

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**The Impact of Foreign Policy Coordination on the Regional Integration Process of the East African Community**

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**R51/66050/2010**

**A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Diplomacy of the University of Nairobi**

**SEPTEMBER, 2013**

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### **DECLARATION**

I, Tuesday Orina Masaki, declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Sign..... Date.....

Tuesday Orina Masaki

### **SUPERVISOR**

This project has been submitted with my approval as a University Supervisor.

Sign..... Date.....

Prof. Amb.Maria Nzomo

## **DEDICATION**

This project is dedicated to my sister, the late Wildah Nyanchoka Masaki.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor Amb. Professor Maria Nzomo. Her experience as an established scholar and diplomat has been invaluable in this project. It has been a privilege to be supervised by her. Also my sincere thanks goes to Francis Omondi M.A student at the School of Economics for his assistance with data collections and also challenging key concepts of the project. Last but not least my mother Rachel Kemunto Mongare for her encouragement and moral support.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

EAC	East African Community
EU	European Union
EPC	European Political Cooperation
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EACJ	East African Court of Justice
COFCOR	Council for Foreign and Community Relations
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
FEPA	Framework Economic Partnership Agreement
CEPGL	Economic Community of the Great Lakes (Communauté Economique des Pays des Grand Lacs)
CET	Common External Tariff
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States

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## **ABSTRACT**

The objective of this study is to link foreign policy coordination with regional integration and examine how this link impacts regional integration. Since independence African states have had the freedom to create and implement their foreign policies. This study realizes though that the effectiveness of those foreign policy strategies have been more effective on a regional level rather than on a continental level or global level to date. The East African Community which is the focus of the study had broken up only to be revived with the main focus on being on economic relations. The community realized the importance of the regional organization as a means of mutually benefitting the region as a whole. Many papers have been written about regional and economic integration but this study is unique because it approaches regional integration from the perspective of foreign policy. The study examines the gaps left by scholars who have mainly focused on the economy as the only driver for regional integration. Study examines the impact of foreign policy coordination from two approaches, regional to state or state to regional levels. By examining trends of different sectors of EAC society between 2000 and 2010 the study will determine whether foreign policy coordination can indeed impact regional integration and which approach of the two is most suitable to both processes. The methodology of the study incorporates both primary and secondary data.

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **1.0 Introduction**

#### **1.1 Background**

Integration is a phenomenon that most states in the 21st century realize is unstoppable. Victor Hugo the renowned French poet once said “Nothing is more powerful than an idea whose time has come.”<sup>1</sup> The irony of integration is that even though most states accept that linkages of a political, economic or social nature are inevitable still states are behaving like rational actors in the realist school of thought where a state’s self-interest rise above all other considerations. So it might not surprise as we hope to find out in this study that most states have structured their foreign policy under the stringent and inflexible framework of national interest. Though on the other hand issues such global warming, drug trafficking, poaching, immigration and emigration; are issues which can only be tackled effectively from an integrated point of view rather than an individual one. This study looks at a different approach to integration rather than the economic approach it will focus on the approach based on coordination of foreign policy as a driver for regional integration.

Regional integration of the African continent is being hamstrung by many deficiencies. It is seen as a rational response to the difficulties faced by a continent with many small national markets and landlocked countries. As a result, African governments have formed a very large number of regional integration arrangements, several of which have significant membership overlap. While characterized by ambitious targets, they have a dismally poor implementation record.

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<sup>1</sup> *The History of a Crime* (French: Histoire d'un crime, 1877) novel by Victor Hugo about Napoleon III's takeover of France

In the case of the EAC, Kenya is a dominant economic partner and therefore should in the long term planning strategy in its foreign policy prefer to lead the process of regional integration and thus reap the benefits. We shall examine in this study different approaches Kenya and the EAC member states can take through the implementation of the EAC foreign policy coordination protocol<sup>2</sup> to safeguard the region's interests and contribute towards the process of regional integration.

### **1.1.1 Kenya and the East African Community.**

Globalization is affecting all actors in the international system. Therefore the developing world is also increasingly asserting the universality of certain values and processes, such as those of human rights and their corresponding standards. Globalization is therefore posing certain challenges in the formulation of foreign policies, requiring countries to conform to the realities of a complex interdependence within the international system<sup>3</sup>. In this context, Kenya conducts its external relations in its immediate neighborhood driven by two main factors.

First and foremost is the intense regional integration initiative in the East African region. Member states of the EAC have undertaken to establish among themselves a customs union, a common market, a monetary union and, ultimately, a political federation in what is called the linear market integration approach. The purpose of this arrangement is to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial, infra-structural, cultural, social, political and other relations of the partner states so that there is accelerated, harmonious and balanced development with sustained

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<sup>2</sup> EAC Protocol on Foreign Policy Coordination, East African Community ,Arusha- Tanzania, March 2010

<sup>3</sup>M. Mwangi, '*Re-inventing the Future: Linkages between Human Rights, Foreign Policy and Regional Integration*', Thought and Practice: A Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya (PAK), Vol.1 No.2, December 2009, pp.73-86, Retrieved 16 October 2010 from African Journals Online (AJOL), available from the Internet <<http://ajol.info/index.php/tp/article/viewFile/51594/40241>>

expansion of economic activities that will be shared equitably<sup>4</sup>. On the 1st of July 2010 the EAC launched the Common Market allowing the free movement of goods, services, capital and labor in the bloc.<sup>5</sup> This measure is a continued facilitation of increased cooperation in trade liberalization and development-one of the fundamental pillars of the EAC.<sup>6</sup>

Secondly the issue of peace and security in East Africa is of immense importance to Kenyan foreign policy. This is prompted by the growing realization that issues such as the proliferation of small arms lie at the heart of many of the security problems that face not only the East African sub-region but the wider Great Lakes and Horn of Africa regions. The conflicts in Southern Sudan and Somalia are all fuelled by these weapons, as are the violent conflicts in Kenya's far flung North Eastern Province (NEP) that borders Somalia. Economic stability and peace are the most important factors in Kenya's foreign policy strategy in the EAC. Recent developments in the East African region, with the discovery of oil and natural resources reaffirm the importance of economic stability and peace.

This research will seek to examine, what role foreign policy coordination can play to strengthen regional integration for the purpose of consolidating Kenya's gains and that of our neighbors. Kenya is already a strong economic leader in the region but foreign policy coordination requires Kenya to be leader not only economically but militarily and also through good domestic policies in areas like human development, human rights and freedom of the media. Kenya and the EAC face challenges in the implementation of the protocol firstly the issue

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<sup>4</sup> J. Kamanyi, *'The East African Political Federation: Progress, Challenges and Prospects for Constitutional Development'*, Paper presented at the 10th Annual Sir Udo Udoma Symposium Makerere Law Society, Makerere University, Kampala April 2006, and Retrieved 16 October 2010 from <[www.eac.int/politicalfederation/index.php?...41...](http://www.eac.int/politicalfederation/index.php?...41...)>

<sup>5</sup> C. Butunyi and L. Barasa, 'Kibaki sets off common market', Daily Nation, Posted 30 June 2010 at 20:45, Retrieved 16 October 2010 from <<http://www.nation.co.ke/News/Kibaki%20%20sets%20off%20common%20market/-/1056/949920/-/teyyvg/-/index.html>>

<sup>6</sup> E. Kafeero, *'Customs And Trade Facilitation In The East African Community (EAC)'*, World Customs Journal, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp.63- 71, Retrieved 16 October from <[http://miami.uni-muenster.de/servlets/DerivateServlet/Derivate-4924/diss\\_kafeero.pdf](http://miami.uni-muenster.de/servlets/DerivateServlet/Derivate-4924/diss_kafeero.pdf)>

of a regional hegemon influencing the protocol from a rational state to regional level approach which first takes into account national interests not only of the hegemon but the member states too. The other approach is the regional to state level approach which would suit a situation of external threats to the region. Balancing these two approaches and whether it is possible is what this study will examine.

## **1.2 Research Problem**

Regional integration is seen as a rational response to the difficulties faced by a continent with many small national markets and landlocked countries like Africa. As a result, this led to the creation of a large number of regional integration arrangements. While characterized by ambitious targets, they have a dismally poor implementation record. Part of the problem may lie in the paradigm of linear market integration. The African paradigm of integration is that of linear market integration, following stepwise integration of goods, labor and capital markets, and eventually monetary and fiscal integration. This study examines an alternative approach that of foreign policy coordination. This study critically examines the impact the protocol<sup>7</sup> signed in 2010 can have on regional and how this different approach can affect regional integration in East Africa. The main problem is how to approach foreign policy coordination which is a new area of cooperation. Another problem is there is lack of research and policy in this area from an East African context. This study seeks to contribute by examining the different approaches to foreign policy coordination and how they can contribute to regional integration. This research examines the relationship between foreign policy coordination in EAC as the independent variable and regional integration as the dependent variable. These two will form the basis of the hypothesis of the study and test whether there is a probable relationship between the variables.

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<sup>7</sup>EAC Protocol on Foreign Policy Coordination, East African Community ,Arusha- Tanzania, March 2010

### **1.2.1 Research Questions**

Has the time come for Kenya to assume the role of regional hegemon or should it maintain its foreign policy of friendly relations?

Can coordinating the foreign policies of EAC states benefit the region's interests?

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

- To examine a different approach to regional integration through foreign policy coordination and the impact it may have.
- To determine whether Kenya is in the position of taking on leadership role of the process of foreign policy coordination.

### **1.4 Hypotheses**

This study is guided by the following hypotheses:

1. Foreign policy coordination strengthens regional integration in the EAC;
2. A coordinated EAC foreign policy strategically benefits Kenya.

### **1.5 Justification**

#### **1.5.1 Academic Justification**

Regional integration has been adequately researched by scholars be it the EAC or EU there is a lot work which has been done on this subject. This paper will seek a new dimension in this field of research through focusing on foreign policy integration within the EAC. Most of the research available is on economic integration. The focus of most of the literature has been on how EAC members interact mostly from an economic point of view. If the EAC is



already struggling with the common market protocol implementation how will it fare under the guidance of the foreign policy coordination protocol which was agreed upon in 2010? Different approaches like whether regional integration should be process driven from state to regional level or regional to state level can be discussed in the context of foreign policy coordination and try to examine whether there is a link between the two processes.

### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

Much has been written on the EAC economic integration and its partnership with other international organizations, states and regional partners. But the EAC protocol on foreign policy coordination has minimal mention in research. Also almost a year after the five East African Community partner states passed the Protocol on Foreign Policy Coordination, which provides for collaboration on diplomatic and consular matters, none has ratified it. Foreign Affairs ministers of Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi signed the crucial protocol in December 2010, and it was supposed to have been ratified by member countries by June 2011, but until now not a single country had ratified it, contrary to what the EAC summit of heads of state had directed. This means states are seriously weighing their options before ratifying the protocol which would become legally binding. Indeed the research seeks to critically examine the protocol and the approaches required for its successful implementation.

### **1.6 Literature Review**

This section reviews literature that contributes to the ongoing debate on contentious issues in the area that the study intends to research on. The literature review is divided into two sections dealing with themes relevant to the study. In the first part we shall examine literature on theories

of national interest, regional integration and Africa's experience. In the second part we analyze foreign policy integration and experiences from other regions in the world.

### **1.6.1 Theories of National Interest, Regional Integration and Africa's Experience.**

Daughert and Pfalzgraff define integration as a process leading to a condition of political community. The integration process is perceived by integrations theorists as consensual, based principally on the development of shared norms, values, interests or goals.<sup>8</sup> Taylor argues that integration in the sense of transfer of authority and legitimacy to anew supranational set of institutions, is one response to the condition of the interdependence, a condition in which actors in the international system are sensitive and vulnerable to the acts of other entities whether these be governments or transnational actors such as MNCs.<sup>9</sup> Three theories: functionalism, neo-functionalism and realism can be applied in the study of regional integration in Africa. According to Senghor any discussion of theoretical foundations of regional integration in Africa must inevitably focus on functionalism and its offspring neo-functionalism.<sup>10</sup>

Kibua posits that under the functionalist approach, regional integration is promoted through gradual steps to painstakingly build a web of functional relations in trade, investment, infrastructure, culture etc. In this building block approach the political superstructure, such as a political federation would be considered the logical culmination of the process.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> E.B. Haas, *The Uniting of Europe*, (C.A. Stanford University Press, 1957) ,p 5

<sup>9</sup> T. Taylor *Approaches and Theory in I.R.* (London: Longman, 1961),p 254

<sup>10</sup> J.Senghor C, *Theoretical Foundations for Regional Integration in Africa: An Overview* in Nyong'o Anyang ed. *Regional Integration in Africa: Unfinished Agenda*.

