AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND REGIONAL SECURITY IN EAST AFRICA

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented to any other examination body. No part of research should be reproduced without my consent or that of University of Nairobi.

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Declaration by supervisor

This research has been submitted with my approval as the University of Nairobi Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my dear husband Edward and lovely daughter Stella for the support, understanding and encouragement that they provided during all the years of my studies and as I prepared and worked on this project. I LOVE YOU.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been an exciting and instructive study period at the University of Nairobi and I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to carry out this study as a demonstration of knowledge gained during the period of studying for my master's degree. With these acknowledgments, it would be impossible not to remember those who in one way or another, directly or indirectly, have played a role in the realization of this research project. Let me, therefore, thank them all equally.

First, I am indebted to the all-powerful GOD for all the blessings he showered on me and for being with me throughout the study. I am deeply obliged to my supervisor for his exemplary guidance and support without whose help; this project would not have been a success. Finally, yet importantly, I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to my loving family and friends who are a constant source of motivation and for their never ending support and encouragement during this project.
ABSTRACT

This project is an assessment of the relationship between economic integration and regional security in East Africa. This was done by examining the factors leading to security threats in the East African region and efforts put in place to deal with them. The East African states continue to face many security challenges which include: trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, firearms trafficking, drug trafficking, environmental crimes, counterfeit, money laundering and piracy.

Twenty officers from the ministry of East African Community and that of Regional Affairs were interviewed with the aim of trying to get their opinion on the role of economic integration in regional security. The study findings indicate that there exists cooperation in priority areas of trade and industry, security, immigration and promotion of investment in the region. Three issues that pose major threats to regional security are: ethnicity, economic crisis and political violence. Mutual accountability and strengthening African security capacity are the most important factors in ensuring regional security in East Africa. The study further observed that regional cooperation is the key element in the process of integration. Commitment levels of member-states and the distribution of costs and benefits of integration leads to adoption of security measures which is most vital element in economic integration and regional security in the East African region.

The findings indicate that Protocols have been adopted by member states in order to deal with arms trafficking. However, there are no clear standardized laws in place to deal with other organized crimes in the region. Regional development can only be achieved if the security challenges are addressed. Security threats are likely to occur when individual human needs have not been met. It is a wide consensus that peace is inexorably tied to both security and development. This project therefore recommends that policy makers in the region and the individual member states endeavor to meet basic human needs of their population in order to look forward to a secure region.
ABBREVIATIONS

EAC: East African Community
SADC: Southern African Development Community
COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development
FTA: Trade Area
UN: United Nations
ICT: Information and Communication Technology
EU: European Union
MDG: Millennium Development Goals
AU: African Union
EAPSM: East African Peace and Security Mechanism
DPs: Developing Partners
RO: Regional Organizations
WTO: World Trade Organization
SAC: Small Arms Control
APSA: Africa Peace and Security Architecture
SADC: Southern African Development Community
SACU: Southern African Customs Union
CMA: Common Monetary Area
NAFTA: American Free Trade Agreement
SACN: South American Nations
ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

ASEAN: Association of South East Asian Nations

CSSDCA: Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa

ACP: African, Pacific and Caribbean Group

RECSA: Regional Centre on Small Arms

AMISON: African Union Mission in Somalia

BOD: Biological Oxygen Demand

CPMR: Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism

EACWARN: East African Early Warning Mechanism

REC: Regional Economic Communities

PADELIA: Partnership for the Development of Environmental Laws and Institutions in Africa
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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

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

The term ‘region’ can be used to describe any international grouping which is less than global in scope, and which is characterized by some mutual relevance among members.¹ Such mutual relevance can be based upon frequency of contacts and transactions, common aims or attributes, economic complementarily, etc. Used in this sense, the Alliance of Seventy-Seven and the African, Pacific and Caribbean Group (ACP), are both qualified for a description as regional groupings, even though both have membership that span more than one geographical regions.

The experience of the North (especially Europe) at integration process for long concealed the limitations of the traditional approaches to regional integration. On the other hand the evident

failure of integration efforts in the South has provoked a rethinking among integration scholars on a number of highly restrictive assumptions in some of the theories of regional integration. For example, some of the formulations by the dependency theorists on regional integration are now known to be having limited bearing on the evaluation of gains from integration in the less developed societies. These developments call for in-depth theoretical treatment of the evolution and dynamics of regional integration initiatives in Africa.

The Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation was first formed in 1967 as the East African Community. It collapsed in 1977 due to political differences. Following the dissolution of the organization, former Member States negotiated a Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities, which they signed in 1984. However, as one of the provisions of the Mediation Agreement, the three States agreed to explore areas of future co-operation and to make concrete arrangements for such co-operation. Considering the need to consolidate regional co-operation, the East African Heads of State, at their second Summit in Arusha on 29 April 1997, directed the Permanent Tripartite Commission to start the process of upgrading the Agreement establishing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation into a Treaty. During the one-day summit in Arusha, Tanzania on 22 January 1999, the Heads of State of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda resolved to sign the Treaty re-establishing the East African Community (EAC) by the end of July 1999. The community was to take over from the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation.

The vision of the East Africa Community is "to have a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa". This can only be attained within the context of a structured

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security arrangement that can create the right environment for integration initiatives, capable of protecting the gains attained. The mission of the EAC, as an economic and political entity, stems from the desire by the governments of the EAC countries to improve the standard of living of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value-added production, trade and investment. The desire by the governments is to pool existing and potential resources for sustainable common development needs.

The Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC recognizes Peace and Security as a pre-requisite for the success of the integration. To this extent Chapter 23 of the Treaty elaborates the measures necessary to facilitate a predictable and enabling security environment. It also recognizes the need for synergy between Defense, Regional Policy, Political Affairs and law enforcement and their mutually reinforcing linkages to all stages of EAC’s integration.

This study seeks to analyze the relationship between economic integration and regional security in East Africa, regional security as a factor in international peace and security\(^3\). To set the tone of the study this paper briefly intends to examine the challenges prone to face the integrated East Africa and how this economic integration has played a major role in preventing security conflicts.

Creation of the EAC Common Market is envisaged to deepen the integration, accelerate economic growth and promote development. It is aimed at strengthening, coordinating and regulating the economic and trade relations among partner states in order to promote their accelerated harmonious and balanced development. It is hoped that the Common Market will

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sustain expansion and integration of economic activities, whose benefit shall be equitably distributed.

**Economic Integration and Regional Security**

The move by Eastern African countries to establish a standby brigade underscores their commitment towards the management of conflicts in the region. It is a positive step in complementing UN and AU efforts in peace support operations. The realization of member states’ commitments is commendable and should attract support from all corners.

Why should African countries pool their resources together for the common defence and security of the region? First, such a policy is likely to reduce suspicion and rivalry among states a factor that has engendered conflicts in the continent and has traditionally hindered interstate cooperation and integration in Africa. Second, cooperation will increase transparency in national defense and security policies. Third, a common policy will provide best practices to strengthen the defense and security sectors as well as to safeguard individual national, sub-regional and continental values. A Common Defense and Security Policy was cost effective to member states, as it will eliminate unnecessary national expenditure on defense and security and will allow for the reallocation of resources to address more threatening challenges such as poverty and globalization.

The need for a common African defense and security policy was stressed during the Inaugural Summit of the AU held in Durban, South Africa, in July 2002, when the Assembly of Heads of State and Government deliberated the proposal of Libyan leader that Africa establishes a single continental army. The African leaders were also motivated to respond to the multifaceted challenges to stability, security and cooperation on the continent. Conflicts in Africa bear certain
unique characteristics predominantly embedded in their root causes, intensity, duration (often too long), escalation and their propensity to spill over to neighboring states.

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

Underlying the fact that violence is endemic and persistent in Africa is the reality that the continent is constantly exhibiting changing and challenging dynamics characterized by shifting patterns of international and regional engagements, in its quest for solutions.

The majority of sub-Saharan African countries are members of one or more regional or sub-regional arrangements that seek to promote economic coordination, cooperation or integration among the member countries concerned. The various African regional economic blocs, and indeed the individual countries that comprise their membership, are at varying stages of development and implementation of their regional arrangements. The blocs’ scope covers various socio-economic, developmental and political considerations, including the promotion of
intra-regional trade, socio-economic policy coordination, and management or development of shared physical infrastructure and the environment. Some of the African regional arrangements also cover issues of common interest in the areas of public governance, defense and security, among other socio-economic and political dimensions

1.2 Problem Statement

East African states are faced by many security challenges such as, trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, firearms trafficking, drug trafficking, environmental crime, counterfeit, money laundering and piracy. A lasting success in both ending crime and improving development can only be achieved if the underlying factors are addressed. Improving levels of cooperation within and between East African states and other actors in the world hope to create the conditions necessary for sustainable development throughout the region.

Despite the importance of economic integration and security in east Africa, there is dearth empirical evidence on the relationship between economic integration and regional security in East Africa. It's against this backdrop that this research seeks filling this research gap on relationship between economic integration and security in east Africa.

1.3 General Objectives

The overall objective of the study is to examine whether economic integration efforts over the last 50 years have served the security interests of East African countries. More specifically the study will;
1.3.1 Specific Objectives

A) To examine efforts towards economic integration in East Africa

B) To examine the threats to regional security in east Africa

C) examine links between economic integration and regional security in east Africa

1.4 Literature Review

(a) Regional integration extensions and international security.

Ernest B Haas defines international integration as the process by which political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre whose institutions demand jurisdiction over the preexisting nation states\(^4\). Economic integration is concerned with the unification of trade between states by partial or full abolishing of customs tariffs on trade taking place within the borders of each state. Other characteristics are the unification of monetary and fiscal policies. The main goal of economic integration is to increase trade between member states improving their Gross Domestic Product and leading to improved welfare of their citizens.

Equally, states seek to become or remain regionally and globally competitive through integration. National security strategy has been defined as the protection of a nation state against threats from its external environment. By extension Regional Security strategy therefore may be defined as the protection of nation states from threats from environment of that region.\(^5\) What states seek to protect are their core national interests, which may include issues such as territorial integrity, cultural identity and their socio economic development. Historically the economies of


developing countries including a majority of African countries have been identified as being weak and vulnerable. Ndiaye characterizes them as having low levels of income and small population size. There is still a high dependence on production of primary products and the scope of domestic markets is constrained. These countries are also characterized by arbitrary state boundaries as imposed by the colonial authorities, which have given rise to political, social and economic fragmentation, which has continued to impede their development.

Attractions for regional integration in Africa have therefore included the prospects of a strategic approach to reducing dependence by offering larger markets for member states.

(b) Trade coordination and direct prospects for economic integration

The linked markets have further offered the possibility of enhancing attractiveness of regional economies to external investors and increasing the bargaining leverage of member states. Likewise by coordinating industrial policies, the prospect of distributing productive facilities more equitably arise thereby avoiding redundancies and needless competition among states. The countries in the East African region which include Kenya, Uganda and, Tanzania, which are the subject of this study, have faced similar challenges as described above. Abject poverty persists and there are still high dependencies on production of primary products while markets are limited. This has led to unnecessary competition and suspicion between the countries over the years.

In tracing the history of integration in East Africa one finds a long thread of trials, successes, breakups and regroups. The need for integration especially on the economic front has certainly

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been felt. This has however been hampered by a number of circumstances. This study investigates some of the challenges of economic integration in East Africa. For instance an earlier report on the creation of a monetary union by the European Central Bank had suggested two strategies; keeping the monetary union as an aim with no public time-frame or partner states committing themselves to a firm date for the start of the union. The study also seeks to establish the relationship between economic integration and regional security in the region.

Worldwide the wave towards economic integration has continued to gain momentum from the European Union (EU) to the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) the union of South American Nations (SACN) to the Eurasian Economic Community (EURASEC) has all flourished over the last twenty to thirty years. Africa too has had its share of trials at economic integration including the Southern African Development Community (SADCC) the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) the union of the Maghreb states the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa not to forget the East African Community all enjoying limited success. The reasons for the success or failure of these attempts at regional economic integration may be myriad by the fact that they continue to grow is a pointer to their importance to individual nation states. This study will examine the East African context and attempt to establish if there is any relationship between economic integration and regional security strategy.

(c) Development phase of Regional Integration

The ultimate goal of regional integration is to create a common economic space among the participating countries. Monetary and economic integration may evolve from trade links, as well

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as, historical and cultural ties. The process entails the harmonization of macroeconomic policies, legal frameworks and institutional architectures, towards nominal and real convergence. Other objectives of monetary union include the enlargement and diversification of market size, the promotion of intra-regional trade and the strengthening of member countries' bargaining power in the global economy. Although the promotion of regional economic integration among African countries dates back to the colonial days, a conscious effort at the continental level was made only in 1991, when a single monetary zone for Africa was for the first time mainstreamed in the Organization of East African Unity’s Treaty.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, most African countries adopted economic policies that entrenched the state in all aspects of economic activities, thus relegating the private sector as marginal player in the development effort. The thinking was that the infant industries should be nurtured by the state through a system of subsidies, and protected from global competition. This necessitated the imposition of high tariff walls to enable these industries grow and compete with regional firms. Several reasons including, limited domestic markets, which hampered the realization of economy of scale; lack of technology/human capital, which gave rise to poor quality goods and paucity of resources, etc., were advanced as factors which militated against the achievement of a viable domestic industrial base in majority of African countries.

1.4.1 Market freedom formation of a common government with common objectives

Lijphart observes that pluralist regions are divided by “segmental cleavages”. These cleavages may be of a religious, ideological, linguistic, regional, cultural, racial, or ethnic of wealth.

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9 O. J. Nnanna, Ph.D is the Director General of the West African Monetary Institute in Accra, Ghana. The research assistance provided by Mr. E. Onwioduokit and comments from Dr. Buira and Ms. Reis of the G24 Secretariat are greatly appreciated. The views expressed in this paper are personal and do not represent those of the Institute or its management.
nature. Political parties, interest groups, and strength of the economy also tend to be organized along the lines of segmental cleavages. This observation by Lijphart sets the context for my literature review. His argument of individualism pride sets the basis of this study due to different ideological interests. V N Khana also refers to regional integration as the organization of several countries within a geographical region based on formal agreement or treaty signed by concerned governments. While several theories have been propagated on the evolving of regional integration, some may not apply to developing countries. Economic Integration theory has been noted to be largely empirical rather than theoretical. Market integration theory draws a linear path from Free Trade Area to Customs Union to Common Market. Development integration model on the other hand argues that underdeveloped production structures and infrastructure problems must be addressed before free trade can create efficiencies thus implying that economic development is an antecedent to economic growth. As opposed to market theory, development integration theory places political cooperation at the start of the process rather than at the end. The latter model is characterized by conscious intervention by partners to promote cooperation and interdependence and to secure equitable distribution of benefits.

Functional Integration theory as propounded by Haas depicts government as being responsive to human needs. Incremental steps are thus taken towards regional integration within specific areas of policy making at pace controlled by member states. It is the growth of specialized technical
organizations that cross national borders. David Mitrany describes neo-functional integration as advocating immediate political unification where the goal of unification is to build supranational authority in which the importance of the nation state is overridden or eliminated. For instance bargaining power and survive economically against the threat of marginalization in the globalization process. Countries in the region have also pursued regional integration in the context of South-South cooperation, which was necessitated partly by the declining terms of trade and disappointment with the rejection of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) proposal in the 1970-80s. However, in order to translate the dreams about economic integration into reality, Africa’s perceptions, approach and pace in this area will need to shift towards more pragmatism and meticulous implementation of the agreed agenda. It should be tackled in a way that can effectively address the challenges encountered in the process of regional integration. In this context, this chapter focuses on the achievements, lessons, challenges and the way forward for one of the key components of regional integration process, which is macroeconomic convergence. The chapter looks at the case of Eastern and Southern African countries. The two economic blocs in question are the East African Community (EAC), and Southern African Development Community (SADC). The latter also encompasses the long-established but smaller sub-grouping of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), along with its Common Monetary Area (CMA) of all but one SACU member state.

