challenges and opportunities to regional integration. The challenges relate to creation of strong donor dependency that would drive reforms as opposed to supporting reforms as well as poorly managed aid failing to meet the objectives of the recipients.⁸² Donor funding therefore bring with it foreign interference in the integration programmes. Cyclic poverty in Africa could be attributed to over-dependency on donor funding.⁸³

3.4.10 Low incorporation of the public and low capacity

There has been low public participating on integration matters coupled with low awareness which is a prerequisite for public participation.⁸⁴ The functionalism theory postulates that there should be freedom among the people as well as availability of function capacity on the identified cooperation functional lines.

3.5 Conclusion

The EAC has faced numerous challenges both in its former collapsed form and in its revived transformed form. Importantly, the revived EAC has outlived the collapsed EAC in that it celebrated twenty years in July 2020 through the celebration were muted due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The challenges facing EAC are not unsurmountable and can be overcome by employing the appropriate mechanisms. It can be deduced from the challenges that face the revived EAC, that a significant amount of the challenges that faced the collapsed EAC have been addressed in the

⁸² African Development Bank Group. Op cit.

⁸³ Ngari David Ngochi. Op Cit.

⁸⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGv880g3nl8>. Accessed 16 April 2020

revived EAC. However, substantial amount of work still remains. The EAC agenda, therefore, as has been argued by Ngari, should be driven by the top political leadership to achieve the intended success as opposed to appearing like a forced marriage.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Ngari David Ngochi. Op Cit

CHAPTER FOUR

The Prospects for Regional Integration in Contributing to Development in East Africa

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the prospects of using a transformed regional integration framework in Africa through looking at the transformation of OAU into AU plus the latest initiatives of AU towards achieving a continental free trade area and would hopefully fast track attainment of economic integration. The chapter also looks at aspirations of the revived EAC and moves to evaluate the prospects that the revived EAC has to use regional integration as a development strategy while taking stock of the prospects that the collapsed EAC had. The chapter concludes by noting that the prospects remain largely unmet and there is a lot required to achieve them to meet the aspiration of the revived EAC.

4.2 From Organization of African Unity to African Union

The OAU's main objectives were eradication of colonialism and combating racial discrimination, which made OAU support, through its coordination committee, the liberation and emancipation of African territories that had not attained independence. Besides these, the OAU was involved in economic cooperation and development as evidenced by the 1980 LPA, which was designed in a manner to boost economic development and attainment of food self-sufficiency through integration of African economies. In June 1991, the LPA was replaced by the Abuja Treaty that envisaged the establishment of an continental common market, continental central bank, monetary

fund and a continental parliament all within a period of 30 years.⁸⁶ Among the Abuja Treaty's objectives is Article 4, objective 1 (a) on establishing an AEC "to promote economic, social and cultural development and the integration of African economies in order to increase economic self-reliance and promote an endogenous and self-sustained development."⁸⁷

Despite OAU having a limited capacity to act coupled with low financial resources, it undertook intense diplomacy that enabled it lay a tangible reality for a united Africa. In July 1999, the OAU resolved to set up a new organization to replace it during an extraordinary summit in Sirte. The AU was therefore set up and officially launched on 9th July 2002 at the Durban summit and tasked to accelerate and deepen the African economic and political integration process. AU was to modeled around the EU model through creation of bodies and institutions similar to those of the EU. The AU's vision is to "build an Africa that is integrated, prosperous and at peace, led by its citizens and constituting a dynamic force on the world stage".⁸⁸

The AU has for a long time been in the nascent stage of laying the foundation to integrate with various treaties, such as the Abuja Treaty, that are not fully implemented. However, renewed efforts have been witnessed towards regional integration. There has also been a significant change in political leadership across African states and move towards democratization and improvement of governance through structures such as the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and renewed initiative that include the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA).

