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Research Project

**Topic: Nationalism and Political Integration in East Africa. a
comparative study of Kenya and Tanzania //**

Supervisor Dr Anita Kiamba

*Research Project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and
International Studies in partial fulfilment for the Master of Arts in
International Studies.*



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DECLARATION

I, **Judith Retoe Tonkei** hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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

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5th December 2017
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the blessings of the Almighty God for granting me good health and strength to be able to meet the demands of this Masters programme and those of my work place. Secondly I'm very grateful to my supervisor Dr. Anita Kiamba for her commitment to guide me in this journey and also for her encouragement, wisdom and willingness to share her experience in academics. Lastly I would like to thank Mr Njoka, the Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry of East African Community, labour and social protection for granting me the opportunity to interview him and get knowledge on strides made in the integration process.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my family especially my daughter Nashipae for being a great source of inspiration for me to aim higher in life and achieve tremendous success to be a role model she can take pride in and learn from and also my parents and siblings for their continued support in my goals.

List of Abbreviations

AU	African Union
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
APEC	Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation
AFDB	African Development Bank
EAC	East African Community
EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Area
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly
EAPF	East African Political Federation
EPAs	Economic Partnerships
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
LAPSSET	Lamu Port- South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RECs	Regional Economic Agreements
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
RIAs	Regional Integration Agreements

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

African integration has been largely supported by governments since autonomy whereby they have held onto it as a critical segment of their improvement systems and closed countless Integration Agreements. The majority of these territorial bodies have a huge participation as nations try to join supranational bodies. Integration in Africa generally takes after a straight procedure that starts with an organized commerce range took after by a customs union, a common market and after that integration of monetary and financial strategies so as to build up a financial union and in conclusion the accomplishment of a political union which is the main objective for African integration agreements. The challenge of these integration agreements however is the fact that most of them are ambitious schemes and the time frames to achieve them are also quite unrealistic.

Cooperation among nations in a trade or political bloc, economic or political sovereignty is realized. In a globalizing world, nations feel the need to join trade and political unions and this kind of regional integration agreements affect democracy and lead to accountability for policy making. African politics generally is marred with ethnicity and this leads to strong nationalistic views and differential access to resources and opportunities. For this reason, a win for any individual in any election is viewed as a win for the ethnic community from which he comes from. Neopatrimonialism makes African politics personal, materialistic and¹

¹ Bruce J. Benman, Ethnicity, patronage and African state; the politics of unclvll Nationalism, 01 July 1998
Data from <https://www.globalpolicy.org> (accessed on 08/04/17, 10:21)

opportunistic so it becomes difficult to give in to external agreements for a common political goal.²

Economic integration in Africa involved African countries trading with each other as well as trading with European countries and their activities were governed by a series of Lomé Conventions that allowed African countries except South Africa unilateral preferential access to EU markets. Trade agreements between African countries and the EU led to the formation of WTO in 2000. These agreements came into being as a result of EU being Africa's most important trade, investment and development partner. The post-colonial period in Africa has seen African countries working towards implementing import substitution mechanisms and investing more in industrialization. This period was characterized by a strong commitment to economic planning across the region and it further led to the formation of the Lagos Plan of Action which was an initiative of the OAU adopted by Heads of states in April 1980. This initiative was further supported by the ECA and also pushed forward by the Abuja Treaty of 1991 which emphasized on solidarity in Africa, self-reliance and an endogenous development strategy to be achieved through industrialization.

A structure was proposed so as to accomplish the African Integration motivation and mainland industrialization, a move that was hoisted by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) which bolstered three local integration courses of action specifically; ECOWAS for West Africa built up in 1975, PTA covering East and Southern Africa which preceded COMESA and the Economic Community of Central Africa. The Arab Maghreb Union was built up in 1989 to cover the necessities of the Arab talking countries in Africa. The Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) was built up in 1980 with the point

² A world Bank Study, Building Integrated Markets within the East African Community, June 16, 2014, accessed on 3rd April 2017, 9.03 EAT

A publication by David Booth, Diana Cammack, Thomas Kibua, JosephatKweka and NichodemusRudaheranwa, February 2007 (accessed on 18/04/2017 at 11:28am)

of lessening monetary reliance on politically-sanctioned racial segregation South Africa which was barred from African integration design. At the point when South Africa picked up autonomy it joined the association and it progressed toward becoming SADC whose integration design incorporates unhindered commerce region, customs union, monetary union and the presentation of a solitary money in 2017. The SADC plan of activity and that of the EAC integration mirror the appropriation of a direct integration show with determined targets.³

Since economic integration began, Trade and movement of people has become easy as professionals and entrepreneurs get permits to work and conduct businesses in foreign soil within Africa as provided for in the agreements signed by nations. There is also shared infrastructure and resources among nations, for example Uganda, Burundi and Ethiopia depends on the Kenyan coast for sea transport, also infrastructural projects such as LAPSSET(Lamu Port connecting Kenya to South Sudan, Ethiopia and Tanzania) that enable free movement of goods and services between Kenya, South Sudan and Ethiopia which all strengthen integration in East Africa and spearhead interconnectivity between countries.

Economic integration has gained ground but political integration still remains a challenge because of the differences in political institutions and political cultures among member states. Political integration poses a great challenge because of nationalism which promotes the values and beliefs of an individual country making it difficult for nation states to give up these values and beliefs and be united politically with other nations under the leadership of a single leader.

³Aryeetey E., Oduro A.D. (1996), Regional integration efforts in Africa: An overview in Teunissen J.J. (ed.), Regionalism and the global economy

1.2 Problem Statement

The aim of this study is to analyse the integration process and the challenges facing integration in EAC and examine ways of overcoming these challenges in order to achieve a political union.

The East African Region established a regional body known as the East African Political Federation whose aim is to promote political integration among East African countries and have common political policies to the benefit of the region. The aim of this body is to promote democracy in East Africa and create a political union that would ensure harmonized operations. The current EAC originated from the East African Community which was a Free Trade Area (FTA) that was founded in 1967 after the collapse of the colonial regimes in 1977⁴. This was due to differences in ideas between them, personal differences between heads of states and also structural problems as well as lack of involvement by the general population in decision making led to the collapse of the FTA.

Due to the highly ambitious nature of the EAC integration goals and the time frame set up to achieve them there has been a humbling reality for the body as it faces numerous challenges in working through its integration pillars and as a result of this they have been forced to postpone their target dates for achieving the various integration pillars. The body is also pursuing non-economic spheres in its integration process such as the establishment of a political union and as a result of this the EAC seeks to play a more proactive role in promoting regional stability through regional coordination of security bodies and a rapid response to escalating conflicts in the region.

⁴ A World Bank Study, Building Integrated markets within the East African Community, published on 16 June 2014 (accessed on 06/04/17, 13:22)

Political integration being the fourth integration pillar of the East African Community has experienced a slow implementation process as a result of the differences in the political systems of the member states mainly nationalism in each state has stood in the way of establishing a regional federal government. The biggest challenge however in attaining this is lack of a common political purpose by the heads of states whereby every leader is out to secure their own interests and those of his country. Secondly, the issue of not including the general population in policy formulation and only having agreements signed between countries presided by heads of states has been a disadvantage to the integration process as the EAC citizens don't play a role in supporting the process, they are left to be proactive in pursuing their national interests while holding on to their national values, cultural values and beliefs.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study's main objective is to investigate how nationalism affects political integration in EA. The specific objectives are as follows;

- (I) To examine and analyse nationalism and the role it plays in the political integration process
- (II) To establish the prospects and challenges of political integration and how nationalism works for or against integration.
- (III) To examine the role of the East African Political Federation in establishing a regional Federal government.

1.4 Literature Review

Literature will cover secondary data on integration, its history, types and theoretical discussion

1.4.1 Integration

Integration refers to the process whereby separate people or things are brought together in an⁵ effort to combine them into an integral whole. It means a number of groups, societies or countries within an area joining together to cooperate and operate under one system or as one group. In the context of this study, integration is used to refer to the act of nation states coming together to form regional bodies which they use to pursue their interests collectively in the global arena. Such regional bodies include the ASEAN, Arab League, AU, EAC, SADC, COMESA, ECOWAS, EU, NAFTA, to mention but just a few. The agreements are based on issues ranging from political, economic, social or environmental pursued collectively by nation states. Regional integration process is carried out through structures within supranational institutions and intergovernmental bodies such as the EAC, IGAD, UN, OPEC, and NATO among others which primarily consist of sovereign member states.

Integration is a voluntary process where nations willingly agree to give up some attributes of their sovereignty while acquiring new techniques in order to pursue their common interests collectively while avoiding conflict. The degree of success of integration is highly dependent on the willingness and commitment of independent sovereign states to share their⁶ sovereignty. This process of nations pursuing common interests collectively came to being⁷ when it became evident that a strong economy was more important than holding to sovereignty without economic power to compete in the global arena.

Agreements among nations were mainly established in order to promote free trade by removing trade barriers such as tariffs, they were also aimed at increasing free movement of people, labour, goods and capital across national borders, thirdly, these agreements were

⁵Mwapachu, J. 2012. Challenging the Frontiers of African Integration: Dynamics of Policies, Politics and Transformation in the East African Community

⁶ IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences (IOSR-JHSS) volume 19, issue 12, (Dec.2014) PP103-115

⁷ Data from the article written by HaoyuZhai, What is the Future of African Regionalism, March 5 2016, (accessed on 03/05/17, 11:28AM)

¹³ www.e-ir.info/2016/03/05 (accessed on 03/05/17, 11:53)

started so as to reduce the possibility of regional armed conflict by establishing collective security building measures. Lastly, agreements between nations were established so as to come up with collective development oriented policies on environmental protection, climate change and immigration policies.

The important functions addressed by integration include; trade, private sector development, infrastructural development, development of strong public sector institutions and good governance, fostering the development of an inclusive civil society, promoting peace and security in the region, building environmental programmes, strengthening the regions connection with other regions in the world e.g. African region and Europe for instance.

All territorial integration activities amid the cool war were based on the Westphalian state frameworks and were intended to serve financial development and security thought processes. It likewise makes a bigger market for exchange and speculation which thusly prompts effectiveness, efficiency pick up and intensity and opens country states to the outside world.

The territorial integration process is brought out through Regional Integration Agreements (RIAs) which are a vital part of the present worldwide monetary request which is perceived as the eventual fate of the global scene. These RIAs are the result of a need felt by country states to coordinate their economies in order to accomplish fast monetary advancement.

Integration includes at least one composed understandings that depict the zones of participation in detail and furthermore planning bodies speaking to the nations included. It is fuelled by similarities among nations within a particular region such as economic interests, similarities in political systems, socio-cultural beliefs and practices. Products exchanged between nation states include food, minerals, machines parts, labour, information technology and entertainment.

1.4.2 Pre-conditions and Key principles for successful regional integration.

The pre-conditions for integration among accomplice states to be effective incorporate; residential peace and security in accomplice states, political and common duty and also shared trust among nations, there ought to likewise be a base edge of full scale monetary strength and great money related administration in nations, for example, value soundness, practical trade rates, and so forth ultimately adequately wide national areas to open markets. The rule that guide effective local integration are open regionalism and gradualism.

Open regionalism

Open regionalism refers to a form of regional economic integration that is not discriminatory against outside countries, whereby countries come together to reduce trade barriers and it was mainly adopted but not defined by APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation). It speaks to a push to determine one of the focal issues of contemporary exchange strategy which is the means by which to accomplish similarity between the blast of local exchanging courses of action far and wide and the worldwide exchanging framework as encapsulated in WTO. This idea looks to guarantee that local understandings will practically speaking form obstructs for encourage worldwide advancement instead of hindrances that stop advance.⁸

Gradualism

This concept means that change occurs in small discrete increments rather than abrupt strokes like revolutions and uprisings. In this case short-term goals are formulated and implemented in such a way that they inevitably lead into long-term goals. It involves gradual changes within existing institutions and eventually achieving ultimate change in fundamental economic and political structures. It is clearly seen in the integration process as countries begin by engaging in free trade between them before they move to customs union, monetary union and finally forming federal governments.

⁸<http://piie.com/publications/working-papers/open-regionalism> (accessed on 02/04/17, 15:52)

1.4.3 History of Integration

Regional integration proceeds when states enter into regional agreements in order to enhance⁹ co-operation through regional institutions and rules. Separate units in this case develop a relationship of mutual dependence where they pursue common interests collectively through the institutions they agree to form.

Regional integration in ancient times was driven by conquest or trade and in some cases both. Some examples of such instances include the case of ancient Egypt which through trade and conquest integrated much of other areas in the Middle East; another example is the Roman Empire which was driven by both conquest and trade.

The recent history of integration came as a result of the modern state system which was established after the formation of the Peace Treaty of Westphalia after 30 years of war of 1618-1648. This treaty was mainly driven by Europe since it had experienced capitalism and the creation of a national economy, a national market, national capital and also national debt. Factors that led to inter-state dealings were mainly economic, cultural and political life which formed the framework of the nation state. Trade among nations led to dealings on economic and capital matters which also brought about the spill over national borders.¹⁰

Modern trade led to the establishment of modern new states that traded on a bilateral basis. By the 20th Century, the bilateral system had been overtaken by a multilateral system with multilateral institutions at all levels and with the end of the cold war and the forces of globalization. Sovereignty which was mainly an affirmation of cultural identity and territory was overtaken by the power of the economy. All regional integration projects during the cold war were built on the Westphalian state system and were to serve economic growth as well as security motives.

⁹ Michael Arndt (2013). *India's Foreign Policy and Regional Multilateralism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 9781137263117

¹⁰ www.deniva.or.ug/docs/Reports/eac/HistoryofintegrationProfJjuuko.pdf

In the 20th century, globalization and regional integration are two aspects challenging the existing global order based upon supreme states. These two phenomena affect the Westphalian system and have contributed to a formation of a new global order.

