

**"THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION ON CONFLICT
RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN AFRICA; A CASE
STUDY OF THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY, (2000-2010)"**

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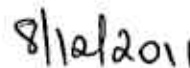
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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other University.





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DEDICATION

To my family, friends, and colleagues for their selfless support and patience that helped me through the program at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi.

ABSTRACT

The main aim of the study is to investigate the impact of regional integration on conflict resolution and peace building in Africa; where a case study of the East Africa Community was taken as from 2000-2010. Against the background of profound global political, economic, and social change since the end of the cold war, Scholars argue that regional organizations play only a limited role and that even when they do so, it is often in pursuit of resolving conflict and peace building thus the literature review and theoretical framework has supported this.

This study used both primary and secondary data from ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya and Uganda government official, united nation peace keeping mission dealing with regional integration and EAU. This instrument of data collection enables the researcher to control the setting; it is flexible as one can probe and in the process get in-depth information. Research design used in this study was descriptive and exploratory in nature method.

This study presented a detailed background of the conflict resolution and peace building in Africa, including the origin of the conflict and showcasing its effect on East Africa and background of the regional integration in Africa. The finding indicated that the existence of regional integration in East African has significant influence in peace building and conflict resolution, Regional integration in the East African community will not only lead to the stabilization of the East African region but also affect Africa and the world at large due to its "spill over" and the working of East African together leads to

social harmony in the region are significant. In this respect the study supports the alternate hypothesis that regional conflicts in constrained water resource areas

DEDICATION

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCR - Centre for Conflict Research

EAC- East African Community

ECOWAS- Economic Community of West African States

EAHC- East African High Commission

GOK- Government of Kenya

ID- Identification

IGAD- Intergovernmental Authority on Development

GLR - Great Lakes Region

IGO- Intergovernmental Organization

NGO- Non- Governmental Organization

OAU- Organization of African Unity

UNDP- United Nations Development Program

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO REGIONAL INTEGRATION ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN AFRICA

1.1 Background of the Study

Regional integration is a process in which states enter into a regional agreement in order to enhance regional cooperation through regional institutions and rules. Its objectives could range from economic to political although it has become a political economy initiative where commercial purposes are the means to achieve broader socio-political and security objectives. Past efforts at regional integration have often focused on removing barriers to free trade in the region, increasing the free movement of people, labor, goods, and capital across national borders, reducing the possibility of regional armed conflict, and adopting cohesive regional stances on policy issues, such as the environment, climate change and migration. Such an organization can be organized either on supranational or intergovernmental decision-making institutional order, or a combination of both¹.

Conflict resolution and peace building are issues which have become very topical in debates and discussions in Africa stated by mwagiru². This is not only because Africa is characterised by many conflicts, but much more so due to the realization that in most

¹ Miller, C.A. (2003): *A Glossary Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict*, Geneva: University for Peace pp-18.

² Mwagiru, M, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*, Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006 p3

cases the conflicts have negative impacts on Africa's socio-economic and political development. Thus conflict resolution and peace building processes have become very essential in solving the problem of conflicts in the continent. According to Mwagiru (2001), there is underscored the importance of conflict resolution when he says³:

"One of the distinguishing features of Africa's political landscape are its many dysfunctional and protracted social and political conflicts. This problem is made worse by lack of effective mechanisms to manage these conflicts. Where they exist they are weak and, thus, social and political relationships in the continent have been disrupted. This has had negative consequences, including the interruption of the development and the diversion of scarce resources to the management of these conflicts".

This thesis is, therefore, intended to examine conflict resolution and peace building processes in Africa with a focus on east Africa community. These are among countries in Africa which have experienced protracted conflicts since independence. They are also countries in which serious conflict resolution and peace building processes have been, and continue to be carried out. Furthermore, countries of the Great Lakes Region (GLR), a region which is known to be leading in Africa in terms of the scale and magnitude of political conflicts Mpangala, (2000)⁴.

³ Mwajiru, Makumi, 2001, Conflict Management in Africa: Lessons Learnt and Future Strategies; Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research (CCR) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

⁴ Mpangala, G. P., 2000, Leadership, Nationalism and Forty Years of Ethnic Conflicts in Africa, In: Othman, (ed), 2000, Reflection on Leadership in Africa: Forty Years After Independence VUB University Press and IDS, Brussels, Dar es Salaam.

There are many challenges that are related to the strategy of bringing about integration in Africa in the areas of governance and democratization. In the case of parliaments and national assembly's in Africa, these challenges manifest themselves in a number of ways. Some are the result of the particular country's history and its subsequent evolution into a parliamentary democracy, albeit in its very early stages of development.

Conflict situations have existed worldwide for a long time as a result of incompatibility of interests, differences in opinion, aims and beliefs characterized by a strain in the way two parties relate with each other Mwagiru (2004). Conflict ranges from community, regional, national or interstate levels and further escalation of conflict situations may have irreversible impacts depending on whatever level they occur⁵.

A conflict arises when parties have incompatible goals about something. This arises because they may both have different perceptions, goals and ideas about how to achieve them. According to Holsti (1972), conflict is an inherent part of modern, complex society, especially when interests are organized and self-seeking. Conflict is more intense when interests seeking fulfillment or redress meet stubborn resistance. The latter situation is generally more likely when resources are scarce or where contesting parties view their efforts to advance or maintain the status quo as zero-sum affairs⁶.

⁵ Mwagiru Makumi (2004), *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*. Heinrich Boll Foundation, Nairobi

⁶ Holsti, R. *International Politics: A framework for Analysis (2nd edition)* New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc. Engelwood Cliffs, 1972 P. 447

Conflict can take many forms, some violent, others not. People find that their ideas, their preferences, their interests vary from those of their neighbors every day (Holsti, 1972)⁷. Those ideas, preferences, and interests are in conflict, but they are normally either sublimated or acted upon and resolved in peaceful ways. The means of resolving daily conflict include negotiation, compromise, and reliance on institutions like village councils, courts, or the police. Violence often reflects the failure of institutions to allow for the pursuit of particular interests. (Mwangagi, 2002) Sometimes, e.g. in southern Sudan, it may continue unabated without institutional response or transformation.

Conflict, violent or not, may be restricted to local groups without wider intention or impact. (Holsti, 1972) But conflict can also aim at and involve national-level issues and participants. In still other cases, actors beyond national borders are engaged, either indirectly, through proxies, or directly⁸.

Conflicts in Africa, arise from human relations in these principal ways: first individuals or groups have different values, needs and interests; and second, most resources⁵ Are not available in unlimited quantities and so access to them must be controlled and fought for competition for resources typically lies at the result of conflict, these accounts for the intensity of the struggle for political power in many African

⁷ Ibis 1997 P. 450

⁸ Ibis 1997 P. 456

country. Here political power is sought in order to acquire control over means of production as stated by Mwangagi.⁹

As Conflict resolution and peace building are as old as man in Africa¹⁰, the intensity and the attention has also resulted to shrinking resources due to interdependence brought about by regional integration. Regional integration entails shearing of resources ownership access and control and use of resources, it has often led to conflict amongst the various source users .It has also led to conflicts over ownership, access and use at the interstate and intra state level (Forest Action Network 2001). This is the reason the conflict resolution and peace are prerequisite of the achievement of development objectives in the East African community. Having focused on economic integration for a long time the EAC recognizes the fact that economic integration can be achieved on the stability in the region. Conflict situations like the post election violence in Kenya has shown how disturbance of the peace can hamper or even destroy economic achievements¹¹.

As Economic Integration also going hand in hand with the reduction of border control and gradual introduction of free movement of persons and goods, it also leads to the requirement of a mechanism for conflict prevention and management of conflicts in the EAC. The critical importance for this mechanism is because peace building and

⁹ Mwagiru, M, *Conflict in Africa: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*, Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006 p3

¹⁰ Mwangagi. M, *The Elusive Quest: Conflict, Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya in Okoth and Ogot* (eds) *Conflict in Contemporary Africa*, Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2002. p. 187

¹¹ EAC (2004) *Secretariat, Protocol on the Establishment of the EAC Custom Union*, Arusha, EAC secretariat

conflict resolution are usually seen in close connection with sustainable development and economic integration. The current partners in the community include Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi¹².

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Regional integration between countries of widely differing size, wealth and influence can cement inequalities, create tensions and trigger conflict¹³. This is perhaps particularly likely if there is a lack of transparency and accountability in the negotiation of the agreement and its subsequent implementation. Against the background of profound global political, economic, and social change since the end of the cold war, the European continent itself an arena of profound transformations-has been preserved as a remarkable instance of continuity. Some scholars argue that regional organisations play only a limited role and that even when they do so, it is often in pursuit of resolving conflict and peace building. On the other hand, some academics and policy practitioners are of the view that regional organisations not only have a role to play but have emerged as a viable framework for the maintenance of regional peace and security¹⁴.

Majority of the East Africans know the importance of the E.A.C on the economic side but fail to recognize the critical importance of the EAC as pillar of conflict

¹² EAC Secretariat (2000), *The Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC*, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

¹³ Crawford, J. and Fiorentino, R. (2005) 'The changing landscape of regional trade agreements', Discussion Paper 8, Geneva: WTO.

¹⁴ Best S.G. (2004): "The Method of conflict Resolution and Transformation" in Best, S.G. (ed.): *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited 93-115.

resolution and peace building in the region. They fail to understand that regional development can only be achieved in a peaceful and stable environment¹⁵.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The, objectives of the study is to:

1. Showcase the critical importance of the EAC as an agent of conflict resolution and peace building not only in the region but also in Africa.
2. Investigate challenges of EAC on conflict resolution and peace building.

1.4 The significance of the study

The significance of the study is that it will enable the creation of an awareness of the critical importance of regional integration as a tool of resolving conflicts and promoting peace within members' states and Africa at large.

1.5 Literature Review

Introduction

The literature review has four main themes that form the benchmark of the proposal as well as the analysis of the case study. The focus of the review is to gain theoretical information that will guide the case study. Conflict in most cases narrows down to various issues that lead to hostile attitudes between parties with varying interests whether individual, group or between countries. In east Africa for instance which has had

¹⁵ EAC (2004) *Secretariat, Protocol on the Establishment of the EAC Custom Union*, Arusha, EAC secretariat

most of its states rocked by conflict, several factors are constant and common in almost all cases (Adedeji, 1999)¹⁶.

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have had a history of co-operation dating back to the early 20th century, including the customs union between Kenya and Uganda in 1917, which the then Tanganyika joined in 1927, the East African High Commission (1948–1961), the East African Common Services Organisation (1961–1967) and the East African Community (1967–1977)¹⁷. Inter-territorial co-operation between the Kenya Colony, the Uganda Protectorate and the Tanganyika Territory was first formalised in 1948 by the East African High Commission. This provided a customs union, a common external tariff, currency and postage; and also dealt with common services in transport and communications, research and education. Following independence, these integrated activities were reconstituted and the High Commission was replaced by the East African Common Services Organisation, which many observers thought would lead to a political federation between the three territories. The new organisation ran into difficulties because of the lack of joint planning and fiscal policy, separate political policies and Kenya's dominant economic position. In 1967 the East African Common Services Organisation was superseded by the East African Community. This body aimed to strengthen the ties

¹⁶ Adedeji. A., 1999. *Comprehending and mastering African conflicts, the search for sustainable peace and good governance*, London: Zed Books, ed p 23

¹⁷ EAC Secretariat (2002), *The Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC*, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

between the members through a common market, a common customs tariff and a range of public services so as to achieve balanced economic growth within the region.¹⁸

In 1977, the East African Community collapsed after ten years. Causes for the collapse included demands by Kenya for more seats than Uganda and Tanzania in decision-making organs, disagreements with Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, and the disparate economic systems of socialism in Tanzania and capitalism in Kenya.¹⁹ The three member states lost over sixty years of co-operation and the benefits of economies of scale, though some Kenyan government officials celebrated the collapse with champagne. Each of the former member states had to embark, at great expense and at lower efficiency, upon the establishment of services and industries that had previously been provided at the Community level²⁰.

Later, former Presidents Moi of Kenya, Mwinyi of Tanzania, and Museveni of Uganda signed the Treaty for East African Co-operation in Arusha, Tanzania, on 30 November 1993, and established a Tri-partite Commission for Co-operation. A process of re-integration was embarked on involving tripartite programmes of co-operation in

¹⁸ "East African Economic Community". Crwflags.com. <http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/eaf-co.html>. Retrieved 2010-07-01.

¹⁹ East African trade zone off to creaky start, *Christian Science Monitor*, 9 March 2006

²⁰ EAC News (2001) issue 8 march

political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security, legal and judicial affairs²¹.

The East African Community was finally revived on November 30, 1999, when the Treaty for its re-establishment was signed. It came into force on July 7, 2000, twenty-three years after the total collapse of the defunct erstwhile Community and its organs. A customs union was signed in March 2004 which commenced on January 1, 2005; Kenya, the region's largest exporter, continued to pay duties on goods entering the other four countries on a declining scale until 2010. A common system of tariffs will apply to goods imported from third-party countries²².

