



**EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY 2000-2011: A STUDY  
OF ITS ROLE WITH REFERENCE TO HUTU-TUTSI  
CONFLICT**

**BY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the role of EAC in the Hutu-Tutsi conflict. East African region experienced unprecedented conflict in the region in 1994 fuelled by the ethnic politics between Hutu and Tutsi. The scale of the conflict thus necessitated the intervention of the regional organization and other international bodies. This thesis thus studied the role of EAC regional organization and mechanisms put in place in settling the conflict. The study uses qualitative method of data analysis and uses theory of functionalism as framework for analysis. The study used official documents, group discussion, interview, journal article, memoirs, correspondence and conference papers in collecting the data. The findings of the research reveal that EAC has made a number of achievements which have directly or indirectly contributed to reducing of Hutu-Tutsi conflict in East Africa. The study also found that political federation cannot be achieved in haste and could be a gradual process. The study thus suggests that EAC needs to take its time and put its house in order before projecting the lofty idea of political federation as it is faced with challenges in implementing its policies on trade and commerce as well as socio-political fields. Challenges among others include establishment of common identity to reduce tension among the citizens of EAC in the region and establishment of custom union which could provide detailed policies to harmonize economic policies among EAC member states. The study concludes with making some valuable recommendations. The study recommends that EAC member states must seriously focus on implementing the policies and programmes it has initiated since its establishment.

## خلاصة البحث

يتناول هذا البحث دور EAC في الصراع بين الهوتو و التوتسي. في عام 1994 شهدت منطقة شرق افريقيا صراع لم يسبق له مثيل في المنطقة تغذيها السياسة العرقية بين الهوتو والتوتسي. حجم الصراع استلزم تدخل المنظمة الإقليمية والهيئات الدولية الأخرى. وبالتالي درست هذه الأطروحة دور منظمة EAC وآليات تنفيذها في تسوية النزاع. تستخدم الدراسة أسلوب نوعي لتحليل البيانات ويستخدم النظرية الوظيفية كإطار للتحليل. استخدمت الدراسة الوثائق الرسمية، مناقشة جماعية، مقابلة، مقالة في مجلة، مذكرات والمراسلات و أوراق المؤتمرات في جمع البيانات. تكشف نتائج البحوث أن EAC حققت عددا من الإنجازات التي ساهمت بشكل مباشر أو غير مباشر في الحد من الصراع بين الهوتو و التوتسي في شرق أفريقيا. وجدت الدراسة أيضا أن الاتحاد السياسي لا يمكن أن يتحقق على عجل و يمكن أن يكون عملية تدريجية . وبالتالي ترى الدراسة أن EAC يجب أن يأخذ وقته ووضع مترل في النظام قبل إسقاط فكرة السامية للاتحاد السياسية كما لأنه يواجه تحديات في تنفيذ سياساتها بشأن التجارة والتبادل التجاري، فضلا عن المجالات الاجتماعية والسياسية . وتشمل التحديات من بين أمور أخرى إنشاء هوية مشتركة لتخفيف حدة التوتر بين مواطني EAC في المنطقة و إنشاء الاتحاد الجمركي التي يمكن أن توفر سياسات تفصيلية لتنسيق السياسات الاقتصادية بين الدول الأعضاء ل EAC. وتخلص الدراسة مع جعل بعض التوصيات القيمة. توصي الدراسة بأن الدول الأعضاء في مجموعة شرق افريقيا يجب أن تركز على حمل الجد على تنفيذ السياسات والبرامج التي بدأتها منذ إنشائها.

## **APPROVAL PAGE**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is a result of my personal investigation, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degree at IIUM or other institutions.

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**EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY: A STUDY OF ITS ROLE WITH  
REFERENCE TO HUTU-TUTSI CONFLICT, 2000-2011**

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*This work is dedicated to my all family members especially, my father, el Haj Mze Saidi Ndayavugwa. My mother, Hajat Sinzobakwira Asha, my lovely sons Mugisha Saidi Abdallah 11, and Nahimana Shabani Abdallah 10, my special and hardworking sister Noorjehen Ibrahim Kivumbiko,*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ADF	Allied Democratic Force
AMIB	African Mission in Burundi
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CEAO	Central African Organization
CNP	National Council of Patriots
COMESA	Common Market of East and South Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EAPCCO	East African Police Chiefs Cooperation
EASFCOM	East African Standby Force
EAEC	East African Economic Cooperation
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FAB	Burundian Armed Forces
FDD	Force for the Defence of Democracy
FRODEBU	Front for Democracy in Burundi
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
ICC	International Criminal Court
IUCEA	Inter-University Council for East Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRM	National Resistance Army
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PSC	Peace and Security Council
RIEPA	Rwanda Investment and Export Promotion Council
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TIC	Tanzania Investment Centre
UIA	Ugandan Investment Authority
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNAMIR	United Nations Mission in Rwanda
USAID	United States International Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific Cooperation
UPRONA	Unity for National Progress
WHO	World Health Organization

