

**REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA - A FALSE PROMISE? THE CASE
STUDY OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this proposal is my original work and has not been presented for another academic award in any other University or Institution.

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ABSTRACT

The strides made by African economies in achieving economic growth must be accompanied by efforts to boost long-term competitiveness if the continent is to ensure sustainable improvements in living standards. Regional integration in developing countries does not enjoy great esteem among economists. It is often argued that north-south integration is superior to south-south integration. The reasons usually mentioned why regional integration is unsuccessful in developing countries are the similarity of their economic structure, market size, lack of dynamism in their economic development and lack of commitment. Key objectives of this study was to assess the benefits of regional integration in Africa; to establish the promises made by EAC to ordinary citizens of member states and to suggest options of promoting the benefits of regional integration especially to ordinary citizens of member states of the EAC. This study seeks to employ the customs union theory and functionalism theory as relevant and useful in the analysis of its key issues. Different studies been conducted on the effectiveness of regional integration in relation to the accomplishment of the set objectives mostly focusing on the effects of integration on promises made to EAC member states. Nonetheless, there has been no study carried out to establish if regional integration has been a false promise to EAC member states hence this study. The research employed the use of exploratory research design. This type of research design is often conducted in new areas of inquiry, where the goals of the research are to scope out the magnitude or extent of a particular phenomenon, problem, or behavior. Secondary data was collected using published material and information from other sources such as annual reports, published data. The qualitative data was analyzed through content analysis. The study established that EAC has enviable achievements in the socioeconomic and political-security realms, making East Africa one of the most integrated regions in the world. Regional integration process is deepening particularly due to the expanding scope of the legislative instruments, coordination of national economic and social policies, the expansion of trade between EAC countries as well as its trade with the rest of the world. The region has increased both inter- and intra-regional trade, and has also witnessed an increase in intra-EAC Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) as well as in FDI from outside. The study also found out that EAC promises to its member states were categorized into social and political benefits. The benefits arise from the customs union, which entails a common external tariff, duty-free and quota-free movement of tradable goods within the EAC, common safety measures for regulating the importation of goods from third Party. It was also concluded that despite having a colonial origin, EAC has fulfilled most of its promises to it's member states. EAC has ensured prevalence of peace will benefit them to exchange goods and also sell their commodities to neighboring countries and the world without a problem.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the introduction and background to the study. It entails the background of the study, Statement of the Research Problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, conceptual framework, research hypotheses, and the research methodology.

1.2 Background

Regional integration has widely been promoted as the panacea to Africa's challenges of economic growth and development. A number of transitional arrangements have been put in place to spearhead the advancement of the integration project and foster economic associations among member countries on the continent¹. The underpinning argument has been that Africa has minimal influence in global trade due to the current worldwide monetary atmosphere and that the continent needs to combine and fabricate its regional trading market. Regional integration is, therefore, intended to reduce or eliminate trade barriers among partner states and promote intra Africa trade. It is in this context that East African countries seem currently determined to progressively swing to an aggressive regional integration project².

The East African Community (EAC) is one of the oldest regional inter-governmental organizations in the world. It is also one of the earliest attempts to establish organized institutions of governance below the United Nations (UN) after World War II (post-1945 world). The EAC's history predates that of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), later African Union (AU), but the EAC became part of the continental governance structures during the 1960s.³ It was formally established to foster political, socioeconomic and cultural cooperation amongst the peoples of East Africa, and to

¹ Tavlas, George S., 2008. *The Benefits and Costs of Monetary Union in Southern Africa: a Critical Survey of the Literature*, Athens: Bank of Greece

² Oluoch, LO Wauna, 2009. 'Legitimacy of the East African Community, *Journal of African Law* 53 (2):194-221

³ Paul A. Tharp, Jr., ed., *Regional International Organizations*. New York: St Martin's Press, pp. 36-50

acquire a common voice in international affairs in 1967. The East African integration experiment, however, was dissolved in 1977, but this did not erase the spirit of cooperation. In 1993, three East African countries; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania made a move to revive the old EAC with the aim of salvaging their economies following a period of macroeconomic volatility and deteriorating growth⁴. The revival of the EAC indicates resilience of the spirit of cooperation. The treaty for its re-establishment was signed in 1999 and the EAC has, since, made rapid progress and is now considered across the entire African continent as an example of successful regional integration.⁵ The question, however, is what have been the benefits and promise of the EAC especially to ordinary citizens?

Since the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community was signed in 1999, several developments have taken place. These changes underscore the promising potential of deeper regional integration in East Africa⁶. They also highlight the practical need to bring East African citizens at the centre of the integration processes. First, major institutions have been operationalized, such as the Summit, the Ministerial Council, Sectoral Councils, the Secretariat, relevant committees, expert groups, the East African Court of Justice (EACJ), and the Legislative Assembly (EALA). Major protocols and EALA bills have led to operational activities that make the EAC one of the most visible Regional Organizations (ROs) in the world.

Two major kinds of protocols and undertakings can be singled out: those related to socioeconomic development, such as the customs union and common market protocol; and those related to politico-security development, such as the peace, security and defence protocols. The progress made in two-and-half decades of the EAC indicates the

⁴ Mugomba, Agrippah T. 2008. 'Regional Organisations and African Underdevelopment: The Collapse of the East African Community', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 16 (2):261-272

⁵ István Tarrósy, 2014, "'Past Fears – Future Hopes" An Example for Regional Co-Operation Outside Europe: From The East African Community To An East African Federation', in István Tarrósy, Gerald Roskogler, eds., *Regional Co-operation as Central European Perspective*, Vienna: Europe Centre - IDM, pp.161-169, at p.161

⁶ Minford, Patrick ND. 'The costs and benefits of Economic and Monetary Union to the UK economy - the 'fifth (overview) test'. Cardiff Business School: Cardiff University.

Community's considerable socioeconomic and political development promise⁷. While socioeconomic and political gains have been made, and challenges remain since 1999, East Africans have not been fully mobilized and sensitized about the benefits and promise of the organization. Consequently, the EAC's potential remains less well appreciated by the ordinary East African. The integration process, consequently, largely remains an elite project despite the Treaty's emphasis on a people-centered regionalism. As a result, the necessary pressure for deeper and wider integration programs has not been ignited strongly enough. Part of the reason is to be found in people's ignorance of the benefits of regional integration and its promise for the future. This paper outlines the promise of the EAC⁸.

1.3 The Problem Statement

Since the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community was signed in 1999, several developments have taken place. These changes underscore the promising potential of deeper regional integration in East Africa⁹. They also highlight the practical need to bring East African citizens at the center of the integration processes. First, major institutions have been operationalized, such as the Summit, the Ministerial Council, Sectoral Councils, the Secretariat, relevant committees, expert groups, the East African Court of Justice (EACJ), and the Legislative Assembly (EALA). Major protocols and EALA bills have led to operational activities that make the EAC one of the most visible Regional Organizations (ROs) in the world.

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⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Minford, Patrick ND. 'The costs and benefits of Economic and Monetary Union to the UK economy - the 'fifth (overview) test'. Cardiff Business School: Cardiff University.

⁹ Minford, Patrick ND. 'The costs and benefits of Economic and Monetary Union to the UK economy - the 'fifth (overview) test'. Cardiff Business School: Cardiff University.

The progress made in two-and-half decades of the EAC indicates the Community's considerable socioeconomic and political development promise¹⁰. While socioeconomic and political gains have been made, and challenges remain. Since 1999, East Africans have not been fully mobilized and sensitized about the benefits and promise of the organization. Consequently, the EAC's potential remains less well appreciated by the ordinary East Africans. The integration process, consequently, largely remains an elite project despite the Treaty's emphasis on a people-centered regionalism. As a result, the necessary pressure for deeper and wider integration programs has not been ignited strongly enough. In this in this context that this study seeks to examine the benefits of the EAC regional integration project and its promise for the future.¹¹. Major question is whether or not the EAC has contributed to the economic growth and development of ordinary citizens?

1.4 Research questions

- i. What is the EAC's Promise to the people of East Africa?
- ii. What are the challenges facing EAC integration project?
- iii. What options exist to promote the benefits of regional integration especially to ordinary citizens of the member states of the EAC?

1.5 Research objectives

The main objective of this study is to examine in Africa by taking a case study of the EAC

1.5.1 Specific objectives

- i. To assess the benefits of regional integration in Africa
- ii. To establish the promises made by EAC to ordinary citizens of member states
- iii. To suggest options of promoting the benefits of regional integration especially to ordinary citizens of member states of the EAC

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Minford, Patrick ND. 'The costs and benefits of Economic and Monetary Union to the UK economy - the 'fifth (overview) test'. Cardiff Business School: Cardiff University.

1.6 Justification of the study

1.6.1 Academic

To the scholars, the findings of this study will add value to the present assemblage of information as it will bring out new knowledge on challenges facing the EAC and options to promote the benefits of regional integration especially to ordinary citizens of member states of the EAC. The study also serves as a stepping stone for newer research on the area of regional integration.

1.6.2 Policy

The findings of this study will be of help to policy makers in the EAC members' state in several ways. It will inform the policy makers within the EAC and beyond on options augment the integration agenda to benefit especially ordinary citizens. The findings of this study will also be helpful to the policy makers in terms of shedding more light on a wide range of issues touching on regional integration. This study will help to identify the gaps and set strategy for better economic growth.

1.7 Literature review

1.7.1 Regional Integration

A number of studies carried out in the recent past show that regional integrations in Africa has failed¹². These studies are shallow with weaknesses since they lack sufficient and comprehensive explanation for past failures. An example for the case of EAC, previous studies have tended to concentrate on the age-old problems of the 1990s that have included political federation, custom union and borderless trade. However, information on emerging barriers to EAC remains weak to bring to light detailed data on the prospects and problems of the modern day EAC. The increase in globalization around the world and the necessity for economic development and growth has led to regional

¹² Tavlas, George S., 2008. *The Benefits and Costs of Monetary Union in Southern Africa: a Critical Survey of the Literature*, Athens: Bank of Greece. See also Mugomba, Agrippah T. 2008. 'Regional Organisations and African Underdevelopment: The Collapse of the East African Community', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 16 (2):261-272, Oluoch, LO Wauna, 2009. 'Legitimacy of the East African Community', *Journal of African Law* 53 (2):194-221

economic integration initiatives¹³, Regional integration has been recognized as a major source of growth for the European, Latin American regions, and Asian. However, this development and growth must be seen in perspective of the influence of the numerous business initiatives particularly if practiced within a policy environment of trade liberalization. This is due to the fact that if the efficiencies arising from increasing competition and increased instances of specialization are to be realized, these must be supported by a business environment where business enterprises have free entry and exit. This leads to broader regional specialization where the entire economic region is pushed towards productive efficiencies that enable concentration on the type of production that it has the comparative advantage over the other regions¹⁴. This has been the main top-secret behind the European Union's (EU) tremendous growth in the last couple of years. The reality of economic integration specifically in view of the 21st Century global economy is that economies that will be against the worldwide initiative to global economic integration will be out of pace with the rest of the world in terms of development and growth. This context is from the fact that integration essentials in other areas will affect development patterns and growth around world. Therefore, this demands to accept the tough comprehension that in an increasingly global economy, one cannot ignore the happenings elsewhere¹⁵.

Regional integration is a process in which independent entities come together and surrender their obligations, loyalties and expectations to a larger unit which ultimately carries on with the duties previously performed by the independent units. Others view it as a process in which partner states agree collectively to offer preferential trade arrangements within themselves by removing tariffs and nontariff barriers to trade¹⁶. Regional integration can also be defined as an association of states that share a common

¹³ Jensen, M.F. (2010), Non-Tariff Barriers and Regional Standards in the EAC Dairy Sector, Africa Trade Policy Note, Note no. 2

¹⁴ Niekerk, L.K. (2005), Regional Integration: Concepts, Advantages, Disadvantages and Lessons of Experience, Staff Working Paper, World Bank Country Office, South Africa.

¹⁵ Quattara, A.D. (1999), Regional Integration in Africa: An Important Step towards Global Integration, Statement at the First Conference of Ministers of Economy and Finance of French-Speaking Countries (Francophone) Monaco, April 14, 1999

¹⁶ Nyong'o, A. (Ed.). (1990). Regional Integration in Africa. Nairobi: Academy Science Publishers.

geographical region to safeguard their economic and trade. This implies putting the various economic groups together for the sake of economic development as region¹⁷.

Regional Integration is a process in which neighboring states enter into an agreement in order to upgrade cooperation through common institutions and rules. The objectives of the agreement could range from economic to political to environmental, although it has typically taken the form of a political economy initiative where commercial interests are the focus for achieving broader socio-political and security objectives, as defined by national governments. Regional integration has been organized either via supranational institutional structures or through intergovernmental decision-making, or a combination of both. Past efforts at regional integration 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 (for example, through Confidence and Security-Building Measures), and adopting cohesive regional stances on policy issues, such as the environment, climate change and migration.

Belassa¹⁸ contends that economic integration as the abolition of discrimination between economic units belonging to national states. Lowering of barriers to trade and investment is a condition for this to succeed. Belassa¹⁹ identifies the various categories of the integration process according to the kind of discrimination; These include a Free Trade Area- This is characterized by the removal of quantitative restrictions and custom tariffs, Custom Union, this is where there is unification of tariff of the countries within the region against outsiders, Common Market, this is where all restrictions on factor movements within the region are abolished, Economic Union, this is where economic, monetary, fiscal and social and counter-cyclical policies are to some extent harmonized and a Supranational Union, this is where the respective governments abandon completely

¹⁷ Mutharika, B. W. (1972). *Towards Multinational Economic Cooperation in Africa*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

¹⁸ Belassa, B. (1961), *The Theory of Economic Integration*. London: Routledge.

¹⁹ *ibid*

their sovereignty over the policies listed above and a supranational authority issues binding decisions²⁰.

1.7.2 Regional Integration Efforts in EAC and Africa

EAC perceive regional fiscal collaboration as a way of taking advantage of economies of scale by merging small fragmented internal markets to back industrial development and encouraging intra-regional trade²¹. The vision of the Community was to be realized as a Monetary Union, an incremental development over the phases of a Common Market (2009), a Customs Union (2005), and Finally a Political Federation of EAC in 2015. The cradle of the integration progression of the EAC was the Customs Union, which started in 2005 as set out in the Treaty and was executed gradually over a period of 5 years to a free trade regime in January 2010. The EAC Common Market Protocol commenced in July 2010, and the member states embarked on the process of negotiation of the procedure for creation of the East African Monetary Union (Clarke, 2009) An initiative for regional integration in Africa came to birth with the formation of the South African Customs Union (SACU) in 1910.

Nine years later, 1919, regional integration kicked off in East Africa when the East African customs union between three countries Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. However, the collaboration continued up to 1977. Political and economic issues were major causes that lead to the downfall and the eventual failure of the East Africa Community. A treaty founding the current EAC was signed on 30th November 1999 and came into effect on 7th July 2001. The overall goal of East African Community is to create a collaboration in the economic, political, and social fields by boosting economic growth, legal and political matters, as well as science and technology. It envisions strengthening regional integration through creation a common market, a monetary union, customs union (CU), and finally a political federation amongst the member countries.²²

²⁰ Belassa,Bella.(1961), The Theory of Economic Integration. London: Routledge.

²¹ Ng'eno, N. K. (2003). Regional integration study of East Africa: The case of Kenya (No. 9). Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis, Working Paper No. 9, January 2003.

²² The East African Community Treaty 2001

The largest facet of EAC customs union is the unification of five countries to one big block, which could have been deemed too small to attract foreign investment. EAC partner states have diverse social indicators and incomes. The EAC's land area of 1800,000 square kilometers and a large population of approximately 135,000,000 makes it ideal for a ready market. EAC bloc has nominal GDP of 84.7 billion dollars with Kenya having the largest economy with 41% of total GDP, whereas Burundi has the lowest economy with an average nominal per capita GDP of \$180 (less than a third of EAC's average). Regional integration enables region's larger economies such as Kenya, to enhance their own economic capacities, while on the other hand facilitating and encouraging economic expansion of the poorer states, such as Burundi²³.

1.7.3 Economic Integration Arrangements under the EAC

The East African Community has made a number of important steps towards the attainment of full economic integration of all the East African nations' economies. EAC member countries are members of other regional economic unions. This has seen them push for economic cooperation arrangements outside the EAC economic integration framework. The benefits of regional economic integration are being stressed by key development agencies like the World Bank. The African area of the World Bank for example went a step further with the formation of a Department of Regional Integration in August 2005. It is a realization that Africa as a continent is greatly fragmented and that the cause of Africa's problems lies in chronic constrictions to economic competitiveness, fragmented and small markets, weak systems to facilitate trade, undeveloped financial markets, weaknesses in crucial institutions and lack of enough human resources²⁴. The EAC can learn from the economic achievement of other regions that have advanced from economic integration. The economic growth and development of the Asian Tigers can be used as a good model to spur the economic growth of the EAC economic region. The

²³ Castro, L. et al (2004), Regional Trade Integration in East Africa: Trade and Revenue Impacts of the Planned East African Community Customs Union, Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 72

²⁴ Schiff, M., & Winters, L. A. (1998). Dynamics and politics in regional integration arrangements: An introduction. The World Bank Economic Review, 12(2), 177- 195.

economic growth of Asian region has had a transmission of the development process through market forces as well as government policies from more to less advanced countries. It is of significance to point out that such a transmission is best possible in an economic cooperation framework between countries.

According to Schiff and Winters²⁵, a planned economic coordination can be achieved through a regional economic arrangement mainly at the front of intra-region trade development. Capannelli²⁶, noted that trade development is not an automatic result of regional integration. He cautions that even though regional integration arrangements are recognized world over to produce profits through creation and ultimate growth of trade, specialization, reallocation of resources due to changing relative prices, economies of scale, increased levels of investment, efficiency changes owing to increased competition, achievement and growth of political goals should be considered. The East African Community in its customs union pursues better ways to connect intra-EAC trade by removing tariffs and the establishing a common external tariff for the Community. It's a driving force of economic advancement in the end as removal of tariffs and the trade creation will result in a mutual nature to all the EAC members²⁷. The EAC member countries have been pursuing individual bilateral trade relationships among other nations. It's aimed towards boosting their trade with one another and create a ready market from the combined population of the Community. It may even create a trade alteration from those prior trading partners to greater Community trade under the EAC.

