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**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE ROLE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN PROMOTING  
REGIONAL PEACE: CASE STUDY OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC)**

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A Research project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of post graduate Diploma in strategic studies at the institute of Diplomacy and International Studies,

**University of Nairobi**


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**DECLARATION**


I hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted in part or full to any other institution for academic qualification or otherwise.

Signature .....  ..... Date 28 May 2016

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This research work has been submitted for examination in partial fulfilment of post graduate diploma in strategic studies at the University of Nairobi with my approval as the supervisor

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## **DEDICATION**

**This postgraduate research Project is dedicated to my loving wife Kanyange Jacqueline who paid the ultimate price of my lengthy absence in the course of my studies at Defence Staff College (DSC) –Karen. God bless you.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**My sincere acknowledgement goes to my supervisor Kamungi Prisca for her wise guidance throughout this project. I further appreciate the support received from the Commandant, Chief Instructor, Directing and the support staff of Defence Staff College for their relenting efforts in preparing Officers for assumption of increasing responsibility in command and staff.**

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### **Abstract**

The East African Community has one of the most vibrant and dedicated collective security arrangements in Sub-Saharan Africa. In recent times, the consistency with which terrorist organizations have targeted the region has necessitated collective security mechanisms to help address the menace and guarantee stability in the economically strong region. The region is threatened by growing youth radicalization and other security threats emanating from poverty, high unemployment, political violence, weak democratic structures, boundary disputes, bad governance and unfair distribution of resources. Having a history of cooperation, collective security has not been an issue in the region. The East African Community has a lengthy history of existence since the independence years of the three founding members namely; Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, though the community has faced numerous disagreements. Collective security in East Africa has focused on addressing major security challenges but it is likely going to expand to address terrorism. The weaknesses in the implementation of collective security in the region is mainly contributed by lack of political will, resistance to perceived western influence, poor leadership, lack of institutional capacity, lack of funds and the unpredictable nature of security challenges. Therefore, states in the region come together and strengthen their resolve to tackle security problems. To achieve this, building closer ties within the region and increased investment in defence and security are necessary.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

**UN- United Nations**

**EAC- East African Community**

**CS- Collective security**

**AMISOM- African Union Mission in Somalia**

**US-United States**

**AU-African Union**

**NGO-Non Government Organization**

**NATO-North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Content</b>	<b>Page</b>
DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.1.1 Background to the Research Problem .....	2
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem.....	3
1.3 Objectives of the Research .....	4
1.4 Research Questions.....	4
1.5 Justification of the study .....	5
1.6 Literature Review .....	5
1.6. 1 Theoretic Framework .....	7
1.7 METHODOLOGY .....	9
Research Design .....	9
CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	10
CHAPTER TWO:.....	11
COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGMENTS: THE EAC.....	11
2.0 Introduction .....	11
2.1 Meaning And Understanding Of Collective Security In East Africa .....	11



2.2 Collective Defense.....	14
2.3 Collective Security in East Africa .....	15
2.4 Perspectives of Collective Security .....	18
2.5 Conclusion.....	32
3.0 CHAPTER THREE .....	33
COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN THE EAC .....	33
3.1 Introduction .....	33
4.0 CHAPTER FOUR .....	37
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES .....	37
4.1 Introduction .....	37
5.0 CHAPTER FIVE .....	49
RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.....	49
5.1 Introduction .....	49
5.2 Areas for further research .....	50
5.3 Conclusion.....	51
5.4 Recommendations .....	52
Bibliography .....	53

## **1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Collective security is a security arrangement in which each country in the organization affirms that the security of one is the obligation of all and as such commits to a joint response to threats to, and breaches to peace.<sup>1</sup> Historically collective security is among the most promising mechanisms for peace as well as a valuable weapon for power management globally. In 1629, Cardinal Richelieu proposed a system for collective security that was to some extent revealed in the Peace of Westphalia during 1648. During the eighteenth century, numerous proposals were forwarded for collective security organizations, particularly in Europe. Collective security is more grand than programs of alliance security or joint defence in that it endeavours to engage all states within a region or globally, and to tackle a wide array of potential threats. Whereas collective security is a concept with a lengthy history, its execution in practice has been problematic.<sup>2</sup> Several preconditions have to be fulfilled for it to attain a chance of working. In Africa collective security has often been hindered by aspects of political and economic competition. The East African Community has experienced numerous situations that have derailed the attainment of collective security among these issues include border disputes, political competition, leaders clinging to power, economic wrangles among member states and the absence of clear laws and policies to bind the community together.

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<sup>1</sup>Sharp, Allan. *Collective Security*. (Hoboken, MA: Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), 2013), 67-81.

<sup>2</sup>Claude Jr., Inis L. *Collective Security as an Approach to Peace in: Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations* ed. Donald M. Goldstein, Phil Williams, & Jay M. Shafritz. (Belmont CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006).289–302.

### **1.1.1 Background to the Research Problem**

East-Africa's security challenges are inherently defined by disintegration of political authority, increasing political influence of armed sub-state actors, as well as increased vigilantism<sup>3</sup>. The dependence of non-state actors on external sources of financial support and logistical support, meanwhile, emphasizes that peace along with security on the continent is strongly linked to the collaboration of closest countries. The Treaty for the founding of the East African Community distinguishes peace & security as preconditions for the achievement of the EAC Region Integration process<sup>4</sup>. Since beginning in 1999, the EAC has embraced bold steps to construct a framework along with structures to tackle issues of Peace as well as security. It is against this backdrop that the Council of Ministers, following recommendation by the Sectorial Committee on Inter-State Security established a specialists group to expand a Regional strategy sustained by a practical execution plan.<sup>5</sup>

Article 124 of The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community appreciates the requirement for peace and security in the East African States. It elucidates wide-ranging strategies for execution to have a secure and stable environment in the region. This type of environment is aimed towards promoting growth and harmonious living of the citizen of East Africa. The EAC treaty has a number of commitments taken by the member states in the endeavor to cultivate collective security. These commitments include agreement on peace and security among member states, commitment to nurture and sustain good neighborliness, the establishment of regional disaster management machinery, the development of common

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<sup>3</sup>Diana Cammack., Thomas Kibua and Josaphat Kwek. East African integration: How can it contribute to East African development? *Overseas Development Institute* (2007)

<sup>4</sup>"East African trade bloc approves monetary union deal". Reuters. 30 November 2013

<sup>5</sup>Fran."A single East African visa for seamless traveling". *Your African Safari*, 2014.

