UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

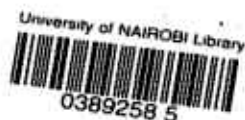## REGIONAL INTEGRATION PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

NJERU TUMAINI MUTHIGA
R50/70362/2007

SUPERVISOR:
DR. OCHIENG KAMUDHAYI

A RESEARCH PROJECT PRESENTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY & INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS) IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY
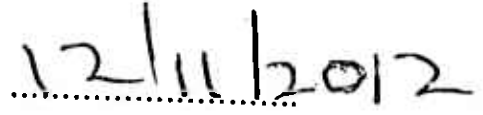
OCTOBER 2012

DECLARATION

I, Njeru Tumaini Muthiga declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.

....

Signature

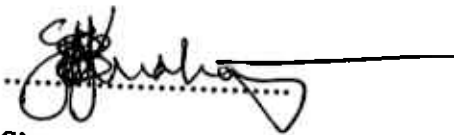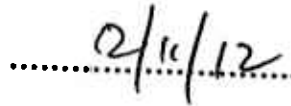.......................................

Date

NJERU TUMAINI MUTHIGA

REG NO: R50/70362/2007

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the appointed university supervisor

....

Signature

....

Date

DR. OCHIENG KAMUDHAYI

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my father Rev. William Gicheru, who taught me that the best kind of knowledge to have is that which is learned for its own sake. I also dedicated it to my mother Mrs. Jeniffer Wangithi, who taught me that even the largest task can be accomplished if it is done one step at a time. Her support, encouragement, and constant love have sustained me throughout my life

Lastly to my lovely wife for her moral support and encouragement. To my lovely boys (Nathaniel and Doran) for all those days they did not have time to be with daddy.

God bless you all

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EAC: East African Community

SADC: Southern African Development Community

IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development

COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

FTA: Trade Area

EAPP: Eastern African Power Pool

CAADP: Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program

ASYCUDA: Automated System for Customs Data and Management

DMC: Drought Monitoring Centre

COSCAP-SADC: Continuing Airworthiness Programme in the Southern Africa

                Development Community States

DPs: Developing Partners

RECs: Regional Economic Countries

ROs   Regional Organizations

UN: United Nations

PTA: Preferential Trade Area

EAPSM: East African Peace and Security Mechanism

EADB: East African Development bank

WTO: World Trade Organization

ICT: Information and Communication Technology

APRM: African Peer Review Mechanism

EU: European Union

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

DFI: Direct Foreign Investment

CES:	Current Employment Statistics
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
AUC:	African Union Commission
PIDA:	Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa
ADB:	African Development Bank
DFID:	Department for International Development
FSAP:	Financial Sector Assessment Program
MAC:	Monetary Affairs Committee
RADDEX:	Revenue Authorities Digital Data Exchange
EDI:	Electronic Data Interchange
EPZ:	Export Trade Zone
ODA:	Official Development Assistance
AU:	African Union

ABSTRACT

Peace and security are essential ingredients for regional integration and they continue to pose a major challenge in Africa and other parts of the world. Past efforts to form regional integration schemes in East Africa have failed because of political and economic bad will that did not favor regional partnership and co-operation. The aim of East African Community integration is to improve the economies of the member states, that is, Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania through trade. However, there have been problems surrounding the integration of the East African region in the past due to highly complex, interrelated and intertwined problems. The study sought to determine how regional integration enhances peace, security and settlement of disputes, in particular, the East African Community.

The study concluded that in spite of the existence of EAC bloc, that have secretariats and regular technical and ministerial level meetings and summits of heads of state and government, East Africa integration efforts have had limited impact so far more so in area of peace, conflict resolution and security. This was attributed to membership issues, slow ratification of protocols and reluctant implementation of agreed plans, socio-economic policy divergence, and limited national and regional capacities. The EAC integration progress has been rather slow and reality has fallen far short of aspirations. The study recommended that EAC should: Eradicate wasteful or costly duplication of multiple memberships and rationalize some overlapping sub-regional blocs; secure irrevocable commitment beyond mere political rhetoric amongst member countries; effectively pool resources and expertise to tackle cross-cutting regional challenges, such as infrastructure, governance, gender, HIV/AIDS, peace, security and conflict management.

The study findings concludes that East African Community needs to take a common and stronger position in promoting peace and security in the region. This would also allow regional members benefit in sharing and popularizing the EAC Peace, Security and Conflict Resolution framework. The era of isolated tiny national economies has to give way to strategic alliances that harness knowledge-and-resource-based, comparative advantages through integration. This however does not come effortlessly and at no cost: a lot of dedicated planning and hard work must be put in first.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE
REGIONAL INTEGRATION PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA
1.0: Introduction

Peace and security are essential ingredients for regional integration continues to pose a major challenge in Africa and other parts of the world. In particular, East Africa and Africa in general have witnessed armed conflicts the majority being civil and ethnic pose a threat to regional integration. The volatile situation in Great Lakes, Horn of Africa and other parts of Africa such as Somali, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Rwanda, and Burundi among others have over the years presented a spectacle of unimagined atrocities. These conflicts have affected the development of countries and have led to the loss of human life. The conflicts weaken the potential benefits of regional cooperation.

Despite the relative stability in East Africa's region, steps to forge regionalism especially in the security arena arose from the existence of multiple layers of conflicts in the contiguous periphery. The East African Community (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi) have continued to experience challenges dealing with the civil wars, ethnic conflicts, international terrorism and transnational organized crime in the region. For instance, the 2008 Post Election Violence that occurred in Kenya and the boundary crisis around Migingo Island between Kenya and Uganda threatened the stability of the region as a whole. Also, Terrorism and Alshabaab attacks in retaliation to Kenya's intervention in Somalia, are perhaps the greatest challenge for EAC since it can easily translate into threats to the social, economic, cultural and political wellbeing of the people of East Africa. Today, more than ever before, threats are interrelated because a threat to one country may be a threat to another. A good example in the East African region is the presence of organized crime in Somalia which have threatened Peace and Security in Kenya.

Since security remains an important element in the existence of any regional organization, regional integration therefore provides a platform for dialogue and consultation on regional-security matters. There are needs to develop mechanisms to guarantee regional environmental security and evaluate the chances of fulfilling the goals of regional integration will lead to peace and security in East African Community as a region.

1.1: Statement of the Problem

The most important reasons for joining regional groupings has been the hope to address common challenges which include improving economic policy, reducing poverty, and managing the process of liberalization in a collective and coordinated manner. Past efforts to form regional integration schemes in East Africa have failed because of political and economic bad will that did not favor regional partnership and co-operation. Most literature on East African Community (EAC) talk about the support of industrialization and economic reforms and hardly any documents mention peace and security in East African Region.

The aim of East African Community integration is to improve the economies of the member states, that is, Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania through trade. However, there have been problems surrounding the integration of the East African region in the past due to highly complex, interrelated and intertwined problems such as the apparent lack of commitment towards implementation of agreed decisions, failure to communicate, in timely fashion on agreed decisions to implement, resistance by high level bureaucrats in Government institutions, delays in the ratification of Protocols, frequent backtracking on decisions taken due to divided loyalty between state and regional pressures and the lack of roadmaps with implicit timeframes for implementation of decisions taken and overlapping memberships and duplication of mandates with other regional organizations as negotiation

with one actor or dialogue between two actors has not solved the regional problems to date. As most literature on EAC talk about the support of industrialization and economic reforms; apparently there is limited literature about peace and security in East African Region. It is against this background that the study aims to come up with a comprehensive document on the regional peace and security. The new attempts to revive the East African Community and ratification of Protocols could help create a conducive environment for regional peace and security.

With this in mind, the East African Community needs to take a common and stronger position in promoting peace and security in the region. This would also allow regional members benefit in sharing and popularizing the EAC Peace, Security and Conflict Resolution framework. It would also identify institutional and legal obstacles to cooperation in the peace and security sector and make appropriate recommendations to make proposals for collective and concerted approaches towards emerging security challenges that include political instability, boundary disputes, terrorism, civil strife and cyber security among others and come up with the way forward.

1.2: General Objective

The study determined how regional integration enhances peace and security, in particular, the East African Community.

1.3: Specific Objectives

The following are the objectives that will guide the study:

- To study how EAC regional integration has led to peace and security in the individual members states or in the region

- To analyze security challenges in the EAC Region which hinders regional integration

- To examine the various factors of financial integration and how they affect regional integration and security of EAC

- To study the relationship between regional integration and, conflict resolution and peace building in EAC

1.4: Literature Review

This section is organized into the following ways: the first part looks at the role of regional integration in promoting peace and stability in the region. The second section explores the components of peace and security in the region. The third section examines the EAC integration in relation to the peaceful settlement of disputes in the region.

1.4.1 Regional Integration

Regional integration is a term that has been in existence for a long time, yet no precise definition has been formulated. The term has been used interchangeably with economic co-operation, regionalism and regionalization which, according to Onditi,[1] are inherently imprecise and fuzzy notions yet impossible to ignore and have become ever more essential to the analysis of contemporary regionalism.[2] According to Rosamond, regionalism often refers to "the tendency of geographically proximate territories or states to engage in economic integration and to form free trade areas and possibly common market." [3] this perspective does not consider political integration hence lacks the element of peace and security which are essential in any regional integration.

In his contribution to the understanding of regionalism, Bach argues that regionalism goes beyond economics and markets to involve transformation of a geographical area into a clearly

---

[1] Onditi O Francis (2010), 'DEVELOPMENT OR SECURITY? *The Dilemma of Policy Prioritisation, Institutional Coordination, and Sequencing of Integration in East African Community*
[2] Emanuel, A. (1994), imagined (security) communities; Paper presented at 1994. Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, pp.1-4.
[3] Rosamond, B. (2000) Theories of European integration, St. Martins. Press, New York.

identified social space.[4] It is often the political choice of any given country whether based on political, economical, social or geographical considerations to be part of a regional bloc. Furthermore, each country, depending on the benefits of integration determines the degree of sovereignty it is willing to surrender.

The concept of regionalism is further elaborated by Manboah-Rockson in his paper, "*the end of geography'* when he asserts that regionalism viewed in terms of numbers, scope and diversity is characterized by multi-dimensionality of events such as business transactions, increased homogeneity and political re-alignment.[5] In terms of numbers, countries are allowed to join more than one regional organization and this could sometimes lead to overlapping of membership and independent integration agendas, like in the case of SADC, COMESA, and the EAC.

Regional integration has been studied in a number of settings as articulated in Barry Buzan's concept of regional security complex.[6] It has been useful in analyzing international relations and as a prescription for managing international security issues in the rubric of supranational economic and political cooperation. While capturing diverse views on integration, Lee[7] notes that regional integration is a process by which a group of nation-states voluntarily and in various degrees access one another's markets and establish mechanisms and techniques that minimize conflicts and maximize internal and external economic, political, social and cultural benefits from their interaction. Recent studies on regional integration also reveal the new

[4] Bach, D (2003) New regionalism as an alias; regionalization through trans-state networks; In Grant, A and F, Soderbaum (eds). The new regionalism in Africa. Burlington: Ashgate, p. 21-30.
[5] Manboah-Rockson, J.K. (2003) Regional and Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Experiences, Issues and Realities at the Close of the Twentieth Century. University of Cape Town, SA
[6] Buzan, B. (2003) Regional Security Complex Theory in the Post-Cold War World. In Soldierbaum, F. and Shaw, T.M., (eds). Theories of new regionalism. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.
[7] Lee, M. (2001) SADC and the free trade area in South Africa. In Maloka, E. and Eddy E.L (Eds) Africa in the New Millennium; Challenges and Prospects, African Institute of South Africa, Pretoria.

wave of regionalism as characterized by its multidimensionality, complexity and fluidity.[8] It is a phenomenon of the 1980s, acting under the influence of several factors. These studies have asked questions such as: what are the driving forces for their formation and revival? Are they capable of tackling the insecurity and development challenges at the same time? In an attempt to answer these questions, politico-development scholars variously argue that the shift is influenced by factors such as, the perceived success of European integration,[9] globalization of the world economy,[10] the shift of focus from global to regional politics with the end of the cold war and the resulting shift of responsibility for security to regional actors.[11]

According to Fawcett and Harrell, regional political and economic arrangements have been informed by new thinking that they could help mitigate trans-boundary and communal conflict by severing the historic ties and identities.[12] This understanding has been vividly exemplified by some RECs in Africa. For instance, both the Common Market for Eastern and Southern African (COMESA) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) at different stages and circumstances have influenced peace stability in their respective regions. Remarkably, COMESA's recognition of the relationship between security, peace and economic development during its 1999 Summit and the subsequent establishment of a Peace and Security Committee in 2000 attest to this assertion.[13]

[8] Hettne, B. (2005) Beyond the new regionalism. New Political Economy, 10(4), pp. 543-571.
[9] Fawcett, H. (1995) Regionalism in World Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[10] Lake, D. and P. Morgan. (1997) Introduction. In, D. Lake and P. Morgan eds. Regional orders; Building Security in a new world. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 3-19.
[11] Nana, K.P. (2007) Globalization, Development, Security; In Collins; Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford, Pp.257-271.
[12] Fawcett, H. (1995) Regionalism in World Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press
[13] Karamgizi, S. (2001) Sub-regional Agenda for Peace and Security: The Case of COMESA; 'in' Cilliers, J. (eds.) Peace, Human Security and Conflict Prevention in Africa (proceedings of the UNESCO-ISS Expert Meeting, Pretoria South Africa, Pp. 23-24.

Regional integration has contributed to economic development, political amalgamation and to some extent, harmonization of security and peace regimes.[14] Falk argues that as opposed to hegemonic regionalism, the new regionalism involves more spontaneous processes that often emerge from below and within the region itself, and more in accordance with its peculiarities and problems.[15] In this sense broadening integration mirrors the wider interdependence between development interventions and security issues. The process of regionalism has led to internal issues becoming externalized. Felicio states that even with the rise in regional integration, still there has been a slow process in the importance of peace among the regional members[16]. Particularly in Africa, the debate on regional integration has dominated the agenda of African leaders in the past years. The Africanisation process and nationalism saw the culmination of calls for African unity which hutched the scheme for regional integration. Although, the contention has been, on whether the integration, should be political or economic.

According to neo-functionalist theory, regional integration is an intrinsically sporadic and conflictual process, but one in which under conditions of democracy and pluralistic representation, national governments 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 organization they created. Eventually, even the citizens of the member states begin to shift their expectations to the regional organization. EAC as a regional body is to some extent pegged on the neo-functionalist theory since the Cooperation places emphasis on the role of the secretariat which is meant to reduce the influence of individual heads of states decision making.

---

[14] World Bank. Accelerated Development and UN Committee for Program and Co-ordination, proposed Revision to the System –Wide Plan of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, Thirty-Fourth Session. E/AC. 51/7, 7. 1994.
[15] Richard F. (1997) State of Siege; Will Globalization Win out? International Affairs, pp. 316-24.
[16] Felicio, T.,'Managing Security as a Regional Public Good A Regional-Global Mechanism for Security', in UNU-CRIS Occasional Papers, No. 48, 2005.

Regional economic integration has had a fairly long history in virtually all parts of Africa. A number of leaders called for the integration of Africa already soon after independence, but it was only in the 1970s and 1980s that concrete steps were taken to re-launch or establish economic integration institutions in all sub-regions. The first generation regional integration schemes were motivated partly by the political vision of African Unity, but also as a means for providing sufficient scale to import substitution industrialization policies.

Apart from the African Union, there are other sub-regional groupings in Africa which include the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA, 19 members); the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) which superseded COMESA; the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (12 members, including Tanzania); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (6 members, including Kenya and Uganda) and the East African Community[17]. As cooperation between the member states becomes more and more visible, the regional members need to address the issues of peace among the members.

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) as an [18] integration, set out in the Preferential Trade Agreement Treaty of 1993, is focused on the integration of markets through the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade and investment to achieve full economic co-operation through a gradual process of the creation of a free trading zone, the establishment of a common market and ultimately an economic community. The complete roadmap of the COMESA integration agenda is given by the COMESA Treaty, which however, does not provide clear deadlines for the implementation of the agenda. The

---

[17] Jenkins, K., *Regionalism in world politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
[18] Comprises of 19 members: Burundi, Comoros, Congo, DR, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Free Trade Area (FTA)[19] was established in 2000 and the customs union was launched in 2008. A number of protocols are attached to implement the Treaty, namely the COMESA Protocol on the Gradual Relaxation and Eventual Elimination of Visa Requirements and, the COMESA Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Labour, Services, the Right of Establishment and Residence. Harbom argues that conflict in itself is often economically motivated, being associated with looting, forced labour or the expulsion of local communities to secure exclusive control over resources thereby enabling migrant labour or international corporations to exploit resources[20].

Under the EAC, Jenkins argues that preventing conflicts and sustaining peace and stability is in line with the Community's vision to have a secure and politically united East Africa. Articles 6 and 124 of the Treaty that emphasize peaceful co-existence, settlement of disputes, good neighbourliness, democracy and good governance as well as underscoring the importance to social and economic development within the region[21]. Instability in the region can easily translate into threats to the social, economic, cultural and political wellbeing of the people of East Africa Community.

Southern African Development Community (SADC)[22] was a step towards regional integration established to ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice; peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa. A SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) was

[19] FTA comprises of 11 countries: Burundi, Djibouti, Egypt, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe
[20] Harbom, L., & Wallensteen, P., 'Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946-2004', in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 42(5), 2005, pp. 623-635.
[21] Jenkins, K., *Regionalism in world politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
[22] SADC comprises of 15 member states, Angola, Botswana, DR Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

adopted by Heads of State and Government in 1999, which is a 15 year regional integration development framework setting the priorities, policies and strategies for achieving the long-term goals of SADC. The objectives of the RISDP is to review the main cooperation and integration areas; define the priority integration areas for the next fifteen years; set up a logical implementation program necessary for the achievement of the region's objectives; ensure effective sectoral linkages and enhance synergy amongst sectors; and provide member states, SADC Secretariat and other Institutions, regional and international stakeholders with a coherent and comprehensive long term implementation agenda (Jenkins,2000)

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in Eastern Africa was created in 1996 to supersede the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD)[23], which was founded in 1986. The main objective of IGAD organization is to foster economic and diplomatic cooperation between member states with the aim of increasing food security, environmental protection, economic integration, Peace and Security in the region. The IGAD Strategic plan was elaborated in 2003 and adopted at the 10th Summit of Heads of States and Government in Kampala, Uganda. The plan provides a coherent framework guiding IGAD with the implementation of its priority development programmes towards reducing poverty and achieving higher (and sustainable) economic growth in the region. Ramesh and Van Langenhove suggests that regional integration help to create webs of functional links, which then improve relations between the member states[24]. Therefore, trade and development, investments, labour and capital markets in the region all need to be protected by creating a peaceful environment through regionalism. Hence, this document aims to identify all pertinent issues in regards to regional peace and security as a key priority of themes.

[23] IGAD comprises of 6 member states: Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.
[24] Ramesh, C., & Van Langenhove, L., 'Inter-Regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of International Relations, 2005.

1.4.2 Peace and Security in the Settlement of Disputes in the Region

Lawrukwa, Mjema and Rutasitara explain that one of important measures in ensuring peace and security is conflict resolution. Conflict resolution presupposes that the state of conflicts is already in place and it has, therefore, to be resolved. In other words the conflict has to be brought to an end and peace has to be restored in the society. Conflict resolution measures usually constitute peace negotiations, the signing of peace agreements and implementation of such agreements[25].

Post-conflict peace building encompasses the daunting challenges of conflict resolution, reconstruction, and societal transformation,[26] To the greatest extent possible, this requires a restoration of confidence and trust (social capital), and national empowerment (political capital), so that nationals take responsibility for building the kind of society they want to live in. For this to succeed, it is of paramount importance that processes be shaped, driven and owned by internal actors[27].