<sup>11</sup> G.N. Kibua and Arne Tostensen, *Fast-tracking East African Integration: Assessing the Feasibility of a Political Federation* by 2010. Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI); Norway, 2005.

Senghor contends that nationalism and national self-consciousness in Africa are too volatile for functionalist strategy. This has implication for attitudes towards sovereignty.<sup>12</sup> He points out that in the African experience, the absence of strong interest groups and the restricted role of technocrats deprives functionalism of its mercenaries and gate keepers. Similarly functionalism prescribes that in the process of integration “sovereign rights” are transferred from state to functional organizations<sup>13</sup>. Senghor points out that in the African experience there has been no initial separation of the integrationist task from mainstream political debate. Furthermore, a common value system and commitment to integration tends to lack. Loyalty and dedication to promotion of national interests within these organizations is more the rule.<sup>14</sup>

Ngeno argues that the predominance of politics in functional integration efforts among developing countries has stunted growth of what has been called the supranational style.<sup>15</sup> In the formation of the new E.A.C, on paper the functionalist approach is embraced: the creation of a customs union, followed by a common market, then a monetary union and finally a political federation.<sup>16</sup> But practically the ideologies and value system of member states cannot be reconciled. This is given as one of the reasons for the EAC community collapse in 1977. The environment of underdevelopment prevailing in Africa, and the dominance of political preoccupations at the national level and in inter-state relations, makes the success of the functional or building block approach to be unlikely. EAC is no exception.

In Europe the E.U has experience the spillover effect which has now culminated in the federation having a single currency and marching towards a political federation. It is doubtful if

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<sup>12</sup> J.Senghor C, *Theoretical Foundations for Regional Integration in Africa: An Overview* in Nyong'o Anyang ed. Regional Integration in Africa: Unfinished Agenda.Op Cit p.25

<sup>13</sup> Ibid p.21

<sup>14</sup> Ibid p. 26-27

<sup>15</sup> Ibid p. 22

<sup>16</sup> A McKay, N. Ng'eno and W. Kennes, “*Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Experience and Issues.*” Mimeo. Nairobi: AERC (1993).

the spill over process has characterized the African experience with functional regional integration due to various reasons. First, satisfaction is derived from lack of action and from narrowly defined activity. Invariably, the fact that the gains are very limited is not much cause for real concern. Second, intra-sectorial cross boundary expansion and spill over from economic to political integration is foreclosed give the low levels of integration in catalytic sector itself (economic). Third, the statesman or politician plays a pivotal role in the integration process. There is little room for the automaticity of the spill over process. Fourth, pragmatic national interests are not transitory in the African case. Decision-makers approach inter-state cooperation with perceptions of competing, and even conflicting, national interests. The objective is to ensure that one's own interests are not trampled under.<sup>17</sup>

Lastly realism seeks to describe and explain the world of international politics as it is, rather than how we might like it to be. In general realists have argued that cooperation is possible under anarchy, but that it is harder to achieve, more difficult to maintain, and more dependent on state power that is appreciated by institutionalist tradition. International anarchy may lead states to be concerned about gaps in gains from cooperation not just because they seek security and survival, but also because they value their independence. On that basis, Waltz argues states tend to be wary about cooperation out of fear of becoming dependent on their partners.<sup>18</sup>

### **1.6.2 Foreign Policy Integration**

There are many interpretations of foreign policy but let us examine those that are relevant to the theme of this study. Foreign policy can be considered as strategies to achieve certain goals in International relations a state has formulated. P.A Reynolds defines foreign policy as a range

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<sup>17</sup> McKay, N. Ng'eno and W. Kennes, "Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Experience and Issues." Mimeo. Nairobi: AERC (1993).

<sup>18</sup> Walz, Kenneth, 1979, Theory of International Politics. Reading, Mass. : Addison-Wesley

of actions taken by various sections of the government of a state in its relation with other actors, similarly acting on the international stage properly with the intention of advancing and continuing purposes of individuals represented by it.

William Wallace posits that foreign policy may be seen as state's policy towards the international system. The characteristic which distinguishes foreign policy from domestic policy is that it is intended to affect and is limited by factors outside the national political system as well as within it.<sup>19</sup>

Joseph Frankel posits national interest is the key concept in foreign policy. In essence it amounts to the sum total of all national values.<sup>20</sup> Burton argues that if foreign policy is regarded as the pursuit of national interest then, by promoting or resisting change and adjusting to change, then the presence of certain conditions will determine policy.<sup>21</sup> Foreign Policy decisions are also seen as products of internal responses to both external factors and domestic political considerations operating in dynamic inter-relation as discrete variables.<sup>22</sup>

Roy. C. Macridis posits that there are two basic approaches to foreign policy, ideological approach and analytical approach. Ideological approach is the one according to which a state's foreign policy affairs are said to be characterized by mere expression of prevailing political, social and religious beliefs. This approach classifies foreign policy democratic, totalitarian, libertine or socialist. Analytical approach proposes that policy rests on determinants like the state's historic tradition, geographical location, national interest and security needs.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> William Wallace, "*Foreign Policy and the Political Process*," Macmillan Press Ltd. G Britain

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Frankel, "*International Relations*", 2nd ed Oxford University Press, 1971, p.36

<sup>21</sup> J.W. Burton, "*International Relations*", Cambridge University Press, 1967.

<sup>22</sup> Farell (e.d.) "*Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*", p.235.

<sup>23</sup> Macridis, R. C. [ed.], [1989]. "*Foreign Policy in World Politics: States and Region*", Seventh Edition, New Jersey: Eaglewood Cliffs, p.379

The national interests of African states hinge on economic development and expectation of national integration. In other words, African relations are oriented towards overcoming the conditions of underdevelopment, deprivation political instability and reducing the involvement of major powers who exploit the weakness of African states. To what degree can we speak of a EAC foreign policy? A number of authors have explored the idea of states coordinating their foreign policies and acting as a single unit, or group, towards the rest of the world. Most studies have centered on the European Community/European Union and the degree to which it can be understood as a coherent actor in world affairs. In Leon Lindberg's study of the early EEC, *The Political Dynamics of European Economic integration*, integration was defined without reference to an end point:

...political integration is (1) the process whereby nations forgo the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision-making process to new central organs; and (2) the process whereby political actors in several distinct settings are persuaded to shift their expectations and political activities to a new center.<sup>24</sup> Collective decision making is an important aspect of all regional integration efforts. This collective decision-making can cover a varying number of functional areas (scope). The decision-making process can be more or less efficient and the common institutions established can be more or less adequate (institutional capacity). In terms of scope this study is examining foreign policy and for institutional capacity it depends on the where the process of integration has reached.

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<sup>24</sup> Lindberg, Leon N.(1963), *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*, Stanford University Press Stanford.

What then explains changes in functional scope and institutional capacity of regional integration efforts? This is the central question in integration theory. Ernst Haas developed the concept of spillover, which was also applied by Lindberg.

... ‘spillover’ refers to a situation in which a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and a need for more action, and so forth.<sup>25</sup> The goal of EAC economic integration is well on its ways of being achieved with the Common Market being launched on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2010. How does the EAC then create situation that can assure the current stage of integration progresses forward? This is where coordination of foreign policy becomes an important factor in regional integration. Foreign policy coordination is a different approach to economic integration. The ‘spillover’ effect of economic integration doesn’t seem to have had any effect on other areas of cooperation. If this does not happen then it will affect the progress of regional integration. This means it is important to try the approach of foreign policy coordination protocol and examine whether it can have an impact on regional integration.

### **1.6.3 Foreign policy coordination experiences from other regions in the world.**

Foreign policy coordination seems to be a process defined by geography and history in the context of this study. Examining Canada, U.S.A, China, India, Brazil, Russia and Australia what these countries have in common is that they are huge in size and have a big population.

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<sup>25</sup> Lindberg, Leon N. and Schiengold, Stuart A. (eds)(1971), *Regional Integration: Theory and Research*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

These two factors mean they usually participate in multilateral and bilateral negotiations as unitary parties not seeking to coordinate with other countries when it comes to issues of foreign policy. Europe is composed of 50 countries whereas Africa has 54 countries. Due to the rise of Russia, USA and China; economically and militarily in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the influence of European powers like France, Britain, Spain, Italy and Europe at large waned. European countries lacked the advantage of geographical size and population meaning in order to reassert influence after the world 2 they needed to work together. In Africa the end of colonialism left the continent divided into small economically and militarily weakened states. Corruption, bad governance, poor economic management, poor healthcare, poor education and intra-states conflicts expounded the problem leaving Africa susceptible to its former colonial masters. In Africa foreign policy coordination seems to be a strategic move since the continent barely has any influence on matters concerning its continent let alone the global stage. These experiences in Europe and Africa explain why most of my study examines examples from there. The majority of Arab and Middle Eastern countries have managed to enrich themselves through natural resources like oil. This means they already wield a lot of influence through organizations like OPEC. For Asia, especially the Asian tigers of the economy; Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan they have pursued foreign policies which have suited the individual national interests especially economically. With China and Japan already established economic giants foreign policy coordination has not been a main agenda in Asia too. This means most material of study comes from Africa and especially Europe. This study examines two examples from Europe and the Caribbean.



## Europe

The experience of the European Union (EU) is widely perceived as not just an example, but a model for regional economic integration. 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 unfavourable 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.<sup>26 27</sup> The early integration initiatives as well as the new wave of regionalism that has stormed the world have triggered greater attention to the various possible forms and shapes that regional integration can take. These can range from shallow forms of integration, which place greater reliance on coordination and cooperation, to more traditional forms of free trade agreements and customs unions, to deeper forms of economic integration (common markets, monetary unions) and other types of political, strategic, security, social regional integration and cooperation agreements.<sup>28</sup> The EU in matters of foreign policy ratified the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 which in short gave European leaders and Institutions the tools to develop a genuine European foreign and security policy. The Lisbon Treaty conceptualizes CFSP (The Common Foreign and Security Policy). CFSP deals with international issues of a political or diplomatic nature, including issues with a security or military orientation—“high politics.” Under the EU treaties,

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<sup>26</sup> Langhammer, Rolf J. and Ulrich Hiemenz (1991), *Regional Integration among Developing Countries: Survey of Past Performance and Agenda for Future Policy Action*, UNDP-World Bank Trade Expansion Program Occasional Paper 7, December, Trade Policy Division, The World Bank.

<sup>27</sup> Lee, Margaret C. (2003), *The Political Economy of Regionalism in Southern Africa*, Lansdowne: University of Cape Town Press, and Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

<sup>28</sup> Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000, pp. 21–22.

these types of political and security issues remain the prerogative of the member state governments—conceptually, in the case of CFSP, “common” means 27 sovereign governments choosing to work together to the extent that they can reach a consensus on any given policy issue. What the EU has managed to do successfully is by creating a secretariat under which these policies can be overseen. This secretariat is headed by the EU Foreign Policy Chief currently Catherine Ashton. As the process of EU regional integration has continued, the European Union’s foreign policy has been characterized by trying to project global influence on human rights issues as well as the promotion of democracy and peace.<sup>29</sup> For the EU, foreign policy is more of a tool rather than a driver of integration.