mechanisms on refugees, joint efforts in addressing cross border crime and joint efforts to tackle terrorism. In addressing cross border crime the EAC stipulates a number of mechanisms that include exchange of criminal intelligence, joint operations, joint communication infrastructure, common law regarding criminal assistance, finalizing the Protocol on Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking, intensification of visits by security agencies, Joint training program and joint mechanisms for managing refugees.<sup>6</sup> This strategy also enhances the East African Community spirit of collaboration in regional peace along with security that brings into actuality the collective responsibility in the guarantee of security by the associate States. It covers partnership on cross border crimes; drug trafficking, auto theft, terrorism, and money laundering among others. This will offer a good and favourable environment where peace will thrive, security of individuals and property assured thus fostering development.<sup>7</sup>

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

The impact of collective security in the East African Community on regional peace is limited by the inefficiencies in implementation of the security arrangements.<sup>8</sup> The fragmentation of collective security in East Africa is the main reasons for failures to implement security arrangements and tackle security problems. Despite the fact that there have been numerous efforts to guarantee unity of purpose among states, the disintegrated nature of the collective security arrangement has undermined its effectiveness. For collective security to be successful there must be common systems of security mechanisms that are commonly agreed upon among

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<sup>6</sup> East African trade bloc approves monetary union deal". *Reuters*. 30 November 2013

<sup>7</sup> Ghosh, Peu. *International Relations* (Eastern Economy ed.). (New Delhi: PHI Learning Private Ltd, 2009) 389-390

<sup>8</sup> Lowe, Vaughan, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh and Dominik Zaum. *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 794.

states. The problem with East African Community is the political competition and ambitions among leaders that has led to the fragmented nature of every collective arrangement<sup>9</sup>. This is a historical problem because the original East African community broke down because of the over ambition of Uganda under Idi Amin. States under the East African Community have common security concerns and ambitions but differ on the implementation of the same. It seems like every country wants to use collective undertakings as opportunities to overshadow one another.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Research**

The general objective of this study is to examine the impact of collective security on regional peace in the East African Community

### **1.4 Research Questions**

A number of research questions will guide the study as follows;

1. What are the collective defence arrangements of the EAC?
2. In what ways does collective Security enhance peace in the EAC region?
3. What are the challenges to collective security in the EAC?

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<sup>9</sup>Lowe, Vaughan, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh and Dominik Zaum. *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 794.

## **1.5 Justification of the study**

With increasing emphasis on global security, it has become necessary for states to combine efforts in guaranteeing security. The international nature of security and its relevant problems has led to the increasing significance of collective security. Although matters of security and defence have been a preserve of individual states, the changing nature of security has made it necessary for joint efforts. As a result, collective security is a product of growing concerns of security on one hand and the changing nature of security problems in modern times. Elements of crime and insecurity have shifted base from national boundaries to the international sphere. The prevalence of terrorism has redefined that practice of security and defence. The globalization of security problems makes collective security the only platform of guaranteeing efficient and realistic programs of defence and safety. Therefore, this research will be of great significance to a number of stakeholders involved in collective security. The stakeholders include international organizations, governments, security agencies and the vast international community. Findings of this study will be useful in policy making for governments regarding the relevance of collective security. International organizations will find this study important because it will offer more details on the concept and practice of collective security. This study is of great importance academically because it forms part of the requirements in accomplishing the course.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

This section offers a comprehensive review of literature on the subject of collective security in the East African community. This section is organized in chronological manner to indicate the espousal of collective security in the East African Community.

In the East African Community collective security has different meanings, both professional and non-professional.<sup>10</sup> The expression is often used to explain the organization of security on a collective manner. Usually, it is used to refer to the collective organization of security in the region. Whereas neither of these applications is essentially wrong, neither concisely captures what collective security means when used by global lawyers. In international law, collective security is a term meaning something more solid and complicated, and much smoother than what is presently expressed. The idea of collective security, its theory, and objectives are profoundly contested by thinkers and nations. It is generally recognized that collective security is currently organized under the United Nations; nonetheless, regional organizations that primarily focused on economic affairs have achieved greater distinction in collective security endeavours especially following the end of the Cold War. This study evaluates the definition of collective security, its characteristics and goals, the actors that have the obligation for operating it internationally and regionally, its multifaceted signs, its limitations and its role in future<sup>11</sup>

Entire libraries have been published on the theme of collective security. Most of the prevailing literature on the topic contests the essence, nature, and idea of collective security<sup>12</sup>. Whereas veneers of collective security can be traced from antiquity, those earliest forms significantly differ from the concept of collective security as currently known<sup>13</sup>. Until the mid-20th century, authors hardly concentrated on collective security as a unique academic topic. Most writers

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<sup>10</sup>Roberts, Adam and Dominik Zaum, *Selective Security: War and the United Nations Security Council since 1945*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 93.

<sup>11</sup>Biel, Anders. & Eek, Daniel. The Interplay between Greed, Efficiency, and Fairness in Public-Goods Dilemmas. *Social Justice Research*, 16: 3, (2003) 199.

<sup>12</sup>Anesi, Vincent. Moral hazard and free riding in collective action. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 32: 2, (2009) 200.

<sup>13</sup>Yost, David S. *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security*. (London: Leicester University Press 1977) 149.

treated the subject in works on politics tackling power relations between nations-states and global organizations. A historical direction is offered on the early understanding of collective security. In the publication, the author espouses a strategy compatible with the occupation as a diplomat, as a result he writes for more than a distinctive academic audience. The analysis offers a classic, wide ranging evaluation of international organizations with particular emphasis on their roles in attaining of international peace. It also offers a comprehensive evaluation of the operational ideas of collective security. The manuscript offers a rare evaluation into the comprehension of the law of war from the viewpoint of a great Asian power. Therefore, readers have an opportunity to conduct an academic evaluation of what is fundamentally a global policy compromise. Sharp<sup>14</sup> echoes a more updated re-evaluation of the idea of collective security and regards certain essential assumptions concerning collective security. Specifically, this publication closely analyses the rationale for, along with the foundations of, collective security. The book offers a conceptual evaluation of collective security published by a foremost scholar. The hypothesis that collective security functions because of automaticity is common among authors.