⁸⁶ <https://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/stay-informed/news/organisation-african-unity-oau-african-union-au-50-year-path-towards-african>. Accessed on 18 April 2020

⁸⁷ OAU, The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, Abuja, Nigeria 1991

⁸⁸ <https://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/stay-informed/news/organisation-african-unity-oau-african-union-au-50-year-path-towards-african>. Accessed on 18 April 2020

4.3 African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)

African integration witnessed a historic milestone on 30th May 2019 when the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) Treaty materialized after the twenty-second member state deposited with the AU Commission (AUC) her ratification instrument of the Treaty on 29th April, 2019. This was in accordance with Article 23 of the Agreement where the Treaty enters into force thirty days after the 22nd instrument of ratification is deposited with the Chairperson of the AUC. So far, twenty-seven Member States have ratified the Treaty, meaning that they will be able to make use of Preferential Trading Arrangements (PTA) offered by the Agreement establishing the AfCFTA. This achievement would not have been witnessed were it not for the AU Heads of State and Government, who during the 18th AU Summit in January 2012, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, agreed to fast-track the establishment of AfCFTA and further authorised the Action Plan on Boosting Intra-Africa Trade (BIAT).

Regional integration scope in Africa is broad covering issues on movement of persons, trade, infrastructure development, creation of regional value chains.⁸⁹ The Continental Free Trade Area negotiations are aimed at making trade fully integrated across Africa. According to the ECA, the ratification of AfCFTA by a high number of countries is an indication that there is a real political will among the member states of Africa to make the treaty work. Lack of political will has been noted as one of the great impediment to achieving African integration. Though the creation of the Free Trade Area, is considered an achievement, obstacles to the regionalism that include low levels of macroeconomic convergence, infrastructure deficit, insecurity and persistent threats to peace

⁸⁹ Stephen Karingi. Director Regional integration & Trade, ECA, presentation at AU. 2016

still abound.⁹⁰ Another historic milestone was made on 19 March 2020 when Mr. Wamkele Mene, was sworn-in as the first Secretary General of the AfCFTA at the AU headquarters.⁹¹ These milestones points towards a transformation in the implementation framework through either fast-tracking mechanisms or institutions, which hopefully would be granted supernatural authority to effectively operate.

4.4 Aspirations of the East African Community

The EAC aims is to mutually benefit the Partner States through creating a wide and deepened co-operation amongst them in economic, social and political fields among others. To this extent, the ultimate intentions of EAC are to establish a Political Federation with the entry point being a Customs Union, followed by a Common Market and thereafter a Monetary Union that will lead to the ultimate goal. The Customs Union has been in existence since 2005, in the manner set in EAC Treaty, Article 75, which means that the EAC Partner States have a free trade amongst themselves and an agreed CET for imports from countries outside the EAC zone. However, EAC Customs Union protocol and rules of origin to goods moving freely within the EAC.⁹²

The second regional integration milestone of the EAC is the Common Market that has been in force since 2010, in accordance with EAC Treaty's provisions and followed the Customs Union that started earlier in January 2010. The EAC Partner States formulated four freedoms and two

⁹⁰ <https://www.uneca.org/stories/com-2019-eca-moves-agenda-regional-integration-africa>. Accessed on 16 April 2020

⁹¹ <https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20200418/newly-sworn-afcfta-secretary-general-wamkele-mene-undertakes-serve-africa>. Accessed 18 April 2020

⁹² <https://www.eac.int/integration-pillars>. Accessed on 16 April 2020

rights amongst themselves aimed at accelerating economic growth and development. The four freedoms are the free movement of goods, free movement of persons, free movement of labour and workers and free movement of capital. The two rights are the right of establishment and the right of residence. The EAC Common Market has underlying operational principles, which are non-discrimination and equal treatment of nationals from other Partner States, information sharing and transparency for smooth implementation of the EAC Protocol.⁹³

The EAC regional integration provides for the creation of the East African Monetary Union (EAMU), which is an important integration stage. In accordance with the EAC Treaty, the EAMU protocol was signed and adopted on 30th November 2013. It lays groundwork for a monetary union within 10 years and allows progressively convergence of currencies of the Partner States into a single EAC currency. This will be preceded by harmonization of policies and systems that include monetary and fiscal policies, the payment and settlement systems, financial accounting and reporting practices, policies and standards on statistical information and establishment an East African Central Bank. All these are aimed towards the ultimate integration objective, the Political Federation, which is the fourth step after the Customs Union, Common Market and Monetary Union. Article 5(2) of the EAC Treaty provides three foundational pillars, which are common foreign and security policies, good governance and effective implementation of prior regionalism stages. The EAC has since the year 2004 been putting in place initiatives to fast-track political integration. In line with this, Summit directives were given that were followed by national consultations with stakeholders, which were held between 2006 and 2008 including studies undertaken to examine, facilitate and fast-track the integration process. The EAC Heads of State,