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The East African Community (EAC) is one of the sub-regional organisations on the African continent. It was first established by three countries: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in 1967. It was then known as the East African Economic Cooperation (EAEC). This however collapsed in 1977 due to political differences between the heads of state of Uganda and Tanzania. In 1999, the three heads of state (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) signed a treaty to re-establish the organisation.

The treaty came into force in 2000 by Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania who were the three original members. Burundi and Rwanda joined as full members in 2007 ([www.easc.int/about.html](http://www.easc.int/about.html)). Thus, EAC now consists of five states: Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. Interestingly, the original EAC member states, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania were colonised by the British while Rwanda and Burundi were former French and German and later Belgian colonies (Baruti, 2008).

The main objective of EAC's revival is to promote and deepen "a people-centred economic, political, social and cultural development on the basis of balanced, equitable and mutual benefit of the partner states of EAC" (Kituo, 2005: 8). This is because the countries share similar problems such as economic dependence and political instability, which serve as hindrance to the realisation of socio-economic and political developments. It has been argued that transnational organisations are not only good and efficient provider of citizens' welfare, they also "help to reduce the chances of international conflicts" (Rosamond, 2000: 33). In this context, Article 5 of the East

African Community Treaty states that “the objective of the community shall be to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the partner states in political, economic, social and cultural fields” (EAC Treaty, 2002).

This has given the EAC the task of formulating policies and designing programmes to create a common socio-economic, cultural and political union. Thus, the EAC was established to enhance cooperation and development among the states in the East African region. In the light of the above, the organisation “envisages a political federation by 2013” to create a bigger geographical political entity known as East African Federal State (Musonda, 2006: 10).

The East African Community covers a total of 1.8 million square kilometres, which is potentially a larger economic and political entity than each country acting independently. It would give the East African partner states a strong bargaining power in the international markets. It is within this context that the Treaty spells out theoretical regional initiatives to serve as a roadmap to establish the sub-regional cooperation so that political federation is attained by 2013 rather than creating a common regional market only. The creation of a common market only would promote injustice and unbalanced development because it would assist the developed countries to dominate less developed ones. As a result, Article 5(1) states that:

the objective of the community shall be to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the partner states in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security and legal-judicial affairs, for their mutual benefits of all concerned parties.

Also, article 123(5) provides for peace and security as a major pre-occupation of the partner states of East African states (Treaty Establishing EAC, Article 5, Chapter 23). Similarly, Chapter 23 emphasises collective efforts in defence and inter-



state security matters to create a favourable environment for the region's development. Additionally, Articles 5(2) and 76(1) of the East African Community Treaty empower the partner states of the EAC to establish a customs union and a common market and subsequently a political federation.

This thesis examines factors such as socio-economic, political and ethnic conflicts, especially the Hutu-Tutsi conflict, which affected the entire East African region. It is worth mentioning that the Hutu-Tutsi conflict which has its roots in Rwanda and Burundi was unique because of its intensity and the number of casualties recorded. It is suggested here that increasing greater linkages through socio-economic and political cooperation among the EAC member-states would have spill-over effects which would help bring peace to the region (Mpangala, 2004). The Hutu-Tutsi conflict began in Rwanda and Burundi and it became widely known to most other parts of the world after the bloody 1994 Rwanda genocide. Interestingly, the conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups can be traced earlier than 1994. Generally speaking, in Burundi, the Hutu-Tutsi conflict developed from class superiority warfare, with the Tutsis perceived to have more wealth and social status, a disparity created by the former colonialists (Robbins, 2010).

Thus, the seeds of hatred for the minority Tutsi in Burundi were sown when the Hutus won elections after independence in 1965 but a Tutsi was appointed the prime minister. This sparked off anger among the Hutus who were not in favour of independence and therefore staged a failed coup attempt. In addition, the Tutsis, who were minority with only about 15 per cent compared to the Hutus, nearly 80 per cent of the population, occupied many other key government and military positions which was perceived by the Hutu as marginalisation of the majority population. In a rebellion organized by some Hutu policemen, an estimated 800 and 1200 Tutsi and

Hutu, respectively were killed (Lemarchand, 2008). Most of them were killed when they refused to join the Hutu policemen's rebellion.