The system is characterized by loyalty and spillover that leads to integration. Balaam and Veseth posit that the European Union the most developed and integrated bloc was founded on liberal principles of enhancing production specialization and efficiency and liberalizing trade

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18 From the Western Political Quarterly, FC
19 J. Senghor, Theoretical Foundations for Regional Integration in Africa An Overview in Anyang 'Nyong'oed Regional Integration In Africa; Unfinished Agenda (African Academy Of Sciences 1990)
among members. In the developing countries however given the relatively empty industrial landscape the task is to build new industry. Gilpin further expounds that the global expanding movement towards regional integration may be characterized as a response to the security dilemma each region attempting to enhance its own bargaining position vis-à-vis the others. While goal for the north may be supranational, Tamori and Rashid argue that for Africa this remains economic due to her fragmentation and poverty since attaining independence in the 50's and 60's. It can further be argued that regional economic integration may be a precondition rather than an obstacle to integrating developing countries into the world economy by minimizing the costs of market fragmentation. Scholars such as Nyongo for instance see the functional model as the most appropriate for describing integration in Africa. This is because it depicts the incremental progress and cooperation in specific sectors that has been seen across the continent. This gradual functionalist approach was favored and adopted due to its colonial historic roots and the fact that it lent itself to the need to protect national sovereignty, which was much cherished by African leaders. Following this functional strategy, a large number of regional organizations were set up all over the continent including from the Arab Maghreb Union in the north to Economic Community of West African States to, Economic Community of Central African States, to Common Market for East and Southern Africa to South African Development Committee to Community of Sahelian Sahara States.

22 R. Gilpin, op cit
24 Anyang Nyongo, Regional Integration In Africa: Unfinished Agenda (African Academy Of Sciences 1990)
25 J Senghor, op cit
The functional approach has however been criticized as being unsuccessful in Africa for having ignored the preponderance of politics, lack of technical capacity to implement the spillover effects and the volatility of national interest. Martin and Ojo further see the even distribution of benefits as being crucial to successful economic integration increasing the sense of unity and leading to development. Bach further posits that the chances of success for regional integration increase when the political and economic benefits complement each other and thus can contribute to regional peace and security. Despite the above criticisms Chazan still points out the continuing attraction of regional integration in Africa as being explained by the strong economic rationale along with ideological commitments and latent functions in diplomacy and security.

1.5 Hypotheses

The study tests the following hypothesis:

1) That economic integration has a significant role to play in regional security strategy in East Africa.

2) That increased economic integration will lead to reduction of security threats to the East African countries

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26 J Senghor opcit
27 Ojo et al, African International Relations (Longman, New York 1990) p 144
28 C. D. Bach Regionalization In African Integration and Disintegration (James Carrey Ltd 1999) p 31
29 Chazan et al
### 1.6 Theoretical Framework

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

This assumption is quite relevant to my study, which seeks to show that this economic integration does in fact determine content and in so doing shape perceptions and influence policy decisions, which are prone to challenges of different nature. Studies on political economy theory are now commonly referred to as International Political Economy (IPE). This gradual shift in paradigm from studying the politics of economic relations, the political relations between different nation states in framing their respective economic policies, has largely been the result of globalization and the emergence of a rapidly integrated and interconnected world in which security is very important.  

Alves defines the optimum currency area as a region in which factors of production are internally mobile but internationally immobile, so as to facilitate the intraregional redistribution of

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resources in response to demand shifts. Mwagiru sees it as the "optimum geographical domain having as a general means of payment either, a single common currency, or several currencies whose exchange values are immutably pegged to one another with unlimited convertibility for both current and capital transactions, but whose exchange rates fluctuate in unison against the rest of the world". The first characteristic of an OCA is price and wage flexibility, which was the basis for Friedman’s argument in favour of flexible exchange rates. A second characteristic of an OCA is that of financial market integration, suggesting that a successful currency area must be sufficiently integrated in financial trading. The third characteristic is that of factor market integration. This includes internal factor mobility, both inter-regional and inter-industry mobility. The fourth is the integration of the goods market, suggesting that a successful currency area must have a high degree of internal openness that could be measured by the marginal propensity to import, or the ratio of tradable to non-tradable goods in production or consumption.

An OCA requires a close coordination of national monetary authorities or even the creation of a supranational central bank, which implies the surrendering of the national sovereignty over the conduct of monetary policy. McKinnon expanded the theory of OCA and incorporated the trade factors. By demonstrating the influence of openness in a currency area, he opined that

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31 Alves Phillip, Draper Peter and Durrell Halleson (January 2007) "SACU, regional integration and the overlap issue in Southern Africa: From spaghetti to cannelloni?" Retrieved 7 March 2009, South African Regional Poverty Network (SAPRN


considerations of a country's trade behavior are essential in determining optimality. Specifically, he noted that “if we move across the spectrum from closed to open economies, flexible exchange rates become both less effective as a control device for external balance and more damaging to internal price-level stability”. On the issue of financial credibility, he underscored the importance of liquidity where capital accumulation depends on confidence in the domestic currency. Alluding to the common currency of America’s fifty states as an example, he noted that small areas are more in need of a fixed exchange rate to assure that individual currencies remain liquid, particularly in cases where intra-regional trade is extensive.

1.8 Research gap and Need for a more secure integrated East Africa

Senghor opined that diversification should be a larger concern than labour mobility. He noted that homogeneity is not always optimal since a country with a fixed currency would better withstand asymmetric shocks provided her economy is diversified and depended on more than one commodity for revenue base. Ernest introduced the notion of endogeneity. He submitted that a group of countries that does not qualify as an OCA ex ante, may evolve into one ex post, by virtue of adopting a common currency. He contended that countries with closer trade links tend to have more tightly correlated business cycles and thus, would converge towards the ideal conditions for monetary integration. This observation undermines conventional OCA theory, as it proves difficult to rule out potential common currency regions on the basis of their current

\[15\text{ J. Senghor, } \text{Theoretical Foundations for Regional Integration in Africa An Overview in } \text{Anyang 'Nyong' oed Regional Integration In Africa: Unfinished Agenda(African Academy Of Sciences 1990)}\]

shortcomings. McKinnon revisited the issue of homogeneity and argues for intra-regional diversification as a safeguard to economic shock, particularly for specialized economies. In effect, heterogeneity offers a risk-sharing arrangement within which a homogenous country with a specialized economy benefits from monetary union with countries that have a different revenue base.\textsuperscript{37} Thus, when one member suffers an economic shock, others are unhurt and can provide temporary assistance to the needy country.\textsuperscript{38}

McKinnon concludes that there are only two compelling reasons for any country not to enter into monetary union with its trading partners: fragile public finances and unstable monetary model. Given that the dollar or the euro could both serve as stable monetary standards in the current international financial arrangement, the only lingering obstacles to optimal monetary integration has been reduced considerably. Goldstain enumerated the potential benefits of adopting a common currency and restated that strong trade relations are a condition for a successful currency union. Furthermore, he focused on the advantages of reducing instability. He concluded that Mundell's criteria were basically restrictive as it ignores the important prospective benefits of monetary integration that put the costs into focus. Indeed, Goldstain’s findings laid the foundation for a more inclusive understanding of OCAs which has influenced the direction of contemporary researches.\textsuperscript{39}

Guillaume and Stasavage stated that the advantages of monetary integration were not restricted to CFA countries. The authors compared East African monetary unions and concluded that

\textsuperscript{37} Forest Action Network (2001), \textit{Natural resource Based Conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa: Experiences and Strategies for Intervention}, Nairobi, USAID Kenya


membership in other common currency areas offered comparable benefits. Bayoumi and Ostry\textsuperscript{40} opined that one of the major shortcomings of the CFA Zone lies in its insufficient homogeneity. Although, the authors found high inflation correlations for CFA countries, the coherence of economic growth across countries could not be established, indeed, negative correlations were reported in some cases. The authors explained the growth asymmetry in terms of the high specialization by member countries in the production of primary products, which makes them susceptible to external shocks. Their findings indicated that endogeneity may not apply to West African countries. Guillaume and Stasavage studied the conditions necessitating the creation of monetary unions and concluded that participation in monetary unions is attractive only if there are no reasonable alternatives. This probably explains the formation of monetary unions in Africa when colonial powers governed their former colonies, especially, the East African countries. Furthermore, economic problems as well as political instability can induce member states to stray from regional monetary arrangements: for instance, the East Africa Currency Board collapsed in 1966.\textsuperscript{41}

Guillaume and Stasavage further observed that monetary unions must contend with members' resistance to losing their sovereignty when met by limited prospects of economic benefits\textsuperscript{42}. The authors argued that unless members are able to make exit costly, either in terms of losses in regional benefits or links with developed countries, monetary unions have little hope of long-term survival. Grandes (2003) analyzed the cost and benefit of the common monetary area in East Africa and concluded that the common monetary area including Uganda formed an optimal

\textsuperscript{40} Griffiths Martin, David Mitrany 1999. \textit{Fifty Key thinkers in International Relations}, London, Routlege


\textsuperscript{42} Griffiths Martin, David Mitrany 1999. \textit{Fifty Key thinkers in International Relations}, London, Routlege
currency area given the existence of common long run trends in their bilateral real exchange rates. The results indicated that macroeconomic efficiency gains could still be augmented if these countries went all the way to develop a full-fledged monetary union. The study also revealed evidence of similar production structures, higher output correlation and risk hedging possibilities. Nevertheless, the study further identified difficulties such as divergence in terms of trade shocks, lack of export diversification and pre-dominance of inter-industrial trade patterns.43

1.9 Methodology of the Study

This study will use both primary and secondary data. The primary data was obtained through interviews and questionnaires. The interviewing will take a direct format, which involves the presentation of an oral stimulus in form of a question and a verbal response from the respondent. This instrument of data collection enables the researcher to control the setting; it is flexible as one can probe and in the process get in-depth information; it has a large response rate; one can adopt the language to the ability of the respondents; one can also control the environment and the question order; and, most importantly it is the respondent alone, who answers with no assistance from the researcher or any other person.

The questionnaire was administered to respondents. It was structured with both closed and open ended questions. The respondents was drawn from the local and international public fraternity in Kenya (media owners, editors and reporters), civil society, groups that observe and monitors security, opinion leaders and shapers, academics and Government stakeholders. The study will also rely on secondary data such as text books, journals and academic papers.

43Mwagiru, M, Conflict in Africa: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management, Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research, 2006 p3
1.9.1 Research design

The study will involve evaluating the role EAC regional integration and economic consequently, the research was designed to achieve the objectives set out and to prove the hypothesis.

1.9.2 Population

The population of the study is all the staff of the Ministry of East African Community and also the Ministry of Regional Affairs.

1.9.3 Sampling and sampling Technique

The research will adopt the survey type of research in which a sample of 20 member staffs from the target population was used for the study. The targeted population for the study will focus on staff of the Ministry of East African Community and the Ministry of Regional Affairs.

1.9.4 Data collection

Questioners was used to focus this study is on attitudes and perception and the importance of primary data cannot be over-emphasized. However, secondary data will also be collected to augment the studies.

1.9.5 Data analysis

The data was analyzed in a descriptive way to discover ideas, concepts, insights, generate possible explanations and hypotheses on the relationship between economic integration and regional security in East Africa.
1.9.6 Chapter Outline

Chapter I – This chapter detailed the background content to the topic of research, problem statement, objectives of the study, study justification the Literature Review, theoretical orientation, study methodology employed and finally the chapter outline


Chapter III – Regional integration efforts in dealing with security threats

Chapter IV – Regional Security formulation in East African integration process

Chapter V – Findings, Summary, Conclusion and recommendations
CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL CONCEPT OF REGIONAL INTERGRATION AND SECURITY

THREATS IN EAST AFRICA

2.1: Concept of Security

National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic, diplomacy, power projection and political power. Initially focusing on military might, it now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge on the non-military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused by the national society. Accordingly, in order to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, environmental security, etc. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as other nation-states but also non-state actors such as violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category.  

2.2: Security Threats in East Africa

2.2.1: Relationship between Human Security and Economic security

Historically, conquest of nations have made conquerors rich through plunder, access to new resources and enlarged trade through controlling of the conquered nations' economy. In today's complex system of international trade, characterized by multi-national agreements, mutual inter-

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dependence and availability of natural resources etc., the freedom to follow choice of policies to
develop a nation's economy in the manner desired, forms the essence of economic security.
Economic security today forms, arguably, as important a part of national security as military
security:

The World Bank Report *Voices of the Poor: Crying out for Change*, made a significant
collection to deepening the idea of human security by incorporating the perspectives of the
poor in the security and development policy debate.\(^4\) This report was based on extensive
fieldwork undertaken across the developing world, with over 60,000 women and men
interviewed on their views of the concerns of their daily lives, poverty and insecurity. This study
found that physical insecurity consistently ranks as one of the principle concerns of the poor in
all regions, but also provided a more nuanced perspective on what 'security' means to the poor.
Participatory approaches provide a micro-level perspective on security, which is complementary
to macro level perspectives typical of more traditional approaches; in short, participatory
approaches highlight ordinary citizens' perceptions of well-being and security. This study
showed that a top priority for the poor is the need to secure stability, predictability and continuity
in their daily lives.

The following four dimensions are identified. Stability of income Financial security: a stable and
steady income; Predictability of one's daily life; some people are more concerned about

\(^4\) Acharya, A. (2005), "Human security, identity, politics and global governance: from freedom from fear to fear of
freedoms", paper presented at the International Conference, Civil Society, Religion & Global Governance:
predictability than financial security; Protection from crime; feeling protected from lack of law and order and increased crime; Psychological security, Emotional security: a psychological sense of belonging to a social group. The proposition contained in the ‘Voices of the vulnerable’ report – that the financial crisis could lead to ‘increased crime’ – certainly appears to be plausible. Criminal motivation theories, including strain theory, propose that illicit behaviours are caused, at least in part, by structurally induced frustrations at the gap between aspirations and expectations, and their achievement in practice.

Where the financial crisis is manifested through decreased or negative economic growth and widespread unemployment, large numbers of individuals may suffer severe, and perhaps sudden, reductions in income. This, in turn, has the potential to cause an increase in the proportion of the population with an (arguably) higher motivation to identify illicit solutions to their immediate problems. Whilst this may appear as a simple explanation for property crime, stress situations are also the cause of many violent crimes. Unemployed persons may become increasingly intolerant and aggressive, especially in their families. Violence among strangers may also increase in situations in which people do not have clear prospects for their future.

Whilst unemployment figures are often used as a key indicator for analysis of the effect of economic conditions on crime, official unemployment figures alone cannot provide a complete indicator of either the financial crisis itself or levels of population financial stress. They do not always take account, for example, of those employed in the informal sector, those supporting large or extended families through low-paid formal employment, or those who survive on remittances from workers abroad. Moreover, in addition to loss of employment, the financial crisis may also manifest itself through reduced government social expenditure, increased cost of
basic consumer goods, and restrictions on local credit availability. Any or all of these may result in financial stress for individuals and communities, with no change in official unemployment figures.