1.7.4 The EAC's Promise

The EAC has enviable achievements in the socioeconomic and political-security realms, making East Africa one of the most integrated regions in the world²⁸. One need not outline the benefits of socioeconomic and political cooperation the EAC has achieved

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Capannelli, G. et al (2009), Developing Indicators for Regional Economic Integration and Cooperation, United Nations University-Comparative Regional Integration Studies Working Paper W-2009/22

²⁷ Lapadre, L. & Tironi, F. (2009), Measuring Trade Regionalisation: The Case of Asia, United Nations University-Comparative Regional Integration Studies Working Paper W-2009/9.

²⁸ EAC, 2004, Implications and Benefits of the EAC Customs Union, Arusha: EAC

through its institutional infrastructure informed by high-level political will unprecedented in the history of African integration efforts. The EAC's socioeconomic promise can be discerned from the customs union and common market protocols, the Monetary Union protocol, as well as implementation of joint projects especially in infrastructure development and management of shared resources.²⁹ The protocols are instruments which are imbedded within the Treaty, making them binding upon Partner States. The Customs Union is, according to the Treaty, the first stage in the integration process, somehow unique to East Africa because Preferential Trade Areas (PTAs) and Free Trade Areas (FTAs) theoretically precede the customs union.

The common market is the second stage in the integration process. This is again unique to the EAC for it would have been an FTA that follows. The EAC common market creates a single economic space for East Africa. It is reasonable to argue that the EAC jumped two stages of regional integration: the PTA and the FTA³⁰. This was on account of pre-existing integration ethos that had been entrenched in pre-1977 East Africa. An analysis of the economic benefits of the EAC integration requires an analysis of the customs union, common market, and monetary union whose protocol was signed in 2013.³¹ This in no way underestimates challenges of full implementation of these protocols, such as tardiness of non-tariff barriers, inadequacies in customs control and revenue management systems. There are also fears regarding the realization of a monetary union without an overarching political entity overseeing East Africa's monetary and fiscal policies, public debt management, exchange rate policies, and resilience against economic shocks especially when a single currency is considered as the endpoint of economic integration.³²

²⁹ Sabastiano Rwengabo, 2015, 'From Migration Regime to Regional Citizenry: Migration and Identity Implications of the East African Common Market', *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, 31 (2):35-61

³⁰ EAC, 2013, Protocol for the Establishment of the East African Community Monetary Union, Arusha: EAC

³¹ *ibid*

³² EAC, 2004, Implications and Benefits of the EAC Customs Union, Arusha: EAC

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study seeks to employ the customs union theory and functionalism theory as relevant and useful in the analysis of its key issues.

1.8.1 Customs union

Lipsey and Kravis developed the customs union theory in 1987. Customs union theory addresses the regional economic integration concept by looking at the welfare losses and gains accompanying creation of customs union. These losses and gains could arise due to various sources such as economies of scale, specialization, changes in terms of trade, and forced changes in efficiency owing to increased competition and due to a variation in the rate of economic growth³³. According to Lipsey, the model of customs union has been almost completely confined to an investigation of the first issues.³⁴ Some slight attention has been given to the second and third issues; the fourth issue is discounted of traditional theory by the hypothesis that production is carried out by processes which are in fact effective, while the fifth item not being dealt with at all. The studies choose customs union theory over others is because trade creation raises a country's welfare while trade diversion lowers it. It helps in understanding the central focus of this study, which is about the welfare of the people through economic growth and development.

The perceived trade gains of customs unions had provided the rationale for regional integration³⁵. Such regional agreements were viewed as good in terms of the welfare benefits. However, following the work of Viner Jacob, this proposition turned out to be incorrect. Using the concepts of trade creation and trade diversion, Jacob Viner argued that regional trade agreements did not necessarily result trade gains in spite of elimination of trade barriers³⁶. Viner noted that the Custom Union is beneficial only when the net

³³ Lipsey, R. E., & Kravis, I. B. (1987). Saving and economic growth: Is the United States really falling behind? Conference Board.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Jovanović, M. N., 1998. International Economic Integration, London, Routledge.

³⁶ Lipsey, R.G., 2006. "The theory of customs unions: trade diversion and welfare". *Economica*, New Series vol, 24. No.93

result culminates into trade creation by signing of formal trade treaties³⁷. Although the Custom Union theory still holds a central position in the realm of economic theory, it would be pertinent to mention for the point of reference that Viner's conclusions were challenged by Lipsey and Johnson.³⁸

1.8.2 Functionalism theory

Functionalism theory was founded by Mitrany in 1948³⁹, who considered the dominance of economics in international studies and studies on integration. This theory, though initially not meant to address regional integration has been refined further into variations like neo-functionalism. These, however, are built on the original theories. Mitrany⁴⁰ considered national sovereignty as a key concern for integration attempts as regional organizations are seen as likely to result in inter-regional conflict and consequently goes against the vision of a non-territorial global organization.

Functionalism is a theory of international relations that arose during the inter-War period principally from the strong concern about the obsolescence of the State as a form of social organization. Rather than the self-interest of nation-states that realists see as a motivating factor, functionalists focus on common interests and needs shared by states (but also by non-state actors) in a process of global integration triggered by the erosion of state sovereignty and the increasing weight of knowledge and hence of scientists and experts in the process of policy-making⁴¹. Its roots can be traced back to the liberal/idealist tradition that started with Kant and goes as far as Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" speech⁴². According to functionalism, international integration – the collective governance and 'material interdependence' between states – develops its own internal dynamic as states integrate in limited functional, technical, and/or economic

³⁷ Jacob Viner, *The Customs Union Issues* (New York: Carnegie Endowment, 1950).

³⁸ R.G. Lipsey, "The Theory of Customs Union: A General Survey", *Economic Journal*, vol. 70, 1960.

³⁹ Mitrany, David 1948. "The functional approach to world organization". *International Relations*. Wiley. 24 (3): 350–363

⁴⁰ *ibid*

⁴¹ Rosamond, Ben 2000. *Theories of European integration*. New York: St. Martin's Press

⁴² *ibid*

areas⁴³. International agencies would meet human needs, aided by knowledge and expertise. The benefits rendered by the functional agencies would attract the loyalty of the populations and stimulate their participation and expand the area of integration. There are strong assumptions underpinning functionalism: 1) That the process of integration takes place within a framework of human freedom, 2) That knowledge and expertise are currently available to meet the needs for which the functional agencies are built. 3) That states will not sabotage the process.

The theory of custom union and functionalism bring a combination of the political and economic aspects of integration, which is important in putting the findings of this study in the proper context of the EAC regional integration. It is the certainty of an integration process like the one being carried out by the EAC that political and economic forces come to play and one theoretical approach cannot help to arrive at a comprehension of the changing nature of the conduct of member states. The two theories best inform the delicate balance member states must consider as they make decisions on all issues relating to the integration.

1.9 Conceptual Framework

The study conceptualized the variables of the study in a conceptual framework. The independent variables will be limited to EAC's promise, challenges in EAC integration and strategies in Integration. The dependent variable is economic integration of EAC. The conceptual framework shall therefore be designed in a way that will enable this study to show how the various variables, affect each other. The conceptualization of the study is summarized by figure 1.1;

Independent Variables

Dependent Variable

⁴³ Mitrany, David 1948. "The functional approach to world organization". *International Relations*. Wiley. 24 (3): 350–363

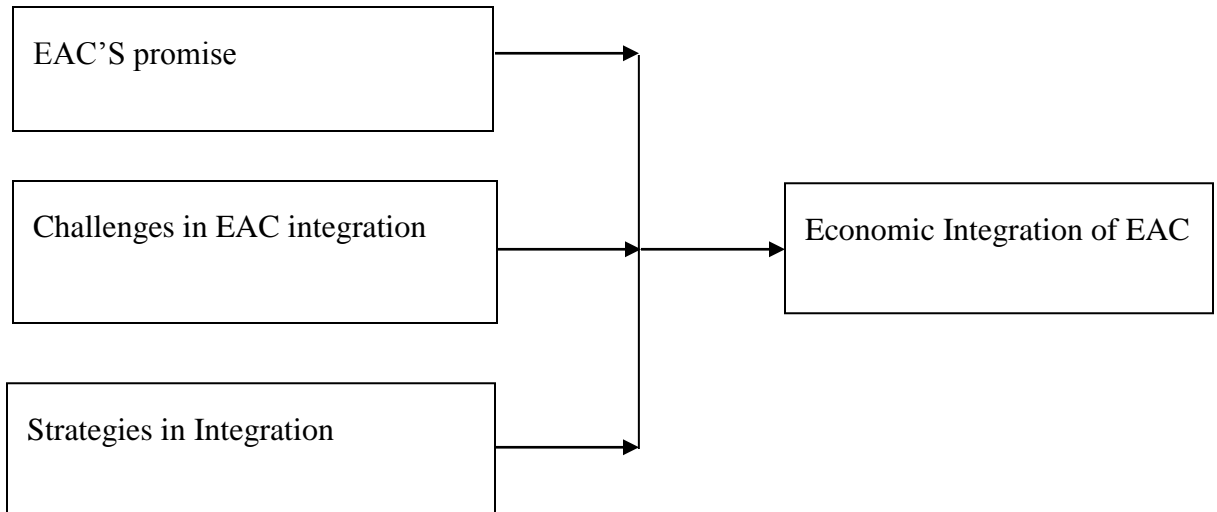


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

1.10 Research hypothesis

H₁: The EAC's has kept its socio-economic and political promise to the people of East Africa

H₂: The EAC has not benefitted ordinary citizens of member states

H₃: Removal of Non-Tariff barriers is a key strategy to overcoming integration challenges facing the EAC

1.11 Methodology

1.11.1 Research design

A research design is defined as an overall plan for research undertaking.⁴⁴ Similarly, Kothari defines research design as a plan, a roadmap and blueprint strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions. Both data and methods, and the way in which these were configured in the research project, need to be the most effective in producing the answers to the research question.⁴⁵ This study adopted exploratory research design. This type of research design was conducted in new areas of inquiry, where the goals of the research are to scope out the magnitude or extent

⁴⁴ Saunders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research methods for business students*. Pearson education.

⁴⁵ Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: methods and techniques*, (2nded.). New Delhi. New Age International (P) Limited

of a particular phenomenon, problem, or behavior. It may also be derived from studying historical examples of dealing with similar research problems.

1.11.2 Data collection instruments

Secondary data involves the collection and analysis of published material and information from other sources such as annual reports, published data. Cooper and Schindler further explained that secondary data is a useful quantitative technique for evaluating historical or contemporary confidential or public records, reports, government documents and opinions.⁴⁶ Secondary data was obtained from published works and researches on EAC integration process, articles and reports by the EAC and other bodies that are involved in the integration efforts of the community.

1.11.3 Data collection procedures

The secondary data was collected by reviewing the reports and articles relating to the topic of the study. This was done with the assistance of 2 research assistants.

1.11.4 Data analysis

The qualitative data was analyzed through content analysis where the data was grouped into themes. Content analysis was conducted due to the fact that the study it involved generating information from secondary sources on the problem. The method does not limit from divulging information hence it is suitable for the study. The data will be presented in prose form.

1.11.5 Validity and reliability

Validity describes the degree to which any measurement instrument succeeds in describing or quantifying what it is designed to measure. Validity was enhanced by engaging expert opinion will be requested to comment on the representativeness and

⁴⁶ Cooper, D.R & Schindler, P.S. (2006). *Business Research Methods (8th edn)* McGraw-Hill: New York.

suitability of secondary sources and maybe give suggestions on suitable sources. This help to improve the content validity and reliability of the data to be collected.

1.11.7 Ethical considerations

The data obtained was adequate, relevant but not excessive. The secondary data was kept safe from unauthorized access, accidental loss or destruction. Data in the form of hardcopies should be kept in safe locked cabinets whereas softcopies should be kept as encrypted files in computers. It is the responsibility of the researcher conducting the secondary analysis to ensure that further analysis of the data conducted is appropriate. The researcher filled a consent form with the condition that the secondary study is approved by the ethics review committee.

1.11.8 Scope and Limitations of the study

The study entailed information from published works and researches on EAC integration process. The study was done within a limited amount of time thus unable to collect primary data. It would be better if it was done in a longer time. Another major limitation of the analysis of existing data is that the researchers who analyzed the data will not be the same individuals as those involved in the data collection process. Therefore, the researcher was probably unaware of study-specific nuances or glitches in the data collection process that may be important to the interpretation of specific variables in the dataset. Since the amount of data was daunting (particularly for complex, large-scale surveys conducted by government agencies), the researcher missed important details unless they were prominently presented in the documents.

1.12 Chapter Outline

The paper will have five chapters.

The first chapter will be the introductory one. It will introduce the study and give the problem that the study seeks to solve. The chapter will also have the objectives, research questions, hypothesis, methodology, and the theoretical framework.

Chapter two will review literature on the benefits of regional integration in Africa..

Chapter three will examine the EAC and discuss its promise especially to ordinary citizens of member states.

Chapter four will offer options on reinforcing the EAC integration agenda.

Chapter five, which is the concluding chapter, will give a summary of discussions, the conclusions and recommendations based on the findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ON BENEFITS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

The East African Community (EAC) is currently one of the promising regional integration initiatives in Africa. In this context, Regional integration refers to the effort by and among nations to come together and form themselves into regional groupings with the aim of promoting economic and political co-operation among them. Africa's regional integration initiative will thus look at those efforts towards regional integration in Africa. The Africa continent has had a number of regional groupings and attempts at regional groupings. The focus will here will be on review of literature on the regional integration in Africa and the benefits as a result on the integration. Functionalism theory is the main theoretical reference used in this study. The functionalist style to regional integration has great reputation in the context of the EAC, which struggles with whether member states should code their sovereignty to a supranational organization. In a region that is still economically underdeveloped by global standards, much effort is necessary to identify the ideal theories and principles to guide in development and economic growth.

2.1 Review of the East Africa Community integration

The East African region is not new to integration efforts. The region has maintained a long history of cooperation marked by successive political integration.⁴⁷ The first political integration was by British colonial authorities in the beginning of the 20th century. The objectives were to create modern African states based on British colonial values to colonial and imperialist interests. The second political integration was by African nationalist leaders on the wave of nationalism which was a creation of modern

⁴⁷ The concept of integration can refer to a process or to a state of affairs. As a state of affairs, integration refers to a degree of internal coherence in a system whereby units move between conditions of complete isolation and complete integration. As a process, the concept of integration refers to development through which more internal coherence in a system is brought about. See Taylor Paul and Groom R.J.A, International Organisation A Conceptual Approach, Frances Pinter London 1978 page348. International political Integration is defined as a process whereby a group people organized at the outset in two or more independent states, comes to constitute a political whole which can in some sense be described as a community. See also Pentland 1973 p.21 www.maltelewan.com/classic-integration.txt accessed on 30th September 2014)

African nation-states based on African values, principles, interests and visions. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, an African nationalist leader, promoted the idea of political integration in East Africa with the objective of establishing an East Africa Federation. He was passionate about forming the federation to the extent that, he was ready to delay the independence of Tanganyika in the event of persuading Kenya and Uganda to consider abandoning their quest for independent sovereign statehood and instead merge into a much larger regional state.⁴⁸

2. 2 Regional Integration

Regional integration attempts in Africa have mainly been unable to realize the economic pillar of a region's economic growth and development.⁴⁹ They have mainly been caught up in the political pillar and this has always presented numerous problems particularly where there is lack of political will. Integrating states in Africa have largely ignored the fact that today more than before, Africa must use regional integration to integrate into world markets if they are to realize any benefits from integration into the world economy.⁵⁰

In a bid to realize this however, greater political will to abide by the regional integration objectives must be in place and these must be given priority over domestic considerations. In addition, members must make great efforts towards greater economic and institutional policy convergence while ensuring that the institutions set are strong and efficient. These are some key aspects that need to be carefully considered with regard to the EAC. It is to be noted that with regard to creating and sustaining regional frameworks, Africa scores very poorly. The EAC today is pushing for far greater

⁴⁸ Rotchild Donald, *Politics of Integration: An East African Documentary*. East African publishing house, Nairobi 1968

⁴⁹ Estrada, M.A.R. 2009. *The Global Dimension of Regional Integration Model (GDRI-Model)*. Accessible from <http://www.fep.um.edu.my>

⁵⁰ Quattara, A.D. 1999. *Regional Integration in Africa: An Important Step Toward Global Integration*. Statement at the First Conference of Ministers of Economy and Finance of French-Speaking Countries (Francophone) Monaco, April 14, 1999.

economic cooperation through intra-regional trade among member states. To what extent this will be attainable with the revival of the EAC is difficult to predict.

It is argued that by pooling together fragmented domestic markets, regional cooperation may spur economic growth and development by promoting intra-regional trade and economies of scale.⁵¹ Whereas as pointed out earlier, political will remains a key challenge for many African regional arrangements, the EAC has an opportunity in this regard as it seeks to see the realization of a political federation by 2013. In July 1998 President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda argued that:

“If countries of East and Central Africa are to play a meaningful role in this era of globalization, they must think of moving towards a political union. The countries of the EAC together with Rwanda and Burundi must federate politically in order to command respect from the other countries of the World. The federation will also enhance their bargaining strength in multi-lateral institutions as well as bilaterally.”⁵²

Most probably, this is one key role where the EAC would play in leading the pack of other African countries. Would the problem of political will be greatly neutralized if nations form into a political union or federation? The success of the European Union (EU), for instance, it is mainly hinged not on their economic union but on their political union. It is worth noting that the EU has not yet attained the standard of an ideal political union, however, great steps have been taken towards this end. In the event that the EAC forms into a political federation as planned in 2013, the future history of Regional Integration in Africa will have begun.⁵³ This is one sure way of eliminating the numerous political problems that always come up in Africa and in their wake compromise the vital economic aspects of the integration arrangement.⁵⁴ A case in point is the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) which in the last three decades has been faced by numerous political challenges in Togo, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone. Guinea Conakry, Niger, Nigeria, Liberia and even inter-state conflicts between

⁵¹ Goldstein, A. & Ndung'u, N.S. 2001. Regional Integration Experience in the East African Region.

⁵² Kasaija, P.A. 2004. “Regional Integration: A Political Federation of the East African Countries?” In African Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2, 2004 pp. 22.

⁵³ Nwonwu, F.O.C. 2010, The East Africa Community (EAC) and Regional Integration in East and the Horn of Africa

⁵⁴ *ibid*

Nigeria and Cameroon.⁵⁵ There is, however, the pertinent question of what form of a political federation to adopt. According to The EAC envisages a political federation where member states will. Regional integration results in large extended markets as small countries forms one economic block benefiting from economies of scale, pooling resources together, and overcoming small market in trade and production.⁵⁶ UNECA shows that regional integration enables sharing of ideas, accessibility to technology, increasing foreign investment, and increasing competition in worldwide commerce.⁵⁷

Most Leaders in Africa perceive it as an essential footpath to a continental economic community and broad-based development, as per the Treaty Inaugurating the African East African Community as well as the Constitutive Act of the AU. Nwonwu did a study on EAC and regional integration in East and the Horn of Africa. He found out that collaboration and regional integration gives suggestions to the creation of a strong and maintainable administration of shared natural resources including sensitive ecosystem and water bodies, and effectively addressing the regional mutual problems like migratory diseases and climate change.⁵⁸ Regional integration has been seen as a potential tactic to overcoming the economic issues in most African countries.

