



# East African Community

One People, One Destiny

*Kenia und die regionale Integration:*

*Die Ostafrikanische Gemeinschaft und die Frage nach unterschiedlichen nationalen Identitäten und Mentalitäten (Kenya and Regional Integration: The East African Community and the question of different national identities and mentalities)*

Kenia-Seminar, November 24-26, 2017, Weingarten

# The Construction of East-African Identity: “East Africannesses”

- Multiple and overlapping regional identities
- East African identity has several, overlapping configurations:
  - Eastern Africa: Combination of East African Community (Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and S. Sudan) and Horn of Africa (Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia)
  - Great Lakes Region: Burundi, DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda (Countries around Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika)

# The Construction of East-African Identity: “East Africannesses”

- IGAD: An REC -  
Djibouti, Eritrea,  
Ethiopia, Kenya,  
Somalia, South Sudan,  
Sudan and Uganda



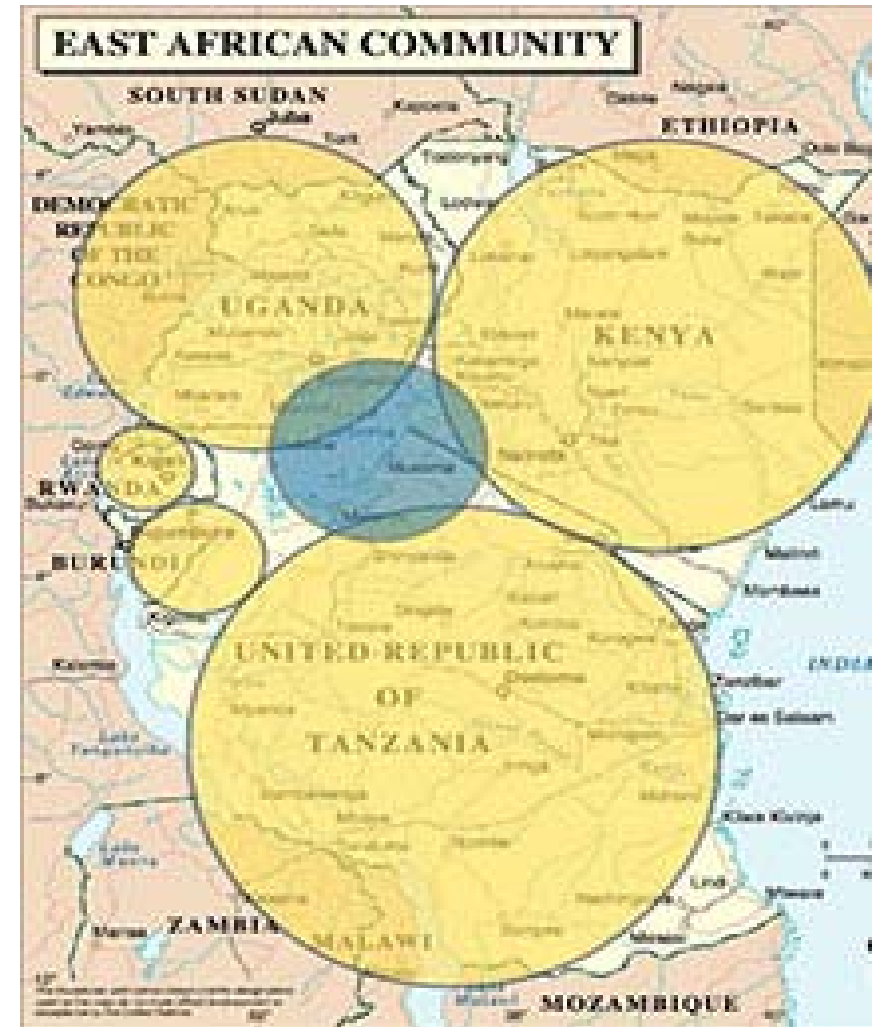


# The Construction of East-African Identity: “East Africannesses”

**East Africa: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania**

# The Construction of East-African Identity: “East Africannesses”

- East African Community (EAC), an REC – Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, S. Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda



- “We the leaders of the people and governments of East Africa assembled in Nairobi on 5th June 1963, pledge ourselves to the political Federation of East Africa. Our meeting today is motivated by the spirit of Pan-Africanism and not by mere regional interests. We are nationalists and reject tribalism, racialism, or inward looking policies. .... We share a common past and are convinced of our common destiny. We have a common history, culture and customs which make our unity both logical and natural.” (as quoted in Hughes 1963:265)

---

## East African Community: A Historical Perspective

# EAC: A Historical Perspective



- an intergovernmental organisation
- six countries in the Great Lakes region in eastern Africa:
  - Burundi
  - Kenya
  - Rwanda
  - South Sudan
  - Tanzania
  - Uganda

# EAC: A Historical Perspective

- was founded in 1967
- collapsed in 1977
- Revived on 7 July 2000





# EAC: The first Bloc (1967-1977)



- Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania
- more integrated than the European Community
- joint parliament, joint judiciary, courts, a joint secretariat,
- a ministerial council for Community affairs,
- ministerial councils for national affairs.,

# EAC: The first Bloc (1967-1977)



- joint corporations:
- East African Railways Corporation
- East African Airways,
- East African Harbors,
- East African Post and Telecommunication Corporation,
- East African currency,
- East African universities,
- East African research institutions,
- East African taxes, customs etc

# EAC: The first Bloc (1967-1977): The Collapse

- Member states not mature for such an integrated system
- Divergent political economies:
  - Kenya: Market oriented
  - Tanzania: centralized, socialist
  - Uganda: no discernible policy
- Personality difficulties (Iddi Amin, Kenyatta, Nyerere)



# The New Community: 2000

1

1993: Moi, Mwinyi and Museveni sign Treaty for East African Co-operation in Kampala establishing Tri-partite Commission for Co-operation

2

process of re-integration initiated involving tripartite programmes of co-operation in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security, and legal and judicial affairs

3

1999: Treaty for Re-establishment of EAC signed; EAC revived

# The New Community: Milestones



- Protocol for the establishment of the **EAC Customs Union** was signed on 1st July, 2005
- Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of Burundi were admitted and became full members of EAC on 1st July, 2007

# The New Community: Milestones

The **EAC Common Market** Protocol entered into force on 1st July, 2010, an expansion of the bloc's existing Customs Union

The **East African Monetary Union** (EAMU) on 30th November, 2013 and set the groundwork for a monetary union within 10 years while allowing the EAC Partner States to progressively converge their currencies into a **single currency** in the Community

The Republic of South Sudan was admitted and became a full member of EAC on 5th September, 2016.

On 20th May, 2017, the EAC Heads of State adopted the **Political Confederation** as a transitional model of the East African Political Federation.

# EAC Milestones



# Features of EAC Integration

Functional, Formal Institutional Structure

Functional Logic: Customs Union – Common Market-  
Monetary Union-Political Federation/Confederation