Nonetheless, due largely to its availability and comparative simplicity, unemployment has been widely used in the literature as a proxy for 'economic activity' in the investigation of the relationship between economic downturns and criminal events. A number of these studies do find small statistically significant correlations between unemployment and property crime rates. This relationship tends to hold true more often for property crime than for violent crime types. However, literature reviews show large disparities in the magnitude of the correlation between unemployment and crime, with some studies identifying weak relationships, others a significant relationship, and still others no relationship between unemployment and crime rates. The reasons for this are manifold. First of all, not many people, even facing severe financial problems, may not think of turning to crime and may even seek more desperate solutions. Increased suicide rates, for example, are observed at times of crisis. Secondly, criminal-opportunity theory suggests that at the same time as income stress could provide incentives to commit crime, decreased levels of economic production and consumption associated with economic slowdown, in addition to increased concentrations of (unemployed) persons around potential property crime targets (houses, cars) may reduce opportunities to commit crime. Proponents of this theory argue that this is the case for both property and violent crime.46

46 Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance (1991), Common Responsibility in the 1990's, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Sweden, Stockholm
Beyond serving as an entry point, a strong international commitment to taking a human security approach to dealing with global health has the potential to contribute to health security for several reasons. First, human security focuses on the actual health needs of a community, as identified by the community itself. As a “human-centered approach,” the focal point of human security is individuals and communities. In the health field, this does not mean that outside diagnoses of ailments and education on prevention and treatment of illnesses are unnecessary. Rather, as a complement to such outside expertise, it is incumbent on every person to recognize when his own physical condition is compromised and seek the advice of a healthcare provider. Only the person in question truly understands what his body is feeling and the impact of treatment on his condition as well as the impact his condition has on his daily living and vice versa.

Second, human security highlights people’s vulnerability and aims to help them build resilience to current and future threats. Those who are faced with violent conflict or natural or manmade disasters find themselves even more vulnerable to health challenges because the conflicts or disasters often further restrict their already-limited access to services. The role of human security, therefore, is to help people create an environment in which they can still protect their own and their family’s health even in the event of violent conflict (which may be something they have little or no control over) or natural disaster (which is inevitable to some degree). For that reason, it is important to look beyond the confines of the health sector and take a multifaceted, comprehensive approach that looks at health in the context of various other challenges that impact and are impacted by health. This is a central pillar of human security, as it requires
looking at the needs from the perspective of the way in which individuals and communities experience their needs on a daily basis. Protecting people’s health makes such an approach possible.

Third, human security aims to strengthen the interface between protection and empowerment. A “protection” approach, through which services are provided, is critical, but so is an “empowerment” approach in which people can take care of their own health and build their own resilience. It is also important to look at the interface between these two approaches. Several examples include strengthening people’s ability to act on their own to access services; relying on community healthcare workers who are more embedded in the communities and more aware of the various challenges to daily life in their own communities; and educating and mobilizing communities to focus on the health of the community, particularly the spread of communicable diseases and other illnesses that can affect the health of others in the community. In other words, it is incumbent on those with political and economic power not only to provide vital services but also to create an enabling environment for individuals and communities to have more control over their own health.

**Food Security**

Despite the onset of modern economic growth and development, large populations in many regions of the World remain hungry. Recent data reveal that much of the World's population suffers from chronic as well as transitory food insecurity. According to Owen, this occurs when households are faced with temporary inability to acquire food as a result of sporadic misfortune,
such as drought or civil strife, while chronic food insecurity exists when households suffer from persistent inability to acquire enough food to eat.  

In a recent Food and Agriculture Organisation report, almost 852 million people worldwide were undernourished in 2000-2002. This number includes 815 million in developing countries, 28 million in countries in transition and 9 million in the industrialized countries. FAO also notes that the number of undernourished people in developing countries decreased by nine million during the decade following the World Food Summit baseline period of 1990-1992. It further notes that, during the second half of the decade (1990-1992), the number of chronically hungry in developing countries increased at a rate of almost four million per year wiping out the reduction achieved in the previous five years.

An examination of the global patterns of development and the distribution of populations in hunger reveals striking patterns and relationships. Majority of the undernourished people live in Asia and the Pacific and Sub-Saharan Africa. India alone has approximately 221 million undernourished people. Sub-Saharan Africa, the region making slow progress in alleviating hunger, is home to almost a quarter of the developing World’s hungry people. In Latin America, the Caribbean and Near East and North Africa, serious hunger afflicts fewer people.

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4 Ibid
While the number of undernourished people fell by 40 million between 1990-1992 and 1995-1997, the momentum is too slow and the progress too uneven to achieve the goal set by the World Food Summit 1996: to reduce the total of undernourished people to around 400 million by year 2015. The FAO also notes that several factors are likely to increase the number of undernourished people in many parts of the World.51

Political security

The political aspect of security has been offered by Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde as an important component of national security. Political security is about the stability of the social order. Closely allied to military security and societal security, other components proposed in a framework for national security in their book "Security: a new framework for analysis", it specifically addresses threats to sovereignty.52 System referent objects are defined, such as nation-states, nations, transnational groups of political importance including tribes, minorities, some religious organisation, systems of states such as the European Union and the United Nations, besides others. Diplomacy, negotiation and other interactions form the means of interaction between the objects.

2.2.2: Regional integration and proliferation

During Kofi Annan’s tenure as UN Secretary-General, the hundreds of thousands of deaths across the globe attributed to the use and misuse of small arms and light weapons (SALW) every

51Ibid

year led him to aptly label them “the weapons of choice for the killers of our time." Perhaps in no other part of the world does Annan’s statement have more merit than in Eastern Africa, where the AK-47 has become the weapon of choice for insurgents, terrorists, organized criminal syndicates, and thugs alike. As has been noted, the aggregate effects of these weapons make them the true weapons of mass destruction. SALW do not only kill and maim: the presence and trafficking of these arms in Eastern Africa undermines all facets of security while diminishing the prospects for economic development throughout the region. The sheer number of small arms in Eastern Africa is unknown, but out of the 640 million in circulation worldwide, 100 million are believed to be present on the African continent. There exists a plethora of reasons for the wealth of SALW and for the enduring trafficking challenges in the sub-region. In the early to mid-20th century, game hunters and poachers supplied the region and the rest of Africa with arms, as did Western governments seeking to shore up their colonies’ military capacities. Amid the Cold War in the 1970s and 1980s, Africa became a theater for superpower competition as both the Soviet Union and the United States supplied military equipment to their regional allies.

As a result of the many armed conflicts in Eastern Africa in post-colonial times—for example, between Eritrea and Ethiopia, in Uganda, and in Sudan—the demand for arms has skyrocketed, and foreign influx and domestic production of weapons have similarly increased. The implosion of Somalia in the early 1990s and the enduring instability that followed further contributes to the Eastern Africa SALW trafficking challenge. When the Somali government fell in 1991, many


soldiers who had fought in the border regions of Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Kenya traded the only goods they had—weapons—in return for food, shelter, and a safe passage home.55 Because of nonexistent or weak central authority, as well as porous borders, Somalia has become a gateway country for illicit arms flow into Eastern Africa.56

When conflict ends—or, at least, when fighting ceases—a surplus of SALW remains present amid fragile nations. Weak government institutions, poorly protected stockpiles, and widespread corruption make the immense stockpiles of SALW easy targets for theft. While in circulation in Eastern African societies, myriad public and private actors contribute to SALW trafficking, including corrupt government and law-enforcement officials, illicit brokers, banks, military and transportation companies.57 For the most part, arms sales today are documented and comply with national laws and international regulations, but a massive quantity of SALW that end up in Eastern Africa are illicitly traded. International arms dealers have mastered the global supply chain and continue to supply and facilitate transportation of small arms with relative ease to governments, warlords, and modern-day pirates, among others. SALW can be trafficked with ease, in part because of permeable borders across Eastern Africa.

Many current laws in place to prevent smuggling are too lenient and do not act as sufficient deterrents.58 National enforcement institutions and personnel also lack capacity, or motivation, to implement the existing legal framework. Traffickers use fuel tankers, animal carcasses, as well


56 Fanta Emmanuel (2008); “Dynamics of Regional (non-) integration in Eastern Africa” UNUCRIS working papers


58 Ibid
as charcoal and travel bags to illegally transport SALW throughout the region. Because AK-47s, for example, weigh 4.3 kilograms and are less than a meter tall, vast numbers of them can be smuggled with little fear of detection.

The impacts of SALW go beyond the immediate death the weapons create. Their abundance and availability also have a deleterious impact on overall security dynamics. Arms facilitate, increase, and exacerbate violent crimes, carjacking, highway robberies, abductions, extortions, poaching, terrorism, and piracy. Because governments in the region cannot provide adequate security for their citizens, civilians may acquire weapons for personal and family protection, contributing to a gun culture in many Eastern African countries. The introduction of arms into rural communities has had devastating regional-security consequences: the border area of Uganda-Kenya is one case in point. Cattle rustling among pastoral communities were traditionally a low-intensity form of conflict aimed at redistributing wealth, paying bridal prices, and forging alliances. Historically, casualties were low because, for hundreds of years, the activity was conducted with spears, and bows and arrows; women, children, and the elderly were not targeted; and deaths were treated seriously and compensated with cattle. With the tremendous influx of SALW in the last 30 years, cattle rustling have morphed into new forms of murder. Indiscriminate killings are more routine, including acts against women and children, occasionally resulting in the slaughter of entire families.59 Gun violence and SALW trafficking in Eastern Africa have also had profound impacts on national development prospects. Over the last 15 years there has been a devastating loss in livestock due to armed violence. In the pastoralist

districts of Kenya and Uganda, more than 460,000 cattle, worth over $75 million, have been killed or have died of disease when forced to move to new areas for security reasons.\textsuperscript{60} Health costs for survivors of gun violence have risen, and treatment facilities have closed due to safety concerns. Now, women are left without their husbands and cattle to defend or support themselves. Children become unable to attend school either because it is unsafe to travel, schools have closed, or they are forced to be at home to defend their family property.

People fear working in the fields because of raids, and such fears often result in food shortages. Moreover, the unsafe environment hampers tourism and foreign investment, and thus inhibits the potential for economic growth. National authorities are often unable to provide adequate policing and patrolling to come to grips with the SALW trafficking challenge. At the same time, governments are forced to divert scarce resources to this problem, which means fewer assets can be used toward other important development objectives, such as improving markets and roads, and developing and maintaining schools and health care facilities. Because of the security situation, support from and the presence of NGOs is impossible if it is unsafe to deploy personnel on the ground.\textsuperscript{61}

A number of international, national, and regional measures are in place to prevent SALW trafficking that, if implemented, promise to mitigate some of the negative consequences of the illegal trading of firearms. At the international level, the 2001 UN Firearms Protocol and Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and 


\textsuperscript{61}EAC, (2000). Perspectives on Regional Integration and co-operation in East Africa.
Light Weapons in All Its Aspects outlines steps that nations should take to prevent illicit trade of small arms. These measures commit states to, among other things, criminalize illicit gun production, possession, export, import, and transfer; develop and maintain export and transit controls; identify and prosecute individuals and organizations that manufacture and traffic small arms; establish national coordination agencies on small arms; support regional cooperation; and improve information exchange and enforcement mechanism connected to SALW. Efforts are also under way to conclude an Arms Trade Treaty, which would put forth international standards on controlling the international transfer of arms. Preparatory talks are ongoing, and a negotiating conference is scheduled for 2012.

In 2000, ten Eastern African nations signed the Nairobi Declaration on the Problem of the Proliferation of Illicit SALW in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, a political statement against the proliferation of these weapons. Four years later the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control, and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa was signed by 12 states. This legally binding measure entered into force in 2006. The protocol includes provisions regulating SALW possession, manufacture, transfer, brokering, and enforcement of arms embargoes. It also stresses the importance of regional collaboration among governments and civil society groups in the region. The Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) is charged with coordinating efforts to implement the protocol, including facilitating cooperation among national focal points and other relevant agencies to prevent, combat, and eradicate stockpiling and illicit trafficking in SALW. Some current activities include supporting countries in developing national action plans, harmonizing SALW

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62 EAC Press Release, “EAC Inter-State Security Agencies’ Meeting Opens in Burundi” 2010:
legislation throughout the region, and developing a regional strategy for stopping the use and trafficking of firearms. RECSA also has programs that aim to build capacities of police and law-enforcement agencies, and the body develops partnerships between governments, civil society, and donor agencies, and raises public awareness about the importance of combating SALW.63

International organizations, other regional bodies such as the African Union (AU), and NGOs often coordinate their work connected to small arms with RECSA for maximum impact. One such organization is the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation, which coordinates regional police action to address proliferation concerns. In addition, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development has formed a regional partnership with other actors to create a project intended to build capacity to combat the misuse of SALW in IGAD countries. The European Union (EU) has also developed a Code of Conduct and Joint Action on Small Arms, and many EU members work closely with African regional organizations in trying to address the problem.64

At the national level, countries have adopted action plans on SALW, which are often linked to other national-security and development objectives. Implementation of Uganda’s national strategy, for example, is a priority objective for Kampala’s efforts to eradicate poverty. Uganda’s action plan on SALW includes such objectives as improved legislation and public education on SALW, border controls, and training and capacity-building. Other states of the region are active


as well. In 2010, Tanzania, with support from RECSA and the Japanese government, destroyed nearly 6,000 firearms in the Morogoro region, and about 1,200 SALW in the Mwanza region. Tanzania has also collaborated with NGOs to develop a plan of action for arms management and disarmament.

In Africa, the SALW trafficking problem is intrinsically linked to a wide range of peace-building/development imperatives and overall security-related capacity-building. Unless a “whole of society” approach is applied, the threats propagated by small arms and light weapons will endure. The following key technical and capacity shortfalls are in dire need of improvement:

- Personnel and technical capacity at border points, such as more and better-trained and equipped guards, improved arms-detection gear and techniques, as well as surveillance systems and scanners.
- Judicial and law-enforcement systems, as current measures many times are too lenient and do not act as sufficient deterrent for illegal possession and trade of SALW.
- Policing and patrolling at key border hot spots.
- Export and transshipment laws and controls to limit the influx of small arms in and to the sub region.
- Arms-stockpile management, protection, and destruction through training and improved technical capacity, as well as coordinated cross-border disarmament activities.
- Systems, hardware, and software to facilitate the marking, tracking, and monitoring of small arms with a view to improving prospects for detection and enforcing national laws.

EAC Press Release. “EAC Inter-State Security Agencies’ Meeting Opens in Burundi” 2010:
Regional harmonization of legal and enforcement systems, as well as improved systems for and frequency of information exchange and joint strategies to combat the illicit trafficking in SALW.

- Research into and public education about the perils of SALW.
- Corruption and lack of political will in government, as well as de-motivated staff to implement current legal and enforcement structures for small arms.