The relationship between the European integration project and EU foreign policy has always been a shaky one. In line with the fact that the EU’s primary task, from its outset, was to make war less likely among European nations, foreign policy never played a major role in the EU until fairly recently. When assessing the role of EU foreign policy CFSP is becoming more important that is because, for more and more member states, the EU is becoming a useful and promising vehicle to promote their foreign and security interests. These member states can be divided into three groups. First are the smaller countries whose only way to be influential is through Brussels. Second are the states who have lost confidence that NATO and the United States still stand firm to protect them if needed; these include many Central European nations, most notably Poland. Third are those for whom the EU can be the occasional means for fulfilling some grand geopolitical aspiration that lies outside their individual capacity; these include a teeth-clenching UK. For many countries, EU foreign policy is their last remaining expectation of Brussels after the huge disappointments the bloc has caused in other areas like the economic

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<sup>29</sup> Lisbeth Aggestam, “Introduction: Ethical Power Europe,” *International Affairs* 84, no. 3 (2008): 1–11.

crisis. One thing is clear: foreign policy is unlikely to be “the next big thing” in EU integration. But without a stronger common foreign policy, the EU will lose the allure of membership and the interest of its global partners. The CFSP is not the logical, unavoidable next step toward further EU integration. But without it integration might become even shallower than it is at the moment.

## **Caribbean**

Geopolitically, the Caribbean islands are usually regarded as a sub region of North America<sup>30</sup> and are organized into 30 territories including sovereign states, overseas departments, and dependencies. The group has a foreign policy coordination which is implemented by The Council for Foreign and Community Relations (COFCOR).

COFCOR has responsibility for the coordination of the foreign policies of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) states, as well as their political relations with third states and multilateral institutions. It attempts to ensure that common policies and positions are both consistent with the goals and objectives of CARICOM and are promoted and implemented effectively. Moreover, given the myriad other associations, institutions and organizations to which many CARICOM states either belong or have relations, COFCOR’s role involves ensuring the compatibility and congruency between the agendas and commitments made by members and those of CARICOM. COFCOR has had some notable successes in adopting common positions in international fora including the United Nations and international and hemispheric conferences. In other instances, coordination has been difficult to due to perceived

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<sup>30</sup> Britannica Concise Encyclopedia; "... associated with the continent is Greenland, the largest island in the world, and such offshore groups as the Arctic Archipelago, the Bahamas, the Greater and Lesser Antilles, the Queen Charlotte Islands, and the Aleutian Islands."

differences in interests and bargaining positions among member states. Examples of the latter are the issues of diplomatic relations with China and Taiwan, the terms of negotiation of the 'Shiprider' Agreement with the U.S., exemption of U.S. personnel from the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, and adoption of joint diplomatic missions in foreign capitals.<sup>31</sup> In this case it is quite logical for the Caribbean states to coordinate their foreign policy especially when they are dealing environmental issues like global warming and facing the brunt of rising atmospheric temperature and sea water levels threatening the mere survival of the Caribbean. This causes diminishing islands, destruction of corals, disappearing of rare species and loss of tourism.<sup>32</sup> In such a case a coordinated foreign policy is really the best avenue especially when dealing with environmental issues at the UN for example.

### **1.7 Theoretical and Analytical Framework**

The study's theoretical framework is composed of three sets of theories. Realism and liberalism are classic theories in international relations are quintessential to understanding the arguments for and against the success or failure of regional integration. Realism argues states are unitary rational actors whereas liberalism believes in joint institutions, regional bodies like the EAC. Secondly scholars more recently in the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been examining the theory that that we can best account for the foreign policies of small states by examining the domestic level factors rather than structural/systemic factors. In this study domestic politics matters for foreign policy of EAC member states especially because of foreign economic policy which sparked the reunion in 2000. Now due wars in Somalia and Congo foreign security policy is also top on the

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<sup>31</sup> See Brewster, H. (2000) '*Identity, Space and the West Indian Union*' in (eds) Hall, K and D. Benn, *Contending With Destiny: the Caribbean in the 21st Century* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle); Mesquita Moreira, M. and E. Mendoza. (2007) 'Regional Integration: What Is in It for CARICOM?' *Economia*, Fall, pp.97-142.

<sup>32</sup> Haites, E., D. Pantin, M. Attzs, J. Bruce and J. MacKinnon (2002). *Assessment of the Impact of Climate Change on CARICOM Countries. Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development — Latin America and Caribbean Region*, TheWorld Bank.

agenda. Lastly in the discipline of international relations, constructivism is the claim that significant aspects of international relations are historically and socially constructed, rather than inevitable consequences of human nature or other essential characteristics of world politics. So theories like realism and liberalism are given their form by ongoing processes of social practice and interaction. That the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature.<sup>33</sup> This study examines from a constructivist perspective state interests and identities. Material force in this study includes economic forces whereas shared ideas could include human rights, freedom of the press and human development. Since foreign policy coordination and regional integration are ongoing processes this theory gives a unique insight on approaching the research.

#### **1.7.1 Realism and liberalism.**

The realism-liberalism debate has been a constant feature on contemporary international relations study. These two theories have been used to explain the nature of actors in the international system. Liberalism tends to correspond with the ideas of Integration while Realism corresponds with the ideas of Statism.

Classical realism states that it is fundamentally the nature of man that pushes states and individuals to act in a way that places interests over ideologies. Classical realism is defined as the "drive for power and the will to dominate [that are] held to be fundamental aspects of human nature"<sup>34</sup>. Realists believe that there are no universal principles with which all states may guide their actions. Instead, a state must always be aware of the actions of the states around it and must use a pragmatic approach to resolve problems as they arise. But this argument seems to loose

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<sup>33</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.1

<sup>34</sup> Baylis, J & Smith, S & Owens, P, *The globalization of world politics*, Oxford university press, USA, pg. 95

meaning in a world where technology has created a truly global society. Under such circumstances the rival to realism, liberalism, has enjoyed a period of revival in the post-world war II era. The common assumptions of realism as a theory of international relations are that: the international system is anarchic; states are the most important actors, states within the system are unitary rational actors (self-interest) and finally the primary concern of all states is survival.<sup>35</sup>

Liberalism on the other hand is a political philosophy founded on ideas and equality. The ideas generally supported by liberalists are free and fair elections, civil rights, freedom of press, freedom of religion, free trade and private property.<sup>36</sup> More than ever before the international system is adopting the themes whose roots are found in liberal philosophy; equality, constitutionalism, liberal democracy, free and fair elections, human rights, capitalism, and the free exercise of religion. These themes can also be shared among states connecting them ideologically, making this theory relevant to the processes of foreign policy coordination and regional integration. In the past eminent scholars of liberal thought increasingly understood that people left out of the democratic decision-making process were liable to the tyranny of the majority, a concept explained in Mill's *On Liberty* and in *Democracy in America* (1835) by Alexis de Tocqueville<sup>37</sup>. American philosopher John Rawls emphasized the need to ensure not only equality under the law, but also the equal distribution of material resources that individuals required to develop their aspirations in life<sup>38</sup>. This has been the main weakness of liberalism the notion of equality. In regional integration most states appear to pursue their own interests, realism explains this behavior as rational. There is no sense in pursuing regional integration on policies if states do not realize the need to transfer the ideals of individual equality in liberalism into state equality in regional

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<sup>35</sup> Jack Donnelly, 'The ethics of Realism', in Christian Reus-Smit, Duncan Snidal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p.150

<sup>36</sup> Young, Shaun. *Beyond Rawls: an analysis of the concept of political liberalism*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2002. p.39

<sup>37</sup> Ibid p.36

<sup>38</sup> Ibid p.40

organizations. That is when equality, trust and mutual benefits can be realized. Even though liberalism is a noble idea the system it may thrive within is the world-systems theory espoused by Wallenstein of core, semi-periphery and periphery. This is where realism exposes the weakness of liberalism and argues on the rationality of Statism while exposing and exploiting the weak idealism of equality in the periphery. These two classical theories capture the diverging forces of regional to state and state to regional approaches of the foreign policy coordination process this paper examines.

### **1.7.2 Foreign policy and Domestic politics**

Barbara Farnham posits that domestic politics frequently influences a country's external affairs through a process of decision making that grows out of the individual decision maker's awareness of the requirements for effective action in the political context. This emphasizes on the fact that external relations are influenced by domestic politics through policymakers' attempts to balance international and domestic imperatives. Through a process of decision-making that grows out of an awareness of the requirements for effective action in the political context it thus becomes important to understand a state's international affairs by examining foreign policy choices and the use of domestic politics to explain these decisions. This should tell how the political context influences what decision-makers focus on when considering a foreign policy problem; how sensitivity to the demands of the political context actually affects the decision-making process; and how such a process affects foreign policy outcomes. This is because decisions are made in a specific context and therefore decision making behavior cannot be understood without specifying the situation to which the decision maker is responding to. For political decision makers that includes not only substantive policy problems but also the political context within which they must be addressed. Ultimately the political aim of foreign policy

decisions in any political context is to attain acceptability, which is the sufficient consensus in support of policy. Although the fundamental features of the political context are relatively fixed, its specific operational requirements may change from society to society, and even within the same society over time, for instance, differences in decision makers identities and their qualities. Still acceptability has to be achieved at different levels whether at the level of political decision makers, the incorporation of domestic sentiment or deciding on international situations.<sup>39</sup>

Henry Kissinger provides a simple linkage by postulating that the role of the domestic structure is to: determine the allocation of resources; affect the way the actions of other states are interpreted; and elaborate positive goals. While he considers historical traditions, social values and the economic system in the systematic assessment of the impact of the domestic structure on the conduct of international affairs to be important, he emphasizes on the impact of the administration structure, and the formative experience of leadership groups or individuals. Kissinger states that the nature of administration provides the standard operating procedure, institutes the bureaucracy, formalizes rigidity, establishes a place for ideology, and facilitates executive-civil service relations that are elements in the foreign policy process. The nature of leadership through its experiences during the rise to eminence; the structure in which the leadership must operate in, and the values of society contribute to the foreign policy process and get to determine the kind of foreign policy that a nation has. He concludes that in foreign policy there is a premium on short term goals and in this context domestic needs succeed at all times.<sup>40</sup> In the case of Farham party politics is given a huge role in the shaping of foreign policy .Within the EAC some countries' foreign policies like Kenya and Tanzania are witnessing a paradigm

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<sup>39</sup>Barbara Farnham, *Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision-making*, *Political Psychology*, Vol. 25 No. 3, 2004 pp.441-460 retrieved on 16 October 2010 from Wiley-Blackwell, available from the Internet, <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00379>

<sup>40</sup>Henry A. Kissinger, 'Domestic structure and Foreign Policy', in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, The Free Press New York, Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1969.



shift from leaders determining policy to political parties demanding a democratic and more inclusive approach to making foreign policy. Kissinger emphasized the importance of administration structure and the value system of the society. Indeed Kissinger states the nature of administration provides the standard operating procedure, institutes the bureaucracy, formalizes rigidity and establishes a place for ideology. Kissinger posits that the nature of leadership through its experiences during the rise to eminence; the structure in which the leadership must operate in, and the values of society contribute to the foreign policy process determine the kind of foreign policy a nation has.<sup>41</sup> The factors that Farham and Kissinger posit influence foreign policy include domestic political parties, administration structures and value system of the society. This study examines trends between 2000 and 2010 of various sectors of EAC society influencing the foreign policies of the EAC member states. Kissinger and Farham both posit that some determinants like domestic politics and administration structure have some impact on foreign policy. Examining the trends from especially a state to regional level approach will help the study analyze what impact domestic politics can have on the process foreign policy coordination.