Formal Institutions: Secretariat; EALA; EACJ

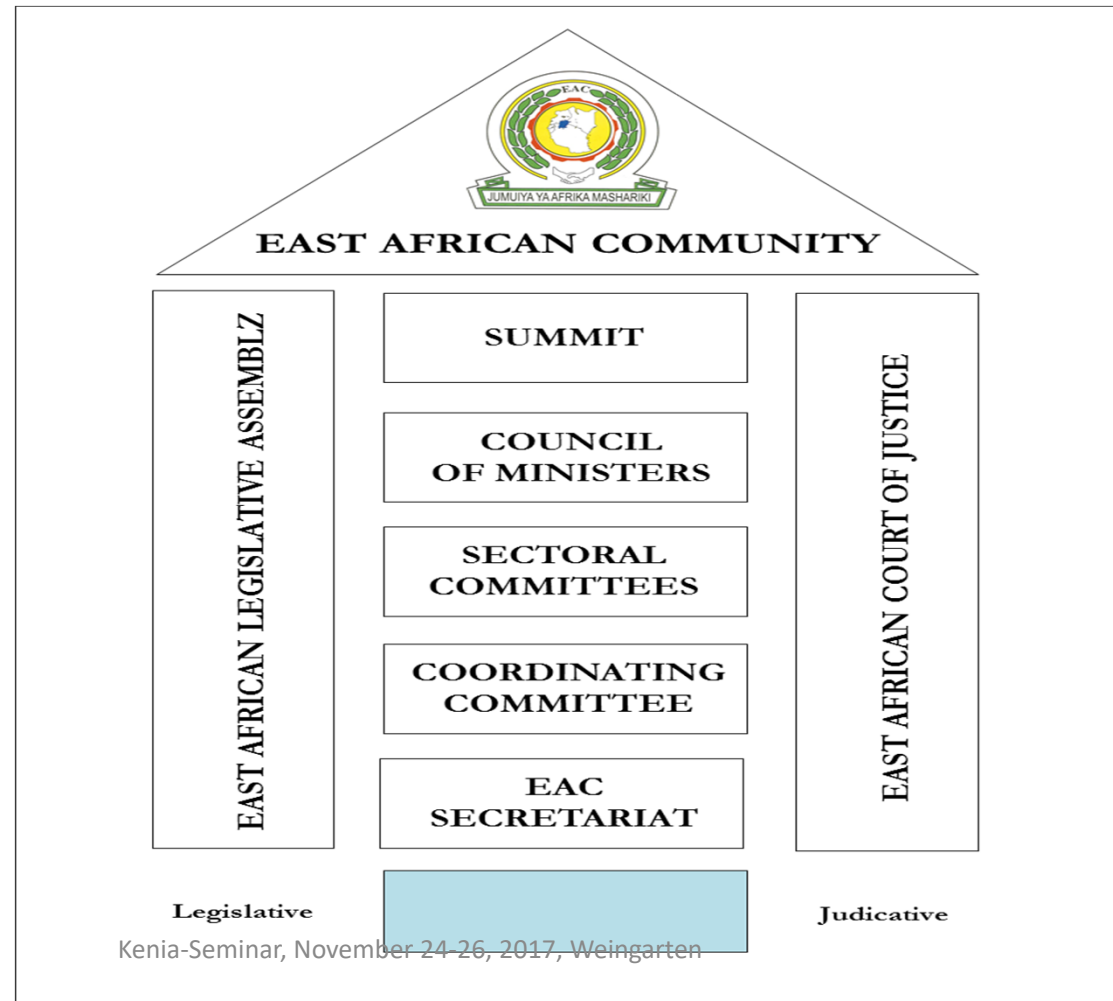
Intergovernmental: Summit, Council of Ministers,  
Appointed state bureaucrats.

Episodic; Big-personality centered

People-driven: EACSO; EALS; EABC (CDF)



# EAC: Institutional Structure





## **East African Community**

One People, One Destiny

- EAC slogan: "One People, One Destiny"
- EAC is a "Community" a "Jumuiya" – a Family

## EAC AND PURSUIT OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Kenia-Seminar, November 24-26, 2017, Weingarten

# EAC AND PURSUIT OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY



Kenia Seminar, November 24-26, 2017, Weingarten

- Integration project initially founded on a pre-existing sense of a borderless East African Region under British rule
- EAC core countries (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda) share many features:
  - British colonial experience

# EAC AND PURSUIT OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

- Overlapping border communities: Maasai, Kuria, Luo etc
- Common cultures; historical ties through marriages etc
- Common Language (s): Swahili, English,
- Common Resources: Lake Victoria (thus Lake Victoria Basin Commission)



# EAC AND PURSUIT OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

EAC integration logic: Formal integration in the economic areas would lead to consolidation of a collective identity.

As a Common Market, the EAC provides for free movement of people, hence increased interaction between peoples.