Developments in the beginning of the 20th Century based on struggles for territory, markets beyond borders, trade embargoes and protectionism as well as corporation in Germany and Italy, also to mention violation of human rights led to regional integration mainly in Europe and also the emergence of the UN System as well as modern international human rights movement.

It is clear from this point that objects of integration are not only economic but extend to peace, security and human rights among others.

Integration in Africa was founded on different basis compared to integration in Europe.

While the European context was based on Weberian form of statehood, the African context was based on colonialism. The African continent was divided into zones of foreign powerinfluence and jurisdiction separating and uniting diverse and incompatible social groupings under the state system.¹¹

The objective forces of integration operate in an unequal world whereby some of integration has meant domination, exploitation or in other cases political oppression but for others it has been positive and beneficial.

1.4.4 Stages of Regional Integration

FTA

FTAs refer to Free Trade Area whereby countries willingly agree to remove all barriers to trade and allow free flow of goods and services among them but continue to pursue independent external trade policies.

¹¹ Data from an article written by Proffesor Adebayo Adedeji, CFR Third meeting of the African Development Forum, Addis Ababa, 5 March 2002 History and Prospects for Regional Integration in Africa (accessed on 03/04/17, 12:26)

Customs Union

In this case countries agree to remove custom duty on goods and services of fellow member states and also acquire common trade policies

Common market

Countries agree to allow free movement of factors of production like labour, capital and enterprise.

Monetary Union

Countries agree to establish a common currency, harmonizing tax rates and pursuing a common external trade policy.

Political Union

Countries agree to coordinate aspects of economic and political systems.

1.4.5 Integration in Africa

As indicated by an UN Economic Commission for Africa production, Africa came about to provincial integration as a way to advance the change of structures in Africa. African nations have held onto this marvel as a vital piece of their methodologies for ¹²development and to support their economies and also advance industrialization in African nations. There are a few Pan-African associations which are progressively attempting to advance financial, social and political participation in Africa. Some of these African provincial bodies incorporate African Financial Community zone containing both West and Central African countries, SADC, IGAD, AU, African Development Bank among others. Crafted by these provincial bodies is unmistakably installed on the settlements, conventions, traditions and other formal

¹²K.Gurull, Towards an Independent and Equal East African Common Market, East Africa Journal, Nairobi, Vol.8 (1971), p.28 Google Scholar

assentions went into by sovereign states and Pan-African associations and also territorial financial groups who consent to arrangements that are official under international law.¹³

The start of the integration procedure in Africa goes back to the Lagos Plan of Action which was upheld by Economic Community of Africa and embraced in 1980 at the OAU phenomenal summit in Lagos, Nigeria. The Lagos Plan of Action was framed as a need for the formation of a reasonable African economy. An African Economic Community was made to reinforce the current territorial monetary groups and making others which cover the entire landmass. In 9 May 2009 African Ministers held the fourth gathering which embraced the base integration program. The program is gone for quickening coordination, union and joint effort among the regional communities.¹⁴

African integration faces various misfortunes since origin. These incorporate the way that Heads of governments in post-freedom African states are as yet hesitant to support the disintegration of national power and the development of a supranational expert. Besides, African states have changed interests that play out in integration and back off the procedure, such interests are driven by elements, for example, accessibility assets, beach front offices and water transport, counterfeit fringes, numerous ethnic gatherings and dialects influence nations to demand the regard for power and regional trustworthiness and furthermore seek after various national interests.¹⁵

Nations in Africa additionally have varying political measurements whereby the political intentions contrast with every country, for instance the administration of Rwanda's exchange

¹³L.K Mytelka, Foreign Aid and Regional Integration, The UDEAC Case, Journal of Common Market Studies, Oxford, Voi.12 (1973) p.138-158

Google Scholar

¹⁴A.Hazlewood (Ed), African Integration and Disintegration, London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1967, p.11

Google Scholar

¹⁵ Africa institute of South Africa Publication, 2008, Korwag G. Adar, (accessed on 02/04/17, 11:28)

procedure is to advance provincial integration and participation while ECOWAS has the duty to counteract and settle territorial clashes. Setting up a local exchange coalition can give security and certainty to manufacture supra-national establishments that will convey provincial open products just like the case in the European Community.

The geographical differences in African countries have also affected integration. Such differences include country sizes, remoteness in the countries, distribution of natural resources and infrastructure.

1.4.6 Theory of Integration

There are several theories that explain the process of integration and how it occurs which include intergovernmental theory, functionalism, liberalism, realism and neo-functionalism. Intergovernmental theory talks about states and national governments as the primary actors in the integration process and also focuses on international politics and how domestic politics affects international politics and governmental preferences. Functionalism is about collective governance and material interdependence. Thirdly, realism believe in the assumption that everyone is fighting for their own selfish interests while liberalist believe that everything can be agreed upon between parties. Lastly, neo-functionalism which will be the only theory used in this study talks about the how the integration process came to being as well as how it works and its different stages of occurrence.

1.4.6.1 Neo-functionalism

It is the theory of integration based on crafted by Ernst B. Haas, Leon Lindberg and furthermore Jean Monnet. The cause of this theory originated from examining the accomplishment of the European integration which began with coordinating individual divisions with the expectation of accomplishing overflow impacts to encourage the procedure of integration. The theory clarifies the procedure of local integration with reference to three

key variables of cooperation recorded as; developing financial reliance between countries, authoritative ability to determine debate and construct universal legitimate administrations and in conclusion, supranational market decides that supplant national administrative regimes.¹⁶

Early neo-functionalists trusted that there was a decrease in significance of patriotism and the country state and expressed that administration pioneers, premium gatherings and financial specialists inside states would see the need to seek after aggregate targets that would be best fulfilled by the political and market integration at a higher supranational level.¹⁷

The three instruments that are believed to drive integration are; Positive spill-over effect which basically means that integration of states in one sector of the economy would necessitate integration in other sectors for it function successfully, increased number of transactions between states which will lead to formation of institutions to carry-out these transactions and transfer in domestic allegiances as interest groups begin to pursue their material interests through supranational institutions and not limit themselves to their domestic access.

Neo-functionalism is by and large connected with the political and financial objectives and furthermore integration procedures chiefly of the European Coal and Steel Community. Jean Monnet trusted that integration in one segment would prompt integration in different parts through overflow impacts. This theory places significant accentuation on the part of non-state performers particularly, the secretariat of the local association included and those intrigue affiliations and social developments that shape at the level of the area in giving the earth to encourage integration. Part states stay critical performing artists in the process as they set the terms of the underlying assentation yet they don't only decide the course and degree of resulting change.

¹⁶Mayall James, *Nationalism and International Society*, Cambridge Press, 1990

¹⁷Rosamond, Ben (2002). *Theories of European Integration*. New York: St Martins Press

It rose in the mid-1950s pegged on the idea of nations evacuating boundaries to organized commerce and clarifies the integration of Western Europe. The theory is additionally associated with the procedures of the integration as engendered by crafted by Haas, Monnet, and Schmitter (1969) and also Rosamond and Eilstrup-Sangiovanni. Jean Monnet talks integration of individual segments and later overflow to different parts, Ben Rosamond expressed that neo-functionalism can be perused as a theory that started from association of the first six part states (2000, p.10, got to on 04/05/17, 13:25). Eilstrup Sangiovanni contends that neo-functionalism is a result of the behaviorist hand over American sociology which additionally concentrates on institutional structures, conduct and procedure of integration.

Integration in perspective of neo-functionalists is that made organizations drive the integration procedure further. They likewise trust that the final product of integration is a circumstance whereby everything is moved to the one new focus as the aftereffect of another political group which emerges.

Integration is said to have prompted a more tranquil Europe as nations met up to seek after common interests aggregately and keeping away from clashes. This theory additionally trusts that the significance of patriotism and national state will decrease in the light of a focal supranational state.

1.5 Types of Integration

The typology of integration schemes include preferential trade areas where countries lower tariffs on trade with each other while retaining autonomy in trade policy with third party countries. Secondly is customs union where countries remove tariffs on trade with other members and apply a common trade policy towards third party countries and remove restrictions on mobility of capital and labour between member states. In economic union, member states pursue some aspect of harmonization of national economic policies so as to

remove restrictions brought about by the disparities in the different economic policies of countries. Fourthly is a monetary union where countries agree to establish a common currency and a common monetary policy¹⁸

1.5.1 Political Commitment and Regional integration

Political will by countries and more specifically by governments is of paramount importance to the process of integration. In developing countries it is a wider strategy to promote equitable growth also to increase competition, reduce private taxation costs, enable firms to exploit economies of scale and encourage foreign direct investment.

1.6 Justification of the Research

The research is aimed at looking intensively into the progress made since the inception of the EAC. Since we have already identified earlier that work at the EFP has been a slow process, the study will be able to highlight the steps needed in order to promote political integration. It will also look into ways of ensuring that nationalism of sovereign states does not deter political integration. The study is further relevant at this point when African nations are keen to work together unlike before, and this is evident from the increase in membership of the EAC for instance. It will also examine the progress and efficiency of institutions within the EAC in promoting integration, analysing areas that need improvement and help to give recommendations on what can be done to succeed in achieving a political federation. This study will enable EAC to be more proactive on matters of regionalism in terms of focusing on collective strategies that lead to successful political integration. More importantly it will help them maximize on the benefits of regionalism.

The academic contribution of this study is that students of International Studies or International Relations will understand the integration process and specifically learn more about political integration in EAC.

¹⁸www.fao.org/docrep/004/y4793e/y4793e04.htm accessed on 28/08/2017 at 10:29am

1.7 Hypotheses of the study

- (a) Nationalism has made it difficult for the political integration process to begin.
- (b) A strong secretariat to push member states to comply with the community's vision is needed
- (c) A perfect balance between functional and political spill-over should be maintained by winning the political wills of the member states.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The study will use neo-functionalism theory which is embedded in the principles of interdependence in the society. The concept of this theory is based on the belief that when different segments understand their functions there will be stability, order and productivity. Neo-functionalists describe the integration process as based three main factors of interaction including economic interdependence between nations, capacity of institutions to resolve disputes and build international legal regimes and lastly supranational rules on operating a common market to replace national regulatory regimes.¹⁹

The theory focuses on the belief that the interests of sovereign states by both state actors and non-state actors are best pursued by political and market integration at a supranational level. This theory focuses on regional integration. While member states remain an important part of the integration process, they do not influence much terms of direction and extent of changes. This means, in the EAC setting, the Secretariat is the ultimate power behind a successful political integration. Member states only sign the agreements and from then on the secretariat is tasked with executing the enforcement and management functions of the intergovernmental organization. The challenge the EAC faces in this role is mainly lack of enforcement capability in the sense that it cannot penalize any member state or institution within the community following their failure to enforce agreements.

¹⁹ Haas Erns B, (2004), (1958) Introduction; Institutionalism or Constructivism

Neo-functionalists focus on integration through a process of cooperation that begins with economic cooperation and over time and with trust among the nations it grows into political cooperation. Haas described this process of cooperation among nations of bottoms up approach and called it spill over process whereby cooperation in one field necessitates cooperation in another. The two kinds of spill overs that occur in integration according neo-functionalists are economic where there occurs the inter-connection of various economic sectors and lead to automatic integration on economic policies. Secondly, political spill-over whereby supranational governance models are created depending on the support of member states through their political will. He further describes the process as a concept whereby cooperation between states necessitates integration in one policy area and subsequently creates a need for further integration in neighbouring policy areas.²⁰

Haas believed in a forward momentum of integration once the initial commitment for integration was made. The supranational organization referred by the neo-functionalists means the intergovernmental organizations would be run through common economic, social and security policies under a single president. The idea is that member states will have to surrender their entire sovereignties to the supranational organization.

This theory helps this study to examine the steps that need to be taken to ensure that political integration is achieved. It helps in outlining the problems affecting political integration such as lack of a monetary union that process for a single currency, the problem here being Burundi, Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda are members of COMESA which intends to have its own currency while Tanzania belongs to SADC. Since the two bodies plan to have their own currencies it jeopardizes the efforts towards a single currency. Neo-functionalists believe that

²⁰ Haas Ernst B, Ed (2004) (1958) The Uniting of Europe; Political, Social and economic forces, 1950-1957 3rded (B, 1961)

the secretariat and social groups are the ones that must play an active role in pushing for full political integration.

Although the theory offers a compelling logic of integration, it has faced its fair share of criticism like every other theory. The theory does not explain the failures witnessed in regional bodies, it explains the integration process very well. It has been criticized for its assumption of an automatic integration process failing to consider the limitations put by²¹ member states. Lastly, critiques argue that integration does not depend on spill-over alone but on the calculation of interests of member states.

The theory however has increased in relevance and presents a useful framework for analysing integration since it outlines procedures in which integration occurs and gives a clear understanding of the process through its different stages.

1.9 Methodology of the research

This study will use both primary and secondary sources to gather information. Sampling technique will be used to select respondents and collect data in the form of administered questionnaires to personnel who have been involved in the integration process to the EAC secretariat and personnel at EAPF based at the Ministry of East African Community, Labour and Social Protection under the state department of East African integration. The study will be based on a cross-sectional research that will use a survey to collect data from a representative population that will give their views on the EAC integration process in the questionnaires that will be administered to them.

This cross-sectional design is appropriate for this study because it will analyse the integration process in EAC and the steps taken to achieve a political union among member states. It will also analyse the role of nationalism in the integration process. Secondary sources for this

²¹ Haas Ernst B, (1961) International Integration; The European and the universal process

study will include EAC documents and other official sources will be consulted where appropriate. Other sources will include academic journals, publications and books containing information on the topic of this study.