2.2.3: Terrorism

Large crowds enthusiastically watched the July 2010 FIFA World Cup soccer finals at a local rugby club and in a downtown Kampala restaurant when terror struck the Ugandan capital. Athletic suspense and celebration instantly turned to tragedy as bombs ripped through both gatherings; killing 76 people and wounding 85.⁶⁶ Al-Shabaab quickly claimed responsibility for the attack, asserting that it was in response to Uganda’s support for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISON) - the UN-approved regional peacekeeping mission mandated to support the Somali Transitional Federal Government in restoring order in the largely lawless country. The attack was the Somali-based terrorist organization’s first major assault beyond Somalia, and the deadliest in Eastern Africa since the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. As such, it signaled a change in al-Shabaab’s *modus operandi*, which in turn raises fears of increased human insecurity and regional instability, and deals a significant blow to economic-development prospects in an already volatile part of the world.⁶⁷

Prior to the World Cup bombing in Uganda, al-Shabaab had wreaked havoc for years in Somalia targeting AMISON and the TFG. In February 2009, for example, a suicide bomber killed 11

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Burundian soldiers, and from June 2009 to June 2010, 556 terrorist incidents were reported to have killed over 1,400 people and wounded 3,400. Since the Kampala terrorist attacks, cross border skirmishes and the threat of terrorist attacks from operatives based in Somalia have become an ever-increasing concern for governments in Eastern Africa. For instance, shortly after the World Cup attack, a Kenyan border patrol was ambushed by Somali anti-government forces, which wounded one Kenyan border patrol officer. Later in the year, a bomb exploded at a Nairobi bus station, killing 3 people and injuring several others. The bomb was originally intended to go off in Uganda, not Kenya, and al-Shabaab again claimed responsibility.

Terrorist and insurgent violence in Somalia has not only killed thousands and left even more wounded, but by the end of October 2010, the hostility between al-Shabaab and the TFG led to at least 20,000 people living in a Somali border town to flee into Kenya. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees warned of the deteriorating health and security conditions for the fleeing populations, many of whom lack adequate shelter, food, or water. Then Kenya increased troop deployments along the border to counter these emerging threats. al-Shabaab threatened to respond by attacking the capital, Nairobi. The terrorist organization has also threatened attacks against Djibouti, Somalia’s northern neighbor, if that country were to deploy troops to Somalia under the AMISON banner. On January 28, 2011, Djibouti indeed announced it would send 450 soldiers to Somalia as soon as the next few weeks to reinforce the 5,000-strong AMISON force.

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70 "EAC Press Release, “EAC Set To Turn Into Conflict-Free Zone,”" 7 August 2009

The ability of al-Shabaab and other terrorist organizations to operate and strike throughout Eastern Africa is in part the result of the region’s porous borders, weak government structures, and inadequate judicial and law-enforcement mechanisms aimed at combatting these dangerous and lawless groups. Additionally, the presence of disaffected Muslim groups, and the close proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, has long raised fears that terrorists could exploit weaknesses to conduct planning and operations in Eastern African countries. As terrorist groups, including Al Qaeda, encounter greater operational difficulties in places like Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is feared that they will shift operations to alternate areas where resistance is less. There is emerging evidence that this may already be occurring in Somalia.

Because of its territorial proximity to Somalia, as well as the current lack of border security and resources to carry out a concerted counterterrorism offensive, Kenya is perhaps most susceptible to further terrorist attacks. At present, as one study noted, because of resource constraints, as well as the practical challenges in monitoring the 400-mile border between the two countries, terror groups operating in Somalia “can essentially enter and leave Kenya freely, opening the door to hit the country’s soft targets more or less at will.” Other countries are also at risk, for example Ethiopia, whose border with Somalia is practically void of security. Addis Ababa has also found itself on al-Shabaab’s target lists.

Ibid


Ibid


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But al-Shabaab is not the only non-state actor that has posed, and in some cases continues to pose, a regional terrorist threat in Eastern Africa. Over the years, numerous terrorist attacks can be attributed to groups such as the Janjaweed, the Sudan People’s Liberation Army, the Justice and Equality Movement, the Lord’s Resistance Army, and terrorist groups in Ethiopia. Since the 1990s, Al Qaeda also has been active in the region, but it has had greater success in Kenya than in Somalia because of the greater presence of Western targets, including embassies and places associated with the tourism industry. Moreover, the government is challenged by capacity shortfalls in the areas of security and the criminal justice system. Tanzania and Uganda also share these characteristics. Of course, Al Qaeda’s ability to establish cells in Kenya and Tanzania throughout the 1990s, as well its ability to procure weapons and explosives from neighboring Somalia, culminated in the 1998 dual bombings of the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Despite the Western target, the majority of the more than 220 dead and thousands wounded were Tanzanians and Kenyans. And to this day, Kenya remains an important Al Qaeda target in the Horn of Africa. Not only does the terrorism challenge in Eastern Africa threaten the basic security of local citizens, it also derails economic development initiatives and damages the region’s tourism industry. In 2002, the alleged mastermind behind the embassy bombings, Abdullah Muhammad Fazul, along with several other Al Qaeda operatives, again exploited porous borders to re-enter Kenya from Somalia, integrate into a small village along the coast, launch two separate attacks, and quickly escape into Somalia. One cell narrowly missed hitting an Israeli passenger plane taking off from the Mombasa Airport with surface-to-air missiles that had been purchased in Yemen and smuggled through Somalia. Another cell killed 15 and injured 35 when it detonated a bomb outside of the Israeli owned Paradise Hotel in Mombasa on

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African Union, *Meeting the challenges of Conflict in Africa: Towards the Operationalization of the Continental Early Warning System*. Edited by the PSD of the AUC, 2008
November 28, 2002. Yet again, most of the casualties were local citizens. The hotel bombing also had a devastating effect on regional economic development efforts across Eastern Africa. Governments rightly worry that additional attacks and the resulting fear that would be generated could hinder international business investments and yield grave implications for regional tourism and, by extension, regional economic growth.

The potential convergence between dangerous biological agents and terrorist groups with a propensity to commit acts of mass violence unmistakably also poses a serious threat to regional and international security. In November 2010, US Senator Richard Lugar and a team of Pentagon officials traveled through Kenya, Burundi, and Uganda and identified many glaring vulnerabilities at biological research sites, including both the Kenya Medical Research Institute and the Uganda Virus Research Institute. These types of facilities conduct invaluable research, yet they also contain deadly pathogens such as the Ebola virus and anthrax. The possibility of accidental or malicious release of these materials increases if any actor—a terrorist group, criminal group, or an opportunistic individual with little or no experience handling biological agents attempts to steal and transport them to an off-site location. And if a terrorist group obtained a biological agent and used it against a Western target in the region, local citizens would again undoubtedly fall victims to the attack. To combat terrorism threat in the region, countries have, to varying degrees based upon political will and local capacities, enacted an array of counterterrorism measures. Uganda passed the Suppression of Terrorism Act in 2002, while Tanzania passed its Anti-Terrorism Law in 2003.

"EAC Press Release. "EAC Inter-State Security Agencies' Meeting Opens in Burundi" 2010:
Due to the threat posed by al-Shabaab and Al Qaeda, Uganda recently enhanced security at many government sites and popular civilian locations, and it allowed the US Antiterrorism Assistance Program to conduct an assessment of the country’s counterterrorism capabilities. Tanzania has established a National Counterterrorism Center, which participates in several programs aimed at strengthening law-enforcement and military capacities, improving border and aviation security, and targeting terrorists’ financing. The passage of an anti-terrorism bill met stiff resistance in Kenya’s Parliament, but in comparison to many other states, Kenya has received substantial amounts of foreign assistance for its counterterrorism programs, and it too operates a National Counterterrorism Center. Kenya passed the Anti-Terrorism bill in 2012.

Despite progress made by each of these countries, there is still concern that anti-terrorism laws remain inadequate and, more importantly, that capacity shortfalls in law enforcement, intelligence gathering, the judicial process, and the sharing of information may hinder the effectiveness of newly implemented initiatives and leave local residents vulnerable to the persistent terrorist threat. Nonetheless, where political will has been matched with available resources, there have been positive signs towards enhanced regional counterterrorism cooperation. For instance, following the December 2010 bus bombing in Nairobi, where Uganda was the primary target state, Kenyan and Ugandan anti-terrorism officials vowed to increase information-sharing designed to prevent future attacks. Counterterrorism measures have, however, come under criticism for leading to major human rights violations by government security forces in the region. This is a major problem, since overly aggressive counterterrorism policies could potentially worsen the terrorist threat by alienating local Muslim communities.

Public support towards counterterrorism initiatives has declined as a result of these human rights violations, and when confronted with more pressing daily challenges such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, widespread local crime, trafficking of SALW, spending on counterterrorism has at times been viewed as an unnecessary diversion of scarce resources.\textsuperscript{79}

At the international level, adherence to the September 2006 UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy could address many of the aforementioned areas of concern. The strategy calls for a more holistic approach to counterterrorism that would build capacities in critical areas, address local human security challenges, and ensure that counterterrorism measures do not violate respect for internationally recognized human rights.\textsuperscript{80} Regional organizations could be extremely useful vehicles for implementing the UN strategy, and they have already played an important role addressing the terrorism threat in Eastern Africa (discussed further below). In addition, a number of civil society actors, such as the African Resource Network on Terrorism and Counter Terrorism and the Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, have made contributions towards implementing counterterrorism initiatives.\textsuperscript{81} Innocent civilians in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have been victimized by terrorist attacks in the past, and the threat of future attacks remains high. However, confronting this challenge, promoting economic development, and respecting human rights are not mutually exclusive. IGAD has stated explicitly that members' geographic location, the persistence of conflict, the absence of state structures, despair resulting from the loss of hope, and growth in extremism make Eastern Africa a breeding ground for


\textsuperscript{80}Mwagiru, M, (2006) \textit{Conflict in Africa: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management}, Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research

\textsuperscript{81}International Peace Academy, \textit{The Infrastructure of Peace in Africa: Assessing the Peacebuilding Capacity of African Institutions}, September 2002;
terrorist activities. As a result, governments across the region have displayed not only willingness but a pragmatic intent to address the threat of terrorism. But sustained progress against both regional and globally minded terrorist organizations operating in Eastern Africa is challenged by an array of financial, legal, and technical hurdles. Insufficient support for ameliorating the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including most core development priorities of regional governments and international donors such as health, education, and transportation infrastructures.  

To that end, increased streams of funding could be used to simultaneously address terrorism concerns, improve governmental capacities in critical areas, and improve the region's security as a whole. While this would help prevent further loss of life due to acts of terrorism, it would also promote greater stability throughout Eastern Africa, provide incentives for increased regional business investment, and ensure that tourists are safe.

2.2.4: Trafficking In Persons and Migrant Smuggling

Despite significant efforts by governments, international agencies and NGOs to eliminate trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, it is still a major concern in Africa. Due to the large migration flows resulting from formal economy unions and expansive open borders, the trafficking and smuggling of people are not easily detected. The prospect of better living conditions elsewhere is most frequently the motivating factor for trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, as many people desire to move closer to areas that present them with increased opportunities. An uneven regulatory framework, poor international cooperation, lack

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82 Makumi Mwagiru (1997), 'The Greater Horn of Africa Conflict System: Conflict Patterns, strategies & management practices.' A paper prepared for the USAID project on conflict and conflict management in the Greater Horn of Africa
of awareness among both the police and the population has made policing trafficking difficult. As trafficking networks become more organized and ruthless, so the problem becomes increasingly more prominent.

Despite significant efforts by governments, international agencies and NGOs to eliminate trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, it is still a major concern in Africa. Due to the large migration flows resulting from formal economic unions and expansive, open borders, the trafficking and smuggling of people are not easily detected. The prospect of better living conditions elsewhere is most frequently the motivating factor for trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, as many people desire to move closer to areas that present them with increased opportunities. This is just as true for people moving within a single country, from a rural to an urban area, as it is for those moving across international borders. An exact number of human trafficking and migrant smuggling cases is difficult to estimate due to the lack of statistical evidence that results from a number of factors. For example, in many cases individuals willingly begin the migration process and to some extent, a number of parents are directly involved in the trafficking of their own children, thus making it difficult to obtain reliable data on human trafficking. Such situations make it difficult to gauge the full extent by which society is affected by human trafficking and migrant smuggling. However, it does not mean that these two phenomena do not have a profound impact upon the countries of East Africa and their societies.

This is evidenced by the amount of attention given to these issues in recent years. While Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda and Tanzania have enacted specific anti-trafficking in
persons legislation, Burundi, Kenya, Mauritius and Uganda are in the process of adopting anti-trafficking legislation, either having already presented draft laws to the legislative bodies or being in an advanced stage of the drafting process. In addition, in most countries there are laws in place for trafficking related offences that enable criminal justice professionals to take action. In spite of these efforts though, the vast majority of people remain vulnerable to the actions of traffickers due to a lack of awareness on the part of the public and the absence of investigative and prosecution capacity on the part of law enforcement officials, as well as to a weak overall legal framework and long, porous borders that benefit organized criminal and trafficking networks.

Migrant Smuggling

Migrant smuggling is a thriving business in Eastern Africa, due to the enduring political and economic instability in the region. The latest study from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) shows that approximately 14.5 million people migrate per annum; 10 million of them moving within the countries of the East Africa region. While not all of these individuals migrate illegally, many of them do in the hope of escaping a poor and conflict torn state, this only makes the profits to be made from smuggling to be more attractive. Spurring irregular migration, the smuggling of migrants further exacerbates the adverse impacts of unmanaged migration on the societies as a whole in both the sending and recipient countries. As a result, a vicious cycle is repeated: economic development is hindered, creating a breeding ground for crime, which in turn increases the lack of economic opportunities, further stalling human development.

Migrant smuggling can take many forms, from ad-hoc to the fraudulent acquisition of a visa to outright pre-organized stage-to-stage smuggling. Regardless of the manner of smuggling that is utilized, the above trends highlight the need for immediate action on the part of the UNODC and countries in the region in order to combat migrant smuggling. Not only are new methods necessary, but increased coordination across and between regions should be a priority. UNODC should continue in its efforts to assist countries in implementing the Migrant Smuggling Protocol, as well as continue to promote a comprehensive response to the issue of migrant smuggling.

**Trafficking in persons, profile of victim and traffickers**

Although information relating to the analysis of trafficking patterns, flows or trends in the East African region is scarce, available data suggests that the countries in the region are beset by domestic as well as intra-regional trafficking. On the domestic level, trafficking is occurring on a large scale, as men, women and children are transported from rural to urban areas for forced labour and sexual exploitation. At the international level, trafficking also occurs on a large scale in some countries, such as Uganda, but most transnational trafficking occurs between countries in the region.

The profiles of the victims vary greatly; however, the reasons for their trafficking are similar: unemployment, income levels, the death of parents and educational levels. Most victims of human trafficking in the IOM assessment were lured by the all too common promises of a good job, a higher salary, improved education opportunities or other favourable prospects, but in the

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the promised conditions were rarely met. The demand for female victims is boosted in the region by the growing tourism and sex industry, and forced child labour is prevalent in rural areas on plantations, and in the fishing and mining industries.\textsuperscript{85}

**Irregular migration patterns and routes**

Two typical migration routes can be identified in the region, the north route by land and sea – via North Africa to the Middle East and Europe – and the south route mainly to Mozambique and/or Southern Africa. Eastern African countries are primarily countries of origin, but for the region and in domestic cases, they also serve as destination or transit points. Kenya has been identified as a destination country for illegal migrants. South Africa is the most targeted country in the sub-region due to its relatively high level of economic and social development, and Tanzania is the leading country for refugees in the region due to its relative level of political stability, receiving officially close to one million migrants in 2005.

The East Africa routes are mainly composed of individuals from the Horn of Africa. The routes depart from Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia, pass through Sudan/Chad and Libya, and eventually end on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea: in Egypt, Libya and even in Turkey. The flows from East Africa constitute from a numerical point of view the main flow of migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea, and this Eastern Route is currently the most frequently and successfully used by illegal migrants.