### **1.7.3 Constructivism**

This research since, realism and liberalism are rigid parallel line of thoughts, adopts constructivism and the reason is in the discipline of international relations, constructivism is the claim that significant aspects of international relations are historically and socially constructed,

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<sup>41</sup>Henry A. Kissinger, '*Domestic structure and Foreign Policy*', in James N. Rosenau (ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy*. Op Cit.

rather than inevitable consequences of human nature or other essential characteristics of world politics.<sup>42</sup>

Constructivism primarily seeks to demonstrate how core aspects of international relations are, contrary to the assumptions of Neorealism and Neoliberalism, socially constructed, that is, they are given their form by ongoing processes of social practice and interaction. Alexander Wendt calls two increasingly accepted basic tenets of Constructivism "that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature".<sup>43</sup> Constructivists, by contrast, take both levels of analysis -- the international system and domestic society into account.<sup>44</sup> Many constructivists analyze international relations by looking at goals, threats, fears, cultures, identities, and other elements of "social reality" as social facts. In an important edited volume,<sup>45</sup> constructivist scholars—including<sup>46</sup> challenged many realist assumptions about the dynamics of international politics, particularly in the context of military affairs. Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber<sup>47</sup> applied constructivist approaches to understand the evolution of state sovereignty as a central theme in international relations. Constructivism helps this research to create a different approach to a process that has been mainly rigid following the economic analysis based on past successes and failures of regional groups like the ASEAN and EU. By focusing on how language and rhetoric are used to construct

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<sup>42</sup> Robert Jackson and Georg Sørensen (2010). *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, 4th Edition. Oxford University Press. p. 166. ISBN 0-19-954884-6. "Constructivism was introduced to IR by Nicholas Onuf (1989) who coined the term"

<sup>43</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.1

<sup>44</sup> There are exceptions to this rule, however, the most prominent being Wendt (1999), whose "social theory of international politics" does not open the 'black box' of the state. None of the three bodies of thought under consideration is perfectly uniform, and each comes in several versions. Therefore, the present reconstruction of their foreign policy branches, by necessity, cannot be faithful to every specific manifestation of these schools of thought in every respect.

<sup>45</sup> *The Culture of National Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Kier, Jeffrey Legro, and Peter Katzenstein

<sup>47</sup> Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, eds., *State Sovereignty As Social Construct* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

the social reality of the international system, constructivists are often seen as more optimistic about progress in international relations than versions of realism loyal to a purely materialist ontology, but a growing number of constructivists question the "liberal" character of constructivist thought and express greater sympathy for realist pessimism concerning the possibility of emancipation from power politics.<sup>48</sup> International politics is primarily determined by the fact that the international system is anarchic – it lacks any overarching authority, instead it is composed of units (states) which are formally equal – they are all sovereign over their own territory. Such anarchy, Neorealists argue, forces States to act in certain ways, specific; they can rely on no-one but themselves for security. The way in which anarchy forces them to act in such ways, to defend their own self-interest in terms of power, Neorealists argue, explains most of international politics. Because of this, Neorealists tend to disregard explanations of international politics at the 'unit' or 'state' level.<sup>4950</sup> Constructivism primarily seeks to demonstrate how core aspects of international relations are, contrary to the theories of neorealism and neoliberalism, socially constructed, that is, they are given their form by ongoing processes of social practice and interaction. This study examines foreign policy coordination from region to state level approach. Issues like human rights, human development, press freedom and women rights these are issue which are socially constructed and are not of serious national interest to the state. But they are abused at the states level for selfish gain and ignorant practices and norms. The issues transcend boundaries making a regional to state level approach more suitable to such matters.

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<sup>48</sup> Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, ed. *"Bridging the Gap: Towards a Realist-Constructivist Dialogue"* in *International Studies Review* vol. 6, 2004, pp. 337-352

<sup>49</sup> Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.8-15

<sup>50</sup> Chris Brown, *Understanding International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Publishing, 2005), pp.40-43

## **Social Constructivist Critiques and different approaches to the processes of regional integration and foreign policy coordination**

In International Relations IR theory the 1980s witnessed a great debate between neo-realists and neoliberal institutionalists (Baldwin, 1993)<sup>51</sup>. Neo-realists, emphasizing relative gains, were rather skeptical about international cooperation. Neo-liberal institutionalists, emphasizing absolute gains from cooperation, were more optimistic about international cooperation. Both sides shared a number of basic positions: states as primary actors, the usefulness of assumptions of rationality, and the importance of relative capabilities or power of states. New reflectivist approaches emerged as alternatives to the rationalist approaches. These approaches included theories such as Constructivism. The approach to be taken with regard to the process of regional integration seems divided between reflectivist and rationalist approaches. The reflectivist approach is the more suitable because it helps adhere to the established way of thinking both in theory and practice but also acknowledges the need to change for change. These in terms of international relations theory may mean a paradigm shift.

Ideological approaches allow us to see the extent to which regime building is influenced by ideology, beliefs and knowledge, and especially the evolution of consensual knowledge positions among crucial actors.<sup>52</sup> Higgott argues 'In a regional context, questions of regional awareness and regional identity become important factors'<sup>53</sup>. Further, 'a constructivist analysis alerts us to the possibility that systemic regional interaction may transform identity'<sup>54</sup>. The role of ideas and emerging regional identities clearly remain factors to be explored further in

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<sup>51</sup> Baldwin, David A.(ed)(1993), *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, Columbia University Press, New York,

<sup>52</sup> Higgott, Richard (1998), '*The international political economy of regionalism: the Asia-Pacific and Europe compared*', in William D. Coleman and Geoffrey R.D. Underhill (eds), *Regionalism and Global Economic Integration: Europe, Asia and the Americas*, Routledge, London, pp. 42-67

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p.46

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p.56

comparative regional integration studies. The problem with emerging ideas is that they have to be accepted by the status quo especially if the idea proves to be useful and advantageous at that particular point. One such idea the study examines is foreign policy coordination. The theoretical framework applied combines institutionalism and social constructivism, trying to accommodate a perspective on ideational/cognitive factors without undermining the explanatory value of interests. To understand the continuity of regional arrangements in times of instability, it is argued we need to bring in the cognitive-ideational dimension. For the regional integration process to strengthen further through foreign policy coordination a subtle mix of structural and ideological approaches is important. As discussed above it is important to note a rational approach which accepts changes from a reflectivist approach manages to keep the ideology relevant in an anarchic international system. An approach which is not rigid but adapts to the changes stands a better chance.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

This study is a qualitative and quantitative research that is attempting to reconcile the different foreign policy practice approaches by EAC member states, whereby it will analyze how they will be coordinated by the protocol and importantly how the implementation process will be pursued. In conclusion the study will try and make sense of the findings from a Kenyan perspective and its implication on Kenya's foreign policy. The primary sources of this study will include interviews, official policy documents, reports and academic journals. The secondary sources will consist of general literature on the subject of foreign policy and Kenyan foreign

policy in particular. This will include books, published articles in newspapers, magazines and internet sources will also be relied on for current information.

### **1.8.2 Target population**

The population which this study specifically targets is policy makers due to the technicality of the topic. Though, in terms of giving the study a sense of direction scholars on the themes relevant to the study shall also be engaged.

### **1.8.3 Location of the Study**

The location of the study is based within the East Africa region. The main focus shall be directed at the EAC secretariat based in Arusha which shall be the source of my primary data collection. To supplement those views the various East African embassies within Nairobi shall be engaged to get a balanced opinion.

### **1.8.4 Data Collection Instruments**

The main reason this research used unstructured interviews for the qualitative side of its research is because it is an extremely useful method for developing an understanding of an as-of-yet not fully understood or appreciated culture experience or setting. Unstructured interviews allows researchers to focus the respondents' talk on a particular topic of interest, and may allow researchers the opportunity to test out his or her preliminary understanding, while still allowing for ample opportunity for new ways of seeing and understanding to develop. The interviewees of this study help to explain the independent variable (foreign policy coordination) as it is their field of expertise. Also to explain whether or not there has been a response from the dependent variable (regional integration). Since both variables are still in the process of being defined and

achieved thus the structure of the interview above. Below is the list of interviews which were conducted and questions. Also the secondary data used in this study comes from a variety of sources, including publications by the bureau of statistics of countries, multilateral institutions, international non-governmental organizations, research organizations and foundations. They are all secondary data, available in the public domain, and most were obtained via the Internet. The reference section contains full details of the sources used in this report.

#### **1.8.5 Data Collection Procedure**

The primary data is collected mainly through direct open-ended and close-ended interviews where the name, location and time of the interview will be recorded. Also the questions and structure of the interviews shall be provided for record. In case the respondents may not be available indirect interviews shall be used through email or by phone. Secondary data used for example official documents, newspapers, books, journals, magazines shall be indicated on the research paper.

#### **1.8.6 Data Analysis and Interpretation.**

The study recognizes that the themes of foreign policy integration and regional integration are still ongoing processes. The analysis and interpretation of the data will be based on case studies of regions which have undergone the same processes and advanced to higher level than the East African Community.

#### **1.9 Limitation of the Study**

The limitation of this study is that the focus is on issues which policy makers are still working on. As such the study only seeks to make suggestions on these policy issues while using

sticking to the theoretical guidelines. With this in mind all the research is restricted to the timeline of up to 2010.

### **1.10 Chapter Outline**

In addition to the introductory chapter, this study will consist of four other chapters, which are as follows:

#### **Chapter 2: East African Member States approach to a Common Foreign Policy Protocol.**

This chapter examines briefly the creation of the foreign policy coordination protocol. It examine the challenges facing conceptualization of foreign policy for EAC as a regional body and finally the chapter examines two ways of approaching foreign policy in East Africa state to regional level and regional to state level.

#### **Chapter 3: Research Findings: Primary and Secondary Data.**

#### **Chapter 4: EAC foreign policy coordination protocol: A Critical Analysis.**

This chapter critically analyzes the decision of EAC to coordinate their foreign policy, the two approaches to foreign policy coordination and the impact they have on regional integration. The chapter shall also examine whether Kenya should pursue a leader role in the process of foreign policy coordination.



## **Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations**

This chapter summarizes the main points of the study, the findings and recommendations. This chapter outlines the objectives of Kenya's foreign policy with regard to the EAC foreign policy coordination protocol. It then delineates the thesis and show whether the research questions have been answered in this study. Finally it will conclude with a brief mention of the current state of affairs and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2.1.0 Creation of the Foreign Policy Coordination Protocol.**

On September 2007 ministers of Foreign Affairs from respective East African countries directed that a MOU on foreign policy coordination be upgraded to a protocol. Article 123(4) states that the establishment of a common foreign policy should be systematic and implemented stage by stage depending on the level of community cooperation. A study done also noted that the operationalization of the common foreign policy and security policies is process oriented with stages of application requiring a high degree of consensus. The study also noted that there does not appear to be a consensus on the pace of harmonization.<sup>55</sup> This study focuses on how to go about the process of harmonization and gauging the pace required for a positive impact on regional integration.

Chapter 23 of the EAC treaty deals with the issue cooperation in political matters. Article 123 section 3 lists the general guideline of the basis of the foreign policy coordination protocol. The objectives it lists of the common foreign and security policies are that they shall be to:

- (a) safeguard the common values, fundamental interests and independence of the Community;
- (b) strengthen the security of the Community and its Partner States in all ways;
- (c) develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- (d) preserve peace and strengthen international security among the Partner States and within the Community;

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<sup>55</sup> Report of the meeting of the working group on foreign policy coordination. 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> September, 2007, Arusha, Tanzania.

(e) promote co-operation at international forums; and

(f) enhance the eventual establishment of a Political Federation of the Partner States.

In Arusha, Tanzania on the 3<sup>rd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> September 2007 the report of the meeting of a group working on Foreign Policy Coordination was released. The respective ministers of Foreign Affairs in East Africa directed that the memorandum of understanding on the Foreign Policy Coordination document be upgraded to a protocol. They based this protocol on article 123(4) that establishing a common Foreign Policy should be systematic and implemented stage by stage depending on the level community cooperation. Their study noted that the operationalization of the common foreign policies is process oriented with stages requiring a high degree of consensus.