### **1.6. 1 Theoretic Framework**

Woodrow Wilson's role in the politics-administration dichotomy is well acknowledged. The theories public administration was part of his essay in 1887. Wilson's theory of politics-administration dichotomy stipulates that administration and politics are very different from each other. Therefore, he stated that the two must be treated differently. Although his essay was on public administration, he articulated a theory that demarcated the lines between public

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<sup>14</sup>Sharp, Allan. *Collective Security*. Hoboken, MA: Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) (2013) 67-81.



administration and politics. According to Woodrow Wilson's theory, 'the field of administration is a field of business; it is removed from the hurry and strife of politics.'<sup>15</sup>

Despite the fact that politics establishes the responsibilities of administration, it is not supposed to manipulate it. Wilson launched a debate that existed then and still prevails today. The politics-administration dichotomy is a very significant concept in the sense that it indicates the roles of administrator and its relations with politics as a balancing act. The theory states that policy makers are administrators and their roles involve dealing with politics, however there is a stark difference between the two.

The Politics-administration dichotomy is a theory created by Woodrow Wilson's that delineates the boundaries of public administration. The theory is very relative to the aspects of collective security because it offers guidance on the different roles played by policy makers and politicians in guaranteeing collective security. This theory offers credible impetus in the analysis of how collective security has been achieved in the East African community. Through understanding the different roles of administrators and politicians, it is possible to understand the implementation, hurdles, successes and challenges of collective security in East Africa. This theory also asserts the normative relationship between administrators and elected officials in a democracy which is a very important element in guaranteeing collective security in the East African community. The East African community is led by political leaders and policy makers altogether. Whereas the political leaders represent their respective countries, administrators make the policies and direct

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<sup>15</sup> Wilson, W., 1887, "The Study of Administration". Political Science Quarterly, Reprinted in 1997 in *Classics of Public Administration*, 2d ed. Shafritz, J, and Hyde, A, Chicago: Dorsey Press.

the day to day running of the institution. Therefore, this theory is very important in analyzing the impact of collective security in the east African community.

## **1.7 METHODOLOGY**

### **Research Design**

This is case study of the East African Community as a collective security arrangement in Africa. In this regard, the study examines the role of the EAC in promoting peace in the region. The study focuses on the implementation of collective security in the East African Community. It entails a comprehensive review of literature on collective security and its application in the East African Community. This study also examines the formation of the East African Community, its strategies, laws, policies and regulations on collective security. The overall security mechanisms of the community are examined with the aim of trying to understand how collective security has been applied to promote peace in the region. The study examines how the community has benefit from collective security arrangements, and examines the challenges faced in promoting collective peace within the EAC region

The research methodology applied by this study was qualitative methods of research. In addition to collecting secondary data through the desk review of literature, six interviews were conducted with representatives of the EAC within Nairobi. The study participants were selected due to their expert knowledge of the EAC and collective security arrangements. Due to limited time for data collection and since the the secretariat of EAC is far because it is located in Arusha, the data used in this study is heavily reliant on secondary sources such published and unpublished books and material found in libraries in Nairobi. It also relies on material found on the Internet and government reports.

## **CHAPTER OUTLINE**

**Chapter 1: Abstract, introduction, background to the research problems, statement of the research problem, objectives of the research, justification of the research problem, literature review, theoretic conceptual framework and methodology of research. Chapter 2 provides an analysis of collective security arrangements in general and the EAC in particular; Chapter Three and Four provide the findings of the study, through an analysis of themes on collective defense, regional security, joint surveillance and management of international crime in the EAC. Chapter Five offers the study conclusion and recommendations.**

## **CHAPTER TWO:**

### **COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS: THE EAC**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This section provides an overview of collective security arrangements broadly and a detailed discussion of the East African Community. It examines the meaning collective security; collective defence; collective security in the East African Community, and general perspectives of collective security

#### **2.1 Meaning And Understanding Of Collective Security In East Africa**

Collective security can be described as a security arrangement in which all states cooperate collectively to offer security for all by the actions of all against any countries in the groups that might challenge the prevailing order by through force<sup>16</sup>. This contrasts with self-help tactics of indulging in war for sole convenient national interest. Collective security can be comprehended as a security system, regional, political, or international, in which every state in the arrangement accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and thus dedicates to a collective response to threats to, as well as breaches to peace<sup>17</sup>. Collective security is additionally determined than arrangements of alliance security or collective defense because it seeks to entail the entirety of countries within an area or indeed across the globe, and to tackle a wide range of potential

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<sup>16</sup> Claude, I. *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*. 3d ed. (New York: Random House, 1964), 45-56.

<sup>17</sup> Wight, Martin. *Systems of States ed. Hedley Bull*. (London: Leicester University Press, 1977), 77-90

threats<sup>18</sup>. While collective security is a concept with a lengthy history, its accomplishment in practice has proved difficult.<sup>19</sup> Several preconditions have to be realized for it to succeed.

Sovereign nations enthusiastic to maintain the status quo, readily combine forces, accepting an extent of weakness and in some instances of minor countries accede to the concerns of the main contributing countries organizing the collective security<sup>20</sup>. Collective Security is realized by establishing an international mutual organization, under the auspices of international law thus leading to a kind of international collective governance, though limited in range and effectiveness<sup>21</sup>. The collective security arrangement then becomes a field for negotiation, balance of power as well as exercise of soft power. The application of hard power by countries, unless approved by the Collective Security arrangement, is considered unacceptable, reprehensible as well as requiring remediation of a certain kind. The collective security arrangement not only offers cheaper security, but also may be the only applicable means of security for minute nations, against exceedingly powerful threatening states without the necessity of becoming part of the camp of the countries balancing their neighbors<sup>22</sup>.

The idea of collective security advanced by individuals like Woodrow Wilson, Immanuel Kant, Martin Wight and Michael Joseph Savage, are perceived to apply interests in security in an extensive manner, to prevent grouping powers into contradicting camps, as well as refusing to

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<sup>18</sup> Down, G., ed. *Collective Security beyond the Cold War*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 23-35.

<sup>19</sup> Thakur, Ramesh. *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to Responsibility to Protect*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 76-102.

<sup>20</sup> Wang, Tieya. *International Law in China: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Recueil des cours 221. (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1990), 34-56

<sup>21</sup> Zhu, Wen-Qi. *Outline of International Humanitarian Law*. (Hong Kong: Peter Chan, 1997), 12-34.

<sup>22</sup> Ikome Nguendi Francis. *Africa's International Borders as Potential Sources of Conflict and Future Threats to Peace and Security*, *Institute for Security Studies, May 2012*

create dividing lines that would let anyone out.<sup>23</sup> The phrase collective security has also been referred to as a principle of the United Nations, as well as the League of Nations prior to that. By utilizing a system of collective security, the UN anticipates to discourage any member country from acting in a way likely to risk peace, thus averting any conflict.<sup>24</sup>

Collective security partially incorporates the idea of both balance of power and international government. Therefore, it is imperative to know as well as distinguish these two ideas. Balance of power among states prefers decentralization of power<sup>25</sup>. States are disconnecting actors who do not lower their autonomy or sovereignty to a central. Hence, singly or in partnerships reflecting the concurrence of interests, nations seek to influence the system of power distribution and to establish their own places in that system. The prospect of order and peace emanates from the consideration that competing powers will in some way balance thus cancel each other out to create deterrence via equilibration.