There are multiple causes and dynamics in every conflict. Meaningful peace building and conflict resolution must start with a detailed analysis of the causes of conflict and the specific conditions of a certain country or region. Conflict mapping and analysis is the first step towards understanding and managing conflict. Peace, security and development are also inextricably interlinked with regional integration and cooperation. While regional integration can contribute to economic development, regional cooperation is prerequisite to the attainment of, as well as dependent upon, peace and security. As neither the causes nor the consequences of violent conflict are bound by national borders, there is broad consensus that a regional approach is essential to effectively ensure global security. Regional integration organisations have proven their

²¹ EAC (2004) *Secretariat, Protocol on the Establishment of the EAC Custom Union*, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

²² David Booth, Diana Cammack, Thomas Kibua and Josaphat Kwek (2007) *East African integration: How can it contribute to East African*

potential as foundations for durable peace, long-term stability, economic growth, sustainable development and democratic consolidation

According to the East African Community Treaty (2001), the EAC intends to achieve a political federation starting with a common market and a monetary union²³. Therefore at the moment, the cooperation between the three East African countries can be categorised as being in a state of becoming, which in the long run is aimed at achieving a political federation (Mukandala, 2000). In other words, the integration process in East Africa is to be achieved incrementally. The argument has always been whether the logical conclusion of any integration process is political or economic unity

During the early stages of its evolution, integration unfolded as a peace-building process by re-creating regional interdependences, expanding across issue areas, and increasing the number of participating countries. As there cannot be peace without justice the major milestone reached by the EAC Regional integration was in the 30th November 2001²⁴. According to (EAC News 2001). According to (EAC secretariat 2001), it also shows the critical importance of the EAC regional integration as an agent of peace building and conflict resolution by arguing that trans-border trade is back in full swing and smugglers have been replaced by legitimate traders due to the introduction of the Common passport. The EAC has great challenges of insecurity of insecurity and conflicts and the only way to tackle these challenges is through is through the EAC²⁵.

²³ EAC News (2001) issue 8 march.

²⁴ East African Community Facts and Figures – 2001

²⁵ EAC Secretariat (2000), *The Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC*, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

Root causes of conflict

Conflict can be defined as ‘the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups’²⁶. Commentators often distinguish between ‘social conflict’, which refers to conflict between groups, and ‘political conflict’, when the nature of the incompatibility is political. Conflict can be further categorised as non-violent and violent.²⁷ Non-violent conflict is expressed without the use of force and is seen by many as a natural element in human society and an essential driving force for social change. Violent conflict, on the other hand, poses a threat to society and, it can be argued, represents one of the central causes of poverty and ‘failed development’.

It is widely accepted that understanding and addressing the root cause of a conflict is essential to a successful and lasting resolution. While there is no unified theory on the cause of violent conflict, there are a number of factors that have been cited as explanations²⁸.

The observation that countries tend to experience higher levels of violent conflict has led some scholars to assume a causal link between poverty and war. However, it is now widely accepted that poverty per se does not cause conflict. Structural inequality that is, economic and social inequality and unequal access to political power is considered one of the central causes of violent conflict. While some analysts focus on differing group

²⁶ Maill et al, 2005

²⁷ Forest Action Network (2001), *Natural resource Based Conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa: Experiences and Strategies for Intervention*, Nairobi, USAID Kenya

²⁸ Saferworld and International Alert (2004) *Strengthening Global Security Through Addressing The Root Causes of Conflict: Priorities for the Irish and Dutch Presidencies in 2004*

identities such as ethnicity, religion or economic class as sources of conflict, others view identity as an idiom through which other interests are expressed.

Other factors that have been cited in the propensity to conflict include the relationship between military expenditure and economic growth (a debate located within the field of development economics) and the prevalence of small arms, which has been highlighted by think-tanks such as Safe world. The scarcity or abundance of natural resources as well as the role of economic agendas have been explored by a number of scholars²⁹.

Some analysts locate the origins of violent conflict in the broader historical or development processes and look at issues such as state formation in the post-colonial era or the role of rapid market-orientated economic reforms such as structural adjustment policies in generating instability and violent conflict in turn. More recently commentators have started to look at issues such as unequal trade relationships between 'developed' and 'developing' countries and the role this plays in generating economic decline and violent conflict³⁰.

There is rarely a single cause of armed conflict; rather there are multiple causes, conditions and contingent factors that cause social conflict to become violent or armed. However, it can be argued that for the purpose of conflict resolution and prevention, it is both necessary and useful to look for the shared characteristics and patterns.

²⁹ Forest Action Network (2001), *Natural resource Based Conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa: Experiences and Strategies for Intervention*, Nairobi, USAID Kenya

³⁰ Griffiths Martin, David Mitrany 1999, *Fifty Key thinkers in International Relations*, London, Routledge

Conflict Resolution:

Processes of conflict resolution in Africa are characterised by three dimensions which include the nature of conflicts, conflict resolution mechanisms and the outcome of such mechanisms. In understanding the nature of conflicts, first there is need to identify types of conflicts. There have been different ways of identifying types of conflicts. One way is in terms of complexity. It has been observed that in Africa there are simple and complex types of conflicts (Mwagiru, 2001)³¹. Most of the conflicts have been and continue to be complex. The second way is in terms of duration. In this context there are shortlived and protracted conflicts. Protracted conflicts are the most common in most countries in Africa. Wars of liberation in Southern Africa were protracted conflicts and civil wars that came after independence in Mozambique and Angola were also protracted. This is also true of civil wars in Sudan and Somalia. The Rift Valley conflicts in Kenya in 1991/92 and again in 1997 constitute few examples of short-lived conflicts.

The third way is in terms of violence. There are conflicts which are violent and those which are non-violent. Some people have characterised the non-violent conflicts as latent or structured conflicts (Mwagiru, 2001)³². However, most conflicts which have been studied and which have drawn greater attention are violent conflicts which have involved bloodshed. Although most conflict resolution measures have been taken on violent conflicts, there have also been situations when conflict resolution measures have

³¹ Mwajiru, Makumi, 2001, *Conflict Management in Africa: Lessons Learnt and Future Strategies*; Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research (CCR) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

³² Mwajiru, Makumi, 2006, *Conflict Management in Africa: Lessons Learnt and Future Strategies*; Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research (CCR) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

been made on latent conflicts. For example the latent conflict between CCM and CUF in Zanzibar from 1995 to 1999 had given rise to a process of peace negotiations under the auspices of the then Commonwealth Secretary General Chief Anyaoku (Mpangala, 2000).

The fourth way of identifying types of conflicts is in terms of the scale of the conflict. In this context conflicts in Africa have been categorised into internal, interstate and internationalized conflicts. Purely internal conflicts are said to be few in Africa. There have been a good number of interstate conflicts such as wars between Tanzania and Uganda in 1978/79, Ethiopia and Somalia and Ethiopia and Eritrea. Internationalized conflicts are the most common³³. These are conflicts, which in one way or another have involved other countries or affected neighbouring countries such as the influx of refugees and their implications. Given this conception, most conflicts in Africa have been or are internationalized conflicts. The fifth way is in terms of necessity or legitimacy of conflicts. While some conflicts are regarded as necessary and legitimate, others are unnecessary and illegitimate. Sekou Toure classified conflicts legitimate and illegitimate conflicts (Nyirenda, 2000). Legitimate conflicts are mainly concerned with struggles for liberation from an oppressive and exploitative regime. The objective is to liberate the whole society from such domination, oppression and exploitation. The first stage when such conflicts took place in Africa was during struggles for national independence from colonialism. Colonised people who could not achieve independence through peaceful means, had to resort to armed struggle.

³³ Miall, H; Ramsbotham, O and Woodhouse, T 2005: *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*.

In Africa processes of peacekeeping have been increasing. In 1993 to 1994 the UN Security Council sent a peacekeeping force to Rwanda to foresee the implementation of the Peace Agreement signed in Arusha between the Government of Habyarimana and the RPF rebels in August 1993. The peacekeeping task force was known as UNAMIR Khan, (1998). However, the peacekeeping task force proved a failure as it could not prevent the genocide of Rwanda of 1994.

Peace Building

Peace building is a process of making sure that a country or society creates conditions for sustainable peace. Such conditions can be created when the country is already in the state of being peaceful. In such a situation the conditions are created in order to prevent conflicts from erupting and therefore, peace is sustained³⁴. The conditions can be created in a post conflict situation. A conflict situation has been put to an end through a conflict resolution mechanism. Under such a situation the process of peace building begins with the transition period. The process of implementing various aspects of the peace agreement becomes the beginning of the process of peace building. The process of peace building is a continuous one as it entails taking various measures. In Africa these measures include transformation of state organs, socio-economic development, democratization and regional integration. Transformation of state organs involves transformation of defense armies, the police and the security. Such

³⁴ James K. Boyce, *Economic Policy for Building Peace: The Lessons of El Salvador* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996).

transformation should be ideologically and structurally so that they can perform their duties with national spirit and commitment without tendencies of segregation and favoritism.

Democracy towards conflict resolution should also be based on African traditional reconciliatory structures. Among the aspects have been the establishments of the democratic model on the basis of traditional African values (Mpangala, 1996)³⁵. Some intellectuals have opposed the idea. Sithole (1994) for instance has argued that incorporating traditional African values in the democratization process is sheer mystification³⁶. It entails looking for exotic experiments which cannot work. However, we are of the view that we cannot totally ignore incorporating traditional African values in the democratization process. There are certain values, which are important, particularly in terms of establishing democracy that can facilitate conflict resolution. Mugambi (1996) has pointed out that modern African Governments have mainly been state governments while traditional African governments were community governments. In our democratization process, therefore, there is need to merge traditional community governments and modern state governments in order to establish community based states that can ensure new types of democracy.

Assefa (1996) has seen in traditional African societies "politics of reconciliation". He argues that since multi-party politics in Africa have potentially negative consequences

³⁵ Mpangala, G. P., 2000, Leadership, Nationalism and Forty Years of Ethnic Conflicts in Africa, In: Othman, (ed), 2000, Reflection on Leadership in Africa: Forty Years After Independence VUB University Press and IDS, Brussels, Dar es Salaam.

³⁶ Sithole, M., 1994, "The Democratization Process in Africa: Is the Second Wind of Change Any Different from the First?" Research Proposal for CODESRIA.

due to deeply divided African societies, politics of reconciliation are necessary in order to avert the negative consequences of competitive multi-party politics. Politics of reconciliation in traditional African societies are characterised by cooperation and sharing. They are politics which put due emphasis on the community rather than on individualism and competition. Such politics cultivate community spirit among the people and between different parties. Politics of reconciliation should, therefore, be accommodated in the modern multiparty system, and should be part and parcel of the democratization process to avoid political conflicts³⁷.

The EAC secretariat (2000),³⁸ have shown commitment on conflict resolution and peace building in the region by highlighting the agreement between partner states that peace and security and are pre-requisites to social and economic development within the community and to the achievement of the objectives of the community. It has also pronounced the importance of conflict resolution by highlighting the agreement between partners state to undertake promote and maintain good neighbourliness as basis of promoting peace and security within the community.

The EAC Secretariat (2004) on protocol on the establishment of the EAC Custom Union has also highlighted conflict resolution and peace building in the EAC under article 41. Partner state affirmed their commitment conflict resolution and peace building

³⁷ Assefa, H., 1996, Peace and Reconciliation as a Paradigm: A Philosophy of Peace and its Implications for Conflict, Governance and Economic Growth. In: Assefa, H., and G. Wachira (eds) Peace Making and Democratization in Africa: Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives; Nairobi, Kampala: East African Educational Publishers.

³⁸ EAC Secretariat (2000), *The Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC*, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

through consideration of other partner's complaints creating opportunities for consultation complaints made by other state and also implement in good faith any decisions made pursuant to the community dispute settlement mechanism³⁹.

Conclusion

Conflict resolution and peace building processes in Africa in general and in east Africa. It has to be noted that cases of the two countries can only provide a narrow scope of in relation to so many cases in different regions of the continent. The strengthening and consolidation of such regional initiatives should be carried out within the context of the strengthened and consolidated African Union. The current move of establishing a permanent AU peace keeping force is a very positive step. Time should come when dependence on the UN should be minimised in order to increase efficiency and effectiveness in conflict resolution and peace building mechanisms. The other issue which is related to the first is the whole question of regional integration processes. So far emphasis has been on socio-economic aspects of integration. Transformations towards political integration are a matter of vital significance. The third issue is the need for the development of common principles that can ensure the building of democratic socio-economic developmental societies in Africa. The principles should include participation, social justice, equality, eradication of poverty and divisive and segregative ideologies among the people.

³⁹ EAC (2004) *Secretariat, Protocol on the Establishment of the EAC Custom Union*, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

1.6 Hypotheses

Regional integration plays a critical role in EAC. This research will have three hypotheses.