El-Affendi argues that this does not necessarily assume that internal actors will develop better policies than external actors, but experience shows that external domination generates resentment, inertia and resistance; consequently externally driven peace building is usually unsustainable[28] . Nor does this mean that external actors should idealize internal actors rather, they need to understand the diversity of interests at play, and the different perspectives and agendas present in the society. Hence, ensuring effective peace and stability needs an

---

[25] Lawrukwa, W., Mjema, G. & Rutasitara, R., *Regional Integration Study of East African Community*, EAC Secretariat, 2002, pp. 32.
[26] Ramesh, C., & Van Langenhove, L., 'Inter-Regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of International Relations, 2005.
[27] Dinka, T., & Walter, K., 'Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges', in *Discussion Paper No. 74*, European Centre for Development Policy Management, 2007.
[28] El-Affendi. A., 'The Impasse in the IGAD Peace Process for Sudan: The limits of regional peace making?' in *African Affairs*, vol. 100, 2001, pp.581-99.

approach that is facilitating and supportive of national processes, but not directive and pressured[29].Hattne explains that regional integration has been taken as one of important measures in the fight against conflicts and efforts in building peace. It has been observed that regional integration creates conditions of regionalism which are likely to lower the degree of conflicts. This is because such integration can change conditions of economic stagnation and poverty which are a source of political turbulence, wars and unrest. Furthermore, through regional integration ethnic tensions between groups are likely to disappear. Integrations can also create conditions which are not favorable for the survival and operations of warlords and tyrants[30]. With this in mind, this section deals with the key challenges to regional peace and security, at the same time it addresses the cause of regional friction and management of these frictions to achieve peace and security in the region.

There are various challenges on regional peace and security and they include: Bureaucratic Inertia, Political Landscape, Expansion of the EAC, Economic, Globalization, Social, Financial Resources Challenges, Overlapping Memberships and Duplication of Mandates, Natural Resources and the Environment, Nature Conservation, Consistency between National Policies, Modalities for Implementation, Lack of Continuity and Sustainability in the Programmes, Definition of Regional Programmes, Divergence in approach towards regional integration between Developing Partners (DPs) and Regional Economic Countries (RECs), National and Regional Coherence, Economic and Institutional Obstacles to Integration, Political Obstacles to Integration, Regional versus Continental Challenges, Economic Cost of Implementing Regional Commitments and Sector Policy harmonization is Critical to the Success of Regional Integration.

---

[29] Ramesh, C., & Van Langenhove, L., 'Inter-Regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of International Relations, 2005.
[30] Gakwandi, A. S., 'Towards a New Political Map of Africa', in AbdulRaheem, T. (ed), Pan-Africanism: Politics, Economy and Social Change in the Twenty-First Century, London, Pluto Press, 1996, pp. 12.

Kamala explains that the Committee of three persons charged with fast tracking the Federation identified several problems hindering regional integration. Among them was a finding that EAC decisions requiring amendments to the national laws remain outstanding for long periods[31]. Other factors cited include the following: apparent lack of commitment towards implementation of agreed decisions; failure to communicate, in timely fashion or at all, agreed decisions to bureaucrats to implement; apparent resistance by high level bureaucrats in Government institutions; delays in the ratification of Protocols; frequent backtracking on decisions taken due to divided loyalty between state and regional pressures and lack of roadmaps with implicit timeframes for implementation of decisions taken[32].

Presently, the political landscape looks rather grim. Strong and explosive constitutional and governance issues continue to preoccupy the Partner States. These and other National agendas consume a lot of time, leaving little room for the Community business. Summits and Council of Ministers Meetings have often been postponed at short notice, without due regard to the urgency of the business to be transacted or the inconvenience caused to all concerned[33]. Political goodwill and public support is essential for peace and security in the region. Most of the partner states worry that they will loose political independence due to the treaty and their political power was undermined. Therefore, this presents political challenge for the member countries[34]. Also, there is ignorance of the law and legal illiteracy is rampant in the whole of East Africa. Few people understand the law or its processes, let alone its implications or their

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

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

[33] EAC Secretariat, "*EAC Governance Conference Opens in Nairobi*', http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/481-egovernance-conference-opens-nairobi.html, 2010a, accessed on 12-8-2012.

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

rights[35]. Since the joining of Rwanda and Burundi in the community as allowed by Article 3 of the treaty, the implementation of agreed positions, particularly on the Customs Union, is causing friction. No doubt, expansion of the Community is a welcome development that might promote peace in the region, as ethnicity should diminish in importance in a greater political entity. However, progress on key issues in the integration process was slower, with the increase in member States, as areas of disagreement are likely to multiply. The same problems stand in the way of enacting speedily a meaningful Protocol. It is incumbent on those whose duty it is to do it to see as priority the need to speedily enact the Protocol[36].

Poor economic bad will was one of the reasons for the collapse of EAC integration in 1977. The collapse was attributed to unequal sharing of economic gains accrued from the regional markets and lack of the way forward in solving the problem. Hence, the challenge to the EAC integration arises from lack of mechanisms in implementing the treaty. The member states should realize that economic gains cannot happen in the short term but in the long run as a result of effective implementation of the treaty. The adoption of the treaty prevents the negative economic effects that arise out of the provision on trade liberation and cooperation as a result of the regional integration[37].

Collier and Gunning claim that the East African Community is faced with global competition due to globalization of economies. To respond to the global competition, the EAC has to come together and contribute in the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations and in European Union among other trading blocks by acting as a single trading block to gain from

---

[35] EAC Secretariat, "EAC Governance Conference Opens in Nairobi", http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/481-egovernance-conference-opens-nairobi.html, 2010a, accessed on 12-8-2012.
[36] Kamala, D. B., The Achievements and Challenges: Memorandum Research, United Kingdom, University of Hull, 2006.
[37] Goldstein, A., & Ndung'u, N., 'Integration and Co-operation in Sub-Saharan Africa', in OECD Development Centre, Working Paper No. 171, 2001.

globalization[38]. This action reduces the cost of doing business, ensures availability of goods and services and it enhances the EAC infrastructure such as the ports of Mombasa, Dar-es-Salaam, the regional road network and the rail link so as to improve handling capacity and withstand global competition[39]. Dinka and Walter explains that the East African Community (EAC) integration is people oriented and the citizens of the region should play an important role in monitoring the progress of the treaty. Therefore, the people of East Africa Community should have a community to ensure that the process succeeds as an initiative in peace and security in the region[40].

Ensuring peace and stability within and between states in the region therefore can facilitate economic growth and social development through promoting, building and maintaining regional infrastructure and trade. There is tremendous potential for the flourishing of trade within the region which can eradicate poverty and reduce the cost of doing business than from elsewhere hence the opportunity of promoting peace and security[41].

Odhiambo argues that the East African Community (EAC) budget suffers from inadequate financing as a barrier to regionalism in the region[42]. Donor funding has been hard to come by and if there was it took long to access the funds or there were strings attached to the funding. Lwarukwa among other authors argue that this constrained the implementation of the treaty. To successful implement the treaty, it requires massive and sustainable mobilization of

[38] Collier, P. and Reinikka, R., 'Reconstruction and liberalization: An overview. In Uganda's recovery: The role of farms, firms, and government' in *Regional and Sectoral Studies*, Washington, D.C., The World Bank, 2001, pp. 33- 42.
[39] Ramesh, C., & Van Langenhove, L., 'Inter-Regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of International Relations, 2005.
[40] Lawrukwa, W., Mjema, G. & Rutasitara, R., *Regional Integration Study of East African Community*, EAC Secretariat, 2002, pp. 32.
[41] Dinka, T., & Walter, K., 'Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges', in *Discussion Paper No. 74*, European Centre for Development Policy Management, 2007.
[42] Odhiambo, W., 'Equity Issues in Regional Trade Arrangements: The Case of EAC in The Making of a Region,'*The Revival of the East African Community*, Rok, A (eds), Institute of Global Dialogue, South Africa, 2005, pp. 15.

resources in funding projects. There is an established fund but there is one issue which remains whether the member states will commit to the amount required to be contributed[43]. Bujra explains that the first challenge is the overlapping memberships and duplication of mandates with other regional organizations, with all its implications, and the second one is managing relations among the member states[44]. For instance, Kenya and Uganda are members of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) while at the same time serving at the East African Community (EAC). The same applies to Tanzania which is a member in Southern African Development Community (SADC), while Burundi and Rwanda are in Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Each member state belongs to one or the other of these groupings at the same time.

In this regard, the East African Community (EAC) groups together Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) members Kenya and Uganda with SADC member Tanzania, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and Economic Community of Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL) members Burundi and Rwanda (the latter also belonging to Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)). This not only creates overlapping and duplication, but also divides the loyalty, energy and resources of the member states, with serious implications on the role of the integration in maintaining peace and security in the region[45].

[43] Lawrukwa, W., Mjema, G. & Rutasitara, R., *Regional Integration Study of East African Community*, EAC Secretariat, 2002, pp. 32.
[44] Ramesh, C., & Van Langenhove, L., 'Inter-Regionalism and the Future of Multilateralism', in a paper presented at the 5th Pan-European IR Conference of the Standard Group of International Relations, 2005.
[45] Ibid

Other challenges faced include lack of military power despite of Kenya being the economic power house of the region; it lacks the military muscle as well as the political inclination to play a politically active role in the EAC integration process in ensuring peace and security in the region. Due to the emphasis on building up military capacity at the expense of other sectors what the EAC states have in common is the encroachment of the military into the political arena. For example, Uganda had two successful military coups, a Tanzanian invasion, and a guerrilla insurgency that brought Yoweri Museveni to power. Kenya had one abortive coup in 1982, and remains the only state in the region that has not witnessed a violent takeover of the state[46]. This development has had the effect of the emergence of opposition in the form of military insurgencies to topple the military regimes which pose risks on the region's peace and security.

There have been controversies surrounding fishing rights and Migingo Island in Lake Victoria, between Kenya and Uganda. President Museveni had initially broken Kenya's relations with Uganda after making disparaging remarks about the Luo of Kenya over the Migingo controversy. This threatened the regional economic and political integration by the president's remarks. After the controversy, there were calls for regional leaders to control their loose talks and promote regional integration so as to end affiliation to tribes for a prosperous future of maintaining peace and security among its citizens[47]. There have been other issues relating to the pastoralist ecosystem. Pastoral way life is practiced by significant sectors of the population among Turkana in Kenya, Jie and Dodoth in Uganda, just to mention the three. Drought, agricultural encroachments and cattle rustlings are threatening their livelihood. Since the regions inhabited by pastoral groups have harsh ecological zones

[46] Sarbo, D. N., 'The Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)', in a *working Paper on Global Economic Governance Programme*, University College Oxford, 2010.
[47] Shimoli, E., *Museveni Insists Migingo Issue No Danger to EA Unity*. http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/-/2558/599216/-/rggpagz/-/index.html,2009, accessed on 5-8-2012.

that are remote from the control of most governments, drought has forced pastoralist to move across state boundaries to seek for pasture and water. Cases of cattle rustling practices have often created tensions along the borders, and as a result among the states of the region. Though there were calls for the elders to end cattle rustling as an initiative towards promoting peace and security in the region[48].

In addition, the governments in the East African region should promote pastoralist in pooling their resources together and establish research facilities to promote the welfare of the pastoral groups and the efficiency of their production system. A common infrastructure of improved animal husbandry, coupled with marketing facilities offer more promising prospects to improve the life of the pastoral peoples than the present attempts to entice them to abandon their way of life and production system by resettling them. Hence, this would end tension and conflict between the pastoralist in Kenya, Uganda and Sudan border.

According to Sarbo, it is evident that the natural resources and the environment constitute a fundamental basis for sustainable economic development. Agriculture, energy, pharmaceutical resources, construction materials, genetic products, biodiversity (such as for breeding disease resistant varieties of crops), ecotourism, carbon sequestration are some of the obvious benefits of nature conservation. Forests and water shade services, besides enhancing the supply of pure water, prevent the rate of storm water run-off, reduce down-stream flooding and help filter out pollution. Besides, important plants like coffee, frankincense, myrrh, gums, and *Prunus Africana* (used medically for prostate treatment) are some of the products of international commerce from the region. Unfortunately, East Africa is challenged by serious environmental problems including deforestation, soil and plant

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

degradation, loss of species and biodiversity, and desertification. Due to rising population and increased demand for agricultural land, construction and firewood, forests are being depleted at an alarming rate. There is also the dying out of numerous streams and rivers in the dry season, the rising tide of flooded towns and vast country sides during the rainy seasons and increased soil erosion are some of the manifestations of deforestation. This phenomenon in turn diminishes agricultural production and results in epidemics of various diseases. In short, it is threatening the livelihood of tens of millions of people.

Therefore, the states of the region must pull together their efforts to have an effective means of environmental protection, including the conservation and rehabilitation of natural resources. These include, among others, the proper utilization of natural resources, forestation, alternative fuels to fire wood, water harvesting, soil and water conservation, watershed management, promotion of local and national biodiversity action plans, and conservation of wildlife resources and species. These are essential not only for sustainable and accelerated economic and social development, but also for building socially cohesive, economically stable and ecologically healthy society in this part of Africa[49].

The World Bank claims Regional programmes often lack well-defined policy objectives that are not sufficiently aligned with country interests. While strong political support exists for regional integration initiatives, at national levels, a major challenge remains to translate commitments into action. This can then lead to insufficient setting of priorities, project overlap and duplication. This gap between commitments and actions also translates challenges faced at the national level, namely capacity and budgetary constraints and tensions in prioritizing national and regional programmes. It is therefore felt that some regional

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

strategic frameworks are not built up from country strategies enough, nor are country strategies are developed within regional frameworks. It is often felt that programming is mainly donor driven and not always in line with national needs priorities and development strategies. This often leads to complex and multiple procedures, leading to high demand of staff, lack of control and ownership and lack of integration of the financial instrument into Government's budget[50].

Aid implementation and disbursement are often seen as particularly slow at the regional level. While Regional Organizations (ROs) capacities are improving their procedures are often cumbersome. They can be under-staffed with limited technical capacity. But Developing Partners (DPs) are also often better structured and equipped to deal with national partners and sometimes give these priority over regional partners. Where the Developing Partners (DPs) staff feel under pressure to disburse, the perception that supporting regional projects is slower and more cumbersome can be a disincentive[51].

While Regional economic communities can receive grants directly from development partners, the latter's financial instruments do not always allow them to give loans to Regional economic communities. This limits the financial capacity of Regional economic communities to implement ambitious programmes[52]. World Bank Environment Department claims that many regional programmes have had successful results, they have not always helped member states to make complementary policy changes to ensure the sustainability of the regional programmes over time. For example, programmes have helped to develop infrastructure, but

[50] World Bank, 'IEG Evaluation of Regional Programs',
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTREGPROPAR/Resources/reg_pgms_full.pdf, 2007, accessed on 5-8-2012.
[51] Muuka, G. N, Harrison, D. E., & Mc Coy, J.P, 'Impediments to Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of COMESA', in Journal of Business in Developing Nations, Vol. 2, 1998.
[52] World Bank, 'IEG Evaluation of Regional Programs',
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTREGPROPAR/Resources/reg_pgms_full.pdf, 2007, accessed on 5-8-2012.

once completed, there have not been reforms at the national level to allow effective implementation. The World Bank support to the African Hydropower development project aimed at providing reliable low cost power and increase electricity access to 26 beneficiary countries. Yet, while the objectives of constructing the power plants and therefore increasing the electricity access were achieved, utility pricing policies in beneficiary countries have not been reformed, putting programme outcomes at risk[53].

1.4.3 East African Community (EAC)

The East African Community (EAC) is the regional intergovernmental organization of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi with its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. The Treaty for the establishment of the East African Community was signed on 30 November 1999 and entered into force on 7 July 2000 following its ratification by the original three Partner States – Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of Burundi acceded to the EAC Treaty on 18 June 2007 and became full Members of the Community with effect from 1 July 2007[54].

The Vision of the EAC is based on the objective that the regional organization shall become a "prosperous, competitive, secure, stable and politically united East Africa" and the Mission "is to widen and deepen Economic, Political, Social and Culture integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, trade and investments". The EAC's core values include: professionalism, accountability, transparency, teamwork, unity in diversity and allegiance to

[53] World Bank Environment Department, 'Strengthening Policy Dialogue on Environment Learning from Five Years of Country Environmental Analysis'. http://wwwwds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2008/03/17/000333038_2008031 7013929/Rendered/PDF/428210NWP01NO011PUBLIC10EDP01140CEA.pdf, 2008, accessed on 13-8-2012.
[54] EAC, 'EAC Develops Draft Conflict Prevention. Management and Resolution (CPMR) Framework', http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/368-press-release-eac-develops-a-draft-conflict-prevention-management-and-resolution-cpmr-framework.html,2010, accessed on 8-8-2012.

EAC ideals. The EAC aims at widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States in, among others, political, economic and social fields for their mutual benefit. To this extent the EAC countries established a Customs Union in 2005 and are working towards the establishment of a Common Market in 2011, subsequently a Monetary Union by 2012 and ultimately a Political Federation of the East African States[55].

The realization of a large regional economic bloc encompassing Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda with a combined population of more than 125 million people, land area of 1.82 million sq kilometers and a combined Gross Domestic Product of $120 billion (2009), bears great strategic and geopolitical significance and prospects of a renewed and reinvigorated East African Community. The regional integration process is at a high pitch at the moment as reflected by the encouraging progress of the East African Customs Union, the signing in November 2009 and ratification in 2010 of the Common Market Protocol by all the Partner States. The consultations on the Monetary Union, which commenced in 2009, and fast tracking the process towards East African Federation all underscore the serious determination of the East African leadership and citizens to construct a powerful and sustainable East African economic and political bloc.

However, the Eastern Africa has seen its economic development, infrastructure and progress in regional integration lag since the collapse of the EAC in 1977. There seem to be three main causes. First, these countries have experienced a drop in the quality of their domestic policies. Internal political tension and corruption have led to economic stagnation in Kenya, which is by far the largest economy in the region. In Tanzania, where wide-ranging reforms are being

---

[55] EAC, 'EAC Develops Draft Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (CPMR) Framework', http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/368-press-release-eac-develops-a-draft-conflict-prevention-management-and-resolution-cpmr-framework.html,2010, accessed on 8-8-2012.

implemented, results have been limited by the lingering legacy of its socialist experiment. Second, cross-border tensions have risen in frequency and intensity. Continuing tensions in the Great Lakes region and the resulting domestic political tensions have affected Uganda, the most promising reformer in the region. Internal civil strife and interstate wars in countries like Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the former Zaire have weakened the potential benefits of regional co-operation. Third, economic hardships have meant poor maintenance of local infrastructure, like road networks, railway lines, and postal services, thus increasing the cost of regional communication and production activities. In the interval, South Africa has emerged as a powerful alternative for many countries. Thanks to the flexibility of regional co-operation schemes that allow member countries to have multiple memberships, South Africa has become the main trade partner for many countries in the region, even those outside SADC[56].

Peace and security is essential in regional integration. In pre-Westphalia era, the contact between the different polities (countries) was minimal and, therefore, security was above all national issues and in most cases, had exclusive domestic implications. In an era when communication and mobility were sluggish (or inexistent), the increase of security in a country (or feud) had no positive or negative direct impact on the neighboring countries. In the post-Westphalian world, this configuration has been profoundly altered. The formation and consolidation of states led to their securitization and, consequently, national security became, hence, a relational concept. States played out their security strategies versus other states. The UN Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change observes

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

in accordance, that today, more than ever before, threats are interrelated and a threat to one is a threat to all. The mutual vulnerability of weak and strong has never been clearer[57].