⁹³ <https://www.eac.int/integration-pillars>. Op cit.

on 20th May 2017, adopted the creation of a Political Confederation, as a transitional model to a Political Federation while consultations on the same were launched on 18th November 2019.⁹⁴

4.5 Prospects of the revived East Africa Community

Regional integration remains a priority development matter for Africa as it affects the movement of people, goods and services amongst its countries therefore affecting how people meet their needs. Regional integration affects what people can buy, how they buy and where they buy it from by providing the best cost-effective options as well as dictates the movement of people. Regional integration in Africa is therefore is not just a responsibility of the policy makers thus states but also for all Africans.⁹⁵ This propositions fits into the functionalism theory guiding this study as it assumes there would be freedom for movement. The prospects of the revived EAC are discussed in broad categories as below.

4.5.1 Integration framework and institutions

The EAC's regional co-operation and integration is wide ranging and involves co-operation in various fields like economic, social, cultural, research, technology and political sectors. It also envisages skills development, defence and security cooperation and cooperation on legal affairs matters for mutual and equitable development of the region. There has been a structural transformation of the EAC institutions by strengthening some, abolishing others and creating new ones in the revived EAC, which has helped EAC stabilize by being driven my market forces.⁹⁶ The

⁹⁴ <https://www.eac.int/integration-pillars>. Accessed on 16 April 2020

⁹⁵ <https://www.integrate-africa.org/>. Accessed on 16th April 2020

⁹⁶ Muinde N. (2015) Regionalism in eastern Africa: lessons learnt from the defunct East African Community

main organs of the EAC are the Summit of Heads of State, the Council of Ministers, the Co-ordination Committee, the East African Court of Justice, the East African Legislative Assembly and the Secretariat. The EAC also has autonomous institutions that include the East African Development Bank (EADB), the East African Health and Research Commission (EAHRC), the East African Science and Technology Commission (EASTCO), Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization (LVFO), Lake Victoria Basin Commission (LVBC), the Inter-University Council for East Africa (IUCEA), the East African Kiswahili Commission (EAKC), the Civil Aviation Safety and Security Oversight Agency (CASSOA) and the East African Competition Authority (EACA).⁹⁷

4.5.2 Operational Structure

Operationally, the EAC executes its strategies through the use of five-year development strategies that guide systematic implementation of the EAC Treaty. The EAC deemed it necessary to develop a longer term vision which would be the base for formulating the five-year development strategies. The EAC therefore developed Vision 2050, which was launched in February 2016 to provide a long term perspective that will enable the region have congruence on regional initiatives and those of the member state and thus create a larger transformation framework for development while helping monitor progress in sectoral initiatives in a quantifiable manner. the Eastern Africa region requires a plausible vision for the articulation of long term prospects that would identify policy measures and instruments required in its formulation. The ultimate goal will be the creation of an environment with effective institutional capacities conducive for investment that would help the region expand its productivity and increase her exports. The vision anticipates effective resources

⁹⁷ <https://www.eac.int/about-eac>. Accessed on 16 April 2020

management, guided by inclusiveness and accountability, which will see EAC being transformed into an upper – middle income region with a secure and politically united region.⁹⁸

The EAC Vision 2050 has identified vital development concerns that include persistent poverty, the unbalanced economic distribution, inadequate social cohesion and social infrastructure, lack of adequate human capital, the sub-optimal harnessing of natural resources within the region, the inadequate exploitation of mineral resources, insufficient energy supplies, the poor regional infrastructure, low investment in research and development, increasing unemployment more so amongst the growing youthful population, unplanned and poor urban setting, low levels of industrialization, low competitiveness and weak accountability. The vision has therefore identified several integral pillars for long-term transformation, value addition and growth to accelerate momentum for long term sustainable growth. These pillars are infrastructure development, natural resource and environment management, industrialization, agriculture and food security, rural economy, tourism, trade and services development.⁹⁹