The unit of analysis here is therefore the role of nationalism in political integration in EAC. While the period of analysis goes all the way back to the formation of the Lagos Plan of Action as the beginning of integration in Africa and also looks at the OAU, later the AU and more specifically the EAC which is my area of concern for this study. The findings will be written from the perspective of the present using descriptive analysis.²²

1.10 Scope and Limitation

The research is based on political integration in the EA region but the main focus of this study is the political systems of two countries only within the EAC i.e. Kenya and Tanzania. Examining the political systems of Kenya and that of Tanzania will reveal why forming a political union has been a great challenge given the different systems for each specific country.

The Tanzanian political system for example has for a long time been characterized by one party system where the ruling party dominates governance and the entire politics of the country and this has been their greatest challenge on democracy. There however has been a great change whereby more parties have emerged and can compete in elections against the ruling party. There is also a growth of independent civil society through its relatively slow process. The country has also experienced media freedom whereby state-owned media outfits are being used to express the voices of others and not just that of the ruling party.

1.11 Chapter outline

Chapter one examines nationalism and integration and how the former influences the latter, it also examines how it plays out in the East African Community. It further looks at the process

²² The Quest for Regional Integration in the East African Community by Oral Williams, Paulo Drummond, S.K. Wajid, published January 12, 2015 (accessed on 10/04/17, 16:12)

of integration mainly how it began from colonial to post-colonial period. The structure of the EAC is examined and the different institutions in Kenya's political systems as well as the political culture and also the political institutions and culture in Tanzania. The chapter also examines the challenges facing these institutions and the progress made in achieving the integration pillars and what needs to be done to improve the integration process in EA.

Chapter two analyses the history of integration in Africa, how it began to where it stands now. It further examines regionalization in Africa as a whole and narrows down to integration in East Africa and how the EAC came to being. The chapter focuses on the history of Kenya and Tanzania from when they were colonized to this post-independence time that we live in and how the political institutions and political cultures of these two nations came to being.

Chapter three provides an overview of political institutions in Kenya and Tanzania and how these institutions affect political integration between these two countries as members of the EAC. The chapter also examines the role of the East African Political Federation and the progress it has made since inception.

Chapter four gives the findings on the topic; Nationalism and political integration in East Africa.

Chapter five gives a summary of the findings, conclusion based on the findings and recommendations to adhere to in order to achieve a political federation in East Africa. It also provides recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE ON THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM AND INTEGRATION

2.0 Nationalism

Nationalism can be described as a patriotic feeling, principles or efforts leading to superiority over other countries and advocating of political independence for one's country. It is a shared communal identification with one's nation. It emphasizes on self-governance, sovereignty and unwanted outside interference. It is further in light of making and keeping up a national identity in perspective of shared qualities, for instance, culture, vernacular, race, religion, political destinations or a confidence in a typical family. Patriotism tries to protect the nation's lifestyle and a sentiment pride in the nation's achievements. It implies dedication for the country and it ties individuals together through national images which are one of a kind to each country, for example, banners, national song of devotion, national dialects, national myths and different images of national personality. Pioneers contend that patriotism emerges and prospers in present day social orders that have a modern economy equipped for self-supportability, a focal preeminent specialist fit for keeping up expert and solidarity and also an incorporated dialect comprehended by a group of people.²³

Patriotism shows itself as a feature of authority state belief system or as a well known non-state development and is generally communicated along urban, ethnic, social, religious or ideological lines. Patriotism developments can be characterized by other criteria, for example, scale and area and in every one of its structures the populaces trust that they share some sort of common culture.²⁴

It is an aggregate perspective in which individuals trust their essential obligation and reliability is to the country state. It frequently infers national predominance and celebrates

²³ Ernest Gellner, 1983. Nations and Nationalism

²⁴ www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1994-05-01/defence-liberal-nationalism accessed on 06/06/2017 at 14:46

different national Excellences which thusly prompt love of a country being overemphasized; likewise worries of national self-intrigue reject the privileges of different countries which could prompt universal clash. Nationalism can only be expressed when people identify themselves as belonging to a nation.

A good example of nationalism was the French revolution which saw a social and political upheaval partially led by Napoleon that led to overthrowing the monarchy and establishing a republic. This action was inspired by ideologies of liberals and radicals who influenced the modern society by ensuring a decline of absolute monarchies and establishing republics and liberal democracies. The revolution led to the expansion of the French empire.

Nationalism focuses on self-determination and ignores other nation which often leads to ideological assaults upon the personality and authenticity of the opponent patriot turning into the core interest. In the Israel – Palestinian clash for example the two sides have asserted that the other isn't a genuine country and subsequently has no privilege to a state.²⁵

Patriotism is essential in understanding political substances of present day social orders some these being territoriality of the nations that constitute the world, issues of common agitation caused by social gatherings for the sake of a different country from that of the state which is the predominant national gathering and thirdly the privilege to self-assurance through different means, for example, savagery, isolation, challenges or different strategies important to secure the interests of their group.

James Kellas characterizes patriotism in worldwide relations with 4 unique clarifications, first; - as a reason for strife, a wellspring of resistance to the current state framework, as restriction to global or supranational organizations and collaboration and fourthly as a determinant of a state's energy in universal issues.

²⁵Hobsbawn, Eric, The Perils of the New Nationalism, The Nation, 4 November, 1991, p.555

Smith expresses that patriotism is utilized as a part of 5 diverse ways which are, right off the bat utilized as a part of the way toward framing and look after countries, furthermore it is utilized as an awareness of having a place with the country, thirdly it is utilized as a dialect or imagery of the country, fourthly it is utilized as a belief system functioning as a social tenet of countries and ultimately as a social and political development to accomplish objectives of the country and understand the national will.

2.1 Principles of Nationalism

Nationalism is unique to every nation but there are some universal principles of the ideology of nationalism are; in a country express, the dialect of the country ought to be the official dialect and all residents ought to talk it for instance in France the national dialect is French and all subjects ought to talk it, patriots consider countries to be a comprehensive categorisation of people allocating each person to one particular country, patriotism sees most human movement as national in character, countries have national images, a national culture, national music and writing, national religion, national esteems, national sustenance, national game and national legends,²⁶ national personality alludes both to characterizing criteria and to the mutual legacy of each gathering. Participation in a country is typically automatic and controlled by birth. Patriotism has a solid regional part with every country having a region which is extraordinarily connected with it. Regional cases describe the governmental issues of patriot movements. Nationalism as a philosophy incorporates moral rule that the ethical obligations of people to kindred individuals from the country abrogate those of non-individuals. Patriotism guarantees that national faithfulness, if there should arise an occurrence of contention abrogate nearby loyalties and every single other devotion to family, companions, proficient, religion or class.

²⁶ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London Penguin 1991), *Theories of Nationalism*, (New York St Martin Press,2000), 181

African patriotism of the 60s was clearly anticolonial or against European. Once the pilgrim controls formally hauled out, Africans searched inside to merge control and free themselves of political adversaries. Every African country prides itself with its own unique political culture and its own political institutions which they are not willing to compromise. African countries practice democracy but it has not been without its challenges especially on electoral matters where African heads of governments have the tendency of clinging to power and to do so a lot of electoral malpractices are reported in the elections of most African countries. Within East Africa for example, there have been allegations of rigged elections like in Kenya in 2007/2008, also the president of Uganda has been accused of intimidating opponents, Tanzanian's ruling party has been accused of electoral malpractices such as buying voters in order to stay in power, there has been a civil war in Burundi because of electoral issues, South Sudan has been at war also as the former Vice president and his allies accuse the president of corruption. So basically the institutional challenges in East African countries have played a key role in slowing down²⁷ the political integration process. Another issue based on nationalism is the diverse cultures and beliefs among citizens of the EAC who are loyal to their countries and believe they're better than their neighbours so agreeing to form a political union is impossible under such circumstances.

2.2 Types of Nationalism

There are various forms of nationalism led by nationalists with different kinds of ideologies. These various types are discussed below.

²⁷ Ethnicity, nationalism and the making of Democracy in Kenya, an Introduction by James Ogude University of the Witwatersrand, pages 205-207 published online 17 June 2010, accessed on 06 June 2017 at 17:05

2.2.1 Civic nationalism

It is a type of patriotism in which the state gets political authenticity from the dynamic support of its citizenry from how much it speaks to the 'will of the general population'. It exists in the philosophies of realism and radicalism and its membership is voluntary. It is mainly practiced in the US and France.

2.2.2 Ethnic nationalism

This type of nationalism defines the nation in terms of ethnicity. Every nation has different ethnic communities each with a unique language, culture and beliefs. For example Kenya has 42 ethnic communities; the US has several ethnic communities ranging from African Americans, Caucasians, and Hispanics among others. All these communities belong to one nation state but practice different cultures and have their local language.

2.2.3 Liberal nationalism

This one is based on liberal ideologies that emphasize on a liberal identity in order to enjoy a semi-autonomous life. This type of nationalism believes in self-governance and opposes all forms of foreign domination and oppression, its concept is that nationalism should breed unity and that all nation states are equal.

2.2.4 State Nationalism

It is a kind of nationalism based on the belief that the country is a group of the individuals who ²⁸play a role to the upkeep and quality of the state and the individual exists to add to this objective. Italian totalitarianism is a case of state patriotism whereby the patriot trust that 'everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state'

²⁸www.nybooks.com/articles/1994/06/23/liberal-nationalism accessed 06/06/2017 at 15:18

2.2.5 Religious Nationalism

Religious aspects form a kind of group identity an example being Irish nationalism which is associated with the Roman Catholicism. Another example is India's nationalism based on Hinduism and other nation states based on religious beliefs like Islam in Middle East nations.

2.2.6 Diaspora Nationalism

It is a nationalist feeling among nationals living in a different nation other than that of their origin for example Africans in America, Armenians in Europe, and Lebanese in America among others. It acts as a uniting factor for people who want to experience a national connection but do not wish to leave their diaspora community.²⁹

2.3 LITERATURE ON THE FEATURES OF NEO-FUNCTIONALISM THEORY

The features of neo-functionalism are spill-over, loyalty and technocratic automaticity.

2.3.1 *Spill-over*

Lindberg characterizes overflow as a circumstance whereby a given activity identified with a particular objective makes a circumstance in which the first objective can be guaranteed just by taking further activities which thus make additionally condition and a requirement for more activity et cetera.

Types of spill-over

Functional	Economies of the states are interconnected
Political	Emerges from the pluralist idea of West Europe social orders. Interests are ideally serviced by looking for supranational instead of national

²⁹ Minority Rights Group, The Sikhs', Report no. 65 (London: Minority Rights Group, 1990)

	arrangements.
Cultivated	Supranational organizations taking incorporating activities. Eliminating non-levy hindrances in the union by the commission which prompted marking of South East Asia.
Technical	Incongruities in norms will make states rise or sink to the level of the state with most impenetrable controls.
Political actors	National governments, supranational establishments, political elites and non-state on-screen characters like NGOs, MNCs and anteroom gatherings.

2.3.2 Open regionalism

Open-regionalism involves a push to determine one of the focal issues of contemporary exchange approach, how to accomplish similarity between the blasts of provincial exchanging courses of action the world over and the worldwide exchanging framework as exemplified in WTO. The idea tries to guarantee that territorial assertions will by and by fabricate hindrances for advance worldwide advancement instead of hindrances that deflect such advance. Territorial monetary mix that isn't biased against outside nations. Nations meet up to

lessen exchange obstructions and was primarily received by the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation.³⁰

2.3.3 Gradualism

It is an approach of progressive change as opposed to sudden change or transformation. It implies that change comes in little discrete additions as opposed to unexpected strokes, for example, unrests and uprisings. Here and now objectives are planned and executed.

2.4 Criticism of neo-functionalism

Intergovernmental scholars contend that neo-functionalism disregards the more extensive idea of joining and doesn't consider worldwide settings. The other scrutinize is that this hypothesis does not matter to local joining in all segments and their beginnings. Neo-functionalism disregards the potential uniqueness of political advancement at the residential level, there are bunches inside the express that don't have the same political estimations of elites in other part states

The idea of overflow at that point was just pertinent to Europe in the season of the Second World War; starting today it doesn't make a difference to less created nations which restrain the extent of the procedure of coordination. Monetary decides is a generally expected idea; political and security issues that go under high legislative issues would never again be driven by financial additions; neo-functionalism concentrates on the establishment of incorporation being financial reliance. It doesn't disclose restrictions to joining set up by the part states.

Part states dependably delighted in reasonable arranging positions and need not compose interests at local/European levels. Overflow was not by any means the only component; it

³⁰ Lindberg and SA Scheingold (eds) *Regional Integration*
Rosamund Ben; *Theories of European Integration*, Hamshire, UK, 2000
Theory and Research (Cambridge, MA; Havard University press accessed on 04/05/2017, 14:30)

was only a hypothesis to clarify the happenings, individual and national interests were the underlying main impetus.

2.5 LITERATURE ON THE TYPES OF INTEGRATION

Integration types are mainly economic integration and political integration.

2.5.1 Political Integration

Political integration refers to surrendering of political sovereignty among integrating states in³¹ favour of a particular sovereign supra-national entity in order to promote common political values and systems, legitimate and democratic institutions, peace, security and stability, an example being SADC which promotes the establishment of shared values and norms which regulate the goals of regional cooperation and development (Kangsolver, 2011). The shared values and norms are embodied in the agreements, declarations and protocols that cover a wide range of political, economic and social aspects (De Melo&Tsikata, 2014). It is basically the creation of supranational institutions' norms and values and so should consolidate the political systems or the decision making power in institution level (Ansa, 2013).

The idea of political integration has been a predominant idea in the African politics since the movement of independence from colonialism and has been taken as an essential aspect to promote economic growth, sustainable development and improving the bargaining power of Africa in the world politics. The focus of this idea has been to fight the impact of colonialism and build a United States of Africa (UNECA, 2010). African countries are militarily weak compared to the rest of the world and cannot compete in international political economies so they resulted to seeking a strong political integration in order to counter the negative effects of the global political and economic system.