- The existence of regional integration in East African has significance influence in peace building and conflict resolution.
- Regional integration in the East African community will not only lead the stabilization of the East African region but also affect Africa and the world at large due to its “spill over”.
- The working of east African together leads to social harmony in the region.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The theory of focus so as to appreciate regional integration as an important strategy especially in peace building and conflict resolution is Regionalism. The integration process can be compared along different dimensions, the scope which includes a range of issues, the depth which is the extent of policy harmonization, institutionalization; the extent of formal institutional building and centralization; the degree to which effective authority is centralized.⁴⁰ The early stages here agenda expands to cover non tariff barriers, market regulation, and the development of common policies at the micro and macro levels. Regionalism is a theoretical concept used to analyse an international system. It can also be regarded as an aim, goals and driving force that underline conscious efforts by the members of a region to increase or control various

⁴⁰ Fawcett L. and Hurrell A, (eds.) (1995), *Regionalism in World Politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

forms of interaction and cooperation hence a complex of attitudes, loyalties and ideas which concentrate the mind of the people upon what they perceive to be their region. An important indicator to regionalism is the extent to which in Africa union, regional development and regional politics come to shape and define the domestic landscape. Regionalism Theory and conflict resolution in East Africa acknowledges that it is no longer fashionable to regard regional countries as being primarily institutions for economic development, geared towards the creation of a single market.

Regionalism theory focuses on the role of shared domestic attributes or characteristics by having the responsibilities of regional cooperation and integration that is likely to depend heavily on the coherence and viability of the states and state structure in a given region⁴¹. The absence of viable states makes difficult the process of region building, as warlords are bound to move in if the state collapses, such a problem is part of the major obstacles towards effective regionalism in parts of Africa including EAC⁴².

Neo-Functionalist theory is a theory of regional integration that places major emphasis on the role of non-state actors – especially, the “secretariat” of the regional organization involved and those interest associations and social movements that form at the level of the region – in providing the dynamics for further integration. Member states remain important actors in the process. They set the terms of the initial agreement, but they do not exclusively determine the direction and extent of subsequent change. Rather,

⁴¹ Boyd, G, (1984). *Regionalism and Global Security* Lexington: Lexington

⁴² Bhagwati, J. (1993). “Regionalism and multilateralism: an overview”. In J. de Melo and A. Panagariya (1993) (eds). *New dimensions in regional integration*. Cambridge University Press for CEPR.

regional bureaucrats in league with a shifting set of self-organized interests and passions seek to exploit the inevitable “spill-overs” and “unintended consequences” that occur when states agree to assign some degree of supra-national responsibility for accomplishing a limited task and then discover that satisfying that function has external effects upon other of their interdependent activities.⁴³ According to this theory, regional integration is an intrinsically sporadic and conflictual process, but one in which, under conditions of democracy and pluralistic representation, national governments will find themselves increasingly entangled in regional pressures and end up resolving their conflicts by conceding a wider scope and devolving more authority to the regional organizations they have created.

It is important to conclude that the state strength and regionalism do not stand in opposition but that states remain the essential building blocks with which regionalist arrangements are built.

1.8 Methodology

This study used both primary and secondary data. This instrument of data collection enables the researcher to control the setting; it is flexible as one can probe and in the process get in-depth information. The study will also rely on secondary data such as text books, journals and academic papers that are in various libraries in Nairobi as well as government printers.

Research Design

⁴³ Arthur L. Stinchcombe, *Constructing Social Theories* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), pp. 32.

The research design used in this study was descriptive and exploratory in nature method. This method is preferred because it allows for prudent comparison of the research findings.⁴⁴ The qualitative design chosen for this research is theory grounded, or natural inquiry. Grounded theory research unfolds and emerges empirically from the data and is more responsive to contextual values rather than researcher values. The survey method will also be descriptive in nature. According to Cooper and Schindler (2000), descriptive statistics discover and measure cause and effect relationships among variables. The study uses a descriptive design because it enables the researcher to collect in-depth information about the population being studied.

The study makes use of the random sampling method which is suitable in this context. According to Jankowicz (2002), surveys are particularly useful when you want to contact relatively large numbers of people to obtain data on the same issue or issues, often by posing the same questions to all.⁴⁵

Population and Sampling Design

The targeted population for the study will be ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya and Uganda government official, united nation peace keeping mission dealing with regional integration and EAU. The sampled population is that part of the target population that is accessible and available for sampling, Cooper and Schindler (2000). Therefore the study took 30 respondents from each sample from ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya and Uganda government official, united nation peace keeping mission

⁴⁴ D. R. Cooper and P. S. Schindler, *Research Methods* (7th ed. New York: Irwin/McGraw-Hill, 2000) p 112

⁴⁵ A. D. Jankowicz, *Research Projects* (6th ed. London: Thomson Learning, 2002) p 87

dealing with regional integration and peace building in East Africa and EAU for convenience and purpose of the study

Data Collection Methods

Primary and secondary data collection method was applied in this study. The study used questioners, text books, journals, and academic papers that are to be found in the University of Nairobi and other libraries.

Data analysis

The data will be analysed in two fold⁴⁶, one general approach will be applying descriptive statistics including measures of central tendency, such as arithmetic mean, medium and mode. Measures of dispersion include standard deviation and variance. Percentages and bar graphs will also be used to capture objective of the study.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The study is presented in the following five chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction and Presentation of the Study.

This chapter presents the introduction and layout of the study as well as the methodology that will used to carry data presentation.

Chapter 2: Conflict resolution and peace building in Africa.

⁴⁶ *Ibids* 2002 p 88

This chapter will present a detailed background of the conflict resolution and peace building in Africa, including the origin of the conflict and showcasing its effect on East Africa

Chapter 3: Regional Integration in east Africa.

This chapter will present a detailed background of the regional integration in Africa

Chapter 4: Data analysis and interpretation

This chapter will involve presentation of data from the cases gathered in line with the subject of study. That is, issues with

Chapter 5: Summary of findings, Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter will present the research findings from the sample population and present analysis. It will look at whether this research approves or disapproves the hypothesis.

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In Traditional Africa, the political leader was also a religious person. Like the ancient Near-East, writes Mutava Musimi (1993: 2006), the African Societies: Laid no firm distinction between religious and political life, between church and state. The religious, political, cultural, administrator and military institutions all dovetailed and overlapped distinguished only by the ceremonies that accompanied their authority.

The dual responsibility checked the political excesses in pre-colonial Africa. If a leader failed to live up to the - expectations, he was simply removed from power without blood shed and replaced by the next leader in line.

In Colonial Africa, conflicts were controlled by the authorities using the local chiefs, the police and the Colonial army⁴⁷. Skirmishes were brutally put down. The local people became relatively peaceful due to fear. However, the returnees from world war II learned that they could actually fight the Colonial masters and defeat them. This gave rise to the wars of independence that were fought between the 1950s into early 1970s⁴⁸. Conflicts in Colonial Africa were mainly for liberation and not among the local people. Colonialism united the people until independence.

⁴⁷ Adedeji, A (2002) History and prospects for Regional Integration in Africa, paper presented at The Third Meeting of the African Development Forum, on the theme of 'Defining Priorities for Regional Integration', Addis Ababa, 5 March 2002

⁴⁸ Ndung'u, N.S. (2000). "Regional integration experiences in the Eastern African region". Paper presented during Workshop on New Forms of Integration in Emerging Africa. Geneva: OECD Development Centre.

After independence, the different ethnic groups discovered that they were, after all different nations with different interests. The Institution of the Presidency became a symbol of superiority of one ethnic group over another and not a symbol of unity. In order to keep power, the first African heads of states surrounded themselves with people of their own ethnic communities. They gave them jobs both in the private sector and in government. Those who supported the leadership were rewarded with land, money and immunity from prosecution. Minorities were removed from their land and pushed arid and semi-arid places where life was harsh.

Those who reacted on behalf of the oppressed were branded Communists, arrested and imprisoned. Those who were lucky escaped to the Western countries for asylum. The unlucky ones were killed or detained for years without trial. The only hope of the people was the military, who overthrew the dictators only to become worse dictators themselves. In the late 1960s and 1970s there were coups after coups in Africa. Nigeria went to civil war from 1967 to 1971. Ghana, Upper Volta (now Burkina Fasso), Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Liberia, Zaire, Chad etc, all experienced coups.

Faced with bad governance, conflicts and economic mismanagement, Africa lost two decades of development in the 1970s and 1980s. The struggle for second liberation pushed almost all African countries into perpetual war. No wonder therefore that "Africa is the world's poorest Continent. In the mean time the world's super powers have been busy exploiting Africa's wealth, keeping puppets in power due to the fear of communism. The conflicts have left many African countries deeply divided and the people deeply

wounded. The outside interventions have not always helped. Africa must now find its own ways of addressing the conflicts

2.2 Nature and Scope of Conflict in Africa

Since the end of the cold war, Africa has suffered its fair share of violent wars and armed violent conflicts. Liberia, Sierra Leone and Angola have just emerged from armed violent conflicts, while Chad, Kenya, Somalia and Sudan are embroiled in internal armed conflicts. Despite the variant nature of the wars and armed conflicts in Africa, a critical analysis of peace-building processes on the continent reveals some shared patterns and trends⁴⁹.

Peace-building is not new in Africa. History tells us that Africa is the cradle of humanity, an assertion that suggests the existence of rich and diverse indigenous resources and institutions of conflict resolution and peace-building dating back centuries (see Albert and Murithi, this volume). What is new is the exportation and 'imposition' of peace-building and development interventions based on the 'Liberal Peace Project'. The idea of liberal peace, according to Mark Duffield (2008), combines and conflates 'liberal' (as in contemporary liberal economic and political tenets) with 'peace' (the present policy predilection towards conflict resolution and societal reconstruction). This view reflects the notion that wartorn societies can and should be rebuilt through the utilization of a number of interrelated, connected, harmonious strategies for transformation. The emphasis is on conflict prevention, resolution, institution-building and strengthening civil

⁴⁹ Brown, O. (2005) 'EU Trade Policy and Conflict', Geneva: International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD).

society organizations. A review of existing literature (Ali and Mathews 2004; Reychler 2001; Rupesinghe 1998) on the subject of peace-building in Africa, however, reveals a limited analysis restricted to the post-conflict phase of armed conflict, which has very limited short-term prescriptions for a return to order and stability in a country that has experienced violent armed conflict.

Such an approach, of course, offers a marked similarity to African efforts at peace-building (see Murithi, this volume). Murithi writes: 'Early mechanisms of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in pre-colonial Africa had a significant degree of success in maintaining order and ensuring the peaceful coexistence of groups.' Quoting Derry Yakubu, Murithi observes that in most African societies 'the resolution of conflict was guided by the principle of consensus, collective responsibility and communal solidarity'.

The continent of Africa has witnessed considerable number of conflicts. These conflicts can be broadly grouped along the divides of intra-state and inter-state conflicts. The intra-state conflicts come in the mould of civil wars, guerrilla warfares, militant insurrections and inter-tribal warfares. Notable ones in this group included the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970), Liberian crisis (1989-2003), Democratic Republic of Congo crisis (1997-2003), Angolan Civil War (1975-2002) and Sierra-Leone Civil War (1992-2002). This category of conflicts were more frequent, long drawn and the most difficult to resolve. In most cases, they were motivated by the desire of individuals or groups of

people to seize powers which were considered unrealizable through the constitutional process⁵⁰.

The inter-state category involves state of conflict between two or more nations. Mention could be made of Guinea-Bissau border crisis with Senegal (1989), the Ogaden war between Ethiopia and Somalia (1977), Nigeria-Chad Lake Chad crisis (1983), Tanzania - Uganda wars (1972-1979) and Nigeria – Cameroon feud over the oil rich Bakassi Peninsular. In most of these wars territorial claims were the paramount issue. Other issue was the allegation of harboring of dissident elements of which attempts made to flush such out provoked inter-state conflict.

It is however to be noted that most of the conflicts witnessed on African soils had third party involvements which could either be African or non-African in nature⁵¹. The Liberian crisis was strongly believed to have been supported by Sierra Leone and Burkina Faso; the Sudan unending crisis had covert support of the then defunct Soviet Union. So also, the Chad crisis had been strongly alleged to have the involvement of Libya on the side of Transitional Government of National Unity (GUNT) while Central Africa Republic (CAR) and France were believed to be on the side of Hissene Habre's government. Moreover, the UNITA activities in Angola were actively supported by China and South Africa. The aftermath of these external involvements manifested in the

⁵⁰ Tellewoyan, Joseph K. (2000) 'The Liberian civil war', <www.liberia-leaf.org/reports/trials/war/war.htm>.

⁵¹ Crawford, J. and Fiorentino, R. (2005) 'The changing landscape of regional trade agreements', Discussion Paper 8, Geneva: WTO.

protracted nature of such conflicts thereby making resolution of such crises intractable, if not impossible.

2.3 Instability and conflict between countries

There is no rule that says regional integration is an automatic force for mitigating tensions or conflict. Without careful negotiation and implementation, regional integration between countries of widely differing size, wealth and influence can cement inequalities, create tensions and trigger conflict⁵². This is perhaps particularly likely if there is a lack of transparency and accountability in the negotiation of the agreement and its subsequent implementation.

Nor does membership of a trade institution automatically create bonds of trust. Envy can result from trade imbalances and result in the creation of social networks of memberships, resulting in social unrest. Trade ties can actually provoke hostilities between states. Gains are rarely felt proportionally and large inequalities in the relative distribution of gains can shift the balance of interstate power.⁵³ There may also be tensions between members of the RTA and non-members who may find that trade diversion within the RTA results in lost markets. In a sense trade 'gives people something to fight about'. Neither are trade institutions necessarily the best mechanism to mediate disputes – especially if those disputes have wider social and political dimensions. In

⁵² Council of the European Union (2004) 'Council common position concerning conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa', SN 1010/04. Brussels: Council of Europe.