On the contrary, the idea of global government concerns centralization. Global government is a centralized institutional organization with the power use of force like an entrenched sovereign nation state<sup>26</sup>. This idea strips states of their status as centers of power and policy, where matters of war and peace are involved, and superimposing on them an organization possessed of the power and capability to maintain, by unchallengeable force so far as may be required, the order

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<sup>23</sup> Cilliers, Barry Hughes, and Jonathan Moyer African Futures 2050: The Next Forty Years, *Institute for Security Studies*, 2000, 13

<sup>24</sup> Lippmann, W. *U.S. Foreign Policy*. (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1944), 37

<sup>25</sup> Abdel Fatau Musah. West Africa: Governance and Security in a Changing Region, *International Peace Institute*, 2005, 23

<sup>26</sup> Moeletsi Mbeki. Security and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa—Looking to the Future  
*Speech delivered at Commander's Speaker Program at the U.S. Africa Command, January 2010*

as well as stability of an international community. Collective security selectively entails both of these ideas, which can be termed as order without government.

## 2.2 Collective Defense

Collective defense is a system, typically formalized by an accord and an organization, among member states that consign support in defense of a member country if it is invaded by another country outside the organization.<sup>27</sup> NATO is the best-known collective defense system; its eminent Article 5 requires member states to help another embattled member. This article was cited after the September 11 invasion on the United States, other NATO members offered help to the US War on Terror in Afghanistan.<sup>28</sup>

Collective defense has its foundations in multiparty alliances; it involves benefits and risks. Alternatively, by coalescing and pooling resources, it can minimize any single country's cost of providing fully for its security<sup>29</sup>. Smaller members of NATO, for instance, have flexibility to invest a bigger proportion of their budget on non-military priorities, like education or health, because they can rely on other members to come to their defense, if necessary. Alternatively, collective defense also entails risky commitments<sup>30</sup>. Member countries can become involved in costly wars benefiting neither the direct victim nor the aggressor. During the World War I, states in the collective defense agreement known as the Triple Entente (France, Britain, and Russia)

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<sup>27</sup> William M. Bellamy. U.S. Security Engagement in Africa, *Africa Center for Strategic Studies*, 1995

<sup>28</sup> Arcudi, G. "Forces de police et forces armées, sécurité et défense: où sont les frontières?", *Cahier du GIPRI* 2 (2004): 17-64.

<sup>29</sup> J. Baylis, "International Security in the Post-Cold War Era", in John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997), 58-64 .

<sup>30</sup> Tzemach Lemmon, Gayle. "The Hillary Doctrine: Women's Rights are a National Security Issue". *The Atlantic*, 2013, 15.

were quickly compelled to fight when Russia embarked full mobilization against Austria-Hungary, whose ally Germany later declared war on Russia.

### **2.3 Collective Security in East Africa**

Despite the fact that Africa's prevailing security challenges are mainly governance-related or intra-state conflicts, the continents improperly defined national borders are a likely source of instability. In reality, more than fifty per cent of all African nations have engaged in boundary-related conflicts, and border disputes are a tough undercurrent influencing prevailing regional conflicts in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa.<sup>31</sup> Africa's regional bodies should develop stronger mechanisms to tackle the disputes along with threats that arise across the continent's numerous doubtful boundaries. Major transitions are quickly reshaping Africa. Economic development has accelerated, longstanding crises are being tackled, and support for democracy is prevalent. Nonetheless, rapid urbanization along with changing economic formations are amplifying sociopolitical interference and crime and local militancy are increasing. These challenges are characteristically profound and intertwined. Invalidating them will eventually require developing more successful and answerable national institutions.<sup>32</sup>

All member nation-states have identical freedom of action and ability to join in proceedings against the aggressor. The cumulative power of the cooperating members of the alliance for collective security will be adequate and sufficient to overpower the might of the aggressor. In the light of the threat posed by the collective might of the nations of a collective security coalition,

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<sup>31</sup> Buzan, B. and L. Hansen . *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009) 111-114.

<sup>32</sup> Doty, P., A. Carnesale, et al.. "Foreword." *International Security* 1(1976), 56.



the aggressor nation will modify its policies, or if unwilling to do so, will be defeated. Three prerequisites must be met for collective security to successfully prevent war. The collective security system must be able to assemble military force in strength greatly in excess to that assembled by the aggressor(s) thereby deterring the aggressor(s) from attempting to change the world order defended by the collective security system.<sup>33</sup> Those nations, whose combined strength would be used for deterrence as mentioned in the first prerequisite, should have identical beliefs about the security of the world order that the collective is defending.

Nations must be willing to subordinate their conflicting interests to the common good defined in terms of the common defense of all member-states. On the other hand, collective defense also involves risky commitments. Member states can become embroiled in costly wars benefiting neither the direct victim nor the aggressor. In World War I, countries in the collective defense arrangement known as the Triple Entente (France, Britain, Russia) were pulled into war quickly when Russia started full mobilization against Austria-Hungary, whose ally Germany subsequently declared war on Russia

Militant and terrorist organizations are a major source of insecurity in East Africa, however, the management of natural resources, border administration, market for illicit goods, and other dynamics drive and influence the sub-region's threats<sup>34</sup>. To successfully, confront them, governments along with civil society in the EAC sub regional bloc ought to collaborate to guarantee both national ownership as well as the strengthening of collective security. Africa's

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<sup>33</sup> Claude, I. . *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*. 3d ed. (New York: Random House, 1964), 34.

<sup>34</sup> Rothschild, E. "What is Security." *Dædalus* 124(1995): 53-98.

intrastate crises and their cross-border repercussions continue to inhibit development of social pillars that are vital to state stability. These social and development obstacles are obstructing Africa's ability to create secure, democratic, and economically flourishing states. Fundamentally, the challenge being encountered sub-Saharan Africa is not nation building, as a number of analysts believe. The urgent challenge majority of African countries face is society building.

A decisive development in Africa in the last decade has been the generalized reduction of armed conflict. Invigorated, expanded global peacekeeping, reinforced by a recently launched African Union (AU) enthusiasm to address security challenges has strengthened this trend. But, much more consistent interagency harmonization under strong White House direction is necessary if the United States is to support Africa's persistent stability specified the region's importunate conditions of weak governance, poverty and inequality.