³¹ International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies (IJPCS), Vol.3, No 2, December, 2016 accessed 30/08/12 at 12:40pm

The establishment of OAU now AU was the first step towards promoting the continental political unity as well as the formation of the AUC, the UNECA, the AFDB and the Regional Economic Committees (RECs) which are among the key players of regional political integration. Efforts have been carried out to achieve political integration of Africa including the aim of the AU which is to bring the deepest possible political integration of the continent. These efforts have been hindered by numerous issues such as financial constraints, macro-economic instability, poor governance, sovereignty, conflicts and war, multiple memberships to different RECs among others.

2.5.1.1 Notable efforts to political integration in Africa

Promoting the spirit of Pan-Africanism is one of the notable efforts towards political ³²integration in Africa and this idea of Pan-Africanism dates back to 3200 B.C when Pharaoh Aha united the upper and the lower Nile to form a united country. This was meant to resist foreign aggression and invasion in an effective and efficient manner (Nankanmbu, 1998). This idea focused on liberation, equality and unity and also to organize Africans against racism and colonialism as well as to achieve a United States of Africa.

In Manchester conference, the idea of Pan-Africanism was built with the aim of liberation and political unity of Africa. Some independent African States also assembled in Accra, Ghana in 1958 and advocated for building a common African state in regional and global level. In another conference, that is the All Africa People's Conference at Accra Ghana in 1958, Nkrumah tried to push towards politically integrated Africa.

In 1960, the idea of a United States of Africa was proposed in Cairo by Kwame Nkrumah and he needed a radical unification whereas Nyerere advocated for a gradual process to create the United States of Africa. Nkrumah's ideology was that a United States Africa based on a

³²Okhonmina S. (2009), *The African Union: Pan-Africanist aspirations and the challenge of African Unity.*

common market, a common currency, a unified army and a common foreign policy is the only way for a massive reconstruction and modernization of the continent.

He believed in increasing the bargaining power of Africa in internal politics and to address the interests of Africa so as Africa can gain its rightful place in the international arena.³³

His proposed union government incorporated the quick formation of an eminent mainland super-structure, add up to surrender of sway of individual autonomous African states to a supranational body, the foundation of the elected union administration of Africa, foundation of an Africa High Command as the resistance unit of the mainland government.³⁴

Another effort to the political integration of Africa is the establishment of the AU to replace the OAU whose vision is to promote continental unity and integration and is used as a forum to address the mutual interests of member states without any interference in the internal affairs of member states. Initially the OAU was aimed in creating strong economic interaction among Africans to build mutual trust and it was perceived that strong economic interaction could lead to political integration and so Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere became the cause for the agenda of political integration and as a result the idea of regional cooperation and integration were launched in a bid to promote inter-state economic interaction in the continent in the 1960s and 70s.³⁵

The AU is expected to work on the political integration more and so far the establishment of the Pan-African parliament or African Parliament in 2004 as part of AU is seen as essential progress to attain a United States of Africa. In July 2005 report in Sirte Libya, the committee which was established to deal with political integration pointed out that the creation of a union government in Africa is important. At the AU summit in July 2007 in Accra Ghana the

³³Kawonishe, D. & Olubomehin, D. (2004), *The African Union and the challenges of regional integration in Africa*. Ago-Iwoye: Olabisi Onabanjo University

³⁴De Melo J & Tsikata Y. (2014), *Regional Integration in Africa: Challenges and prospects*.

³⁵Laporte G. & Mackie J. (eds) (2010). *Building the African Union: An assessment of past progress and future prospects for the African Union's Institutional architecture*. Policy and Management Report 18.

African leaders agreed to promote the economic and political integration of Africa and conduct an audit of the organs of the AU, review the relationship between the AU and the Regional Economic Commissions and consolidate AU and establish a central government of Africa. They also agreed to promote the involvement of Africans in the diaspora in the process of achieving African political integration.³⁶

2.5.1.2 Literature on challenges to achieving political integration in Africa

Despite the actions that have been taken towards political integration in Africa, there are a lot of challenges that hinder the process and they range from economic, social and political aspects.

2.5.1.3 Political challenges

Controversy between state sovereignty and the power of supranational entity whereby part states trust that political integration may dissolve their sway and might be compelled to surrender their preeminent power for another supranational element. There is additionally the dread that basic leadership power will gather in the supranational government and this upsets political integration as nations are not willing to surrender their sway to a supranational foundation.³⁷

Nationalism and Xenophobia

Nationalism has been the major obstacle to political integration in Africa as most African states focus on their national identity than Africa. Post-colonial leadership and the nation building process have been based on nationalism or national identity since it has been an important way to control state power and for this reason, African governments are a bit reluctant on the importance African political integration. Some Africans are hostile against other African immigrants like in the case of South African citizens who have in several

³⁶Olaosebikan A. J. (2011). Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 5(4), 218-228.

³⁷ German Development Institute (2010), African developments: Continental integration in Africa. Briefing paper German Development Institute

occasions attacked other African immigrants trying to force them out of South Africa. This kind of hostility breeds mistrust among the people of Africa and they hold back the political integration process.³⁸

The unbalanced North – South Political Relation

The worldwide monetary and political condition is commanded by the solid countries especially by the western world. African nations are still to a great extent subject to monetary and political help of mechanical nations for survival along these lines dissolving Africa's potential towards political integration. African states can't depend on themselves in light of the fact that their exercises are affected by the industrialized states thus with the end goal for them to prevail in political integration they should discover approaches to delink themselves from pre-autonomy geopolitical ties or provincially determined political and monetary connections.³⁹

The Inability of AU to Lead the Integration Process

The AU is seen as a change to an expected to be a change of the current institutional system into a subjectively higher type of integration and collaboration that would meet the interests of the general population of Africa for more prominent solidarity and solidarity. There is no territorial course of action in Africa that has moved to the supra-national level.

Policy constraints

The policies of most African states are not consistent as they keep changing with the change of regimes. Policy uncertainty and reversals in the implementation of reforms affects the successful integration process of Africa in addition to lack of consistent commitment to organizational goals to AU have stalled the political integration process.

³⁸ Gomes J. (2014), the challenges of regional integration in Africa. European Scientific Journal, ISSN: 1857 - 788/1857 - 7431

³⁹ Ansah J. W. (2013) the political dynamics of regional integration in Africa: the subjective side. Global Advanced Research Journal of Social Science (GARJSS), 2(9), 202 - 211

Recurrent Inter and Intrastate Conflicts

Since the 1960s a lot of civil wars and inter-state conflicts have occurred in Africa examples being Darfur and Southern Sudan, Ethiopia and Eretria, DRC, Comoros and Central African Republic experienced conflicts and wars. All these conflicts have a negative impact on the political integration process whereby they disturb the political stability and peaceful coexistence of Africans and have weakened the cohesion, unity and the emergence of a political union.

Less Popular Participation

Another challenge to the success of African political integration is the non-inclusive nature of forums about the agenda of political integration. The political elites dominate the issue only as their own concern and this undermines its acceptance by the citizens of Africa. Political leaders usually reflect their views without considering the African peoples' interests. In this view, there is need for popular participation in the political integration agenda.⁴⁰

2.6 Economic Challenges

Economic challenges that hinder the process of political integration in Africa uneven benefits of integration, unfair international economic structure, overlapping membership and less regional trade exchange in Africa.

2.6.1. Less Regional Trade Exchange in Africa

Most African states produce almost similar commodities like for instance most of them produce raw materials and as a result of this similarity in production there is low volume of trade among African states as they mostly trade with European, Asian and American countries. It is therefore difficult to move with Africa political integration unless trade within Africa is enhanced and encouraged as it happens among European states for instance which

⁴⁰Olaosebikan A.J (2011) Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government. African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, 5(4), 218 -228

are adhered by trade and other economic activities and have led them to a highly integrated European Union.

2.6.2. The Uneven Benefits of Integration

The gains and losses of integration must be shared equally among states and avoid situations where benefits of the process are dominated by few strong states because this will lead to the weak states preferring a sub-regional integration where smaller states can band together to increase their bargaining power. An example of such an instance is SADC countries which have intense contrasts in the sizes of their economies and levels of socio-political and monetary improvement whereby South Africa has the most exceptionally propelled economy in the area while Malawi, Mozambique and Lesotho have the minimum created economies and this has prompted doubt among each other. An immense material distinction in financial power and limit hampers rapid integration in the region and therefore prevents political integration. It is therefore important to ensure that the costs and benefits of integration are equitably distributed among members.⁴¹

2.6.3. Unfair International Economic Structure

The global economic structure is based on the North – South linkages between the developing world and the developed world whereby developed countries dominate the benefits while developing countries are marginalized from the benefits of the international economy because they have less bargaining power. The North has a strong interest in Africa for accessing crude materials and markets for fabricates items and through control of the worldwide exchanging framework by IMF, the World Bank and WTO, crude agrarian and mineral items are purchased at low costs controlled by the North purchasers, handled and sold back toward the

⁴¹Nzewi O. (2009) the challenges of post -1990 regional integration in Africa: pan-African parliament. Johannesburg: Centre for policy studies.

South at higher costs additionally dictated by the North. All these bring about debt and dependency which pose a great challenge to political integration.⁴²

2.6.4. An Overlapping Membership

Regional Economic Committees were created as stepping stones to facilitate regional integration and so far there are 13 RECs where African states are members and in some cases a single nation can be a member of more than one REC. Examples of RECs include the Arab League and OPEC whereby some African countries are members of the Arab League and this is an obstacle to the economic integration in Africa because the aim of the Arab League is to promote the interests of the Arabs worldwide which compromises the interests of the African nations who are its members and so this again hinders political integration in Africa. In the case of the OPEC, it is generally viewed as a commodity cartel working against economic integration in Africa due to the fact that its membership does not include African countries and has polarised the continent into OPEC and non-OPEC members⁴³

2.7 Social Challenges

Social challenges that hinder political integration in Africa include poverty, ethnic diversity and issues affecting movement of people.

2.7.1 Poverty

Poverty slows down the integration process as a result of many people in Africa living below a dollar per day. Secondly because of poor infrastructure that hinders transport of people and goods, telecommunications, education and health. All these poverty associated factors have posed a great challenge to both economic integration and political integration.

2.7.2 Ethnic diversity

⁴²Chingono M. and Nakana S. (2008), the challenges of regional integration in Southern Africa. Harare University of Zimbabwe

⁴³ Kawonishe D. & Olubomehin D. (2004). The African Union and the challenges of regional integration in Africa.

African countries have different historical backgrounds in their political structure, their language, size, their geography, external alignment, ideological orientation, culture and ethnicity. All these differences pose a great challenge in attaining solutions and consensus hence restraining the success of African political integration.

2.7.3 Movement of people

Most African countries do not allow free movement of people from one country to another without visas and this kind of restriction hinders interaction among people in Africa therefore slowing down the progress towards political integration.⁴⁴

2.5.2 Economic Integration

Economic integration refers to the process where at least two nations embrace arrangements that outcome in more prominent shared monetary relationship and furthermore dispensing with confinements on global exchange, instalments and factor portability. This procedure brings about the written work of at least two national economies in territorial exchanging agreement and in addition building up joint institutional strategies and a level of shared power monetarily. Biswaro contends that current provincial integration plots in Africa are more legislative instead of a supranational mode and genuine sharing of power is negligible. This kind of integration can happen among neighboring nations inside a similar district or creating ties between nations that could conceivably be topographically connected. A case of these nations who are not in the same topographical area but rather have set up ties incorporate South Africa – EU -TDCA), EU – ACP and EPAs.

2.5.2.1 Stages in Economic Integration

There are several stages in economic integration that include establishing Customs Union, Preferential Trade Agreements, Common Market, Free Trade Area, Economic Union and lastly Monetary Union.

⁴⁴ Olaosebikan A. J. 2011, Kwame Nkrumah and the proposed African common government. African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, 5(4), 218-228

Preferential Trading Agreements (PTA)

This is an agreement where member states apply bring down duties to imports created by different individuals than to imports delivered by non-individuals. This basically implies the members in a particular exchanging agreement lessen limitations on exchange between themselves while keeping up a larger amount of confinements on merchandise imported from countries outside the understanding. In a few examples, the confinements of PTAs are uneven in that one gathering of individuals diminishes their exchange boundaries on imports from different nations and different individuals may not cling to the agreement.

Free Trade Area

This is a policy in which countries agree to suppress or gradually eliminate all trade restrictions ranging from barriers to trade and capital flows among them and also ensures that tariffs and trade restrictions between member countries and third parties remain unaffected and member countries are free to impose any level of tariffs against non-member countries.

Customs Union

FTAs evolve into customs union which is described as cooperation among member states that eliminate all exchange hindrances yet forces a common tax against non-part nations. This sort of monetary integration accommodates opportunity of development of products between part states while shielding the market inside the union from rivalry from different nations.

Customs union offer more prominent market integration and lower costs yet require progressing coordination which incorporates accommodating the premiums of part states and additionally building up proceeding with political courses of action keeping in mind the end goal to manage ensuing modifications.

Common Market

A common market is a gathering of exchanging countries that licenses free development of merchandise and ventures among part states and they start common outer exchange limitations against non-individuals and furthermore permit free development of components of creation crosswise over national outskirts inside the monetary coalition. It is a larger amount of monetary integration than an organized commerce zone and a customs union that guarantees the solidarity of part states is fortified and there is harmonization and coordination of arrangements and exercises.⁴⁵

Economic Union

An economic union is portrayed as a common market in which national financial arrangements are blends with a specific end goal to evacuate separation because of differences in these approaches and includes a procedure in which monetary strategies, for example, monetary, monetary, social and counter-repeating arrangements are brought together. A supranational specialist is set up to manage these strategies and those choices are official for part states.⁴⁶

Monetary Union

A monetary union includes the foundation of settled trade rates between the monetary forms of part states alongside the harmonization of monetary and financial approaches. Other than the unification of national monetary approaches, this stage additionally includes the acknowledgment of common money managed by a supranational expert.