⁵³ Hafner-Burton, E. and Montgomery, A. (2005) 'War, trade and envy: why trade agreements don't always keep the peace', presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii.

conflict prone areas, international institutions built around trade agreements can have adverse effects on conflicts among member states by mismanaging crisis situations and worsening conflict intensity, or producing rivalry among states due to their relative social positions (Hafner-Burton and Montgomery 2005).

During the 1980s and 1990s the EU encouraged rapid regional integration and structural adjustment policies on Francophone West Africa, urging the free movement of goods but not people and without providing for a redistributive wealth mechanism that would have helped surmount the adjustment costs of trade liberalisation and integration⁵⁴. Some analysts argue that this uncompromising process, which drove up unemployment and undermined government social programmes, can explain much of the subsequent instability in Francophone West Africa⁵⁵.

Finally, there is also a concern, though one without much empirical investigation, that trade integration may help to facilitate the illegal trade in conflict resources such as blood diamonds and illegal timber. It may also increase access to weapons. After all trade agreements are about reducing barriers to trade: the increased trade that can result can be both legal and illegal.

⁵⁴ Adedeji. A., 1999. *Comprehending and mastering African conflicts, the search for sustainable peace and good governance*, London: Zed Books, ed p 23

⁵⁵ Interview by author in Brown (2005: 13).

2.4 Instability and conflict within countries

RTAs typically involve concessions to greater liberalisation. Trade liberalisation can result in painful adjustment to new tariff barriers, new regulation and the influx of fierce new competition. Over the short term trade liberalisation can lead to industrial contraction, unemployment and social unrest. If new market opportunities fail to materialise, this can set a trend of increased poverty and economic instability over the long term.

In addition, trade liberalisation creates winners and losers.⁵⁶ The resulting increased wealth disparities can create tensions and lead to conflict. A reduced tax base as well as reduced receipts from duties on exports and imports can severely strain government revenues and undermine health and education spending. The costs of integration itself can be a further burden. In the case of the former East African Community the establishment and cost of suitable organisations to oversee trade integration proved to be contentious both within and between countries (Wu 2005: 476).

In general, economic integration can be socially destabilising and promote processes of change that erode established identities, undermine established ways of conducting national politics and reduce state capacities to provide for poor and marginalised segments of the population. Such sociocultural challenges of integration are one element in the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas. RTAs can help to reinforce both the perception and reality of trade dominance by an external power. Public perceptions of trade dominance can be a powerful force. Examples of such sentiment can be seen in the

⁵⁶ Wu, I (2005) 'Trade agreements as self protection', *Review of International Economics*, 13:3, 472–84, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

anti-globalisation riots of Seattle and Genoa or in the way US headquartered franchises based in developing nations are treated during times of protest against US foreign policy. In extreme circumstances, such strong domestic opinion can undermine peaceful relations between countries.

Finally, RTAs can generate high expectations of increased economic growth, new job opportunities and reduced poverty. However, RTAs between countries that are reliant on the export of primary resources and that have relatively undiversified economies can fail to live up to their proponents' rhetoric. Countries tend to exclude key goods from liberalisation agreements. When those countries trade in a similar, and narrow, basket of goods the net economic impact of the RTA can be limited. For example, West Africa's reliance on cocoa and palm oil leaves little else to trade between countries. Consequently, mismanaged expectations coupled with the adjustment costs of joining an RTA can lead to the perception that governments have let their citizens down.

2.5 Conflict resolution

Conflict resolution, Miller (2003) sees it "as variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflict through the constructive solving of problems"⁵⁷. Best (2004) conjectures it as "a sense of finality, where the parties to a conflict are mutually satisfied with the outcome of a settlement and the conflict is resolved in a true sense"⁵⁸. The contribution of Stone (1968) is that it is concerned with processes of removing tensions

⁵⁷ Miller, C.A. (2003): *A Glossary Terms and Concepts in Peace and Conflict*, Geneva: University for Peace 8.

⁵⁸ Best S.G. (2004): "The Method of conflict Resolution and Transformation" in Best, S.G. (ed.): *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa*, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited 93-115.

between states or maintaining them at levels consistent with continued peaceful pursuit by states of their goals (individual or collective). The import of all these submissions is that conflict resolution is the totality of efforts put in place to address grievances among contending parties with a view to bringing permanent and enduring solution⁵⁹. In essence, conflict resolution is aimed at bringing about the best of relationship among feuding parties through effective address of issues that bring about the conflict in the first place⁶⁰.

A caveat is however submitted by Best (2004) that while conflict over resources can be permanently resolved, those that are over values may be non-resolvable and can at best be transformed, regulated or managed. The implication of this is that conflict resolution in its real sense can only be pursued when resources constitute the bone of contention and it will call for fair distribution of the same to all the parties to the dispute for amicable resolution to be realized⁶¹.

In the light of the above submissions, bringing hegemony to bear in the process of conflicts resolution will suggest a situation whereby an arbiter put pressure on the parties to a conflict and other stakeholders to subscribe to her own idea of resolving the conflict.

⁵⁹ Stone, J.(1968): "International Conflict Resolution" In Sills, D.L. (ed): *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Vols. 7 & 8, New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press 507.

⁶⁰ Stone, J.(1968): "International Conflict Resolution" In Sills, D.L. (ed): *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Vols. 7 & 8, New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press 507.

⁶¹ Stone, J.(1968): "International Conflict Resolution" In Sills, D.L. (ed): *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Vols. 7 & 8, New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press 507.

Though this will be indirect, but it will be clear that the hegemonic power will have its way⁶².

2.6 Peace-building

Peace-building is a reaction to the inability of the other components of the resolution processes to root positive structures and to empower for self-sufficiency and sustainable peace. As stated previously, the objective of disallowing a re-emergence of conflict is the goal. In debating how this could best be achieved, the choice to correct the current components is one option. The aims and objectives for building peace were not, and could not, be infused into peace-making and peace-keeping without overburdening and jeopardising their pre-existing aims. It is entirely too premature at the time of pursuing peace settlements, to initiate institutional changes. In addition, there is a great possibility that anyone seriously trying so would be in mortal danger, despite the fact that such transformations are exactly what such a situation demands. Moreover, progress would likely be the target for sabotage as opposing parties may target such work if they assumed their advantages were being revoked. Therefore, post-conflict peace-building appears to be a more mature occurrence than what peace-making is designed for and is in excess of the objectives of peace-keeping.

The conditions which must exist in order for any of the above to be conducted is a logic of compromise. Historically, this has taken place at the point of pending exhaustion by one or more of the parties to the conflict. International progress in the direction of inclusion of peace-building seeks to allow the atmosphere and opportunities for situations

⁶² Ibis 2011

of democratic governing, socio-economic stability and independence to occur where they were previously void.

2.7 Peace-building and Conflict Resolution

Communities⁶³ emerging from conflict are faced with the daunting task to reassure that conflict does not re-emerge. To comprehend the emergence and form of peace-building one can not do so without a general understanding of the international atmosphere at the time of its inception. Such an understanding will reveal the context in which the doctrine emerged, in the hopes that insight as to the form assumed may be granted. As a new element of United Nations activities for use in the event of conflict in or between its constituent members in which there is a readiness to remodel structurally, peace-building is generally cited to be ten years old, in its formal existence (Bertram, 387). The term emerged from the Secretary General of the time, Boutros Boutros Ghali, in his report on an Agenda for Peace. The many activities which are capable of promoting peace and reconciliation have existed and been in practice for time beyond this, however what we are concerned with here is the formal organisation of such manoeuvres into the practices of international and national governments and organisations. The birth of peace-building coincides unmistakably with the end of the cold-war and the re-energised United Nations mandates in the resolution of hostilities. The desire to see lasting peace become a reality as well as the desire to see positive dividends from the overall processes of conflict resolution, are the driving force. The end of the bipolar security struggle of the

⁶³ The term 'communities' is invoked to describe; nation-states, regions, areas, ethnic groups, and groups organised around any commonality finding themselves distinct from others based on their commonality.

cold-war created the sentiment that peace-building could now be possible in an organised international framework (Goucha, 9).

The process of building peace is not one existing in isolation. The four components of conflict resolution which dominate the processes of conflict resolution and impediment include preventative diplomacy, peace-making, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building. These components involve respectively: measures of early warning, fact finding and prompt diplomacy, attainment of peace agreements and settlements, monitoring the conditions of peace accords, and creating the institutions and attitudes necessary to entrench non-violent resolution procedures into the fabric of a given society. This is an oversimplified summary of concepts which include extensive theorising and practical applications. An in-depth analysis of each is not within the confines or scope of this undertaking. What is crucial to comprehend is that peace-building can only occur once preventative diplomacy has failed and peace-making and peace-keeping mandates have been initiated. Peace-keeping and peace-making are addressing conflict management where as preventative diplomacy and peace-building aim at conflict transformation

The stages of resolution are divided into: Pre-conflict, conflict start, toward resolution, following agreement and long-term. The level of involvement is classified according to activities for: preventative diplomacy, peace-making, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace building. These are field terms which are used in the classification of conflict statuses. Preventative diplomacy and peace-making/keeping are in antithesis to one another as a failure in one brings forth the requirement of the other.

CHAPTER THREE

REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA

3.1 African integration

Regional integration in Africa has been the main focus of African Countries since the establishment of the then Organisation of the African Unity (OAU). A number of declarations have been made by Member States to move the integration process in Africa forward. Similarly, the Abuja Treaty, Lagos Plan of Action, African Private Sector Forum among others, emphasize the need to promote regional integration in Africa. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional group of fifteen countries that was founded by treaty in May 1975⁶⁴. It was conceived as a means toward economic integration and development intended to lead to the eventual establishment of an economic union in West Africa, enhancing economic stability and enhancing relations between Member States.

The first moment of African integration spans the colonial period, and started at the Berlin Africa Conference (1884), in the recently integrated German empire. The scramble for Africa that ensued destroyed local empire-building enterprises and replaced them with new ensembles based on the new needs of an industrializing Europe⁶⁵. It consists of a dual movement of division and integration: each colonial power took over a chunk of Africa, instituting mercantilist boundaries that separated it from its neighbours, but merging its different communities into a large administrative and commercial block.

⁶⁴ Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)," M.A Thesis, The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa.

⁶⁵ Brown, O. (2005) 'EU Trade Policy and Conflict', Geneva: International Institute of Sustainable Development (IISD).

The defining feature of these blocks were customs borders, and the rivalry between colonial powers (even though they may sometimes struck temporary deals of customs union such as the one between France and Belgium in the Congo River area in the early twentieth century) was defined by customs and tariffs. The French were obsessed about getting to a certain area before the “*douanes anglaises*” (English customs) and vice-versa. Populations should also be controlled in accordance with the imperatives of colonial trade and “*mise en valeur*” (improvement)⁶⁶.

Colonial integrations produced some of the beneficial effects expected from regional integrations. For instance, the East Africa High Commission (1948-61), which provided a customs union, and common external tariff, currency and postages for three British possessions (the Kenya Colony, the Uganda Protectorate and the Tanganyika Territory) attracted many foreign firms which could target the regional market, using Kenya as an industrial hub, and spurring a movement of economic modernization (infrastructures, investments). Appreciating those benefits, the members of the organization sought to retain it after independence, transforming it into the East African Common Services Organisation (focused chiefly on transport and communication,

⁶⁶ Pan-Asianism simply does not exist, given the enormous size and diversity of that continent, while pan-Latin-Americanism does not seem to have the concentrated bases of pan-Africanism, which benefits from having been born in the crucibles of industrial colonization and from the imagination of a “Black race”: this latter point is borne out by the fact that it is more consistent in sub-Saharan Africa than in Northern Africa, which does not see itself as “Black”. In my region of interest (West Africa), Mauritania, which is conceived by its ruling classes to be a *beydane* (“White”) country, removed itself from the Economic Community of West African States in 1999 through a simple fax that gave no reason for withdrawal. Ten years earlier, the Mauritanian state had joined the Union of the Arab Maghreb, where it had stayed. But pan-Arabism, despite apparently greater unity factors (language, religion and culture) compares rather poorly with pan-Africanism in terms of integration achievements.

research and education) and then into the East African Community. ⁶⁷The community collapsed in 1977, mostly for political reasons: Kenya, which bore most of the costs of maintaining it, demanded more seats than Uganda and Tanzania in decision-making organs, incurring the ill-will of its partners. Acute disagreements arose from the divergent ideological orientations of the three concerned governments (Kenya adhered to capitalism, Tanzania to socialism and Uganda, under Idi Amin Dada, devised a disruptive command economy policy). After 1977, Kenya's export market was substantially reduced, firms with large installed capacity to serve the regional market had to curtail activities, many multinational corporations with subsidiaries in Kenya divested from the country, and each former member state had to embark at great expense and lower efficiency, upon the establishment of services that had previously been provided at the community level

3.2 Regional Integration is the Strengthening of Peace and Security in the Region

One of the major advantages of regional integration is the strengthening of peace and security in a given region as stated by John⁶⁸. The more nations interact with each other in pursuit of common goals, the less likely they are to engage in armed conflict against each other. Moreover, as regional groupings, they have more capacity than individual states to deal effectively with internal conflicts, which are more frequent in Africa than interstate conflicts. Thus, the current EAC security agenda stands to benefit positively from the historical reconstruction of the pan-African project under the African

⁶⁷ EAC News (2001) issue 8 march.