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid
Occurrence and facilitating factors

Researches completed in 2006 and mentioned in the US TIP 2008 found approximately 800,000 people are trafficked across national borders, and millions more are trafficked within their own countries. Out of these figures, approximately 80 percent of transnational victims are women and girls, and up to 50 percent are minors. Although the lack of exact data regarding migrant smuggling and human trafficking makes it difficult to measure how adversely these two phenomena affect the countries of East Africa, several indicators show that this issue needs immediate attention. The East African migration patterns are profoundly influenced by conflict and political instability, causing internal and international displacement in addition to creating a viable atmosphere for trafficking. It is not difficult to foresee that while refugee camps grow and migrant flows within the region as well as to Europe and the Middle East remain high, illicit human trafficking will remain a problem and most likely increase. In addition, efficient border management is lacking. Borders are long and porous, permitting people to travel relatively easily across them, and the border police lack the necessary training and equipment needed to effectively monitor what border crossings are in place.

The problem of human trafficking and migrant smuggling is further exacerbated due to the presence of weak governments and criminal justice systems. The lack of an adequate legislative and regulatory framework and awareness of the part of law enforcement and government officials only serves to impede the effective and coherent prevention of human trafficking.

2.2.5: Firearms trafficking

No accurate data is available on the extent of illegal small arms and light weapons (SALW) available in the region. In recent years the Eastern Africa region has received increased international attention for the excessively high amounts of weapons in civilian hands, and in response, many governments have undertaken weapons amnesty and destruction programmes. But violent conflicts within and at the borders of the region are seen as an ongoing source of the illicit trade in SALW, and as a consequence, an increasing level of violence in local communities. Furthermore, evidence is coming to light that SALW trafficking is being connected to piracy and migrant smuggling, as the same groups expand their activities and thus their influence in the region.87

Of the estimated 640 million small arms and light weapons (SALW) in circulation worldwide, 100 million of those are thought to be in Africa and the majority of those in the hands of civil society.88 Trafficking in firearms constitutes one of the most challenging and pressing problems in Eastern Africa. Firearms are circulating from one conflict to another and eventually end up in the hands of warlords and criminal gangs, prolonging conflicts, promoting crime and armed violence and slowing down the development of social and economic stability and democracy. Most countries in the region are heavily affected by the circulation and misuse of illicit firearms, which are often the direct cause of death of many civilians. The flow of firearms is fuelled by

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87 The background on SALWs is drawn from Kiflemariam Gebre-Wold, “Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Horn of Africa,” 2002.

persistent instability in the region and recurring outbreaks of conflicts within the Horn of Africa, the Great Lakes Region and to neighboring countries.

Reducing the amount of SALW could clearly contribute positively towards ending the vicious circle of violence. Although most states in the region have weak governance structures and are struggling to provide security within their borders, they have attention for the arms problem. In practice, they face multiple challenges in addressing the issues around SALW. Porous borders create a difficult situation to track trade in the commodity and are heaven on earth for illicit activities. The poor condition of state security forces causes the impossibility to provide security country wide and so inhabitants choose to arrange for their own safety and posses weapons. Furthermore widespread corruption in some countries and institutions cannot rule out governmental involvement or allowing of illicit trade.

The exact amount of available SALW in East Africa is unknown. It is expected there are thousands of firearms in illicit possession, and that illicit trafficking of these weapons is taking place at a large scale. Although clear facts and figures, as well as information about involved actors and trade routes are not widely available, it is possible to create a picture of the illicit trafficking in firearms by looking at the laws and regulations in place and to what extent these laws are being effectively implemented.

Small arms and light weapons and their sources

Small arms and light weapons (SALW) is used to describe most firearms in use by individuals and small groups of individuals and the ammunition used for the weapons. Common firearms in
East Africa are the AK 47 and G 3. SALW are used for a range of reasons, by civilians for protections, to pastoral uses, to the more sinister uses of criminal gangs, militias and terrorist groups. In East Africa a major source for weapons has been the supply of weapons in the 1970s and 1980s in relation to the Cold War. Another major area of concern is the diversion of firearms from official sources due to a combination of factors, including the breakdown of state institutions, looted government stockpiles, and theft from state-run small arms inventories. The majority of firearms are diverted from poorly secured government stockpiles by corrupt officials or thieves and transactions are frequently facilitated by illicit brokers, who take advantage of weak regulatory systems, poor or non-existent import and export controls and licensing systems. In addition, local law enforcement and other officials are involved in the supplying of ammunitions, whether legal, semi-legal or illicit.

Given ongoing instability in Somalia, the country is a gateway for illicit arms to enter the Eastern African region. The UN Monitoring Group on Somalia has noted that significant arms shipments have been made to the country through the Gulf of Aden. Weak border controls facilitate the flow of weapons from Somalia to the region more generally. In particular in conflict-ridden countries, firearms find their way through clandestine military operations, which are covert transfers by corrupt government officials to separatist or rebel forces operating in another country. Kenya and Tanzania, for example, are both affected by the influx of firearms from neighboring countries, which are faced with armed conflict. Seychelles, although known as a stable and peaceful country, is thought to be an important entry point for small arms in the region. Arms and ammunition trafficking in Africa is a complex and multi-faceted problem often linked to inter-community violence and organized criminal activities, such as looting natural

89 Ibid
resources, poaching and drug trafficking. A firearms transaction may involve an array of
clandestine criminal network brokers, banks, corrupt government and law enforcement officials,
private military companies, dubious transportation companies, and several trans-shipment
points.40

2.2.6: Drug trafficking

While Eastern Africa is not particularly threatened as a destination for drug trafficking, most
countries in the region are used as transit points to other destinations. Cannabis is the most
cultivated, smuggled and consumed drug in the region, followed by heroin and to a much lesser
extent cocaine. Low seizure figures reported by Governments are more likely to be an indicator
of weak border controls and insufficient resources to drug control activities, rather than a sign
that drug trafficking is not taking place. West Africa has recently received considerable attention
as a drug route, and as mechanisms are strengthened there, the Eastern Africa region will come
under threat as traffickers seek new routes across the continent.

Drug trafficking in Africa, particularly West Africa has gained special attention in recent years.
Most countries in the Eastern Africa region are used as transit points to other destinations.
Cannabis is the most cultivated, smuggled and consumed drug in the region, followed among
the internationally controlled substances by heroin and to a much lesser extent cocaine. Although
seizure figures are low, they indicate more than likely that few resources are being allocated to
drug control and weak border controls rather than low levels of illicit drugs being trafficked

40The background on SALWs is drawn from Kiflemariam Gebre-Wold. “Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms
and Light Weapons in the Horn of Africa.” 2002.
through the region. An intra-regional drug trafficking pattern has also emerged recently, involving Kenya, Tanzania, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles and the Comoros.

Although data are not widely available in the past couple of years regarding drug trafficking, the available statistics indicate that traditional drugs such as khat and cannabis continue to be trafficked in large volumes throughout the region. Even though it is not widely used throughout the region and the plant itself is not banned, its main active ingredients, cathinone and cathine, are controlled under the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances and thus illegal in a number of countries outside the region such as Australia, Canada, Denmark, Poland, Sweden, the United States and other Western countries. As a result, several countries in the region are concerned about the health, as well as the socio-economic effects of khat consumption and of aspects relating to its trade and trafficking. Cannabis is still the most widely consumed and trafficked illicit drug in the region.

The amount of seizures of cannabis herb in 2006 in the region amounted to 228 tons, rising by 40% in comparison to 2005. East Africa collectively accounted for 4.3% of global seizures of cannabis herb in 2006. 3.4% of cannabis oil, 2.5% of cannabis plant and 2.3% of cannabis resin. Tanzania alone seized 225 tones of cannabis herb, while Kenya reported seizures of 44 tons of cannabis herb in 2007. In addition, the level of cannabis oil seizures in Madagascar in 2006 was the fourth highest worldwide (after Canada, the Russian Federation and Jamaica).²

A rather new development that is of growing concern in the region is the flow of opiates causing

²Ulf Engel and Joao Gomes Porto (eds), Africa’s New Peace and Security Architecture, Promoting Norms, Institutionalizing Solutions, Asghate, 2010
Eastern African countries to be identified as both destination and transit countries. Most seizures of heroin are made at international airports, with the airports servicing Addis Ababa and Nairobi being the two most important due to their extensive connections outside the region, but there is also an increasing use of postal and courier services for heroin, as well as hashish and to a lesser extent cocaine. A review of drug seizures from 1998 to date indicates an increase in the trafficking of heroin to Eastern African countries from Pakistan, Thailand and India. Tanzanians and Mozambicans are becoming involved in the trafficking of heroin from Pakistan and Iran, highlighting the extent to which the eastern coast of Africa is increasingly a transit point. Other indications for the increasing importance of Eastern Africa in the heroin trade stem from seizures in Pakistan, an important transit country for opiates originating in Afghanistan. Details of 1,344 heroin seizures occurring in the period 2005-2007 were reported from Pakistan. Among these, the number of cases in which the destination was identified as a country in Eastern Africa increased from 9 in 2005 to 15 in 2006 and 27 in 2007. In addition; it is worth noting that law enforcement experts from Iran and Pakistan have reported the increasing activities of Eastern African drug cartels in their own countries.92

While the sub-region does not have a particular problem with the trafficking of cocaine, it should be noted that it is highly probable the region is still used as a transit point for cocaine destined for the European markets. For example, a major seizure of 1.2 tons of cocaine took place in the Port of Mombasa in 2006, and a number of smaller cocaine shipments were also reported, which originated from South America and were headed to Kenya via West Africa before being subsequently shipped to the UK. In addition, the region has increasingly been used as a transit

point and destination for precursors chemicals. The INCD precursors report for 2007 identified a number of countries targeted in the diversion and attempted diversion of ephedrine and pseudoephedrine, including Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Tanzania. The emergence of Mandrax in the region has gone hand in hand with the diversion of licit drugs and essential chemical precursors into the illicit market, and it should be noted that in 2007, the Indian authorities stopped a 5 ton shipment of anthranilic acid destined for Kenya. Such a seizure should cause alarm because anthranilic acid is used in the production of Mandrax, and Kenya has no legitimate requirement for the substance.

2.2.7: Environmental crime

Projects show that environmental crime in Eastern Africa is on the rise. There is growing concern about the illegal trade in flora and fauna, wildlife and pollution/dumping of toxic waste. While the amount of environmental crimes may not seem to rate high on the international scale, the impact of these crimes in the Eastern Africa region are enormous. Environmental crime reaches deep into communities, and Resource-based conflicts are easily triggered. More importantly, turning the tide on environmental damage is a huge endeavor, and thus timely interventions of a preventative nature can be far more effective than investigating and prosecuting after the fact.

Eastern African countries are endowed with high levels of biodiversity and although being plentiful in flora and fauna, the stand of many protected species seems to diminish rapidly. Environmental crime in Africa and in particular in Eastern Africa is projected to be on the rise, challenging the security of citizens and communities, in particular in the border areas. In Eastern
Africa, there is growing concern about the illegal trade in flora and fauna, wildlife and pollution/dumping of toxic waste. Environmental crime has become increasingly organized and transnational in nature and can be seen, just as drug and firearms trafficking, as one of the most significant areas of trans-border criminal activity, threatening to disrupt societies in the region and hinder sustainable development. The pollution of land, water and air, including the dumping of toxic waste are also major environmental crimes on the rise in the Eastern African region.

Expired or hazardous materials (solid and liquid), are often left untreated and are discharged in rivers, the ocean or other areas in the cities. This poses a major health hazard to persons living in largely affected areas. A study carried out by the Institute of Security Studies highlighted the illegal dumping of motor vehicle scrap and release of pollutants into lakes by commercial industries and tobacco firms amongst others. For example, it is estimated that Lake Victoria receives 23,550 tons of biological oxygen demand (BOD) substances, 1,555,580 tons of nitrogen (in form of fertilisers) and 32,050 tons of phosphorous per year.

**Actors, connections and occurrences**

Environmental crime in the Eastern Africa region is committed on two levels: on a local level by members of pastoral communities for the purpose of ensuring their livelihood, and on an international level for commercial purposes, with the latter case involving criminal networks composed of nationals and foreigners. Corruption at almost every level facilitates environmental crime in the region. Local and national officials permit illegal loggers access to forests and protected species, and in many cases provide false customs declarations, allowing illegal timber
and other commodities such as ivory and rhinoceros horns to exit the region undetected. As the table below demonstrates, the degree of local complicity makes it very hard to get a conviction for environmental crimes, where communities are protecting their own people against law enforcers.

Countries in the region are affected on different levels by environmental crime. For example, not all countries in the region are involved in the ivory trade, and in those countries that are, law enforcement capacities and the legal frameworks vary considerably. While the ivory trade appears to be on the rise in Rwanda and Djibouti, Ethiopia and Uganda have been addressing the problem more effectively in recent years. Also, the high number of seizures in Kenya and Tanzania, where nearly three quarters of the trafficked ivory originates, shows that the activities of illicit smugglers has been hampered. In addition to the ivory trade, Kenya and Tanzania also experience high levels of illegal logging due to the presence of large national parks, and in the past year, Madagascar has witnessed an increase in environmental crime due to political unrest, which has allowed armed gangs to ravage the forests for timber and protected wildlife.

**Types of environmental crime**

East Africa crime environment ranges from poaching, illegal logging, trade in biodiversity products (flora and fauna) to improper transportation and dumping of waste. Although widespread for decades, trade in illegal timber and illegal logging have only been seen as a major concern in recent years. These activities threaten ecosystems and the future sustainability of forests, foster corruption and result in revenue losses for the state and businesses. Moreover, it undercuts the prices of legally harvested forest products on the international market and is
connected to organized crime, human rights abuses and violent conflict. Poor legislation concerning the environment and rampant corruption on the highest level in producer countries impede the prevention and detection of this crime.

A second widespread environmental crime is wildlife poaching and the related illegal trade in ivory. Protected animals are illegally traded in containers by land, sea and air, with Mombasa representing a major hub in Eastern Africa for the smuggling of products by sea. Trade in ivory has multiplied in recent years as the price of this commodity has increased between two - and fourfold in market throughout the globe, and the trafficking of rhinoceros horn has also increased in the region in recent years.94

2.2.8: Counterfeiting

Eastern Africa is emerging as a significant market for cheap counterfeit goods. Although this may not seem the most pressing problem for the region, the fact that counterfeit medicines, pesticides, food and drinks enter the region unchecked, is a threat to the health and well-being of the populations. Figures show low arrests, but once again, this should not indicate that the problem is not serious, but perhaps that insufficient resources and attention are not being dedicated to the problem. In today’s world, practically every product can be counterfeited, ranging from clothing, food and medicine, to cars, electronics, DVD’s, spare parts and pesticides. Counterfeiting and piracy are terms used to describe a range of illicit activities linked to intellectual property rights (IPR) infringement. In general counterfeit goods are deliberately faked by its producers. Counterfeiting is of concern because it is growing in scope and

magnitude. It poses a problem to economic markets as it hampers innovation, brand value and sales. For governments the illicit trade in illicit goods often means decreased revenues, the growing availability of funds for criminal groups and an increase in corruption. But most of all, counterfeit goods are a threat to health and safety of individual consumers.