The foundation of a monetary union in itself speaks to the merger of two separate monetary standards into a bound together cash territory. At present, Africa does not have a common

⁴⁵ Biswaro, J.M 2003 Perspectives on Africa's Integration and cooperation from OAU to AU: an old wine in a new bottle. WIU. Washington

⁴⁶ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2006. African Economic Outlook: 2005/2006. Paris. OECD Development Centre and African Development

money and it is likewise looked with dangers from different gliding trade rates for monetary standards that are not convertible. A case of a money region is the Eurozone where part conditions of the European Union utilize the Euro as their common cash.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the idea of integration in Africa both economic and political was started with the movement of Pan-Africanism which advocated the independence of Africa from colonial rules, elimination of marginalization in the international political economy, avoidance of neo-colonization and the unity of Africa.⁴⁷

In other parts of the world like Europe, Asia, the Middle East, America and the Caribbean was started to promote unity, build the economy and have more power in the international arena. The process continues to face challenges of various kinds as countries interact.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Outattarria AD. 14 April 1999. Regional Integration in Africa. An important step towards global integration. IMF Speeches.

⁴⁸Tovias A. 1992. The theory of Economic Integration: Past and Future. Available at <http://www.ecsanet.org/conferences/ecsaworld2/tovias.htm> accessed on 28/08/2017

CHAPTER 3

INTEGRATION IN EAST AFRICA AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN KENYA AND TANZANIA

This third chapter of the study focuses largely on supranational bodies and cooperation and put a spotlight on the East African region and the activities taking place among partner states in the East African Community.⁴⁹

3.0 East African Integration

Endeavours to integrate the East African district began in the last a very long time of the nineteenth century. This was started by the British in 1894 with the choice to begin the development of the Uganda Railway, a wander that prompted the procedure of coordination in EA in the years to come. The coordination procedure in EA is isolated into three periods, i.e. the pre-pioneer period, the pilgrim time frame and post-provincial period which is the principle centre of this examination. The British amid the provincial time frame started elevating endeavours to propel a more brought together authoritative control over their EA domains by building up the court of Appeal for EA in 1902, postal union in 1911, traditions union in 1917 and EA cash load up in 1920.

Tanzania was ingested into these previously mentioned foundations in 1963. A high commission containing the three regional governors, with a secretariat kept an eye on by technocrats with an area wide viewpoint and ability facilitated the normal administrations in the locale. There additionally existed a focal governing body called the EALA, in spite of the fact that with restricted forces.

⁴⁹ Van Ginkel, H. and Van Langenhove, L: Introduction and Context in Hans Van Ginkel, Julius Court and Luk Van Langenhove (Eds), *Integrating Africa: Perspectives on Regional Integration and Development*, UNU Press, 1-9, 2003

Integration in East Africa began with the arrangement of the EAC in 1999 by Tanzania, the Kenya and Uganda, and this was after the fall of the first EAC in 1977. As of now EAC has 6 accomplice states⁵⁰⁵¹ after the section of the Republics of Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan. It has more than 150 million nationals of which 22% is urban populace. The operations of the EAC are guided by its arrangement which set up the group and marked on 30th November 1999 and went into drive on seventh July 2000 after its endorsement by the first three accomplice states. Rwanda and Burundi marked the EAC settlement on eighteenth June 2007 and turned out to be full individuals from the EAC from first July 2007. The Republic of South Sudan marked the arrangement on first April 2016 and turned into a full part on fifteenth August 2016. The 7 organs of the EAC are the summit, the board of priests, the organizing council, sectoral advisory groups, East African Court of Justice, the East African Legislative Assembly and the Secretariat. It additionally has eight foundations commanded with different parts in various companions, for example, common aeronautics, money related establishments, wellbeing and research, dialect commission, science and innovation, fisheries association, between college gathering for East Africa and the Lake Victoria Basin Commission. Other EAC areas include: farming and nourishment security, culture and games, vitality, ecological and regular assets, sexual orientation, group improvement and common society, migration, work, framework and SME advancement, tourism and untamed life administration, asset preparation and above all peace and security in the locale.

⁵⁰ M. Crawford Young, Nationalism, ethnicity and class in Africa, 2011 publication (accessed on 23/04/17, 10:37)

⁵¹ African Journal of International Affairs, Vol.7, Nos 182, pp. 21-34(accessed on 02/05/2017, 12:21PM) www.eac.int/about/institutions (accessed on 02/04/2017 at 10:39)

3.1 Political integration in East Africa

Integration alludes to a procedure whereby the nature of relations among self-governing social units, for example, connection bunches like tribes, urban communities, exchange unions, exchange affiliations and political gatherings changes so as to dissolve the independence of each and influence it to some portion of a bigger total. Integration happens in 5 distinctive ways the most reduced level being the facilitated commerce zone in which taxes and amounts are dispensed with among the individuals from the coordinating district. The other level is a custom union that includes the end of levies and shares and furthermore wipes out prejudicial taxes by non-part nations by setting up normal outside duties. The third level of integration includes the foundation of a typical market that takes out impediments for the free stream of the elements of generation, i.e. work and capital. The fourth level is the foundation of a financial group or union which involves the harmonization of monetary approaches which may include the presentation of a typical currency.⁵²

The most elevated type of integration is a political union where the structures and political foundations which blend strategies and wind up noticeably bound together. Political federation implies setting up a political association in which at least two states consent to frame a union government with a focal expert while holding nearby self-rule. Federalism at the territorial level alludes to the meeting up of free country states to frame a national government. It is considered as a mean between political participation and a political union whereby political collaboration includes shared strategy courses of action among part states went for accomplishing basic interests and targets. A political union then again is a definitive objective of participating gatherings and involves a common political locale in which the gatherings to the union consent to surrender either all or part of their sway to a focal political unit (Ibid). It is fundamentally a union of gatherings joined by at least one normal targets

⁵² De Melo J. (2015), Regional integration arrangements in Africa: Is large membership the way forward?

however holding their particular gathering character for different purposes. As a stage towards⁵³⁵⁴ accomplishing a political federation, the arrangement of the EAC calls upon the accomplice states to build up a typical remote and security strategy.

3.1.1 East African Political Federation

A federation is characterized as a type of government or nation where there is regional appropriation of energy between one focal or a typical government and subordinate or lower governments. A national government includes control sharing and obligations characterized by law and practice. The units looking to join a federation ought to be set up to surrender certain⁵⁵ forces to a focal specialist which is the most critical essential to an effective federation. EAC looks to accomplish a political federation keeping in mind the end goal to achieve a quickened financial advancement for every one of the nations in the area. As indicated by H.E. Yoweri Museveni of Tanzania, the federation will empower the district to have control in numbers to consult with whatever is left of the world. Previous leader of Tanzania H.E. Benjamin Mkapa, the federation will make a sentiment security because of political strength and a steady economy to battle neediness. The previous leader of Kenya additionally H.E. Mwai Kibaki shared his notions that a federation was fundamental with a specific end goal to accomplish sustainable development.⁵⁶

Having a political union in the locale would help in tending to the numerous social issues saw in the part nations, for example, negative ethnicity, religious clashes and other socio-social issues as social orders from the distinctive countries in the district converge to shape one substantial monetary and political element. The federation would likewise keep accomplice states from battling each other.

⁵³Korwag G. Adar, Africa Institute of South African Publication, 2008.

⁵⁴ Journal on African Affairs, 1998, Bruce J. Berman(accessed on 08/04/2017, 14:07)

⁵⁵<https://www.au.int/en/recs/eac> (accessed on 07/04/17, 12:21)

The EAPF is accommodated under Article 5 (2) of the bargain for the foundation of the East African Community and its components are mounted on three columns being basic outside and security approaches, great administration and accomplishment in the usage of the initial three integration columns. A board of trustees named the Wako Committee was made in 2004 to complete wide meetings and conclude the work on the political federation. Activities have been set up to quick track political integration and the EAC looks to include its subjects in the choices and arrangements of the federation.⁵⁷

3.2 Integration in Asia

Integration in Asia is primarily financial relations amongst East and South Asia which have opened up their economies to the worldwide field not at all like North and Western parts of Asia. Propelled economies in Asia incorporate South Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore and Taiwan. The upper centre pay and centre pay Asian nations incorporate Malaysia and Thailand while low pay Asian nations are China, India, Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines. Slightest created economies in Asia are Nepal, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar. Asian nations are assorted in their legislative issues, establishments and authentic heritages making their integration very intricate. East Asian nations, for example, Taiwan, China, Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea and the ASEAN nations have a clear and noteworthy integration process among them.

Intra-provincial exchange East Asia has expanded after some time contrasted with the EU, NAFTA and creating nations and their principle concentrate is on intra-local Foreign Direct Investment. This intra-territorial FDI completed by Indonesia, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, Singapore China, Vietnam and Cambodia began a modern fares to western markets, mostly buyer merchandise, for example, articles of

⁵⁷⁵⁷ Journal by Richard L. Sklar, Political Science and National Integration-A radical approach, published online 11 November 2008 (accessed on 18/04/2017, 15:22)

clothing, toys and calfskin products. This was later trailed by capital serious specialists of autos, steel and ships. As of now they send out transport and hardware gear, particularly in ICT items. As much as East Asia possibly more coordinated than different parts of the world it faces awesome integration challenges because of strategy hindrances that posture negative effect in helping provincial generation for territorial utilization like it occurs in Western Europe and North America. East Asia's last fares go to the EU, NAFTA and a little rate to Japan.⁵⁸

3.2.1 ASEAN

ASEAN is a local gathering that advances financial, political and security participation among its ten part states Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Myanmar, Laos, Brunei and Cambodia. Its populace is more than 622 million individuals and a GDP of \$2.6 trillion starting at 2014 figures.⁵⁹

ASEAN has consented to six unhindered commerce arrangements with other provincial economies to advance monetary integration. Its administration is led through an every year pivoting administration helped by a secretariat and its choices are come to through interview guided by the standards of non-impedance in interior undertakings and the tranquil determination of contentions. It was formally settled to diminish local dangers and to battle the potential risk of comrade drove revolts at the stature of the US war in Vietnam and it joined Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. These are the five establishing individuals from ASEAN who looked for a group to advance political and social steadiness in the midst of rising strains among the Asia-Pacific post-pioneer states.

⁵⁸http://www.aseansec.org/stat/Table21_27.pdf

⁵⁹ The ASEAN Charter, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2008) accessed on 16/07/2017

Monetary integration among ASEAN individuals was spurred by the Asian money related emergency of 1997 where the nations met up to incorporate their economies with a specific end goal to alleviate future financial turmoil. An understanding among ASEAN, Japan, China and South Korea was built up under the Chiang Mai Initiative to give money related help through cash swaps. ASEAN states likewise marked an announcement on joint activity to counter psychological warfare in the result of the 9/11 keeping in mind the end goal to expand data sharing.⁶⁰

The ASEAN Charter embraced by 10 nations in 2007 has arrangement for 3 branches which are the ASEAN Political Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the ASEAN Socio-social Community. AEC has prompted an expansion in intra-ASEAN exchange at 24% starting at 2015 figures. It depends on four columns in particular making of a solitary market with free stream of products, administrations, speculation and talented work, reasonable monetary rivalry, maintainable and impartial financial improvement and further incorporating ASEAN into the worldwide economy.⁶¹

3.2.1.2 ASEAN and Regional Security

ASEAN framed a local gathering in 1993 comprising of 27 part multilateral gathering with a specific end goal to encourage collaboration on political and security issues to add to territorial certainty building and preventive tact. Different bodies entrusted with taking care of security matters of the ASEAN district incorporate ASEAN in addition to Three which is a consultative gathering comprising of China, Japan and South Korea. There is additionally East Asia Summit (EAS) which tries to advance security and success in the locale and is gone to by heads of state from ASEAN, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, China, US, India, South Korea and Russia.

⁶⁰ Data from Backgrounder by Eleanor Albert, ASEAN, accessed on 11/07/2017, 12:12pm

⁶¹ Kawai and Wignaraja, 2009, pp 18-25; Ngaesh Kumar, Towards broader regional cooperation in Asia accessed on 11/07/2017, 17:11pm

Taking everything into account, individuals from ASEAN have differing monetary, political and social frameworks. Their political frameworks change from majority rule governments, socialist and tyrant states. Different varieties are in the socioeconomics over the locale with a few nations being inadequately populated while others are thickly populated. A portion of the difficulties looked by ASEAN incorporate wandering national needs, and furthermore the trouble in arranging a brought together way to deal with China in light of the across the board sea guarantees in the South China Sea.

3.3 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

NAFTA built up an unhindered commerce zone in North America which was marked by Canada,⁶² Mexico and the US and it produced results on Jan 1, 1994. The provincial body lifted levies on the lion's share of merchandise delivered by the part states and furthermore goes for bit by bit dispensing with hindrances to cross-outskirt venture and to the development of products and enterprises among the part states. It is at present the biggest unhindered commerce zone and its individuals contribute more than \$20 trillion as measured by GDP. This body takes into consideration remote direct venture and treats all individuals equally.⁶³

NAFTA has methodology to determine exchange question in order to shield organizations from out of line rehearses. Its targets are to advance expanded provincial exchange and speculation, increment business and enhance working conditions and expectations for everyday comforts in every nation, give a structure to the lead of trilateral exchange relations and for the administration of question, to reinforce and uphold natural laws and essential specialists' rights and cooperate to advance further trilateral local and multilateral collaboration to extend and improve the advantages of this assentation.

⁶² Elizabeth Malkin, Mexico Takes First Step Before Talks with U.S. on NAFTA, The New York Times, Feb 1, 2017
⁶³ El Economista, NAFTA Negotiations, Respect for National Sovereignty, February 1, 2017

The foundation does not have a brought together concurrence on agribusiness, rather it has three separate reciprocal understandings between the US and Canada, the US and Mexico and Canada and Mexico.