As people interact, they share, and come to embrace common values (EAC values and principles – Articles II and VI of EAC Treaty)

Economic integration eventually leads to social and political integration

Political Federation/Confederation as a sign of mature collective identity

# EFFECTS OF EAC Integration on EAC Collective Identity

---

Consolidation/strengthening of existing EAC identity (between core countries – Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda), before 2007

---

Deconstruction of original EAC identity as only constituted by Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (One explanation for the weakening of bilateral relations between the three countries. The core countries no longer take each other seriously, as they can always turn to the other three new members in case of impasse)

---

Transformation of the EAC identity to include Rwanda, Burundi and S. Sudan. (New countries transformed significantly: Swahili becomes their lingua franca.. They become subject to EAC Law)

The Feeling of East-Africanness, expanded. However It is no longer as strong, (the smaller, the stronger the ties)

---

EAC region borderless (hypothetically): A strong sense of “we-feeling” develops as East Africans interact and work together in Common integration projects, eg. At EAC organs

# EFFECTS OF EAC Integration on National Identities

---

Regional Integration provides a framework for renegotiation of national identities. (A new South Sudanese identity will be created within the discursive framework provided by EAC).

---

---

Regional Integration dissipates/reduces ethnic tensions, as ethnic communities learn to look up to an actor above the state. EAC provides a discursive framework within which conflict parties redefine their identities in respect of each other (The reason why Paul Kagame is the biggest supporter of EAC integration. Rwanda takes EAC more seriously than other states)

---

---

Membership in EAC protects states from self-destruction (Argument advanced in support of S. Sudan's accession, and decision against the suspension of Burundi from the Community)

---

# Threats to EAC Collective Identity

Subjecting EAC identity to formal integration means that if the project fails, the EAC collective identity crumbles too. (Happened after 1977)