Africa's security challenges are progressively more defined by disintegration of political authority, rising political influence of armed sub-state actors, and amplified vigilantism. The dependence of non-state fighters on external sources of funding and logistical support, in the meantime, underscores that peace and security on the continent is narrowly linked to the collaboration of contiguous nations.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Kolodziej, E. (2005). *Security and International Relations*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.11.

## 2.4 Perspectives of Collective Security

Through his classic work on international organizations, Claude<sup>36</sup> offers major insights into the way these organizations tackle matters of collective security, comprising the varied concepts of collective security. The author envisions the notion that collective security operates effectively when nation-states avoid alliance and operate mutually in the interest of the collective good. In the collection of appealing and thought provoking articles, Down<sup>37</sup> tackles numerous issues in collective security particularly in the post-Cold War era. The unique strength of the manuscript is in its anthology of articles authored by some of the most important academics in the subject of collective security.

Haas<sup>38</sup> offers one of the most wide-ranging analyses of the idea of collective security. The author challenges the legitimacy of the assertion that collective security functions based on a universal moral obligation or via a compulsion of great powers. Kolb<sup>39</sup> portrays a leading perspective of collective security as a sound project though undermined by numerous weaknesses. The author further affirms that nations in working jointly with others are inspired more by self-interest instead of any selfless sense of general goodness.

Koskenniemi<sup>40</sup> offers a widespread evaluation of the place of law in collective security.

He further challenges the perspective that collective security is mechanical and dismisses realism

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<sup>36</sup> Claude, I. *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*. 3d ed. (New York: Random House, 1964), 36

<sup>37</sup> Down, G., ed. *Collective Security beyond the Cold War*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 55

<sup>38</sup> Haas, E. "Types of Collective Security: An Examination of Operational Concepts." *American Political Science Review* 49 (1955): 40-62.

<sup>39</sup> Kolb, R. "The Eternal Problem of Collective Security: From the League of Nations to the United Nations." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 26 (2007): 220-225.

<sup>40</sup> Koskenniemi, M. "The Place of Law in Collective Security." *Michigan Journal of International Law* 17 (1996): 455-490.

as a theoretical framework on collective security. The author concludes that law is relevant in collective security by promoting the answerability of governmental and global institutions. Nincic<sup>41</sup> offers a very helpful in comprehension the place of collective security regarding nation-states and the UN Charter. Orakhelashvili<sup>42</sup> offers an in-depth, widespread contemporary treatment of collective security: it also provides a great amount of exceptionally useful resources as well as analysis of the concept of collective security. Stromberg<sup>43</sup> provides a rigorous review of the development and political basis of collective security; it also gives a derogatory verdict on the political and philosophical assumptions regarding collective security.

Thakur provides an exceptional insight into the thinking behind the responsibility to protect (R2P) rationale. Being one of the commissioners and writers of the document so entitled, Thakur's manuscript offers a perspective of the international consensus on how collective security can operate vis-à-vis the R2P principle<sup>44</sup>. Wang offers a discerning piece of scholarship that denotes how ideological view shapes the understanding of collective security by the most populous nation in the world. The importance of this work lies particularly in revealing the interconnectedness between global legal rules and their construal by states that has a direct impact specifically for the application of force. Zhu's book is the first of its kind, in the Chinese language, to expansively offer a unique Chinese understanding of not simply humanitarian law, but also the law of armed conflict. This book challenges some conventional understandings of

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<sup>41</sup> Nincic, D. *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Charter and in the Practice of the United Nations*. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970), 56.

<sup>42</sup> Orakhelashvili, A. *Collective Security*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 66.

<sup>43</sup> Stromberg, R. "The Idea of Collective Security." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 17 (1956): 250–263.

<sup>44</sup> Ullman, R. "Redefining Security." *International Security* 8(1983): 129–153

Ikome affirms that although Africa's existing security challenges are mainly governance-related or intra-state conflicts, the continent's vague national borders are a potent source of conflict. Actually, more than half of all African states have engaged in boundary-related wars, and border disputes are a strong hint affecting continuing regional crises in the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa. Africa's regional bodies ought to develop stronger systems to manage the clashes and threats that occur across the continent's numerous uncertain boundaries.<sup>46</sup>

According to Cilliers and Jonathan,<sup>47</sup> major evolutions are swiftly reshaping Africa. Economic expansion has increased, longstanding disputes are being tackled, and support for democracy is prevalent. However, swift urbanization and shifting economic structures are increasing sociopolitical interruption and crime and local militancy are mounting. These challenges are characteristically complex and entangled. Reversing them will eventually require building more successful and accountable state institutions.<sup>48</sup> Abdel affirms that militant along with terrorist groups are a major source of insecurity in West Africa, however the market for illicit goods, border administration and management of natural resources drive and shape the sub-region's threats.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Sheehan, M. *International Security: An Analytical Survey*. (London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 55.

<sup>46</sup> Arcudi, G. "La sécurité entre permanence et changement", *Relations Internationales* 125(2006): 97–109

<sup>47</sup> Paris, R. "Still and Inscrutable Concept", *Security Dialogue* 35 (2004): 370–372.

<sup>48</sup> Sheehan, M. *International Security: and Analytical Survey*, (London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 44

<sup>49</sup> Tadjbakhsh, S. and A. Chenoy. *Human Security: Concepts and Implications*. (New York, Routledge, 2007), 33 .

Moeletsi opines that Africa's intrastate conflicts along with their cross-border consequences keep on to hobbling development of social pillars that are significant to state stability. These social as well as development obstacles are hindering Africa's ability to institute economically prosperous, secure and democratic states. According to William,<sup>50</sup> a significant development in Africa in the last decade has been the generalized reduction of brutal conflict. Monty affirms that evidence-based breakdown of Africa's conflict developments over the precedent 60 years. Addresses overall fall and shifts in forms of disputes facing Africa over this time. It emphasizes the challenges of state configuration instability in addition to the politics of ethnic elimination.<sup>51</sup>

Collective security can be understood as a security arrangement in which all states cooperate collectively to provide security for all by the actions of all against any states within the groups which might challenge the existing order by using force. This contrasts with self-help strategies of engaging in war for purely immediate national interest. While collective security is possible, several prerequisites have to be met for it to work.<sup>52</sup> Sovereign nations eager to maintain the status quo, willingly cooperate, accepting a degree of vulnerability and in some cases of minor nations, also accede to the interests of the chief contributing nations organizing the collective security. Collective Security is achieved by setting up an international cooperative organization, under the auspices of international law and this gives rise to a form of international collective governance, albeit limited in scope and effectiveness. The collective security organization then becomes an arena for diplomacy, balance of power and exercise of soft power. The use of hard power by states, unless legitimized by the Collective Security organization, is considered

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<sup>50</sup> Baldwin, D. "The Concept of Security." *Review of International studies* 23 (1997): 5–26

<sup>51</sup> Owen, T. "Challenges and opportunities for defining and measuring human security", *Human Rights, Human Security and Disarmament, Disarmament Forum*. 3(2004) 15–24

<sup>52</sup> Diana Cammack., Thomas Kibua and Josaphat Kwek. East African integration: How can it contribute to East African development? *Overseas Development Institute* (2007), 65

illegitimate, reprehensible and needing remediation of some kind. The collective security organization not only gives cheaper security, but also may be the only practicable means of security for smaller nations against more powerful threatening neighbors without the need of joining the camp of the nation's balancing their neighbors.