⁶⁸ John, C (1997), "Regional Integration is not Enough", Quarterly Review, Centre for Research into Economics and Finance in Southern Africa, London School of Economics (April).

Union. For instance in 2002, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was transformed into the African Union. Symbolically, this was a major step forward in the unification project that pan-African thinkers and activists had advocated throughout the twentieth century. Prominent black intellectuals like Alexander Crummell, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Henry McNeal Turner were already formulating pan-African ideas during the nineteenth century.⁶⁹

3.3 Perceived Efforts of integration and security From Pan -Africanism

Pan-Africanism as a political movement was born in 1900, when the West Indian barrister Henry Sylvester Williams convened a pan-African conference in London for purposes of promoting unity among all peoples of African descent. From 1919 to 1945, the great African-American scholar William Edward Burghart DuBois, as principal organiser and convener of the first five pan-African congresses, spearheaded the movement. In this regard, it is worth remembering the historical connection between African unity and world peace⁷⁰. Dubois had planned to hold the First Pan- African Congress at Versailles, to coincide with the Versailles Peace Conference, where the future of the world was to be decided by the victors of World War I. Woodrow Wilson, the American president, then asked the French to ban this meeting, as it was organized by the theoretician of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a U.S. civil rights group established in 1910.

⁶⁹ Ihonvbere (ed) *The Political Economy of Crisis and Underdevelopment in Africa: Selected Works of CLAUDE AKE*. Lagos, JAD Publishers Ltd.

⁷⁰ Vamvakidis, A. (1998). "Regional Integration and economic growth". *The World Bank Economic Review*. Vol. 12. No. 2 May. Washigton DC.

The French authorities respectfully declined, pointing out that a member of the French National Assembly, the Honourable Blaise Diagne from Senegal, had reserved the meeting hall at Versailles. Here was a remarkable instance of partnership between Europe and Africa on peace and human rights. While the intellectual pioneers of pan-Africanism had emerged from the African Diaspora of North America and the Caribbean, the realization of the pan-African dream of “Africa for the Africans” was to be the work of the continental Africans themselves.⁷¹

3.3 Challenges for Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa

The basic objectives that have underpinned the pursuit of regional integration are to merge economies, i.e. integrate them, and, as a derivative, thus form a monetary union. This requires a harmonisation of economic policies, to pave way for merger, hence convergence. Other derivatives of integration objectives are the enlargement and diversification of market size, and tapping of related opportunities and the promotion of intra-regional trade and free movement of the factors of production, which also results in stronger member states’ bargaining position in relation to other regional and international blocs and the fostering of socio-economic progress, political stability, as well as peace and security.

⁷¹ Thompson, Dudley (1993) *“Review of the Pan-African Movement and the Linkage to Reparation”*, Paper presented at the First Pan-African Conference on Reparations, Abuja, Nigeria, April 27-29, 1993.

The varying emphasis placed on the objectives for the different African regional blocs is influenced by the specific stage of development of the integration process, including the expected benefits and costs⁷².

Given the fragmented and small sizes of its low-income economies, Africa needs to competitively participate in multilateralism from a regionalized standpoint, to negotiate more effectively for international market access and ward off marginalisation and unfair competition in the global arena⁷³.

3.4 Economic Integration: Operational and Theoretical Conceptualisation

On a synoptic conception of several authors (Atsain, 1983; Robson, 1968; Nowzad, 1969), Economic Integration' connotes a process of economic development which involves the elimination of discriminatory barriers among economic units of national state. For easy operational community arrangements, such economic units are expected notably to be units within a regional/sub-regional setting e.g., African, European, West African, East African and Central African settings. Put simply, economic integration in an economic region involves pure economic and political unification, eco-political cooperation and free trade areas (Nwabuzor, 1982).

Theoretically, economic integration as an eco-political concept draws largely from international (trade) relations theory which is informed by the "Customs Union

⁷² Jenkins, C (2001), "Integration and Cooperation in Southern Africa", OECD Development Centre Technical Paper # 172 (March).

⁷³ Onwuka, I Ralph (1982) *Development and Integration in West Africa: The Case of the Economic*

Theory”, proposed by Wu and enlarged subsequently by Gehrels and Lipsey⁷⁴. In this regard, economic integration culminating in the formation of economic community is practically a fusion of national market aimed at economic development via the elimination of discriminatory barriers and the incorporation of cooperative arrangements among economic units of a regional/sub-regional economic grouping.

To make for effective and successful fusion of member states, an integrative approach beginning with the formation of a Free Trade Area constitutes the takeoff point. The consolidation and subsequent elaboration of this cooperative eco-political unification results in the formation (in ascending order) Customs Union, Common Market, Economic Union and finally economic community respectively⁷⁵. It is important to recognise that each of the above ranking economic integrative arrangements constitutes an experiment which is representative of a differential level of eco-political and social commitment, consequent upon some socio-politically advantageous net assessment of the attendant losses in sovereignty over these important economic decisions.

Theoretically and empirically too, the main concern of the theory of economic integration is the gains from the changes from the isolationist approach in development efforts to the collective and cooperative regional arrangements⁷⁶. The efficacy of this arrangement is couched under international (trade) relations theory as earlier noted.

⁷⁴ Wu, I (2005) 'Trade agreements as self protection', *Review of International Economics*, 13:3, 472– 84, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

⁷⁵ Dollar, David (1992) 'Outward-Oriented Developing Economies Really Do Grow More Rapidly: Evidence from 95 LDCs, 1976-85', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 523-544

⁷⁶ Hafner-Burton, E. and Montgomery, A. (2005) 'War, trade and envy: why trade agreements don't always keep the peace', presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference, Honolulu, Hawaii.

⁷⁷However, the relevant aspect of that theory which informs the establishment of African, European and American economic communities, also as earlier noted, is the “Customs Union Theory” which proposes trade creation among member - states based on comparative cost advantages (Viner 1950; Robson, 1980).

Whereas, the Customs Union Theory seems to have underpinned the cooperative and collective economic arrangements among the nations within an eco-political region/sub-region in both the developed and developing nations alike, nonetheless, its adoption in different zones tends to focus on divergent goals⁷⁸. In Africa quite unlike Europe, the overriding necessity to accelerate, foster and encourage the socio-economic development of African countries was seen as major development priorities at independence (ECOWAS, 1975)⁷⁹. This therefore explains the need for the promotion of harmonious economic development of the region and the subsequent call for effective regional/sub-regional economic cooperation via the elimination of all types of obstacles to the free movement of goods/services and factors of production. In this regard, African regional groupings are couched under the efficacy of the theory of Customs Union focussed on trade liberalisation and its attendant benefits and also collective self-reliance, within the scope of economic prosperity.

⁷⁷ Viner, J. (1950): *The Custom Union Issue: The Carnegies Endowment for International Peace*, New York.

⁷⁸ Melucci, cited in: Guibernau, Montserrat. *Nationalisms. The Nation-State and Nationalism in the 20th Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996, p. 75.

⁷⁹ *Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*,” M.A Thesis, The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Ottawa.

3.5 Eco-Political Dimensions of Integration

Given the foregoing preambles, the history of political and economic integration in Africa dated the pre-colonial era. During this period, a number of kingdoms which extended over territories covering the present date independent African States were in existence. ⁸⁰The culture of the people of these kingdoms were relatively well integrated to allow some limited trade and free movement of factors of production among themselves (Diejomaoh, 1983 and Lavergne, 1997). Nevertheless, the colonisation of the African States during the 19th century can be regarded as the background to current historic and economic integration efforts in Africa. That is, the colonial governments in West, Central, East, and Southern Africa attempted regional integration through free trade, common currencies and services. For instance, in West African British colonies, there was free movement of factors of production among member states (Nigeria, Gold Coast now Ghana, Gambia and Seirra Leone). Also, in West African French colonies, the countries were geographically contiguous and were administered as a Federation with common currency.

In the same vein, the Belgian colonies in Central African States introduced some measure of economic integration which included free movement of factors of production. In East Africa, the British colonies introduced the same currency and common services in the British East African colonies. Similarly, a custom union was established between the Union of South Africa, and the British protectorates of Botswana, Swaziland and

⁸⁰ Diejomaoh, V. P. (1983) "The Economic Integration Process in Africa: Experience, Problems and Prospects" A paper delivered at the International Economic Association. 7th World Congress on Structural Change. Economic Interdependence and World Development Madrid Spain.

Lesotho. Moreover, the British colonies in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi attempted bringing about considerable economic integration among those countries. The Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde were integrated into the Portuguese economy. In the same fashion, the North African French colonies attempted regional integration of Tunisia, Libya, Algeria and Morocco during the colonial times⁸¹.

However, the attainment of independence by many of the African States during the 1950s and early 1960s downsized the efforts of the colonial governments in bringing about economic integration in Africa perhaps, due to the difficulty of surrendering the respective countries' sovereignty. In actual fact, one of the reasons for the collapse of economic integration in Africa after political independence was that the colonial governments did not have any meaningful programme of development for countries that were economically integrated under their rule. Moreover, studies by Diejomaoh, (1983) and Lavergne, (1997) have shown that the development that was achieved in some few centres such as Dakar, Abidjan, Brazzaville in the case of the French, Nairobi and its environs, and Rhodesia in the case of the British were to benefit the colonial administrations⁸².

⁸¹ Mytelka, L.K (1973) "*The Salience of Gains in Third World Integrative Systems*", *World Politics*, 25 (2), pp.236-250.

⁸² Diejomaoh, V. P. (1983) "The Economic Integration Process in Africa: Experience, Problems and Prospects" A paper delivered at the International Economic Association. 7th World Congress on Structural Change. Economic Interdependence and World Development Madrid Spain.

In spite of the above shortcomings, a number of the independent African countries, benefiting from the colonial heritage, tried to come together and form a truly economic co-operation and integration among themselves. For instance, in West Africa, the newly independent French speaking countries, using the previous colonial administrations structure, formed the West African Customs Union (UDAC) which eventually transformed into West African Economic Community (CEAO) in 1970 in order to make it equitable⁸³. In the same vein, the four French speaking independent states in central Africa, using the common-services and arrangement structure of the previous colonies of Chad, Central African Republic, Gabon and Congo, formed a Custom Union in 1959. In 1964, Cameroon joined the group to form African Economic and Custom (UDEAC) Union⁸⁴. Despite the initial misunderstanding within the group, UDEAC is regarded as one of the longest surviving Customs Union in Africa. Modifying the integrative arrangements under colonial rule, the Treaty for East African Co-operation (EAC) was developed in 1967 by the independent states of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The Treaty was expected to provide a transfer tax to indigent states among the group on one hand, while the East African Development Bank was to ensure a balanced development among the states on the other hand. Nevertheless, attempts by the United Nations (UN) Economic Commission for Africa to expand the scope of the EAC to embrace the independent states of Zambia, Burundi and Rwanda in

⁸³ Lavergne, R(1997) Regional Integration and Cooperation in West Africa. A Multi-dimensional Perspective. Africa World Press, Inc.

⁸⁴ UN (1986) Current Problems of Economic Integration. The Problems of Promoting and Financing Integration Projects. United Nations (UN) Conference on Trade and Development. Geneva.

the 1960s failed⁸⁵. In Southern Africa, there was little prospect for economic integration during the 1960s due to the armed struggle for independence in Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe. Also, in both West African States (Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra-Leone) and North African States (Egypt and Sudan), efforts at forming economic integration during the 1960s did not succeed due to political disagreements between independent states forming the blocks.

From the foregoing, it can be seen that in spite of the high spirits of many of the Independent African States to form economic integration groupings in the 1960s, their efforts did not receive 100 per cent success. This was largely due to the unsettled political and economic climates of many Independent African States during the period. Also, the import substitution, trade and exchange control and inward looking policy adopted by many of the Independent African States during the 1960s were constraints to regional integration. Moreover, the political instability in the form of military coups and civil wars in many of these independent colonies created constraints which obstructed the effectiveness of economic groupings for economic integration in Africa

However, regional co-operative efforts are now gaining a new impetus in Africa.

⁸⁶The first formal moves toward regional integration in Africa was articulated in the establishment of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in 1956, the African Development Bank (ADB) in 1963 and the Organisation of African Unity

⁸⁵ Nye, J.S. (1963): East African Economic Integration; "Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 1 No. 4 PP 475 - 502.

⁸⁶ UN (1986) Current Problems of Economic Integration. The Problems of Promoting and Financing Integration Projects. United Nations (UN) Conference on Trade and Development. Geneva.

(OAU) in 1963. The emergence of these important institutions coupled with the recent world democratisation, liberalisation and globalisation have informed African States of the importance of regional integration towards achieving political and economic stability as well as rapid industrial development of their states. In addition, Africans today are well aware of the challenges facing them and have started tackling them in terms of regional cooperation. For instance, the armed conflicts in some of the African societies are being attended to through regional and sub-regional co-operative organisations such as ECOMOG, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), etc. Also, the issue of democratisation of African states have taken the root.