To be secure is by definition, to be secure from threats. As early as in the Roman period security was regarded as the absence of distress upon which happy life depends[58]. And threats have different providers and receivers, which may result in ten different types of conflicts. The types of conflicts where the regional level plays the dominant role, either as the provider or/and the receiver of the threat are shadowed. Most conflicts are, however, civil wars or are associated to terrorism, which sometimes does not have no direct connection to the regional level. In the present globalized world, a threat (or an attack) to the national security of one state (be it perpetrated by a domestic opposition force or by a global terrorist organization) has an inevitable seismic reaction in neighboring states. Harbom and Wallensteen (2005) say that in 2004, there were 30 armed conflicts, 27 of which were intrastate, and 3 were internationalized interstate and the incidence of internal conflicts continue to increase while affecting the neighboring countries[59].

In this regard, the regional integration provides a platform for dialogue and consultation on regional peace and security matters. In promoting regional peace and security at Speke Commonwealth meeting, the conference called upon the EAC Partner States to jointly take full ownership and responsibility relating to peace and security matters in the region. The EAC members acknowledged that the centrality of peace and security in regional integration, underscoring the intrinsic relationship between nature of conflict, causes and prevalence and good governance.

---

[57] United Nations, *Report of the High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change*, New York, United Nations, 2004.
[58] Waever, Ole, 'Peace and Security: Two Concepts and their Relationship' in Stefano Guzzini and Dietrich Jung (eds.) *Contemporary Security Analysis and Copenhagen Peace Research*, London and New York, Routledge, 2004, pp. 6.
[59] EAC Secretariat, '*EAC Partner States Urged to Take Full Reponsibility for Peace and Security matters as Conference Ends in Kampala*', http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/459i.html, 2009, accessed on 16-8-2012.

At the conference, the themes and subjects for discussion included: transnational or organized crime and inter agency coordination among security agencies, conflict and good governance in promoting a peaceful and stable East Africa, and security and foreign policy. On the discussion of transnational or organized crime and inter agency coordination among security agencies, the delegates agreed that countries in the region need to do everything in their power to adopt the international standards pertaining to greater scrutiny of financial transactions, client due diligence, honing and sharpening the technical and technological skills of investigators and enforcers, as well as intensifying information sharing between nations and agencies. The meeting recommended that it was important for the law enforcement agencies to arm themselves with adequate skills as international criminal syndicates become more technological[60].

1.5: Justification of the Study

Conflict threatens peace in the EAC region and it is associated with the proliferation of small arms and ammunitions. It is argued that preventing conflicts will lead to the sustenance of peace in the region. But there is limited literature that suggests how interregional organizations can use its policies and practices to promote good governance, democracy, rule of law, accountability, transparency, social justice, equal opportunities and protection of human rights in promotion of regional peace in the EAC region. Also, providing food ensures security and safety in the region. Given the importance of food security in East Africa the resources that are put into use are underutilised because of low productivity of labour, land and water. For this reason, the EAC has provided excellent strategies for the common market. However, many of these policy declarations and agreements have remained unimplemented due to lack of political will and legal binding instruments as this threatens security and safety in the EAC region. Moreover, the process of economic integration has been taken as panacea

[60] EAC Secretariat, 'EAC Partner States Urged to Take Full Reponsibility for Peace and Security matters as Conference Ends in Kampala', http://www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/459i.html, 2009, accessed on 16-8-2012.

for settlement of disputes. Conflicts arise because of incompatible interests, values, or needs. Conflict ends by several possible outcomes: a freewill agreement or withdrawal from contestation, domination or conquest by one of the parties, compromise, a deceptive agreement, or integration on the basis of equality. However, the potential for EAC integration to act systematically as a mechanism of conflict resolution remains underestimated due to the difficulty in determining its causal influence independently of other factors.

Therefore, the study was important because it will highlight the challenges of peace and security in the EAC Region. In addition, the study will aim to share and popularize the EAC Peace, security and conflict resolution framework; to identify potential security challenges that threaten peace and stability of the region; to share perspectives on modalities for deeper engagement of the citizenry in the creation of regional peace, security and conflict resolution; to identify institutional and legal obstacles to cooperation in the peace and security sector and make appropriate recommendations to make proposals for collective and concerted approaches towards emerging security challenges that include political instability, boundary disputes, terrorism, civil strife and cyber security among others and come up with the way forward.

The study will also be important to law enforcement agencies to arm themselves with adequate skills to harmonize their laws and regulatory frameworks so as to eliminate crime. The study will also promote peaceful resolution of conflicts and good governance in the development and harmonization of programmes for conflict resolution. The study will suggest mechanisms for open and regular dialogue on deep rooted potential conflict threats and development of advocacy, education and sensitization programmes that target both policy

makers and the citizenry to harness political will and responsibility in implementing regional policies and mechanisms that serve to promote conflict prevention and good governance.

As insecurity in the region posed a real threat to the EAC Partner States, the study will help the EAC delegates point out the need to develop a regional peace and security framework within which the EAC would collectively undertake Peace Support Operations when required. These and all other recommendations are aimed to be implemented within the ongoing EAC projects and programmes under peace and security and good governance sectors. The research will call for more initiatives to ensure that the stages of creating peace and security are not undermined by instability or lack of peace in the region.

The study aims to suggest the measures that the EAC Partner States will take in addressing the issues of defence, peace and security through, among others: ensuring maintenance of peace and stability in the region; avoidance and prevention of conflict within the region; observance of the principles of good neighbourliness and peaceful resolution of conflicts; addressing the root causes of conflict through observance of good governance, respect for human rights; and co-operation in defense matters, including preparedness for common defense and peacekeeping, conflict resolution and disaster management.

1.6: Theoretical Framework

The rationale for the study of regional integration in peace building and conflict resolution capacity is drawn from the post-World War II experience of Western Europe and the history of the European Union. The problem with a proper assessment of the relevance of regional integration to peace building is that it is an economic and transactions- based geopolitical process. There is an apparent lack of approaches emphasizing its security-related component, while its liberal market dimension is omnipresent. At the same time, there is significant potential to explore the contribution of EAC integration to conflict resolution and peace

building based on its capacity to transform prior conflict formations. The logic of integration applied as a strategy of conflict resolution differs from the classical model. It represents a regional elite-led process of institutionalization of relations that preserves individual autonomy and representation[61].

Integration is defined by the principles of membership, interdependence, political solidarity, subsidiary, and common regional citizenship [62]. Empirically, it has demonstrated significant peace-building effects, for example, the European Union developed a network of institutions for managing regional interdependence and this ensured the irreversibility of the post-World War II settlement in Europe. However, if the European experience is to be regarded as an instance of its systematic effects as a strategy of reconciliation and termination of conflict, the EAC integrations needs to be explored through the analytical lens and causal logic of conflict resolution and peace building in the region.

On the other hand, Block explains that functionalism views society as a social system of interconnected parts in the same way a body depends on the heart, lungs and brain to work together for the body to survive. Instead of a heart and lungs, society has social institutions so that the social body can survive. A society can function properly if it shares common goals. These beliefs helps create social order through a commitment to a shared value consensus sometimes known as a "collective conscience". Goal attainment refers to the shared activities all members of society are directed to engage in by directing individual goals, a society's value consensus is reinforced. In our society making a profit to help the society flourish is a goal. Therefore, the need of political institutions helps establish these goals. In this case,

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

regional economic integration such as the East African Community aims to make the society cohesive. Hence, in a cohesive society there is high likelihood of having peace and security as opposed to a society that is deviant[63].

This study uses regionalism and functionalism in international relations as a theoretical tool to analyze the phenomenon of regional integration in East Africa Community. The present era is one in which the world is witnessing a renewed interest in regionalism. Regionalization is the process through which governmental policies, civic society and the corporate sector share interests and combine resources to agreed common ends at the regional, as distinct from the national or global, level. The distinction is important, but largely overlooked, between processes of this kind that are truly regional and those that are cross-regional or trans-national. For instance, the coining of the two words "regional" and "functionalism" in the East African region have given rise to five sub-regional groupings: the East African Community (EAC, 5 members); the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA, 20 members); the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) which superseded COMESA; the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (12 members, including Tanzania) (Jenkins, 2000); the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (6 members, including Kenya and Uganda). Except for the IGAD, whose mandate concerns political stability and reducing insecurity in the region, the other groups focus on economic trade. The IGAD mandate is similar to the theme of this study which also explores the impact of East African Community (EAC) regional integration on peace and security in Africa to fill in the gap in which most studies have ignored.

Regionalism in East Africa Community has entailed the search for collective approaches to the problems of weak economies and polities in the face of equally formidable external

---

[63] Block, N., 'What is functionalism? a revised version of the entry on functionalism,' in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy Supplement*, Macmillan, 1996, pp. 400-402.

vulnerabilities. The revival of the EAC propelled the growing need to promote security and military collaboration to meet emerging threats. Hence, there is a growing need to promote security and military collaboration to meet emerging threats.

On the other hand, functional working relationships between the member states play a decisive role in reaching agreements. Conflicts in the region may be minimized as part of establishing functional and complementary relations between the member states that are born out of recognition of distinctive strength and weakness. But functionalism still has a long way to go in constructing solid security institutions for problem solving in the East African region as the Kenyan post-election crisis underscored the importance of stable states as the foundational proposition for regionalism for security, prosperity, and identity.

The process of economic integration has been taken as panacea for settlement of disputes. Conflicts arise because of incompatible interests, values, or needs. Conflict ends by several possible outcomes: a freewill agreement or withdrawal from contestation, domination or conquest by one of the parties, compromise, a deceptive agreement, or integration on the basis of equality. The EAC is also finalizing plans to launch a strategy for preventing conflicts and strife in the region.

1.7: Hypotheses

- The EAC regional integration has not led to peace and security in individual members' states or in the region
- There no security challenges in the EAC Region which hinders regional integration
- There is no relationship between regional integration and, conflict resolution and peace building in EAC

1.8: Methodology

The type of research design employed in this study was exploratory in nature. Exploratory research provides insights into and comprehension of an issue or situation. It should draw definitive conclusions only with extreme caution. Exploratory research is a type of research design conducted when researchers lack a clear idea of the problems. Exploratory research helps determine the best research design, data collection method and selection of subjects[64]. The research for this thesis will mainly be based on quantitative and qualitative techniques. This research was based on primary and secondary data.

The primary data collection method was collected by the use of questionnaires. Maholtra explains that questionnaires are an important data collection tool. In addition, the use of questionnaires is justified because they provide an effective and efficient way of gathering information within a very short time. The questionnaires to be administered will include both open and closed ended questions. This is because open ended questions provide an insight of new ideas and closed ended questions ensure that the respondents are restricted to certain categories in their responses. Secondary data was gathered by means of reviewing published books, journal articles and public documents on the subject for the relevant theories, key concepts and current opinions. The information was sourced from online journal database such as emerald and ebscohost as a source of information and from the East African Community website on press release.

The aim of exploratory research is to discover ideas, concepts, insights, generate possible explanations and hypotheses. Exploratory research deign does not provide conclusive evidence because subsequent research is expected and it tends to be qualitative not quantitative in nature. The results of exploratory research are not usually useful for decision-

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

making by themselves, but they can provide significant insight into a given situation. Although the results of qualitative research can give some indication as to the "why", "how" and "when" something occurs, it cannot tell us "how often" or "how many"[65].

Hence, exploratory research was the most appropriate research design for this study as the researcher aims to rely on baseline data for analysis of the East African Community policies, workshops reports held at the EAC offices in Arusha with stakeholders to determine the role of the integration in the promotion of peace and security in the region. Full Reports from the workshops findings was reviewed to develop the thesis. Also, a lot of consultation was made with the representatives of EAC to develop the thesis.

1.8 Chapter Summary

This thesis was organized into five chapters with an introduction and conclusion of the themes discussed in every chapter. Therefore, chapter one gives a general introduction to the thesis. It provides the problem statement, objectives, hypothesis, theoretical framework, literature review and methodology in relation to EAC peace and security. Chapter two will discuss the East African Community as a form of regional integration highlighting its origin, the collapse of the community and the re-launching of East African Cooperation. Chapter three analyses the components of regional peace and security, judicial dispute settlement mechanism, the East African Community alternative dispute settlement, the East African Court of Justice (EACJ) as an international court, the law applicable, combined jurisdiction of EACJ as a Court of Justice and a Human Rights Court and lessons from the European Court of Human Rights. Chapter four analyzes the research findings and results. Chapter five will discuss, conclude and recommend on the findings.

---

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

CHAPTER TWO
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF REGIONAL INTERGRATION PEACE AND SECURITY

2.0: Introduction

This chapter has reviewed literature on regional integration peace and security under global, Africa and East Africa perspective. From the perspective of authors like Waltz and Mearsheimer, international institutions, the decisive underpinnings of the evolution of international relations, are puppets of the great powers with marginal effects on the level of regulating the behavior of state actors. From their perspective, the distribution of power in the international system is a basic element for understanding it. *Vis-à-vis* this perspective, it more important to take into consideration the level and type of threats to the existence of a state than the distribution of power. Up until here, we have delineated the main postulates of the realist paradigm. From our perspective, given their conception about cooperation and international institutions (always conditioned by the power of states and by factors such as cheating and maximizing profits), and given their non-existent interest in the internal structures of states, this approach cannot explain the emergence of peace and security communities.

2.1: Global Overview of Regional Integration Peace and Security

The predominance of the realist school in the explanation of peace and security issues in international relations is a fact, and therefore security has traditionally been conceived based on the military-political focus centered on the viability and the preservation (survival) of the state. In this view, by definition, security "is and should be about the state, and the state is and should be about security, with the emphasis on military and political security" (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 37), which creates an indissoluble dialectic between the state peace and security.

As a result, during the Cold War, studies about peace and security were practically centered on matters related to the control, threat or use of force among States. Once the Cold War ended, intellectuals noted the need for broadening the traditional concept of security to include economic, environmental and social questions given that the nature of threats to peace and security were changing to include international phenomena like organized crime, terrorist groups, multi-state or sub-national ethnic or religious movements, global matters like environmental deterioration or scarce resources and the growing importance of regions and institutions as new actors in security (Schultz et al., 1997).The classic concept of peace and security centered on the military vision, on the viability and safekeeping (survival) of the state, has evolved, giving rise to a broader concept by incorporating new elements, although the state continues to be the main reference point.

From this perspective, peace and security unfolds in several spheres: the *military* (related to the offensive and defensive capabilities of states and their perceptions regarding the others' intentions); the *political* (referring to state organization, adequate functioning of the institutions and their legitimacy/legality); the *economic* (related to access to the necessary resources, markets and finances to sustain the welfare of the population and state stability); the *environmental* (sustained development promotion); and the *social* (such as society's ability to maintain cultural and national elements like language, religion and customs.

As Buzan indicates, in addition to meaning survival when the existence of the state or a society is threatened, peace and security "has to do with conditions of existence and includes states' ability to maintain their independent identity, their integrity and functionality against forces seen as hostile" (Buzan, 1991: 432). Threats would be defined as anything that

undermines the stability, viability and existence of any sphere of security. Besides traditional threats centered on the state (like external military aggression), threats of a transnational character also arise from non-state actors like international organized crime, terrorism, drug and illegal arms traffickers, corruption, money laundering and the links among them. This has led to states bordering each other coming together and forming regional blocs: Examples like South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN),Southern African Development Community (SADC) have cooperation and peace as important components of its stated objectives. The fulfillments of these objectives are limited in many of these blocs.[66] Peace is critical to a people's agenda for regional alternatives.

Since most current regional formations are political in nature, not just economic, there is a geo-political, social and also security component in most of their charters. Another important factor is that conflict and security issues are often the most significant obstacles in the process of regional integration or regional cooperation. [67]In many current regional formations, the chief security concern is the GWOT (Global war on terror), although many fail to see this in the midst of a justified indignation regarding violent terror attacks in the region.[68] However, security from a people's perspective is part of a broader concept, more comprehensive than physical security. While regional formations would normally be geographically contiguous, have shared economic and political interest, a common history and culture, this need not be part of its definition. Countries can come together on common economic political, cultural interest outside their own regions too. What is most critical is that

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

[67] Ibid

[68] Molukanele, T., Ridd, G. & Abdellaiou, J. (2004). United Nations Peacekeeping Missions. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 2.

regional alternatives would necessarily have a comprehensive approach to human security at its core. Regional conflicts can arise from many factors: conflicts over natural resources, markets, sovereignty, democracy, inequality, historical enmity, etc. Although wars break out over these or other issues, people have real stake in peace with neighbours: communities and social movements, even local business.

When resistance to war is regional, when governments, particularly in the region come out actively in support of peace, against aggression, the forces on the side of peace are strengthened and maybe the forces preventing war and intervention, or genocide can made more effective. Even serious conflicts can perhaps be better dealt with by a regional response. In the case of Palestine, or the war on Iraq, the disunity of the Arab states has been a big obstacle to peace. Any serious attempt to bring peace to the region would have to include putting pressure on the Arab states to stand more unitedly and actively behind Palestine. In Srilanka, the government's brutal violence against unarmed Tamils as part of its war against the Tigers could have been stopped by a serious intervention by governments in the region. This incidentally does not mean a hegemonic intervention by the Indian government, but instead a democratic alliance of the south Asian states, however improbable that may sound in the current context. The same applies to the troubles in Afghanistan. A country devastated by conflict over years.[69]

The African Council's decision to disallow members whose governments have been established through coup-de etas and not electoral means has had considerable impact in terms of discouraging that trend in the continent. In the Honduras, the support of the local states to deposed Zelaya is a big detriment to those espousing the coup. For the situation in

---

[59] Ibid

the Honduras to change, the governments in the region would play a major role, in supporting the forces of democracy, and opposing imperialist interference.[70]

2.1.1: Latin America Regional Integration Peace and Security

Latin American countries have a long-standing, but highly inconsistent history of regional integration. Prior to the Second World War, stranded attempts had been mainly motivated by ambitious political motives inspired by Simon Bolívar38. Their focus later switched to more pragmatic development-oriented economic goals. Inspired by the ideas of the UN Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean's (ECLAC) first secretary general, the economist Raúl Prebisch, regional integration initiatives in the 1960's were conducted within the framework of 'import substitution' industrialization. The creation of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) in 1960 was supposed to surmount the inherent scale limitations of the small domestic markets, while allowing industries to become competitive on a regional level. Although countries were initially enthusiastic about exchanging preferences within LAFTA, the process stalled when the intra-regional liberalization of sensible sectors (automobiles, textiles, agriculture) came up for discussion, hence aborting the goal of industrial rationalization. By 1980, LAFTA had been replaced by the less ambitious Latin American Integration Association (LAIA, *Span. ALADI*) which was largely structured around bilateral trade preferences.[71]

Mercosur is the world's fourth largest integrated economic block. Not only does it represent 67 percent of Latin America's land area,15 47 percent of its population, and more than half of Latin America's16 gross domestic product, but it is also the most progressive trade integration scheme in the developing world.17 Mercosur's model of Open Regionalism

---

[70] Block, N., (996) 'What is functionalism? a revised version of the entry on functionalism,' in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy Supplement*, Macmillan, pp. 400-402.

[71] Davis, Charles L. 1998. "Mass Support for Regional Economic Integration: The Case of NAFTA and the Mexican Public." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 14(Winter): 105-130.

sustains the ambitious aim to create a common market in the mid-term future. Considered as a crucial step to overcome the historic agenda of grievances, mutual distrust and diverging interests within the region .

Within Latin America, Mercosur represents the best case which can plausibly be taken to illustrate these liberal arguments. Here politics, economics and security have been continually intertwined (albeit in very different ways to the 'twin-track' EC/NATO model), and the positive reinforcement between them has been and remains particularly important in sustaining the momentum of cooperation. This notion of security through inclusion can be applied to aspects of US policy towards Mexico in the process leading up to NAFTA. But the lack of a firm domestic consensus about the wisdom of NAFTA suggests that there is much more ambiguity here than in the European case. Moreover, at both the administrative and the political level there is deep ambiguity as to whether US interests would be best served by further inclusionary moves (especially outside the narrow economic sphere). Although Mercosur has developed as an explicitly political as well as economic grouping (similar to the EU but very different from NAFTA), its members have only begun to consider the management of political membership criteria (most notably in the case of Paraguay) and what may happen as the grouping extends northwards into politically far more troubled areas.]