3.3.1 Objectives of NAFTA

NAFTA was set up with the plan to advance expanded provincial exchange and speculation, increment business and enhance working conditions and expectations for everyday comforts in every nation, give a structure to the lead of trilateral exchange relations and for the administration of question, to reinforce and authorize ecological laws and essential specialists' rights and cooperate to advance further trilateral, local and multilateral participation to grow and upgrade the advantages of this assentation.

3.3.2 Impacts of NAFTA

NAFTA has both positive and negative impact on its member states, the positive ones being increasing the competitiveness of these three countries in the global market place, enabling member states to compete with the EU and China which is the largest economy in the world currently, making movement of goods and people easy across Europe, increasing agricultural trade among member states and the rest of the world.⁶⁴

Negative effects of NAFTA include massive job losses and lower wages as a result of many manufacturing industries moving from the United States relocating to Mexico where there is cheap labour so workers in the US got adversely affected by this as the industries that remained used this withdrawal as leverage to reduce wages as workers had to choose between joining a workers union and risk losing a job or remain at the industry under its terms. Some of the industries that moved include motor vehicles, textiles, computers and electrical appliances. Secondly, NAFTA caused competitive pressure that led Mexico agribusiness to

⁶⁴ Data from Economic Policy Institute, May 3, 2011, "The High Cost of Free Trade"

use more fertilizers and other chemicals which increased the rate of pollution, also the expansion of rural farmers into marginal land resulting in deforestation in Mexico.⁶⁵

3.4 The European Union

The EU is an economic and political union consisting of 28 member states all within Europe and its population is estimated to be over 500 million people. Its origin is traced back the European Economic Community (ECC) and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) established by the 1951 Treaty of Paris and the 1957 Treaty of Rome respectively and also from a series of international treaties that promoted integration among member states. Its original members who came to be known as the European Communities were Italy, West Germany Luxembourg, Belgium, the Netherlands and France which were later joined by other countries to form the number that currently exists. The EU was formally established when the Maastricht Treaty came to force in November 1, 1993 but was later replaced by the Lisbon Treaty of 2007.⁶⁶

The EU has 14 institutions tasked with different responsibilities ranging from European Parliament, European Council, and banks, Economic and Social Committee, Court of Justice among other institutions. The four main aims of the EU are to establish European Citizenship by protecting fundamental human rights and freedoms, secondly is to ensure freedom, security and justice through cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs, thirdly is to promote economic and social process, lastly to assert Europe's role in the world.

3.4.1 Objectives of the EU

The EU is a culmination of a long process of economic and political integration which started as a free trade area and a customs union whose aim is to promote peace and improve the

⁶⁵ Tariffs and Tortillas, The Economist, January 24, 2008

⁶⁶ The European Union: A Critical Assessment, Marian L. Tupy, June 22, 2016. Accessed on 02/09/2017 at 14:02

wellbeing of nations. Its objectives are creating a free and safe Europe with no borders, secondly is to ensure smooth and efficient trade within Europe making competition between companies free and fair, thirdly to promote Europe's sustainable and steady development through balanced economic growth and stable market prices, fourthly is to enhance advancement of science and technology and invest in education, another objective is to prevent social exclusion by preventing people from drifting outside the labour market and society. It protects minority rights, eliminating poverty, promoting solidarity and loyalty among its member states, respecting the language and culture of individual countries. Lastly is to establish and promote common foreign and security policy.

3.4.2 Achievements of the EU

One of the greatest achievements of the EU is the establishment of the Single European ⁶⁷Market which has empowered people, customers and business to profit by the open doors gave to them by guide access to a market of 28 nations and 503 million individuals. The single market depends on the opportunity of development of individuals, merchandise, administrations and capital. People have the privilege to live, work, consider or resign in another nation. This likewise benefits shoppers as expanded rivalry prompts low costs and a wide variety of products and services to choose from, it benefits business people as well as it comes cheaper, easier and convenient to do business across borders. ⁶⁸

3.5 Current state of integration

The EU integration has been made possible by the supranational executive institutions, common trade, agricultural policies, social policies as well as securing tools. Its operations haven't been without challenges including the perception of its members whereby some view

⁶⁷ Brown, G. (2009), PM speech to European Parliament, available at <http://www.number10.gov.uk/page18718>

⁶⁸The European Union: A Critical Assessment, Marian L. Tupy, June 22, 2016 accessed on 14/07/2017 at 14:05

the EU as a way of accomplishing economic progress while others see it as an obsolete institution interfering with their sovereignty through strict regulations. One of the challenges is in the economic sector whereby its economy is becoming less competitive compared to the US, Brazil or China and also the high unemployment rates being witnessed by its member states as well as the shifting of markets towards developing countries. Political challenges include low turnout in EU elections as some members seem to have lost faith in the EU Parliament.⁶⁹

Economic integration seems to have taken shape in most regions globally with the movement of goods, people, services and capital becoming easier as more countries agree to open their borders and work together. The same cannot be however said for political integration because countries still believe in their unique political systems and are not willing to allow others to influence those systems or institutions and view their unique political systems as a more significant measure of their sovereignty.⁷⁰

3.6 Integral pillars of EAC

3.6.1 Customs Union is the principal territorial integration development and basic establishment of the EAC and it came into compel in 2005 as characterized in Article 75 of the Treaty for the foundation of the EAC. The record expresses that part states consented to build up unhindered commerce on merchandise and enterprises among themselves and concurred on a common outer duty (CET), whereby imports from nations outside the EAC zone are subjected to a similar levy when sold to any EAC accomplice state. Merchandise moving openly inside the EAC must conform to the EAC Rules of Origin and with specific arrangements of the convention for the foundation of the EAC.

⁶⁹CezarySzczeplaniuk, Challenges of the European Union in the 21st Century, July 29, 2014, accessed 17/7/2017, 16:44

⁷⁰www.ewinextgen.com accessed 17/7/2017, 16:45

This one encourages free development of individuals and work through the selection of common

3.6.2 Common Market is the second provincial integration mainstay of the EAC which has been in constrain since 2010 in accordance with the arrangements of the settlement. The standards controlling the EAC common market operations incorporate non-separation of nationals of other accomplice states on the grounds of nationality, break even with treatment to nationals of other accomplice states, guarantee straightforwardness in issues concerning the other accomplice states and in conclusion share data for the smooth execution of the convention

This column has every one of the areas like those talked about before under the Customs Union pillar.⁷¹

3.6.3 Monetary Union was embraced as per the EAC Treaty and marked on 30th November 2013. It lays basis for a monetary union inside 10 years and permits the EAC accomplice states to continuously join their monetary forms into solitary cash in the group. The body tries to accomplish a solitary money through harmonization of monetary and monetary strategies, fitting budgetary frameworks and instalment and settlement frameworks, orchestrating budgetary bookkeeping and announcing rehearses and building up an East African Central Bank.

3.6.4 Political Federation is the fourth mainstay of the EAC set up under Article 5(2) of the arrangement for the foundation of the East African Community established on 3 standards specifically; common remote and security approaches, great administration and powerful usage of the earlier phases of local integration. It is the last stage to be arranged simply after financial integration has achieved a propelled stage and it optimizing was proposed by

⁷¹<http://www.eac.int/integration-pillars/political-federation>

President Museveni in 2004 amid a heads of states meeting. However, the diversity in political systems of partner states will pose a great challenge in achieving a political federation. Some of these diversities include the urgency in nation building attitude in Rwanda that promotes developmental politics, another one is the one party syndrome as experienced in Tanzania and Uganda and lastly the ethnic divisive politics and power mongering among Kenyan politicians all pose a great challenge to having a political union.⁷²

3.7 Nationalism in Kenya and Tanzania

Nationalism within a nation is a political force within a nation that inspires political parties and movements. Politically, nationalists campaign for the following principles:-⁷³

1. To reinforce national solidarity including efforts for national salvation in the midst of emergencies, underline on national character and dismissing outside impacts, constraining non-national populaces on the national domain, particularly by restricting migration and in extraordinary cases ethnic purging and financial patriotism which is the advancement of the national enthusiasm for monetary strategy, particularly through protectionism and contrary to unhindered commerce approaches.

3.7.1 Nationalism in Kenya

During the colonial period, Europeans flocked into Kenya and awarded themselves chunks of land for settlement and forced Africans to work for them under harsh conditions. The communities that suffered much having their land taken were the maasai, the kikuyu and the Kamba. An organization called the East Africa Association was formed under the presidency of Harry Thuku and the treasurer was Ismael Ithongo who both led a meeting of chiefs and headmen in near Nairobi and drew a petition to the British Government protesting against

⁷² Haas Ernst B, *The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of theorizing*, pp.3-44

⁷³ Smith Anthony D., *State and Nation in the Third World* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1983)

forced labour, poll taxes and the alienation of their lands to Europeans and the enactment of the registration ordinance.⁷⁴

The arrest of Harry Thuku for leading the petition led to a protest by Africans demanding his release and the police opened fire killing 30 of the people demonstrating outside the police station. The association was banned and Thuku and his two counterparts were deported to different parts of the country. Africans were later allowed to form political parties but were restricted at the district level only which they defied. The Arrest of Kikuyu Central Association leaders in 1940 representing one phase of the nationalist struggle in Kenya.

African leaders after the arrest of their leaders and banning of their political parties learned that non-violent constitutional agitation had serious limitations and they needed new ways to secure their interests. After Kenya gained its independence in 1963 through a nationalist movement led by Jomo Kenyatta, Oginga Odinga among others, nationalism still continues to manifest itself in Kenyan politics through ethnicity where every tribe has its own political party which it uses to secure the interests of individuals from those communities and create a class of elites who control power, business and the general affairs of the entire country.

3.7.2 Nationalism in Tanzania

Tanzania went through a period of colonization just like Kenya under the British rule and in 1946 it turned into an UN put stock in an area under British course. English endeavours required that the domain be created in light of a legitimate concern for its occupants and that the tenants arranged for support in political government. Africans were elected to the legislative council as well Asians and Europeans.

Labour unrests in the country led to the rise of organized trade union movement. The rise of nationalism came with the formation of the Tanganyika African Union (TANU) in 1954, a

⁷⁴ Glimpses of Kenya's Nationalist Struggle, Pio Gama Pinto, 1963

movement which was led by Julius Nyerere who viewed it as a vehicle for attaining independence from Britain. The party mobilized people in different parts of the country⁷⁵⁷⁶ around specific issues and grievances and highlighted the problems of colonial government and the need for a self-directed national life.

Tanzania gained its independence in 1961 and after independence with Nyerere as president his regime was threatened both externally and internally by the army and the trade unions. A mutiny took place and the army was dismantled. Free trade unions were banned and a single trade union subordinate to the state was established. There was centralization of power through a one party state system that saw a class of rich and powerful Tanzanians locally known as wabenzi (owned Mercedes Benz as their preferred cars) emerged and this led to exploitation of the masses by the rich in government.

Ujamaa as this socialist declaration was called led to nationalization of big plantations, banks, insurance, wholesale, business, etc. Among the leadership conditions in the Arusha Declaration were that those involving administration positions were disallowed from having offers and taking directorship in privately owned businesses, they couldn't possess houses for lease and they couldn't have more than one pay.

Tanzania continues to enjoy political stability through a multiparty system and has assumed a leadership role in regional cooperation. The country has its sources of pride and identity which it holds dear especially its socialist system which is still embraced by most Tanzanians as much as it's a democracy now. ⁷⁷

3.7.3 Political System and culture in Tanzania

⁷⁵ Language and Nationalism: Comparing Flanders and Tanzania, Jan Blommaert, Nations and Nationalism, 1996

⁷⁷ Nationalist Historians in search of a nation, the New Historiography in Dare salaam, Donald Denoon – Makerere University and Adam Kuper- University College London

Political institutions and culture of Tanzania have evolved over time into a democratic system of governance. The country has

has utilized a multiparty framework that takes into consideration political articulation through the National Assembly and the administration. Regardless of the multiparty framework however, administration hosts been overwhelmed by a particular get-together, the CCM since the nation's freedom. The gathering appreciates a huge grassroots help which the restriction parties have not figured out how to acquire.⁷⁸

The large number of clashing political sentiments and presence of little ethnic gatherings which indicate 127 ethnic gatherings have restricted the capacity of the National Assembly to make successful effect (Kelsall). The political culture for Tanzania is by and large one of help for the legislature and agreement which enables the political establishments to look after control. Support governmental issues was confirm by an arrangement of vote purchasing, however because of the control of the CCM party, people outside of the decision party did not have much impact in general. Political battles are because of widespread defilement and neediness and furthermore neopatrimonialism where the 'supporters 'or intense people in high places in government utilize state assets to remunerate steadfast nationals in the overall public.

The present leader of Tanzania, President Maghufuli has founded various changes went for battling debasement and end the heritage of neopatrimonialism. Unrests and dissents have expanded in the current years, particularly since the 2015 elections. Resistance parties in Tanzania are endeavouring to rival CCM claiming they are utilizing it as an approach to look after power.

⁷⁸ Freedom In the world 2010: Tanzania Freedom House 2010 archived from original on 16 August 2012

In spite of the fact that Tanzania faces unrests as of late, it works as a fruitful popular government and has encountered advances of energy between pioneers, regardless of the possibility that those pioneers are from the same political gathering. Maghufuli's endeavours to battle debasement are an awesome advance towards streamlining political foundations to wind up plainly more trustworthy and delegate. These endeavours are likewise an incredible way towards enhancing the economy of Tanzania which appreciates a dynamic tourism industry due to Mt. Kilimanjaro and national parks which are a critical wellspring of income for the legislature.