EAC Integration looks irreversible, but threats linger



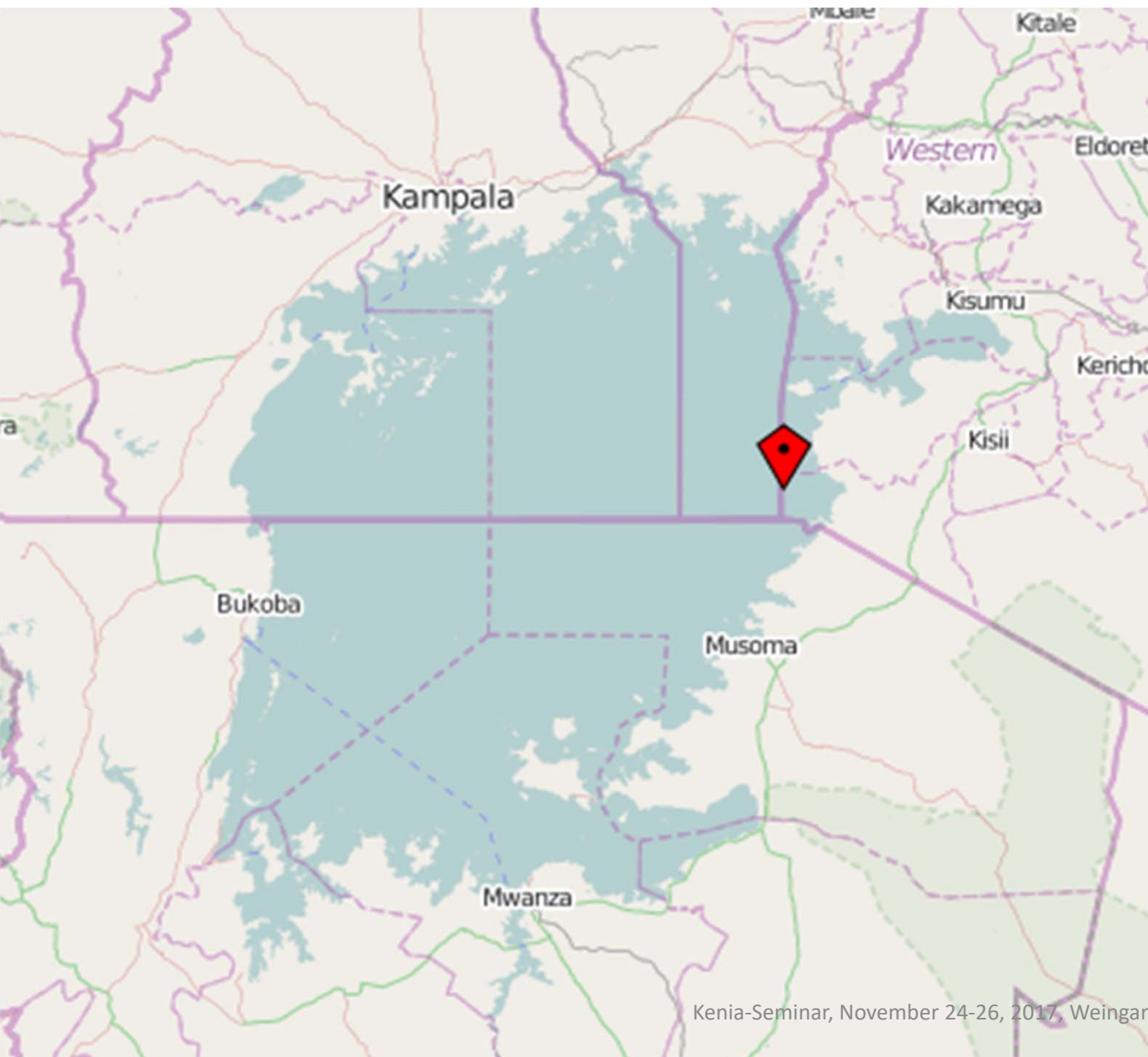
# Challenges of EAC Integration

Systemic factor: the International Community now favors strong, stable states -- because of terrorism. (EAC external partners provide funding to EAC on the one hand, but undermine the project by supporting the strengthening of sovereign states)

Toxic political climate in the EAC: Each partner state currently too self—absorbed in internal politics. Summits not held on schedule; EALA not constituted, etc

Turf wars and politics of suspicion between partner states

Lack of sufficient funding (assessed funds)..



## Challenges of EAC Integration: Tensions between Member states

Kenya and Uganda over  
Migingo Island (the Stone!)  
Since 2004

# Challenges of EAC Integration: Tensions between Member states

---

Kenya and partners

---

In 2004, Tanzania accuses Kenya of hoodwinking tourists that Mt. Kilimanjaro is in Kenya

---

In 2015, Kenya bans Tanzanian tourists from picking tourists from JKIA. Tanzania retaliates by reducing KQ flights to Tanzania by 60 %.. Resolved (tourists to be swapped at borders)

---

March 2016, Uganda pulls plug on a tentative agreement with Kenya for an oil pipeline deal

---

March 2016, Rwanda opts out of Standard Gauge Deal, effectively killing the Coalition of the Willing..

---

March 25, 2016, Kenyan CS arrested at Lamu Port..

# Challenges of EAC Integration: Tensions between Member states

---

## Kenya and partners

---

Tanzania declines to sign EPA (October 1, 2016) (cites Brexit, threat to its industrialization plans, etc.) Kenya considered lower middle-income country; the other partners are LDCs.. Hence can trade with EU under the EBA clause of WTO/GATT (partner states expected to rise to middle income status in 2025..

---

Without EPA Kenya subject to EU taxation regime (at least 25% for exports)

---

EAC partner states decline to vote for Kenya's Amina Mohammed for AUC Chair. (January 2017)

# Challenges of EAC Integration: Tensions between Member states

## Kenya and Partners:

- March 2017, Kenyans clash with Tanzanians at the Namanga border
- October 30, 2017: Tanzania auctions 1,300 cows belonging to Kenyans.
- Nov. 2, 2011: Tanzania burns 6,400 chicks from Kenya on suspicion of bird flu

# Conclusion

---

Tanzania highly suspicious of Kenya. Suspicion based on experience in the defunct EAC (1977)

---

Kenyan media fueling the tension by framing President Magufuli and Tanzania as enemies of Jubilee government and Kenya respectively.

---

Kenya must reach out to Tanzania. In multilateralism, when you are the strongest, then you have the most to lose. (France at the negotiation of CAP in the 70s).

---

The EAC project too important to fail. It **MUST** succeed.