In actual fact, the notion of good governance has assumed a central position in the discussions of Africa's democratisation process. Although, corruption and nepotism have played a destructive role in many of the African societies in the past, these issues are currently being attended to by many of the African Governments. Moreover, policy stability and harmonisation that can lead to rapid development are now being taken into consideration. In short many African societies have now realised that apart from economic gains from democratisation alongside liberalisation and globalisation, there are increasing political gains that can be achieved toward regional integration in terms of political stability of member states. Also, regional integration has been seen by many Independent African States as impetus to possible solution to the continent's deep and prolonged economic and social crisis.

3.6 Africa's Economic Integration: The Issue of Social Diversity

As noted in the foregoing, economic integration is couched under the Customs Union Theory. This therefore explains the need to promote and reinforce all factors which could encourage harmonious socio-economic development of all states within a community aspiring to be integrated socio-economically. In light of this, the general conclusion which could be inferred from an examination of this theory in practice, is that economic integration may not be advantageous in developing regions/ sub-regions which do not have the preconditions of the theoretical requirements. According to Haas (1958) quoted in Nye⁸⁷: "it is dangerous to claim validity for the 'European theory' in societies which do not reproduce the physical conditions, ideologies, class structure, group relations and practical traditions and institutions of contemporary Western Europe."

Assessing this view in later years, Edozien and Osagie in conformity with the proposition of Singer⁸⁸ specify the preconditions for economic integration which deal specifically with those required for the African union. In fact, the preconditions emerged from a comparative analysis of the differences between the relatively successful Central American Common Markets and those of the less successful East African Economic Communities. Major among such preconditions are that⁸⁹:

⁸⁷ Nye, J.S. (1963): East African Economic Integration; "Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 1 No. 4 PP 475 - 502.

⁸⁸ Singer, H.W. (1967): 'Preconditions for Regional Economic Integration; International Development Review, IX September pp 19-20.

⁸⁹ Edozien, E. C. & Osagie, E. (1982): Economic Integration of West Africa; Ibadan University Press.

The union must be made up of countries of equal socio-economic importance/status to avoid the fear of possible dominance - in religion, wealth, endowment, size, population etc. The size of each of the members of the union must not be so large as to permit any one of them independently to contemplate an essentially national policy of industrialization as an alternative to regional coordination.

Incidentally, the role of social/cultural/physical/religious diversity in the effectiveness of economic integration could be perceived from two different dimensions. Firstly, under a positive situation where the diversity creates a situation of a healthy rivalry among the member states. This would culminate in a realistic application of the theory of comparative advantage for the derivation of the benefits of trade creation. Secondly, under a negative situation, peculiar with African countries, the situation of diversity breeds the emergence of hatred, fear of domination and difficulty in surrendering the assumed hard won political sovereignty under an eco-political union.

3.6 East African Community (EAC)

The East African Community (EAC) is the regional intergovernmental organization of the Republics of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania with its Headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. The Treaty for Establishment of the East African Community was signed on 30th November 1999 and entered into force on 7th July 2000 following its ratification by the Original 3 Partner States – Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of

Burundi acceded to the EAC Treaty on 18th June 2007 and became full Members of the Community with effect from 1st July 2007⁹⁰.

East Africa is credited with one of the longest experiences in regional integration. As early as 1900, Kenya and Uganda operated a Customs Union, which was later joined by Tanzania, the then Tanganyika, in 1922. More elaborate regional integration arrangements in East Africa have included the East African High Commission (1948-1961), the East African Common Services Organization (1961-1967) and the former East African Community which lasted from 1967 to 1977. The collapse of the former East African Community in 1977 dealt a major blow to the East African region and was widely regretted, particularly so since the former Community had made great strides and was considered the world's model of successful regional integration and development. At its height, the East African Community was, in all but name, a federal government. The former Community operated the common services of over thirty institutions, including the four major corporations - East African Railways, East African Harbours, East African Posts and Telecommunications and the East African Airways besides a formidable array of joint research institutions.

Many reasons have been cited for the collapse of the Community, among them structural problems which impinged on the management of the common services; inadequate involvement of the people in the decision-making processes; lack of compensatory mechanisms for addressing inequalities in the sharing of the costs and

⁹⁰ EAC (2007) *Secretariat, Protocol on the Establishment of the EAC Custom Union, Arusha, EAC secretariat.*

benefits of integration; ideological differences, vested interests and lack of vision on the part of some leaders.

3.7 Conclusion

It is apparent from the foregoing discussions that a lot of efforts have been put into sub-regional and regional economic grouping in Africa without much to show for them due to some problems. Such problems of African political and economic integration can be grouped into two broad areas which are political-cum- social diversity and economic problems. Political - cum- social diversity range from the different colonial backgrounds, different official languages to indigenous ethnic differences. These problems create constraints in human and political communication and thus frustrate positive actions by Diejomaoh⁹¹. In addition, these problems have resulted into armed conflicts over the years with severe impact not only on the socio-economic development but on the population in several African countries. Moreover, the social diversity has made it difficult for many of the African countries to surrender their hard won sovereignty to regional integration. Further, the differences in colonial backgrounds and official languages have further polarised the African countries into different sub-regional political and economic groupings such as the CEAO, EAC, ECOWAS, IGAD, COMESA, SADC, UEMOA, etc., rather than having a single regional grouping like the EU. In addition to political problems, many African countries are bedeviled with a number of economic problems.

⁹¹ Diejomaoh, V. P. (1983) "The Economic Integration Process in Africa: Experience, Problems and Prospects" A paper delivered at the International Economic Association. 7th World Congress on Structural Change. Economic Interdependence and World Development Madrid Spain.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, data is presented using non-text approaches such as tables, pie charts and graphs. The data was analyzed quantitatively using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The analysis was done as per questionnaires that were used to collect data. Data was categorized in terms of demographic information and the impact of regional integration on conflict resolution and peace building in Africa. Personal information was generated to establish various individual characteristics since this has a bearing on the nature of responses given and comprehension of research questions.

The research was conducted on a sample of 120 respondents from ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya and Uganda government official, UN mission and EAU. However, only 100 questionnaires were returned filled in making a response rate of 83.3%, which is an adequate response rate for statistical reporting the study used Likert scale in collecting and analyzing the data whereby a scale of 5 points were used in computing the means and standard deviations. These were then presented in tables, graphs and charts as appropriate with explanations being given in prose. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) stated that a response rate of 50% and above is a good response rate. This commendable response rate was made possible after the researcher personally administered the questionnaires and made further visits to remind the respondents to fill-

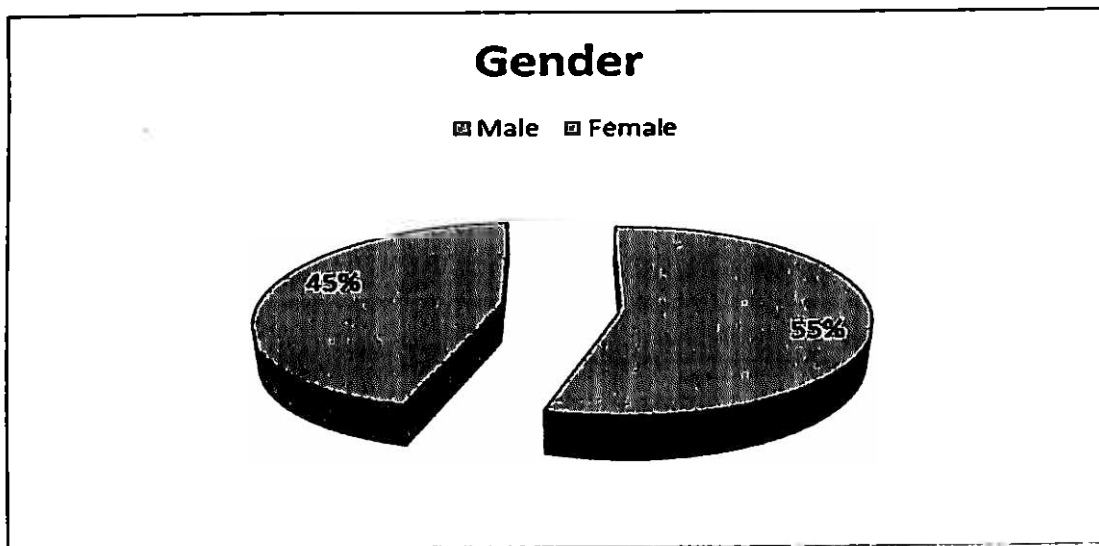
in the questionnaires. This study made use of frequencies (absolute and relative) on single response questions.

4.2 Demographic Information

This section provides the demographic information of the respondents. This includes the age, gender, work experience and the rank of the respondents.

4.2.1 Gender

Figure 4.1 Analysis of gender



Source: Researcher 2011

The respondents were asked to show their gender, this was expected to guide the researcher on the conclusions regarding the congruence of responses to the gender characteristics. The results as in the table below show that a majority of the respondent were male at 55%. To this extent, the findings can be generalized on the male respondents.

4.2.2 Distribution of Age Group

Table 4.1: Distribution of Age Group

Years	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
60 Yrs >	20	20	19
50-59	19	19	39
40-49	25	25	62
30-39	26	26	88
18-29	11	11.11	100
Total	100	100.0	

Source: Researcher 2011

The results presented in Table 4.2 show that a large proportion of 25.5% the respondents were aged from the ages of 30 to 39 years; this was followed by a significant percentage 24.5% that had also attained ages from 42 to 49 years, while 19.6%, 18.6% and 11.8% are for above 60 years, 50-59 years and 18-29 years respectively. The age composition shows that most of the respondents were of the 30 to 39 years and therefore had rich experiences, could also appreciate the importance of the study, while those below the age of 30 were not conversant enough with information on the impact of regional integration on conflict resolution and peace building in africa since they have less experience.

4.2.3 Distribution of Level of Education

Table 4.2: Distribution of Level of Education

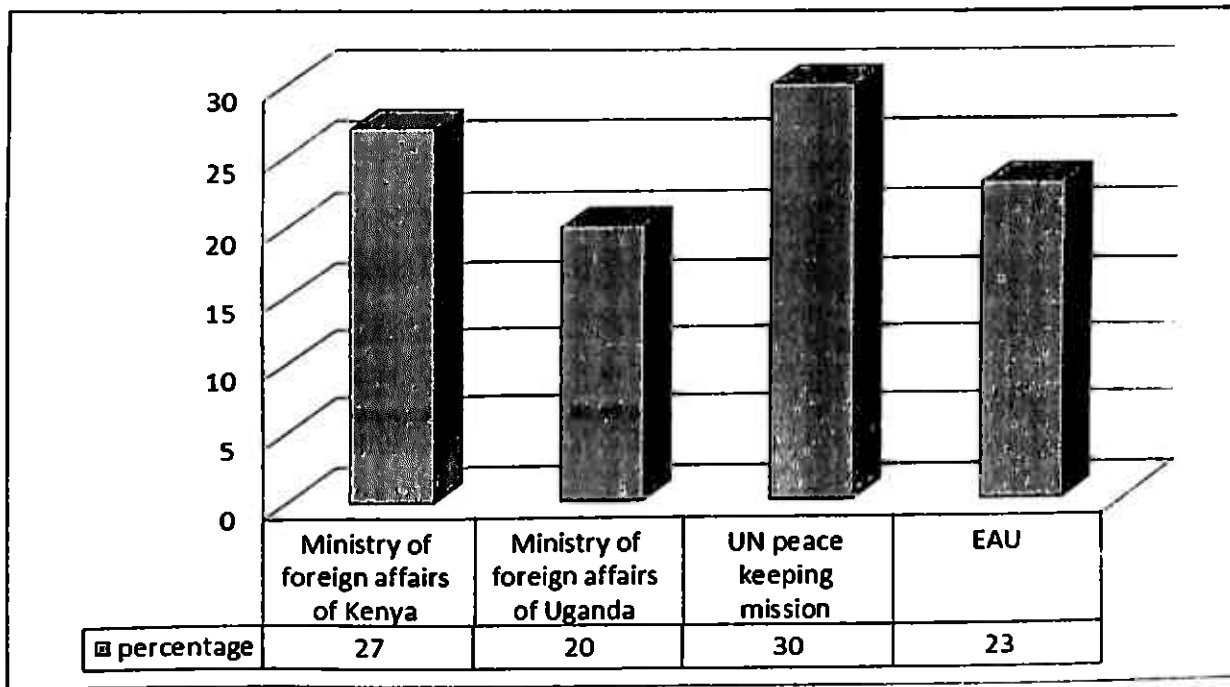
Level of education	Frequency	Percent
postgraduate	3	3
undergraduate	57	57
diploma	30	30
Certificate	10	10
Total	100	100

Source: Researcher 2011

The respondents were asked to indicate their level of education; this was in order to help the researcher judge the ability of the respondent to answer the questions as was set in the study. From the table, 57% of the respondents said they had undergraduate degree. 3% had postgraduate degree, 30% said that they had they were diploma holders while 10% said that they were certificate holders. These findings indicate that majority of the staff in the in the organization and the government, have undergraduate degree. A significant number had also attained university level of education. This implies that majority of the respondents had adequate skills to respond to the questions asked in the study.