### **2.1.1 Challenges facing conceptualization of an EAC Foreign Policy.**

The decade since the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 has been marked by an impressive growth of theorizing about the causes of international regional integration in Europe and in other parts of the world. However, differences in approach to conceptualization and measurement of the dependent variable-integration- have led to kinds of problems. First, it is difficult to relate concepts of different authors to each other, and to certain extent integration theorists have ‘talked past each other’. In other instances where theorists have indeed confronted each other differences in conceptualization have made the dispute unnecessarily difficult to resolve. A second major problem centers on the comparison of regional integration processes. Various authors have cast doubt upon the similarity of integration processes in Europe and less developed regions (and thus upon adequacy of our European-oriented theoretical models) by pointing to important differences in infrastructure, market

mechanisms, external dependence, administrative resources, political group structures interdependence of social sectors, national consciousness and ideology such doubts about comparison can only be met by formulation of precise hypotheses (with clearly stated limits) which are susceptible to falsification.<sup>56</sup> Within the EAC the only document scholars and policy makers can rely on is the draft protocol made in 2010.<sup>57</sup> As Nye posits it is very difficult to compare regional integration processes due to mainly structural and ideological differences. Similarly what constitutes foreign policy in East Africa may be difficult to compare to what it constitutes in other regions. Article 2 of the protocol of the EAC covers the scope of foreign policy cooperation, (a) collaboration in diplomatic and consular matters; (b) collaboration in multilateral diplomacy; (c) collaboration in economic and social activities; and (d) collaboration in capacity building. From this we can observe emphasize on structural administration and the economy. This is similar to the European approach. However, several features of the typical African economy, such as small population and low income, suggest that regional integration might provide a suitable mechanism for promoting economic growth through the expansion of intra – regional trade. But other features of their economies, such as lack of complementarity in goods and factors and poor infrastructural services, have shown that trade –focused preferential trade agreements could not provide a viable means of achieving the articulated objectives. Yet, the potential for regional cooperation on a wide range of issues continue to exist in Africa. To realize this potential, however, there is need to search for new modalities of regionalism that lean more towards cooperation, less rigidity and more pragmatism. This study examines foreign policy as one of the new modalities which can improve regional integration. The approach of linear market integration used by the EAC is modeled from the EU experience and its successes.

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<sup>56</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Comparative Regional Integration: Concept and Measurement International Organization*, University of Wisconsin Press Vol. 22, No. 4 (Autumn, 1968), pp. 855-880

<sup>57</sup> Draft EAC Protocol on Foreign Policy Coordination East African Community Arusha- Tanzania March 2010

But comparison of the economic environments in both regional bodies shows there is a huge gap especially in size, content, diversity, cohesion and coordination. EU has developed from a regional organization primarily based on economic reasons to one that combines economic and political objectives, its foreign policy has increasingly turned to value-based issues. It has organized an administrative structure and is pursuing a liberalist policy focused on human rights, peace, democracy, economic aid and human development.<sup>58</sup> For the EAC the priority remains the regional economy although the study also examines other areas for potential cooperation. How can the EAC approach foreign policy coordination but in an East African context? An approach which can satisfy both global and intraregional needs would of strategic importance.

### **2.1.2 EAC Foreign policy coordination approaches.**

International Relations scholars have tended to focus on meta-theoretical debates surrounding the ontological disputes and methodological divides between rationalism and social constructivism. It must suffice here to point out that, given the evidence that integration and cooperation within the EU affects the national level through various mechanisms, certain scholars of EU studies have chosen a pragmatic and problem-driven (instead of method-driven) approach; in order to better capture the complex reality of European policy-making, analytical frameworks have been developed that incorporate both the rationalist and constructivist perspective.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> European Commission Communication of 23 May 1995 on the 'Inclusion of Respect for Democratic Principles and Human Rights in Agreement between the Community and Third Countries'

<sup>59</sup> Jupille, J., Caporaso, J.A. & Checkel, J. (2003) *Integrating Institutions: Rationalism, Constructivism and the Study of the European Union*, Comparative Political Studies, 36(1-2), pp. 7-40.

## State to regional level approach

From the perspective of rationalist institutionalism, foreign policy cooperation can be understood as an important instrument that allows member States to pursue their national interests more effectively. The pooling of resources results in a 'politics of scale effect'<sup>60</sup>, which increases the influence and leverage of member States' governments in regional affairs and provides an incentive for member States to proactively project their priorities and policy styles onto the regional level. The projection of national preferences is also particularly attractive when member States pursue goals that they cannot attain through unilateral action, or when, member States wish to externalize national problems to the regional level. This approach ideally results in other member States' adoption of the projected policies. Member State representatives may also try to influence not only each other's behavior but also each other's thinking through deliberation and 'normative suasion'<sup>6162</sup>. This would mean that national ideas and policy preferences are not static but may change over time and come closer to each other, as actors internalize new understandings of appropriateness. From such a social constructivist perspective, member states may start to perceive each other increasingly as partners who have to solve joint problems, rather than negotiating opponents in a bargaining game.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Ginsberg, R.H. (1989) *Foreign Policy Actions of the European Community - The Politics of Scale* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers).

<sup>61</sup> Schimmelfennig, F. & Thomas, D.C. (2009) *Normative Institutionalism and EU Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective*, *International Politics*, 46(4), pp. 491-504.

<sup>62</sup> Tonra, B. (2001) *The Europeanisation of National Foreign Policy: Dutch, Danish and Irish Foreign Policies in CFSP* (Aldershot: Ashgate).

<sup>63</sup> Smith, M.E. (2004b) Institutionalisation, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation, *European Journal of International Relations*, 10(1), pp. 95-136.

## Regional to state level approach

The foreign policies of individual member states in a regional body tend to differ. Domestic factors for example the size of a member state, extent of a state's foreign relations network, national history, and national identity. Larger member states are frequently portrayed as 'shapers' rather than 'takers' of European foreign policy (Gross 2009; Miskimmon 2007)<sup>64</sup> and the 'EU impact' on smaller Member States is usually considered to be more profound (Tonra 2000b)<sup>66</sup>. This is not to say, however, that larger Member States are immune to the 'EU impact', or that foreign policy adaptation in response to the EU may not have significant benefits for larger Member States. In the EAC these states tend to be Kenya, Tanzania and to a certain extent Uganda. New members of the EU tend not to be able to influence the EU foreign policy from the outset of European foreign policy cooperation. Adaptation thus follows a top-down direction as new members adjust their national foreign policies to pre-established European foreign policy positions. In the EAC the new members Burundi and Rwanda have an advantage as this process of foreign policy coordination has begun when both are signatories to the EAC treaty of 2000. It is important to caution against the risk of overstating the EAC's impact on National foreign policy. Foreign policy coordination may in character be an easily reversible process. For example, member states may fall back on their own resources and individual strategies during political crises or after changes in government if domestic actors who oppose EAC inspired changes are empowered. This was the cause of the collapse of the first Union in 1977 when a clash of economic ideology between Presidents Kenyatta and Nyerere occurred.

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<sup>64</sup> Gross, E (2009) *The Europeanization of National Foreign Policy. Continuity and Change in European Crisis Management* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

<sup>65</sup> Miskimmon, A. (2007) *Germany and EU Foreign Policy: Between Europeanization and National Adaptation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

<sup>66</sup> Tonra, B. (2000b) Denmark and Ireland, in: I. Manners & R.G. Whitman (eds.) *The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States*, pp. 224-242 (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

The study examines data from trends between 2000 and 2010 in various sectors of the EAC society. This data examines which approach prior to the protocol EAC member states have subconsciously may have adopted and where it has had any impact on regional integration



### **CHAPTER 3: Research Findings.**

This chapter will examine trends between 2000 and 2010 in various sectors of the EAC community. This study will then analyse and critically examine how the two approaches of foreign policy coordination can be applied to the trends and whether there can be an impact on regional integration.

#### **Economy**

In 1967, Kenya, being the biggest and most prosperous nation in the EAC, was set to reap a disproportionate share of the benefits from the regional integration. Tanzania and Uganda had relatively small economies and feared that their manufacturing and agricultural sectors would be outcompeted by their Kenyan equivalents and this led to the collapse of the first EAC community in 1977.<sup>67</sup> Since then revival of the community in 2000 a number of factors make it more durable than its predecessor. There is less disparity in terms of economic size, the political systems are aligned and the compositions of the members' economies are more conducive to trade. On top of this, landlocked members such as Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda are placing regional integration at the center of their economic strategy and taking an active role in driving progress forward. Since 2000 also, Tanzania and Uganda have witnessed significant GDP growth. The example of Tanzania and Uganda has lent confidence to smaller countries such as Rwanda and Burundi to join the EAC without the fear of being swallowed up by larger neighbors. The approach to economic diplomacy in East Africa has been from a state to regional level approach.

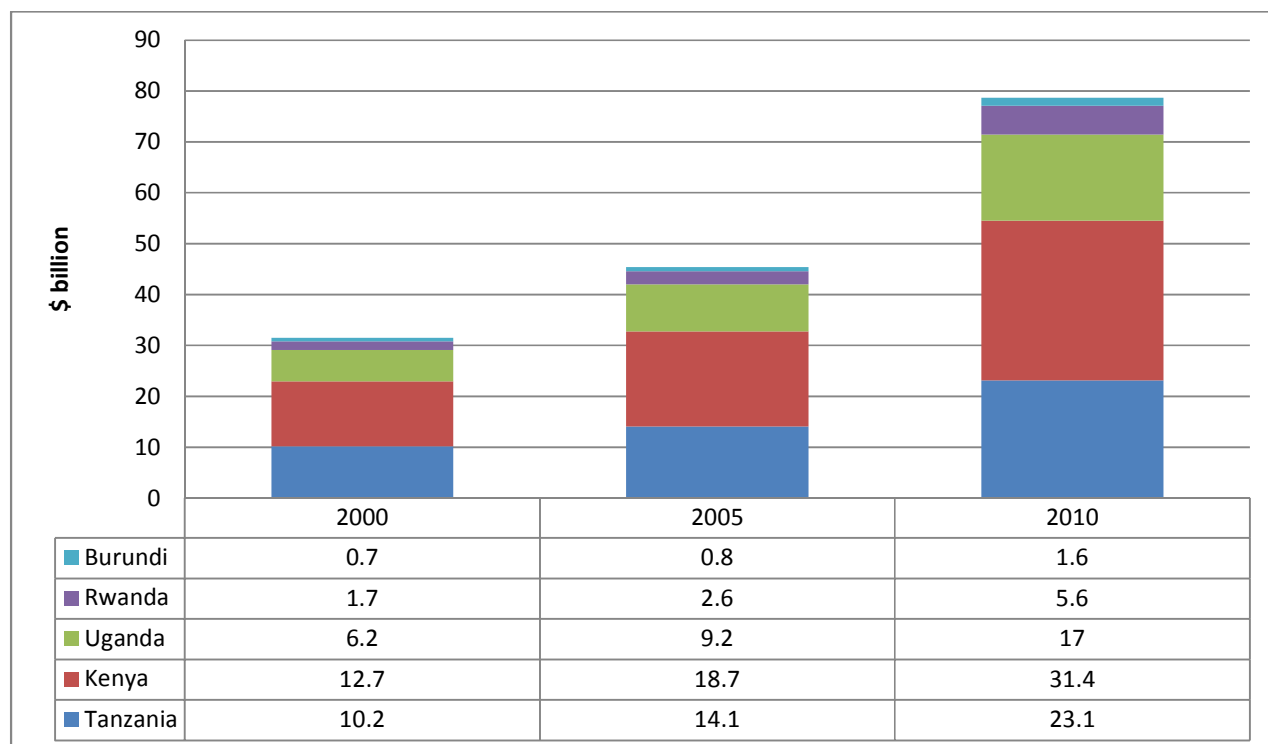
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<sup>67</sup> The East African Community – Why this time is different', INSEAD and Centre for Global Development, May 2010

Between 2000 and 2010 the size of East Africa's economy grew in real terms from \$32 billion to \$79 billion. Kenya's share of the regional economy was the largest at 40 per cent, while Tanzania had 29 per cent in 2010. East Africa's economy grew at a rate of 6 per cent in 2010, with Rwanda having the fastest growth rate of 7.5 per cent due a stable political environment. Kenya had a significant decrease in its growth rate in 2008 and 2009 (2 per cent and 3 per cent) due to the consequences of the post-election violence that occurred in December 2007 and spilled over to the first few months of 2008.

**Figure 3.1: Trend in Size of Real GDP in East Africa (2000-2010)**

Figure 3.1 shows the East African economy grew in real terms by \$47.2 billion from \$31.5 billion in 2000 to \$78.7 billion in 2010. Kenya's economy increased the most between 2000 and 2010, by \$18.7 billion, followed by Tanzania with \$12.9 billion then Uganda with \$ 10.8 billion. Tanzania's total real GDP in 2010 was at estimated \$23 billion, while Uganda's GDP was estimated at \$17 billion, with Kenya on top at estimated \$31 billion. The smallest economy in 2010 was Burundi, with an estimated real GDP of 1.6 billion. Burundi's economy expanded by \$901 million over the ten-year period. These data confirms Tanzania and Uganda are catching up with Kenya in terms of GDP growth. Burundi and Rwanda are also experiencing sharp growth over the 10 year period.