In 1994 Burundian president Cyprien Ntaryamira and Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana both Hutus were killed in their plane. The plane is believed to have been shot down by both Tutsi and Hutu extremists. This resulted in the July 1994 massacre of nearly 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus. The massacre was led by a militia group known as the Interahamwe (Leitenberg, 2006). The Hutus were forced to kill their Tutsi neighbours. But before then, Tutsis in Rwanda were the dominant ethnic group during the colonial era of Germany and Belgium.

Compared to the Hutu, the Tutsi enjoyed superior positions bequeathed to them by their colonial masters. The conflict that was created affected all member states in the East African region in many ways. The effects of the conflict in the East African region remain a security threat which requires collective efforts to deal with through the EAC. Therefore, this study investigates the achievements and the challenges faced by the EAC in the realisation of the objectives it sets out for itself. Such objectives range from political federation to customs union. In this regard, the study analyses the policy initiatives undertaken by the EAC to reduce the Hutu-Tutsi conflict.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

For many years, East African countries experienced a series of conflicts ranging from border disputes to civil conflicts. This has contributed to under-development and economic suffering of the citizens in the sub-region. As would be expected, the EAC was re-established to promote economic, political, social and cultural cooperation among its member states. One of the objectives of the EAC is to address the intensity

and nature of conflicts that have claimed many lives in the sub-region. For many years, conflicts have occurred in all the EAC countries except Tanzania, which has enjoyed relative peace. In Rwanda and Burundi, the Hutu-Tutsi conflict claimed nearly a million lives and climaxed in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

In Uganda, the decades' long Lord Resistance Army (LRA) war has recorded several brutal killings. Also Kenyan post-election violence in 2008 as well as constant border disputes with Uganda left many people dead. These conflicts also rendered many people into refugees, while others were internally displaced. In order to reduce these conflicts, the EAC since its re-establishment, has been pre-occupied with efforts to create greater links among the East African states. This is envisaged to build cooperation and subsequently a political federation as well as reduce intra- and inter-state conflicts and hostilities.

Moreover, the perception is that many conflicts that have occurred in the sub-region, Hutu-Tutsi conflict in particular, affected the EAC member states differently. Therefore, it is imperative to study and establish what the EAC has achieved in reducing the Hutu-Tutsi conflict. Hence, this study examines the role of the EAC in assisting its member states to achieve socio-economic and political development, which has reduced the Hutu-Tutsi conflict.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The study answers the following questions:

1. What are the policies and practices adopted by the EAC to reduce the Hutu-Tutsi conflict in the East African sub-region?
2. How has the EAC achieved its aims and objectives between 2000 and 2011, with respect to the Hutu-Tutsi conflict?

3. What were the challenges faced by the EAC in reducing the Hutu-Tutsi conflict?

#### **1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The main objectives of this study are to:

1. examine the policies and practices adopted by the EAC to reduce the Hutu-Tutsi conflicts in East Africa.
2. examine the achievements of the EAC in dealing with the Hutu-Tutsi conflict in relation to its set objectives.
3. analyse the challenges faced by the EAC in reducing the Hutu-Tutsi conflict.

#### **1.5 JUSTIFICATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The East African sub-region is home to five member states. They are Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. There are lots of problems that serve as obstacles to all-round development and many of these problems are basically ethnic conflicts which have negative impact on the entire sub-region. The EAC has made efforts to create a conducive environment for durable peace among warring Hutu-Tutsi ethnic groups. A number of studies have been conducted on the EAC but very few of them deal with the role of the EAC in handling the Hutu-Tutsi conflict during 2000-2011.

Therefore, this study fills the literature gap on the subject. The study generates findings which contributes to and widens the existing knowledge related to the topic. The EAC is understood by the citizens of members states as a movement towards providing opportunity for people to move freely in the sub-region without strict

identity documents as well as creating opportunities to work anywhere within the sub-region (Karega, 2009).

There are other reasons justifying this work. One, the results of the study may provide EAC officials with a list of achievements they have made, and identify the challenges which the organisation faces. Two, it would also assist the EAC officials to revisit their policies and practices to make further progress. And thirdly, the findings of this study are envisaged to provide ideas on how the EAC could deal with ethnic conflict and all forms of threats that may emanate therein without resorting to violence. Hence, the outcome of this research might also be a useful reference to other researchers on the subject matter as a source of information on Hutu-Tutsi conflicts.

## **1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW**

Modern economic integration and cooperation among regional countries have been highlighted as a crucial way of promoting development. This belief has made many countries accept the concept. This literature review examines some of the previous studies on regional integration and cooperation in general and in particular the African regional organisations such as the EAC. It also evaluates the role which integration and cooperation might play in mitigating conflicts within the regions.