The once large economic networks and spaces in Africa have been separated by colonial borders ultimately creating small economic blocks which are incapable to overcoming the limitations and narrowness of their small markets on their own retain their sovereign autonomy and identity while having a federal identity with a revolving presidency among all the EAC country presidents.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Anadi, S.K.M. (2005). Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS. Unpublished PhD Thesis Presented to University of Zurich.

⁵⁶ Mngomezulu, B.R. 2009. The Economic and Political Foundations of Regional Integration in East Africa, 1924-1960

⁵⁷ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) 2010, Assessing Regional Integration in Africa IV: Enhancing Intra - African Trade, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

⁵⁸ Nwonwu, F.O.C. 2010, *The East Africa Community (EAC) and Regional Integration in East and the Horn of Africa:*

⁵⁹ Kasaija, P.A. 2004, "Regional Integration: A Political Federation of the East African Countries?" In *African Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2, 2004 pp. 21-34.

Mongomezulu claims of another aspect that has seen gross failure in Africa's integration efforts in the economic pillar.⁶⁰ Here, great problems abound mainly due to the nature of the economic systems of most if not all integrating nations. The EAC for instance seeks to incorporate all major economic integration systems like the customs union, common market, monetary union and the political federation. To what extent these systems can be blend within the context of the EAC is a vital question of economic technicality. The broader economic argument of a Eurocentric view is that Africa by the structure of its economy doesn't support regional integration due to its high dependence on a small number of export commodities. This leads to competition for third markets by integrating nations rather than complementing each other.⁶¹

To further complicate this view, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) argues that in order to support the process of industrialization, regional integration should comprise the largest possible number of countries. This strategy has however not worked in groupings where it has been adopted, for instance in the COMESA region where it hasn't produced much success. The future of the EAC as a model for Africa's future integration is further diminished by the numerous political challenges that face the East African region. Insecurity and political instabilities face a number of nations within the EAC framework. Rwanda and Burundi are for instance long away from recovering from the political-civil chaos they have gone through, Uganda on the other hand is still struggling with continued political-military insurgencies in the North from the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) shortly after going through years of political upheavals that badly damaged the economy. Kenya on the other hand is going through a series of both politically and economically motivated crises the most recent ones being the post-election violence (PEV) and political upheavals that came up after the 2007 General Election.⁶² Prior to that there had been the Sabao Land Defense Force (SLDF) in Mount Elgon. It is only Tanzania that can be said to be enjoying some relative

⁶⁰ Mngomezulu, B.R. 2009. *The Economic and Political Foundations of Regional Integration in East Africa, 1924-1960*

⁶¹ Goldstein, A. & Ndung'u, N.S. 2001. *Regional Integration Experience in the East African Region*. OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 171.

⁶² Ibid 69

calm. In line with the African Union vision for a viable economic region in Eastern Africa, this reality still remains dim with the reality of the political tensions in the Eastern Africa region and the larger horn of Africa. The larger Sudan is currently under serious political tensions particularly with a looming national referendum on the self determination of the people of Southern Sudan; Somalia remains a hot insecurity zone since the collapse of governance and the unceasing political problems in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. The great role that the EAC once fully realized will bestow to Africa's integration process will be its resilient nature. As pointed out earlier, the provision for further future cooperation as provided by the earlier East African Cooperation states' leaders is one to be emulated all across Africa. In the event where current regional integration efforts do not bear fruit, political leaders must be open to give future attempts a chance. It is worthwhile for African leaders to realize that in their current composition, regional arrangements may be ineffective due to a number of challenges. These regional blocs or economic groupings have the common goals of economic transformation and development, implicitly including eradication or reduction of poverty in the process. In other words, economic cooperation and integration are not an end in themselves, but rather a means towards sustainable economic development.⁶³

Time and again, different regional arrangements will have a number of challenges. These are some of the problems that even the EAC in its current young form has to find ways of grappling with. First, there is the problem of dependence on a few commodities and particularly of a primary nature. This has a historical and colonial connotation whereby the production of a few primary products was encouraged in a bid to service industries back home. With the advent of independence in Africa, nothing much changed and this consequently sees many integrating countries competing with one another in producing similar products. This makes it hard for the realization of intra-trade benefits with each since despite the huge populations, there exists very limited internal demand (within the regional grouping). Secondly, there is the over reliance on labour as opposed to capital

⁶³ Muuka, G.N. 1998. "Impediments to Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of COMESA." In *Journal of Business in Developing Nations*. Vol. 2 (1998), Article 3.

intensive production technologies. This has the consequent effect of making exports from the grouping largely uncompetitive. Thirdly, there is the problem of underdeveloped human capabilities where the combined populations have little education, poor health attention and generally very poor. These are the key highlights that the EAC must overcome if there is going to be any meaningful gains to be made not only for East Africa but for Africa in the longer term. The greater lesson that Africa must learn at this crucial stage of a global economic world and greater economic crises is that economic fundamentals during the formative negotiations must be given key consideration. There are far more economic challenges facing Africa as a region currently than any other region. ⁶⁴We have a deep debt crisis, African economies are grossly underdeveloped and at best reliant on a few primary commodities, there is also the huge proliferation of regional groupings and trading blocs and these end up competing among themselves and facing instances of member nations owing loyalty to a number of groupings, there are wars and unending conflicts, diseases, droughts, poor governance mechanisms characterized by bribery and corruption and most importantly infrastructural challenges.

Development specialists maintain that African countries should formulate, publicize and defend their often mutual interests in regard to worldwide economic growth. In this regard, such could be realized with ease if states in the African continent would collaborate into regional blocks unlike when they speak as individual countries. ⁶⁵Countries enter into Regional Integration collaborations to strengthen their social, environmental and political agendas state that regional integration could entice donor funding who are prepared to sponsor regional project compared to individual development projects in states resulting in more expansion.

2.3 Regional Integration in Africa

⁶⁴ Dosenrode, S. (2010), Perspectives on Federalism-Federalism and Regional Integration, Perspectives on Federalism, 2(3).

⁶⁵ Kawai, M. & Wignaraja, G. (2009), Global and Regional Economic Integration: A View from Asia. Integration and Trade (IDB-INTAL Journal), 13(29), 35-46

Since independence, African countries have pursued regional integration arrangements to accelerate their economic, social and political development. The first generation regional integration schemes were motivated partly by the political vision of African Unity, but also as a means for providing sufficient scale to import substitution industrialization policies.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, history has shown that the ISI policies not only failed in individual countries but also in the regional integration groupings. Such arrangements launched to fall out of fashion in the 1970s, in part because the first experiences were not successful.⁶⁷ However, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, regional integration has again become an attractive policy option, in both the developed and developing world. In this regard, since the end of cold war and with the emergence of powerful trading blocs, there has been a renewed interest in Africa concerning the need to create strong regional economic integration (REI) mechanisms to promote economic growth.⁶⁸

As increasingly recognized by Africa's leaders and partners, the cost of the continent's geographic, political and economic fragmentation and its separation from international markets is rising, in many ways becoming untenable. Some countries enjoy the windfall gains of historically high oil prices, while many others struggle with power-shortages and rolling blackouts. Most suffer from insufficient scale in production and lack of international competitiveness due to high costs and low reliability of transport, power, and telecoms combined with often prohibitive intra-African barriers on the flow of goods, capital and people.⁶⁹ Negasi also draws attention to the fact that Africa is confronted with deep rooted level of poverty, minimal share of world trade, and low pace of development in infrastructure and faces excess challenges from external pressures.⁷⁰ Ensuring that

⁶⁶ Taylor, Paul. *International Organization, A Conceptual Approach*, 1978, London, Frances Peter Ltd. Pg. 30

⁶⁷ Negasi, M. Y. (2009). Trade effects of regional economic integration in Africa: the case of SADC. *Debre Birhan University, Ethiopia: Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies*.

⁶⁸ *ibid*

⁶⁹ World Health Organization. (2010). Trends in maternal mortality: 1990 to 2008. Estimates developed by WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA and The World Bank. *Trends in maternal mortality: 1990 to 2008. Estimates developed by WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA and The World Bank*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid* 72

regional economic integration succeeds in Africa is vital hoping that it will help in enhancing economic development and growth in the continent.

From the continental level there is a strong belief that regional integration will accelerate the development of Africa. According to Hatzenberg, the aspiration of African leaders to integrate Africa, provided the rationale for the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA).⁷¹ The LPA was an initiative of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), adopted by Heads of State in April 1980, and aimed at increasing Africa's self-sufficiency and reducing dependency on the Western countries through the coming together of African states. A decade later in 1991 the Abuja Treaty was signed, providing strong support for the African integration agenda. This Treaty emphasized African solidarity, self-reliance and an endogenous development strategy through industrialization. This treaty came into force in 1994 and envisages the development of an African Economic Community by 2028. According to the OECD, the desire to integrate African economies on a regional, and ultimately continental, basis is strong. It is shared amongst African elites and their international development partners. Consequently many formal initiatives have been established to further this goal, under the over-arching umbrella of the African Union's plan to achieve a continental common market by 2028.

Leaders at the African Union Summit which took place in January 2012 under the theme ".Boosting intra-African Trade" endorsed a plan to set up a Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) by 2017. The proposed CFTA would be a key component of the AU's strategy to boost trade within the continent by at least 25-30% in the next decade (International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development). African leaders now recognize more than ever the urgency of accelerating Africa's integration, especially given the challenges of regionalism amid globalization.⁷² This urgency is reflected in the above-mentioned initiatives and in the establishment of the Commission of the African Union and the orientation of the units of the Commission. To move the regional integration process

⁷¹ Hatzenberg, T. (2011). Regional integration in Africa.

⁷² Shuaibu, M. (2015). Trade Liberalization and Intra-Regional Trade: A Case of Selected ECOWAS Countries. *African Development Review*, 27(1), 27-40.

forward, African countries have also adopted the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the overarching development framework for the region, recognized by the United Nations and its agencies and such global bodies as the G-8 industrial countries.⁷³

UNECA further notes that the World Trade Organization's rules for the world trade system have heightened global competition and raised the stakes for Africa.⁷⁴ Crawford and Fioretino echoes that slow progress under the recent multilateral WTO trade negotiations (under the Doha Development Round) seems to have, in turn, further triggered the creation and settlement of these regional economic integration schemes.⁷⁵ At sub-regional levels, countries have also committed themselves to various RIAs, and currently there is no country in Africa that is not a member of at least one regional economic group. Examples of regional integration arrangements currently in place in Africa are the East African Community (EAC) in East Africa, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa, the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) in Central Africa and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in Southern and Eastern Africa. COMESA, EAC and SADC are currently negotiating for the establishment of an expanded free trade agreement, the COMESA-EAC-SADC FTA also referred to as the Tripartite FTA (TFTA). Amongst the goals of the TFTA is to increase intra-regional trade and investment thereby maximizing economic growth and development.⁷⁶ Ndomo further states that the African Union recognizes eight RECs out of the 14 RECs in Africa to be the building blocs for the proposed African Economic Community and these are the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of West African States

⁷³ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. (2004). Unlocking Africa's trade potential. Economic report on Africa. Retrieved January 14, 2011, from www.uneca.org

⁷⁴ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) 2010, *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa IV: Enhancing Intra - African Trade*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

⁷⁵ Crawford, J. A., & Fiorentino, R. V. (2005). *The changing landscape of regional trade agreements* (No. 8). WTO discussion paper.

⁷⁶ Ndomo, A. (2009). Regional economic communities in Africa: A progress overview. *Study Commissioned by GTZ, Nairobi*.

(ECOWAS), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CENSAD), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and Southern African Development Community (SADC).⁷⁷

According to the African Union Chairperson (Dr. Dhlamini-Zuma) at the 33rd SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government which was held in August, 2013 in Malawi, ECOWAS has made great strides in the movement of business persons and COMESA and EAC have registered significant increases in intra-regional trade over the past few years. Although RIAs hold immense potential for individual countries and the continent as a whole, their success at achieving their intended goals of increasing economic development and alleviating poverty within Member States has been minimal. Trade in Asia more than doubled between 1995 and 2010 whereas trade in sub-Saharan Africa has largely stalled at a mere 2% of world total. African exports remain highly focused on commodities - they account for over half of sub-Saharan exports compared to just about 10% for Asia and advanced economies. Despite numerous commitments to create integration zones, Africa continues to register the lowest percentage of trade worldwide - a mere 12% cent of total exports take place within Africa, compared with 25% in ASEAN and over 60% in the European Union.⁷⁸

2.4 Regional integration blocs across Africa

2.4.1 West Africa

The most comprehensive regional initiative in this region is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which was created in 1975. ECOWAS has had success especially when it played an effective role in regional peace keeping operations, through the ECOWAS Monitoring Group's (ECOMOG's) operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. ECOWAS has nonetheless made only limited progress in terms of trade integration, the main reason being that there remains significant tariff and non-tariff

⁷⁷ *ibid*

⁷⁸ Osabuohien, E., & Efobi, U. (2011). Trade outcomes in Africa's regional economic communities and institutional quality: Some policy prescriptions.

barriers in the region. Following their independence, most of the French colonies in West Africa maintained their monetary union with France.⁷⁹ The West African CFA franc zone countries established the Communauté Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO) in 1973. Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) was formed in 1994, replacing CEAO by joining monetary and economic integration functions.⁸⁰ A Customs Union has been in force since 2000 with UEMOA establishing a common trade policy.

2.4.2 Central Africa

Colonial legacy has also shaped the push to regional integration in central Africa. In 1964, Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale (UDEAC) was formed by five former French colonies. However, UDEAC has never quite functioned well as a customs union owing to very low intra-regional trade.⁸¹ Limited cross border infrastructure networks and the lack of complementarity between countries have hampered the integration process severely. There was a merger of monetary and economic functions similar to what happened in West Africa in the formation of UEMOA whereby UDEAC was transformed into Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC)

2.4.3 East and Southern Africa

The Southern African Development Community (SADC), was formed in 1992 following the signing of the Windhoek Treaty. It was a transformation of its predecessor the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) that was founded in 1980. SADCC was set up with the view to reduce dependence on South Africa in the transport and energy sectors. South Africa later joined SADC after the apartheid regime was removed and a democratically elected government took office. This made SADC the regional integration block with the highest GDP in Africa. SADC adopted its Trade

⁷⁹ Hartzenberg, T. (2011). Regional integration in Africa.

⁸⁰ *ibid*

⁸¹ Anyang'Nyong'o, P. (Ed.). (1990). *Regional integration in africa: Unfinished agenda*. Academy Science Publishers.

Protocol in 1996 and started actual implementation of an FTA in 2000.⁸² Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) was formed in 1994 as a transformation from its predecessor the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) that was formed in 1981. It launched its Free Trade Area in 2000, but not all the member states joined. Progress has been made in trade facilitation, insurance and harmonization of transit goods charges amongst its member states. A major challenge which SADC and COMESA face is that of overlapping membership.⁸³

Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was originally named the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). It was created in 1980 by Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, the Sudan and Uganda mainly to promote food security and to combat desertification in the Horn of Africa. Over the years, IGAD has continued to play a vital role as a forum for mediation in internal conflicts within its member states.⁸⁴ The South African Customs Union (SACU) has a long history dating back to 1910 when an agreement between South Africa and Britain representing three of its protectorates that would later become the states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Namibia joined SACU while it was still South West Africa and opted to remain in SACU after it gained independence from South Africa in 1990. SACU's long history is noteworthy and part of its longevity derives from its mechanism of pooling all tariff and excise revenue together and sharing it together using a formula that provides compensation for polarization effects within SACU.⁸⁵

2.4.4 North Africa

The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) is a regional integration initiative established in 1989 by the nations of North Africa except Egypt. It has however been dogged with slow progress and limited development due to political differences especially between Morocco and Algeria. Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CENSAD) was created in

⁸² Mattli, W. (1999). *The logic of regional integration: Europe and beyond*. Cambridge University Press.

⁸³ *ibid*

⁸⁴ *Ibid* 82

⁸⁵ Mistry, P. S. (2000). Africa's record of regional co-operation and integration. *African Affairs*, 99(397), 553-573.

1998 with one of its main goals being to achieve economic unity through the implementation of people and goods with an aim of creating a free trade area.⁸⁶ With 23 member states, CENSAD is the largest African regional body but its effectiveness is greatly hampered by the fact that it overlaps several other regional organizations. Some members of AMU, ECOWAS, CEMAC, and COMESA are also members of CENSAD. This being the case, the organization has mostly been more active as a political forum and less active in the economic integration.

2.5 Benefits of Regional Integration in Africa

Geda and Kebret highlight that the impetus for regional integration draws its rationale from the standard trade theory which states that free trade is superior to all other trade.⁸⁷ When countries come together to form trading blocs, the idea is that these countries will benefit from free trade by doing away with all forms of barriers to trade amongst themselves. However, Geda and Kebret proceed to state that, free trade will only improve the welfare of member countries as long as the regional integration arrangement leads to a net trade creation. Tau posits that, although theories of economic integration show that integration may have both positive and negative outcomes, dominant views indicate that regional integration may improve the welfare of member states.⁸⁸

Keane et al observed that there is a fierce debate across the globe about the merits of regional trading agreements.⁸⁹ Keane et al further highlight that, while some herald such agreements as stepping stones towards worldwide free trade, others fear that these initiatives will be stumbling blocks, acting primarily to divert trade from other countries to those countries receiving preferential treatment. Although these issues are essential for the future of the world's trading relationships, a number of obstacles prevent a consensus

⁸⁶ Maruping, M. (2005). Challenges for regional integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic convergence and monetary coordination. *Africa in the World Economy: The National, Regional and International Challenges (FONDAD The Hague 2005)*, 129-155.

⁸⁷ Geda, A., & Kebret, H. (2014). Regional Economic Integration in Africa: A Review of Problems and Prospects with a Case Study of COMESA(2007). *J. Afr. Econ.*, 17, 357.