Source: World Bank Development Indicators

The actual collapse of the old EAC was occasioned by different levels of economic development, which meant Kenya taking a lion's share of the EAC benefits, with the rest of the Partner States only importing from Kenya. Kenyan officials questioned the relevance of the East African Railways and Harbours being headquartered in Dar es Salaam, and the East African Posts and Telecommunications being in Kampala, while they had substantive ministries in Kenya in charge of these sectors. The decision-making process the current EAC has been structured in such a way that there is respect for national interests. All partner states are at the heart of the EAC decision-making structure and process, allowing the principles of consensus and subsidiarity to rule while respecting the imperative of the big picture regional integration to inform the depth and speed of integration. Thus foreign policy coordination should adopt a state to regional level approach with to economic diplomacy.

**Figure 3.2: Trends in Country Share of East African Economy (2000-2010)**

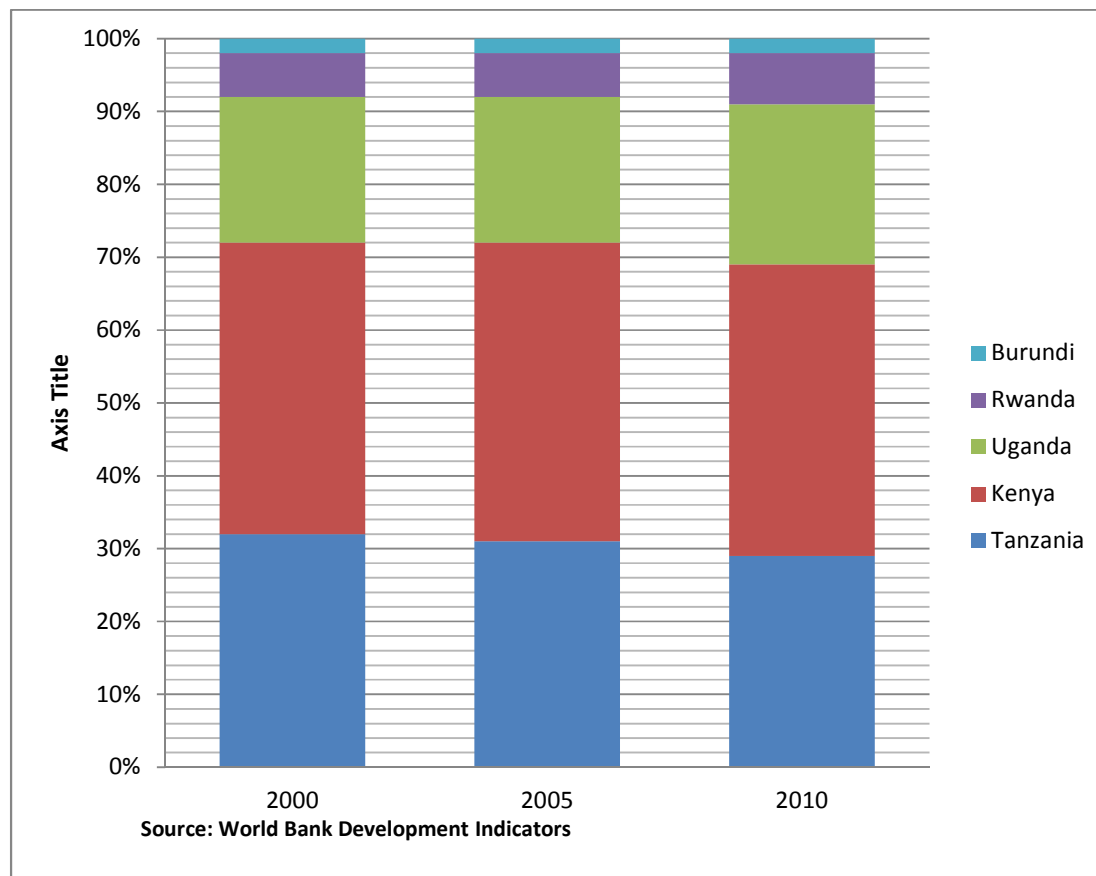


Figure 3.3 shows Kenya has maintained its position of holding the largest share of East Africa's economy at 40 per cent for the decade 2000–2010. Tanzania's share dropped from 32 per cent to 29 per cent as a result of Uganda's share rising to 22 per cent from 20 per cent and Rwanda's from 6 per cent to 7 per cent.<sup>68</sup> Strategically Kenya still has influence on economic policies due to its big share. It can use influence through a state to regional level approach to maintain its position. Another factor is the economies of landlocked countries like Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi rely heavily on Kenya and Tanzania to import goods thus maintaining the status quo.

<sup>68</sup> Society for International Development, TradeMark East Africa, 'The State of East Africa 2012. Deepening Integration, Intensifying Challenges.' Society for International Development Regional Office for Eastern Africa p.64

## Multiple memberships

An often cited problem of regional integration in Africa is multiple memberships in trading arrangements. As shown in Table 3.1, EAC member states participate in various regional integration initiatives, including the Common Market for East and Central Africa (COMESA), Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union (AU), and the Cross Border Initiative (CBI). While Kenya and Uganda belong to COMESA, Tanzania belongs to SADC. Different CETs (Common External Tariffs) in different trading blocs complicate the administration of the EAC CET, which requires that the member states follow a common external trade policy. Overlapping memberships also complicate coordination of activities.

**Table 3.1 EAC states membership in regional blocs**

	EAC	COMESA	ECCAS	IGAD	SADC	CEPGL
Kenya	X	X		X		
Rwanda	X	X				X
Tanzania	X				X	
Uganda	X	X		X		
Burundi	X	X	X			X

Source: Compiled by the author.

Members are usually torn between competing regulations and commitments and thus end up having to devote more time and resources on managing regional integration rather than actually participating in it. This can be a real source of policy inconsistencies as countries grapple with multiple loyalties. It also complicates revenue administration. For instance, Uganda is a member of the EAC, COMESA, IGAD and the AU. Since preferential arrangements under each of these agreements differ, importers can choose to import products under any regime. The

differing rates prompt many importers to declare their imports under the lowest tariff regime, which has led to massive smuggling and customs fraud. Losses arising from fraud and other “spillages” have been estimated in millions of dollars. A long-term solution to this problem is for the countries to rationalize their participation in RTAs.<sup>69</sup> This problem presents an opportunity for foreign policy coordination through a regional to state level approach. This process needs leadership from a larger more economically stable member of the EAC, Kenya. It presents an opportunity for Kenya to preserve its national interests and that of the regional which is an important role strategically

## **Military**

In 2004 the majority of these refugees were hosted in Tanzania, but by 2010 the majority was hosted in Kenya, demonstrating a northward shift in conflict towards Somalia and South Sudan. Even with a lack of overt conflicts in the region, East Africa still spent \$1.2 billion on its military in 2009, with Kenya and Uganda accounting for 73 per cent of total spending. Prior to Operation Linda Nchi, Kenya was the only country in the EAC that had not engaged in a military operation in a neighboring country. Somalia has been the theatre for joint military operations, as three of the five EAC countries are now engaged there through the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Uganda has been fighting guerrilla warfare with the LRA which operates between Uganda and South Sudanese borders. Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi also involved in a proxy war in the mineral and resource rich Congo.<sup>70</sup> Tanzania is the exception having had no conflict. It is the base for EAC’s diplomatic secretariat in Arusha. How have the EAC member

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<sup>69</sup> Radelet, S. (1999) “*Regional Integration and Cooperation in Sub-Saharan Africa: Are formal trade agreements the right strategy?*”, African Economic Policy Paper, Harvard Institute for International Development, Boston.

<sup>70</sup> Report of the U.N. Secretary General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, December 4, 2009.

states been approaching the issue of military conflicts in their foreign policy? The table below charts the military spending between 2004 and 2010.

**Figure 3.3: Military spending in East Africa (2004-2010)**

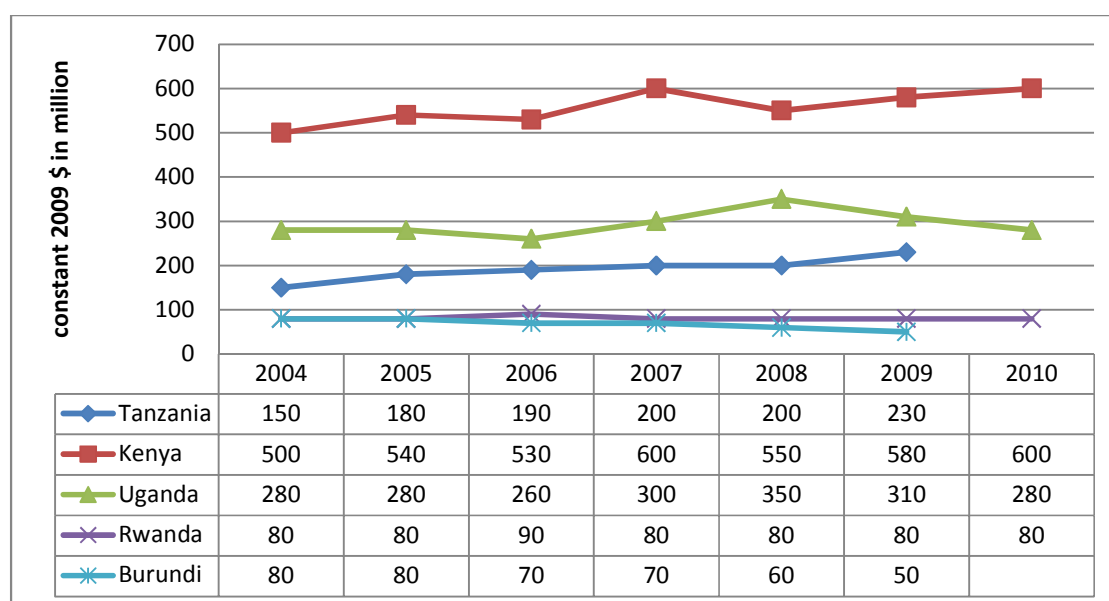


Figure 3.7 shows the region spent \$1.2 billion on its military in 2009, up 14 per cent from the \$1.04 billion spent in 2004. The largest share of this spending is taken up by Kenya and Uganda. In 2009 Uganda spent \$315 million on its military and Kenya spent \$580 million. Burundi and Rwanda accounted for the lowest levels of military expenditure, with \$40 million and \$75 million respectively. They show Kenya's military expenditure increasing by 2 per cent to \$594 million, Rwanda's up by 3 per cent to \$77 million and Uganda's falling 12 per cent to \$276 million. The military spending shows a state to regional level approach of dealing with conflicts. Kenya's conflict to the north with Somalia and Uganda's conflict with Congolese rebels in the west and LRA rebels to the northeast of its borders accounts for the increased military spending. Rwandan spending has increased slightly due to its proxy war with Hutus

rebels in Congo<sup>71</sup> this can also be termed as state to regional level approach. Burundi has spent much less than any other country owing to a small economy. This means a regional to state level approach would be more suitable to its circumstances. This means Burundi would mostly like pursue a collective security arrangement to ensure its strategic military interests are covered .As for Tanzania it has not experienced any major conflict meaning it would consider a similar approach as Burundi preferring to be a diplomatic power within the region. Arusha, Tanzania is also the headquarters of the EAC and mostly likely where the foreign policy coordination team would be based. This plus no conflicts with along its borders makes an approach of regional to state level in military and diplomatic matters Tanzania's preferred approach to foreign policy. This move by Tanzania would increase its profile as the diplomatic center for the region. This is a strategic advantage to Tanzania considering Kenya has already established itself as the economic center for the region.