4.5.3 Economic growth

The Eastern African region, where EAC falls, is Africa’s fastest growing region. The region average annual GDP growth rate between 2014 and 2018 stood at 6.6 percent, more than double the continental average. The highest growth rate was recorded in 2019 at 6.6 per cent while the previous year 2018 had a growth rate of 6.1 per cent. This growth has been sustained by improved agricultural production plus sustained infrastructure investment. ECA projects that this high

⁹⁸ https://www.foreign.go.tz/uploads/eac_vision_2050-_web.pdf. Accessed on 18 April 2020

⁹⁹ https://www.foreign.go.tz/uploads/eac_vision_2050-_web.pdf. Op. cit.

growth rate is set to continue.¹⁰⁰ The region has had growth in intra-regional trade partly driven by increase in exports of agricultural and manufactured products and a decrease in non-tariff barriers. The EAC's customs union and common market are assisting EAC deliver on its mission despite it being faced by many challenges.

4.5.4 Media and youthful population

The media plays an important role in integration matters and there exists the prospect of using the media to promote integration. EAC has the strength of a youthful population that is more advanced in terms on ICT and media usage especially social media. Thus technological advancement is contributing to globalization and thus the integration of the societies. The EAC has embarked on harnessing this skills of the youth and incorporating their opinions in its programmes. The 'East Africa I deserve campaign' is one such forum that the EAC is using to create awareness, promote public participants and more so enhance feedback mechanism and inclusivity of the youth.¹⁰¹

4.5.5 Collaboration with other RIAs

The EAC started formal collaboration with COMESA and SADC on 22nd October 2008 in a tripartite summit held in Kampala, Uganda where possibilities of having a larger free trade area for the three blocks and a merger for the three blocks into one RIA was discussed. This was followed up by the second tripartite summit that was held on 12th June 2011 in Johannesburg,

¹⁰⁰ https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/macroeconomic_social_uneca_sro-ea_feb24.pdf. Accessed on 16 April 2020

¹⁰¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGv880g3nl8>. Accessed 16 April 2020

South Africa where the blocs resolved to start negotiations for the formation of a grand free trade area of the three blocks. Achievement of such a larger free trade area would expand market for the member states with the attendant benefits of expanding economic growth and thus development.

4.5.6 Political federation

The ultimate goal of the EAC is the formation of a political union. Measures have been put in place to fast track the realization of this goal with the launching of consultations on the same on 18th November 2019. The realization of this would call upon the Partner States to redouble their efforts towards supporting this course more than strengthening their internal constitutional mechanisms that would be counterproductive to the attainment of this goal.

4.6 Prospects of the collapsed East Africa Community

The collapsed EAC had prospects mainly based on the structures of its predecessor, EACSO, which had a strong institutional and administrative framework that gave unity to the member states as discussed below.

4.6.1 Supernatural institutions

The collapsed EAC had joint owned public corporations such as the East Africa Railways and Harbours, East Africa Airlines as well as research and educational institutions such as the federal University of East Africa. These institutions helped in standardizing service delivery across the

three member states. However, this was during a period when the population had not risen steadily. With increased population, some of these institutions like the UEA were unable to meet their mandate leading to nationalism creeping in that eventually leading to their collapse and that of the EAC.

4.6.2 Customs Union and Common Market

The colonial administration in an endeavor to re-organize its colonies in the East Africa region had established a customs union in 1917 initially for Kenya and Uganda which was later joined by Tanganyika in 1927. This was based on recommendations of the special commissioner to Uganda, Sir Harry Johnson. This arrangement had mutated by the time of independence of the three member states to become EACSO. When the collapsed EAC was established on 6th June 1967, among the aspiration was to establish a common market.¹⁰² The experiences of the Custom Union were therefore a prospect that the then newly established EAC would have built on.