3.7.4 Political System and culture in Kenya

Kenya has experienced different political institutions since the pre-colonial period, the ⁷⁹colonial period and the post-colonial which is the main focus of this study. The struggle for Kenya's independence was driven by the oppressive and exclusive structures that were put in place by the colonial administration. Many Africans were unhappy with the actions of the colonialists who took away their land and gave it to white settlers, they were also disgruntled with the creation of reserves and restrictions as well as the act of being forced to provide cheap labour to the white settlers. Kenya gained its independence from the British on 12 December 1963 and became an independent African state. The colonial administrative structures remained in place and government positions at the top were filled by elitist Kenyans with Mzee Kenyatta as the first president of Kenya.

Kenya has worked as EA's money related and correspondences centre point, it has additionally filled in as the home office of numerous universal NGOs and a magnet for tourism. Its solidness and peace was tried amid the 2007/08 post-decision savagery after a questioned presidential race that prompted the arrangement of a coalition government after much mediation and peace talks drove by African famous people. Examiners say, the unrests

⁷⁹ Data from the Kenyan Constitution

demonstrated that Kenya is a youthful majority rule government with frail organizations and ethnic divisions that have kept on assuming a key part in political emergencies experienced in Kenya. Kenyan organizations including the Judiciary, parliament and the constituent commission are subordinate to the president. The president names high court judges and constituent officials and has the ability to break up parliament and controls the government spending plan.

The presidential forces were passed from the pioneer time frame and keep on being drilled in post autonomous Kenya. The president for instance chooses region officials who are what might as well be called commonplace chiefs previously the new constitution. David Anderson portrayed PCs as shadow governments completely in the control of the president and generally ensuring the interests of the decision party. Individuals from parliament are chosen by the all inclusive community however parliament has little energy to address open grievances for the most part in light of culmination between parliamentarians in the decision party and those from the restriction. The constituent commission's powerlessness to determine arguments about the authenticity of vote arrangement following the Dec 2007 elections filled in as additional confirmation that Kenya's political establishments couldn't be viewed as free.⁸⁰

Broad defilement in government has disintegrated open trust in political foundations. Kenya positioned 150 out 180 nations on Transparency International's defilement observations file, an indistinguishable positioning from the DRC and Liberia, both of which as of late rose up out of common war. The elitist are the periphery in Kenya who were in government continued relating with the British. Kenya's political system is mainly controlled by ethnicity whereby Kenyans vote according to their tribes. This ethnic politics has been aided by formation of political parties based on ethnicity. The most popular political parties and most

⁸⁰ Stephanie Hanson, Understanding Kenya's Politics, January 24, 2008, accessed on 21/07/2017, 16:01pm

competitive are created on tribal lines and have tribal leaders who are perceived to be potential presidential candidates in upcoming elections. Some of these parties include ODM which is predominantly Luos, Jubilee which is predominantly Kikuyus and Kalenjins, wiper which is predominantly kamabas and Ford parties which are mainly popular in western Kenya region.

Kenya's elections are ruled by a victor take all attitude because of combination of energy in the official branch. Kenya has held multiparty elections since 1992, however the restriction has little power in the administration and thus, resistance MPs frequently don't appear to lead the business of the house especially with the tyranny of numbers mentality in parliament. Politics in Kenya is a high stakes affair and because of this candidates and politicians often hire young armed men to protect their interests and this often leads to chaos as these hired goons clash to protect the interests of their masters.

All the political challenges mentioned above experienced in Kenya and Tanzania have led to the problem witnessed in being unable to form a political union in Africa and have a political federation in the region.

3.8 Structural challenges facing political integration in EAC

Since 2004 the EAC⁸¹ it has created regional fora such as electoral commissions, human rights commissions, anti-corruption agencies, chief justices and political parties. The attainment of a political federation involves taking into account pertinent issues such as peace and security, foreign policy coordination, good governance, aspects of economic and social integration.

The responsibility for coordinating the political integration process belongs to the office of political federation at the EAC Secretariat whose aim is to establish a politically united and stable East Africa through its three departments namely political affairs, peace and security

⁸¹MwesigaBaregu and Bashiru Ally, Participation of Political Parties in the East African Integration Process. EAC Occasional Papers. Issue No. 1, March 2010

and International relations. In order to promote political integration, National Consultation Committees were appointed to carry out assessment in all partner states between 2006 to 2008 whereby they conducted sensitization and consultation with East African citizens on having a political federation and submitted their reports on the findings to the EAC.⁸²

The reports indicated that there were fears, concerns and challenges towards establishing a political federation. These FCCs include the differences in the national constitutions and practices of vote based system and great administration, hostile to defilement, human rights and administer of law, absence of consistency in tenet, train and responsibility among organizations managing peace, security and guard, dread of losing power, absence of an instrument for support of national political gatherings in the government game plan, and ultimately absence of clearness on the model of federation.

3.9 Proposed model of the East African Federation

The proposed model of the East African Federation is divided into 8 subsections which detail the formation and the operations of the federation as well as the institutions within the federation that will play different roles in order to make political integration successful.

The Rationale

The rationale behind the establishment of the EAF lies in the shared common history of the people of East Africa and the need to safeguard and pursue a common destiny in order to survive in the global arena with the belief the federation will create a stronger unity that will lead to regional resources being better managed by a single entity and also promote regional peace, security, stability, good neighbourliness and peaceful settlement of disputes.

The purpose of the EAF

⁸²Waffubwa I and Birunji J.C, The drive towards political integration in East Africa, 2012, P 56

Its sole purpose is to unite the partner states into one federal state which is expected to have a unified political authority capable of coordinating policies and addressing challenges associated with it.⁸³

Establishment of the EAF

The federation will be established by the partner states and governed by a common constitution whereby the partner states shall become constituent states within the federation but will remain autonomous in all non-federal matters their citizens will become automatic citizens of the federation and have a dual citizenship.

Principles, values and objectives of the federation

Principles of the federation incorporate power of the general population and the federation, matchless quality of the government organ and additionally the standards of backup and even-handedness, to build up a focal expert over the elected region, solidification of the pick-up and benefits acknowledged from the present level of integration.

Structure of the EAF

The proposed structure of the EAF is comprised of federal and constituent states whereby the government state will be involved an elected official, elected council and an elected legal with a partition of forces between the three organs. The lawmaking body will be made out of senate with measure up to portrayal from the constituent states and a place of agents made out of individuals chose on the premise of corresponding portrayal of the populace and will be in charge of the portrayal of the subjects of the federation. Its capacity is to defend, advance and upgrade interests of the federation and those of the constituent states while the executive will be comprised of a president, vice president and a cabinet.⁸⁴

⁸³ Report of the Team of Experts on Addressing the Fears, Concerns, Challenges of EAF, October 2011, P4-10

⁸⁴ A Draft model of the Structure of the East African Federation, October 2012, EAC Secretariat

The proposed judiciary will be independent under the leadership of a chief justice and it will be in charge of constitutional matters and will be final appellate court as well as have primary jurisdiction on human rights.

Powers and functions of the federal government

The proposed functions of the federal government include defence and security, foreign affairs and international trade, immigration, infrastructure development and the federal public service among others.

Powers and functions of the constituent states

They will be in charge of land, local government, matters of personal law and domestic trade among others.

Concurrent roles and responsibilities

These refer to the roles and responsibilities which will be carried out concurrently by both the federal government and the constituent states which include citizenship matters, statistics and census, justice and constitutional affairs, education, health and agriculture among others.

Others include establishing institutions to run financial matters including a federal central bank, federal finance commission, a federal electoral commission, federal budget, federal capital and transitional arrangements to deal with external debts, succession of Treaties and community laws.⁸⁵

3.10 Achievements in the process of political integration

Achievements in the process of establishing a federal government in EAC continue to be seen in the different sectors of the political integration process including political affairs, peace and security, international relations and common foreign policy.

⁸⁵ MwesigaBaregu and Bashiru Ally 'Participation of Political Parties in the East African Integration Process'. EAC Occasional Papers. Issue No.1, March 2010

The department of political affairs under Article 123 of the treaty to consolidate is mandated to ensure that partner states undertake efforts to abide by the principles of good governance, democracy the rule of law, social justice and human rights. Some of its achievements include sensitization which has enabled EAC citizens to understand the importance of political integration as an integral part economic integration whereby more people no longer have fear of the unknown associated with political integration, secondly the sensitization has seen more people now getting interested in being part of the political integration process including civil society organization, academia, private sector, youth, political parties and border communities. Another achievement is the creation of a platform for national institutions of government to exchange information, share experiences and dialogue on policies, strategies, laws and programs with a view to developing regional standards through institutions that deal with intervention areas like human rights and social justice, democracy and electoral processes as well as fighting corruption and upholding integrity. Lastly is the achievement of establishing a forum of EAC Chief Justices which facilitates exchange and capacity building programs while enabling harmonization of policies and strategies.⁸⁶

3.11 Challenges facing the department of political affairs

Challenges in running political affairs in the EAC are mainly caused by the absence of a specific sectoral council on political affairs to promote decision making and adoption of recommendation, secondly is the fact that the EAC Secretariat has no executive powers to enforce policy directives and decisions, financial constraints and inadequate staffing impede the support of political integration.⁸⁷

3.12 Achievements and challenges in the department of peace and security

Safeguarding peace and security in East Africa is essential for a political federation in the sense that only a peaceful region will support the decision of a political federation and in

⁸⁶ Data from the Report of the 28th Meeting of Council, November 2013

⁸⁷ Isabelle Waffubwa, Cooperation in Political Affairs. How far have we come six years down the line

order to promote the much needed peace and security, the partner states have entrusted the EAC the mandate to prevent conflicts, manage them and resolve as well as peace building. Subsectors were established after the April 2011 meeting on interstate security that proposed specialized security groups including police chief, intelligence chiefs, heads of prisons and correctional services, heads of national counter terrorism agencies, coordinators of national focal points on small arms and light weapons.

Challenges facing operations of peace and security include financial constraints which impede effective implementation of its policies. Secondly is the problem in decision-making as a result of complexity in the structure of peace and security which involves a bureaucratic process through a hierarchy of the summit, the council of ministers and various sectoral councils⁸⁸.

3.13 Achievements and challenges in the department of international relations and common foreign policy

Partner states had concluded a memorandum of understanding on foreign policy coordination in 1999 before signing the EAC Treaty on 30th November 1999 whereby they chose to coordinate rather than integrate their foreign policies so as to work together in relation with the international community and to promote cooperation. Some of the programs and activities under this department include development of policies and strategies for cooperation in foreign affairs matters, strengthening engagement of the partner states' diplomatic missions, strategies for the EAC to cooperate with other regional and global institutions like the AU, UN, etc. and lastly strategies for effectively marketing EAC abroad.

Achievements include the establishment of the protocol on foreign policy coordination, fostering cooperation in diplomatic and consular services, mobilising and strengthening

⁸⁸Data from the Treaty of the Establishment of the East African Community

diplomatic missions to promote EAC integration, introduction of the program on accreditation of foreign diplomats to the EAC, promoting support East Africans to access jobs of influence in the international system through a subcommittee on candidatures and adopted its rules of procedure. Through this subcommittee, over 20 candidates have been supported to get key positions in international agencies including the AU, the UN and its specialized agencies.

The main challenges affecting the integration process in this department are mainly lack of funds and lack of enough staff to carryout activities for the integration process. Another challenge is posed by the fact that a federation doesn't exist yet so every partner states is focused on pursuing their own foreign policies.⁸⁹

Conclusion

This chapter has basically explained the integration in East Africa in relation to nationalism and also delved into the political institutions of Kenya and Tanzania to understand how the uniqueness and differences of institutions in these countries have impacted the political integration process. It has also analysed the progress made in political integration as well as the achievements and challenges facing the political federation and also well outlines the structure of the East African Political Federation.

The different binding agreements in promoting political integration have also been discussed as well the progress made in implementing the integration pillars of the EAC.

⁸⁹ Melo, J. de and Y. Tsikata. 2014. Regional Integration in Africa: Challenges and Prospects. FERDI Document de travail 93 and UNU-WIDER Working Paper, February

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATIONS OF NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION IN EAST AFRICA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter gives the findings on the topic Nationalism and political integration in East Africa, a comparative study of Kenya and Tanzania. It is classified in the following sub-topics; - Driving factors for the EAC to establish a political union, Role and purpose of the East African Political Federation, Role of the East African Political Federation in establishing a regional federal government, challenges faced by the EAPF, impact of actors in achieving political integration, the role of nationalism in political integration and lastly concluding remarks by the respondent.

4.1 Findings on driving factors for the EAC to establish a political union

The main agenda for the establishment of a political union in East Africa is based on three key pillars namely; common foreign and security policies, good governance and lastly effective implementation of the prior stages of integration. This effective implementation of the prior stages of integration will ensure that the benefits of integration are felt by the people of East Africa and so they will be more receptive to deeper integration in terms of a political union.⁹⁰

Establishing common foreign and security policies will bring about achievements in laying a firm foundation by safeguarding against geopolitical challenges and ensure development is achieved. Good governance is important in ensuring that countries have better growth rates in terms of building efficient institutions that support markets, it also promotes the rule of law, enhances participation, responsibility and accountability.

⁹⁰Nabudere, D.W. Fast tracking of federation and constitutionalism in East Africa, 2009, P5

A political union will enable the East African region to uphold territorial integrity and protecting its borders as well as speaking in one voice in the international arena and putting in place governance structures that would support and withstand complete integration.

The driving force to establish a political union in the region is evident in this quote made by the late presidents Mzee Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere and Milton Obote in Nairobi in June 1963 as they advocated for the federation by the governments of East Africa.

'We the pioneers of the general population and legislatures of East Africa gathered in Nairobi on fifth June 1963, promise ourselves to the political organization of East Africa. Our meeting today is spurred by the soul of Pan-Africanism and not by unimportant local interests. We are patriots and reject tribalism, bigotry or internal looking arrangements. We trust that the day of choice has come and to every one of our kin we say there is no more space for mottos and words. This is our day of activity in the reason for the thoughts that we trust in and the solidarity and flexibility for which we have endured and yielded to such an extent.'