⁸⁸ Tau. L. M. (2000), Regional Economic Integration in Southern African Development Community: Problems and Prospects, DSpace /Manakin Repository, available on <http://hdl.handle.net>

⁸⁹ Keane et al, (2010), Impediments to Intra-Regional Trade in Sub-Saharan Africa, Overseas Development Institute, London

to be reached on the effects of preferential trading agreements. All formal regional integration arrangements reduce barriers (such as tariffs) to trade among member countries. Economic theory predicts that free trade will improve welfare by enabling citizens to procure goods and services from the cheapest source, leading to the reallocation of resources based on comparative advantage. It is thus tempting to conclude that regional integration arrangements will generate welfare gains.⁹⁰

The literature on regional integration dates back to Schiff and Winters, who suggested that the effects of regional integration on trade can be either, trade creating or trade diverting.⁹¹ Like any form of liberalization, one intended effect of an RIA is to allow the more efficient producers in the region to expand production (and reap economies of scale) to the advantage of consumers and the detriment of less competitive producers. This is called trade creation. Trade diversion occurs when the removal of tariffs within the region leads to goods that were previously imported from outside (from the cheapest global source) being replaced by more expensive goods produced inside the region which can be sold for less because they no longer have to pay any import duty. Consumers still gain, although by less, but governments lose more in tariff revenue and the country as a whole is able to obtain fewer imports for a given value of exports. This implies that regional integration can lead to further trade, but that these flows may not always be welfare enhancing.⁹²

Schiff and Winters, further posit that the welfare effect of an RIA on the bloc members as a group depends on the balance between trade creation and diversion.⁹³ Real resources are saved if inefficient production is cut through trade creation but are lost if imports are switched from low-cost to high-cost partner sources through trade diversion. Effects from entry into a regional integration scheme can be divided into static and dynamic effects. Keane et al highlight that static effects are a result of resource allocation in response to

⁹⁰ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2010), *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa IV: Enhancing Intra - African Trade*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

⁹¹ Schiff and Winters (2003), *Regional Integration and Development*, World Bank, Washington D.C

⁹² Ibid 95

⁹³ Ibid 85

changing relative prices, and dynamic effects, come from changes in efficiency, ability to exploit economies of scale, and in level of investment and growth.⁹⁴ Keane et al further explain the dynamic effects to include, the competition effect, brought about by freeing imports from partner countries, the investment effect, which appears when there are new foreign and domestic investments that have not occurred in the absence of regional trade integration, the larger market providing greater possibilities for the exploitation of economies of scale, capital formation, possibly through various channels: reduction on barriers to diffusion, technological transfer, externalities from export growth and rising marginal product of capital, the union members acting as a group increasing their chance to influence the terms of trade they face and the structural transformation effect, which is a shift from traditional primary-products export to new industrial-products export.

UNECA posits that the similarities and differences of African countries could make regional integration and cooperation beneficial.⁹⁵ Many African countries share common resources, such as rivers and problems, such as HIV/AIDS and low agricultural productivity, but they also exhibit important differences, particularly in their endowments. Though most have limited resources, some have well-trained workers, some have rich oil deposits, some have water resources suitable for hydroelectric generation, and some have excellent academic institutions and capacity for improving research and development. By pooling their resources and exploiting their comparative advantages, integrated countries can devise common solutions and use resources more efficiently to achieve better outcomes.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on the benefits of regional integration in Africa. The strides taken by the EAC to have a Customs Union Protocol in force and a Community Law – the Customs Management Act — made it attractive to other countries such Rwanda and Burundi to accede the Treaty in 2006. The latter two countries became

⁹⁴ Ibid 93

⁹⁵ United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. (2004). Unlocking Africa's trade potential. Economic report on Africa. Retrieved January 14, 2011, from www.uneca.org

fully fledged members of the EAC in July 2007, and started to implement the Customs Union in 2009. The Republic of Southern Sudan has applied to join the EAC and the process of evaluating her admission is ongoing. Currently the EAC is recognized globally and representatives from various countries and international organisations have submitted their credentials to the Secretary General of the East African Community. There are other countries envying to join the regional bloc, as the Summit of EAC Heads of State and Government have said in their 2011 Communiqué.

The region has increased both inter- and intra-regional trade, and has also witnessed an increase in intra-EAC Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) as well as in FDI from outside. The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) has passed several community laws and the Council of Ministers has established various Sectoral Councils to oversee policy issues in the regional integration progress. There -is mutual recognition of standards marks across the region where the bureaus of standards have developed an EAC catalogue of Standards. In pursuit of facilitating trade the EAC has embarked on a mission to establish One Stop Border Posts that have already been articulated within the auspices of the Community Law. Finally, the EAC Council of Ministers has recently approved the 'EAC Customs Valuation Manual' – a document which provides guidelines on how to implement and uniformly interpret EAC Customs valuation provisions within the Community and therefore helps overcome challenges in this respect.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) became the champion of regional integration, already in the mid-1960s proposing the division of Africa into regions for the purposes of economic development. Current African integration arrangements can be divided into two broad groups: those that fit into the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) adopted in April 1980, and those that were either in existence or came about outside the LPA. The Lagos Plan was promoted by the ECA and launched in a special initiative by the OAU. It envisaged three regional arrangements aimed at the creation of separate but convergent and over-arching integration arrangements in three sub-Saharan sub-regions. West Africa would be served by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which

pre-dated the Lagos Plan. A Preferential Trade Area (PTA) was established in 1981 to cover the countries of East and Southern Africa, which was eventually replaced in 1993 by the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). For Central Africa the treaty of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) was approved in 1983 but remains to be fully ratified. Together with the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) in North Africa, these arrangements were expected to lead to an all-African common market by the year 2025. The Lagos Plan was followed up in 1991 by the Abuja Treaty, re-affirming the commitment of the OAU's Heads of State to an integrated African economy. In April 2001, African Heads of State launched the African Union at Sirte to replace the OAU.

A second group of integration arrangements has grown up outside the LPA. Two important RTAs are associated with the former CFA zone. There is the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) within the ambit of ECOWAS and the Economic and Monetary Union of Central Africa (CEMAC) within the proposed ECCAS region. Within the geographic area of COMESA there are the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) with its associated monetary union (the Common Monetary Area, CMA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Community (EAC). Some countries in this region are also joined with countries in the Horn of Africa in the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

CHAPTER THREE: THE EAC AND ITS PROMISES TO THE CITIZENS OF MEMBER STATES

3.0 Introduction

The EAC has roots in colonial attempts at regional integration in East Africa. These efforts morphed into post-colonial measures which were aimed at federating East Africa.⁹⁶ The notion of federation of East African colonies revolved around ideas within the then ongoing debate on regional integration in Africa. Although the EAC did not federate under British colonial tutelage, it started off soon after independence from the 1967 Treaty. This pioneered Africa's experiments at regionalism that was by then hitherto unattempt anywhere in the world on a continental scale. The resulting common market and monetary union of the 1960s and 1970s was the first of its kind in the modern world. The 1977 dissolution interrupted this experiment. However, the revival of the integration process during the 1990s indicates how valuable regionalism has been considered in Africa's international politics.

3.1 EAC Integration

3.1.1 Pre-Colonial Developments

Pre-colonial East Africa was an integrated socioeconomic and cultural space. In this space foreign traders (Portuguese, Arabs, Indians, Chinese, Lebanese and other Asians) interacted with African societies to form the oft-awed Swahili language in which we find African/Bantu as well as Asian words. Colonialism divided eastern Africa between the major European countries: British East Africa, which consisted of present-day Uganda and Kenya; German East Africa, which consisted of present day Tanzania; and Belgian control over present-day Rwanda and Burundi which followed the Anglo-Belgian protocol of Kigoma, signed on 5 August 1924.⁹⁷ This protocol became the basis for present-day Burundi-Tanzania boundary and was concretized by the 1934 Anglo-Belgian Agreement on the water rights of the respective colonial mandates of Britain and

⁹⁶ Hartzenberg, T. (2011). Regional integration in Africa.

⁹⁷ Mugomba, Agrippah T. 2008. 'Regional Organisations and African Underdevelopment: The Collapse of the East African Community', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 16 (2):261-272

Germany along the boundary. “Burundi and Tanzania were from 1885 to World War I administrative units of German East Africa.” The two countries had a common internal boundary. But in 1919 there was “a decision of the Supreme Council of the Allies to assign the whole of German East Africa to the United Kingdom.” Belgium protested the expansion of the British mandate. Subsequently an Anglo–Belgian convention was held wherein it was agreed that Belgium should receive a mandate over Ruanda–Urundi. The Supreme Council concurred in the agreement reached at the convention. “In 1922 the League of Nations approved a British mandate for Tanganyika and the following year a Belgian mandate for Ruanda–Urundi.”⁹⁸

Initially, Rwanda-Urundi and Tanganyika became post-World War I UN trusteeships but under Belgian and British administrations respectively. Thus, after World War I, German East Africa was brought under British rule: British East Africa was expanded with the addition of Tanganyika but with the separation of Rwanda-Urundi which were later added on Belgian Congo. Though British Kenya was a settler colony and Uganda a protectorate, the same ethos of colonial politics and economics worked. When demands were made for the integration of East Africa to create a Dominion stretching from the Zambezi River to the Nile with colonial settlers as its dominators, Africans resisted. But the seed of regional integration had been sown. After acquiring German East Africa, British control over the headwaters of the Nile had been guaranteed, and further attempts were made to unify East Africa.⁹⁹ The British had established region-wide governance structures from which the process of regional integration may be traced. The Customs Collection Centre (1900), East African Currency Board and Postal Union (1905), Court of Appeal (1909), Customs Union (1919, which Tanganyika joined in 1927), East African Governors’ Conference (1926), the Income Tax Board and Joint Economic Council (1940), were some of the earlier institutional forms aimed at integrating East

⁹⁸ USA, 1966. International Boundary Study – Burundi-Tanzania, No. 70 – May 16, 1966. Washington: Department of State, p. 2 (accessed from: <http://archive.law.fsu.edu/library/collection/LimitsinSeas/IBS070.pdf>, 8 August 2016). On August 21, 1925, a Belgian law united Ruanda–Urundi administratively with the Belgian Congo (later Zaire, now Democratic Republic of the Congo, DRC)

⁹⁹ Raymond Leslie Buell, 1928, ‘The Destiny of East Africa’, *Foreign Affairs*, 6 (3):408-426

African countries. Between 1947 and 1961, the East Africa (High Commission) Orders in Council were passed in relation to the three colonies.¹⁰⁰

These developments might have informed Lord Chandos (Oliver Littleton)'s speech about possibilities of federating the three east African territories, a proposal which Buganda rejected. The operationalization of the East African Common Services Organisation (EACSO), 1961-1966, showed that progress had been made in integrating East Africa. This partly explains why in 1967, a Treaty was signed that led to the establishment of the EAC.¹⁰¹ Though several regionalisms have emerged around the world since World War II, the EAC remains less well examined in scholarly discourses, yet it also presents unique features and dynamics that would widen and deepen policy and scholarly understanding of the theory and practice of regionalism in the developing global south.¹⁰²

It needs to be mentioned that regional integration in East Africa is one of the oldest attempts at regionalism in the world: perhaps the Latin American regional integration process initiated by Simon Boliver in his 1815 Cartagena Manifesto predated East African initiatives. The Cartagena Manifesto was developed during the wars of independence (1808–1825).¹⁰³ Following the Manifesto and after the wars, attempts to integrate independent Latin American states to resist EuroAmerican hegemony were rather slower than Boliver envisioned. The European Union is modelled after the EAC, its predecessor, a fact rarely appreciated by researchers and policy practitioners. Before 1967, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda enjoyed commercial, industrial, and institutional links, because they shared British colonial control. After the founding of the Organisation

¹⁰⁰ Ibid121

¹⁰¹ Sabastiano Rwengabo, 2014. Regional Security Cooperation in the East African Community, Singapore: National University of Singapore, PhD Thesis; EAC, 1999, Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community (as amended), Arusha: EAC

¹⁰² Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, 2003. Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press;

¹⁰³ Simon Bolívar, 1812, 'Manifiesto de Cartagena Memoria dirigida a los ciudadanos de la Nueva Granada por un caraqueño', (Online: <http://www.biblioteca.org.ar/libros/1232.pdf>, 24 May 2016)

of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, East African integration was constituted within the continental approaches that were attempted in all regions of Africa.

At the Second Conference of Independent African States (CIAS), which was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in June 1960, there was serious disagreement between Ghana's foreign minister, Ako Adjei, and leader of Nigeria's delegation, Yusuf Maitima Sule. The Casablanca group had faced off with the Brazzaville-Monrovia Group. Africans had disagreed on the trajectory of regionalism.¹⁰⁴ This difference of opinion, between the two groups, "soon hardened into antagonistic positions." These positions led to what came to be called the "moderates versus radicals" debate on African unity. During this debate, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere (Tanzania) and Osajefo Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana) were positioned in moderate and radical camps respectively.¹⁰⁵ The disagreement was any less ideological than it was on the form and methods of integration. Both Nyerere and Nkrumah were in agreement that Africa needed to unite but disagreed on how fast this unity would be achieved. The fate and role of the OAU, and its role in directing the future of regional integration in the continent, seemed to be in balance. Fortunately this disagreement neither degenerated into interstate rifts or animosities between groups of states nor hampered the prospects of continental cooperation.

The OAU resolved this difference by agreeing to integration within regions as a step toward continental integration. This was the position favored by Nyerere. But the regions would be subsumed within the continental OAU, almost tending toward Nkrumah's position. A middle-ground accommodation of seemingly competing positions had been reached. The 1990 Lagos Plan of Action was developed within the spirit of continental socioeconomic integration and development.¹⁰⁶ Following the resolution of the debate,

¹⁰⁴ Ama Biney, 2011, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 139

¹⁰⁵ Patricia B. Wild, 1971. 'Radicals and Moderates in the OAU: Origins of Conflicts and Bases for Coexistence', in Paul A. Tharp, Jr., ed., *Regional International Organisations*. New York: St Martin's Press, pp. 36-50

¹⁰⁶ OAU/African Union, 1981, *The Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000*, Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa

post-1963 Africa witnessed the emergence of other regional economic communities (RECs), notably the Southern Africa Economic Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Arab-Maghreb Union (AMU), and later the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). All these RECs/ROs work as levels of intergovernmental cooperation under the OAU, later African Union (AU), and umbrella. We do not delve in details of these RECs but focus on the EAC.

3.1.2 Development after Independence

A major development informing East African integration was the ideological rift within the OAU between the moderate, so-called Brazzaville group and the more radical Casablanca group. These were groups of African leaders of newly independent states disagreeing on the means, nature, and extent of regional integration in Africa. Formed in December 1960, the Brazzaville Group later became known as the Monrovia Group in May 1961. The Casablanca Group, formed in January 1961, had Ghana as its vocal member, and disagreed with the Brazzaville-Monrovia Group about the pace and form of African unity. Rooted in Liberian President Tulman's idea of a loose association of socioeconomic ties among African states, which opposed Nkrumah's idea of a political unification of Africa, the Brazzaville-Monrovia Group came to acquire support from countries like Nigeria. The former, President Tulman's idea, approximates what Mansfield and Solingen call "regionalization". The latter, Nkrumah's notion of politico-military unification of Africa, approximates "regionalism".¹⁰⁷

3.1.3 Dissolution of the EAC

The EAC started off as a promising example of successful regional integration. The organisation was, however, dissolved in 1977 due to ideological differences between capitalist Kenya and socialist-communist Tanzania; political differences between Uganda and other EAC Partner States; and foreign interests aimed at disintegrating East Africa to

¹⁰⁷ Edward D Mansfield, and Etel Solingen, 2010. 'Regionalism', Annual Review of Political Science, 13 (1):145-16

avoid a strong federation emerging at the apex of the Nile Valley in the heart of Africa.¹⁰⁸ The official version is that the 1967 Treaty was dissolved due to: “lack of a strong political will, lack of strong participation of the private sector and civil society in the co-operation activities, the continued disproportionate sharing of benefits of the Community among the Partner States due to their differences in their levels of development and lack of adequate policies to address this situation.”¹⁰⁹ What remains clear is that though the EAC was dissolved, partner states still desired to cooperate.

The 1981-84 period witnessed negotiations on the fate of common assets and liabilities of the dissolved EAC, and possibilities for revival or other forms of cooperation. Under the 1984 Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities, States agreed to “explore and identify areas for future co-operation, and to arrange for such co-operation where necessary and for the continuation of certain institutions and services.”¹¹⁰ By retaining the “surviving institutions of the former East African Community”, such as the East African Development Bank and the East African School of Librarianship, states indicated the desire and interest in reviving the EAC as future events proved. Negotiations to revive the EAC resumed in 1991 between Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda.

3.1.4 Revive of the EAC

Following years of negotiations and experimentation with structures of cooperation, a final Treaty was signed in 1999. Article 151(4) of the Treaty provided for new institutions and areas of future cooperation to be catered for through protocols. The EAC had been revived. The Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Defence Affairs, for instance, which was signed in 1998, was adapted to the Treaty in 2001. Thus, post-1999 engagements between EAC Partner States follow the Treaty’s institutional

¹⁰⁸ Bethwell A. Ogot, 2006. *My Footprints on the Sands of Time: An Autobiography*. Kisumu: Anyange Press Limited (especially Ch. 11) ; Agripa T. Mugomba, 1978, ‘Regional Integration and Africa’s Underdevelopment: The Collapse of the East African Community’, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 16 (2): 261 – 272; Arthur Hazlewood, 1979, ‘The End of the East African Community: What are the Lessons for Regional Integration Schemes?’, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 18 (1):40-58

¹⁰⁹ EAC, Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, Preamble

¹¹⁰ EAC, 1984, Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities of the former East African Community. Arusha: EAC , Art. 14

procedures and anchorage.¹¹¹ Two of the major outcomes of the Treaty include the Protocol on the Customs Union (2004) and the Common Market Protocol (2009).

The two protocols—on the customs union and common market—are aimed at enhancing intra-EAC trade and investment, freedoms of socioeconomic operations, and increased interactions among East Africans through uninterrupted movements, settlements, residence, employment, and professional engagements. Despite debate about the legitimacy of the EAC as an intergovernmental agency charged with undertaking substantive operations and functions that would be ordinarily undertaken by sovereign states, and with important implications for the lives of East African citizens, the EAC has demonstrated great promise in terms of institutionalization and operations.¹¹² The EAC has enviable achievements in the socioeconomic and political realms, making East Africa one of the most integrated regions in the world. The benefits have been achieved through its institutional infrastructure informed by high-level political will, unprecedented in the history of African integration efforts.¹¹³

3.2 EAC promises to its Member States

3.2.1 Socioeconomics Benefits

The first string of benefits arises from the customs union, which entails a common external tariff, duty-free and quota-free movement of tradable goods within the EAC, common safety measures for regulating the importation of goods from third Party. Economies, a common set of customs rules and procedures, tariff nomenclature, valuation system, and trade policy, and collective administration of the Customs Union. The Customs Union's main objective was formation of a single customs territory. Within that territory internal tariffs and non-tariff barriers that could hinder trade between EAC Partner States would be eliminated. The aim of such elimination of these barriers to trade

¹¹¹ Rwengabo, Regional Security Cooperation in the East African Community, p. 176

¹¹² LO Wauna Oluoch, 2009, Legitimacy of the East African Community', Journal of African Law 53 (2):194-221

¹¹³ Mayer, T., & Thoenig, M. (2016). Regional trade agreements and the pacification of Eastern Africa. International Growth Centre, Working paper.

is to facilitate the formation of one large single market and investment area in which relevant policies are harmonized.¹¹⁴

A single customs territory is to enable partner states to enjoy economies of scale. Harmonized policies and elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers eases trade and speeds up movement of factors and means of production. The Customs Union levels the playing field for the region's producers. This is done through the imposition of uniform competition policy and laws, customs procedures and external tariffs on goods imported from third countries into the East African economy. This helps the region to advance its economic development and poverty reduction interests vis-à-vis other economies.