4.6.3 Common currency

When the EACSO was established in December 1961, it took charge over currency, customs regulations and taxes for the East Africa region, which gave the EACSO a regional outlook as a unifying factor. This was a prospect that the EAC would have built on but didn't since some of the functions of EACSO had been taken over by the respective government such as the role of currency that was taken away in 1965 with the establishment of national central banks and national currencies by Kenya and Uganda.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Mngomezulu, B.R. (2013). Op cit.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

4.7 Conclusion

The EAC is celebrating twenty years of existence in year 2020. However, according to its secretary general, Amb. Liberata Mfumukeko, there is still a lot that needs to be done to achieve the aspirations of the Treaty establishing EAC. He notes though progress has been made in the last twenty years, the member states are still struggling with basic needs, health systems that need improvement and thus there is need for EAC to move at a faster pace.¹⁰⁴ This will require overcoming the barriers to integration such as the need to work on standards in line with the requirements of the rules of origin and the right of settlements leveraging on the noted prospects such as the implementation of EAC Vision 2050.

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGv880g3nl8>. Accessed on 17 April 2020

CHAPTER FIVE

Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study findings based from data analysis and in line with the objectives of the study, makes conclusion and gives recommendations. The study's objective was to find out whether the revived EAC has taken a different integration path from that of the collapsed EAC. Ordinarily, taking a different path would imply that the challenges that led to the collapse of EAC in 1977 have been avoided or dealt with while enhancing mechanisms to tap into the prospects that existed then and now that would enable EAC attain its aspiration of utilizing regional integration as a strategy for development.

5.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The data relevant for this study was collected from selected published data on African integration with a focus on EAC through literature review. The data was then analyzed to help identify the similarities and difference of the challenges and prospects of the collapsed and revived EAC. The data analysis helped in identification of factors contributing to collapse of the first EAC, whose evaluation would help identify factors that may have been overlooked in the current EAC that require to be addressed by EAC as well as points out some of the viable unmet prospects of the collapsed EAC that have not yet been embraced by the revived EAC.

5.3 Similarities in challenges of the collapsed and revived EAC

The study found out that there are similarities in the challenges that faced the collapsed EAC and those that face the current EAC as discussed below. The revived EAC has however been able to deal with these challenges through employing its transformed institutions and frameworks to address the challenges.

5.3.1 Economic nationalism

The major challenge of regionalism in East Africa has been economic nationalism which is manifested in various forms and structures such as low attention to political issues on regionalism with political will being cited as the key challenge among the major challenges.¹⁰⁵ It's notable that despite the EAC having a fairly transparent trade policy and emphasis on removing non-tariff barriers, there has been a disproportionate fall on high tariffs for the sensitive items on list of goods consumed by poor people.¹⁰⁶ This is as a result of some Partner States continued pursuit of nationalistic tendencies in priority to regional integration interests. A case in point is the refusal by Tanzania to allow entry of goods from Kenya into Tanzania an example being the burning of chicken imported from Kenya by Tanzanian authorities, ban on tourists' movement between Kenya and Tanzania with Tanzania banning Kenya tourist vans into Tanzania.

¹⁰⁵ African Development Bank Group, East Africa Economic Outlook 2019

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Frazer-2012-Working-Paper.pdf>. Accessed 20 April 2020

5.3.2 Lack of fiscal convergence

There has only been partial and slow fiscal convergence among the key macroeconomic variables among the Partner States, which would be a pre-requisite for monetary policy co-ordination prior to the forming of a monetary union. This has affected the achievement of monetary union timelines.¹⁰⁷

5.3.3 Very ambitious wide ranging objectives

The RIAs in Africa, including EAC have ambitious and wide-ranging objectives that would require substantial funding to achieve.¹⁰⁸ The lack of adequate funding to EAC's programmes means that key objective pillars remains largely integration aspirations and could lead to frustrations.

5.3.4 Low infrastructural development

The study also found that low infrastructure development remains a key challenge to achieving the benefits of regional integration in accordance with the functionalism theory that provides for free movement of persons. It has therefore been noted that the need to continuously improve infrastructure.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Annette Kuteesa, East African Regional Integration: Challenges in Meeting the Convergence Criteria for Monetary Union

¹⁰⁸ African Development Bank Group. Op cit.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

5.3.5 Donor funding

The study also found that due to a mismatch of the ambitious programmes and available funding, EAC has had to rely on donor funding, which at times affects the programmes whose implementation is at the behest of the funding partners based on their interests and not necessarily those of the region. Harnessing alternative sources of internal capital would enable the Partner States avoid this pitfall.