The concept of "collective security" forwarded by men such as Michael Joseph Savage, Martin Wight, Immanuel Kant, and Woodrow Wilson, are deemed to apply interests in security in a broad manner, to "avoid grouping powers into opposing camps, and refusing to draw dividing lines that would leave anyone out. The term "collective security" has also been cited as a principle of the United Nations, and the League of Nations before that. By employing a system of collective security, the UN hopes to dissuade any member state from acting in a manner likely to threaten peace, thereby avoiding any conflict.

Collective security selectively incorporates the concept of both balance of power and global government. Thus it is important to know and distinguish these two concepts. Balance of power between states opts for decentralization of power. States are separate actors who do not subordinate their autonomy or sovereignty to a central. Thus, "singly or in combinations reflecting the coincidence of interests, States seek to influence the pattern of power distribution and to determine their own places within that pattern. The expectation of order and peace comes from the belief that competing powers will somehow balance and thereby cancel each other out to produce "deterrence through equilibration"<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Fran. "A single East African visa for seamless traveling". *Your African Safari*, (2014), 65.

On the flip side, the concept of global government is about centralization. Global government is a centralized institutional system that possesses the power use of force like a well-established sovereign nation state. This concept strips states of their "standing as centers of power and policy. Where issues of war and peace are concerned, and superimposing on them "an institution possessed of the authority and capability to maintain, by unchallengeable force so far as may be necessary, the order and stability of a global community, Collective security selectively incorporates both of this concepts which can broil down to a phrase: "order without government

Collective security is one type of coalition building strategy in which a group of nations agree not to attack each other and to defend each other against an attack from one of the others, if such an attack is made. The principal is that "an attack against one is an attack against all." It differs from "collective defense" which is a coalition of nations, which agree to defend its own group against *outside* attacks. Thus NATO and the Warsaw Pact were examples of collective defense, while the UN is an attempt at collective security. Proponents of collective security say it is a much more effective approach to security than individual countries trying to act alone, as weaker countries cannot possibly defend themselves, and countries that try often become involved in never-ending arms races which actually detract from, rather than enhance, their security over the long term. In addition, it is argued, collective security arrangements encourage international cooperation, while balance of power deterrence leads to competition and conflict instead. Although the UN got bogged down in the superpower conflict during the cold war, now that that era has ended, many observers expect and hope that the UN will become a much more effective actor in protecting the security of its members.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Sheehan, M. *International Security: and Analytical Survey*, (London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 32



Other scholars and diplomats, however, feel the collective security concept is misguided. It is seen as conceptually muddled (as it is often confused with other similar concepts) and naively unrealistic. Although they are pledged to defend each other, many countries will refuse to do so, if such an act is not in their own best interests or is thought to be too risky or expensive. In addition, it has been argued, collective security arrangements will turn small struggles into large ones, and prevent the use of alternative (nonviolent) problem solving, relying instead on the much more costly approach of military confrontation. In addition, there is always a danger, that alliances formed for the purposes of collective security can also service as a basis for an aggressive coalition.

Collective security is a system by which states have attempted to prevent or stop wars. Under a collective security arrangement, an aggressor against any one state is considered an aggressor against all other states, which act together to repel the aggressor. Collective security arrangements have always been conceived as being global in scope; this is in fact a defining characteristic, distinguishing them from regional alliances such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Both the League of Nations and the United Nations were founded on the principle of collective security.

Neither the League nor the United Nations were able to operate the principle successfully to prevent aggression because of the conflicts of interest among states, especially among the major powers. The existence of such conflicts has in fact been recognized in the institutionalized arrangements of the two world bodies themselves. Under the Covenant of the League of Nations the response to aggression was left to the member states to decide (article 16, paragraph 3, as

amended by interpretive resolutions adopted in 1921); and under the UN Charter any permanent member of the Security Council may veto collective action (article 27, paragraph 3). The intellectual roots of regional security studies can be traced to the geopolitical writings of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, although the definition of critical regions and the source of that criticality have changed over time. During the Cold War, regional security and stability were defined largely in terms of the place that a region occupied in the strategic calculation of the United States or the Soviet Union.<sup>55</sup>

The contemporary preoccupation with regional security reflects a confluence of the continuing relevance of traditional geostrategic calculations and the emergence of new security challenges that have redefined the content and scope of order in the contemporary international system. The rising salience of regional security and regional security orders across every dimension of interaction has generated a surprisingly large number of formal international arrangements that vary in scope, complexity, and strength. The scholarship on regional security is preoccupied with three major questions: What variables contribute to regional (in)stability and (dis)order? Is the Euro-Atlantic form of security governance transferable to other regions of the world? What is the nature of the interaction between the regional and international systems of order?

The scholarship on regionalism is fairly developed. The antecedents to contemporary scholarship can be traced to the late 1940s when scholars became particularly interested in the notion of regional integration and regional security institutions in the aftermath of World War II (Nye

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<sup>55</sup> Diana Cammack., Thomas Kibua and Josaphat Kwek. East African integration: How can it contribute to East African development? *Overseas Development Institute* (2007), 45

1968). This early literature tended to be as descriptive and prescriptive as theoretical, whereas the subsequent literature has been divided between those engaged in heated theoretical debates and those treating regional security as a policy issue. Buzan and Wæver 2003 have had an outsized impact on the study of regional security owing to the authors' elaboration and empirical application of the concept of regional security complexes. Lake and Morgan 1997 also draws on the concept of regional security complexes in a comparative study of the major regional systems, while Kelly 2007 places regional security into the general framework of the "new regionalism." Katzenstein 2005 introduces the concept of "porous regional orders" to explore American agency in shaping Asia and Europe as regions.<sup>56</sup>

Solingen 1998 treats regional security orders as the joint product of domestic and interstate coalition formation, while Achyarya and Johnston 2003 is preoccupied with the problem of institutional design. Lemke 2002 generalizes power transition theory to capture the dynamic of regional security systems, while Fawn 2009 represents the major strands of international relations (IR) theory and comprehensive accounting of the rising saliency of regional security systems despite the countervailing imperative of globalization.