### **Figure 3.4: Military Expenditure as Percentage of GDP (2003-2009)**

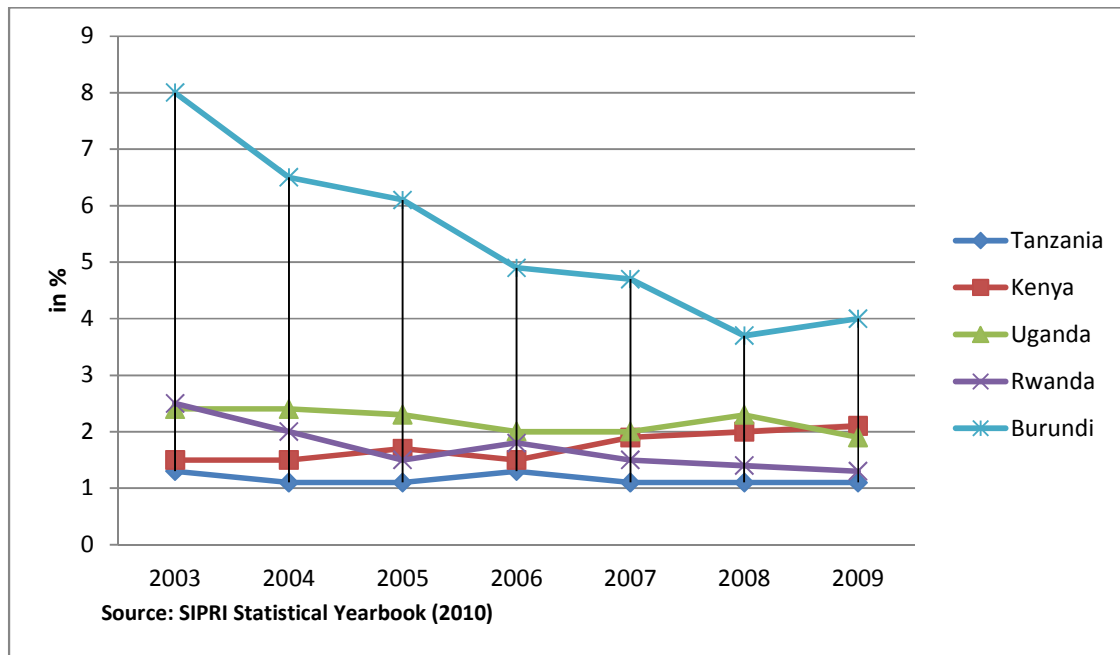
Figure 3.8 shows that although Burundi's military spending was the lowest in the region in dollar terms, it was the highest in terms of the proportion of its economy (4.0 per cent of GDP), although this is a significant reduction from the 7.3 per cent of GDP that it spent on its military in 2004. Burundi was followed by Kenya (2.0 per cent), Uganda (1.8 per cent), Rwanda (1.4 per cent) and finally Tanzania (1.1 per cent). Kenya's growing spending is taking up a rising share of its GDP, from 1.6 per cent in 2004 to 2.0 per cent in 2010.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Gerard Prunier, *From Genocide to Continental War: The "Congolese" Conflict and the Crisis of Contemporary Africa*, Hurst & Company, 2009, ISBN 978-1-85065-523-7, p.182

<sup>72</sup> Society for International Development, TradeMark East Africa, 'The State of East Africa 2012. Deepening Integration, Intensifying Challenges.' Society for International Development Regional Office for Eastern Africa p.83





Burundi is showing an increasing interest in reducing its military spending with regard to the size of GDP. Kenya although seems to be increasing military spending with regards to its share of GDP. Military exercises among the EAC partner states have also increased over the years, demonstrating an acknowledgement that the region is becoming an important geostrategic location.<sup>73</sup> The reasonable approach to military and diplomatic issues seems to be a regional to state approach. Smaller countries according to the data like Burundi are decreasing military spending. While larger countries like Kenya and Uganda are more inclined to approach conflict from a state to regional level approach. Military conflicts in EAC between 2000 and 2010 approached from a state to regional approach of foreign coordination. Kenya's operations in Somalia, the interventions of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi have all been carried out from state level of decision making.

<sup>73</sup> Society for International Development, TradeMark East Africa, 'The State of East Africa 2012. Deepening Integration, Intensifying Challenges.' Society for International Development Regional Office for Eastern Africa p.82

## **Domestic Policies**

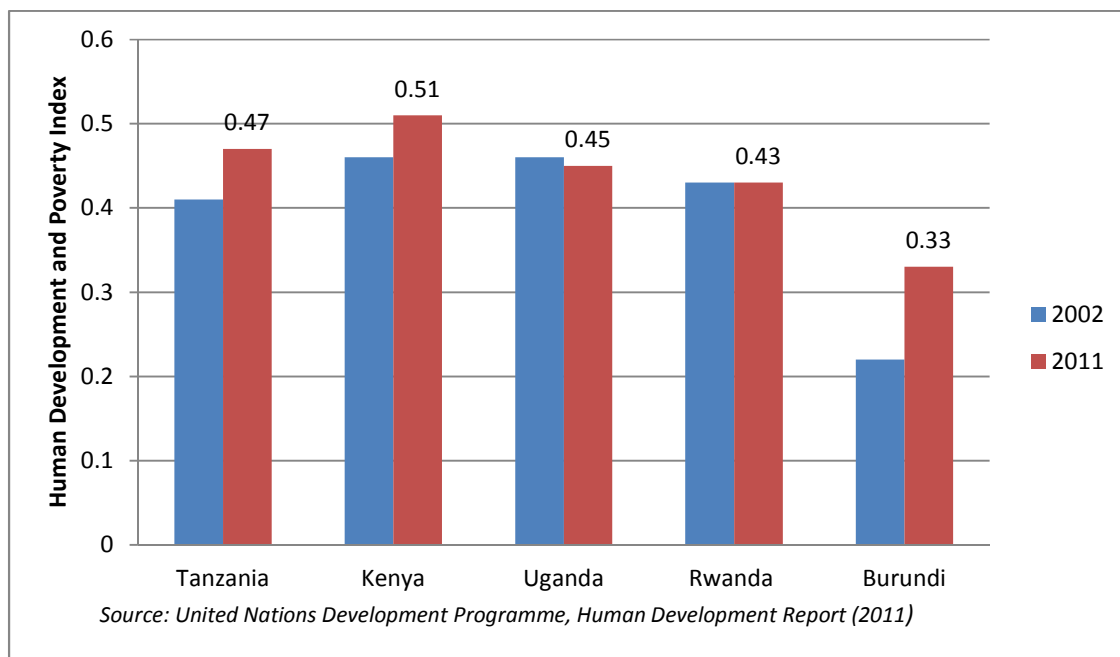
Domestic policy is an area of public policy which concerns laws, government programs, and administrative decisions which are directly related to all issues and activity within a nation's borders. It differs from foreign policy, which refers to the ways a government advances its interests in world politics. Domestic policy covers a wide range of areas; for example education (school enrollment), healthcare spending, and agricultural trade, human development personal rights & freedoms and freedom of the press. How these policies are being implemented can have an impact on foreign policy.

## **Human Development**

Human development is an important factor when it comes to measuring the effect of domestic policies on the society these include; education, healthcare and reduction in poverty. The East Africa region based on the human development index has improved consistently between 2000 and 2010. If poverty continues to decline, and education standards increase it mutually benefits members' states of the EAC. Increased prosperity means a bigger market for the EAC economy. A skilled labor will help to drive the industrial sector, produce high quality goods and encourage innovation. Human development in the region has improved over the past five years, as demonstrated by the improved human development indexes in each country. East Africans are also living longer, with an average increase of two years in their life expectancy. This is partly due to higher investments in healthcare spending by national governments. Per capita spending on healthcare has increased in all countries, with Rwanda having the highest level at \$48 in 2009, followed by Uganda at \$43. Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda have been able to reduce the proportion of the population living below their nationally defined poverty lines. However, high rates of population growth in the region have created strong headwinds against

the poverty-reduction efforts. In absolute terms, 53 million East Africans (38 per cent of the regional population) lived below the poverty line in 2010. Tanzania saw an increase of 4.9 million people living below the poverty line over a 17-year period. During roughly the same period, 8.2 million Kenyans fell below that country's poverty line and Burundi had an additional 1.5 million poor people. However, Uganda's lifting of 2.3 million of its citizens above the poverty line over an 18-year period stands in sharp and positive contrast to its neighbors. Rwanda's remarkable reduction of the poverty incidence by 12 per cent between 2000 and 2011 lifted 100,000 of its citizens out of poverty. East Africa has done well in increasing enrollment rates in primary school, with all countries passing the 100 per cent gross enrollment rate threshold and therefore achieving the Millennium Development Goal target of universal primary education.

**Figure 3.5: Human Development Index in East Africa**



According to figure 3.12 the UNDP Human Development Report 2011, Kenya had the highest Human Development Index (HDI)<sup>5</sup> in the region at 0.51, followed by Tanzania (0.47). Uganda and Rwanda had similar HDI values of 0.45 and 0.43 respectively, and Burundi with 0.33 had the lowest HDI in East Africa. The HDI had improved since 2002 for Tanzania and Kenya, and quite sharply for Burundi. It declined slightly for Uganda and was unchanged for Rwanda, which is surprising given the latter's record of sustained rapid growth. With regards to policies on issues like education, healthcare and poverty according to the trends above there is no major difference in terms of quality of life in the region. Above data shows that weaker states like Burundi and Rwanda are achieving targets for MDGs at higher rates than even Kenya and Tanzania. No state in the region has a clear advantage rather every state has something new to learn from each other. Human development across the region has an impact on regional integration. Human development shares a common vision with human rights. The goal is human freedom. Issues such as women's rights, human rights, right to education, and freedom of the press are usually subject to the political status quo in respective EAC member states. International norms such as respecting the basic human rights are included to measure human development. The doctrine of human rights in international practice, within international law, global and regional institutions, in the policies of states and in the activities of non-governmental organizations, has been a cornerstone of public policy around the world. Through foreign policy coordination EAC members states can ensure no state lags behind and ensure standards are maintained. Foreign policy approach from a regional to state level is suitable in this area. This would be the best approach to achieve targets of the Millennium Development Goals <sup>74</sup>This means harmonization being done from a regional level to state level is the most reasonable approach. There are no issues which affect national interests in human development like the

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<sup>74</sup> Beitz, Charles R. (2009). *The idea of human rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

economy or military on the contrary this is an international norm which would serve the interest of regional integration. Human development is an area which is not defined by state boundaries. In a globalized people realize that there are better standards of living they can aspire to. Through a regional to state level approach foreign policy can be efficiently coordinated for example to observe The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Banjul Charter).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> is an international human rights instrument that is intended to promote and protect human rights and basic freedoms in the African continent.

## **CHAPTER 4: EAC foreign policy coordination: A Critical Analysis.**

This study examines how foreign policy coordination can impact regional integration. The study examines two different approaches of foreign policy coordination which can be applied to impact regional integration regional to state level approach and state to regional level approach. It is important, especially with the aspects of national interests and sovereignty strongly influencing foreign policy issues, to understand how to approach such an effort. Rational choices would tend to favor a state to regional level approach whereas a constructivist approach which favors a regional to state level approach. Constructivism in this context is a systemic approach to understanding state interests and state behavior by investigating a regional organization with focus on issues of social value which affects identities even interests. This study examines foreign policy approaches and the impact on regional integration but first it is important to understand what conditions can lead to a successful process of regional integration, secondly whether foreign policy coordination can succeed under those conditions.

Mattli posits that there are preconditions for successful regional integration. Historically, there have been many attempts at voluntary regional integration, but far fewer successful ones, if success is defined as the achievement of ‘stated integration goals’<sup>76</sup>. Mattli has identified two critical pre-conditions of successful integration. The first of these is ‘strong market pressure for integration’, which will arise where there is ‘significant’ potential for economic gains from market exchange in the region that is to be integrated. According to Mattli, if there is little potential for gain, it is perhaps because regional economies lack complementarity or because the small size of the regional market does not offer important economies of scale, the process of

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<sup>76</sup>Mattli, Walter(1999a), *The logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press Cambridge p.42

integration will quickly peter out' This is Mattli's demand condition of successful integration. Smaller economies like Rwanda, Burundi and to some extent Uganda are firstly land locked countries. Research data examines the trends between 2000 and 2010, the GDP of these countries have actually grown at much faster rate than Kenya and Tanzania which are not land locked countries. But Kenya and Tanzania have maintained their huge share of the EAC GDP due first the demand for goods by landlocked countries, complementary nature of goods from the members states and the entrance of Rwanda and Burundi has increased market of the EAC community in general. The research data shows that if a state to regional level approach on foreign policy is adopted in future then according to trends from 2000 and 2010 economic growth should continue. Also unstructured interviews conducted for the study indicate Southern Sudan and Somalia are keen to join the regional group. If they accede the effects of the Rwanda and Burundi entrance should have a similar effect including the benefit states rich in oil an important energy resource. It is important that these EAC economies complement each because landlocked smaller economies are always in demand for more goods shipped from the ports and transported through the region. For bigger economies like Kenya and Tanzania in order to grow faster they need easier access to bigger markets. Countries within the region are the most strategic in this regard. Allowing member states to influence regional foreign policy issues to their advantage on economic issues is good for regional integration as it creates an environment of trust and because the economy is the main platform for interactions among EAC member states.