### **1.6.1 Studies on Regional Cooperation**

Longhi and Nijkamp (2009) examine the impact of economic cooperation and integration on changes leading to location of production facilities within a particular region. They argue that the labour demand and supply were likely to have markedly local effects and relevant impact on regional economic disparities. They assert that when trade barriers fall, activities with increasing returns tend to locate in areas where

there is good market access. Moreover, when the trade barriers and transport cost are small, the geographical advantage of the region with good market access becomes less important. They argue that the shift in labour market demand and supply are likely to have a direct effect on the regional unemployment rate.

This assertion has led many observers to suggest that good employment and increased standard of living tend to make a region less violent (Korres et al., 2004). They further point out that regional community provides opportunity to seek common solutions to specific problems through intra-regional cooperation. They insist that by promoting regional social orientation and economic growth, it will help in building strong competitive regional policy networks and in creating socio-economic and political stability.

Furthermore, the World Bank pointed out that intra-regional integration leads to increased output in productivity. This motivates state partners to emulate each other and encourage more foreign direct investment. Hence, this can provide employment opportunities to idle youths who are easily lured into rebel activities. For example, they can easily import capital and technology, which stimulate innovations and new technology through which labour productivity can be increased (World Bank, 2004).

Vaitsos (1978) cited in Sidaway (2002) demonstrates in his survey on the crisis of regional economic cooperation (integration) among developing countries that the criteria used to qualify the degree of economic integration were to a large extent related to interactions which refer to exchanges of goods, services and their inputs. He further argues that such exchanges are usually evaluated with respect to the conditions which determine prices, quantities and the policy affecting them. In another study on the dynamic relationship between trade agreements and other forms international cooperation, Estevadeordal and Suominen (2008) found that countries which

cooperate most extensively with each other on trade are in most cases favoured partner for non-trade related cooperation such as security. This finding is supported by Slocum-Bradley and Felico (2006)'s study on peace, security and development. They found that these aspects are interlinked with regional integration. They argue that regional cooperation is an essential prerequisite to attain peace and security in a particular region. They specifically state that "regional integration organisations have proven their potential as foundations for durable peace, long-term stability, economic growth, sustainable development and democratic consolidation" (Ibid.)

Therefore, it is arguable that regional integration can act as a basis of peace and security among countries in a regional body like the EAC. James Madison cited by Brou and Ruta (2010) suggests that an advantage of political integration over political separation exists in the larger variety of special interests confronting each other. They point out that "[I]n the extended republic of the United States and among the great variety of interests, parties, and sects which it embraces, a coalition of a majority of the whole society could seldom take place on any other principles than those of justice and the general good" (Ibid.). Taken together, Hume and Madison suggest that the multiplicity of rent seeking groups under political integration makes each one of them less able to distort policy to their advantage (and to the disadvantage of the general interest).

Olson (1982) observes that jurisdictional integration, which involves "the shift to a new institution of the right to take at least some important decisions in economic policy," reduces the power of organised interest groups. Buchanan goes even further by analyzing the process of political integration in Europe. He states that,

the European difference here lies, of course, in the juxtaposition of the historically familiar exercise of rent seeking pressures within nation-states and the prospect for a constitution of federal union that will insure

competition among producers and consumers of goods and resources across the territory that encompasses the several nation-states' (Buchanan, 1990:).

A study carried out by Alesina et al. (2000 and 2005), which focused on the relationship between political integration, the size of the economic market and economic growth, found that in a world with important trade restrictions, political integration has a positive effect on economic growth. They argue that the main channel through which political integration affects economic growth is through its effect on the size of the economic market.

As a result, political integration and economic integration may be seen as substitutes. This study differs from previous studies in that it considers economic and political cooperation as a complement in fostering regional and international integration, and not a separate phenomenon. Political cooperation affects economic growth by changing firms' incentive to innovate and it has been found that economic and political cooperation can work as complements of conflict resolution.

Keohane (1984) contends the notion that international economic cooperation generates greater economies of scale in the provision of certain governance functions, since providing these functions are part of a larger political jurisdiction. This would internalize negative externalities and thus improve welfare. Some scholars argue that monetary union through economic integration cannot provide adequate compensation for states which are not in a position to attract community investment (Hansen, 1969; Hazlewood, 1967). They stress that such cooperation may only offer little or nothing at all in terms of opportunities for trade-offs to states with weak economies as those with better economies may not be willing to give up their resources for the wider community.