2.2.9: Money laundering

Addressing money laundering effectively is complicated as it requires excellent cooperation between a range of partners, both nationally and internationally. Resources are required to conduct investigations over a long period, as cases are often complex and far flung. The level of commitment to the issue, resources available and capacity in region have made it extremely vulnerable to international money laundering activities. Money laundering is a transnational illicit activity. It is closely connected to organized crime, terrorism and various trafficking crimes (i.e. drugs and firearms), and it can destabilize economies and financial markets, as well as corrupt governments and their institutions. It is subject to international treaties and regulations, but addressing the issue of money laundering is complicated as it requires cooperation between various parties such as law enforcement, financial, regulatory and intelligence bodies in countries around the world. These agencies require extensive resources in order to conduct their investigations over a long period of time, a consequence that arises due to the complexity of most cases. This is hard to achieve in most developed countries and is especially difficult in East Africa. Despite these international and regional initiatives and protocols though, several incidents over the course of the past years have shown that money laundering activities in the region are on the rise. Various methods and structures are abused for money laundering: trade in securities, tax evasion, property purchase, cash and bogus sales transactions, as well as the embezzlement of public funds and a lack of prudence in the investment of public funds. In Tanzania, for
example, the equivalent of $16 billion was embezzled from the Bank of Tanzania’s External Payment Arrears account in 2005. In recent years Kenya has been through several major corruption investigations, all of them relating to the former government, that indicate the theft of millions of Kenyan Shillings, and authorities in the UK have identified several people possessing fake diplomatic passports from the Ugandan Department of Finance laundering funds in the UK.

These incidents show that corruption and influential political figures and people in high positions within e.g. the judiciary, law enforcement, the military abusing their positions seem to play a vital role in facilitating money laundering in Eastern African countries. At the same time, the amount of convictions is nonexistent or low. Such incidents show that Eastern Africa is both vulnerable and attractive to criminals for money laundering due to poorly regulated banking systems alongside a large informal cash economy and a weak legislative framework to combat organised crime, money laundering and corruption. A study conducted by international forensic auditors’ firm Price Waterhouse Coopers in 2002 found that, in terms of susceptibility to money laundering, 50% of ESAAMLG countries are regarded as high risk, 35.7% fall into the medium risk category, and only 14.3% are regarded as low risk jurisdictions. Consequently it is relatively easy for criminals, money launderers and possibly also for terrorist groups to move money and other valuable assets across borders without drawing the attention of the authorities. The impact of money laundering can be devastating and should not be underestimated. If money

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9Ibid


laundering is allowed to continue unopposed, large sectors of a country’s economy could end up under the control of organized crime and powerful criminal organizations that control a country’s economy would be in a position to undermine that country’s democratic systems.  

2.2.10: Piracy

Piracy operations today are increasingly organized and have turned into a multi-million dollar industry, and the concentration of this activity has been off the coast of Eastern Africa. The frequency, scope and sophistication of recent piracy operations indicate that it is a serious organized crime problem, which is having an enormous impact on local economies, and feeding national organized crime networks. While piracy worldwide is diminishing, in Eastern Africa it is on the rise, predominantly due to Somali pirates attacking ships in the Gulf of Aden. Pirates from Somalia began seizing ships in late 2005. Since then incidents of maritime piracy in the East African region have soared along the coast of Somalia during the past year. Originally carried out in order to stop toxic dumping and the plundering of coastal fishing stocks by foreigners, piracy operations today are more and more organized and have turned into a multimillion dollar industry, generating between 18-30 million US Dollars alone in 2008.

The frequency, scope and sophistication of recent piracy operations indicate it can be seen as a serious organized crime problem. In 2008 over 80 actual and attempted pirate attacks have been recorded, amongst them the hijacking of the French luxury yacht “Le Ponant”, the Ukrainian cargo MV Faina (transporting about 35 T72 military tanks and an assortment of other weapons)


a Saudi-owned ship carrying crude oil worth up to $100 million. In addition, pirates have been targeting ships carrying humanitarian aid, delaying the delivery of humanitarian supplies and significantly impacting human security throughout the region, since many people in Somalia depend on these items for survival. While piracy worldwide is diminishing, it is on the rise in East Africa, mainly due to Somali pirates attacking ships in the Gulf of Aden. Out of the 293 attacks/attempts reported in 2008, a large number (125) took place in East Africa. For the first three months of 2009, a total of 102 attacks and attempts by pirates have been reported. 61 of these have been in the Gulf of Aden/Red Sea and Somalia. Together with 2 attacks in Tanzania and 1 in Kenya, the attacks in East Africa represent 62% of all attacks in the first months of 2009. In total 9 vessels were hijacked, 178 crew have been held hostage and 2 crew members were killed with 19 more injured, kidnapped or threatened. The reward to risk ratio for the pirates is so high that only robust measures from the international community are considered as a possibility to stop the pirates. The situation is also not bolstered by the current circumstances in Somalia, which does not permit the government to address piracy at the moment or in the near future. Piracy in East Africa shows signs of being a form of organized crime. The exact level of organization related to piracy is still unidentified, and experts remain divided whether it is organized by mid-level organizers, business men, at higher political levels or even by individuals outside Somalia. Of concern is that coastal communities in some parts of Somalia are now financially dependent on the practice and that the resources obtained have bolstered the power of criminal networks and groups. Also, in Puntland it is alleged that some (high level) members of the administration are closely connected to piracy activities. Even though the Puntland

\[1{\text{02}}\text{a}^{101}\text{Wane, EL Ghassim, "Challenges for Peace and Security in Africa", International Forum for the Challenges of Peace Operations, 27 April 2010}\]

\[1{\text{02}}\text{b}^{102}\text{ibid}\]
administration has stepped up action to address piracy, mainly through their coastal guards. It is likely actions were selective and limited as administrators are corrupt.

There also appears to be an intersection between piracy and other criminal activities such as arms trafficking and human trafficking. In both cases small vessels are used to move arms and people across the Gulf of Aden, from Eritrea or Yemen to Somalia and back. In at least the case of one group, the same boats used for piracy are used for migrant smuggling from Somalia to Yemen, bringing arms and ammunition on their return journey. According to the monitoring group for Somalia, the expansion of piracy is in part driven by the non-enforcement of the arms embargo, and as such the maritime militias have benefited from their ready access to arms and ammunition. Combined with the huge ransom payments the pirates receive, the militias have enough funds to upgrade their weapon arsenals, and in doing so become more efficient and effective in continuing to destabilize the region.

CHAPTER THREE

REGIONAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS IN DEALING WITH SECURITY THREATS

3.0: Introduction

This chapter focuses on factors leading to security threats in EAC, and the regional efforts in dealing with the security threats.

3.1: Factors Leading To Security Threats

3.1.1: Several Eastern African countries are affected by weak governments and instability

Absence of strong democracies, checks and balances, division of power, adequate legislation, oversight systems, effective and humane law enforcement, and lack of public services are common in most states, hindering development and undermining the trust of the people in the state and its institutions. Combined with the frequent eruption of conflicts, these weak states foster instability. Located either within, or on the borders of the region are three conflict zones: in Southern Sudan, the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo and all over Somalia. The conflict in Somalia has encouraged the trafficking of firearms in the region and is a cause of the high influx of refugees, causing long term detrimental consequences in the region. In addition, conflicts have spill-over effects such as the disruption of the local economy, human rights violations and the disappearance of vital state functions – effects that are evident in the neighbouring countries in the region. Furthermore, a primary concern at the moment is that the conflicts taking place in border regions, such as the one in Ethiopia, are not diminishing significantly, thus posing a long term threat to the stability of the region.
Armed conflict weakens the power and legitimacy of state institutions and undermines democracy and development. These conditions facilitate the emergence of organized crime and provide ample opportunities for criminals to exploit the situation in the region, accumulate illegal profits and amplify their influence. In such circumstances, criminal networks are able to take advantage of the absence or weakness of criminal justice systems, and may often collude with local warlords, control the provision of public goods and services, hamper humanitarian assistance, or corrupt and distort the provision of state institutions and services.

3.1.2: Low resources and low allocation of resources to the criminal justice systems

Most East African countries depend partially on financial support and have low tax revenues. In most countries, not enough resources are set aside to build up an adequate police and justice system. To effectively deter future offenders, incapacitate offenders, or rehabilitate past offenders, there must be a certain level of resources available so that the criminal justice system can function properly. Currently, many African countries do not possess adequate resources in this field. This is evidenced by the fact that the region possesses the lowest police force to public ration, as well as fewer judges per capita than in any other region of the world.\textsuperscript{104}

Corruption remains a critical problem. In 2002, the African Union (AU) reported that Africa was losing an estimated $150 billion per year to corruption. Corruption can range from bribery of law enforcement officials to the infiltration of state institutions. For example, there are severe allegations of officials in some countries colluding with organized criminals in cases of drug, arms and human trafficking. Due to the large direct benefits derived from these criminal activities, government officials have no intention to reduce or contain them. Corruption in

Eastern Africa undermines business performance and reduces incentives for trade and investment. The economic and political costs imposed by corruption drastically impact Eastern African countries and are difficult to eradicate if corruption becomes a part of the political culture. A large number of citizens are denied access to basic public services and suffer from the non-enforcement of the rule of law, such as ineffective public safety standards or environmental protection policies. Corruption also directly contributes to the lack of public infrastructure, investment, education opportunities, and employment which harms the most vulnerable most acutely, and sustains the cycle of poverty and inequality.

3.1.3: Transparency, accountability, voice and awareness are low in most countries

Low levels of education and the prevalence of authoritarian political systems have fostered a low level of awareness among citizens. If people do not know what to expect from a government and state institutions, they cannot react accordingly. The lack of accountability and transparency provided by individuals within government, parliament, state institutions and regional offices leaves the citizenry in a vulnerable position. Unawareness or the lack of information creates opportunities for individuals to be exploited, succumbing to the tragedy of human trafficking or the risks associated with counterfeit medicine. Even in countries where people are more aware of their rights, and use their voice to demand better services and just treatment from their governments, responsiveness from the government often remains low. Increased knowledge and information throughout the region will strengthen social structures and political involvement, which is crucial for addressing illicit criminal activities.


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

Even after the economic growth of recent years, poverty and inequality remain rampant. Slums and slum populations are on the rise. Inequality, especially in urban areas has increased. In more rural areas, as the smaller towns around Lake Victoria in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, inequality is also rising as the populations in these towns increases and public services and infrastructure remain insufficient for the growing number of people. People lack jobs, social security and education and many are unable to escape from the poverty trap on their own. Young people are especially hard hit as they increasingly have access to information about opportunities elsewhere in the world, but remain without a job and a proper education to improve their lives. In addition, weak or biased property rights worsen the problem and revenues of economic growth ends up in the pockets of the higher or middle class.107

3.1.4: Demographic trends

Africa hosts the world’s youngest population – 43% of the population of the continent is under the age of 15. According to many conducted studies, crime is most likely committed by people between the ages of 12 and 30. In Eastern African countries the median age is 16 to 19 years, meaning that a greater part of the society is vulnerable to becoming involved in criminal activity, if not given alternative methods of legitimate employment and livelihood generation.108


3.1.5: Geographical location

Eastern African countries have become an ideal transit point for illegal goods. Due to the region's long coastline, its remote islands, and porous borders presents an easy entry point to the whole continent. Furthermore, being located south of the world's major heroin producing regions, it can be used as a transit point from east to west, or up to the north. In addition, the geographical features of Eastern Africa are exacerbated by high levels of corruption, which further ease the transfer of goods through the region by permitting access via official border crossings.  

3.1.6: Source area for commodities

Eastern Africa is rich in natural resources such as timber and wildlife products, and also borders regions abundant in them as well. For example, ivory and timber are smuggled in large quantities from the region to a number of destination countries in both the west and Asia.

Destination markets for illegal commodities

East African States have become a market for counterfeit goods, meaning that the region is no longer mainly a departure or transit location for illicit goods. Counterfeit medicines, drugs, firearms and victims of human trafficking are widely available, and their availability will continue to spread if no proper and coherent action is taken to stem the flow of illegal activities and products.

A lasting success in both ending crime and improving development can only be achieved if the underlying factors are addressed. Only by enforcing the rule of law, enhancing the capacities of regulatory, law enforcement and judicial institutions, and introducing a just prison system, as

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well as improving levels of cooperation within and between countries, can East African states and other actors in the world hope to create the conditions necessary for sustainable development throughout the region.

3.2: Regional Efforts in Dealing with Security Threats

3.2.1: Fire Arms

The region of Eastern Africa has a fairly good regional arms regulatory framework in place. This is evidenced by the following programmes and protocols: The Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (PoA), the Nairobi Declaration, the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, and the Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa (RECSA).110

The regional efforts to control illicit arms trafficking in East Africa have been launched in the right direction. The fact that regional solutions are being sought is worthwhile, as worldwide efforts to reduce or even diminish arms trafficking will prove far more difficult to achieve. More important, a regional approach is necessary to tackle in order to make sure SALW do not continue to be dispersed from country to country. Destruction of weapons, tracking and tracing, border control and stockpile management are prerogatives to end SALW proliferation and illicit trafficking in firearms. The enactment of necessary laws and the establishment of RESCA are important first steps to bringing illicit arms trafficking under control, but it is too early to say whether they will work or be sufficient, because in most cases the undersigning countries are still

110The background on SALW is drawn from Kiflemariam Gebre-Wold, “Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Horn of Africa,” 2002.
in the process of adjusting their laws to the Nairobi protocol and the process of implementing enacted laws is excessively slow. At the same time it was difficult for the countries in the region to succeed in implementing the laws without support, technical and financial, from outside. Without such support, the SALW trade will continue to flourish and adversely affect the East Africa region. The mere fact that weapons are easily available and easily transferred is harming the people and development in East Africa. If nothing is done to diminish the amount of available weapons and trafficking of SALW, development will remain difficult to achieve. Disarmament, increasing state based law and order and ending impunity are a necessary part of raising economic, social and political development in the region.

East African countries are taking the illicit trade in SALW seriously, as evidenced by the development of new legislation and the production of national action plans. However, although relatively strong laws and policies are available throughout the region, there are insufficient means to implement them. In addition, the governments and their security forces are contradictory in their actions, willing to address the proliferation of SALW at times, yet still contributing to the continued trade in such weapons and ammunitions. Underdevelopment, inequality, conflict over resources, tensions between communities and states within the region all create an environment in which it is difficult for civilians to understand and acknowledge the importance of ending SALW possession and trade. In order to secure success in the long term, structural attention for implementation of SALW programmes and the connection of these programmes to livelihood and poverty reduction programmes is necessary.

The background on SALWs is drawn from Kifle mariam Gebre-Wold, “Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Horn of Africa.” 2002.
From the available data, it is difficult to analyze the current situation regarding the illicit possession and trafficking in SALW in East Africa and how it is to develop. However, considering the available facts and figures, it is highly unlikely that weapon possession and illicit trafficking in SALW will decrease anytime soon. Instead, most indicators lead to the conclusion that the situation is most likely to deteriorate in the short or long term if no further action is taken. Each country can increase its efforts to combat the illicit possession and trafficking of SALW, but if the SALW trade is to be prevented effectively, it is necessary to increase efforts on the regional level.

3.2.2: Drug Trafficking

Limited seizure statistics provide evidence that Eastern Africa’s role as a transit point for heroin destined for the markets of West and Central Europe has increased dramatically. Heroin use is on the rise in East Africa, with a current estimate of 1.2 million heroin users in Africa, making the region not only a transit point, but also a destination of the drug, with an estimated 24-25 tons used every year. In addition, other drugs such as cocaine are trafficked through the region, and in some cases (khat, cannabis) are manufactured and used in the region.

East Africa’s role as a transit point and destination for illicit drugs looks to increase if immediate action is not taken. The region as a whole is characterized by weak border controls (land, sea and air), as well as limited cross border and regional cooperation, which can be easily exploited by traffickers. As long as there are no effective control mechanisms in the countries of the region, the trafficking and importation of illegal drugs will continue to rise, further hindering the development process in the region.