The wish to fast-track the EAC political federation was born after the partner states realized⁹¹ the futility of pursuing economic integration without political authority. Heads of state of the member countries agreed at a summit on 27th-29th August 2004 to find ways to fast-track the political integration process. One of the ways they agreed on carrying out this expediting was the establishment of the Wako committee chaired by Amos Wako who was then Kenya's Attorney General and this committee carried out a consultative exercise and tabled a report to the summit in November 2004 which was found to be insufficient to make concrete decisions towards political federation and so as a result, the summit directed the council to initiate the process of sensitizing and consulting East Africans on their views of the political federation. National Committees were appointed to carryout assessments in all partner states between

⁹¹ New Times. 2015. Delayed Review of EAC Undermines Integration Process. Available at: <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2015-02-01/185519/>

2006 and 2008. The NCCs identified certain fears, concerns and challenges as discussed in chapter three of this paper.⁹²

4.2 Findings on the role of the East Africa Political Federation in establishing a regional federal government

Laying a firm foundation for the establishment of the EAPF began with the creation of institutions such as EALA and East African Court of Justice which are linked to the respective national frameworks. The structures of these two institutions i.e. EALA and EACJ included the establishment of organs such as the summit of Heads of states, the council of ministers, the coordination committee and the secretariat. The mandate of the aforementioned organs is to monitor activities of the EAC Treaty as well as to safeguard it. The creation of these institutions is seen as the earliest achievement of the community towards political federation, providing fully functioning executive, legislative and judicial organs. Other institutions that have been created to promote achievement of a political union include the Defence liaison office, coordination of foreign policy and coordination of monetary and fiscal policies is indicative of the higher stage of integration pursued by the EAC.

In 2006, the Heads of state established the office of Deputy Secretary General responsible for political federation at the EAC secretariat in charge of coordinating and the fast-track of the process towards a political union.

As of now, the office of political federation comprises three departments, namely political affairs, peace and security and international Relations representing the three core pillars underpinning the political federation.

4.3 Challenges faced by the East African Political Federation

The federation is faced by various challenges ranging from funding of its activities which is dependent on the contribution from member states. These contributions are challenging

⁹² ibid

because members states sometimes fail to honour their contributions on time since the countries continue to face economic challenges that greatly affect their GDP and also bring about debts as the countries seek to fund their economic activities and meet the demands of their citizens and other national responsibilities.

Thirdly is the issue of inward policies as countries seek to protect their sovereignty economically and politically. Decision-making is a challenge as consultations have to be made among all member states and work towards arriving at a consensus.

Other challenges include failure to fully achieve the prior integration stages which is an impediment to achieving a political union.

Citizens of the EA region do not have sufficient knowledge of what to benefit from the federation and how their lives would change. They are concerned about the outcome and if it will have unfavourable effects on their lives.

Another challenge is absence of agreement on the structure and shape that expanded institutional limit should take. A survey requested in 2011 by the board of pastors to the secretariat to commission an institutional audit has not been completely finished to date because of changes in approach positions and absence of part states concurrence on the prescribed institutional courses of action, for example, supplanting of the secretariat with an all the more capable commission which would have energy to uphold choices over part states toppling the present interstate predominance in basic leadership.⁹³

It is vital that positions in the organs of the EAC are very lucrative with pay rates higher than those of comparable positions in national and local bodies. Staff individuals approach extensive extra supports through vast per diems, sitting recompenses and study visits. These positions will be positions are profoundly looked for after because of their lucrative nature and those with control over arrangements utilize them as a feature of political support to

⁹³Magu, S. 2014. Dilemmas of collective Action: Explaining East African Regional Integration and Cooperation. *International Journal of Political Science and Development*. 2(4): 58-67

remunerate their supporters and this prompts absence of abilities over the organs of the EAC and produce an authoritative culture that isn't driven by results.⁹⁴

4.4 Impact of actors in achieving political integration in East Africa

The key actors that play an important role in the integration process are the external donors and the elites of the member states in this case specifically in Kenya and Tanzania. The EAC relies on donor financing for its activities and this leads to development of policies which appeal to donors and their interests but are not favourable to the EAC so they end up not being given priority or not implemented at all. By far most of subsidizing to EAC is fixing to particular activities or targets set by givers with more open finished types of help, for example, the Partnership Fund, making up a little offer of the aggregate financing. This reliance on benefactors likewise implies that arrangements that interest to them are adapted at the universal gauges of the global group without respect for neighbourhood substances and sensible prospects of usage.

The interests of donors are based on international drivers hence making them insufficient in meeting the interests of the EAC and creating unfavourable policies. There is a clash between Kenyan elites and those from Tanzania as Kenya seeks to accelerate the integration process so as to reach a wider regional market for its massive private sector. Tanzania on the other hand sees this as a threat to its economy because it has does not have a large private sector like Kenya and so Tanzania is not willing to expose its market for stiff competition from Kenya.

This tension between Kenya and Tanzania continues to manifest itself for instance in a summit in the late 2013, mid 2014 when the casual gathering of Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda was being utilized as an option approach discussion to bar Tanzania. Thus this activity, the legislature of Tanzania declined to sign an EAC Council of Ministers provide details

⁹⁴ Ciera, X. 2013. Regional Integration in EAC Countries: Lessons and the way forward. Trademark East Africa.

regarding political joining until the point that the issue of land proprietorship was expelled and conditions on military participation amended. This activity demonstrated that Tanzania is restricting the vision of the EAC and it has a contrasting position in the locale. The privilege to claim arrive over the district and the resistance settlement are essential to the proposed political organization however Tanzania from numerous points of view favors a shallow type of coordination ready to oblige its other local responsibilities. Since Tanzania is a signatory to the SADC guard settlement, joining to one in the EAC may have gambled a circumstance where Tanzania was under clashing commitments.

These pressures are additionally because of long standing rivalry over control of the provincial travel advertise which is developing with the expansion in movement at Dar port which has been developing at 12.9% contrasted with 11% in Mombasa as indicated by a report by Shippers Council of Eastern Africa in 2013 and furthermore reason for the 10 billion US Dollars that the administration of Tanzania secured for the advancement of the port of Bagamoyo.

Another cause of tension between the two countries is the discovery of gas reserves worth 2.1 trillion US Dollars in Tanzania that could see it threaten Kenya's economic dominance in the region. These developments currently do not pose a challenge to Kenya's position in the region but there is a risk that they could in the near future.

4.5 The Role of nationalism in political integration

Nationalism as discussed in the previous chapters of this paper refers to the identity of a nation through its unique features including institutions, its citizens, resources, its history and the leadership of the nation. This phenomenon can either strengthen or derail the process of integration.⁹⁵

⁹⁵Muluvi A. And P. Odhiambo, 2013. East African Partner States Pulling in Different Directions: What Are the Implications for the East African Community? Africa in Focus.

Regional identity is achieved when nations in a particular region have similarities for example a similar history, resources, culture, economic activities, institutions and interests. African countries for instance have a similar history of colonization by the western nations, economic activities, shared language, political institutions, similar terrain and infrastructure and shared development goals as they seek to fight poverty. These similarities therefore promote integration among African nations as they seek to pursue their goals collectively. In the East African region, integration among EAC members is largely enhanced by their shared features and interests although the integration process is not without challenges as earlier discussed.

Instances where nationalism has derailed or slowed down the political integration process is well manifested in the differences experienced between Kenya and Tanzania as Kenya pursues goals to hasten the integration process while Tanzania fails to cooperate as it disagrees with some proposed policies as discussed earlier in this chapter with examples. I can therefore say that nationalism promotes political integration only when there is a unifying notion based on similar goals and a regional identity.⁹⁶

Concluding remarks

The respondent stated that for political integration to succeed, the EAC must do more in terms sensitizing the general population on the integration process and the benefits that come with integration such as employment as citizens get to work in neighbouring countries as per the RAs, producers will reach a wider market for their products and services, the region will be able to negotiate on the international arena as a block and with a more powerful position collectively, the region will also have a hegemony status with other regions looking to do business with EAC and also attracting investors and tourists.⁹⁷

⁹⁶Masinde, E. (2005) Transformational Leadership in East Africa: Politics, Ideology and Community. Fountain Publishers. Kampala.

⁹⁷Mangachi M W (2011). Regional Integration in Africa: East Africa Experience. Safari Books Ltd. Ibadan

Another key remark is the fact the EAC needs to find ways to generate income and fund its activities and avoid being dependent on donor funding which compromises their interests as they seek to please the donors whose interests do not necessarily match with those of the local needs and realities.⁹⁸

⁹⁸Kagwanja, P. (2007, P334) Calming the Waters: the East African Community and Conflict over the Nile Resources. *Journal of East African Studies*, 1:3, 321-327

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations to promote political integration in East Africa.

5.2 Summary of the findings

The study established that although the member states of the EAC agreed and committed to include the formation of a regional federal government as part of their integration pillars as provided for in the EAC treaty, the process has not been without challenges emanating from the member states. It also emerged from the findings that some of the operations of the EAC as agreed upon are a liability to the financial well-being of the body. An example is the labour cost as earlier discussed where personnel working for the EAC are entitled to extravagant allowances and per diems which see most of the EAC budget going to fund these labour costs instead of other important activities of the organ such as hiring a sufficient number of personnel to undertake its activities and also finance other assignments that promote integration.⁹⁹

The findings also revealed that there have been efforts to fast-track the process of political integration in ways such as formation of National Consultative Committees in each member state to identify the fears and concerns of member states so that they are put into consideration when establishing policies to implement the process of political integration.

The findings also noted that the different interests of member states have an impact in the integration process and an example discussed is the clash between the interests of Kenya and those of Tanzania.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Bach D. C. (1999) *Regionalization in Africa: Integration and Disintegration*. Indiana University Press. Indianapolis

¹⁰⁰ Nyaoga, G. (2011) *Enhancing Equity in East African Regional Integration Process: Role of the media*. Society for International Development. Nairobi.

5.3 Prospects and Challenges of the East African Political Federation

According to the findings, the absence of predictable and sustainable funding has led to stalling of the process of political integration as the EAC is unable to implement all the integration pillars before the political union which is the last pillar. This inability to successfully implement and achieve the prior pillars has hindered the progress in establishing a political union.

The body needs to find ways of generating sustainable income and have a well-structured framework for the management of funds in a transparent and accountable manner. Member states should also be encouraged to honour their contributions and these contributions should be determined by the economic size of the country and avoid putting a blanket figure for all members because of the reality of inequality based on the individual GDP.

The study further found out that there is need for member states to agree on the goals of the EAC and also agree on the ways to achieve those goals so as to avoid conflict among member states.¹⁰¹

5.4 Conclusion

The study examined several challenges and prospects that if addressed would enable the EAC to achieve its goal of establishing a political union. Such include: sensitization of citizens of all member states on the benefits and importance of integration, also finding sustainable ways to raise funds for the EAC, promoting good governance in order have effective leadership, establishing policies that put into consideration the interests of all member states and encouraging participation by all member states.

The integration process generally will be successful when more effort is put by all member states and realizing that their commitment is the driving factor for successful integration.

¹⁰¹ Olu-Adeyemi, L., & Ayodele, B. (2007) the Challenges of Regional Integration for Development in Africa: Problems and Prospects. *J.Soc.*, 15(3): 213-218 (2007)

5.5 Recommendations

From the conclusion above, the study gives the following recommendations:-¹⁰²

First, the African media needs to promote regional integration by creating forums where experts give their professional opinion and educate the general population on integration.

Secondly, African nations need to live within their means and avoid too much dependency on foreign aid which in most cases comes with pre-conditions and also influence the policies of African countries as they seek to comply with the expectations of the donors.

Thirdly, economic integration needs to be managed by a regional body specifically tasked to only carryout policies and implement them to achieve political integration just like the EAPF tasked specifically to oversee and carryout the political integration process.

Fourthly, African countries need to be keen on promoting good governance in member states so as to have leaders who are competent and responsible in ensuring mature cooperation among member states and positive living for the citizens.

Another recommendation is that nations should build mutual trust among themselves to avoid conflicts which derail cooperation in integration activities.

It is noteworthy that to achieve integration effectively it is paramount that the competence of the EAC Secretariat is strengthened.

Lastly, the EAC needs to negotiate more effectively for international market access in order to promote multilateralism and boost the strength of its low income economic states.¹⁰³

¹⁰²Makame, A. (2012) the East African Integration: Achievements and Challenges. Great Insights Vol. 1, Issues6 August 2012, Maastricht: ECDPM

¹⁰³Magu S. M. (April, 2014) Dilemmas of collective action: Explaining East African Regional Integration and Cooperation. *Academic Research Journal*. Vol. 2(4), pp. 58-67

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¹⁰² Makame, A. (2012) the East African Integration: Achievements and Challenges. Great Insights Vol. 1, Issues6 August 2012, Maastricht: ECDPM

¹⁰³ Magu S. M. (April, 2014) Dilemmas of collective action: Explaining East African Regional Integration and Cooperation. *Academic Research Journal*. Vol. 2(4), pp. 58-67

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

- 1. What were the driving factors for the establishment of the EAPF?**
- 2. In your own opinion what is the role and purpose of EAPF?**
- 3. Do you think nationalism works for or against the process of establishing a political union?**
- 4. What are benefits of EAC to the member states?**
- 5. What is the role of external actors in the process of establishing a political union?**
- 6. What are the challenges facing the EAPF?**
- 7. What are your final remarks on the progress made by the EAPF?**

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
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Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
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Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000**

**on the topic: NATIONALISM AND
POLITICAL INTEGRATION EAST AFRICA, A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KENYA AND
TANZANIA**

**for the period ending:
29th August, 2018**



J. Retoe
.....
**Applicant's
Signature**

[Signature]
.....
**Director General
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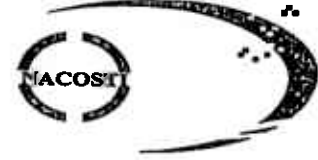
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