The customs union promotes cross-border investment. This attracts investment into the region, as the enlarged market with minimal customs-clearance formalities. This offers a more predictable economic environment for both investors and traders across the region, and between the region and other economies and economic blocs. Finally, other benefits arise from: adjustment of the national external tariffs to the common external tariff leading to welfare gains for consumers; the signaling effect arising from Partner States agreeing to implement a common trade policy in their relationship with the rest of the world is enhanced; and East Africans will exploit comparative and competitive advantages offered by regional business locations, without factoring in differences in tariff protection rates, added the business transaction costs arising from customs clearance formalities.¹¹⁵

An expanded economic space with bigger population attracts investors. In 2000, with their total GDP of US\$25.553bn (Kenya, \$10.357 billion; Tanzania, \$9.027 billion; and Uganda-\$6.17 billion) and a combined population of around 86 million people, the 3 EAC Partner States combined compared unfavorably with Vietnam with a total GDP of \$31.344 billion and a population of 79 million people. Vietnam would have been more

¹¹⁴ EAC, 2004, Implications and Benefits of the EAC Customs Union, Arusha: EAC

¹¹⁵ EAC, Implications and Benefits of the EAC Customs Union, pp. 3-4

attractive to investors, than the whole of East Africa, since the Asian country is one customs territory. Similarly, East Africa would have compared less favorably with Indonesia (with about 260 million people), Brazil (with 206 million), and Pakistan (194 million). Ethiopia and Nigeria, in Africa, with 102 million and 187 million people respectively, could compare more favorably than the whole of East Africa combined if it is not a single economic area.

The Common Market is anchored in the protocol, which “grants the right of establishment, settlement, and residence; freedom of persons’ movement, provision of labour and services; non-discrimination and equal rights between Partner States’ citizens and intraregional migrants.”¹¹⁶ The Protocol seeks to open national borders, allow intra-regional migration and movement, protect investments of regional citizens outside their home countries, and provide a limitless socioeconomic operational space for East Africans. It widens and deepens cooperation among Partner States in economic and social fields, through removal of restrictions on the movement of goods, persons, labour, services and capital, and the rights of establishment and residence.

According to one observation, “The EAC has also made major strides towards the implementation of the protocol particularly in the operationalization of border posts on a 24 hour basis, and harmonization of immigration procedures.”¹¹⁷ This, coupled with the waiving of the work permit fee for the EAC citizens by some countries (Kenya and Rwanda), is a great achievement.”¹¹⁸ The benefits of the common market can be summed up as follows: It entitles East African workers to apply for employment and accept offers of employment made in other states; move freely within the territories of the partner states for the purpose of employment and residence; and conclude contracts and take up

¹¹⁶ Rwengabo, ‘From Migration Regime to Regional Citizenry’, p. 35

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

¹¹⁸ Fredriech Ebert Stiftungen (FES), 2012, ‘The East African Community Common Market Protocol for Movement of Labour: Achievements and Challenges of Implementation of the Protocol. Conference Report, Nairobi: FES

(online:<http://www.feskenya.org/media/activities/EAC%20Common%20Market%20Protocol%20and%20Free%20Labour%20Mobility%20Workshop/CMP%20Conference%20Report%20November%202012%20Nairobi.pdf>, 24 May 2016)

employment in accordance with the contracts, national laws and administrative actions of the host state. These guarantees open opportunities for career and professional growth, thus enhancing the socioeconomic conditions of East Africans.

The Common Market guarantees East Africans residence in the territories of Partner States subject to national laws and administrative procedures governing such residence, enjoyment of freedoms and rights (such as freedom of association and collective bargaining), and enjoy the rights and benefits of social security as accorded to the workers of the host Partner States. This protects the dignity and rights of East Africans, thus preventing restrictions on well-being. The common market has opened opportunities for hitherto less fortunate citizens of East Africans despite operational and technical challenges facing all Partner States.¹¹⁹ The other socioeconomic benefits would arise from liberalization of services trade; matching regional with multilateral liberalization policies and practices; protection of citizens on contentious issues, such as land access and ownership; elimination of ambiguities and technical errors and committing to implementing the protocol; transparency and policy stability; and formal engagements aimed at easing tensions that might arise from the implementation of the protocol.

Article 10 of the Protocol requires the Partner States to ensure that workers do not face discrimination in employment, remuneration, and other conditions of work because of their citizenship. This, in addition to other freedoms and rights, cross-border movement of persons, an integrated border management system, employment promotion centres and a common employment policy, all ensure the creation of a regional sense of belonging that spans the EAC geo-social space, leading to East African Citizenry.¹²⁰

A report about Burundi, as of 2012, reveals that: “Burundi, just like other EAC Partner States, has made some progress towards implementation of the CMP. There were, for example, 132,083 EAC citizens who had been granted access into Burundi for the period

¹¹⁹ Rwengabo, ‘From Migration Regime to Regional Citizenry

¹²⁰ Ibid 139

January to May 2010. The EAC citizens passed through GasenyiNemba and Kanyaru Haut border posts. Between June 2011 and April 2012 some 922 students who are citizens of EAC had been granted gratis student passes to visit and study in Burundi. Also, Burundi harbours no discriminatory legislations inhibiting freedoms of movement of citizens of other partner states into Burundi. In the five months to May 2012, some 48,646 Burundians had entered into other EAC partner states using the Burundian national Passport. Burundi has entered into a memorandum of understanding with the Republic of Kenya on exchange of students and teachers and mutual recognition of educational qualifications.”

Kenya and Tanzania have had had good economic growth mainly because of the common market. It is expected to continue expanding due to the current EAC integration process, especially as the common market is implemented and customs union consolidated. This realization calls for companies from both countries to position themselves to take advantage of the integration.¹²¹ The same logic applies to all EAC Partner States. Every State has made achievements as a result of its membership to the EAC. We already outlined Burundi’s achievements, and mention can be made of Rwanda’s as well: increased “cross-border trade and free movement of goods and services especially for districts neighboring with EAC Partner States” (about 307 small traders have benefited from STR in 2012-2013); Rwanda total trade with EAC increased by 12.5% from US\$ 497 million in 2009 to US\$ 796 million in 2013. On average Exports to the region increased from US\$ 47.4 million in 2009 to US\$ 380.3 million in 2013, while Imports decreased from US\$ 449.6 million in 2009 to US\$ 415.4 million in 2013.¹²² In the same period (2009 – 2013), Tanzania was the main destination of Rwanda Exports to the region while Uganda continued to be the main origin of imports of Rwanda from the region followed by Kenya.

¹²¹ Kenya Export Promotion Council, ND, ‘Kenya’s Trade with Tanzania’, Nairobi: KEPC (Online: http://epckkenya.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=804&Itemid=224, 26 May 2016)

¹²² FES, ‘The East African Community Common Market Protocol for Movement of Labour’, p. 13

The above outline of achievements in the socioeconomic realm is neither exhaustive nor does it include cultural, professional, associational, and ideational achievements. It does not include the observable joint development programs in infrastructure development, for instance. Implementation of these programs has led to rapid infrastructural changes in the region. This has made intra-regional transport easy since priority road projects were agreed among Partner States in 1998 and 2003.¹²³ The outline also does not include joint management of shared resources, such as transnational ecosystems and management of Lake Victoria, as well as achievements in the international realm which have resulted from common voices on issues like Economic Partnerships Agreements (EPAs) and issues related to the management of the River Nile.

More achievements are expected to arise from the monetary union. The following observations can be made about the potential benefits from the Monetary Union. Since the EAC monetary union is not yet institutionalized and operationalized, it remains difficult to measure the benefits accruing from it in practice. Reliance on theoretical benefits of a currency union (monetary union) is, however, worthwhile in informing the understanding of potential benefits of an East African Monetary Union/single currency.

The proposed removal of currency exchanges between different currencies saves resources. Resource wastage is always high “when people change hand-to-hand currency”, and when credit card transactions and other banking mechanisms have not penetrated the breadth and depth of the socio-economy.¹²⁴ Some analysts see the monetary union as a step toward increased solidarity in Africa. It is a symbol of strength that would help provide for political integration that might result in a pan-African monetary integration that has been a dream of pan-Africanists for decades. It is generally believed that monetary unions result in “increasing trade integration and business-cycle

¹²³ EAC, 2012, EAC Infrastructure Priority Projects, 2012-2020, Arusha: EAC; Undated, The East African Road Network: Projects Status Briefs, Arusha: EAC; EAC, 2009, East African Railways Master Plan: Final Report, Arusha: EAC

¹²⁴ Patrick Minford, ‘The costs and benefits of Economic and Monetary Union to the UK economy - the ‘fifth (overview) test’. Cardiff Business School: Cardiff University (from <http://www.euro-know.org/europages/bforsEMUTEST5r8.pdf>, 24 May 2016)

correlation, and enhancing the credibility of macroeconomic policies.” A monetary union can alter an economy’s structure, hence resulting in trade creation and credibility gains for the affected economy. For a region to acquire a single currency it needs to be a full monetary union, not just a common market as the Southern African experience reveals.

Drawing from the European example, especially before the 2011-13 Eurozone crisis, the monetary union reduces transaction costs through reduced uncertainty on foreign exchange, money markets, and divergent instruments attendant to sovereign fiscal and monetary policies.¹²⁵ Finally, the monetary union is potentially helpful in protecting the region against competitive devaluations. These measures are “incompatible with a regime of floating exchange rates as the economic authorities, central banks mostly, do not manipulate the market-determined price of the currency.” The practice being “not feasible in economies with high degrees of trade integration”, such as those in Europe and East Africa after the common market in which free capital flows and movements are allowed, devaluations are best prevented through monetary unions. Since the “value of the currency is not determined by the government or the monetary authority but by the market”, the monetary union cushions against unnecessary political interference with money markets, regional trade, exchange between regional and foreign currencies, and ensures fiscal stability.¹²⁶

From the foregoing benefits of the customs union, common market, and the promise of the monetary union, regional integration (both regionalism and regionalization– political and socioeconomic integration respectively), when realised, creates social and economic synergies as a result of cooperation on key issues and implementation of joint development programs.¹²⁷ Geographically contiguous regions cannot avoid spillover effects of economic and socio-cultural phenomena—whether negative or positive. Joint management of transnational and regional phenomena augments collective efforts in

¹²⁵ George S. Tavlas, 2008, *The Benefits and Costs of Monetary Union in Southern Africa: a Critical Survey of the Literature*, Athens: Bank of Greece, p. 5

¹²⁶ Lorenzo Bernaldo de Quirós, 1999, *The European Monetary Union: A Political Time Bomb*, *Cato Journal*, 19 (1):143-160

¹²⁷ *Ibid* p.147

managing not only shared resources and responses to shared threats and challenges, but promotes conscientious decision-making in interstate relations. Decisional interdependence prevents autarchic choices while also solving collective action problems that would affect states which decide and act independently. In sum, regionalism presupposes that interdependence is more rewarding than autonomy. This conception holds true in both the socioeconomic and political realms.

3.2.2 Political Benefits

The social world is inherently political and regional integration is a political undertaking. The political benefits of regional integration have been experimented: first, as ideals pursued through attempts like Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism and Bolivar's Pan-Americanism; second, as experiential outcomes of federations like the German Zollverein and Italian unification, post-World War II European cooperation, and the federation of what became the United States of America (USA); third, as experiments in nation building informing Chinese integration, and Tanganyika Zanzibar union; and finally, as geostrategic survival attempts made through crisis alliances, balances and counter-balances in international politics. The simplest political statement on the political benefits of regionalism is this: "United We Stand, Divided We Fall."

The EAC Partner States were determined to strengthen their economic, social, cultural, political, technological and other ties for their fast balanced and sustainable development by the establishment of an East African Community, with an East African Customs Union and a Common Market as transitional stages to and integral parts thereof, subsequently a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation." They were also convinced that co-operation at the sub-regional and regional levels in all fields of human endeavour will raise the standards of living of African peoples, maintain and enhance the economic stability, foster close and peaceful relations among African states and accelerate the successive stages in the realization of the proposed African Economic

Community and Political Union.”¹²⁸ From this determination and conviction, three political benefits can be discerned from regional integration in East Africa: improved peace and security; realization of the pan-African dream of unity; and safeguarding [East] Africa’s geostrategic future.

Regional integration “fosters close and peaceful relations among African states”, while enhancing peace and security cooperation.¹²⁹ For instance, following the adoption of the MoU on Defence Cooperation to the EAC Treaty in 2001, and the negotiation and signing of relevant protocols, the Community has been undertaking various security cooperation practices, exchanges of visits, sports, such as joint trainings, joint exercises, shared infrastructure and technical services, and the Community is working on a common foreign/defence policy.¹³⁰ These activities resulted in enhanced counterterrorism cooperation, and cooperation in the management of piracy, transnational organized crime, control of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs), border controls, and disaster responses.¹³¹ Once a political federation is reached, the benefits of peace and security cooperation will be enhanced through single defence and external security policies.

Second, the EAC, through “close and peaceful relations among African states”, views itself together with other Regional Economic Communities (RECS) under the African Union (AU) as “successive stages in the realization of the proposed African Economic Community and Political Union.”¹³² This pursuit is consistent with pan-African interests of the founding fathers, such as Julius Kambarage Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah, who agreed that Africa needed to unite (though they disagreed on the speed and method), a view shared by Libya’s late Muamar Qaddafi, Uganda’s Yoweri Museveni, and most other African leaders. Politically, integration enhances bargaining power in international

¹²⁸ EAC, 1999, Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, Arusha: EAC, Preamble

¹²⁹ *ibid*

¹³⁰ EAC, 2013, Protocol on Peace and Security, Arusha: EAC; EAC, 2012, Protocol on Co-Operation in Defence Affairs, Arusha: EAC

¹³¹ Rwengabo, Regional Security Cooperation in the East African Community, Ch. 5

¹³² Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC, Preamble

affairs, reduces policy duplication, a common defence and foreign policy, and single international voice.

Regionalism ensures the emergence of a geospatially larger and militarily more defensible geopolitical space. According to President Museveni, Africa's strategic survival requires acquiring at least a minimum in what Americans "call four dimensional superiority"—superiority on land, in the air (air-force), at sea (the navy) and in space (satellites and rockets)—for it to defend itself. This necessitates integration of economies and polities to build demographic, geospatial, and economic capacity for establishing strong and reliable defence systems. Thus, regionalism will lead to prosperity, and ensure "strategic security for our people and enhanced international credibility for the African peoples."¹³³

Finally, regional integration erases, or at least minimizes, internal weaknesses that have historically led societies to be subdued and subjugated by other societies. It is argued that by 1900 the whole of Africa, save for Ethiopia [and Liberia?], had been colonized "Mainly because of internal weaknesses" wrought upon African societies by pre-colonial chiefs and kinds who kept people divided into "small tribal kingdoms, chiefdoms or segmentary societies and those divisions are still being promoted by the reactionaries today."¹³⁴ This disunity led to colonization and subjugation of Africa, yet other societies which were technologically similar to Africa but politically united "were not easy to swallow because of a higher degree of political integration."¹³⁵ It follows, from this line of reasoning, that "In Unity Lies Strength", a reason why Germans, North Americans, Chinese and Indians integrated and became stronger polities that would survive strategic threats to their existence.

3.3 Conclusion

¹³³ Yoweri K Museveni, HE, 2015, Speech by President Museveni on Geo-Politics, Regional Integration and National Interests, Kampala: NRM; Museveni, 2013, State of EAC Address, Arusha: EAC

¹³⁴ Museveni, State of EAC Address, p. 1;

¹³⁵ Ibid p.2

This chapter analyzed the EAC and the varied promises to the citizens of the member states. The chapter began to analyze EAC integration. Pre-colonial East Africa was an integrated socioeconomic and cultural space. In this space foreign traders (Portuguese, Arabs, Indians, Chinese, Lebanese and other Asians) interacted with African societies to form the oft-awed Swahili language in which we find African/Bantu as well as Asian words. Colonialism divided eastern Africa between the major European countries: British East Africa, which consisted of present-day Uganda and Kenya; German East Africa, which consisted of present day Tanzania; and Belgian control over present-day Rwanda and Burundi which followed the Anglo-Belgian protocol of Kigoma, signed on 5 August 1924. A major development informing East African integration was the ideological rift within the OAU between the moderate, so-called Brazzaville group and the more radical Casablanca group. EAC was later dissolved but revived in 1999.

EAC promises to its member states are categorized into social and political benefits. benefits arises from the customs union, which entails a common external tariff, duty-free and quota-free movement of tradable goods within the EAC, common safety measures for regulating the importation of goods from third Party. Regional integration “fosters close and peaceful relations among African states”, while enhancing peace and security cooperation. Regionalism ensures the emergence of a geospatially larger and militarily more defensible geopolitical space. Regional integration erases, or at least minimizes, internal weaknesses that have historically led societies to be subdued and subjugated by other societies.

CHAPTER FOUR: OPTIONS FOR REINFORCING THE EAC INTEGRATION AGENDA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter critically analyses options that can be undertaken by the EAC to reinforce its integration agenda among its member states. First the chapter presents the important aspects of regional integration by the EAC which include market integration, shared infrastructure and macro-monetary integration. An analysis will be done on strategies used by the EAC to reinforce its agenda in its region.

4.1 Aspects of Regional Integration

The EAC is an unfinished project in restoring the regional integration that East Africa once enjoyed almost half a century ago.¹³⁶ Potentially it is a vehicle for economic and political cooperation in a number of spheres. There are three aspects of regional integration: market integration, a shared infrastructure, and macro-monetary integration.