Based on their distinct underlying purposes and divergent paths of development one might question the value in Latin America Regional Integration on Peace and Security. Regardless of their levels of integration, however, Latin America regional integration is one region with economic, political and social identities. The relatively recent construction and emphasis on immigration, border control and terrorism, as security concerns are common to both regions and are high on their political agendas. A comparison of the approaches each of the regions

has taken to address this issues and always provide a framework for the achievement of a common goal in regional peace and security.

2.1.2: North America Regional Integration on Peace and Security

North American integration undoubtedly has peculiar characteristics, such as the asymmetry among its members, the clear hegemony of the United States and the preeminence of bilateral relations (United States-Canada/United States-Mexico) over trilateral ones. North America has become a real region due to reasons of security, economic advantages and political interests, generating the idea of consolidating a North American Community by deepening NAFTA.[72]

The events of 9/11 put pressure on the countries of North America to seek a shared viewpoint, and that regional vision is gradually being acquired. The three countries recognize common problems regarding security and the existence of transnational threats that cannot be treated independently, although it is true they have opted for paused, thematic, practical and immediate work at a bilateral level (United States-Canada/United States-Mexico) encouraged by the United States' immediate needs. We can argue that in North America, a pluralistic security community, understood as a transnational region formed by sovereign states that maintain expectations of pacific changes, is being developed.[73] The regional security system in North America was built starting from mutual confidence and interdependence, but it will respond, in principle, to the United States' immediate needs: safeguarding U.S. territory, especially from a potential terrorist attack.[74]

---

[72] Davis, Charles L. 1998. "Mass Support for Regional Economic Integration: The Case of NAFTA and the Mexican Public." *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 14(Winter): 105-130.
[73] Ibid
[74] Frieden, J. A. 1991. "Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance." *International Organization* 45(4):425-451.

In security matters, the most complete representation of the construction of a North American bloc is seen in the smart border agreements and in the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP). They go far beyond the technical aspects that supposedly support them and imply collaboration in intelligence and migration policies that guarantee security in the territorial proximity of the United States, which enables it to project its military power to the rest of the world.

Regarding the concept of peace and security, the bloc emphasizes prompt joint initiatives to achieve a safe and secure territorial proximity for their citizen jointly. For instance, the attacks of September 11, 2001 in Washington (9/11), March 11, 2004 in Madrid (11-M) and July 7 and 21 in London (7-J and 21-J) have turned security into the central issue on international and regional agendas in North America and Europe, now spreading to other regions of the world. As a result of the terrorist attacks, security has developed into an important element of integration by becoming a catalyst for agreements oriented to building security communities.

The events of 9/11 put pressure on the countries of North America to seek a shared viewpoint, and a regional vision is gradually being acquired. The three countries recognize common security problems and the existence of transnational threats that cannot be treated independently. Given the increasing pressures to make U.S. homeland security more efficient and effective, and considering the long land borders shared with the United States, Mexico and Canada are currently in the process of assimilating this national security doctrine through the strategy for smart borders and the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP).

2.1.3: European Union Regional Integration Peace and Security

When considering regional integration processes around the world, the experience of the European Union (EU) is a recurrent point of reference. Because of its long history, broad scope, further deepening and successive enlargements, the European Union is often viewed as the epitome of regional integration. It is often considered as a model to be followed by other regional groupings, if not in the short term, due to unfavorable circumstances prevailing in the region, at least in the long run, as an ultimate aim to achieve. This is the case to some extent for many regional integration programmes in Africa and Latin America.[75]

In other regions, in Asia for instance, the European integration experience is rather perceived as an "anti-model", a form of deeper integration that countries do not want to pursue. In any case, regional integration initiatives across the world are often compared to the European "model".[76]The European Union, for its part, has since a long time been in favour of regional integration among other countries, its neighbours or in other parts of the world. The EU has often provided support to such initiatives, and over the last decade has entered into more formal political and economic cooperation agreements with some regions. In its approach, the EU has often claimed its willingness to help regional initiatives, including by sharing its experience. Since the adoption of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), an EU approach to security has emerged. This approach is characterized by its focus on the treatment of root causes of instability and insecurity and its clear preference for international co-operation and partnership and the rule of law. It shows a distinctive European way in international relations which is a reflection of EU's identity as expressed in the TEU and its aim to project peace and security in Europe and in the world.

---

[75] Anderson, Christopher J., and Yuliya V. Tverdova. 2000. "Merging East and West: How Eastern Europeans Form Opinions About Economic Integration into the European Union."
[76] Ibid

This approach is not easy to grasp. The security debate in the European Union has been distinguished by 'ad hockery' and inter-governmentalize and the tension between the wide and narrow approaches to security supported by the Commission in the first case and the Council in the second.[77] Nevertheless, an EU distinctive approach to security can be deduced from the EU policies and official documents. The Europeans have become exceptionally successful in minimizing political rivalry among member states through forming the European Union. Although a unified Europe was the ultimate objective in the minds of the founding fathers, they choose economic route to accomplish the political goal. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was the first step forward to European integration. Promoting deeper economic integration for decades, the Union has ended up with common currency—the Euro. Now it is widely believed that the EU has achieved regional peace and security through economic integration.

The most complete representation of the construction of European Union Regional Integration bloc can be seen in smart border agreements and in the Security and Prosperity Partnership of European Union Regional Integration. The security component of European Union Regional Integration as a region is increasing and the framework for trilateral convergence exists. Moreover, the concern about safety was clearly the main basis of accords with a view to the approval of the European Constitution, and it has been always strengthening the integration process. Today, consolidating the EU is a matter of security, so Europe is *securitizing* its agenda

2.2: Africa Overview of Regional Integration Peace and Security

There is much support from African governments for regional integration. Indeed since independence they have embraced regional integration as an important component of their

---

[77] Wilson. Carole J. 2000. "The Role of Regional Party Strength in Vote Choice: The 1994 Mexican Presidential Election." Paper presented at the Conference of the Latin American Studies Association. Miami, FL.

development strategies and concluded a very large number of regional integration arrangements (RIAs), several of which have significant membership overlap. There are however few success stories. African RIAs are generally ambitious schemes with unrealistic time frames towards deeper integration and in some cases even political union. African RIAs are usually neighborhood arrangements.[78]The African paradigm is that of linear market integration, following stepwise integration of goods, labour and capital markets, and eventually monetary and fiscal integration. The starting point is usually a *free trade area*, followed by a *customs union*, a *common market*, *and* then the integration of monetary and fiscal matters to establish an *economic union*. The achievement of a *political union*, features as the ultimate objective in many African RIAs.

This process is followed by the various regional economic communities (RECs) in Africa and at a Pan African level; eight of the RECs have been identified as the building blocks of the African Economic Community. Africa continues to engage at the periphery of the global economy, as is evident from the continent's declining share in global production and trade. The majority of sub-Saharan Africa's (SSA) 47 countries are small and least developed, according to UNCTAD's definition.[79]Most of Africa's countries have low per capita income levels and small populations which result in small markets. In 2008, 12 SSA states had populations of less than 2 million while 19 had a gross domestic product (GDP) of less than US$5 billion, six of which had a GDP of less than US$1 billion. Not only are most SSA economies small and poor, but 15 are also landlocked, an important contributory factor to high trade transaction costs, and more generally to the high costs of doing business in

[78] Williamson, C.A. 2006. Justice empowered or justice hampered: The International Criminal Court in Darfur. *African Security Review*, Vol 15(1).

[79] Gabel, Matthew J. 1998b. "Economic Integration and Mass Politics: Market Liberalization and Public Attitudes in the European Union." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (3): 936 -53.

Africa.[80]In addition to border barriers, many other constraints exist, increasing the transaction costs of trade. Geography is an important consideration. Low per capita densities of rail and road transport infrastructure, which in colonial times was designed to transport primary products to port. Poorly developed cross-country connections are the outcome. It has been pointed out that "the reality on the ground is that transport costs in Africa are still among the world's highest. For example, shipping a car from Japan to Abidjan costs US$1 500 (including insurance); shipping that same car from Addis Ababa to Abidjan would cost US$5 000. "Throughout the continent, many road, air, and rail networks remain unconnected"[81] Furthermore, cost inefficiency, and the lack of competition in air transport because of regulatory policies, result in high costs of air travel.

Overall, the high cost and unreliability of transport services contribute to a high-cost business environment in which firms are forced to keep higher levels of inventories, which means that cost-saving management systems of 'just in time' production cannot be used. [82]

The lack of skills and capital to establish and operate sophisticated modern communication systems, combined with small business communities that do not allow financially viable business publications, mean that business news and information required for informed decision making is another important constraint. Fixed-line telephone services are limited and unreliable, with notoriously high call charges, especially for international calls. In most African economies, the provision of fixed line phone services is still the exclusively in the hands of public monopolies. Contracts require information on comparative prices and depend

---

[80] Van der Westhuizen, C. 2005. The AU's Peace and Security Council: On a tightrope between sovereignty and human rights? *Global Insight*, No 42, January 2005.

[81] Samkange, S. 2002. African Perspective on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *African Security Review*, Vol 11(1).

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

on reliable, fast, and low-cost access to reliable market information, including information on the credit worthiness of potential clients. Information is essential to facilitate efficient market outcomes, and lack of readily available information at reasonable cost will hamper market efficiency as a result of high or hidden trade transaction costs.

The ambition of African leaders to integrate Africa, and to develop the continent through import substitution industrialization, was a key feature of the immediate post-colonial period, and provided the rationale for the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA). The LPA was an initiative of the African Unity (AU), adopted by Heads of State in April 1980, and keenly supported by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). A decade later in 1991 the Abuja Treaty provided strong support for the African integration agenda. This Treaty emphasized African solidarity, self-reliance and an endogenous development strategy through industrialization.[83]

The proposed framework for African integration and continental industrialization was the division of the continent into regional integration areas that would constitute a united African economy, the African Economic Community. To achieve this the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) supported three regional integration arrangements; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for West Africa, which was established in 1975, predating the LPA; the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) covering East and Southern Africa, which was the precursor of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) for Central Africa. The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) was established in 1989, completing continental coverage.[84] The Southern African Development Co-coordinating Conference (SADCC) was established in 1980, by the so-called front line states with the specific aim of reducing

[83] Ibid

[84] Muuka, G. N, Harrison, D. E., & Mc Coy, J.P (1998), 'Impediments to Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of COMESA', in *Journal of Business in Developing Nations*, Vol. 2.

economic dependence on apartheid South Africa, which was still excluded from the African integration plan. However, in anticipation of South Africa's democratic transition in the early 1990s, SADCC became the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992 and South Africa joined SADC in 1994.

SADCC was not a market integration arrangement; the front line states constituting the arrangement adopted a broad development mandate. SADCC engaged in cross-border, sector-specific projects such as regional development corridors and the Southern African Power Pool. SADC, however, adopted an explicit market integration agenda and is a good example of the linear model of integration in Africa. Although the SADC Treaty (and subsequently the SADC Trade Protocol) does not articulate a detailed plan for integration, the detail was provided in the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) of 2003. This strategic plan articulates the roadmap for SADC's integration and provides for the establishment of a free trade area by 2008, a customs union in 2010, a common market in 2015, monetary union in 2016 and the introduction of a single currency in 2018.6

Although the RISDP is not a legally binding instrument, it enjoys significant political legitimacy and is recognized as the strategic plan for SADC's integration. The linear approach was also adopted by the East African Community (EAC), established in 19997 and also by ECOWAS in West Africa. Progress in ECOWAS to establish a free trade area has been very slow and the customs union is still work in progress.[85] This new enemy, terrorism, of the most venerable nations in Africa instigated from failed system, has forced most African regional integration blocs to reconsider their national security doctrines and redefine the threats not only to the state but to their civilizing vision. The values of tolerance and multicultural inclusion are being questioned and the design of defense strategies of their

---

[85] Ibid

values and ethos forces them to implement global foreign policies that virtually *securitize* their agendas, leading them to notions like preventive war, smart borders and new intelligence systems that successfully take on this state task. The frequent events of attacks currently seen in Africa put pressure on the African countries to seek a shared viewpoint, and a regional vision is gradually being acquired. These countries recognize common security problems and the existence of transnational threats that cannot be treated independently.

2.2.1: The regionalization of peace and Security in Africa

The UN has promoted the regionalization of peace and security, heralding it as a necessary shift and an effective way to manage certain types of conflict. The organisation envisions a two-tiered conflict management system with regional organisations playing the on-the-ground role and the UN serving a coordinating role from above, as outlined in the then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1992 Agenda for Peace. Breytenbach [86] has dubbed this a 'peace pyramid' with the sub-regional organisation and the AU acting as the initial respondents to the armed conflict, while the UN contributes more to peace building and post-conflict reconstruction at the top of the pyramid.

Since the debacle in Somalia in 1994, Western countries have become more unwilling to directly intervene to end conflicts in Africa; there is therefore, a real and undeniable need for African states to find their own solutions to the continent's conflicts. In 1995 UN report the further argued that 'sub-regional organizations sometimes have a comparative advantage in taking the lead role in the prevention and settlement of conflicts and to assist the UN in containing them'.[87] The principle of 'subsidiarity' was supposed to govern this relationship. It implies that regional arrangements or regional institutions should make 'every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes' before referring them to the Security Council, as

[86] Breytenbach, W.J. (2004). The African Union and NEPAD: Reviewing the Progress towards
[87] UN report *Improving preparedness for conflict prevention and peace-keeping in Africa 1995*

originally enshrined in Chapter VII of the UN Charter (1945). The norm also preceded the Charter in other emerging international organisations. Dinka[88], however, holds that there is no consensus on how subsidiarity is to be applied to the task of peacemaking, and no consensus generally on its application within the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Neither the AU nor the RECs have specifically defined or clarified how subsidiarity would be implemented in non-military peacemaking efforts. This lack of a definition from the organisations is a significant omission on their part, illustrating that despite support for regionalization, the governing principles of this relationship remain unclear and insufficiently considered.

Regional organisations can help bring the resources and leverage required to sustain a successful peace process, but must also determine a way to manage the interests and demands that emerge from local and international actors.[89] Supporters of a regional approach contend that regional actors' familiarity with the region, including the cultural, social and historical factors, can make them more effective on the ground. Geographical proximity should facilitate quicker and less expensive responses. Additionally, sub-regional organisations should also be more committed to seeing out enduring conflict resolution in their region having such a strong stake in creating peace in their neighbourhood and avoiding the negative effects of conflicts, such as cross-border refugee flows. As Samkange [90] argues, the comparative advantages of the international (UN) and regional level can be combined for the most efficient response to conflicts. However it must be cautioned that peacemaking efforts

[88] Dinka T.K (2007), 'Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges', in *Discussion Paper*, No. 74, European Center for Development Policy Management

[89] Powell, K. 2005. *The African Union's Emerging Peace and Security Regime*. ISS Monograph Series 119 of May 2005.

[90] Samkange, S. 2002. African Perspective on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *African Security Review*, Vol 11(1).

led by a regional organisation, rather than a simple unilateral or bilateral team, require greater levels of coordination and cooperation to harness these potential advantages.

The regionalization of peacemaking in Africa will obviously be closely related to the continued evolution and development of the AU, where the RECs have been considered 'building blocks' of the APSA. Samkange[91] contends that the success of the AU will 'depend, to a large extent, on the ways in which [RECs] and regional security arrangements will merge into the AU'. It was planned that these necessary relationships and cooperative structures would be defined in the protocol relating to the establishment of the AU's peace and security body and later legal frameworks.

Why should African countries pool their resources together for the common defence and security of the region? First, such a policy is likely to reduce suspicion and rivalry among states a factor that has engendered conflicts in the continent and has traditionally hindered interstate cooperation and integration in Africa. Second, cooperation will increase transparency in national defense and security policies. Third, a common policy will provide best practices to strengthen the defense and security sectors as well as to safeguard individual national, sub-regional and continental values. A Common Defense and Security Policy was cost effective to member states, as it will eliminate unnecessary national expenditure on defense and security and will allow for the reallocation of resources to address more threatening challenges such as poverty and globalization.The need for a common African defense and security policy was stressed during the Inaugural Summit of the AU held in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002, when the Assembly of Heads of State and Government deliberated the proposal of Libyan leader that Africa establishes a single continental army. The African leaders were also motivated to respond to the multifaceted challenges to

---

[91] Ibid

49

stability, security and cooperation on the continent. Conflicts in Africa bear certain unique characteristics predominantly embedded in their root causes, intensity, duration (often too long), escalation and their propensity to spill over to neighboring states.

Inter-African Relations, the Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of Government of July 2000, as well as the Solemn Declaration of the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA), also of July 2000. Through its four calabashes, the CSSDCA commits member states to the process of developing a common position on the basis that the security, stability and development of each African country is inseparably linked to that of other African countries. The four principles were first articulated in the Kampala Leadership Forum Document of 1991, in recognition of the fact that the problems of security and stability in many African countries had impaired their capacity to achieve the necessary level of intra- and inter-African cooperation that is required to attain socio-economic development and transformation.[92]

Underlying the fact that violence is endemic and persistent in Africa is the reality that the continent is constantly exhibiting changing and challenging dynamics characterized by shifting patterns of international and regional engagements, in its quest for solutions. The majority of sub-Saharan African countries are members of one or more regional or sub-regional arrangements that seek to promote economic coordination, cooperation or integration among the member countries concerned. The various African regional economic blocs, and indeed the individual countries that comprise their membership, are at varying stages of development and implementation of their regional arrangements. The blocs' scope covers various socio-economic, developmental and political considerations, including the

---

[92] Motsi, I. 2005. *Saving face above saving lives: the African Union's betrayal of the civilian population in Sudan*. University of Pretoria, CIPS, Paper 32/2006.

50

promotion of intra-regional trade, socio-economic policy coordination, and management or development of shared physical infrastructure and the environment. Some of the African regional arrangements also cover issues of common interest in the areas of public governance, defense and security, among other socio-economic and political dimensions

2.3: The East African Community

The East African Community just like any other regional organization is an attempt towards regional integration. It is an intergovernmental organization comprising the five Eastern African states; Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. The Community bases its cooperation on functionalism with the belief that the more member states act in cooperation in various areas, the less conflict among the members is likely to break.[93]The EAC therefore, aims at enhancing economic development within the geographical boundaries of its member states. Also, EAC treaty recognizes security as a pre-requisite for the success of integration. Therefore, as a way to embed matters of peace and security in the development agenda of the Community, the member states belong to both East African Peace and Security Mechanism (EAPSM) and the East African Standby Brigade.[94]

The EAC was first established in 1967 by the treaty for East African Cooperation between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The Community just like most regions in Africa, reduced its integrative goals to economic matters which defeat the purpose of regional integration which should also cover the political considerations including the question of power relations, the dominant ideology in the region and the domestic politics in its member states, which are essential in determining the outcome of integrative initiatives not only in East Africa but the

---

[93] Makumi Mwagiru (1997), 'The Greater Horn of Africa Conflict System: Conflict Patterns, strategies & management practices.'A paper prepared for the USAID project on conflict and conflict management in the Greater Horn of Africa

[94] Francis Onditi, (2010), 'Development or Security: The dilemma of Policy Prioritization, Institutional Coordination and Sequencing of Integration in East African Community' Occasional paper, series 1 No. 4

entire African region. When the community came into being, its formation was on the platform to guide trade relations among its member states whereas integration represents a much broader and detailed arrangements which require states to make certain political and economic sacrifices and the commitments as well as concessions and demonstrate political will towards redefinition of their individual and collective participation in the international economy.[95] Hence, this led to limitations in the Community.