4.2.4 Placed worked

Figure 4.2 Analysis of Placed worked



Source: Researcher 2011

The respondents were asked to show the place of work; this was also expected to guide the researcher in setting classifying the responses on where the information was from. The results of the study show that a majority of the departments had were from the UN peace keeping mission 30%, while the ministry of foreign affairs in Kenya was 27% and EAU at 23% finally the ministry of foreign affairs in Uganda 20%.

4.2.5 How many years in current position

Table 4.3: Length of Service in the Current Job

Years	Frequency	Percentage
3yrs and below	7	7
3 to 5 years	15	15
5 to 7 years	61	61
Over 7 years	17	17
Total	100	100.0

Source: Researcher 2011

The researcher sought to establish the years that the respondents had been in the positions stated. Table 4.3 presents the findings on the duration of respondents work in the present capacity. From the figure, 61% indicated that they had been in the present capacity for 5-7 years. 17% indicated a period of over 7 years. 15% indicated a period of 3-5 years while 7% indicated a period of less than 3 years.

4.2.6 How many years in Organization

Table 4.4: Years in Organization

Years	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percent
1-3 years	3	3	3
3-5 years	11	11	14
6 -15 years	68	68	82
Over 15 years	18	18	100.0
Total	100	100	

Source: researcher 2011

Table 4.4 above presents the findings on the duration of the respondent's working in the organization. From the figure, 68% said that they had worked for the organization for a period of 6-15 years. 18% of the respondents said that they had worked for a period of over 15 years. A percentage of 11 also said that they had worked for the organization for a period of 3-5 years and 3%, 1-2 had worked for between 1 and 3 yrs. These findings indicate that majority of the staff at in the organization; have worked for a period of 6-15 years.

4.3 Efforts towards Integration in East Africa

Table 4.5 Extent of agreement

Extent	Frequency	Percentage
No extent	1	6
Less extent	1	6
Moderate	1	6
Great extent	10	66
Very great extent	16	16
Total	100	100

Table 1 represents the findings on the respondent's level of agreement on the effort the concerned countries have put towards integration in east Africa. From the findings 66% of the respondents indicated a great extent, 16% indicated a very great extent, while 6% represents moderate, less extent and no extent. These findings hence

indicate that there are indeed efforts by the concerned E. Africa countries towards conflict resolution and peace building in east Africa.

3.1 Level of Agreement

Table 4.6 level of agreement

Statement	strongly disagree	disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	STDEV
There is co-operation in the priority areas of transport. communication	1	1	1	2	10	4.267	1.5289
There is co-operation in the priority areas of trade , industry.	0	0	0	3	12	4.8000	0.1600
There is co-operation in the priority areas of	0	0	0	3	12	4.467	0.16
There is co-operation in the priority immigration in the region	0	0	2	3	10	4.533	0.5156
Harmonization of tariffs	0	0	2	4	9	4.467	0.51

From the table, there is co-operation in the priority areas of trade and industry and there is co-operation in the priority areas of security statements had a same mean score of 4.8. Co-operation in the priority immigration and the promotion of investment in the region had a mean score of 4.533. Harmonization of tariffs had a mean score of 4.467. Co-operation in the priority areas of transport and communication had a mean score of 4.267. These findings indicate that there is co-operation in the priority areas of trade and industry and in the priority areas of security and in the priority immigration and the promotion of investment in the region.

Table 4.7 Level of importance

Statement	disagree	disagree	Neutral	Agree	agree	Mean	STDEV
sharing electrical power	0	0	0	3	12	4.800	0.1600
Freely exchangeable currencies	0	0	1	1	13	4.800	0.2933
East African passport	0	0	1	1	13	4.800	0.2933
A common flag	0	2	2	1	10	4.267	1.2622
A double taxation accord	0	1	1	2	11	4.533	0.7822
Abolishing all tariffs	0	0	0	1	14	4.933	0.0622

From the table, abolishing all tariffs had a mean score of 4.933, sharing electrical power, freely exchangeable currencies, and East African passport had each a mean score of 4.8. Double taxation accord had a mean score of 4.533, common flag had a mean score of 4.267. These findings indicate that abolishing all tariffs, sharing electrical power, and freely exchangeable currencies are important in Integration in East Africa.

4.4 Conflict resolution In East Africa

4.4.1 Who is responsible Conflict resolution

Having identified the 'statistics' of deadly conflicts, we comment briefly on how the conflict resolution capacities of the international community are beginning to evolve in response to these problems. The study found that Governments of major states are reluctant to get involved with internal conflicts, when they do not concern their own state interests. And when they do get involved, governments and international agencies frequently act at cross purposes, on account of differences in their interests and mandates. At the same time, governments of states which are on the receiving end of international interventions have considerable misgivings about what they perceive as unwarranted meddling from the outside.

Apart from states, three main types of agent now play an enhanced role in the resolution of contemporary conflict: the United Nations, regional organizations, and non-governmental organizations. Each has strengths and weaknesses. The primary responsibility for responding to contemporary conflict no doubt lies within the affected states. The international community in its various guises is often responsible for the conflict in the first place. Second, increasing interdependence means that contemporary conflicts affect the interests of regional neighbours and beyond. Third, the combination of human suffering and media transparency makes it difficult for outside governments to persist in doing nothing. Fourth, nearly all studies agree that many protracted conflicts can only be resolved when outside resources are brought to bear. In short, nearly all these conflicts can in one way or another be classed as 'international-social' conflicts.

Finally, the gaps in the coverage of internal conflicts by the official arms of the international community have thus left a space for humanitarian agencies and non-governmental agencies to play a larger role. Agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross have taken on an enhanced profile in internal conflicts. Non-governmental organizations have also become more important. The number of NGOs involved with conflict resolution increased rapidly in the 2000s, as development agencies, aid donors and governments became willing to fund their activities.

4.4.2 Threats to regional integration.

Table 1.8 Threats to regional integration

	S.D	D	N	A	S.A	Mean	STDEV
Ethnicity	0	0	0	1	14	4.933	0.0622
Political violence	0	0	0	2	13	4.867	0.1156
Conflict in resources	0	0	0	3	12	4.800	0.1600
Poor governance	0	0	1	1	13	4.800	0.2933
Supremacy of nations	0	0	1	3	11	4.667	0.3556
Economic crisis	0	0	0	1	14	4.933	0.0622

From the table, ethnicity and economic crisis had the highest mean score of 4.933. Political violence, followed with a mean score of 4.867. Conflict in resources and Poor governance had a similar mean score of 4.800. From these finding, it is clear that ethnicity, economic crisis and political violence poses major threats to regional security in East Africa

Table 4.9 Factor ranking in order of importance realization

statement	S.D	D	N	A	S.A	Mean	STDEV
Strengthening African Security Capacity			0	2	13	2.866667	0.115556
Strengthening The AU's Internal Structures And External Coordination			1	2	12	2.733333	0.328889
Ensuring Mutual Accountability			1	3	12	2.866667	0.15111

From the table ensuring mutual accountability and strengthening African security capacity had a high mean score of 2.866667. This therefore means that mutual accountability and strengthening African security capacity are the most important factors in ensuring regional security in East Africa.

4.5 Obstacles to conflict resolution

Sources of conflict, which usually persist in intensified form into the ensuing war, were identified at international, state and societal levels, and were also located in the factional interests of elites and individuals. To these are added the destructive processes and vested interests engendered by the war itself.. Violence spawns a host of groups who benefit directly from its continuation. Soldiers become dependent on warfare as a way of life, and warlords on the economic resources and revenue they can control. The study also that even in low intensity conflicts, protagonists may depend, economically or psychologically, on the continuation of the conflict, such as the people in Belfast who sustain paramilitary operations through protection rackets. Leaders who have become closely identified with pursuing the conflict may risk prosecution, overthrow or even

death once the war is over, and have strong incentives for intransigence. Local and regional party officials or military officers who have made their careers in the conflict may develop a stake in its continuation forr such protagonists, peace may bring loss of role and status, and thus directly threaten their interests.

In the finding it would be easy to draw the conclusion that conflict resolution is not possible, and that political groups, like nations, will fight to the death to achieve their ends. However, we need to keep the obstacles in proportion. Most violent conflicts impose massive costs on the societies concerned, and so there is a usually a large segment of the population which will benefit from the conflict ending. This is a shared interest across the conflicting communities, affecting security and economic welfare. Moderate politicians and constituencies, who may have been silenced or displaced by the climate of violence, will be keen to re-establish normal politics. Ordinary people will welcome a return to peace and wish to put the distress of war behind them. There is, therefore, a large reservoir of potential support that peace-makers should be able to foster. Given political vision, engaged peacemakers, moderation and the right conditions, conflicts *can* be brought to a negotiated end. It is, therefore, worth trying to identify the ingredients of an effective conflict resolution approach, and the conditions under which attempts to end conflict are likely to succeed.

4.6 Links between Integration and Peace Building In East Africa

According to data from the respondents, the respondents full agreed to great extent (represented by 20%) and to a very great extent (66.7%) that regional integration acts as a custodian to national security and economic goals.

Table 4.10 Important factor in integration process

	frequency	Percent
Market integration	10	66.66667
Regional cooperation	12	80
Development integration	10	66.66667

From the table, regional cooperation had the highest percent of 80. Both the Market integration and Development integration had a similar percent of 66.66. It therefore means that regional cooperation is the key element in avenue in the process of integration.

Table 4.11: Link between Economic integration and peace in East Africa

Statement	S.D	D	N	A	S.A	Mean	STDEV
Economic integration involved the abolition of discriminatory policies between economies	0	1	1	4	9	4.4	0.7733
Free trade will enhance integration and hence security	0	1	3	1	10	4.333	1.0227
Formation of a common market increases inter relationship	0	1	1	2	12	4.867	0.6844
Market freedom results to formation of a common government with common objectives	0	0	2	2	11	4.6	0.506
Equitable distribution of integration benefits	0	0		2	13	4.867	0.115

leads to security benefits							
Development integration is pursued with the goals of changing the integration process and hence attainment of security	0	0	1	0	14	4.867	0.2489
Commitment levels of member-states, and the distribution of costs and benefits of integration, leads to adoption of security measures	0	0		1	14	4.933	0.0622
Member-states establish mechanisms that do not follow the traditional market integration procedures in order to ensure that all members are reaping the benefits of integration equitably	0	0	1	3	11	4.667	0.3556

From the table, commitment levels of member-states, and the distribution of costs and benefits of integration, leads to adoption of security measures statement had the highest mean score of 4.933. Formation of a common market increases inter relationship, Equitable distribution of integration benefits leads to security benefits; and development integration is pursued with the goals of changing the integration process and hence attainment of security had the same mean score of 4.867. From these findings, it is clear that commitment level of member-states, and the distribution of costs and benefits of integration, leads to adoption of security measures is most vital element in economic integration and regional security in East.

4.7 Hypothesis test

- The existence of regional integration in East African has significance influence in peace building and conflict resolution.

- Regional integration in the East African community will not only lead the stabilization of the East African region but also affect Africa and the world at large due to its “spill over”.
- The working of east African together leads to social harmony in the region.

One-Sample Test

	Test Value = 50					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
competence	74.103	99	.000	32.800	31.91	33.69

From the findings, the significance value is indicated as 0.00, which is lower than α value of .05. Since the study was focused on the significance value, it is evident that A / test statistically revealed that the existence of regional integration in East African has significance influence in peace building and conflict resolution, Regional integration in the East African community will not only lead the stabilization of the East African region but also affect Africa and the world at large due to its “spill over” and the working of east African together leads to social harmony in the region are significant. In this respect the study supports the alternate hypothesis that regional conflicts in constrained water resource areas.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter present summary of data findings, conclusions based on the findings and recommendations there-to. The chapter also presents recommendations on further studies.

5.2 Summary of findings

From the data findings, there are indeed efforts by the concerned E. Africa countries towards economic integration in east Africa. The study found that there is co-operation in the priority areas of trade and industry and in the priority areas of security and in the priority immigration and the promotion of investment in the region. Abolishing all tariffs, sharing electrical power, and freely exchangeable currencies were found to be important in integration in East Africa.

The study further found that ethnicity, economic crisis and political violence pose major threats to regional security in East Africa. Mutual accountability and strengthening African security capacity are the most important factors in ensuring regional security in East Africa. Regional cooperation was found by the study to be the key clement in avenue in the process of integration.

The study found that commitment level of member-states, and the distribution of costs and benefits of integration, leads to adoption of security measures is most vital element in economic integration and regional security in East.

5.3 Discussion

The concept of integration is elusive to define. In a simple sense it means bringing parts or units together to form a whole or creating interdependence. It could also represent a situation in which states become interdependent in whatever aspects of their relations they desire. The priorities of the EAC Integration on economical grounds have been identified as an increased dialogue on common challenges, the full operationalization of the EAC Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and predictable funding for enabling the AU and regional mechanisms to plan and conduct peace support operations. Today it is very rare to find one African country that has not shown overt interest in at least one of the several existing regional cooperation schemes on the continent. It is significant to note that Africa alone, within the past four decades, has experimented with about 200 inter-governmental organizations; most of them claim to have responsibility for promoting regional cooperation. The practical results, however, have been very disappointing. But African governments have continued to promote the ideals of regional cooperation which they justified on the claim that regional cooperation is a strategy for self-reliance and development. The Joint EAC Strategy adopted at their Summit of December 1999 represents a new phase in cooperative relations between these regions. These member states have committed themselves to forge strong links based on a consensus built around values, interests and strategic objectives.