4.1.1 Market Integration

An integrated market offers important attractions: mutually beneficial scale effects encourage urbanization; greater international prominence is attractive to foreign direct investment and the higher is a common external tariff (CET), the greater is the adverse redistributive effects from less developed to more developed countries, and because of the structure of the CET, from poor households to the non-poor.¹³⁷

The EAC has not yet developed the institutions needed for market integration. In particular, trade disputes are still resolved in national courts. There has been insufficient pooling of sovereignty. For the EAC to attain middle-income status, it needs to create more interdependent economic activities and activities that are subject to economies of scale. Regional integration ensures that these two outcomes are realized.¹³⁸ The population of Africa is smaller than India, but it is spread across a much larger area. Scale

¹³⁶ Chimilila C., Sabuni, C. & Benjamin,A. (2014) ‘Trade Facilitation in EAC Customs Union: Its Achievements and Implementation in Tanzania’ 5 No. 25 IISTE at 1.

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 1994, article XXIV (8a) (i).

economies matter. The population of South Asia lives almost entirely in one mega-country or two large ones. In contrast, the rather smaller population of sub-Saharan Africa is spread across some 50 countries. Does this political fragmentation have economic consequences?

Both private economic activity and the provision of public goods benefit from powerful scale economies that confer advantages on the South Asian model. Paradoxically, although as a result Africa has a greater need than other regions for supranational power structures, it has made far less progress toward regional unity. Integration of all countries is beneficial. Almost everybody wins.¹³⁹ A modern economy entails urbanization, and a more urbanized Africa can generate scale economies which will ensure that integration is not a zero-sum game. A single EAC is a big market for investors.¹⁴⁰ Three issues need to be addressed when thinking about a trade reform agenda for the EAC; a high CET discourages trade, with adverse redistributive effects that undermine mutual gains; the so-called sensitive product list among partner states needs to be revisited.¹⁴¹ A timeline is needed to reduce this list and replace national courts for trade disputes with a supranational system.

4.1.2 A Shared Infrastructure

Gains from cooperation in infrastructure may exceed gains from cooperation in trade. Investment in good-quality infrastructure is expensive, hence, the need to attract private finance where possible. The key impediments have long been political. Currently, private investors view multi-country projects as being even more politically risky than single-country projects. So the costs of private finance are prohibitive.¹⁴² But the EAC has the opportunity to turn the multi-country nature of such projects to an advantage: Potentially,

¹³⁹ A Vitale, J Morrison and R Sharma, 'The East African Community External Tariff on Cereals: An Analysis of Stakeholder Perceptions.' (2013) 36 FAO 1

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

¹⁴¹ H Sippel, K Gastorn and U Wanitzek op cit note 113.

¹⁴² Njenga, Thembela M 'Women Working in the Informal Economy: Challenges and Policy Considerations' April 2015

governments can serve as a check on each other, so that an EAC commitment is seen as more credible than a national commitment.¹⁴³

In this regard, three aspects of a shared infrastructure need to be addressed; railroads and ports: The geographic fundamentals are that three EAC members are landlocked and dependent upon the infrastructure of the two coastal members.¹⁴⁴ The EAC needs to develop its railways and ports in order to better integrate; Power: With new discoveries of oil and gas, there is an opportunity to rethink power provision on a regional basis. Regional provision is likely to be much cheaper, and reliable cheap energy is hugely important for economic development and financial integration:¹⁴⁵ The EAC should be the world leader in e-banking and should have a common payment system. The message is that there are large mutual gains; we must learn to trust each other and learn to cooperate. Trade always has a distributional impact, but a common infrastructure is a win-win policy.

4.1.3 Macro-Monetary Integration

We now know from the European experience that there are strong political pressures to commit to the symbolism of a common currency, but that the practical reality is far more difficult. Regional groups are, in effect, clubs. As such they are ill suited to a policing role on highly sensitive issues such as budget deficits.¹⁴⁶ Basically, if an IMF program cannot provide the discipline for good macroeconomic management, regional peer pressure is highly unlikely to be more effective. Yet without common macroeconomic policies, monetary union is doomed to generate crisis.¹⁴⁷ Further, even with common policies, if economies are sufficiently different, then common external shocks will impact

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ Sharma, Subhash 'A Perspective on Economic Integration in Africa- Part 1' 2013, available at, http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1231:a-perspective-on-economic-integration-in-africa-part-1-&catid=87:african-finance-aconomy&Itemid=294, (accessed on 23 September 2018.)

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

¹⁴⁶ Trade Mark East Africa, 'East Africa: Intra-EAC Trade Soars with Customs Union Treaty,' available at <http://www.trac-fund.com/east-africa-intra-eac-trade-soars-with-customs-uniontreaty.html> (accessed on 25 September 2018.)

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

differentially and so again a monetary union would risk crisis. In the past, East Africa's economies were structurally very similar, but now that South Sudan and Uganda are oil exporters, there is a major structural difference within the EAC. The overall assessment is that despite some progress, the EAC could do much more. Trade integration has perhaps been more difficult than it needed to be because the CET is too high, creating powerful and contentious distributional issues.¹⁴⁸ Too much attention has been given to the symbolism of monetary union, and too little to the many opportunities for cooperation on infrastructure.

4.2 Key Strategies Used by EAC to Reinforce its Agenda

4.2.1 Democracy as used by the EAC

The Treaty establishing the EAC mentions key institutions that will further the cause of political cooperation. These are the Summit, the Council, the Coordination Committee, Sectoral committees, the EAC court, the EA legislative assembly, and the Secretariat. Similarly, in the EAC development strategy (1997 - 2000), levels at which political cooperation would be realized are identified as: Heads of State Summit, Ministries responsible for foreign affairs, ambassadors and high commissioners, provincial/district authorities and national parliaments (EAC Treaty Ch. 3, Article. 9 (1))¹⁴⁹.

The objectives of the EAC are: to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the Partner States in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defense, security and legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefit; to establish among themselves and in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, a Customs Union, a Common Market, subsequently a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation in order to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social, political and other relations of the Partner States; and to sustainable growth and development of the Partner States by the

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ Nabudere, D. (2004), *The Fast-tracking of Federation and Constitutionalism in East Africa*, Dar es Salaam

promotion of a more balanced and harmonious development, co-operation in agreed fields, sustainable utilization of the natural resources, consolidation of the long standing ties and associations between the EAC peoples, mainstreaming of gender in all its endeavours, peace and security and private sector and civil society partnerships (Article 5, EAC Treaty).¹⁵⁰

Yet, according to Baregu the objectives outlined in the Treaty are in no way innovative except for the goals of establishing a political federation, the objective are contradictory to those of the larger African Economic Community and the African Union and, lastly, there is no provision of a time-scale against which progress may be evaluated. Several comments can be made on the possibility of democratizing the Community.¹⁵¹ The first concerns the centralization of powers around the institution of the Summit. Notable is that the Summit is made up of the Heads of State of the member states. In essence the powers accorded the Presidents seems to imply that they hold veto powers over any decision they may object to. The decisions in question may include, for example, those perceived to go against national interests. Thus Chapter Four Article 10(8) states that any member of the Summit may record his objection to a proposal submitted for the decision of the Summit and, if any such objection is recorded, the Summit shall not proceed with the proposal unless the objection is withdrawn.

According to Joseph a simple majority rule would be more useful unless the issue concerned involved extreme national survival.¹⁵² Indeed, the significance of the powers given to the Summit is much more meaningful if it is considered that members of the East African Legislative Assembly are appointees of the respective national parliaments rather than directly elected by the wider East African electorate. Yet, the importance of grounding ownership of the community's processes within the population of East Africa,

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ Baregu, M. (2010), *The African Economic Community and the East African Community: Any Lessons from the European Community/Union?* Kampala, Uganda

¹⁵² Joseph, R. (1997), *Democratization in Africa after 1989': Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives*, *Comparative Politics*, April, Vol.29, No.3

and bestowing a sense of legitimacy to the Assembly's decisions seems to have been neglected. The Assembly is one critical link between the community and the population. The Summit is relegated to procedural issues.¹⁵³

Furthermore, he argues that because the Assembly's members do not reflect the makeup of the East African population, let alone the small number of the representatives, they will not have a constituency in the wider population to whom they will feel obliged to report back to, and to reflect their views in the Assembly. Also, since their election is a caucus process, it will not involve wide ranging campaigns that will educate and even excite people on the Community.¹⁵⁴

His conclusion is that trading off cost factors for democratic legitimacy is unhelpful in the long term. The Wako committee on Fast-Tracking the EAC integration in fact suggested that in the envisaged political federation, the Federal Parliament should be elected along the lines of the method used in electing the current East African Legislative Assembly or as may be recommended by the Constitutional Commission. It also suggested that from 2010 to 2012 the Electoral Commission and other institutions provided for under the Federal Constitution should be put in place. Federal Constituencies should also be delineated and between January and March 2013, elections for the President and the Federal Parliament should be held.¹⁵⁵

While such suggestions are welcome, the possibility that acrimony between the Heads of States, which precipitated the collapse of the EAC in 1977 may yet occur again if the legislative assembly is not strengthened to step in the event of ideological and other disputes between the Summit members. This is because as currently constituted the

¹⁵³ Kiondo, A, (2002), Political Cooperation as the basis for a sustainable East Africa, A Critical Look at the Draft Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community' in Yahya-Othman

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Kamanyi, J, (2006), The East African Political Federation, Progress, Challenges and Prospects for Constitutional Development,' Paper presented at the 10th Annual Sir Udo Udoma Symposium Makerere Law Society Makerere University, Kampala, Apri

Assembly lacks a popular base from which it can claim to represent the wishes and aspirations of the larger East African electorate and the absence of its constitution by political parties standing for various ideological and/or policy platforms. These ideological and/or policy differences are a sine qua non for the pluralization of the Community's processes and hence the legitimation of its institutions. Other concerns and worries over the different democratic traditions of the political systems in the three founding East African countries. While Kenya and Tanzania have multiparty political systems, Uganda runs a movement political system.

Yet, the Treaty explicitly acknowledges among the fundamental principles guiding its workings as "good governance including adherence to the principles of democracy, the rule of law, accountability, transparency, social justice, equal opportunities, gender equality, as well as the recognition, promotion and protection of human and people's rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Article 6 (d))." For example, the constitutional making process continues to be at the center of the democratization process in Kenya. In August, 2010, Kenyans successfully voted for a new constitution in a referendum widely hailed as free and fair. Despite the threats to implementation by the elements of the old order, progress on key constitutional bills is remarkable. In Tanzania, the hegemony of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) as a political party both on Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar, was in the last elections challenged in presidential elections with accusations from Opposition candidates of government sanctioned rigging. Indeed, in Dar es Salaam and Arusha, street protests occurred that clearly evidenced the awakening for the fight for democracy. Tensions with Zanzibar on the other hand continue to remain a thorn in the flesh for the ruling party over claims by the latter for independence. In Uganda, the stranglehold of NRM and its dislike for opposition has meant that elections are clearly a farce.¹⁵⁶

Government structures within the member states are also at odds. For example, the national parliaments have differing sizes. Whereas the Ugandan has 375 members of

¹⁵⁶ Nabudere, D. (2004), *The Fast-tracking of Federation and Constitutionalism in East Africa*, Dar es Salaam

Parliament, the largest in the nation's history, and the biggest in the East African region, Kenya has 216 MPs, Rwanda 105, Burundi 155 including senators, and Tanzania, 356. According to estimates, on average, one MP represents about 70,000 people in Uganda, 130,000 people in Tanzania, and 185,000 in Kenya. Yet, given resource scarcities in the region, some commentators have argued that the constitutional roles of the legislature: representation, legislation and oversight can be performed effectively with small numbers of MPs. Ndebesa of Makerere University argues that parliament is exploited by the President to secure regime legitimization and expansion of the patronage network. And "As a result, parliament has undermined democracy instead of promoting it and thereby hindered development."¹⁵⁷

The EAC Treaty also recognizes a people-centered approach to consolidation the regional integration process. Indeed, Article 4 Section 3 states that one of its objectives includes "strengthening and consolidation of associations between the people of the Partner States so as to promote-a people centered mutual development. 'Yet, in practice, the Treaty leaves little room for the operationalization of people-oriented approaches. The top down nature of decision making and the lack of public consultation in the Summit could potentially alienate the populations of East African from internalizing the integration process precisely because of the tendency to portray the integration process as an intergovernmental activity rather than a popular process.

Finally, the existence of a variety of conflicts in the EAC may derail the peace and unity that is necessary to consolidate democratic structures. Hence the Partner States are currently in the process of harmonizing their policies in order to "establish common foreign and security policies" (Article 131 Section 1). Yet security policies are highly controversial. This becomes much more important given the continued cooperation with members' states with the USA on the war on terror in the region especially given that the region has experienced such terrorist attacks before. Other than Tanzania, all the other countries in the EAC are experiencing major conflicts (directly or indirectly) that pose a

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

violent threat to many of their citizens. If the current efforts to establish region wide Standby Forces (e.g. EASBRIG) are fully implemented then, the recent expansion of the East African Community to include Rwanda and Burundi is one avenue that has opened up for enhancing regional security governance.¹⁵⁸

4.2.2 Encourage Military Cooperation

4.2.2.1 East African Community Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on Military Cooperation in Defence Matter

The EAC Memorandum of Understanding on Co-operation in Defence Matters was signed in 1998 and revised in 2001. The MOU is currently under the process of being upgraded into a Protocol. Under the Memorandum of Understanding for Co-operation in Defence Matters, the EAC Partner States pursue an elaborate programme of activities, largely of confidence building among the defence forces. These activities include exchange of visits and regular meetings of defence chiefs and other cadre of the defence forces; joint training; joint exercises and promotion of various joint sports and cultural activities and seminars; and mutual assistance in disaster management, and technical co-operation.¹⁵⁹

The implementation of this Memorandum has been successful and exemplary in the EAC integration process. So far, three major joint military exercises have been held, namely the EX ONGOZA NJIA, held in Tanzania in February 2005 on peace support operations, the EX TREND MARKER, held in Kenya, in September 2005 on counterterrorism; and the EX HOT SPRINGS, held in Uganda in September 2006 on disaster management. Also, Kenya and Uganda have held joint maneuver exercises at bilateral levels in addressing the problem of cattle rustling in West Pokot and Karamojong.¹⁶⁰ These initial exercises, mainly command post exercises, are now set to move to a higher level of more

¹⁵⁸ Fossum, J. and Eriksen, E. (2002), Democracy through Strong Publics in the EU? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2002, 40 (3)

¹⁵⁹ Amb. Dr. Sezibera Richard (2011). Rwanda Military Academy, Nyakimana, Musanze District, Rwanda, 21 October 2011

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

elaborate field exercises and near real battle simulations involving larger numbers of forces personnel and military hardware. At another level, the defence co-operation has involved military training exchange programmes for Directing Staff and Students at Staff Colleges in Kimaka-Jinja, Karen-Nairobi and Monduli- Arusha as well as exchange of cadet training courses at the prestigious Monduli Military Academy in Tanzania. Of equal importance in confidence building among the armed forces is the annual East African Military Sports and Cultural Week which are held in rotation in the EAC Partner States.¹⁶¹

4.2.2.2 Military Activities in the East Africa Community

Since the mid-1990s, a number of loosely affiliated extremist groups operating from Somalia have carried out or facilitated terrorist attacks in the region. The first was al-Ittihaad al-Islami (AIAI), a Somali Islamist and nationalist political grouping with some longstanding links to al-Qaeda that aimed to establish an Islamic emirate in the Somali-inhabited territories of the Horn of Africa.¹⁶² Its strategy relied upon regional and wider international networks linked to the Somali diaspora. Members travelled freely between Kenya and Somalia and elsewhere in the region and built considerable infrastructure for recruitment, fundraising and communication among the Somali populations in Nairobi, Mombasa and North Eastern Province.¹⁶³ In the mid-1990s, it claimed several terrorist attacks in Ethiopia.

Following Ethiopian retaliatory raids on its Somali bases in early 1997, however, AIAI's military and political command structure was dismantled, and the movement formally disbanded. Some leaders remained active and may have played a supporting role in the 1998 bombing of the U.S. Nairobi embassy. That 7 August 1998 attack, as well as one the same day against the U.S. Dar es Salaam embassy, were carried out by al-Qaeda in

¹⁶¹ Ibid

¹⁶² Ibid

¹⁶³ On 23 September 2001, less than two weeks after the 11 September terror attacks in the U.S., President George W. Bush signed Executive Order 13224, blocking the assets of 27 organisations and individuals linked to terrorism, including al-Ittihaad.

East Africa, also based in Somalia. Its Somali connections were instrumental in planning and executing the twin attacks, which together killed 225 and wounded over 4,000. Twelve of the dead were U.S. citizens; the vast majority was Kenyans or Tanzanians. Increased international attention led to the capture or killing of a number of the group's leaders, but it remained a serious threat, and on 28 December 2002, it attacked the Paradise Hotel, a beachfront lodge in Kikambala, Kenya, owned by Israelis and frequented by Israeli tourists, killing fifteen and injuring about 80.¹⁶⁴

A joint military training exercise involving officers from the East African Community (EAC) states was launched in Zanzibar in 2011. This comes in the wake of complex threats facing the region, including terrorism, piracy and natural disasters. The EAC may have a fundamentally developmental vision.¹⁶⁵ It is a fact, however, that peace and security are the prerequisites for social and economic development. With various threats facing East Africa, the partner states have a collective responsibility to ensure the region is secure.¹⁶⁶ Also involved in the joint military exercise, which brought together more than 300 military personnel from the region, are officers from the United States Africa Command (USAFRICOM), whose head of contingent, Brigadier General James Owens, emphasized the need to have a more stable and secure East Africa.¹⁶⁷

This collaboration between the EAC defence forces and the US is another positive step towards a more stable and secure region. The region ensured that what was gained will have a lasting impact on the ability of the militaries to respond to complex challenges the community faces today and in the future. According to Zephania, Peace, security and stability are the lynchpins for accelerating socio-economic development. It is in this regard that the EAC partner states recognized that collective defence enhance regional

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

¹⁶⁵ Crisis Group Report, (2006). Counter-Terrorism in Somalia, op. cit., pp. 8

¹⁶⁶ Zephania Ubwani, (2011). EAC launches joint military exercise in Zanzibar to boost security. Sunday, September 18 2011 at 13:24

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

peace and security. In the exercise, natural Fire II aims to enhance cooperation between the Defence Forces, civil authorities and international organisations.¹⁶⁸ The Zanzibar exercise focused on peace support operations, humanitarian assistance, disaster response, counter terrorism and counter piracy.