Fine and Yeo argue that the collapse of East African Community was never a true form of integration due to political and economic bad will from the member states. Since the collapse of the community, the region has weathered both political and economic shocks. New attempts to revive the trading bloc could help create a policy environment conducive to reinforcing the motors of sustainable growth in the region. This may spur trade, making it possible for member countries to make a common and stronger position in international negotiations. It would also encourage more efficient infrastructure policies and coordinated macro policies to offset the volatility of the international arena.

Considering the need to consolidate regional co-operation, the East African Heads of State, at their second Summit in Arusha on 29 April 1997, directed the Permanent Tripartite Commission to start the process of upgrading the Agreement establishing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation into a Treaty. During the one-day summit in Arusha, Tanzania on 22 January 1999, the Heads of State of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda resolved to sign the Treaty re-establishing the East African Community (EAC) by the end of July 1999. The community was to take over from the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation. The vision of the East Africa Community is "to

---

[95] Makumi Mwagiru (1997), 'The Greater Horn of Africa Conflict System: Conflict Patterns, strategies & management practices.'A paper prepared for the USAID project on conflict and conflict management in the Greater Horn of Africa

have a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa".[96] This can only be attained within the context of a structured security arrangement that can create the right environment for integration initiatives, capable of protecting the gains attained. The mission of the EAC, as an economic and political entity, stems from the desire by the governments of the EAC countries to improve the standard of living of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value-added production, trade and investment. The desire by the governments is to pool existing and potential resources for sustainable common development needs. The Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC recognizes Peace and Security as a pre-requisite for the success of the integration. To this extent Chapter 23 of the Treaty elaborates the measures necessary to facilitate a predictable and enabling security environment. It also recognizes the need for synergy between Defense, Regional Policy, Political Affairs and law enforcement and their mutually reinforcing linkages to all stages of EAC's integration. This study seeks to analyze the relationship between economic integration and regional security in East Africa, regional security as a factor in international peace and security[97].

To set the tone of the study this paper briefly intends to examine the challenges prone to face the integrated East Africa and how this economic integration has played a major role in preventing security conflicts. Creation of the EAC Common Market is envisaged to deepen the integration, accelerate economic growth and promote development. It is aimed at strengthening, coordinating and regulating the economic and trade relations among partner states in order to promote their accelerated harmonious and balanced development. It is

---

[96]MwagiruMakumi (2004), *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization.* Heinrich Boll Foundation, Nairobi.

[97] Boyd, G, (1984). *Regionalism and Global Security* Lexington: LexingtonEAC Secretariat (2000), *The Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC*, Arusha, EAC secretariat.

hoped that the Common Market will sustain expansion and integration of economic activities, whose benefit shall be equitably distributed.

The empirical references about the construction of security communities in East African Community clearly show that, even given their differences, the multidimensional security agenda is increasingly eclipsed by the agenda of the fight against terrorism, going so far as to threaten individual liberties, civil rights and even the privacy of the individual as has happened in the Kenya. Therefore, regionalism is faced with the challenge of preserving its security and at the same time promoting a development agenda in order to build a more stable world whose priorities go way beyond the fight against international terrorism.

2.4: Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on regional integration peace and security under global, Africa and East Africa perspective. Most current regional formations are political in nature, not just economic; there is a geo-political, social and also security component in most of their charters. Another important factor is that conflict and security issues are often the most significant obstacles in the process of regional integration or regional cooperation. As we have already pointed out, the realist school has dominated the explanation of peace and security issues in international relations, an influence clearly reflected in the definitions of national and international peace and security. Among the main characteristics of realism is situating the world as an anarchic system made up of states in a constant quest for maximizing their power and in a constant struggle to guarantee their peace and security even at the expense of other states. In this way, the clashes (the conflict) that result from the competition among states are an intrinsic characteristic of international relations. Since there is no effective communication among states, the only way of seeking security is through military might.

In the study gap context, the concept of the "security dilemma" formulated by John Herz in 1950 is especially significant: "a structural notion in which the self-help attempts of states to look after their peace and security needs tend regardless of intention to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive and the measures of others as potentially threatening. Using the basic postulates of realism, the structural realists (neo-realists) accept that cooperation among states can exist, but always within limits given that it is very difficult to sustain. For the neo-realists, the post-Cold War international system is characterized by mistrust and constant competition.

CHAPTER THREE

EAC REGIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR INTEGRATION, PEACE AND SECURITY

3.1: Introduction

This chapter focuses on; the factors affecting integration, peace and security in East Africa, main challenges on peace and security, opportunities for regional integration, current responses and initiatives toward regional Integration, recent developments in the coordination of aid and other interventions and regional strategic objectives. It also focuses on regional financial Integration, regional conflict and regional cooperation and peace building. The researcher used both primary and secondary data to analyze the EAC regional opportunities and challenges for integration, peace and security.

3.2: The EAC Regional Mandate and Protocol for Integration Peace and Security

The respondents indicated that EAC Regional has a wide range of mandate and protocol for integration, peace and security. Some of the main mandate and protocol were:-A number of international, national, and regional measures are in place to prevent Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) trafficking that, if implemented, promise to mitigate some of the negative consequences of the illegal trading of firearms. At the international level, the 2001 UN Firearms Protocol and Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects outlines steps that nations should take to prevent illicit trade of small arms.

These measures commit states to, among other things, criminalize illicit gun production, possession, export, import, and transfer; develop and maintain export and transit controls; identify and prosecute individuals and organizations that manufacture and traffic small arms; establish national coordination agencies on small arms; support regional cooperation; and

improve information exchange and enforcement mechanism connected to SALW. Efforts are also under way to conclude an Arms Trade Treaty, which would put forth international standards on controlling the international transfer of arms. Preparatory talks are ongoing, and a negotiating conference is scheduled for 2012.In 2000, ten Eastern African nations signed the Nairobi Declaration on the Problem of the Proliferation of Illicit SALW in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, a political statement against the proliferation of these weapons. Four years later the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control, and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa was signed by 12 states.

This legally binding measure entered into force in 2006. The protocol includes provisions regulating SALW possession, manufacture, transfer, brokering, and enforcement of arms embargoes.[98] It also stresses the importance of regional collaboration among governments and civil society groups in the region. The Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) is charged with coordinating efforts to implement the protocol, including facilitating cooperation among national focal points and other relevant agencies to prevent, combat, and eradicate stockpiling and illicit trafficking in SALW. Some current activities include supporting countries in developing national action plans, harmonizing SALW legislation throughout the region, and developing a regional strategy for stopping the use and trafficking of firearms. RECSA also has programs that aim to build capacities of police and law-enforcement agencies, and the body develops partnerships between governments, civil society, and donor agencies, and raises public awareness about the importance of combating SALW.[99]The region of Eastern Africa has a fairly good regional arms regulatory framework

---

[98] EAC Press Release, "EAC Inter-State Security Agencies' Meeting Opens in Burundi" 2010:

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

in place. This is evidenced by the following programmes and protocols: The Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (PoA), the Nairobi Declaration, the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, and the Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa (RECSA).[100]

In recent decades, worldwide increase in international environmental crime has led to the formulation of various multilateral conventions to control pollutants that are health or environmental hazards, in order to prevent the wanton exploitation of scarce natural resources and to protect endangered plant and animal species. In East Africa, the Partnership for the Development of Environmental Laws and Institutions in Africa (PADELIA), a UNEP project in existence since 1994, seeks to support the development of environmental law as well as the corresponding national and regional institutions to ensure effective enforcement. In the region, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have benefited from the project. As a result, various laws have been developed and enacted, and currently activities are being undertaken on a sub-regional level to harmonize laws between countries. Although the amount of environmental crimes might not seem extremely high on a worldwide scale, the impact of these crimes on the East African region is enormous. Throughout the region, resource based conflicts erupt easily and can turn extremely violent. Destruction of forests threatens the water supply in some areas. The lack of pasture and water drives away pastoralist into areas were others graze their herds or use the land for farming. People migrate to other areas or to the already overcrowded cities. And even worse, turning the tide on environmental damage is

---

[100]The background on SALWs is drawn from KiflemariamGebre-Wold, "Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Horn of Africa," 2002.

a long term process. Reversing the damage can take decades, thus making the prevention of further environmental crimes just as important as investigating and prosecuting current crimes.

To address environmental crime, coordination between various national and international non-governmental organizations is mandatory. Steps have been taken to enhance cooperation between institutions. For example, CITES is attempting to facilitate this type of coordination on preventing the poaching and trading in rhinoceros in Eastern and Southern Africa, and the border patrol initiative on the part of the U.S. Embassy in Kenya has been active in training border police and rangers from the KWS. However, current initiatives are scattered across the region and are incidental in nature. East Africa is largely a destination for counterfeit goods. Medicines, pesticides, fertilizers, food and beverages are especially a threat to the region as they pose a health risk to inhabitants. The production and trade of counterfeit goods are illicit activities closely connected to criminal networks and organized crime. As the profits are high and the risks are relatively low due to inadequate legislation and minimal penalties, organized crime groups are becoming more involved in counterfeiting.

3.3: Analysis of Factors Influencing Regional Integration Peace and Security in EAC
3.3.1: Political Context

Consolidating peace and security and strengthening democratic process are critical to attract FDI, enhance growth and reduce poverty. Over the decade, Eastern Africa has been plagued by civil wars, cross-border conflicts, social strife, and arms trafficking.[101] Current security concerns in the region include the volatile situation in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes. For instance, the conflict in Somalia, and some outstanding post-referendum issues

---

[101] Hazlewood A (1979), 'The End of the East African Community: What are the Lessons for Regional Integration Schemes? In *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol XVIII, No. 1

between Sudan and South-Sudan, includes border demarcation and the status of Abyei.[102] There are also intermittent outburst of civil conflicts in DRC and restive situation along the border between Rwanda and Congo.[103] All these factors pose threat to private investment in East Africa. So, it is vital for the countries to consolidate peace and stability for deepening regional integration.

The respondents indicated that the region has made significant strides in strengthening political stability, civil liberty and openness. But they noted that nevertheless, democratic system remains fragile and the political wiliness for peace and security is low. While electoral processes have been reinforced, credibility of political institutions and election outcomes need to be enhanced. One notable exception was the successful completion of the South Sudan referendum in January 2011.

3.3.2: Governance

There is a composite picture of relative governance situation in Eastern Africa, in terms of effectiveness, rule of law, voice and accountability and corruption perception. The region's performance aligns closely with the general governance standards in the SSA, but it has performed poorly in corruption perception. The democratic system also remains fragile. However, in terms of good practice, several countries have acceded to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The APRM assessments indicate that several dimensions of governance, including the adoption of international standards in public taxation and revenue management, are being given increasing importance in many countries. Security governance is an intentional system of rule that involves the coordination, management and regulation of

---

[102] Dinka, T., & Walter, K. (2007), 'Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges', in *Discussion Paper No. 74*, European Centre for Development Policy Management.

[103] Olsson R.A (2008), Planning Metropolitan regions: Institutional Perspectives and the case for space. Doctoral thesis; Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm.

issues by multiple and separate authorities, interventions by both public and private actors, formal and informal arrangements and purposefully directed towards particular policy outcomes. The respondents indicated that working and coordinating mechanisms of security governance within and across issue areas.

In this regard, co-ordination, management and regulation are the three components of governance and also the three tools used to empirically test it. Specifically, co-ordination concerns the way in which actors interact and who, among them, leads the policy-making process, implementation and control. Management relates to risk assessment duties, monitoring, negotiations, mediations and resource allocation, while regulation is conceived as the policy result, its intended objective, its fostering motivation, its effective impact and the institutional setting created

3.3.3: Environmental Context

Issues such as deforestation, land degradation, and illegal logging affect all countries. Therefore, ensuring adherence to international standards of forest management help alleviate these problems. Trans-boundary wildlife corridors such as the mara/Serengeti between Kenya and Tanzania must be maintained for migratory species and a coherent approach adopted for the maintenance of wildlife numbers through initiatives such as the Convention in International Trade in Endangered Species. Conservation and sustainable management of marine and inland fisheries as well as shared water resources require regional approach.[104] Climate change is complicating the environmental problem and eroding decades of hard-won development achievements in Eastern Africa. It has negatively impacted on water resources, food security, coastal development, biodiversity, tourism and human health. Historically,

---

[104] Aboagye, F. 2004. The ECOWAS security regime and its utility for Africa. *In* Field, S. (ed.), *Peace in Africa.* Johannesburg: SAIIA.

overreliance on hydropower has impacted countries" energy supplies through vulnerability to prolonged periods of drought.[105] The recent food crisis in the Horn of Africa is a combination of drought and climate change, aggravated by the ongoing civil war and institutional fragility in Somalia. EAC has developed a policy, with provision for the establishment of a climate change fund to help countries mitigate its adverse effects.

Table 1: Extent of influence regional integration peace and security in EAC by various factors

Factors	Mean	Standard Deviation
Political factors	4.781	0.5641
Foreign Direct Investment	4.154	0.9893
Regional Financial Integration	4.669	0.7138
Trade	4.212	0.6458
Competitiveness and Business Climate	3.846	0.9652
Governance	4.534	0.1245
Social factors	3.436	0.3548
Environmental factors	3.312	0.4781

The respondents were requested to indicate the extent of influence of various factors on regional integration peace and security in EAC. The respondents to very great extent agreed that political factors, regional financial integration, and governance influenced regional integration, peace and security in EAC. Each of the factors had a mean score of 4.781, 4.669 and 4.534 respectively. The respondents indicated that; trade, foreign direct investment, competitiveness and business climate to great extent influenced regional integration, peace and security in EAC. Each of the factors had a mean score of 4.212, 4.154 and 3.846 respectively. The respondents indicated that social factors and environmental factors to moderate extent influenced regional integration, peace and security in EAC, each of them had a mean score of 3.436 and 3.312 respectively.

[105] Aguilar, M. 2005. Who should determine the just cause of humanitarian intervention? Social Alternatives. 3rd Quarter, Vol 24(3).

3.3: Challenges Affecting Regional Integration, Peace and Security

Table 2: Extent of various challenges affecting regional integration, peace and security

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Poor regional transport infrastructure network limits growth and trade expansion	4.562	0.6924
Energy deficit limits productivity	3.598	0.8934
Significant gaps in the ICT networks	4.473	0.7245
Weak institutions and human capacity limit EAC effectiveness	3.766	0.67837
Insecurity and political instability are major obstacles to deeper integration	4.633	0.6771
Lack of complementarities hampers regional integration	3.634	0.5322
Uneven policy, regulatory and institutional readiness hinders intra-regional investment prospects	4.163	0.1392

The study sought to establish the extent of various challenges affecting regional integration, peace and security. The respondents strongly agreed that insecurity and political instability are major obstacles to deeper integration, and poor regional transport infrastructure network limits growth and trade expansion. Each of the factors had a mean score of 4.633 and 4.562 respectively.

The respondents agreed that uneven policy, regulatory and institutional readiness hinders intra-regional investment prospects, Weak institutions and human capacity limit EAC effectiveness, Lack of complementarities hampers regional integration and Energy deficit limits productivity. Each of the factors had a mean score of 4.163, 3.766, 3.634 and 3.598 respectively. From the study findings the researcher infers that the challenges affecting regional integration, peace, and security are insecurity and political instability and poor regional transport infrastructure network

Table 3.Criminal Activity Affecting Regional Integration, Peace and Security

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Firearms trafficking	4.32	0.672
Trafficking In Persons and Migrant Smuggling	4.44	0.761
Terrorism	4.75	0.454
Piracy	4.68	0.984
Money laundering	4.19	0.331
Counterfeiting	4.29	0.054
environmental crime	3.62	0.672
Drug trafficking	4.54	0.761

The respondents were requested to rate different criminal activity that affects regional integration, peace and security. The respondent rated Terrorism and piracy to very great extent, each of them had a mean score of 4.75 and 4.6 8respectively. The respondents further rated Trafficking in Persons and Migrant Smuggling, Firearms trafficking, Counterfeiting, Money laundering and environmental crime to great extent. Each of the factors had a mean score of 4.44, 4.32, 4.19, and 3.62 respectively. From the study findings it can be inferred that terrorism and piracy are the main criminal activities in East Africa.

3.4: Regional Integration Effort in Combating Criminal Activity

The respondents were requested to suggest ways which regional integration can help in combating criminal activity affecting regional integration, peace and security. The respondents suggested the following way to each and every criminal activity:-

The respondents indicated that while piracy worldwide is diminishing, in Eastern Africa it is on the rise, predominantly due to Somali pirates attacking ships in the Gulf of Aden. Piracy in East Africa shows signs of being a form of organized crime. Combined with the huge ransom payments the pirates receive, the militias have enough funds to upgrade their weapon arsenals, and in doing so become more efficient and effective in continuing to destabilize the region.

The respondents suggested that the EAC member states should cooperate in increasing vigilance; patrolling and precautionary measures taken on board of ships in order to enhance diminishing of piracy attacks. The respondents suggested that piracy will only diminish if the problems on land are addressed especially in Somali. Piracy in the region is a symptom of the lawlessness, raging war and insecurity on Somalia's mainland. Poverty, lack of employment, environmental hardship, low incomes, reduction of livelihoods or resources (due to drought and illegal fishing), and a volatile security and political situation all contribute to the rise and continuance of piracy in the region. The EAC has cooperated in bringing back peace in Somalia through joint military operation, peace keeping mission, capacity building and strengthening the law enforcing institution in Somalia.

The respondents indicated that despite these international and regional initiatives and protocols though, several incidents over the course of the past years have shown that money laundering activities in the region are on the rise. Various methods and structures are abused for money laundering: trade in securities, tax evasion, property purchase, cash and bogus sales transactions, as well as the embezzlement of public funds and a lack of prudence in the investment of public funds. The respondents suggested that EAC so as to succeed in the fight against money laundering, there is need for the EAC to uphold the FATF, GMLP and ILEA standards, draft the necessary laws and use the existing laws effectively. The respondents suggested that there is need for EAC to develop framework and support to be put in place the laws and regulations, as well as to conduct the trainings if money laundering is to be effectively addressed.

The respondents held the views that the international environmental crime has led to the formulation of EAC regional conventions to control pollutants that are health or environmental hazards, in order to prevent the wanton exploitation of scarce natural resources

and to protect endangered plant and animal species. Although various legal frameworks and protocols have been adopted by a number of countries, one of the major impediments in fighting environmental crime in the region is the variety of different legal frameworks and policies, resulting in a situation where certain activities are criminal in one country and legal in the neighboring one. Thus the respondents suggested the need to harmonize the EAC region legal frameworks and policies for environmental crimes.

The respondents indicated that throughout the EAC region, resource based conflicts erupt easily and can turn extremely violent. Destruction of forests threatens the water supply in some areas. The lack of pasture and water drives away pastoralist into areas were others graze their herds or use the land for farming. People migrate to other areas or to the already overcrowded cities. And even worse, turning the tide on environmental damage is a long term process .East Africa's role as a transit point and destination for illicit drugs looks to increase if immediate action is not taken. The region as a whole is characterized by weak border controls (land, sea and air), as well as limited cross border and regional cooperation, which can be easily exploited by traffickers. As long as there are no effective control mechanisms in the countries of the region, the trafficking and importation of illegal drugs will continue to rise, further hindering the development process in the region.

The respondents suggested the EAC region should integrate their security efforts and legal intuitions to combat drug trafficking. The respondents further suggested the need to increased border control in the region, coordinated actions between government agencies and institutions, and enhanced capabilities of special drug units throughout the region through training and adequate equipment

3.5: Regional Financial Integration

The financial markets in Eastern Africa are still generally weak, but are comparable with the situation in SSA. Development of financial markets in the individual countries in Eastern Africa is also uneven and this affects the degree of regional financial market integration. The situation is better in the EAC where there has been progress in integrating the financial market. Also, liberal access to foreign banks and cross-border ownership of banks are allowed in most of the countries. For example, Kenya banks operate across the region, with subsidiaries in Rwanda, Sudan and Uganda.