The following are key areas that would need to be strengthened, in order to have in place a more effective response to the problems of drug trafficking in the Eastern Africa region:

- Increased border control in the region;
- Coordinated actions between government agencies and institutions;
- Enhanced capabilities of special drug units throughout the region through training and adequate equipment (such as drug detection dogs and x-ray machines at airports); and
- Increased awareness among citizens about the dangers of drugs.

3.2.3: Environmental Crimes

In recent decades, worldwide increase in international environmental crime has led to the formulation of various multilateral conventions to control pollutants that are health or environmental hazards, in order to prevent the wanton exploitation of scarce natural resources and to protect endangered plant and animal species. In East Africa, the Partnership for the Development of Environmental Laws and Institutions in Africa (PADELIA), a UNEP project in existence since 1994, seeks to support the development of environmental law as well as the corresponding national and regional institutions to ensure effective enforcement. In the region, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have benefited from the project. As a result, various laws have been developed and enacted, and currently activities are being undertaken on a sub-regional level to harmonize laws between countries.

Although various legal frameworks and protocols have been adopted by a number of countries, one of the major impediments in fighting environmental crime in the region is the variety of different legal frameworks and policies, resulting in a situation where certain activities are criminal in one country and legal in the neighboring one. Consequently, organized criminal
groups can operate in the country possessing the weakest legal framework, and therefore avoid prosecution. Although the amount of environmental crimes might not seem extremely high on a worldwide scale, the impact of these crimes on the East African region is enormous. Throughout the region, resource based conflicts erupt easily and can turn extremely violent. Destruction of forests threatens the water supply in some areas. The lack of pasture and water drives away pastoralist into areas were others graze their herds or use the land for farming. People migrate to other areas or to the already overcrowded cities. And even worse, turning the tide on environmental damage is a long term process. Reversing the damage can take decades, thus making the prevention of further environmental crimes just as important as investigating and prosecuting current crimes.

To address environmental crime, coordination between various national and international non governmental organizations is mandatory. Steps have been taken to enhance cooperation between institutions. For example, CITES is attempting to facilitate this type of coordination on preventing the poaching and trading in rhinoceros in Eastern and Southern Africa, and the border patrol initiative on the part of the U.S. Embassy in Kenya has been active in training border police and rangers from the KWS. However, current initiatives are scattered across the region and are incidental in nature.

More needs to be done. A proper judicial framework that addresses environmental crimes uniformly throughout the region should be established and nurtured in the countries of East Africa, and it is also important to enhance the investigative capacity and professionalism of the government agencies responsible for addressing environmental crime. In addition, steps must be
taken to enhance the awareness of citizens on the long term consequences that could arise if their living environment continues to be destroyed.

Based on current trend and the recommendation made by ISS and the countries in the region, the following interventions would bolster regional capacity to counter environmental crime:

- Establishment of new approaches that facilitate vertical and horizontal co-ordination between the various government sectors in fighting environmental crime;
- A review of environmental policies to ensure that socioeconomic needs are accommodated and that environmental protection is not biased towards resources used by the communities;
- Enhanced capabilities and increased professionalism of the border control;
- Increased awareness campaigns that encourage communities to protect the environment in and around their neighbourhood;
- Increased response and actions to illegal fishing and the dumping of waste by foreign businesses; and
- The creation of a better system of collecting and exchanging data and information.

3.2.4: Counterfeiting

Although data on the trade in counterfeited goods is limited, available information and estimates by the OECD, show that East Africa is largely a destination for counterfeit goods. Medicines, pesticides, fertilizers, food and beverages are especially a threat to the region as they pose a health risk to inhabitants. The production and trade of counterfeit goods are illicit activities closely connected to criminal networks and organized crime. As the profits are high and the risks are relatively low due to inadequate legislation and minimal penalties, organized crime groups are becoming more involved in counterfeiting.
Currently, one of the most acute challenges needing to be addressed in the region is counterfeit medicines. The WHO defines a counterfeit medicine as “a medicine, which is deliberately and fraudulently mislabeled with respect to identity and/or source. Counterfeiting can apply to both branded and generic products and counterfeit products may include products with the correct ingredients or with the wrong ingredients, without active ingredients, with insufficient active ingredients or with fake packaging.” This presents a problem, especially when one considers that approximately 30 percent of medicines sold in developing countries are counterfeit.\textsuperscript{11} While this is not yet as prevalent a problem in Eastern Africa as it is in Asia, anecdotal reports occurrences of counterfeit medicine are increasing in the region, and the low level of literacy and education makes the region particularly vulnerable to this form of counterfeiting.

Developing countries are particularly vulnerable as law enforcers and regulatory offices lack the capacity or will to curb the spread of fake medicines through effective control of pharmaceutical products. The lack of awareness among people about the dangers of counterfeit drugs and the easy availability of medicines exacerbate the problem. In most East African countries it is possible to purchase pharmaceutical products without presenting a valid prescription. Many medicinal products, some smuggled or imported without authorization, are sold in street-markets. Counterfeit medicine, can have detrimental effects on those who consume them, often resulting in major physical harm or even death. The absence of knowledge about the high occurrence of counterfeit medicines worsens the situation, as people will not question the low price or easy

\textsuperscript{11} Acharya. A. (2005), "Human security, identity politics and global governance: from freedom from fear to fear of freedoms".
availability. And in other cases people pay a high price buying genuine looking medicines and receiving just “chalk and water” for their money.

As in other illicit trafficking cases, the capacity to address counterfeiting and counterfeit medicines is low in many East African countries; the challenges being similar to those encountered in classical law enforcement (lack of coordination, corruption, inter-agency rivalries, no centralized information, funding). Lack of resources and urgency in confronting this issue hampers the detection and investigation of counterfeiting. Due to the high availability of counterfeit medicines on the market, this is particularly troubling given the immense and direct negative impact that counterfeit medicines have on a country's populations. The biggest threats contained in counterfeited medicines are the absence of active pharmaceutical ingredients and the possibility that the individual consuming the drug will develop a resistance to the authentic version of the medicine. For example, in the case of anti-malaria medication, no resistances have yet developed against Artesimin and it is therefore widely used as a cheap and effective drug. However, it is at the same time heavily counterfeited, with a potentially disastrous impact.\footnote{114}

Although some countries in East Africa devote much effort in addressing counterfeiting, weak regulatory and legislative frameworks persist and there is a lack of awareness regarding the issue on the part of civilians. Thus, the proliferation of counterfeited goods, especially medication, presents a growing challenge for the region. Awareness on the part of citizens and government officials should be increased, and the capacity of regulatory offices, border control agencies and law enforcement to address the challenges presented by counterfeiting should be strengthened.

Another crucial step in stemming the flow of counterfeit products is increased cooperation between state agencies.

Recently steps have been taken by the WHO to establish a system that supports the building of legal and regulatory frameworks, as well as increase awareness on the issue amongst the public. However, further efforts are needed if East Africa is to lessen the potential devastating impact counterfeit products could have on the region and its people.

Governments in the region have the following range of responses available to tackle challenges posed by counterfeiting:

• Strengthen legislation and ensure that counterfeiting is a crime possessing severe penalties;
• Establish a clear and enforceable oversight framework and make sure all private partners comply with the rules of trade and distribution;
• Improve co-ordination amongst the domestic agencies and enhance cooperation with industry and the business sector;
• Ensure effective local and transnational enforcement of laws and regulations through training and the supplying of resources;

Develop a communication and advocacy strategy to ensure that health professionals, the general public and the media are aware of the dangers associated with counterfeit medicines; and
• Consider enacting lower tariffs on imported medicines in order to improve the availability of proper drugs at reasonable prices.
In the fight against money laundering, most countries in East Africa find themselves unable to uphold the FATF standards, draft the necessary laws and use the existing laws effectively. This is due to a lack of public pressure, and a lack of resources and training on the part of those charged with monitoring, regulating, investigating and prosecuting violations. Also, in some countries systemic corruption also serves as an impediment to the development and implementation of viable anti-money laundering regimes.

Currently there does exist the necessary framework and support to put in place the laws and regulations, as well as to conduct the trainings if money laundering is to be effectively addressed. However, the political will needed to undertake such initiatives is lacking. In addition, there is a lack of cooperation between financial agencies and law enforcement, and there exists only moderate knowledge on the issue in the region. If the governments in East Africa are to begin dealing with money laundering and its effects effectively, the above issues need to be addressed. Support is widely available, but it must be utilized properly.

A first step towards combating the challenges of money laundering would be for Governments in the Eastern Africa region to use the FATF, GMLP and ILEA structures and facilities to undertake the following:

Draft and implement laws:

- Train specialized teams on money laundering; and
- Begin initiating investigations in the near future.

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3.2.6: Piracy

Potential Interventions

Increased vigilance, patrolling and precautionary measures taken on board of ships are responsible for the diminishing of piracy attacks. As in Indonesia, the Malacca Straits and Malaysia, these measures seem to work in the East African waters as well. As a result of the increase in war ships patrolling the Gulf of Aden, and the precautionary measures the crew are taking, the successful attempts to hijack a vessel in this area have decreased enormously.

However, even though the risk of a piracy attack may have been reduced, naval and/or police action cannot in the end resolve the Somali piracy activities.\(^{116}\) It is widely agreed upon that piracy in the Gulf will only diminish if the problems on land are addressed. Piracy in the region is a symptom of the lawlessness, raging war and insecurity on Somalia’s mainland. Poverty, lack of employment, environmental hardship, low incomes, reduction of livelihoods or resources (due to drought and illegal fishing), and a volatile security and political situation all contribute to the rise and continuance of piracy in the region. These issues need to be resolved in order to ensure an end to piracy in the region. Worldwide, piracy in the Gulf has serious repercussions for human security, development, trade and the environment. It obstructs aid deliveries for conflict ridden states, increases shipping and manufacturing costs due to rerouting of ships and can destroy large parts of the sea environment. This situation will remain serious until there is an effective and coordinated response against piracy, including the development of effective responses within Somalia itself.

\(^{116}\) The background on SALWs is drawn from Kiflemariam Gebre-Wold, “Curbing the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Horn of Africa,” 2002.
Based on suggestions by, among others, the UN Security Council, the Monitoring Group Somalia and experts involved in a round table discussion at Chatham House, the following steps are recommended as a priority response:

1. Maintain a coordinated response on sea in order to deter piracy and protect vessels and crews, as well as the ongoing interdiction of firearms trafficking across the Gulf of Aden;

2. Focus on preventive action by strengthening law enforcement on the ground in Somalia and increasing coordinated action to support development on a wide range of issues in Somalia;

3. Provide capacity building and support for the operations of the Somali Coast Guard forces, notably Somaliland and Puntland, as well as the navies and coast guards of other states in the region such as Kenya, Yemen and Djibouti;

4. Improve the adoption and implementation of national legislation aimed at addressing piracy in the region (as is currently supported by the International Maritime Organization and UNODC);

5. Improve prison and prison systems and ensure international human rights principles are upheld during the process of prosecution and detention in the region;

6. Undertake targeted action against key pirate leaders and their possible sponsors in the Puntland Administration; and

7. Undertake immediate and coordinated action against illegal fishing and the illegal dumping of toxic waste in Somalia’s territorial waters by foreign companies.
CHAPTER FOUR

REGIONAL SECURITY FORMULATION IN EAST AFRICAN INTEGRATION PROCESS

4.0: Introduction

This chapter critically examines the relationship between regional integration and its implication on regional security. It also tests the research hypothesis.

4.1: Hypothesis Testing

Peace and security in Africa remain unresolved issues. Wars and conflicts still cause considerable loss of life, produce immense destruction of property and negatively impact development. They have contributed to insecurity, aggravated poverty and caused a decline in the human condition in many parts of the African continent. Since 2002, the African Union (AU) has concentrated commendable efforts towards preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in the continent. This has been exemplified by the establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and its peace missions. The Joint African economic regrouping Strategies like East African community and its Action Plan, has a strong base including the establishment of Integration on Peace and Security.

4.1.1: Economic integration has a significant role to play in regional security strategy in East Africa

The priorities of the new Integration have been identified as an increased dialogue on common challenges, the full operationalization of the EAC Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and predictable funding for enabling the AU and regional mechanisms to plan and conduct peace support operations. Today it is very rare to find one African country that has not shown overt
interest in at least one of the several existing regional cooperation schemes on the continent. It is significant to note that Africa alone, within the past four decades, has experimented with about 200 inter-governmental organizations; most of them claim to have responsibility for promoting regional cooperation. The practical results, however, have been very disappointing. But African governments have continued to promote the ideals of regional cooperation which they justified on the claim that regional cooperation is a strategy for self-reliance and development. \(^{117}\) The Joint EAC Strategy adopted at their Summit of December 2004 represents a new phase in cooperative relations between these regions. The member states have committed themselves to forge strong links based on a consensus built around values, interests and strategic objectives. \(^{118}\)

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

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\(^{117}\) Asante, S K B (1986) *The Political Economy of Regionalism in Africa: A Decade of the Economic Community of West Africa States*, Preager

4.1.2: Increased economic integration will lead to reduction of security threats to the East African countries

One of the major advantages of regional integration is the strengthening of peace and security in a given region. The more nations interact with each other in pursuit of common goals, the less likely they are to engage in armed conflict against each other. Moreover, as regional groupings, they have more capacity than individual states to deal effectively with internal conflicts, which are more frequent in Africa than interstate conflicts. Thus, the current EAC security agenda stands to benefit positively from the historical reconstruction of the pan-African project under the African Union. For instance in 2002, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was transformed into the African Union. Symbolically, this was a major step forward in the unification project that pan-African thinkers and activists had advocated for throughout the twentieth century. Prominent black intellectuals like Alexander Crummell, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Henry McNeal Turner were already formulating pan-African ideas during the nineteenth century.114

4.1.3 Perceived Efforts of integration and security From Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism as a political movement was born in 1900, when the West Indian barrister Henry Sylvester Williams convened a pan-African conference in London for purposes of promoting unity among all peoples of African descent. From 1919 to 1945, the great African-American scholar William Edward Burghart Dubois, as principal organiser and convener of the first five pan-African congresses, spearheaded the movement. In this regard, it is worth remembering the historical connection between African unity and world peace. Dubois had planned to hold the

First Pan-African Congress at Versailles, to coincide with the Versailles Peace Conference, where the future of the world was to be decided by the victors of World War I. Woodrow Wilson, the American president, then asked the French to ban this meeting, as it was organized by the theoretician of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a U.S. civil rights group established in 1910.\footnote{Dinka, T., & Walter, K. (2007), 'Africa’s Regional Integration Arrangements: History and Challenges’, in Discussion Paper No. 74, European Centre for Development Policy Management.}

The French authorities respectfully declined, pointing out that a member of the French National Assembly, the Honourable Blaise Diagne from Senegal, had reserved the meeting hall at Versailles. Here was a remarkable instance of partnership between Europe and Africa on peace and human rights. While the intellectual pioneers of pan-Africanism had emerged from the African Diaspora of North America and the Caribbean, the realization of the pan-African dream of “Africa for the Africans” was to be the work of the continental Africans themselves.\footnote{Thompson, Dudley (1993) “Review of the Pan-African Movement and the Linkage to Reparation”. Paper presented at the First Pan-African Conference on Reparations, Abuja, Nigeria, April 27-29, 1993.}

The problem of political will is just as relevant for the successful capacity development of regional security mechanisms as it is for the overall African security architecture. Like the AU, the regional economic communities (RECs) are intergovernmental organizations whose viability depends on the level of moral and material support from member states. In the context of the Abuja Treaty on African economic integration, the RECs are the main building blocks for the political and economic integration of Africa. In addition to promoting economic and political integration, some of the RECs have established security mechanisms of their own for conflict prevention, management and resolution. These regional security mechanisms are part and parcel of the African security architecture. Of all the eight RECs in existence, the Economic
Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has demonstrated the will and ability to respond in an effective manner to threats to peace and security in the region. Through the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (or ECOMOG), decisive military actions have been undertaken in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau. A very important factor of this relative success is the leadership role of Nigeria, whose economic weight is sufficient to allow for bold initiatives with respect to military intervention. Challenges for ECOWAS and its security mechanism include the decade-long political crisis in Côte d’Ivoire and the chronic instability in Guinea-Bissau.