International security, also called global security, refers to the amalgamation of measures taken by states and international organizations, such as the United Nations, European Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and others, to ensure mutual survival and safety. These measures include military action and diplomatic agreements such as treaties and conventions. International and national security is invariably linked. International security is national security or state security in the global arena.

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<sup>56</sup> Elman, C. *Realism. Security Studies: and Introduction*. P. D. William. (New York, Routledge, 2008), 35

With the end of World War II, a new subject of academic study focusing on international security emerged. It began as an independent field of study, but was absorbed as a sub-field of international relations. Since it took hold in the 1950s, the study of international security has been at the heart of international relations studies. It covers labels like "security studies", strategic studies, peace studies, and others.<sup>57</sup> The meaning of "security" is often treated as a common sense term that can be understood by "unacknowledged consensus". The content of international security has expanded over the years. Today it covers a variety of interconnected issues in the world that have an impact on survival. It ranges from the traditional or conventional modes of military power. The causes and consequences of war between states, economic strength, to ethnic, religious and ideological conflicts, trade and economic conflicts, energy supplies, science and technology, food, as well as threats to human security and the stability of states from environmental degradation, infectious diseases, climate change and the activities of non-state actors.

While the wide perspective of international security regards everything as a security matter, the traditional approach focuses mainly or exclusively on military concerns. Edward Kolodziej has compared international security to a Tower of Babel. And Roland views it as "in the eye of the beholder. Security has been widely applied to "justify suspending civil liberties, making war, and massively reallocating resources during the last fifty years. Walter views security as the capability of a country to protect its core values, both in terms that a state need not sacrifice core values in avoiding war and can maintain them by winning war. David argues that pursuing security sometimes requires sacrificing other values, including marginal values and prime values.

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<sup>57</sup> Sheehan, M. *International Security: and Analytical Survey*, (London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005), 34

Arnold argues that "security" is generally a normative term. It is applied by nations "in order to be either expedient—a rational means toward an accepted end—or moral, the best or least evil course of action. In the same way that people are different in sensing and identifying danger and threats, Wolfers argues that different nations also have different expectations of security. Not only is there a difference between forbearance of threats, but different nations also face different levels of threats because of their unique geographical, economic, ecological, and political environment.<sup>58</sup> Barry views the study of international security as more than a study of threats, but also a study of which threats that can be tolerated and which require immediate action. He sees the concept of security as not either power or peace, but something in between.

The concept of an international security actor has extended in all directions since the 1990s, from nations to groups, individuals, international systems, NGOs, and local governments. Traditional approaches to international security usually focus on state actors and their military capacities to protect national security. However, over the last decades the definition of security has been extended to cope with the 21st century globalized international community, its rapid technological developments and global threats that emerged from this process. Nayef Al-Rodhan has proposed one such comprehensive definition. What he calls the "Multi-sum security principle" is based on the assumption that "in a globalized world, security can no longer be thought of as a zero-sum game involving states alone. Global security, instead, has five dimensions that include human, environmental, national, transnational, and transcultural security, and therefore, global security and the security of any state or culture cannot be achieved without

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<sup>58</sup> Fran. "A single East African visa for seamless traveling". *Your African Safari*, (2014), 65

good governance at all levels that guarantees security through justice for all individuals, states, and cultures.

Each of these five dimensions refers to a different set of substrates. The first dimension refers to human security, a concept that makes the principle referent object of security the individual, not the state. The second dimension is environmental security and includes issues like climate change, global warming, and access to resources. The third substrate refers to national security, defined as being linked to the state's monopoly over use of force in a given territory and as a substrate of security that emphasizes the military and policing components of security. The fourth component deals with transnational threats such as organized crime, terrorism, and human trafficking. Finally, the integrity of diverse cultures and civilization forms tackles the issue of transcultural security. According to this multi-faceted security framework all five dimensions of security need to be addressed in order to provide *just* and *sustainable* global security. It therefore advocates cooperative interaction between states and peaceful existence between cultural groups and civilizations<sup>59</sup>.

The traditional security paradigm refers to a realist construct of security in which the referent object of security is the state. The prevalence of this theorem reached a peak during the Cold War. For almost half a century, major world powers entrusted the security of their nation to a balance of power among states. In this sense international stability relied on the premise that if state security is maintained, then the security of citizens will necessarily follow. Traditional

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<sup>59</sup> Diana Cammack., Thomas Kibua and Josaphat Kwek. East African integration: How can it contribute to East African development? *Overseas Development Institute* (2007), 13

security relied on the anarchistic balance of power, a military build-up between the United States and the Soviet Union (the two superpowers), and on the absolute sovereignty of the nation state. States were deemed to be rational entities, national interests and policy driven by the desire for absolute power. Security was seen as protection from invasion; executed during proxy conflicts using technical and military capabilities.

As Cold War tensions receded, it became clear that the security of citizens was threatened by hardships arising from internal state activities as well as external aggressors. Civil wars were increasingly common and compounded existing poverty, disease, hunger, violence and human rights abuses. Traditional security policies had effectively masked these underlying basic human needs in the face of state security. Through neglect of its constituents, nation states had failed in their primary objective. More recently, the traditional state-centric notion of security has been challenged by more holistic approaches to security. Among the approaches which seeks to acknowledge and address these basic threats to human safety are paradigms that include cooperative, comprehensive and collective measures, aimed to ensure security for the individual and, as a result, for the state.

To enhance international security against potential threats caused by terrorism and organized crime, there has been an increase in international cooperation, resulting in transnational policing.<sup>60</sup> The international police Interpol shares information across international borders and this cooperation has been greatly enhanced by the arrival of the Internet and the ability to instantly transfer documents, films and photographs worldwide.

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<sup>60</sup> Elman, C. *Realism. Security Studies: and Introduction*. P. D. William. (New York, Routledge, 2008), 56

Human security derives from the traditional concept of security from military threats to the safety of people and communities. It is an extension of mere existence (survival) to well-being and dignity of human beings. Human security is an emerging school of thought about the practice of international security. There is no single definition of human security; it varies from "a narrow term of prevention of violence to a broad comprehensive view that proposes development, human rights and traditional security together." Critics of the concept of human security claim that it covers almost everything and that it is too broad to be the focus of research. There have also been criticisms of its challenge to the role of states and their sovereignty.