The past decade has also seen the emergence of pan-African banks in the region. The role of these institutions in facilitating intra-continental trade and investment cannot be understated.[106] Several regional commercial banks in the region have adopted a market development model combining the setting up of subsidiaries at country level with an attempt to develop regional linkages between their clients and their undertakings. This regionalization of the financial sector is arising in the context of higher capital requirements and consolidation at the global and national level, which allows relatively stronger banks and financial institutions to take advantage of increasing levels of liberalization and opening of domestic markets.[107] Progress has also been made in countries such as Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi, which benefited from a joint IMF/World Bank Financial Sector Assessment Program (FSAP). However, challenges remain. Even though efforts are being made to strengthen national level regulatory frameworks and supervision, without harmonized regulations governing the structure and terms of financial products, the development of uniform products for cross-border transactions and associated economies of scale was difficult to achieve. Also, in the absence of cross-border credit information, which enhances

[106] Ajulu, C. 2004. Burundi: Progress or Regress? *Global Insight*, Vol 32, July 2004.
[107] Ajulu, C., Othieno, T. & Samasuwo, N. 2006. Sudan: The state of transition, prospects and challenges. *Global Insight*, Vol 56, January 2006.

lenders" ability to collect debts effectively and with certainty, domestic commercial banks may find it difficult to compete in the larger regional market. From a supervision perspective, it is unclear whether the Central Banks effectively monitor the exposure of commercial banks" holding companies that have lending operations or subsidiaries across a number of countries.

Stock exchanges have also been established in several countries, but cross-border listings are limited objective of creating a single harmonized market in financial services. A recent assessment of progress made in this regard by the EAC Monetary Affairs Committee (MAC) showed that Partner States have made progress in modernizing and integrating payment and settlement systems.[108] In this regard, countries are implementing Real Time Gross Settlement System (RTGS) and promoting interconnectivity of payment card switches, which will play a key role in facilitating regional trade. In terms of banking supervision, there has been progress in promoting safe, sound, efficient and inclusive financial system. Specific measures being taken include developing and operationalizing legal and regulatory frameworks for anti-money laundering, credit information sharing, microfinance, risk-based supervision, supervision coordination, and cooperation in Business Continuity Management.[109] Going forward, MAC aims to promote the strengthening of crisis management and resolution frameworks to provide effective response to global financial crisis.

3.6: Link between EAC Regional Integration, peace and Security

The respondents were requested to discuss the link between EAC regional integration, peace and security. The respondents indicated that economic liberalization and increasing levels of interdependence promote peace: first, at the state level, by affecting material incentives and

---

[a] Alusala, N. (2004). African Standby Force: East Africa moves on. *African Security Review*, Vol 13(2).
[9] Appiah-Mensah, G. (2006). The African Mission in Sudan: Darfur dilemmas. *African Security Review*, Vol 15(1).

by pressing governments towards new forms of institutionalized cooperation; and second, by promoting increased societal integration which will lead social groups and political actors to develop new conceptions of interest, community and identity. The respondents highlighted that institutionalized regionalism is important to security, not because the costs of fighting become too high according to some abstract measure, but rather because it anchors and promotes processes of socialization and enmeshment through which definitions of interests and identities may shift, altering the values of members and the ways in which costs/benefits and rational action are construed.

The respondents indicated a further way of linking regional integration to security is through the idea of inclusion: extending the benefits of economic regionalism to potentially unstable areas and manipulating the criteria for admission to a regional grouping. Even if a security community has been created within a given region, security will depend crucially on what happens around the boundaries of that community. Hence the central strategic justification for ECA enlargement, with its accompanying rhetoric about the impossibility of remaining an island of peace in a troubled sea. The idea here is to manipulate both the prospect of eventual membership and the creation of specific criteria for admission in order to lock surrounding states into policies that are deemed to promote stability: economic liberalization, protection of human rights and democracy, and changes in military structure and organization (through Partnership for Peace).

Finally, the respondents indicated that regional integration is important to security management because it influences the ways in which security interests are defined and understood. Higher levels of economic and societal interdependence increase the degree to which states are vulnerable to developments beyond their borders. The creation of formalized economic regionalism as in the cases of EAC promotes further interdependence and

dramatically increases the political stakes in the stability of one's neighbors. Increased integration is also likely to expand the range of involvement by non-governmental organizations acting within an increasingly dense regional transnational civil society. As is evident in many cases of social conflict in the EAC region, NGOs and issue networks are deeply involved in domestic politics. In East Africa, for example, human rights and development NGOs have become conduits for significant material and financial resources, as well as providers of both political legitimacy and international voice. They can therefore play a key role in influencing what sorts of issues come to be defined in security terms and their degree of regional political salience.

3.7: Opportunities for regional integration

There are abundant natural resources, minerals and hydropower potential which offer great opportunities. The region is home to a variety of exotic wildlife, beaches, lakes, waterfalls, forests, woodlands and orchards that produce timber and abundant marine life.[110]

The Tripartite Arrangement encourages the three RECs and their development partners to scale up infrastructure development and intra-regional trade. Under the infrastructure pillar the key issues are on regional infrastructure such as railways, roads and one stop-border posts to be developed as part of corridor developments. A vibrant private sector plays a critical role in stimulating regional integration. Deepening regional integration in the Eastern Africa region implies creating the appropriate conditions for guaranteeing factor mobility, the free movement of people, goods and services. The policy thrust is also shifting more heavily towards the development of the private sector as the ultimate vehicle for the optimal allocation of resources to bring about development and prosperity to the region. For the private sector, the implementation of services, macroeconomic convergence and other

---

[10] EAC Secretariat(2010a). "*EAC Governance Conference Opens in Nairobi*". http://www.eac.int/about-ac/eacnews/481-egovernance-conference-opens-nairobi.html, , accessed on 12-8-2012.

complementary policies on investment, legal and regulatory frameworks would be instrumental to spurring competitiveness.

3.8: Regional Conflict and Regional Cooperation and Peace Building

The EAC is implementing several regional initiatives including the sustainable development of Lake Victoria Basin, Lake Victoria Transport Project, Joint Concessioning of Railroads, East Africa Power Master plan, East Africa Submarine System, East Africa Infrastructure Master Plan, and joint tourism marketing and standardization of hotels. Other initiatives include the AUC/NEPAD African Action Plan launched in 2009.[111] It provides harmonized framework for continental infrastructure development and the PIDA. Another major initiative is the development corridor approach, which has been adopted by the EAC and COMESA as well as their member states.

Violent conflicts are intrinsically tied to regional drivers, and include arms flows and illicit finances such as war economies. The devastation of war is not limited to single communities or countries; population displacement, disrupted trade patterns and ruined infrastructure and markets are also regional in their scope and impact. The links between economies and conflict on a regional scale have come under increasing scrutiny in recent years, as violent conflicts have a devastating impact on a region's economy and populations' livelihoods.[112] Yet the regional dimensions of conflict are often neglected in economic recovery and development efforts. Despite the political, economic, military and social interconnections that exist between communities and across borders during and following conflict, recovery and peace building efforts generally remain within national frameworks. When such recovery policies are applied to a single state, unintended consequences for neighboring states can

---

[111] El-Affendi, A. (2001), 'The Impasse in the IGAD Peace Process for Sudan: The limits of regional peace making?' in *African Affairs*, vol. 100, pp.581-99.
[112] Wangwe S, (2001) '*Proposals to Address Economics and Social Disparities in the East African Community*. Dialogue on the Regional Integration in East Africa, East African Dialogue Number 4, Arusha, EAC.

result, such as the smuggling of illegal goods or people, including mercenary fighters.[113] Hence, the region remains affected by conflict and instability. Most importantly though, policies and activities confined to individual states remain ineffective to combat such trans-boundary problems and even run the risk of undermining their own aims.

Burundi, and Rwanda have all experienced the impact of conflict and instability in neighboring states at the national level.[114] Armies, militias, refugees and civilians can all cross porous borders in the region. These countries have also experienced aggression emerging from within neighbouring countries; some armed groups, such as the *Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR) which operates in the Kivu provinces of the country, developed from foreign fighters entering the DRC following the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The Rwandan and Ugandan governments launched military interventions in the DRC during the wars of 1996 and 1998 and neighboring governments have been accused of providing financial and logistical support to rebel groups operating on Congolese soil.

The conflict in the DRC alone has created an estimated 300,000 refugees in neighboring countries, with the number continuing to rise. Establishing a basis of mutual trust and interdependence following such wars of regional scope creates enormous challenges, as is evident in the Great Lakes Region. Tensions and suspicions exist between governments and there is limited confidence in each other's ability and/or willingness to address the causes and drivers of conflict.[115] These apprehensions also exist between and within communities, especially where access to citizenship rights and resources, such as land, are contested, as evidenced by the Rwanda phone community in Eastern DRC. The ongoing conflicts and

---

[113] Aguilar, M. 2005. Who should determine the just cause of humanitarian intervention? *Social Alternatives.* 3rd Quarter, Vol 24(3).

[114] Alusala, N. (2004). African Standby Force: East Africa moves on. *African Security Review*, Vol 13(2).

[115] Alusala, N. (2005). *Disarmament and the Transition in Burundi: How Soon?* ISS Paper 97, January 2005.

failed peace agreements exacerbate the lack of trust and confidence exhibited at all levels. This makes shared efforts to bring about effective peace building – let alone economic recovery on national or regional levels – a distant goal.[116]

The complexity and dynamism of the local, national and regional dimensions of conflict make it difficult for any kind of intervention to comprehensively address all issues. Donor agencies aiming to support economic recovery processes often recognize the regional dimensions to conflict, but rarely translate this knowledge into regional approaches to – and implementation of – peace building and economic recovery. When a regional approach to economic activities is promoted, peace building impacts are simply assumed and not integrated in programme objectives, designs and processes. Many donor agencies continue to operate within the confines of a singularly positive relationship between economic growth and stability in conflict-affected countries, in which they assume the nexus of economic growth, leading to poverty reduction which will contribute to peace.

Their strategies often only address national authorities, excluding other significant stakeholders at sub-national and local levels, as well as non-governmental parties. Additionally, donor institutional structures, such as country strategies and desks instead of regional strategies, can hinder an integrated regional approach.[117] Currently, EC regional initiatives are coordinated through Brussels rather than European Delegations being in direct exchange with each other.

---

[116] Barnett, N.M. (1997). The Security Council, indifference and genocide in Rwanda. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol 12(4).

[117] Berman, E. (2004). African regional organisations. Experiences and capabilities. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 4.

3.9: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the following as the main challenges which affect regional integration, peace and security in EAC; Poor regional transport infrastructure network limits growth and trade expansion, Energy deficit limits productivity, Significant gaps in the ICT networks, Weak institutions and human capacity limit EAC effectiveness, Insecurity and political instability are major obstacles to deeper integration, Lack of complementarities hampers regional integration, water scarcity and management of shared water resources remain major challenges, and uneven policy, regulatory and institutional readiness hinders intra-regional investment prospect.

CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY FINDINGS
4.0: Introduction

This chapter analyzes the relationship between regional integration and its implication on regional peace and security. It has also analyzed critically the study findings and also tests the research hypothesis.

4.1 Hypothetical Analysis

4.1.1 The EAC regional integration has not led to peace and security in individual members' states or in the region

The realization of a large regional economic bloc comprising Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi bears great strategic and geopolitical significance, imposing on the EAC Partner States enormous responsibility for regional defense and security. A protocol governing co-operation in defense and security matters is at advanced stage of consideration, setting the stage for deepening and widening co-operation in regional peace and security.[118] EAC has in the past successfully pursued strategic mission to establish wider areas of peace and security beyond the confines of its borders.[119] This has included our involvement in the Burundi and IGAD peace processes, and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Process, which culminated in the signing in 2006 of the Pact of Security, Stability and Development of the Great Lakes Region. Co-operation among the EAC Defense Forces is currently engaged in the issues of insecurity posed by the situation of Somalia; Piracy in the Indian Ocean waters off the East African coast; and proliferation of small arms and light weapons filtering from the states of insecurity in the countries surrounding the EAC region. The study result established that researcher accepts the null hypothesis that the EAC regional

---

[118] Berman, E. (2004). African regional organisations. Experiences and capabilities. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 4.
[119] Boshoff, H. (2006). Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration during the transition in Burundi: a success story? *In* Southall, R (ed.). 2006. *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC.

integration has not led to peace and security in individual members' states or in the region. This is because the regional integration is not comprehensively integrated, thus the individual countries dries less benefits on security and peace out of it.

4.1.2 There are no security challenges in the EAC Region which hinders integration

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 harmonization of economic policies, to pave way for merger, hence convergence.[120] 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.[121]

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 costs. 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 marginalization and unfair competition in the global arena.

The study rejects the null hypothesis that there are no security challenges in the EAC region which hinders regional integration. The study established the following challenges which affect the region integration, peace and security; Poor regional transport infrastructure

[120] Breytenbach, W.J. (2004). The African Union and NEPAD: Reviewing the Progress towards New Partnerships. In Hansohm et al., Monitoring Regional Integration, Vol 4. Windhoek: Nepru.
[121] Cilliers, J. & Malan, M. (2005). Progress with the African Standby Force. ISS Paper 98,May 2005.

network limits growth and trade expansion, Energy deficit limits productivity, Significant gaps in the ICT networks, Weak institutions and human capacity limit EAC effectiveness, Insecurity and political instability are major obstacles to deeper integration, Lack of complementarities hampers regional integration, water scarcity and management of shared water resources remain major challenges, and uneven policy, regulatory and institutional readiness hinders intra-regional investment prospects.

4.1.3 The financial integration does not lead to regional integration nor does it lead to regional security

The countries of the East African Community are aiming for full economic integration. To this end, they have recently ratified the Common Market Protocol and attention is now turning to monetary and financial integration and the negotiation of a Monetary Union Protocol.[122] To achieve financial integration, barriers to international movement of capital across national boundaries would need to be removed. Free capital movement across national borders among countries with different currencies requires the integration of foreign exchange and money markets.

Capital movement would be difficult between two countries if the currency of one country cannot be converted into that of the other. A well-established regional foreign exchange market is thus a crucial step towards financial integration. An integrated financial market is one in which potential market participants face a single set of rules, have equal access, and are treated equally. For the EAC to have an integrated interbank money market, all banks, regardless of country origin, should have equal access to the money market of every EAC partner country. Given that each EAC country has its own currency, it is essential for the foreign exchange markets of EAC members to function as one market to facilitate integration

---

[122] Cilliers, J. (2008). *The African Standby Force: an update on progress*. ISS Paper, No 160, March 2008.

77

of the interbank money markets. This study disapprove the null hypothesis that the financial integration neither does it lead to regional integration nor does it lead to regional security. There is evidence that if EAC is able to have a fully financial integration it will lead to regional integration which will lead to regional peace and security.

4.1.4 There is no relationship between regional integration, conflict resolution and peace keeping in EAC

Peace building, conflict resolution and security are not incompatible with regional integration. It is a form of multilateral political and security cooperation globally, continentally and regionally. It also presupposes common understandings on peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcements.[123] Ch. VIII of the UN Charter of 1945 is particularly appropriate, as it encourages regional arrangements, such as the AU's African Standby Force and regional brigades. The US proposals about an African Command do not fit into this kind of thinking. Africa neither sees itself as a peacemaker in Africa, nor does it propose any links with the African PSC or its African Standby Force. In contrast, the emergence of continental and regional organizations in Africa, especially in West and Southern Africa, is therefore fully compatible with this kind of regional integration, although not linked to regional bodies. Article 13 of the Protocol on the African Union's Peace and Security Council complements this framework. But it is a case of collective security rather than a military alliance.

Collective security also calls for cooperation on human security issues such as water, refugees and the environment. Unfortunately, this remains the domain of the UN, non-governmental organisations and civil society, and even Western governments as the R2P and

---

[123] Aguilar, M. 2005. Who should determine the just cause of humanitarian intervention? *Social Alternatives*. 3rd Quarter, Vol 24(3).

ICC initiatives illustrated. The softer issues of human security are just not the terrains of regional integration.

There is very little evidence on cooperation of peace enforcements – except in the cases of hybrid forces and under certain protocols of the Arusha Peace Agreement in the case of Burundi. But Burundi is not part of SADC, and it is no longer under AMIB, as the United Nations has already taken over from the African Union.[124] Here it was about provisions made for Ch. VII-type of enforcement functions, never conducted by African missions before. The African Union has therefore yet to complete an African mission that goes beyond the mandate of peacemaking. The AU is also not yet able to conduct more robust missions on its own. The same applies to EAC. The integration agenda on almost all issues – from human security to more military and political matters – thus remains unfinished business.

While the African Union is vastly different in principles and policies from the old Organisation of African Unity, the problems remain basically the same. The same old problems of weak capacity, insufficient funding, lack of political will, the impact of superpower politics, and once more in Africa, the sovereignty principle – that was again to override any form of interference in the domestic affairs of states where human rights violations took place – have not gone away. However, the debate about R2P is welcome. But big powers such as China, France and the US may still have their own agendas, not always supportive of African goals. The evidence about the role of the ICC and Africa come to mind. EAC structures also remain marginal even where conflicts occur within EAC. It therefore remains to be seen whether the causes of weak integration in the past have been overcome by

---

[124] Boshoff, H. (2006). Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration during the transition in Burundi: a success story? *In* Southall, R (ed.). 2006. *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa.* Pretoria: HSRC.

the desire to unite and cooperate for a better future.[125] The intentions of the peacemakers matter more than ever before. This study disapproves the hypothesis that there is no relationship between regional integration and, conflict resolution and peace keeping in EAC.

4.2: Discussion and Analysis of the Study Findings

4.2.1: Regional Integration Peace and Security in EAC

The priorities of the new Integration 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.[126] The Joint EAC Strategy adopted at their Summit of December 2004 represents a new phase in cooperative relations between these regions. The member states have committed themselves to forge strong links based on a consensus built around values, interests and strategic objectives.[127] The guiding principles of this cooperative strategy are interdependence between the states

[125] Breytenbach, W.J. (2004). The African Union and NEPAD: Reviewing the Progress towards New Partnerships. In Hansohm et al., Monitoring Regional Integration, Vol 4. Windhoek: Nepru.
[26] Asante, S K B (1986) The Political Economy of Regionalism in Africa: A Decade of the Economic Community of West Africa States, Preager

[27] Browne, R.S and Cummings, R. J (1984) The Lagos Plan of Action Vs Berg Report: Contemporary Issues in African Development. Lawrenceville, N.S Brunswick.

within a logic of shared responsibilities; a recognition of the legitimate aspirations of African peoples for continental unity; political dialogue involving all stakeholders; participatory approaches at all levels (local, national, regional, continental); and coherence in policies and their instruments for implementation. Of the major aims comprising the new Strategy, the one on peace and security is perhaps the most difficult to implement in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner. Its key objective is for regions to cooperate with a view to strengthening their capacity to react in a timely fashion and adequate manner to threats to peace and security, and to unite their efforts in the face of global challenges.

One of the major advantages of regional integration is the strengthening of peace and security in a given region. 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 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 for 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.[128] The EAC regional integration has been faced by a number of issues which has made it not to deliver as per the expectation of the members' state on peace and security. The following factors affect the EAC regional integration:-On a continental basis and also within sub-regions, many African countries belong to several groupings or sub-groupings that sometimes compete, conflict or overlap amongst themselves

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

rather than complement each other. This adds to the burden of harmonization and coordination, and is wasteful duplication in view of constrained resources.[129] EAC is not an exemption to membership issues. EAC has been affected by slow ratification of protocols and reluctant implementation of agreed plans: Due to low political commitment and/or perceived or real losses and sacrifices involved, a number of countries have been reluctant to fully implement integration programmes on a timely basis.[130]

This has been partly caused by the lack of prior cost-benefit analysis and broad internal consultations on the part of the member countries concerned.[131] In some cases, changes in the socio-economic and political dynamics within the member states involved have also militated against implementation of regionally agreed programmes, especially where socio-economic sacrifices are concerned.[132]Effectiveness of EAC region integration, peace and security is affected by Socio-economic policy divergence. The inconsistency or incoherence at the macroeconomic level has also been a source of problems for the systematic implementation and "internalization" of the regional integration agenda into national programmes. It has been impossible to integrate regionally where there has been continuously glaring policy, implementation and information inconsistencies at the national level.[133] There is therefore need for an appropriate policy mix and coordination at the national level that targets low inflation and fiscal discipline. Another factor which hampers EAC region integration, peace

[129] Kagwanja, P. 2006. Power and Peace: South Africa and the refurbishing of Africa's multilateral capacity for peacemaking. *In* Southall, R. (ed.), *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC.