5.4 Differences in challenges between the collapsed and revived EAC

The study found out that there are differences in the challenges that faced the collapsed EAC and those that face the current EAC as discussed below.

5.4.1 Shaky foundation

The collapsed EAC was not the original idea of the signatories to the Treaty establishing the EAC in 1967 but rather a transformation of a colonial legacy institution, the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO), which had been a culmination of series of attempts by the colonial masters to re-organize the administration of their East Africa colonies.¹¹⁰ This affected the ownership of the collapsed EAC leading to lackluster commitment from the political leadership

¹¹⁰ Mngomezulu R. Bheki (2013). Op cit.

of the then three member states. The current EAC unlike the collapsed one was revived by leaders who took ownership and were committed to make it work.¹¹¹

5.4.2 Collapse of supernatural institutions

The collapsed EAC had supernatural institutions like the federal University of East Africa (UEA) and the East Africa Airways (EAA) whose collapse heralded the collapse of the EAC.¹¹² The current EAC has not witnessed a collapse in any of its institutions. The current EAC has further been able to substantially effectively address the institutional weaknesses of the collapsed EAC.

5.4.3 Low internal cohesion

The king of Buganda in Uganda did not consider his kingdom as part of Uganda this affected the unity of Uganda in the collapsed EAC. In the current EAC, the issue of internal cohesion of Partner States has not featured as a challenge and has tended to be camouflaged in the nationalism discussions. However, there are signs of lack of internal cohesion along ethnic lines or social lines in some Partner States like Kenya, Uganda and South Sudan. These are challenges that the current EAC would be required to address to avoid their escalation thus hampering the prospects of the EAC.

¹¹¹ Muinde N. (2015) Regionalism in eastern Africa: lessons learnt from the defunct East African Community

¹¹² Mngomezulu. Op Cit.

5.5 Unmeet viable prospects of the EAC

Despite the challenges that the collapsed and revived EAC have faced, there are still indicators of there being viable prospects that EAC can pursue to assist it in achieving its integration objectives. Some of the factors that point to these prospect are discussed below.

5.5.1 Economic growth

The study also found out that there has been economic in the Eastern Africa region where EAC falls. This points out to untapped, unexploited or underexploited economic prospects for growth within EAC that would boast development through harnessing potential in cross-border trade by creating transport corridors between landlocked and coastal member states. This potential growth could unlock alternative source of funding through inculcating a culture of savings especially for retirement with the funds being available for development financing.

5.5.2 Institutions

The collapsed EAC had supernatural institutions like the federal University of East Africa (UEA) and the East Africa Airways (EAA), which sought to provide opportunities for citizens across the then three member states. Such supernatural institutions that affects the daily lives of EAC residents would aide in enhancing the visibility of EAC. The study revival of institutions that offer cross cutting services like in education, infrastructure, and transport the way there was UEA and

EAA would be key for the impact of the regionalism to be felt by the citizens which would promote a sense of East Africanism outside the institutions of the EAC.

5.5.3 Youthful population

A youthful population is considered an asset in regional integration more so with the advancement in ICT that remains attractive to them. The realization of this potential by the EAC would be a step in the right direction and tapping into their potential would help increase the rate of integration through use of media platforms that promote globalization.¹¹³

5.6 Conclusion

The study findings conclude that based a comparable analysis on the numerous research studies that have been done on the challenges and prospects of regional integration, both from an academic and policy level, on the collapsed and the revived EAC, the revived EAC has taken a different integration path from the collapsed EAC in that it has not encountered some of the challenges that contributed to the collapse of the first EAC in 1977 and/or has been able to deal to a substantial degree of success with the challenges it has encountered. This therefore lends credence to the hypotheses that a transformation of the integration framework would enable a RIA achieve its objectives. There are similarities and differences in the challenges that affected the collapsed and revived EAC. There are also viable unmet prospects of the EAC that remain untapped fully. The major challenges have been identified over the years and there seems efforts geared towards