Ultimately, the goal of peace and security is compatible with the essential task of nation-building and state-building in Africa. This is: to enhance the capacity of the state not only to establish its authority throughout the national territory, but also to serve the economic, social and cultural needs of all inhabitants: citizens, permanent residents, migrant workers and refugees. According to the British historian C. Northolt Parkinson, if there is one important idea to emerge from the history of political thought, it is “the ideal that government is to be judged by results.” And a good government, as Rousseau once suggested, is that which improves the quality of life of its people. Its legitimacy and the people’s sense of identification with the political order are likely to be enhanced by good performance with respect to peace and security as well as development. The present crisis of the state in Africa, or its declining capacity for stability and development, is a function of its systemic failure to develop effective state institutions and/or to use them for the purpose of transforming the economy and society to improve people’s lives.

Today, more than half of the people of Africa live on less than one U.S. dollar a day. Over two-thirds of the countries classified by the UN as least developed are African. Obviously, regional

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122 EAC Press Release. “EAC Inter-State Security Agencies’ Meeting Opens in Burundi” 2010:

integration and development cannot be built on such extreme poverty. The challenge facing the continent today is how to get rid of the political deadwood of the post-independence era. The aim is to renew in deeds, and not simply in words or on paper, the commitment to the pan-African project which has now been strengthened with the decision to establish the African Union Authority. While building together the institutions of the AU, the best contribution each state can make to the pan-African development and integration process is national reconstruction through poverty eradication and democratic governance. Poverty will not be eradicated through slogans and target dates adopted by multilateral agencies or international conferences. It was eradicated only through concrete policies and programmes designed to transform the economic, political and social structures that reproduces it.

4.2: Regional Security Formulation in East African Integration Process

The three EAC Partner States are historically closely interlinked and depend on each other in their development perspective. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda signed the Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC in November 1999. The milestones of the EAC are fourfold: A Customs Union Protocol was signed in January 2005 and has been implemented since. The EAC Common Market Protocol became effective in July 2010. The next milestones was the establishment of the East African Monetary Union (from 2012), followed by a Political Federation as the ultimate goal. The vision of EAC is a prosperous, competitive, secure, stable and politically united East Africa, and the mission is to widen and deepen economic, political, social and cultural integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, trade and investments.

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Regional economic integration has been a key to peace, stability and prosperity in Europe after
the Second World War. The economic recovery of Germany after the war would not have been
possible without European integration. From this historical experience and because of its
geographical situation at the centre of Europe, sharing borders with many countries, Germany is
one of the most important key drivers of economic and political regional integration. As such,
German’s commitment to the EAC has always been based on the strong belief that regional
cooperation is a central leverage point for the prevention of conflicts, the promotion of peace and
reconciliation and for the opening of new avenues for economic and political development
resulting in political stability, prosperity and peace.

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

GIZ supports the EAC Secretariat to facilitate the implementation of joint activities in the areas
of peace and security by the EAC partner states. The programme contributes to achieving the
EAC objective of building a joint peace and security policy among its Partner States to stabilize
the region. As such, it contributes directly to the objectives formulated in the EAC Treaty
(Articles 123 and 124) in the areas of peace, security and good governance. GIZ combines sectorial and policy consultancy to the EAC Secretariat with organizational development and management advice. Strengthening the interaction and consultation between regional and national levels as well as between regional organisations is key to building a coherent regional peace and security architecture.\textsuperscript{125}

With the support of GIZ, the subject of SALW control was positioned prominently on the political agenda. Some of the major contributions are thus:

- Spearheading the development of a regional policy for arms control and management
- Through cooperation with the Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA), the project financed the procurement of firearm marking instruments and associated database software for use by the police forces in the five EAC Partner States.
- Partner States are given direct support for implementation of SALW control
- Close involvement of civil society organizations and the systematic integration of a gender component into all national action plans.

GIZ has also supported the development of the East African Early Warning Mechanism (EACWARN), the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism (CPMR), all in line with fulfilling the Africa Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). With support from GIZ the following ongoing activities are supported:

- Draft Road Map for the implementation of EACWARN

\textsuperscript{125} EAC Press Release, "EAC Inter-State Security Agencies' Meeting Opens in Burundi" 2010:
• Development of Standard Operating Procedures for EACWARN

• Improved indicators for operationalization of EACWARN

• Development of training modules and training of EAC-GIZ staff in technical aspects of managing the EACWARN and in mediation techniques

• Development of modalities for the establishment of the eminent persons Strategy to the CPMR.

GIZ will continue to strengthen the new EAC Directorate for Peace and Security both in its operational and technical capacity to effectively coordinate the implementation of the strategies and work-plans developed in the directorate. GIZ will also develop a result-based monitoring and evaluation system to monitor the direct and indirect impact of the EAC peace and security activities.126

Possible areas of intervention beyond 2012

• Carrying out a comprehensive regional study to assess the level of involvement of women in peace and security activities and initiatives particularly at the decision making levels

• Enhancing the involvement of civil society organizations in the regional integration process

• Sensitization of the youth and strengthening their involvement in regional peace and security initiatives.
5.1: Introduction

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

5.2 Summary of findings

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

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

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

The concept of integration is elusive to define. In a simple sense it means bringing parts or units together to form a whole or creating interdependence. It could also represent a situation in which states becomes interdependent in whatever aspects of their relations they desire. The priorities of
the EAC Integration on economic grounds have been identified as an increased dialogue on common challenges, the full operationalization of the EAC Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and predictable funding for enabling the AU and regional mechanisms to plan and conduct peace support operations.

5.4 Summary

Nonetheless, integration can be said to exist when units join together in order to satisfy objectives which they cannot meet autonomously. In this way, integration can be a process which hastens up the achievement of certain objectives in the interest of a larger body. Such a process would involve the shifting of loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new and larger centre whose institutions and processes demand some justification over those of the national states. The extent of such a transfer of loyalties and jurisdiction enjoyed by the new centre would depend on the level and goals of integration schemes as well as the socio-economic and political ramifications, which the implementations of integrative policies generate within and between the integrating units.

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

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

According to Fritz Machlup, the question as to whether that state has to be the terminal point or intermediate point in the process can be taken care of by distinguishing between ‘complete’ and ‘incomplete’ integration. The more difficult question, according to the author is: what is that to be integrated; people, geographical areas, markets, production, goods, resources, policies, or what?. Although integration scholars have used ‘integration’ and ‘cooperation’ interchangeably, there is a fundamental difference between the two. The difference is both in qualitative and quantitative contexts. While ‘cooperation’ may be employed to identify loose forms of interstate activity designed to meet some commonly experienced needs, ‘integration’ refers to a much more formal arrangement that involves some political and economic sacrifices as well as commitments, concessions, processes and political will to redefine participation in the international economy. In this regard regional cooperation may be a phase in the process of regional integration. In the context of less developed areas, regional integration is an extremely complicated and varied phenomenon which is conditioned by socio-economic and political dynamics different from what is obtained in the North. The following questions have therefore

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127 Fanta Emmanuel (2008) “Dynamics of Regional (non-) integration in Eastern Africa” UNCRIS working papers

become prominent in the discourse about regional integration in Africa: what are the necessary and sufficient conditions for successful unions among states? Should regional political unions be approached gradually and indirectly by functionalist strategy or is federation likely to be more effective? Are customs unions preferable? As many as there are such questions are types of regional integration in Africa whose philosophical guide derives mostly from the experience of the industrial societies. It is to be noted however that each of these forms of integration arrangements has its own regularities, class content, and mechanism of operation.

The wide concepts of ‘self-reliance’ and ‘south-south cooperation’, with the obvious policy Corollary of regional integration and cooperation have featured prominently in the analyses of less developed societies, including the African continent. A common assumption especially among dependency theorists is that the potentials of the less developed countries for autonomous development are limited, more by externally infused dependency profiles, rather than internal processes. It thus follows logically that, auto centric development can be realized through disengagement from the global system. This prescription would result in some dislocation of the national economy since trade, aid and investment relations with the metropolis are expected to be reviewed. The impact of these dislocations is assumed to be too much for individual economies to bear, hence the need for a collective action to “ameliorate the effects of the national disengagement process by replacing North-South vertical relations with South-South horizontal relations among UDCs”.

In this way collective self-reliance represents a strategy against dependence on external resources aimed at promoting the principles of autonomous development. This is the context in which CSR and regional integration among less developed countries is seen in some circles as one and the same. However, the argument about regional

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economic cooperation as a form of collective-reliance cannot be carried too far. According to Fawcett, "When the integration process is itself shaped and conditioned by relations of dependence and underdevelopment, what ensues might in fact create a gap between economic integration and CSR."\(^{130}\) The problem with the prescription of the apologists of CSR is its failure to give serious systemic attention to the relationship between CSR and integration schemes in the less developed regions. The focus of analysis is on relations between systems while it neglects the internal processes of class formation that shape historical developments. For instance, when adopted as framework for analyzing crisis of development in Africa, it becomes more difficult to understand the causes of underdevelopment beyond the effects of Europe's predatory needs. In terms of policy prescription, self-reliance is to be pursued through the policies of import-substitution, export-substitution, export promotion, favorable balance of payment-strategies that do not in any way address the structural problems of underdevelopment and dependency. In this way what apologists of CSR have suggested, through its advocacy of mere reforms within the global capitalist system expressed in some forms of 'dependent' regional integration, amounts to nothing but autarky, and definitely not 'delinking' in the form of subordinating external relations to the logic of internal development.

5.5: Conclusion

Without peace and security, sustainable growth and development will remain elusive. Illicit activities that loom at the cover of the street in every society are always going to be hard to address.

This preliminary discussion paper only provides an indication of the extent and seriousness of organized crime and illicit trafficking in Eastern Africa. While the quantifiable data and exact amounts might be hard to predict, whenever researchers take a closer look at the issue of criminal activities and behavior in the region, the evidence points clearly towards a serious and growing threat. The very few studies that have been conducted over a longer period and on the ground show trafficking and related crimes are occurring in a substantial way, and the opportunism and organization of the groups involved constantly increasing.

Two things clearly underlie this organized criminal activity, whether it is trafficking in humans or firearms, piracy in the Gulf of Aden, or importing and trading counterfeited goods in the region. First is the weak state of the police and justice systems in all countries. The low police-inhabitant ratio, the state of the police force, the available training, the back log in the judiciary and the state of the prisons are all a contributing factor to ongoing crime and violence, which, when coupled with the lack of standardized and comprehensive legislation for the region, ensure that it is possible to get away with most illegal activity somewhere in the region. And most criminal areas examined in this paper are not isolated, but are deeply interconnected. For example, poaching of wildlife and trading in animal parts are connected to money laundering, corruption, organized crime networks, tax evasion and transnational trafficking. As one issue becomes more prevalent, so the entire cycle increases in dynamism and damage.

The second issue which underpins the growing crime and violence, and makes the need for a targeted intervention by the international community absolutely critical is the connection between crime and corruption. The weak states, lack of resources low level of economic opportunity and lack of political will to address crime makes the Eastern Africa region a breeding ground for corruption.
Whether illicit trafficking and organized crime are already on the rise or not, sooner or later they were a serious threat to the people and societies in Eastern Africa. Just as increased economic development is needed, increasing the level of proper law enforcement and justice must be an urgent priority for the countries in the region. Governments of all the Eastern Africa countries have a role to play and need to focus on this area. A Government is the only actor which can, on a legitimate basis, address state security, organize the protection of civilians and uphold laws. Taking action to ensure overall peace and security is first and foremost the responsibility of Governments.

Furthermore, it is important for countries worldwide to address transnational crime and trafficking in a holistic global approach. Leaving some regions unaddressed is an invitation for criminal groups and individuals to move their activities there. Even if East Africa is not yet an acute problem, it is vulnerable enough that it is only a matter of time before activities roll over from another part of the world. For example, the drug trafficking problem in West Africa has recently received much international attention, which resulted in the strengthening of regional capacity. Trade routes through West Africa have died down, but there has been no significant reduction in the global flows of illegal drugs.\textsuperscript{1}

The routes have simply relocated to another region whose defenses and capacities are weaker.

In fighting organized crime and trafficking, it is crucial for countries to work together, both in the region and in the wider world. The nature of these problems are quintessentially cross border issues, and as such require that the countries of the Eastern Africa region work together to address them. A key goal would be to find effective ways to pursue development and security

\textsuperscript{1}BerhaneAsgedom (Jul 18 2008) Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs): Are they really serving peoples need? Retrieved 17 February 2009. Shaebia website
together, as it has increasingly been demonstrated that security and the rule of law are central to effective development. In this context, technical cooperation, inter-agency work, advocacy and partnership building are essential. The UNODC Regional Programme "Promoting the Rule of Law and Human Security in Eastern Africa, 2009-2012" aims at supporting the efforts of Member States in the region to respond to evolving human security threats and promote good governance.

5.6 Recommendations

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

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

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

The persistence of poverty remains the major threat to the pan-African project of unity, peace and development in Africa. For it creates insecurity with respect to people’s expectations of a decent livelihood and, indeed, of human survival, and thus undermines respect for diversity.

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tolerance and solidarity in favour of the politics of identity, intolerance and social exclusion. By reducing people’s ability to lead productive and rewarding lives for themselves and their children, poverty exacerbates identity conflicts along communal, ethnic, religious and regional lines. It therefore becomes insincere to talk of a common African identity, when citizenship rights are daily being denied to fellow nationals on the basis of ethnic or regional origin, and the legendary African hospitality is replaced by violence against immigrants. All this goes to say that regional security mechanisms and the overall African security infrastructure cannot function effectively in the absence of developmental states capable of maintaining state authority throughout their national territory and of ensuring the promotion, respect and fulfillment of the fundamental rights of all citizens, particularly the right to human security.

While building together the institutions of the new African Union, the best contribution each country can make to the African development and integration process is national reconstruction through poverty eradication and democratic governance. Poverty eradication is not going to take place through slogans and target dates adopted by multilateral agencies or international conferences. It will come about only through concrete policies and programmes designed to transform the economic, political and social structures that reduce poverty in Africa, which are local, national and international in nature. Such a transformation is not possible in situations of violent conflicts and/or those in which the institutions and processes of governance are unresponsive, unaccountable, or simply ineffective. There is widespread consensus that peace is inexorably tied to both security and development. The provision of security in its broadest sense implies meeting the basic human needs of the population as a condition for sustainable development. In this regard, the African state has been extremely deficient in meeting this condition. When the state itself is under the control of self-serving leaders, who have privatized
public resources and are impervious to popular suffering, there is nothing that the African Union as an inter-state organization can do to improve the situation. Peer review, as provided for in the NEPAD programme, is not enforceable as long as gross violations of human rights remain common currency in the majority of states.

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