[130] Van Nieuwkerk, A. (2004). The role of the AU and NEPAD in Africa's new security regime. *In* Field, S. (ed.), *Peace in Africa*. Johannesburg: SAIIA.

[131] Kent, V. & Malan, M. 2003. *Decisions, Decisions. South Africa's foray into regional peace operations*. ISS Paper 72, April 2003.

[132] Neethling, T. 2005(a). The Security-Development Nexus and the Imperatives of Peacebuilding with Special Reference to the African Context. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol 5(1).

[133] Malan, M. 1997. A concise conceptual history of UN peace operations. *African Security Review*, Vol 6(1).

and security is limited national and regional capacities. The lack of mechanisms and resources for effective planning, coordination, implementation, monitoring and pragmatic adjustment of programmes on the ground has been another constraint to regional integration.

In the area of trade and mobility of factors of production, East Africa integration has been relatively more outward-looking at the expense of intra-regional trade. Xenophobia has partly hampered labour movement among members, while capital mobility has been constrained by largely undeveloped financial markets. Domestic, regional and international financial and investment constraints have also hampered regional integration, which requires considerable resources to plan, coordinate, implement, and monitor progress in its implementation.[134] There is low saving as a percentage of GDP, while foreign direct investment (FDI) remains elusive and eschew Africa. Furthermore, official development assistance (ODA) has also been dwindling.[135]Lack of full private sector involvement at both planning and implementation stage has not elicited maximum deliberate input from this important sector, which usually has the financial resources and owns productive capacity. In most countries the private sector remains weak and is still not well organised. Civil society involvement has also been wanting.

There is also a high degree of vulnerability to exogenous shocks, including heavy and unsustainable external debt burdens (the majority of HIPCs are in Africa), inadequate and erratic external resource inflows, adverse weather patterns, natural disasters, unfavourable terms of trade (witness the current oil price shocks affecting non-oil exporting countries

[134] Melvern, L. 2001. The Security Council: Behind the Scenes. *International Affairs*, Vol 77(1).

[135] Meyns, P. 2002. The Ongoing Search for a Security Structure in the SADC Region: the Re-establishment of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security.

amidst declining primary commodity prices), while civil strife — itself a result of abject poverty and other forms of socio-economic — and political instability have also had their toll. From the foregoing, it could be concluded that, on the whole, Africa's monetary and financial integration remains largely elusive, with marked variation among individual sub-regions and their respective member states.

4.2.2: Opportunities for Regional Integration

The East African Community (EAC) has recognized that stability and security in the region are prerequisites for successful economic integration. As previous experiences with conflicts in the Partner States have shown, economic development of the entire region can be hampered or even thwarted by a national crisis of one of its members. The EAC is therefore endeavoring to build capacities and to establish policies and instruments for crisis prevention, early warning mechanisms, conflict transformation, small arms control (SAC) and the promotion of good governance. However, hesitant implementation of regional strategies and standards at national level is a major challenge for reaching the objective.

The problem of political will is just as relevant for the successful capacity development of regional security mechanisms as it is for the overall African security architecture. Like the AU, the regional economic communities (RECs) are intergovernmental organizations whose viability depends on the level of moral and material support from member states. In the context of the Abuja Treaty on African economic integration, the RECs are the main building blocks for the political and economic integration of Africa. In addition to promoting economic and political integration, some of the RECs have established security mechanisms of their own for conflict prevention, management and resolution. These regional security mechanisms are part and parcel of the African security architecture. Of all the eight RECs in existence, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has demonstrated

the will and ability to respond in an effective manner to threats to peace and security in the region. Through the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (or ECOMOG), decisive military actions have been undertaken in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea- Bissau. A very important factor of this relative success is the leadership role of Nigeria, whose economic weight is sufficient to allow for bold initiatives with respect to military intervention. Challenges for ECOWAS and its security mechanism include the decade-long political crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and the chronic instability in Guinea-Bissau.[136]

Ultimately, the goal of peace and security is compatible with the essential task of nation-building and state-building in Africa. This is: to enhance the capacity of the state not only to establish its authority throughout the national territory, but also to serve the economic, social and cultural needs of all inhabitants: citizens, permanent residents, migrant workers and refugees.[137]

4.3: Critical Analysis of the Study Findings

African integration includes, as one of its objectives, the promotion of intra-regional trade, including preparing members for greater global competition and bargaining power. However, liberalization in Africa's regional trade has been limited by, among other factors: costly overlapping memberships, including some bilateral agreements; different time horizons for full liberalization of trade among member states and sub regions implying that considerable trade barriers — both tariff and nontariff barriers — continue to inhibit intra-regional trade and cross-border trade; delays by some member states in signing trade treaties and protocols, followed by additional delays in implementation.[138]There has been relatively more bias

[136] EAC Press Release, "EAC Inter-State Security Agencies' Meeting Opens in Burundi" 2010:

[137] OAU (1981) *Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000.*

[138] Cilliers, J. & Malan, M. (2005). *Progress with the African Standby Force.* ISS Paper 98,May 2005.

towards participation in international trade negotiations at the expense of efforts at the regional level, resulting in a decline of Africa's share of global trade from 5 percent in the 1980s to only 2 percent by 2002. Although some groupings have launched free trade areas enabled by trade protocols and other instruments and steering and overseeing committees, de facto substantial barriers to intra-regional trade still exist.

In overall, as a share of the continent's global trade, intra-regional trade in Africa is generally low, even where changes in membership are taken into account. Trade is also constrained by lack of diversification, due to the high concentration on similar primary commodities and lack of value adding, as well as the exclusion of informal sector trade.[139] Some countries face a difficult trade-off between public revenue losses from trade liberalization and the long-term benefits from trade integration. This tends to delay the ratification of trade protocols and postpone their implementation. Also, some countries, e.g. South Africa in EAC, overwhelmingly dominate intra-regional trade.

The ambition for the proposed areas of action of the EAC is daunting. The economic development and regional integration pillar is one of several aspects to the EAC proposed work, but is by itself already huge in its scale and scope.[140] The others pillars of peace and security, humanitarian issues and good governance are part of the conference's envisioned work and are equally as ambitious, if not more politically sensitive. The repatriation of refugees, for example, remains a hotly contested issue between the Rwandan and Burundi governments. The willingness on the part of member states to implement such agreements and programmes remains in question. Without member states taking ownership and prioritizing or streamlining the heavily overloaded agenda of EAC, the initiative risks becoming a diplomatic talking shop with little or no tangible results on the ground.

[139] De Coning, C. (2003). Peacekeeping Trends. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 4.
[140] De Coning, C. (2005). *Towards a civilian component for the African Standby Force*. CIPS, Paper No 58.

Furthermore, the degree to which the pillars of action are integrated remains limited. Thus the proposed common border security zones do not offer any links to proposed trade and energy projects, as outlined under the economic development pillar. The actual design of the programmes remains within their respective silos of action, meaning that synergies between pillars and opportunities for drawing on different types of technical expertise will likely be missed.

4.3.1: Unachievable Quest for Macroeconomic Convergence

The pursuit of macroeconomic converge, which by definition entails the setting of lower and/or upper limits for selected macroeconomic variables, is usually underpinned by the desire to guide certain key aspects of future economic and financial policy and its management among the member countries concerned, but this quest for macroeconomic convergence in EAC is not sustainable.[141] Macroeconomic convergence in this respect therefore serves an eligibility test whereby only those countries that attain the convergence benchmarks would qualify for membership to an economic grouping. Other reasons for seeking macroeconomic convergence are the advantages it confers to members, either individually or collectively. These may include attainment of macroeconomic stability, e.g. through sustainable fiscal deficits and public indebtedness, external current account deficit, as well as low and stable levels of inflation, which are among the key pre-conditions for achieving strong and sustainable economic growth. The East African Community (EAC) comprising of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda has not yet achieved free trade area status due to lack of political will and unnecessary formalities. EAC's long history started with the following efforts: building of a common service i.e. the Uganda Railway in 1895; establishment of the Customs Collection Centre in 1900; establishment of the East African

---

[141] Du Plessis, M. 2003. The Creation of the ICC: Implications for despots, crackpots and hotspots. *African Security Review*, Vol 12(4).

currency board in 1905; the Court of Appeal of Eastern Africa was set up in 1909; the Customs Union came into force in 1919; the East African income tax board established in 1940; the Joint Economic Council was set up in 1940; formation of the East African high commission in 1948; establishment of the East African Common Services Organisation in 1961; establishment of the East African community in 1967-1977; collapse of the East African community in 1977; agreement to revive the East.

African cooperation treaty in 1992, which lasted for the period 1993-2000; establishment of the EAC Secretariat in Arusha in 1996; following the transformation of the Cooperation into a Community in 2000, the Community launched its first development strategy in April 2001; inauguration of the East African Assembly and Court of Appeal in December 2001; signing of the East African customs union protocol in March 2003. All the progress of E AC has in one way or the other failed. After falling apart in 1977 and getting resuscitated in 2000, member states to the revised EAC treaty have not fully agreed on many critical issues which are fundamental for successful establishing an East African Community, and to start the process with a customs union. The coming into force of the Treaty establishing EAC in July 2000 created an organisation that did not fit any of the then existing regional arrangements listed earlier but which has achieved little to date.[142]

EAC institutions have achieved little tangible impact in development, security or peace of East Africa. Examples include: establishment of East African Legislative Assembly; establishment of East African Court of Justice; cooperation in sectorial fields, such as trade, investment and industrial development, infrastructure, tourism and wildlife management, health, education, science and technology, agriculture and standardization and quality assurance; coordination and harmonization of macroeconomic, monetary and financial

[2] Fisher, L.M. & Ngoma, N. 2005. *The SADC Organ. Challenges in the new millennium.* ISS Paper 114, August 2005.

policies including free movement of capital; cooperation in defense and security matters has been partially successful.

The EAC has followed the traditional progression stages of regional arrangements. In addition, given the stage at which it was by the time the Customs Union protocol comes into force, the efforts that were required to establish the Common Market was far from minimal. In this context, it would be not realistic to suggest that the EAC Common Market is feasible within a period of two to four years from now.[143] It is evident that the three member states of the EAC have been tending towards convergence at low and unsustainable levels of the key macroeconomic convergence indicators, namely underlying annual rate of inflation, and the current and fiscal deficits as percentages of GDP.[144] It is also noteworthy that the moving towards sustainable fiscal deficits that exclude external grant financing has been more difficult to achieve, given the relatively high donor dependence especially for Uganda and Tanzania. Kenya, which for many years has not received any substantial budgetary support from external donors, seems to perform better than the other two member states in the EAC.[145]

4.3.2: Regional Integration and Insecurity

Economic regionalism can, however, be much more directly implicated in the generation of insecurity. The liberalization of economic exchanges facilitates illicit flows of all kinds, especially when this liberalization forms part of a more general shift in power from the state to the market. Such illicit activities may then spill over into interstate relations. Successful economic integration is likely to be socially destabilizing and promote processes of change

[143] Goulding, M. 1999. The United Nations and Conflict in Africa since the Cold War. *African Affairs*, Vol 98(391).
[144] Southall, R. 2006. A long prelude to peace: South African involvement in ending Burundi's war. *In* Southall, R. (ed.), *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC.
[145] Swart, G. 2007. The rules of re-engagement: the pitfalls and panaceas of the Pentagon's New African Command. *Centre for International Police Studies*, Pretoria, No 48/2007.

that erode established identities, undermine established ways of conducting national politics and, perhaps most seriously, reduce state capacity and state coherence.

The socio-cultural challenges of integration can threaten what has been termed 'societal security'. In addition, the very power of a dynamic and prosperous region can provoke disturbing changes in the social structures and political arrangements of neighboring states . Liberalization and integration can also erode the capacity of states to respond to security challenges, in three main ways. In the first place, economic integration can undermine established patterns of core–periphery or federal–state relations because of the degree to which the benefits of liberalization are unequally distributed. Second, the abdication of EAC states of their older regulatory and redistributive roles may well make it far more difficult to forge durable alliances with those groups in civil society most affected by marginality, poverty and inequality. While repression and coercion may still be available options, the capacity of the state to co-opt opposition and to buy off discontent has diminished dramatically. Third, economic integration erodes distinctions between domestic politics and 'foreign' policy, drawing in external actors (both states and NGOs). The result is often a deeply problematic relationship between domestic attempts to manage and contain violence and a changing set of international and transnational pressures.

4.3.3: Regional Approaches To Peace Building

Regional approaches to peace building can be integrative or cooperative. Integrative and cooperative approaches mainly pursue different objectives, establish different institutional structures and vary in their effectiveness. Existing integration agreements in the EAC, for example, mainly focus on trade and production.[146]Cooperation agreements involve selected

---

[146] Breytenbach, W.J. (2004). The African Union and NEPAD: Reviewing the Progress towards New Partnerships. *In* Hansohm et al., *Monitoring Regional Integration*, Vol 4. Windhoek: Nepru.

policy harmonization or joint production of public goods, such as security, while integration arrangements are characterized by much deeper mutual interaction or synergies.[147] Regional cooperation initiatives tend to be more selective in their coverage and generally require less long-term commitment than integration.

Research indicates that countries of Sub-Saharan Africa can benefit more from regional cooperation than from formal trade integration.[148]Regional cooperation in EAC holds some critical stumbling blocks hindering successful institutionalized regional cooperation.[149] The biggest obstacles revealed in this analysis are: Lack of political commitment to - and ownership of - regional cooperation by member states; Lack of capacity of member states to engage in such initiatives; Insufficient attention to existing regional political and economic asymmetries; Continued mistrust and mutual suspicion among members; and Top-down approaches that exclude many stakeholders.[150]Not only is there a risk that institutions promoting regional cooperation remain ineffective, but there is also a risk that their failure could jeopardize regional prosperity and sustainable peace in the long term.[151] Further, promoting such economic cooperation without first analysing the political economy and

---

[147] Gumbi, L. 1995. Peacekeeping: An historical background. In Cilliers, J. & Mills, G. (eds.), Peacekeeping in Africa, Vol 2. Midrand: IDP and SAIIA.

[148] Samkange, S. 2002. African Perspective on Intervention and State Sovereignty. African Security Review, Vol 11(1).

[149] Boshoff, H. (2006). Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration during the transition in Burundi: a success story? In Southall, R (ed.). 2006. South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa. Pretoria: HSRC.

[150] Shelton, G. 2005. South Africa's Defense Policy and an Updated Defense White Paper. Global Insight, No 45, March 2005.

[151] Neethling, T. 2008. Africom: Concerns and Pressing Questions. Conflict Trends, Issue 1.

ignoring the ways in which the economy itself may drive conflict dynamics can aggravate hostilities.[152]

In the Great Lakes Region, this disregard can include issues of underlying systems of control and access to economic resources based on coercion or even violence as well as horizontal and geographical inequalities feeding resentment and tensions.[153] It can further include corruption and patronage closely linked to ruling elites or armed groups that continue to play a key role in perpetuating and benefiting from violent conflict and tensions.[154] While regional cooperation may be important in developing constructive relations between states, it cannot be assumed that pooling resources to provide public goods for populations and creating platforms for dialogue regarding shared interests will automatically follow.[155] Whether regional cooperation yields peace building benefits depends on the capacities and willingness of those involved – as ownership is a key element of success – as well as the design and processes of the cooperation.[156]

4.4: Conclusion

EAC regional integration has not led to peace and security in individual members' states or in the region. This is because the regional integration is not comprehensively integrated, thus the individual countries drives less benefits on security and peace out of it. There is relationship between regional integration and, conflict resolution and peace keeping in EAC

[152] Petruczynik, E. 2007. Changing Concepts and Methods of Conflict Management in Africa. *Africa Insight*, Vol 36(3 & 4), Dec. 2006.

[153] Rudman, L. 2005. *The status of the African Standby Force: A SADC Perspective.* University of Pretoria, CIPS, 20 September 2005.

[154] Jooma, M.B. 2005. *We can't eat the Constitution: Transformation and socioeconomic reconstruction of Burundi.* ISS Paper, No 106, May 2005.

[155] Jorgensen, T.M. 2004. Sovereignty of states in the post-Cold War era: Implications for Sub-Sahara Africa. *South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 32(1).

[156] Jooma, M.B. 2005. *We can't eat the Constitution: Transformation and socioeconomic reconstruction of Burundi.* ISS Paper, No 106, May 2005.

and financial integration brings regional integration which lead to peace and security. s. The researcher has further criticized regional integration. Beyond formal interstate integration agreements, it is also clear that regionalization has become an increasingly important phenomenon.

Regionalization refers to the growth of societal integration within a region and to the often undirected processes of social and economic interaction involved in this trend. One element is economic. Although seldom unaffected by state policies, the most important driving forces for economic regionalization come from markets, from private trade and investment flows, and from the policies and decisions of companies. .In addition, there are various ways in which regional integration can be viewed as a means of managing potential security challenges such as terrorism, piracy, drug trafficking, firearms trafficking, money laundering, counterfeiting and environmental crime. There is a widely shared sense that new security issues need to be tackled within the context of economic development because of the resistance of new security challenges to resolution via traditional security instruments.

CHAPTER FIVE
FINDINGS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS
5.1: Introduction

This chapter presents 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

The ultimate goal of regional integration is to merge some or all aspects of the economies concerned. This usually evolves from simple cooperation and coordination of mutually agreed aspects amongst a given number of countries to full integration or merger of the economies in question.[157] The history of regional integration in Africa shows that the reasons or objectives for integrating have been evolving over time. These have shifted from the initial focus on the political decolonization of Africa to the current emphasis on socio-economic integration in the post-independence era for stronger bargaining base in global fora and for mutual benefit in the form of accelerated growth and development.[158]

The study established that various factors influence regional integration peace and security in EAC. The main factors that the study established were: political factors, regional financial integration, and governance and trade, foreign direct investment, competitiveness and business climate. The study results showed that social factors and environmental factors has less influence on regional integration, peace and security in EAC. The study established the following challenges affecting regional integration, peace and security: Poor regional transport infrastructure network limits growth and trade expansion insecurity and political instability are major obstacles to deeper integration, and poor regional transport infrastructure

---

[157] Kamidza, R., Mbugua, K. & Pillay, V. 2005. African Peacekeeping Missions. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 4.

[158] Katzenellenbogen, J. 2005. Guardians of peace: Pretoria's burden. *Focus*, Issue 38, October 2005.

network limits growth and trade expansion, uneven policy, regulatory and institutional readiness hinders intra-regional investment prospects, Weak institutions and human capacity limit EAC effectiveness, lack of complementarities hampers regional integration and Energy deficit limits productivity. 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 element 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: Conclusion

The benefits of regional integration, and indeed globalization, remain a critical part of east Africa workable development, peace and security strategy. The era of isolated tiny national economies has to give way to strategic alliances that harness knowledge-and-resource-based comparative advantages through integration. This however does not come effortlessly and at no cost: a lot of dedicated planning and hard work must be put in first. The study concludes that in spite of the existence of EAC bloc, that has secretariat and regular technical and ministerial level meetings and summits of heads of state and government, East Africa integration efforts have had limited impact so far more so in area of peace, conflict resolution and security. Perhaps because reality on the ground does not match ideals in treaties, protocols and MOUs the degree of integration remains highly superficial. Thus results have been below expectations.