¹¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGv880g3nl8>. Accessed 16 April 2020

addressing them in order to realize the benefits from regionalism. The study set out to do a comparative study on some of the challenges and prospects of African integration using EAC as a case study and guided by the functionalism theory. The data evaluated and from the researcher's understanding of the literature reviewed proof the hypotheses that there are benefits from using regional integration as a strategy for development. However, these benefits have not been fully achieved due to challenges, some which have been perennial as identified from previous researches. The study also proves the hypotheses that these challenges can be overcome through taking appropriate measures to realize the prospects of regional integration. The major challenge remains low political will or economy nationalism which needs to be cascaded from the highest level to all levels of government in the Partner states for realization of the integration benefits as these two challenges can have the pareto principle impact in regional integration. The EAC is considered as a more advanced REC within Africa. This has been achieved through transformation of the integration framework that brought the focus on functional area of custom union and a common market. This lends credence to the application of the functionalism theory where cooperation can be achieved based on functions that involves the larger population in the integration area. These two areas have largely been driven by the private sector which is by far larger than the public sector.

5.7 Recommendations

This study notes that the transformation of the integration framework in the revived EAC has enabled it take a different integration path from that of the collapsed EAC. The study however notes a lot remains outstanding to achieve the desired benefits of regional integration as a strategy

for development. This study has singled out political will as the key challenge to implementation of regional integration and can be overcome to realize the prospects of regional integration as a tool for development. This challenge manifests itself in a form of growing nationalism among some Partner states. It is further exacerbated by disparity in the levels of governance in the partner states with some states depicting a high sense of democratization while others are in the nascent stages. The study therefore recommends: -

1. Fast tracking of implementation of political mechanisms that will cede substantial sovereignty to supranational institutions starting from functions that fall under the custom union and common markets that have been noted to be among the integration achievements of the region.
2. Fast tracking the drafting of the political federation constitution.
3. Fast tracking of implementation of a common currency might be considered as one convergence point to fully integrate fiscal and monetary convergence.
4. Formation of supranational institutions in areas of transport through its four means being road, rail, air and water and establishment of mechanisms of harnessing and distribution of natural resources such as hydro and solar power across EAC.
5. Addressing factors that disrupt internal cohesion through ethnic or social basis.
6. Harnessing of alternative sources of development finance from within the region such as retirement benefits funds should be considered to boost infrastructural development and stem overreliance on donor funds especially from China which threatens sovereignty.

5.8 Suggested areas for further research

This study did a comparative analysis of the challenges and prospects the collapsed and revived EAC as the case study to determine whether the revived EAC has taken a different path from the collapsed EAC. The study had its own limitations in that it relied on selected published secondary data through literature review, which may not have captured the diverse consideration that obtained in the collapsed EAC and those obtaining in the revived EAC. There is therefore the need for future studies to make use primary data for a comparative case study in evaluation the challenges and prospects of African integration. Future studies may also consider at looking at alternative modes of integration and whether the ultimate ambition of a political union is desirable or whether economic integration could suffice.

Appendix

Appendix 1: African Regional Integration Index (ARII) Dimensions and Indicators

No	Dimension	Indicators
1	Regional infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure Development Index: transport; electricity; ICT; water and sanitation • Proportion of intra-regional flights • Total regional electricity trade (net) per capita • Average cost of roaming
2	Trade integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level of customs duties on imports • Share of intra-regional goods exports (% GDP) • Share of intra-regional goods imports (% GDP) • Share of total Intra-regional goods trade (% total intra-REC trade)
3	Productive integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share of intra-regional intermediate goods exports (% total intra-regional exports goods) • Share of intra-regional intermediate goods imports (% total intra-regional imports goods) • Merchandise Trade Complementarity Index: total absolute value of the difference between share of imports and share of exports of a member state in a REC
4	Free movement of people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ratification (or not) of REC protocol on free movement of persons • Proportion of REC member countries that are members whose nationals do not require a visa for entry • Proportion of REC member countries whose nationals are issued with a visa on arrival
5	Financial and macroeconomic integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional convertibility of national currencies • Inflation rate differential (based on the Harmonized Consumer Price Index)

Source: Adopted from the Africa Regional Integration Index Report 2016

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