5.4 Chapter Summary

Nonetheless, integration can be said to exist when units join together in order to satisfy objectives which they cannot meet autonomously. In this way, integration can be a process which hastens up the achievement of certain objectives in the interest of a larger

body. Such a process would involve the shifting of loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new and larger centre whose institutions and processes demand some justification over those of the national states. The extent of such a transfer of loyalties and jurisdiction enjoyed by the new centre would depend on the level and goals of integration schemes as well as the socio-economic and political ramifications, which the implementations of integrative policies generate within and between the integrating units.

Another level of classification is possible; the one, which considers the specific meanings of 'integration' from the perspectives of different, disciplines. Thus, there can be political integration, social integration, and economic integration. Although, the concept of economic integration has dominated the discourse on African regional integration yet it is often wrongly conceptualized. For instance, economic integration has often been defined in terms of liberalization or absence of economic discrimination among economic units.

This can be misleading especially for the less developed regions. The conception of economic integration as the progressive elimination of trade and tariff discrimination between national borders shows it as a state of affairs and a process. And upon this restrictive notion of regional integration, many self-styled common markets, federations, unions and communities have emerged without promoting regional integration among members or even showing the potentials to do so. In all these, there is unanimity among scholars of economic integration on one question: that integration can be regarded as processes or as a state of affairs reached by that process.

According to Fritz Machlup, the question as to whether that state has to be the terminal point or intermediate point in the process can be taken care of by distinguishing between 'complete' and 'incomplete' integration. The more difficult question, according to the author is: what is that to be integrated; people, geographical areas, markets, production, goods, resources, policies, or what? (Machlup, 1976, 63). Although integration scholars have used 'integration' and 'cooperation' interchangeably, there is a fundamental difference between the two. The difference is both in qualitative and quantitative contexts. While 'cooperation' may be employed to identify loose forms of interstate activity designed to meet some commonly experienced needs, 'integration' refers to a much more formal arrangement that involves some political and economic sacrifices as well as commitments, concessions, processes and political will to redefine participation in the international economy (Axline, 1977; Ihonvbere, 1981). In this regard regional cooperation may be a phase in the process of regional integration. In the context of less developed areas, regional integration is an extremely complicated and varied phenomenon which is conditioned by socio-economic and political dynamics different from what obtain in the North. The following questions have therefore become prominent in the discourse about regional integration in Africa: what are the necessary and sufficient conditions for successful unions among states? Should regional political unions be approached gradually and indirectly by functionalist strategy or is federation likely to be more effective? Are customs unions preferable? As many as there are such questions are types of regional integration in Africa whose philosophical guide derives mostly from the experience of the industrial societies. It is to be noted however that each

of these forms of integration arrangements has its own regularities, class content, and mechanism of operation.

The wide concepts of 'self-reliance' and 'south-south cooperation', with the obvious policy Corollary of regional integration and cooperation have featured prominently in the analyses of less developed societies, including the African continent. A common assumption especially among dependency theorists is that the potentials of the less developed countries for autonomous development are limited, more by externally infused dependency profiles, rather than internal processes. It thus follows logically that, auto centric development can be realized through disengagement from the global system. This prescription would result in some dislocation of the national economy since trade, aid and investment relations with the metropolis are expected to be reviewed. The impact of these dislocations is assumed to be too much for individual economies to bear, hence the need for a collective action to "ameliorate the effects of the national disengagement process by replacing North-South vertical relations with South-South horizontal relations among UDCs" (Abutudu, 1988, 38). In this way collective self-reliance represents a strategy against dependence on external resources aimed at promoting the principles of autonomous development. This is the context in which CSR and regional integration among less developed countries is seen in some circles as one and the same. However, the argument about regional economic cooperation as a form of collective-reliance cannot be carried too far. According to Musa Abutudu (1988) , "When the integration process is itself shaped and conditioned by relations of dependence and underdevelopment, what ensures might in fact create a gap between economic integration and CSR" (Ibid, 1988, 38). The problem with the prescription of the apologists of CSR is its failure to give

serious systemic attention to the relationship between CSR and integration schemes in the less developed regions. The focus of analysis is on relations between systems while it neglects the internal processes of class formation that shape historical developments. For instance, when adopted as framework for analyzing crisis of development in Africa, it becomes more difficult to understand the causes of underdevelopment beyond the effects of Europe's predatory needs. In terms of policy prescription, self-reliance is to be pursued through the policies of import-substitution, export-substitution, export promotion, favorable balance of payment-strategies that do not in any way address the structural problems of underdevelopment and dependency. In this way what apologists of CSR have suggested, through its advocacy of mere reforms within the global capitalist system expressed in some forms of 'dependent' regional integration, amounts to nothing but autarky, and definitely not 'delinking' in the form of subordinating external relations to the logic of internal development.

5.5 Recommendations and research agenda

Equally threatening to the African project is the persistence of poverty, which creates insecurity with respect to decent livelihood and human survival. It not only reduces the ability of people to lead productive lives, it also exacerbates identity conflicts along communal, ethnic, religious and regional lines. How can we talk with sincerity of a common African identity when we are still incapable of dealing effectively with the issues of identity and citizenship in our respective countries: for example, the issue of indigenes versus non-indigenes in the 36 States of Nigeria; the distinction all over Africa between indigenous peoples versus settlers; the antagonism between blacks and Arabs in Sudan and elsewhere; and tensions between Christians and Muslims in a few countries?

Social identities are not natural phenomena. They are historically constructed and may therefore change as a result of social and political transformations. Consequently, in themselves identities do not cause conflict. A group or an individual's identity is not a matter of particular concern in situations of relative calm and security. Solidarity with one's identity is best mobilized when the group faces a threat, real or imagined, to its interests, security or its very existence as a group. This is why there is an increase in identity-based conflicts during periods of economic and political crisis. The ease with which warlords can recruit young men and boys to their armed bands in Africa today is undoubtedly a function of the large number of school leavers and unemployed youth with nothing to do and no hope for the future. Likewise, the high incidence of intercommunal violence is due to growing competition over scarce resources and the persistence of poverty. *Thus are insecurity and poverty intertwined, and their persistence can only frustrate the African integration and development process.*

In a brilliant article published in the magazine *West Africa* seventeen years ago, the late Claude Ake posed the key question concerning the predicament of our continent: "Why Africa is not developing." My own answer to this melancholic question is twofold. On the one hand, the lack of development has to do with an internal environment in which the state itself was more likely to function as an obstacle to development than as an agency of economic and social transformation. This was due to the fact that rather than being a set of impartial institutions serving the general interest, the state and the resources under its control were for the most part privatized by the ruler and his entourage. On the other hand, the lack of development is a function of external development strategies

whose main achievement has been to further integrate African rulers into the international networks of wealth and privilege rather than to promote development and democracy.

The persistence of poverty remains the major threat to the pan-African project of unity, peace and development in Africa. For it creates insecurity with respect to people's expectations of a decent livelihood and, indeed, of human survival, and thus undermines respect for diversity, tolerance and solidarity in favour of the politics of identity, intolerance and social exclusion. By reducing people's ability to lead productive and rewarding lives for themselves and their children, poverty exacerbates identity conflicts along communal, ethnic, religious and regional lines. It therefore becomes insincere to talk of a common African identity, when citizenship rights are daily being denied to fellow nationals on the basis of ethnic or regional origin, and the legendary African hospitality is replaced by violence against immigrants. All this goes to say that regional security mechanisms and the overall African security infrastructure cannot function effectively in the absence of developmental states capable of maintaining state authority throughout their national territory and of ensuring the promotion, respect and fulfillment of the fundamental rights of all citizens, particularly the right to human security.

While building together the institutions of the new African Union, the best contribution each country can make to the African development and integration process is national reconstruction through poverty eradication and democratic governance. Poverty eradication is not going to take place through slogans and target dates adopted by multilateral agencies or international conferences. It will come about only through concrete policies and programmes designed to transform the economic, political and

social structures that reproduce poverty in Africa, which are local, national and international in nature. Such a transformation is not possible in situations of violent conflicts and/or those in which the institutions and processes of governance are unresponsive, unaccountable, or simply ineffective. There is widespread consensus that peace is inexorably tied to both security and development. The provision of security in its broadest sense implies meeting the basic human needs of the population as a condition for sustainable development. In this regard, the African state has been extremely deficient in meeting this condition. When the state itself is under the control of self-serving leaders, who have privatized public resources and are impervious to popular suffering, there is nothing that the African Union as an inter-state organization can do to improve the situation. Peer review, as provided for in the NEPAD programme, is not enforceable as long as gross violations of human rights remain common currency in the majority of states.

Here is where concerted action by African civil society organizations and the international community is needed for the promotion and protection of human rights, including the right to organize politically and to contest elections in a violence-free environment. Hope in Africa's future lies with the democracy movement, which arose in the 1990s to challenge authoritarian and military regimes. While many setbacks have been recorded, there is no doubt that democratic social forces are to be found all over the continent, with Africans who are committed to ending the vicious cycle of poverty and resurrecting the pan-African project of the 1950s and 1960s to achieve integration and development in the twenty-first century. In order to conclude these reflections on the

regional integration and improved regional security linkages, I suggest a few issues that could be included in the (economic) research agenda:

- More work should be done on the economic analysis of causes and consequences of regional peace and conflict;
- More research should be done on the financing and contractual modalities of different RSP schemes;
- More theoretical and empirical analysis should be done on the optimal size of regional security areas and regional security budgets, and on the question whether the (regional) security area should coincide with the (regional) economic area;
- Further work could be done along the lines suggested by Tavares (2004), linking different levels of rigidity to different levels/types of regional peace

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONER

SECTION ONE: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

General information

1) What is your gender? (tick one)

Male Female

2) Age(tick one)

18-30 31 -40 41- 50 50 and above

3) What is your academic background

Certificate diploma undergraduate postgraduate

4) Where do you work? (Please tick one)

Ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya

Ministry of foreign affairs of Uganda

UN peace keeping mission

EAU

5) How long have you been working in your present capacity?

Less than 3 years 3 to 5 years 5 to 7 years Over 7 years

6) How long have you worked at your organization/government?

Less than 3 years 3 to 5 years 6 – 10 years Over15year 10 – 15 years

SECTION TWO: THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN EAST AFRICA

7) To what extent do you think the concerned countries have put effort towards economic integration in east Africa?

- No extent []
- Less extent []
- Moderate []
- Great extent []
- Very great extent []

8) Indicate your level of agreement on the following statements in regards to the efforts towards economic integration in east Africa. Use a key 1-5 where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5
There is co-operation in the priority areas of transport and					
There is co-operation in the priority areas of trade and industry					
There is co-operation in the priority areas of security					
There is co-operation in the priority immigration and the promotion					
Harmonization of trade will improve security among the regions.					

9) Indicate the level of importance of the following, on Integration in East Africa. Use a key 1-5 where 1= No important, 2=less importance, 3=Moderate importance, 4=great importance, 5=Very great importance

	1	2	3	4	5
Sharing electrical power					
Joint intelligence consultancy					
East African passport					
Joint military training					

A double taxation accord					
Abolishing all tariffs					

THREATS TO REGIONAL SECURITY IN EAST AFRICA

10) Do you think security will improve on increase to regional integration?

Yes No

11) Who is responsible in conflict resolution and how are they responsible?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

12) Indicate the level of extent imposed by the following factors to Regional Security

In East Africa. Use a key 1-5 where 1=No extent 2= Less extent 3=Moderate 4=

Great extent 5=Very great extent

	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnicity					
Political violence					
Conflict in resources					
Poor governance					
Supremacy of nations					

Economic crisis					
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13) Rank the following measures to reduce threats of insecurity in East Africa community Use a key 1-5 where 1=No extent 2= Less extent 3=Moderate 4= Great extent 5=Very great extent

statement	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthening African Security Capacity					
Strengthening The AU's Internal Structures And External Coordination					
Ensuring Mutual Accountability					

14) What are the challenges faced by the parties involved in conflict resolution?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

LINKS BETWEEN INTEGRATION AND PEACE BUILDING IN EAST

AFRICA

15) To what extent do you think that regional integration acts as a custodian to national security and economic goals?

No extent []

- Less extent []
- Moderate []
- Great extent []
- Very great extent []

16) Which of the following is the most important in avenue in the process of integration?

- Market integration []
- Regional cooperation []
- Development integration []

17) Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements on links between economic integration and regional security in East Africa. Use a key 1-5 where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly agree

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Economic integration involved the abolition of discriminatory policies between economies					
Preferential trade enhance security					
Free trade will enhance integration and hence security					
Formation of a common market increases inter relationship					
Market freedom results to formation of a common government with common objectives					
Equitable distribution of integration benefits leads to security					

benefits					
Development integration is pursued with the goals of changing the integration process and hence attainment of security					
Commitment levels of member-states, and the distribution of costs and benefits of integration, leads to adoption of security measures					
Member-states establish mechanisms that do not follow the traditional market integration procedures in order to ensure that all members are reaping the benefits of integration equitably					