The region's heads of state endorsed a defence protocol, according to the East African Community's Secretary, General Dr Sezibera.¹⁶⁹ Speaking in Kigali at a ceremony for a joint field military exercises by the defence forces of member states which was attended by senior military and government officials from across the region as well as members of the East African Legislative Assembly, Dr Sezibera said this will replace the EAC Memorandum of 60 Ibid pp 2 61 Ibid pp4 62 Dr Sezibera Richard, (2012). EAC states endorse defence pact as part of integration. Understanding on Co-operation in Defence Matters under which the joint exercises have been held over the years. The current joint exercises involving armed forces from across the region were held at Gako and Lake Kivu in Rwanda. Code-named "Ushirikiano Imara 2012," the exercises were being held as part of the defence co-operation between EAC partner states.

The role played by the region's forces in Somalia and Sudan was proof of the importance of the careful planning, drawing and combat tactics that were their hallmark. The trainings were designed for the East African setting and had customized for practice by participants, both military and civilian, to help them in the planning and conduct of peace support operations, disaster management, counter-terrorism and counter-piracy activities with the purpose of improving the capabilities of the partner states' armed forces to combat complex security challenges.¹⁷⁰ Other joint military exercises have been held in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid 166

¹⁶⁹ Dr Sezibera Richard, (2012). EAC states endorse defence pact as part of integration

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

Lauding the participation of regional armies in the African Union Mission in Somalia (Amisom) Dr Sezibera said that Kenyan troops were instrumental in liberating the port city of Kismayu from the Al Shabaab militia, which has links to the global terror group Al Qaeda. This, he said, was in addition to counter-piracy operations by naval forces of the EAC partner states, whose efforts have dealt a blow to pirates and drastically reduced the number of pirate attacks in the first half of the year 2012. The International Maritime Bureau's global piracy report shows that incidents of piracy off the coast of Somalia dropped to 69 in 2012, from 163 in the first six months of 2011. The training exercises seek to harmonize the working relationships among the EAC partner states' armed forces, foster improved co-operation and enhance cooperation between the civil authorities in the Community and international organisations.

Specific objectives of the exercises included to evaluate inter-operability between the partner states' armed forces; to enhance the readiness of regional forces to respond to complex security challenges; to strengthen co-operation among partner states' armed forces and other non-military agencies; and to revalidate the Community's standing operating procedures for peace support operations, disaster management and counter terrorism as well as test the standing procedures on counter-piracy activities. Other objectives were to validate the multinational logistic support concept; to exercise participants on the application of international humanitarian law; to allow participants to practice on command, control, computer and communication in a combined joint task force setting; and to plan the conduct of public affairs in support of such operations.¹⁷¹

Another military activity was held in the year 2009. The Defence Forces of the five EAC Partner States held a Field Training Exercise codenamed "EX - MLIMA KILIMANJARO 2009" within the general areas of Arusha and Tanga regions in the United Republic of Tanzania from 3rd to 26th September 2009.¹⁷² The exercise was the first-ever Field Training Exercise that was conducted by the EAC Armed Forces and was

¹⁷¹ Florian Mutabazi, (2009). EAC Defence Forces To Hold First-Ever Joint Field Training Exercise in Arusha and Tanga. East African Community Peace & Security

¹⁷² Ibid

fully funded by the Partner States, pursuant to the EAC Treaty, the MoU on Co-operation in Defence and the Council decisions. The exercise was meant to practice a Combined Joint Task Force of 1,556 personnel including key stakeholders from all the five EAC Partner States in three themes of peace support operations, counter terrorism and disaster management in order to enhance mutual understanding on how to handle such problems in a typical East African situation.¹⁷³

The exercise also involved provision of medical and veterinary services as well as some humanitarian activities at Arkatani and Musuberi villages in Monduli District, and Pangani District in Tanga Region. The Partner States' Forces undertook renovation and re-construction of various public infrastructures in both Arusha and Tanga regions. The purpose of the exercise was to develop the capacity of the East African Community Armed Forces as well as other stakeholders in peace support and anti/counter terrorism operations, as well as disaster management and crisis response capability. The exercise was also expected to enhance mutual understanding within the forces of the region.¹⁷⁴

4.2.3 Economic Diplomacy

From 2000, East Africa has increasingly become an attractive economic prospect. Despite persistent high levels of poverty in the region the EAC has been rated as including some of the world's fastest growing economies. It is regarded by the Economic Commission for Africa as the only regional bloc to have recorded positive steps towards integrating the three pillars necessary for the creation of wealth for its member states: respectively economic development, social inclusion and environmental protection.¹⁷⁵ The EAC's current standing may be attributed mainly to economic integration initiatives that have led to the formation of the East African Customs Union (EACU) and more recently brought about a common market that aims to strengthen a region that already

¹⁷³ Ibid

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Ligami C, (2012). 'EAC fastest growing economic bloc in the world report', The East African, 2-8 July 2012.

contains an estimated middle class consumer base of 30 million people.¹⁷⁶ Secondly, the region is experiencing a peace dividend due to relative calm following an end to most civil wars or at least the lessening of hostilities, which in turn has encouraged substantial investment in the region from a range of international actors. Lastly, EAC governments have invested heavily in infrastructure and telecommunications in order to boost the service industry and to make the region more attractive to multinational corporations.¹⁷⁷ The next, immediate step for the EAC is to achieve full implementation of the common market protocol.¹⁷⁸ East African central banks are already working on modalities for an integrated economic policy to establish a monetary union, as the EAC moves towards its goal of an East African political federation under fast-track mechanisms already in place.¹⁷⁹ Regional interactions in Africa are peculiarly complex due to memberships in a multiplicity of RECs with varied obligations and time frames. EAC members are no exception and such multiple commitments are bound to slow progress towards the broader objective. Kwame Owino, chief executive of Kenya's Institute of Economic Affairs, points out that the pooling of economic sovereignty is an inevitable adjunct to the development of regional economic, investment, trade and monetary policy.¹⁸⁰

This is especially true of relations between COMESA, the EAC and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). These RECs constitute building blocks in the formation of an African Economic Community and are intricately tangled into a 'spaghetti bowl' because of the multiple memberships of their constituent states. A co-ordination mechanism led to the formation in 2005 of COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite

¹⁷⁶ By opening up Kenya's northern frontier the Lamu Corridor will create an internal market of 240 million people, above the 150 million needed to become a major power. See Were E & C Ligami, 'Nairobi, Africa's new HQ for Multinationals', *The East African*, 25–31 July, 2011.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

¹⁷⁸ Personal interview, MFA, Nairobi, 2013

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

¹⁸⁰ Owino K, 'Multilateral Relations and The East African Community', in *East African Scenarios Project Research Compendium*, 2007. Nairobi: SID, pp. 277–298

Free Trade Area (TFTA), an umbrella organisation comprising the three RECs.¹⁸¹ The aim of the TFTA is to contribute to the broader objective of the African Union (AU): that is, accelerating economic integration and achieving sustainable economic development, thereby alleviating poverty and improving the quality of life for the people of eastern and southern Africa. As such, the TFTA works toward integrating various programmes of the REC. Its focus is on expanding trade by establishing FTAs, customs unions, monetary unions and common markets, as well as by developing infrastructure projects in transport, ICT and energy sectors.

Despite the strides made in pursuing regional integration, Makerere University's Professor Mahmood Mamdani has questioned East Africa's adoption of the European integration model.¹⁸² It seems likely that the introduction of an East African currency without first creating a common political framework and solving the question of sovereignty would invite difficulties on the lines of those now facing the EU. This is especially so in the African context of a weak political class overly preoccupied with its political survival, which has resulted in an inclination to borrow solutions from the West. While the jury is still out as the TFTA goes through the motions of setting itself up, a move from reactive responses to more aggressively addressing the challenges of changing world events would do much to help secure the economic wellbeing of East Africa.

The thrust of the EAC (member states) international politics has changed substantially, from the survival of the state and its leadership towards greater attention to trade and investment issues. A process of greater democratization helped shift the priorities of foreign engagement towards economic diplomacy, which became an important instrument in pursuing growth; hence its description by government officials as a

¹⁸¹ The 26 members of the Tripartite make up 57% of the population of the AU and just over 58% of its GDP. See Comesa (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa), 'Background', <http://www.comesa-eac-sadcripartite.org/about/background>, accessed 24 August 2012

¹⁸² Mamdani M, (2012). 'The State, private Sector and Market Failures', Pambazuka, 595, (Nairobi), 5 July 2012, <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/83875e>.

principal pillar on which the country's foreign policy is grounded in pursuit of its development objective of becoming a middle-income and industrialized economy by 2030.¹⁸³

Economic diplomacy in EAC is not a notion that describes distinctions of policy and practice, but rather a reaction to changes in the global environment.¹⁸⁴ The main motivation for conducting foreign policy in this way is the search for increased capital flows into the region given the commitment to integration initiatives through exploring alternative sources of development assistance and by promoting itself as a favourable destination for foreign direct investment (FDI), tourism and conferencing. Secondly, the necessity to support investment within the region and beyond is motivated by a need to expand access to established markets worldwide. Economic diplomacy is therefore an avenue through which to promote impartial rules of international trade while strengthening RECs, especially the EAC and COMESA, to serve as competitive springboards to emerging and global markets. Lastly, it is a mechanism that supports the search for traditional and renewable sources of energy through enhanced technology, and by seeking sources of finance for associated projects such as the extraction of geothermal resources.¹⁸⁵

Sound economic policies and a record of pragmatism in foreign policy and regional affairs have brought EAC to a position of relative leadership that makes it highly adaptable to global changes. Initially, this was seen as a means to safeguard the regions national integrity in a world where great power domination of weaker states was the main characteristic of international affairs. Subsequently, it became a position through which EAC seeks to preserve that character in an environment in which global events have

¹⁸³ Amolo T, (2009). Some Thoughts on Economic Diplomacy and Its impact on Economic Relations, 27 May 2009.

¹⁸⁴ Personal interview, (2013). MFA (Ministry of EAC), Nairobi, 9th September 2013.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

significant national and regional repercussions.¹⁸⁶ In following this policy the region has eschewed ideological and geopolitical alliances; pursuing peaceful non-aligned cooperation without regard for other nations' political or economic inclinations, while avoiding open military confrontation.

4.2.3.1 Sound economic policy in East Africa Community

Since inception of EAC, the region has achieved regional leadership. Its success facilitated rapid growth in manufactured exports from Kenya to Tanzania and Uganda reflecting industrial imbalances stemming from the first REC initiative and unlike neighboring states that went through more serious economic trials as well as periods of political instability, enabled Kenya to survive the oil crisis of 1973 and the collapse of the first EAC.¹⁸⁷

In the 1980s and 1990s, the emphasis in economic policy moved from import substitution to export promotion, on the realization that a more interdependent world of increasing trade barriers would require more diversity in its export products and markets. Under structural adjustment programmes from 1986 to the early 1990s EAC embarked on liberalizing trade and expanding its markets in Africa.¹⁸⁸ A 2005 economic survey in EAC noted that by 1995 more than 50% of the regions exports were within the region from member countries. In addition, the second half of the 1980s was characterised by the development of export incentives such as manufacturing under bond in 1988, export

¹⁸⁶ Mboya T, (1970). *Some Reflections on the Development of a Foreign Policy for an African State*, *The Challenges of Nationhood: A Collection of Speeches and Writings*, Westport (Connecticut): Praeger Publishers, 1970, pp. 234– 236. Mboya expresses the sentiments of President Modibo Keita of Mali, on positive neutrality as the foundation for developing countries' foreign policy as did President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who warned poor African countries against becoming tools of rich countries

¹⁸⁷ Kenyuru A, (2010). *Trade Policy in Kenya, Kenya Policies for Prosperity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010

¹⁸⁸ Rono JK, (2009). 'The impact of the structural adjustment programmes on Kenyan society', *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 17, 1, pp. 81–98, <http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20>

processing zones in 1990, and value added tax exemptions. Furthermore, institutions such as the Export Promotion Council (EPC) facilitated support for manufactured exports.¹⁸⁹ Comprehensive trade reforms followed rapidly in the early 1990s, but Jeffrey and Warner point out that it was only in 1994 that EAC opened itself up in earnest.¹⁹⁰ By 1996 economic growth had restarted but progress towards a more liberal and outwardly orientated economic regime was inconsistent.¹⁹¹ With the advent of a new government in 2003 the economy began to recover, its outward orientation exemplified by the adoption of the EAC common external tariff (CET) in 2005 that harmonized the tariff structure and reduced its dispersion. EAC implemented the ERS from 2003 to 2007. Its main aim was to develop an investment strategy in which the private sector became the main channel for generating employment and wealth, putting the country on a firm development path. The success of the ERS led to the formulation of Vision 2030, the first goal of which is economic prosperity. It seeks to revitalize the stagnant levels of private investment that are the principal cause of EAC disappointing economic performance.

4.2.3.2 Cooperation of Regional Prosperity

High expectations have been placed on the formation of a common market to open up the region. The key institutions for its establishment are already in place; including the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) and the East African Court of Justice. There is continued cooperation over a wide field and progression into a monetary union is under way involving private sector participants, especially the banking sector. In addition, the threat of terror and the rise of regional crime rings have led to increased co-operation in defence and security matters.¹⁹² The transition towards a common market is expected to be relatively smooth given that most of the required institutions are already in place. The challenge is to strengthen them sufficiently to effectively support market integration.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

¹⁹⁰ Jeffrey Sachs and Warner Andrew (2011). EAC Foreign Service and Export Trade Promotion. Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse,

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² Among other threats, a thriving black market, threat of terror, reported cross border bank robberies and carjackings

For Kenya and its EAC counterparts, regional prosperity involves proper implementation of the common market protocol. This is a major challenge, bearing in mind the problematic decision-making that arises from sensitive social issues tied to the protocol. These issues may lead to restrictive interpretations of some of the principles of free trade nominally espoused; for example, there are fears of Kenyan domination in the region through skills displacement effects on other members, such as Tanzania. Secondly, different national laws may hinder the harmonization of policies between states that fear a loss of sovereignty to partner countries in the process of regional integration.

Nevertheless, using their observer status within the EAC, business groups such as Apea and EABC are nurturing political goodwill. These two organisations have developed strong partnerships with government and non-governmental institutions. Their status at the EAC enables them to attend and participate in all relevant EAC activities and deliberations, not only at the secretariat but also in other organs and institutions. This provides a much-needed link between government and professionals especially in cross cutting issues through the public private sector partnership programmes and in promoting the case for professionalism in the region.¹⁹³ The private sector, comprising multinationals, local companies and organisations that operate within the EAC, is increasing its cross border ventures. Although most of them are engaged solely in the pursuit of business, a few have become involved in policy advocacy. They provide technical knowledge in sectoral councils relating to business interests and development; in the process becoming legitimate participants in governance.

Notably, under the EAC, member states have developed and are articulating shared policy objectives in order to make the region attractive for investment. This is demonstrated by the enactment in 2006 of the Competition Policy and Law; and the Standardization, Quality Assurance, Metrology and Testing Act Law. Initiatives to formulate and implement a policy to curb infringement of intellectual property rights and

¹⁹³ Kenyuru A, (2010). Trade Policy in Kenya, Kenya Policies for Prosperity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010

production of counterfeit goods in the region are under way, given that those two issues have proved major investment disincentives.¹⁹⁴ A further significant step is the formulation of an investment code to guide member states in developing their national investment law. Unfortunately, as Odhiambo highlights in his study, in its current form the investment code is not binding and the development of an EAC investment policy and strategy is continuing. Despite efforts to harmonize investment policies, EAC members at the moment retain their own institutions and regulatory mechanisms to deal with foreign investments, including responsibility for investment legislation, entry and exit requirements, investment protection and incentives. This autonomy has resulted in disparate national investment environments: hence the need for a uniform investment code.

4.2.4 Citizen Engagement as used by the EAC

It was expected that by engaging the Civil Society Organizations in policy dialogues and implementation processes in the EAC integration programmes, then the collective actions emanating from engaging them would be responding to the needs and aspirations of the EAC people generating local ownership needed for the integration process hence making it politically sustainable in the region. Article 127 of the EAC treaty specifies the need to engage with the CSOs in the integration processes and hence the East African Civil Society Forum (EACCSOF) was established to act as an umbrella body for all the CSOs and NGOS in the region. Although EACCSOF has not been actively supported and operational in the region, it is mandated to facilitate avenues for active engagement between Civil Society and the Community and its organs.¹⁹⁵

Through the Building, an Inclusive East African Community (BIEAC) project the research dialogues done indicated that there was limited capacity of CSOs in the region to comprehend most of the trade-related issues they enlisted themselves to do and hence

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵ Sofia, N. Regional Workshop Report on: Strengthening the role of civil society in deepening EAC regional integration: Perspectives from the BIEAC project, 2010.

needed capacity building to enable them perform better. Emanating from this, Consumer Unity Trust Society (CUTS) in collaboration with (German Technical Cooperation) GTZ therefore organized a two day workshop that was held on 27th - 28th May 2010 at La Mada Hotel, Nairobi to discuss “Strengthening the Role of Civil Society in Deepening EAC Regional Integration: Perspectives from the BIEAC Project. The Workshop aimed at discussing how the CSOs can strengthen the role they play to help elevate the position and contribution of Trade as a major driving factor of regional integration among the EAC Partner States and between the EAC region and other regional economic communities.¹⁹⁶

The EAC regional integration treaty recognizes the central role played by citizens during the process. For this reason, the entire process is meant to be people-centered though driven by the private sector. This means that interests of the citizens of partner States are at the heart of any integration process. To establish the importance of this argument and relate it with the current EAC, a review EU community shall be helpful. The framework of the EAC is guided by the principles of the Community including people centered cooperation where the main beneficiaries of the Community will be East African citizens. They would be the main players through the non-state actors.