The second-supply-condition of successful integration, for Mattli is undisputed leadership. There must be a 'benevolent leading country' in the region, one that serves as a 'focal point in the coordination of rules, regulations, and policies' and may also help to ease tensions

that arise from the inequitable distribution of gains from integration. This condition not only applies to economic matters but also, conflict resolution, domestic policies which include human development issues like education, healthcare, poverty and human rights issues like women's rights, freedom of speech, press freedom. Foreign policy coordination and regional integration are processes which require leadership. After world wars 1 & 11 and the end of the cold war America economy overtook European powers like Britain, France and Italy. Europe began its process of regional integration through forming a trade block which gave birth to the improved version of the EU under the Lisbon treaty. Over the years the countries which have tended to wield more influence on policy have been the ones with bigger, stronger and more export oriented economies; Germany, Britain, France, Italy and the Netherlands. These countries by extension have a greater influence than other on E.U foreign policy issues. This is the lesson Kenya should borrow from the EU. Maintaining the position as a leader in economic issues in the region should be a top foreign policy strategy for Kenya. Approaching this could only succeed by influencing policy from a state to regional level approach to foreign policy coordination. But there are other areas which can threaten economic growth like conflict. EAC members states Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda have been embroiled in cross border conflicts with their neighbors. Again the issue of foreign policy coordination is important because conflict affects regional integration. With Kenya playing a role in the Somalia and South Sudanese peace negotiations, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda also playing roles in the Congolese peace negotiations shows a trend which of preferring diplomacy over Conflict. With the foreign coordination protocol the EAC now has a mechanism of formulating a framework which can guide such positive developments. A regional to state level approach to foreign policy issues with regard to conflict will show neutrality and give credibility also to the process of regional



integration. Other areas where regional to state level approaches to foreign policy issues can be adopted are human development and human rights. These are areas where even global to state level approaches to foreign policy are being adopted. For example scholar Martha Finnemore has been influential in examining the way in which international organizations are involved in processes of the social construction of state's perceptions of their interests.<sup>77</sup> Finnemore provides three case studies of such construction – the creation of Science Bureaucracies in states due to the influence of UNESCO, the role of the Red Cross in the Geneva Conventions and the World Bank's influence of attitudes to poverty. This field of study still has a lots of gaps but shows there can be a theoretical argument based on constructivism that state's interests with regard to issue such human development and human rights can be influenced from a regional level.

#### **Assessing the linkages between foreign policy coordination and regional integration.**

What this study shows is that foreign policy coordination can influence regional integration but it depends with the approach taken. The study shows that the process of foreign policy coordination needs to be sensitive and distinguish between issues of national interest and issues of regional interests. Analyzing the data above it is clear there are some linkages between foreign policy coordination and regional integration. But the research also shows that majority of decisions with regard to both processes depend on the sovereign states in the region. This means foreign policy coordination impacts regional integration by addressing issues of national interest may affect the pace of integration.

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<sup>77</sup> Martha Finnemore, *National Interests In International Society* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp.6-7

Let us examine two questions posed by Olufemi A. Babarinde in his book *Regionalism and African Foreign Policy*. First, when is foreign policy likely to be pursued at the sub-continental level, which countries are likely to push for such a policy, and why? Second, has the pursuit of an autonomous foreign policy by Africa's regional schemes been beneficial to member states, to the group, and to the continent?

If we accept the premise that foreign policy is inextricably linked with domestic policy, then there is ample evidence that African countries have either initiated or supported foreign policy enterprises at the sub continental regional level. The rule of thumb is that states participate in a collective exercise because their interests are somehow served, not for altruism. This explains the reluctance of countries such as Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Thus, when they participate in foreign policy enterprises within the framework of regional integration/cooperation, they do so because their interests are directly or otherwise involved. Furthermore, if foreign policy is a function of, among other things, domestic economic capacity and population and to the degree that regional integration typically encompasses unequally endowed participating states, it would be in the interest of some states to pursue foreign policy initiatives at the sub regional level. These States in East Africa would include Rwanda and Burundi. In East Africa there are two categories of States and their preference for using the regional integration stage to pursue some of their foreign policies is what differentiates them.

At one end of the spectrum are the weak/weakest member states. For them; since they do not have the economic power and/or the population size to independently pursue a credible foreign policy, they may find it in their interest to pursue some or all of their foreign policy through regionalism.<sup>78</sup> This category would include Rwanda and Burundi.

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<sup>78</sup> *African Foreign Policies* edited by Stephen Wright ISBN 0-8133-2406-8 (INC) Northern Arizona University, Westview Press; Published in 1999 (See Notes 23-39 page 235).

The second category are countries that would prefer to autonomously develop and implement their foreign policy at the state level, largely because of their relative dominance and because the state level is where they expect optimum impact or results. However, because of their sheer population size or regional hegemonic status, they may find it prudent to selectively use the sub regional stage to pursue their foreign policy agendas.<sup>79</sup> Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda fall in this category.

Each of these categories of countries would have to find its best location in terms of a predisposition for either a more unilateral national approach or a more multilateral regional emphasis, a decision that would primarily depend on the country and the issue in question. In these scenarios, all members of a regional structure are likely to use the framework for their foreign policy when it serves their interests. In the 2 categories, members would be availing themselves of the leverage that usually accompanies true regionalism and collective action. This study examines a regional to state level approach and a state regional level approach of coordinating foreign policy. The linkage is regional integration as a process cannot ignore national interest of the states. Foreign policy coordination is the channel through which sensitive issues of national interest can be addressed while ensuring the process of regional integration continues.

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<sup>79</sup> *African Foreign Policies* edited by Stephen Wright ISBNB 0-8133-2406-8 (INC) Northern Arizona University, Westview Press, Published (See Notes 23-39 page 235).

## **CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Conclusions**

The main objective of this study was to examine the impact the foreign policy coordination protocol would have on regional integration. Another objective was to examine the different approaches of foreign policy coordination. The last objective was to examine the strategic advantage for Kenya in a leader role in this process. The research has looked for links between a stronger regional integration process due to foreign policy coordination, and whether there are benefits from these links.

The process of foreign coordination is a chance for EAC member states to further strengthen regional integration. There is no doubt that speaking as one voice to the international community helps. The EU member states does not have the advantage of geographical size and population like China, Russia, USA, India or Brazil but they realize there is strength in numbers and strategically formed the alliance which they have today. The EAC should seize this opportunity to further strengthen their goal of regional integration. What the study concludes is that foreign policy coordination can impact regional integration by addressing issues of national interest which can affect the pace of regional integration. Policy makers and scholars interviewed for this study agree that foreign policy coordination is good for the region. They also agree that political will needs to be acted upon and not just spoken upon. By addressing national interests through foreign policy coordination then the burden excuse of political will diminishes.

The study identifies that foreign policy coordination is a political process involving the amalgamation of different national interests with the purpose of benefiting the member states and the region. To strategically convince the member states that their interests ultimately culminates into the region interest is the spillover effect Lindberg proposes where economic integration ultimately creates a position where the only ways to ensure that the cooperation continue is to

build upon existing relations in this case from economic to political cooperation. But study disagrees with this one sided approach from regional level to state level. Foreign policy coordination is a political process but regional integration is a process that has different aspects; economic, political and socio-cultural aspects. Of these three the hardest part of regional integration is the political aspect. Thus alternative approaches like state to regional level or regional to state level approaches to foreign policy issues are sensitive to different aspects of integration and take into account the level national interest issues. The strength of the protocol is that for now it does not touch on issues of national interests directly. Also the process is a pragmatic one where there are no illusions on what may or may not be achieved. In general the protocol would create a better framework for the implementation of foreign policy strategies in the within the region. This coordination would mean diplomacy would be carried out in a systematic organized manner where members' state actions would be in a unified approach. Collective decisions and responsibilities will remove the pressure of foreign policy decisions on a single state and create a bureaucracy where better informed bureaucrats will advise the political leaders. Lack of redundancy in bilateral agreements and stronger multilateral agreements will reduce administrative costs and create a structure that is streamlined, cost efficient and effective. This means like the EU, one foreign policy organ will dictate the agenda on short term and long term strategies. This will clear the anarchic nature of having different policies and trying to make sense of them within a regional point of view. The weaknesses though outweigh the strengths are the main ingredients to the processes of regional integration and foreign policy coordination, political will, research and lack of resources. This means before the implementation of the protocol begins efforts need to be made to recognize the weaknesses within each state and the region as a whole in order to prepare for them. Public awareness is another area where the East

African Community has failed. The youth and children are a valuable partner in the process of region integration. Educating these groups can create interest which translates into ideas which can benefit the region. Foreign policy is a process that involves planning and strategizing for the nation's best interest to be maintained and built upon. How to translate this process into a regional one involves working with other aspects of regional integration. This includes the economy, society, language, culture, science and technology, education, health care, infrastructure, agriculture and natural resources. All these are involved in the process of regional integration. Foreign policy should learn from and contribute to these other aspects of integration. This makes the foreign policy coordination process credible as it can balance the interest of states to create a fair approach to regional integration.

## **Recommendations**

The recommendations of this study are suggestions to the policy makers and government agencies involved in the process of implementing foreign policy coordination. The study recommends the state to regional approach of coordination. This means that there would be more sensitivity to issues of national interest. This would ensure that every state is comfortable with the process of foreign policy coordination and trust the implementation process. On issues which do not touch on national interests staff should be able to communicate and cooperate with each other without restrictions. Policy makers should also focus on embassies and consulates mapping an effective way of each member state contributing resources. This would mean any East African citizen would be able to enter any embassy or consulate of all member states anywhere in the world and be afforded the same rights. Staff at the ministries of Foreign Affairs and the East African Community should be trained and equipped on any approach the policymakers may choose to take. Involving diplomats, middle level and junior staff is important in the process of

foreign policy coordination. The process is a very pragmatic one and so every small success goes a long way in strengthening regional integration.

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## **Appendix**

### **INTERVIEWS**

#### **UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS**

##### **Interview 1**

Mr. Joseph Birungi Principal International Relations Officer, EAC Secretariat.

##### **List of Questions**

1. Goals and challenges of the EAC foreign policy coordination protocol.
2. Reasons for the late ratification of the protocol by member states.
3. Issues of multi-membership tripartite treaty between COMESA, EAC, SADCC
4. Applications of South Sudan and Somalia to the EAC, the implications and challenges.

##### **Interview 2**

Justice Isaac Lenaola: Member of East Africa Court Of Justice

##### **List of Questions**

1. History of Judiciary and Foreign policy in Kenya and East Africa.
2. Role of EACJ in EAC.
3. Role of EACJ in interpreting ratified treaties in case of disputes.

While the treaty approval process is described in the constitution and has raised few problems, the point at which treaties, domestic laws and the constitution converge is not clear. One area of

confusion is whether treaties were superior to national legislation. It is in the context of this question that I questioned Justice Lenaola.

### Interview 3

Mr. Stephen Agaba .Principal Legal Officer, EAC Secretariat. Rwandan National

### List of Questions

NB: Interviewee is giving his perspective on his country's approach to the foreign policy protocol on the following issues,

1. Rwanda's perspective on the Foreign Policy Coordination Protocol.
2. Status of Rwanda in respect to ratification of the Foreign Policy Coordination Protocol.
3. Rwanda interest in pursuing foreign policy coordination.