Names given to most African regional groupings tend to reflect the goal rather than stage of integration that has actually been reached.[159] Some use the name "Community", others "Common Market" to indicate the destination aspired for.[160] Elsewhere in the world the name of the grouping usually reflects the stage of integration which has actually been attained. African experience so far seems to indicate that groupings with fewer members tend to be more successful and show better progress than large groups. The examples of EAC and SACU/CMA support this view.

Initially, regional groupings in East Africa came into being for political reasons. Now circumstances have forced that they be resuscitated but this time around for economic, peace and security reasons.[161] Much has been done already to raise awareness on the indispensability and viability of African sub regional and regional integration in the face of the risks of marginalization and the loss of opportunities offered by globalization. Participation in the globalization process should be increasingly realized from a regionalized African platform to enhance the bargaining power of countries or their regional groupings. The benefits of regional integration are peace, conflict resolution and security among others such as   (i) benefits for all through synergy and symbiosis; (ii) bargaining bloc in international arena; (iii) viable size for foreign direct investment; and (iv) improved scope for diversification and its benefits of lowering risk.

---

[159] Swart, G. 2007. The rules of re-engagement: the pitfalls and panaceas of the Pentagon's New African Command. *Centre for International Police Studies*, Pretoria, No 48/2007.

[160] Molukanele, T., Ridd, G. & Abdellaiou, J. (2004). United Nations Peacekeeping Missions. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 2.

[161] Motsi, I. 2005. *Saving face above saving lives: the African Union's betrayal of the civilian population in Sudan*. University of Pretoria, CIPS, Paper 32/2006.

The study further concludes that challenges affecting EAC regional integration, peace and security are manageable. Majority of these challenges are man-made thus they can be easily solved with right strategies and mind set.

5.4: Recommendations

Progress has been rather slow and reality has fallen far short of aspirations. So there is ample room for improvement when it comes to implementation. The study recommends that in order for regional integration to lead to peace and security practical measures could be geared towards. Eradicating wasteful or costly duplication of multiple memberships and rationalizing some overlapping sub-regional blocs. This should be based on priority needs and efficiency from comparative advantage.[162] To deal with this challenge, the reasons for belonging to various groupings or forming sub-groups within the same groups should be carefully studied. There is need to rationalize the number of membership to them, based on thorough analysis of comparative advantages and cost and benefit. Inter-regional interaction should also be cultivated to "sell" the logic and benefits of rationalization.[163]

There is need to secure irrevocable commitment beyond mere political rhetoric amongst member countries of EAC to ratify and implement treaties and protocols, without inefficiencies, lapses or reversals. Prior informed analysis and internal consultations, including bringing civil society and the private sector on board much earlier, should precede integration programmes to enhance ownership that motivates full implementation reducing risks affecting the free movement of labour and capital, e.g. cross-border and foreign direct investment could be another step. Such markets would also help finance the integration

---

[162] Neethling, T. 2005(a). The Security-Development Nexus and the Imperatives of Peacebuilding with Special Reference to the African Context. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol 5(1).

[163] Shelton, G. 2005. South Africa's Defence Policy and an Updated Defence White Paper. *Global Insight*, No 45, March 2005.

process itself in other pertinent sectors. Harmonization of financial markets also reduces risks of differences in the impact of monetary policy measures that may be taken by the common central bank under a monetary union. The study suggest effective pulling of resources and expertise to tackle cross-cutting regional challenges, such as infrastructure, governance, gender, HIV/AIDS, peace, security and conflict prevention, can help reduce the average costs of delivery, and also assist to harmonize and raise standards.

Regional integration treaties, protocols, leadership and priorities should be unambiguous in providing binding rules-based frameworks and results-oriented milestones to guide national, sub-regional and regional actions required for envisaged eventual continental integration.[164] The researcher recommends that effective monitoring; follow-up and corrective mechanisms should be put in place and enforced. The regional and continental bodies should be adequately staffed and resourced, with authority to act as necessary. East Africa negotiation capacity, especially in the area of multilateral trade, needs to be strengthened from a regionalized vantage point.

There is need to strengthen and empower the institutions that implement and monitor regional integration programmes both at the regional and country levels. Any central authority overseeing convergence and integration should be independent of all national authorities' influences. It should have a mandate that is well anchored on the agreed key objectives, such as ensuring price stability, with sufficient authority to enforce (and possibly supervise) compliance by all members for the attainment of the shared objectives. The roles for national central banks and the common central bank should also be clearly defined beforehand.

---

[164] Neethling, T. 2005(b). *Realising the African Standby Force as a Pan-African Ideal: Prospects and Challenges.* University of Pretoria, CIPS, Briefing Paper 48/2005.

The study further recommends that member countries should agree on the time-frame for transition to macroeconomic and monetary convergence: An amicable decision that is realistic for all members should be reached on whether the transition was gradual or accelerated, based on analysis of the *pros* and *cons* and costs and benefits of either option as well as on ability of members to comply.[165] Applying variable geometry and variable speed, that accommodates the effects of different circumstances confronting member states and sectors, respectively, is a more pragmatic approach. This has worked well for EU.

Much of African regional integration history shows that they initially arose from political rather than economic or developmental agendas, but more recently they have been re-launched with an economic focus.[166] Some regional economic groupings have been shallow arrangements that have tended to "skip" the necessary sequencing (progression through the development stages). It is essential that the following conditions are fulfilled for successful macroeconomic convergence: Efficient and non-distortionary markets for products and factors of production, including freer movement of capital notably labour; effective compensatory financing arrangements to make the domestic costs of adjustment affordable, and equitably share the costs and benefits of integration, and fully incorporate the effects of exogenous shocks such as adverse weather, terms of trade, disease, and external financing shocks including debt relief; Proper timing and sequencing as well as consensus-based choice of a convergence anchor (whether rigid or flexible benchmarks and criteria); enabling olicies that reduce risks; Development and retention of expertise; and focus on smaller sub-roupings for greater success, with provision for variable geometry and variable/multi-speed rangements.

Meyns, P. 2002. The Ongoing Search for a Security Structure in the SADC Region: the Re-establishment of SADC Organ on Politics, Defense and Security.
Molukanele, T., Ridd, G. & Abdellaiou, J. (2004). United Nations Peacekeeping Missions. *Conflict Trends*, I 2.

It is critical that planning and implementation of the regional integration agenda becomes highly inclusive and participatory at all stages, including formulation of strategic frameworks, action plans, rolling programmes of action, monitoring, evaluation and reviews. There should be clear milestones, and enhanced coordination and management systems that incorporate results-based management at the regional, country and sectorial levels. Some decent planning has already been going on. The researcher propose that the next step should be to expedite implementation through greater resolve, speed and effectiveness in translating the good intentions into concrete, implementable, monitor able and results-oriented actions on the ground. This would hopefully see the dream of a single currency and central bank by 2028 or soon thereafter, including EAC realizing the regional halving poverty as envisaged. Furthermore it will lead to regional peace and security.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aboagye, F. 2004. The ECOWAS security regime and its utility for Africa. *In* Field, S.

Aguilar, M. 2005. Who should determine the just cause of humanitarian intervention?

Ajulu, C. 2004. Burundi: Progress or Regress? *Global Insight*, Vol 32, July 2004.

Ajulu, C., Othieno, T. & Samasuwo, N. 2006. Sudan: The state of transition, prospects and challenges. *Global Insight*, Vol 56, January 2006.

Alusala, N. (2004). African Standby Force: East Africa moves on. *African Security Review*, Vol 13(2).

Alusala, N. (2005). *Disarmament and the Transition in Burundi: How Soon?* ISS Paper

Appiah-Mensah, G. (2006). The African Mission in Sudan: Darfur dilemmas. *African* April 2005.

Barnett, N.M. (1997). The Security Council, indifference and genocide in Rwanda.

Berman, E. (2004). African regional organisations. Experiences and capabilities. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 4.

Bhoke, C. 2006. *The trial of Charles Taylor: Conflict prevention, international law and an impunity-free Africa.* ISS Paper 127, August 2006.

Block, N., (996) 'What is functionalism? a revised version of the entry on functionalism,' in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy Supplement*, Macmillan, pp. 400-402.

Boshoff, H. (2006). Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration during the transition in Burundi: a success story? *In* Southall, R (ed.). 2006. *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa.* Pretoria: HSRC.

Breytenbach, W.J. (2004). The African Union and NEPAD: Reviewing the Progress towards New Partnerships. *In* Hansohm et al., *Monitoring Regional Integration*, Vol 4. Windhoek: Nepru.

Chalmers D (2003), Food for Thought: Reconciling European Risks and Traditional Ways of Life' in *Modern Law review*, vol. 66, pp 532-562

Chen D, Matovu J & Reinikka R (2001), 'A quest for revenues and tax incidence. In Uganda's recovery: The role of firms and governments' eds, Reinikka R & Collier P, *Regional and Sectoral Studies*, Washington DC, The World Bank

Cilliers, J. & Malan, M. (2005). *Progress with the African Standby Force.* ISS Paper 98, May 2005.

Cilliers, J. (2005). *Towards a Continental Early Warning System for Africa.* ISS Paper.

Cilliers, J. (2008). *The African Standby Force: an update on progress.* ISS Paper, No 160, March 2008.

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

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

Curtis, D. (2003). The Peace Process in Burundi: Successful African Intervention? *Global Insight*, No 24, September 2003.

De Coning, C. (2005). *Towards a civilian component for the African Standby Force.* CIPS, Paper No 58.

De Coning, C. 2005. A peacekeeping Standby System for SADC: Implementing the African Standby Force Framework in Southern Africa. *In* Hammerstad, A. (ed.), *People, States and Regions: Building Security in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: SAIIA.

DeRosa DA, Obwona M and Ronningen VO, (2002), 'The New EAC Customs Union: Implications for Trade, Industry Competitiveness and Economic Welfare in East Africa' in US Agency for International Development.

Dinka T & Walter K (2007), 'Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges', in *Discussion Paper*, No. 74, European Center for Development Policy Management

Dinka, T., & Walter, K. (2007), 'Africa's Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges', in *Discussion Paper No. 74*, European Centre for Development Policy Management.

Du Plessis, M. 2003. The Creation of the ICC: Implications for despots, crackpots and hotspots. *African Security Review*, Vol 12(4).

EAC (2002), '*EAC Develops Draft Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (CPMR) Framework,*' http:www.eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/368-press-release-eac-develops-draft-conflict-prevention-management-and-resolution-compr-framework.html, accessed on 8-6-2012

EAC, (2010) '*EAC Develops Draft Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (CPMR) Framework.*

El-Affendi A (2001), 'The Impasse in the IGAD Peace Process for Sudan: The Limits of regional peace making,' in *African Affairs*, Vol 100. Pp. 589-562

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

Felicio, T.,'Managing,(2005)Security as a Regional Public Good A Regional-Global Mechanism for Security', in *UNU-CRIS Occasional Papers*, No. 48.

Fisher, L.M. & Ngoma, N. 2005. *The SADC Organ. Challenges in the new millennium*. ISS Paper 114, August 2005.

Francis Onditi, (2010), 'Development or Security: The dilemma of Policy Prioritization, Institutional Coordination and Sequencing of Integration in East African Community' Occasional paper, series 1 No. 4

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

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

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

Goulding, M. 1999. The United Nations and Conflict in Africa since the Cold War. *African Affairs*, Vol 98(391).

Gumbi, L. 1995. Peacekeeping: An historical background. *In* Cilliers, J. & Mills, G. (eds.), *Peacekeeping in Africa*, Vol 2. Midrand: IDP and SAIIA.

Hansohm, D. et al., *Monitoring Regional Integration*. Yearbook Vol. 2, Windhoek: Gamsberg.

Harbom, L., & Wallensteen, P. (2004), 'Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946-', in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 42(5), 2005, pp. 623-635.

Hazlewood A (1979), 'The End of the East African Community: What are the Lessons for Regional Integration Schemes? In *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol XVIII, No. 1

Jenkins, K. (2000), *Regionalism in world politics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Jooma, M.B. 2005. *We can't eat the Constitution: Transformation and socioeconomic reconstruction of Burundi*. ISS Paper, No 106, May 2005.

Jorgensen, T.M. 2004. Sovereignty of states in the post-Cold War era: Implications for Sub-Sahara Africa. *South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 32(1).

Kagwanja, P. 2006. Power and Peace: South Africa and the refurbishing of Africa's multilateral capacity for peacemaking. *In* Southall, R. (ed.), *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC.

Kamala DB, (2006), 'The Achievements and challenges: memorandum Research,' United Kingdom, University of Hull

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

Kamidza, R., Mbugua, K. & Pillay, V. 2005. African Peacekeeping Missions. *Conflict Trends*, Vol 4.

Kanyama A.A and Goran C (2009), 'In search of a framework for institutional coordination in the planning for public transportation in sub-Saharan African countries,' an analysis based on experiences from Nairobi and Dar-es-salaam.

Katzenellenbogen, J. 2005. Guardians of peace: Pretoria's burden. *Focus*, Issue 38, October 2005.

Kent, V. & Malan, M. 2003. *Decisions, Decisions. South Africa's foray into regional peace operations*. ISS Paper 72, April 2003.

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

Makumi Mwagiru (1997), 'The Greater Horn of Africa Conflict System: Conflict Patterns, strategies & management practices.' A paper prepared for the USAID project on conflict and conflict management in the Greater Horn of Africa

Malan, M. 1997. A concise conceptual history of UN peace operations. *African Security Review*, Vol 6(1).

Melvern, L. 2001. The Security Council: Behind the Scenes. *International Affairs*, Vol 77(1).
Meyns, P. 2002. The Ongoing Search for a Security Structure in the SADC Region: the Re-establishment of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security.

Molukanele, T., Ridd, G. & Abdellaiou, J. (2004). United Nations Peacekeeping Missions. *Conflict Trends*. Vol 2.
Motsi, I. 2005. *Saving face above saving lives: the African Union's betrayal of the civilian population in Sudan*. University of Pretoria, CIPS, Paper 32/2006.

Muthaura F, (2001), 'The Process for the East African Regional Integration in the East African Community,' Dialogue on the *Regional Integration in East Africa*, East African Dialogue No. 4, Arusha, EAC

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

Neethling, T. 2005(a). The Security-Development Nexus and the Imperatives of Peacebuilding with Special Reference to the African Context. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, Vol 5(1).

Neethling, T. 2005(b). *Realising the African Standby Force as a Pan-African Ideal: Prospects and Challenges*. University of Pretoria, CIPS, Briefing Paper 48/2005.

Neethling, T. 2008. Africom: Concerns and Pressing Questions. *Conflict Trends*, Issue 1.
Odhiambo, W. (2005), 'Equity Issues in Regional Trade Arrangements: The Case of EAC in The Making of a Region,'*The Revival of the East African Community*, Rok, A (eds), Institute of Global Dialogue, South Africa, 2000, pp. 15.

Olsson R.A (2008), Planning Metropolitan regions: Institutional Perspectives and the case for space. Doctoral thesis; Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm

Petruczynik, E. 2007. Changing Concepts and Methods of Conflict Management in Africa. *Africa Insight*, Vol 36(3 & 4), Dec. 2006.

Powell, K. 2005. *The African Union's Emerging Peace and Security Regime*. ISS Monograph Series 119 of May 2005.

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

Rankhumise, P. 2006. *Civilian (in)security in the Darfur region of Sudan*. ISS Paper, No 123, March 2006.

Rudman, L. 2005. *The status of the African Standby Force: A SADC Perspective*. University of Pretoria, CIPS, 20 September 2005.

Samkange, S. 2002. African Perspective on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *African Security Review*, Vol 11(1).

Sarbo, D. N., (2010) 'The Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

Schafer, L.A. 2007. *Negotiating North/South Conflict: Sudan's CPA*. ISS Paper, No 148, July 2007. *Security Review*, Vol 15(1).

Shelton, G. 2005. South Africa's Defence Policy and an Updated Defence White Paper. *Global Insight*, No 45, March 2005.

Shimoli, E., (2009),*Museveni Insists Migingo Issue No Danger to EA Unity.. Social Alternatives*. 3rd Quarter, Vol 24(3).

Southall, R. 2006. A long prelude to peace: South African involvement in ending Burundi's war. *In* Southall, R. (ed.), *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC.

Swart, G. 2007. The rules of re-engagement: the pitfalls and panaceas of the Pentagon's New African Command. *Centre for International Police Studies*, Pretoria, No 48/2007.

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

Van der Westhuizen, C. 2005. The AU's Peace and Security Council: On a tightrope between sovereignty and human rights? *Global Insight*, No 42, January 2005.

Van Nieuwkerk, A. (2004). The role of the AU and NEPAD in Africa's new security regime. *In* Field, S. (ed.), *Peace in Africa*. Johannesburg: SAIIA.

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

Wangwe S, (2001) '*Proposals to Address Economics and Social Disparities in the East African Community*. Dialogue on the Regional Integration in East Africa, East African Dialogue Number 4, Arusha, EAC.

Williamson, C.A. 2006. Justice empowered or justice hampered: The International Criminal Court in Darfur. *African Security Review*, Vol 15(1).

World Bank Environment Department, (2007) '*Strengthening Policy Dialogue on Environment Learning from Five Years of Country Environmental Analysis'.*

World Bank, (2007), '*IEG Evaluation of Regional Programs*',

Appendix II: Questionnaire

1: How do the following factors influence regional integration peace and security in EAC?
   a) Political Context

   ....
   ....

   b) Foreign Direct Investment

   ....
   ....

   c) Regional Financial Integration

   ....
   ....
   ....

   d) Trade

   ....
   ....
   ....

   e) Competitiveness and Business Climate

   ....
   ....
   ....

   f) Governance

   ....
   ....
   ....

   g) Social Context

   ....
   ....
   ....

   h) Gender

   ....
   ....
   ....

   i) Environmental Context

   ....
   ....
   ....

To what extent do the following factors influence regional integration peace and security in EAC?

	1	2	3	4	5
Political factors					
Foreign Direct Investment					

Regional Financial Integration					
Trade					
Competitiveness and Business Climate					
Governance					
Social factors					
Environmental factors					

2: What are the main Challenges Affecting Regional Integration, Peace and Security in EAC?

....
....
....

3: To what extent do you agree with the following statement on the challenges affecting regional integration, peace and security?

Key: 5 strongly agrees, 4 agree, 3 undecided, 2 disagree, 1 strongly disagree   (please put an X as appropriate)

	1	2	3	4	5
Poor regional transport infrastructure network limits growth and trade expansion					
Energy deficit limits productivity					
Significant gaps in the ICT networks					
Weak institutions and human capacity limit EAC effectiveness					
Insecurity and political instability are major obstacles to deeper integration					
Lack of complementarities hampers regional integration					
Uneven policy, regulatory and institutional readiness hinders intra-regional investment prospects					

4: What are the main opportunities for regional integration?

....
....
....

5: What are the current responses and Initiatives toward Regional Integration?

....
....
....

6: What are the main regional strategic objectives?

....
....
....

7: What are the recent developments in the coordination of aid and other interventions?

....
....
....

8: How does regional financial integration influence, Peace and Security in EAC?

....

....

....

9: On your own opinion how do EAC cooperate during regional conflicts in peace building?

....

....

....

10: To what extent do you agree with the following statement on the criminal activity affecting regional integration, peace and security?

Key: 5 to very great extent, 4 great extent, 3 moderate extent, 2 to little extent, 1 to no extent (please put an X as appropriate)

	1	2	3	4	5
Firearms trafficking					
Trafficking In Persons and Migrant Smuggling					
Terrorism					
Piracy					
Money laundering					
Counterfeiting					
environmental crime					
Drug trafficking					

On your own opinion to what extent have the following criminal activity affecting regional integration, peace and security and how can they be solved?

Firearms trafficking

Trafficking In Persons and Migrant Smuggling

Terrorism

Piracy

Money laundering

Counterfeiting

Environmental crime