These groups are entitled to participate in the activities of the Community at all levels and can engage the various Organs of EAC such as EALA, EACJ, EAC Secretariat etc to input into the policy and decision making process. Under Art.127 of the EAC Treaty, Partner States are to promote, “an enabling environment for the participation of Civil Society in the development of activities within the Community.” However, the most salient point is that, for any stage of regional integration to be successful and sustainable, it must incorporate full ownership and participation by the people, especially through

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

their institutions of choice, be they political parties, trade unions, membership organizations, civil society organizations, etc.¹⁹⁷

The CSOs in EAC should unite to form a strong voice within the region, starting with the national level and building up to the regional levels by intense mobilization to give the CSOs a strong voice at all levels. In addition to this, there is need to establish a well outlined procedure towards the financial and technical support of EACSOFF by the CSOs in the region to enable it to carry out its functions at the regional level. CSOs must engage in relevant research to enable them give factual and supported information that will be beneficial to the regional integration processes. There is need for CSO website that is interactive to enhance their internal communication as well as information sharing. There is an urgent need for EACSOFF to request for an observer status within EAC as well as ensure that the governments give EACSOFF recognition for their input. There is need to ensure that CSOs prioritize their challenges and divide amongst themselves areas of specialization for best results and input to the regional integration processes.¹⁹⁸

Caporaso argued that, in the integration process public opinion has grown from a relatively minor role to a principal focus of political and scholarly attention.¹⁹⁹ Public opinion has a diffuse and broad influence and the position of policy on specific societal actors like political parties and interests' groups may be more important in explaining the immediate course of the integration process. Opinion from the citizen offers a broad context for the policy as it does to the domestic politics of the member-states. Public support on the union facilitates the process of further union, just as skepticism towards the union can slow integration process. As the Union moves towards further reform, it seems no exaggeration to talk of citizen engagement. Since public opinion, is a factor that

¹⁹⁷ Stephan, H. Strengthening popular participation in the East African Community: An EAC guide to EAC structures and processes. Cooperation, Unity and Development, June 2012

¹⁹⁸ Sofia. N. Regional Workshop Report on: Strengthening the role of civil society in deepening EAC regional integration: Perspectives from the BIEAC project. 2010

¹⁹⁹ Caporaso, J. A. (2018). *The European Union: Dilemmas of Regional Integration*. Routledge.

influences movement along the continuum, public support on policy integration offers a medium for testing theories of integration process as measured in public sentiments?²⁰⁰

4.3 Conclusion

Implementation of gains such as the management of established institutions; and cooperation in the development of a monetary union, and in defense and security, may be slowed because of funding challenges facing the EAC in consequence of current global economic difficulties. To make its treaty fully operational the EAC needs about \$70 million a year. Member states provide \$25 million of this and the rest comes from donors. Countries such as Burundi have had trouble paying their subscriptions. Against the backdrop of inflation, currency fluctuations and reduced aid it is difficult to mobilize resources for regional integration and it is therefore unlikely that members will increase funding for EAC activities. Kenya had contemplated increasing its contribution in return for greater influence in the REC, but other members are willing to accept such assistance only on the basis that it is unconditional, because they already perceive Kenya as the biggest beneficiary of the integration initiative. In any case, currently such an initiative is impossible because Kenya has a particular need to finance new governance structures under its revised constitution. An 'equality of burden' is therefore preferred, to obviate one country's carrying the bulk of the funding.

²⁰⁰ Ibid

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study findings, which are linked to the research objectives. Conclusions and recommendations based on the study findings are also given. Finally, the study provides suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary of Findings and conclusions

The objective of the study was to explore the promises on regional integration in Africa by the EAC and establish whether its promises have been fulfilled. This objective could be realized through assessment benefits of regional integration in Africa, establish the promises made by EAC to ordinary citizens of member states and suggest options of promoting the benefits of regional integration especially to ordinary citizens of member states of the EAC.

In line with the main objective, the study noted that the EAC has enviable achievements in the socioeconomic and political-security realms, making East Africa one of the most integrated regions in the world. One need not outline the benefits of socioeconomic and political cooperation the EAC has achieved through its institutional infrastructure informed by high-level political will unprecedented in the history of African integration efforts. The EAC's socioeconomic promise can be discerned from the customs union and common market protocols, the Monetary Union protocol, as well as implementation of joint projects especially in infrastructure development and management of shared resources. The protocols are instruments which are imbedded within the Treaty, making them binding upon Partner States.

The Customs Union is, according to the Treaty, the first stage in the integration process, somehow unique to East Africa because Preferential Trade Areas (PTAs) and Free Trade Areas (FTAs) theoretically precede the customs union. The common market is the second stage in the integration process. This is again unique to the EAC for it would have been an FTA that follows. The EAC common market creates a single economic space for East

Africa. It is reasonable to argue that the EAC jumped two stages of regional integration: the PTA and the FTA. This was on account of pre-existing integration ethos that had been entrenched in pre-1977 East Africa. An analysis of the economic benefits of the EAC integration requires an analysis of the customs union, common market, and monetary union whose protocol was signed in 2013.²⁰ This in no way underestimates challenges of full implementation of these protocols, such as tardiness of non-tariff barriers, inadequacies in customs control and revenue management systems. There are also fears regarding the realisation of a monetary union without an overarching political entity overseeing East Africa's monetary and fiscal policies, public debt management, exchange rate policies, and resilience against economic shocks especially when a single currency is considered as the endpoint of economic integration.

In relation to specific objectives on exploring the benefits of regional integration in Africa, it was established that there were a string of benefits in the socioeconomic realm is neither exhaustive nor does it include cultural, professional, associational, and ideational achievements. From the foregoing benefits of the customs union, common market, and the promise of the monetary union, regional integration (both regionalism and regionalization— political and socioeconomic integration respectively), when realized, creates social and economic synergies as a result of cooperation on key issues and implementation of joint development programs. Geographically contiguous regions cannot avoid spillover effects of economic and socio-cultural phenomena—whether negative or positive. Joint management of transnational and regional phenomena augments collective efforts in managing not only shared resources and responses to shared threats and challenges, but promotes conscientious decision-making in interstate relations. Decisional interdependence prevents autarchic choices while also solving collective action problems that would affect states which decide and act independently. In sum, regionalism presupposes that interdependence is more rewarding than autonomy. This conception holds true in both the socioeconomic and political realms.

Regarding EAC and its promises, EAC definition was first established. The East African Community (EAC) is one of the oldest regional inter-governmental organizations in the world. It is also one of the earliest attempts to establish organized institutions of governance below the United Nations (UN) after World War II (post-1945 world). The EAC's history predates that of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), later African Union (AU), but the EAC became part of the continental governance structures during the 1960s.¹ It was established to foster political, socioeconomic and cultural cooperation amongst the peoples of East Africa, and to acquire a common voice in international affairs. The 1967 experiment, however, was dissolved in 1977, but this did not erase the spirit of cooperation. The revival of the EAC during the 1990s indicates resilience of the spirit of cooperation. The EAC has made rapid progress since 1999 and is now "considered ... across the entire African continent as an exemplary organization of successful regional integration."² Thus, the starting point for analyzing the promise and efficacy of the EAC is to examine the involvement and appreciation of its people.

The first string of benefits arises from the customs union, which entails a common external tariff, duty-free and quota-free movement of tradable goods within the EAC, common safety measures for regulating the importation of goods from third Party economies, a common set of customs rules and procedures, tariff nomenclature, valuation system, and trade policy, and collective administration of the Customs Union. The Common Market is anchored in the protocol, which "grants the right of establishment, settlement, and residence; freedom of persons' movement, provision of labour and services; non-discrimination and equal rights between Partner States' citizens and intraregional migrants." The Protocol seeks to open national borders, allow intra-regional migration and movement, protect investments of regional citizens outside their home countries, and provide a limitless socioeconomic operational space for East Africans. The political benefits of regional integration have been experimented: first, as ideals pursued through attempts like Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism and Bolivar's Pan-Americanism; second, as experiential outcomes of federations like the German Zollverein and Italian unification, post-World War II European cooperation, and the federation of what became

the United States of America (USA); third, as experiments in nation building informing Chinese integration, and Tanganyika Zanzibar union; and finally, as geostrategic survival attempts made through crisis alliances, balances and counter-balances in international politics.

On efforts to strengthen and reinforce EAC integration agenda, the study found out that democracy is critical in the achievement of sustainable economic growth and development and the community is working towards greater democratic environment. The greatest hindrance to democratic consolidation in EAC is the perennial conflicts within the horn of Africa and the great lakes region, terrorism and piracy threats including the proliferation of small arms and influx of refugees into the region. The macroeconomic performance in EAC found that for EAC Partner States to achieve middle income status, the 3rd Development Strategy (2006-2010) envisaged that the EAC Partner States had to achieve sustained economic growth rates in excess of 7%. Other benchmarks include budget deficits of less than 5%, 4-months import cover, maximum budget deficits of 5%, sustainable public debt and single digit inflation rates. The expanded trade and investment among the EAC Partner States has increased economic growth and development prospects in the region, with regional GDP (at constant 2000 levels) increasing from US\$42.4 billion in 2006 to 74.5 billion in 2009 and is expected to reach \$ 80 billion in 2012. Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania sustained incremental growth trends between 2006 and 2008.

Since the introduction of the civil society discourse in the context of the 1980s crisis of the state in Africa, disagreement still exists on the concept. Many academic contributors tend to argue that civil society is an ideologically-loaded concept. Traditional conceptions of civil society define it as all those institutions that play out in the political space between the family and the state. On the contrary, conventional definitions favoured by institutions of global governance embrace de Tocqueville's definition of civil society as encompassing civil and political associations organized in a competitive market place. Such associations include but are not limited to social clubs, churches, political parties,

NGOs, private businesses and trade unions⁴⁰. On the other hand, democracy is also contested analytically and ideologically. Similarly, Joseph⁴² contends that traditional approaches to democratization have been ethnocentric and thus are unable to illuminate political processes in Africa. Joseph⁴³ minimalist concept of democracy characterizes a democratic polity as featured by elected officials, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage and the right to run for office. Furthermore, a democracy enjoys freedom of expression, alternative information, and assembly or associational rights, which are supported or protected by the government. Moreover, the existence of such pillars of democracy in society presupposes the respect for basic human right and the strict observance of the due process of the law and participation in the governance of society. Democracy is based on three dimensions: citizenship, representation, and decision making. Thus democratization essentially entails transitions from authoritarian to liberal democratic systems.

The study also identified that collaboration between the EAC defense forces and the US is another positive step towards a more stable and secure region. The region ensured that what was gained will have a lasting impact on the ability of the militaries to respond to complex challenges the community faces today and in the future. The role played by the region's forces in Somalia and Sudan was proof of the importance of the careful planning, drawing and combat tactics that were their hallmark. The trainings were designed for the East African setting and had customized for practice by participants, both military and civilian, to help them in the planning and conduct of peace support operations, disaster management, counter-terrorism and counter-piracy activities with the purpose of improving the capabilities of the partner states' armed forces to combat complex security challenges.

Economic diplomacy was also identified as a strategy used by EAC to reinforce its agenda. The EAC's current standing may be attributed mainly to economic integration initiatives that have led to the formation of the East African Customs Union (EACU) and more recently brought about a common market that aims to strengthen a region that

already contains an estimated middle class consumer base of 30 million people. The East African Community is hailed as the most advanced Regional Economic Communities recognized by the African Union. This is because of its level of integration at common market level. One of the reasons the community has moved so fast is that founding member states were able to learn from the mistakes which led to the collapse of the old community.

Finally, the study identified citizen engagement as an option used to reinforce its efforts. The study established that if information were effectively disseminated, citizens would own the process and be part of its actualization of the integration. It was also noted that, information is disseminated through social media like Television, radio, tweeter, face book, newspapers, and magazines. Other means are used such as workshops, education, e-communication, IEC materials, websites, and ministerial magazines. Above all, citizens of EAC member states will be convinced that regional integration through information dissemination quickens economic integration, minimizes the occurrence of conflicts in the region, promotes better management and utilization of shared natural resources, revenue are more equitably accessible to all citizens, and it promotes peace, stability and development.

5.2 Conclusion

The research has deeply analyzed the regional integration in Africa through effective information dissemination focusing on EAC. Regional integration has been there for a while although the process has been slow. Citizen identity shifting is the underlying principle of the integration. For quick integration, information dissemination on benefits of integration is necessary for citizen identity shifting. From the study, it can be concluded that regional integration has brought in positive benefits to Africa. Some of these benefits are categorized in social and political aspects. Achievements such as operationalization of major organs and institutions, ratification and implementation of major protocols and EALA bills, and cooperation in politico-security affairs have led to a simplified trade regime; ease of movements of goods, services, peoples, and other factors

of production; enhanced interstate cooperation and greater integration. Great potential for intra-regional trade remains from within the EAC. Once these benefits are highlighted and showcased to East Africans, greater momentum and demand for deeper and wider cooperation would be generated. This notion about the evolution, spread, and resilience of ideas within [and beyond] organized political communities has theoretical notions, which are rooted on constructivism in International Relations (IR) theory. We avoid these theoretical details here because of the nature of this writing. Making the benefits of the EAC more widely and deeply appreciated by East African citizens and peoples builds more positive reactions to the EAC. As more and more people realize the potential the organisation has for their future wellbeing, they are likely to appreciate its continuity and survival, while also demanding wider and deeper integration. These people's demands have vital implications for building the EAC's legitimacy and reducing the elitist approach to regional integration that currently obtains in East Africa.

It was also concluded that despite having a colonial origin, EAC has fulfilled most of its promises to its member states. EAC has ensured prevalence of peace will benefit them to exchange goods and also sell their commodities to neighboring countries and the world without a problem. It has also ensured political reform which has had a great impact on economic integration. Since integration is a political process, leaders have been pushed to respond to the expectations and perceptions of their people. The global reality is that if one country does not integrate, it will fragment its market, making it too small to be competitive, and then its transaction costs will be high and lags behind the other developing countries and it will not benefit. Similarly, EAC has also made major strides towards the implementation of the protocol particularly in the operationalization of border posts on a 24-hour basis, and harmonization of immigration procedures. This coupled with the waiving of the work permit fee for the EAC citizens by some countries (Kenya and Rwanda). Kenya and Tanzania have had good economic growth mainly because of the common market.

Integration provides the possibility of coordinated industrial planning, especially for industries where economies of scale are likely to exist. This enables all member states to accelerate their rate of industrial growth by assigning given industries to different members, thereby taking the partners much closer to full economic and, eventually, political union. It was also concluded that EAC has provided an opportunity for the countries to deal with common problems like security. The region deals with shared threats, Burundi and Uganda have contributed to Amisom peace keeping force in Somalia in their quest to exterminate the Al-shabab terrorism threat, which poses a threat to regional stability.

The EAC has also been involved in strengthening the governments of neighboring fragile countries and institutions and of neighboring countries in an effort of to improve the security situations in these countries and generally prevent the insecurity from spilling over into the region. Although the countries within the EAC are culturally homogenous, the advent of a new identity, that is, identifying oneself as an; 'East African' might help push the issues such as ethnicity to the periphery. A new identity for the citizens within the EAC community is desirable; it could heal the fissures of ethnicity that have in past bogged down our development to the pinnacle of economic and human development. Regional integration has also been able to erase, or at least minimize, internal weaknesses that have historically led societies to be subdued and subjugated by other societies.

The available evidence about the status of integration in East Africa shows that integration is resonating rhetorically without a substantial pragmatic impact on transforming the life of society. There are big plans and high hopes, most of them have never been fulfilled. It is crystal clear that no far-reaching political will has brought meaningful mobilization of the society, the private sector, government actors, and partners for sweeping change to come.

The study concluded that The EAC Partner States are working towards greater democratic environment. The study also concluded that the EAC is participating in

initiatives to improve peace and stability in the region with a view to increasing economic development prospects. It also concluded that in spite of the positive developments, the challenge of macroeconomic convergence in the major macroeconomic indicators for all Partner States persisted in the 3rd EAC Development Strategy. The study further concluded that the socio-economic performance among the East African Partner States has shown remarkable improvement as the region seeks to integrate further. It was concluded that Kenya's economy remains relatively large at about 35.7% compared to that of the other EAC partner state. The implementation of a Memorandum between EAC and the military forces has been successful and exemplary in the EAC integration process. To strengthen EAC regional integration through citizen engagement by effective information dissemination calls for concerted efforts from all member states to engage their citizen effectively. Lastly, The EAC's current standing may be attributed mainly to economic integration initiatives that have led to the formation of the East African Customs Union (EACU) and more recently brought about a common market that aims to strengthen a region that already contains an estimated middle class consumer base of 30 million people. It was also concluded that economic diplomacy as a Pillar for EAC integration efforts.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Public Awareness

The East Africa citizenry needs to be informed and educated more about the integration process. The EAC secretariat ought to conduct massive civic education programmes around East Africa for the public to know how they can get involved in the process. It will as well inform them of the benefits to them and the huge opportunities that lie in an integrated East Africa. The passive nature of the larger East African citizenry needs to be made part and parcel of the process as they are the ones that shall eventually be most affected by the results of the process of integration.

5.3.2 Strengthening Institutions

The organs of the EAC are structured in a way that executive power lays in the Partner States through the Council of Ministers. The decision making process in the EAC has proved to be a lengthy and bureaucratic activity rendering it ineffective in effectively delivering its mandate. The Treaty stipulates in Article 11 and 14 that issues requiring executive decision first have to be considered by respective Sectoral Committees then considered by the Coordination Committee that make a recommendation to the Council of Ministers for final decision making. The process is lengthened even more by the requirement of Article 12(3) of the Treaty that decisions shall be made in consensus. This means that all State Partners have to be in agreement for any decision to be final thus limiting progress where one Partner State disagrees then a decision cannot be made. There is need to allocate proper power to make decisions to the various organs as opposed to just one final decision making organ. This move would enable the organs perform their objectives more effectively. The EACJ for instance has been denied the opportunity to play a bigger role in the integration agenda by its limited jurisdiction to interpreting the Treaty of the EAC. National institutions and agencies should be involved in inculcating the spirit and ethos of East African-ness, by demonstrating the potential benefits and actual achievements of regional integration to young East Africans. Also institutional and structural issues of building socioeconomic resilience, climate change mitigation and adaptation, and speed up the rate, quality, and climate-change-resilience of infrastructure development should be addressed.

5.3.3 Focus on the EAC

As has been documented in this research, though RECs in Africa are beneficial, it shall be prudent if the members of the EAC maintain their main focus on establishing the EAC as per its objectives. The State Partners have multiple memberships in several RECs and this in itself can create a conflict of loyalty. Membership to these overlapping regional institutions produces complexities that create confusion for governments and the private sector. This situation gives rise to duplication of effort especially at customs where different tariffs have to be applied. It also burdens partner states of the EAC to other protocols, rules, procedures and financial obligations as members of other regional

organizations. The study recommends that EAC partner States prioritize achieving EAC goals and avoid conflicting efforts in other RECs in Africa as one cannot render service to two masters at the same time. EAC achievements should be consolidated by showcasing them to the East African citizenry, national agencies not directly involved in EAC affairs, and civil society.

The study also recommends the development of a legislative framework (laws, policies and guidelines) for Community Development within partner states; harmonization of democratization policies, processes and practices Identify institutional bottlenecks that infringe on the rights of the poor and marginalized to access social services and empower them to participate in Community Development; strengthening of the EAC structures and processes to enhance efficiency and effectiveness Development of policy frameworks and institutional structures for establishment of the EAC political federation Monitoring and observation of elections and support missions to National Electoral Commissions in the EAC Partner States.

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