Human security offers a critique of and advocates an alternative to the traditional state-based conception of security. Essentially, it argues that the proper referent for security is the individual and that state practices should reflect this rather than primarily focusing on securing borders through unilateral military action<sup>61</sup>. The justification for the human security approach is said to be that the traditional conception of security is no longer appropriate or effective in the highly interconnected and interdependent modern world in which global threats such as poverty, environmental degradation, and terrorism supersede the traditional security threats of interstate attack and warfare. Further, state-interest-based arguments for human security propose that the international system is too interconnected for the state to maintain an isolationist international policy. Therefore, it argues that a state can best maintain its security and the security of its citizens by ensuring the security of others. It is need to be noted that without the traditional security no human security can be assured.

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<sup>61</sup> Fran. "A single East African visa for seamless traveling". *Your African Safari*, (2014), 45.



## **2.5 Conclusion**

Collective security in the East African Community has been successful because of achievements in fighting terrorism, curbing international crime, resolving boundary disputes, launching joint inspection, group defense and regional security. However, there have been numerous shortcomings that have hindered the effectiveness of collective security in the region that need to be solved. They include lack of political will, poor coordination, lack of cooperation, power tussles among the community's members and ineffective collective mechanisms. Collective security in the East African Community is mainly based on fighting terrorism, which has become the most pressing international security problem.

The prevalence of Al Shabab in Somalia has informed the current mechanisms revolving around fighting terror. The terrorist attacks in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, which are the founding members of the East African Community, have motivated the involvement of war on terror in the region's collective security mechanism. In conjunction with other countries in the continent, through the African Union (AU), have joint military in Somalia under the AMISOM umbrella. However, the inherent collective security framework of the East African Community involves five imperative pillars namely collective defense, regional security, boundary disputes resolution, joint surveillance and international crime mechanism.

## **3.0 CHAPTER THREE**

### **COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN THE EAC**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The East African Community has made numerous steps in guaranteeing collective security. In understanding the impact of collective security in the east African community this study evaluated the following elements; the laws, guidelines and treaties of EAC, political and economic competition. All these areas are covered in the treaty establishing the EAC along with the commitments of member states.

**The EAC treaty entails an agreement on peace and security among member states.** The commitment towards peace and security is an essential pillar towards the economic and social change in the EAC. This is also regarded as imperative or the attainment of the community's objectives. Member states made a commitment to maintain peace and security thus nurturing an environment that is supportive to growth and development. This commitment also includes the resolve to address and tackle all disputes within and among EAC members.

**The EAC treaty also includes a commitment to nurture and sustain good neighborliness as a tool of advancing security and peace in the EAC.** This commitment is considered imperative in ensuring that the community coexists in peace and that security is guaranteed at any point of time.

**The establishment of regional disaster management machinery by all member states is an inherent pillar of the treaty that formed the EAC.** This dynamic is imperative in ensuring that disasters of all kinds are adequately tackled within the established mechanisms thus preventing

the escalation of the same. Through this mechanism, the operation, training and cooperation systems in the entire community ought to be harmonized to increase their effectiveness. This will result in a single management if disaster management for the entire community

**The treaty also stipulates the development of common mechanisms regarding the management of refugees. This is in consideration of the great challenge posed by refugees in regional security. Owing to the fact that east Africa and its neighboring regions has been probe to conflicts, addressing the refugee problem is necessary. Through joint mechanisms, the issues of refugees are tackled in a manner that prevents the escalation of social problems.**

**Through the treaty member states also agreed to improve their cooperation in the processes of addressing cross border crime. This cooperation involves sharing information on crime, repatriation of fugitives and mutual assistance on matters involving crime. In general partners have made a commitment towards maintaining peace and security in the following ways;**

- a) The improvement of exchange of criminal intelligence and other crucial information between the various criminal intelligence centers of member states. This is important in ensuring the effective address of crime in the community.
- b) Facilitate joint operations including joint patrols and pursuit of criminals in the processes improving border controls. This is a significant step because if borders are secured through joint efforts, cases of rim will drastically reduce.
- c) The development of joint communication infrastructure to coordinate the communication of intelligence centers of all members states in combating crime. This synchronizes all

crime data thus ensuring that the processes of apprehending criminals are made easy across the EAC.

- d) The establishment of common law regarding criminal assistance just like the United Nations model is a strategy aimed at synchronizing the legal infrastructure of all EAC members as a way of making it easier to prosecute criminals. Such a law will reduce legal hurdles in getting justice as well as punishing criminals.
- e) The EAC has also resolved to finalize a Protocol on Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking. This is an important strategy towards addressing the problem of drug trafficking that is a serious security problem. This protocol is an important system of having a mutual approach towards drug trafficking in the EAC.
- f) The intensification of visits by security agencies is a significant mechanism that has been launched by the EAC. These visits are done on an exchange basis where the security authorities visit borders and other sites rotationally. This will ensure that there is constant monitoring of the security situation by the joint cooperation of each member state's security agencies.
- g) Joint training program by security personnel are to be enhanced to increase their skills. These training programs will be done on exchange basis between personnel of member states.
- h) Member states have also made a commitment to launch joint mechanisms for managing refugees. This will lead to better refugee management of refugees in the EAC.

**Member states made a commitment through the treaty to increase cooperation regarding the review of the community's security specifically on the aspect of terrorism.**

**This commitment involves the establishment of mechanisms to combat terrorism this is considered an important state in achieving regional security because terrorism has become a major problem in the international security globally. The EAC has face numerous terrorism challenges including attacks in Nairobi and Arusha in 1998, the existence of Al Shabab terrorist organization in neighboring Somali among others.**

## **4.0 CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The challenges for collective security in the East African Community could be divided into three different areas namely terrorism, international crime and politically instigated violence. Terrorism underscores the threats to humanity, peace, property and freedoms by the acts of terrorist organizations mainly Al Shabaab in Somalia. Terrorism offers great challenges to the regions collective security owing to its mysterious and unpredictable nature. International crime on the other hand underscores the numerous threats to safety and peace emanating from international criminal elements. The East African Community is faced with great challenges revolving around criminal cartels with global, continental and regional links. The main aim of such groups is to acquire wealth through illegal means by circumventing the law. Politically instigated forms of violence are inherent sources of insecurity in the East African Community that directly emanate from unfair political processes like national elections, unequal distribution of resources and the quest to acquire power.

The East African Community has a lengthy history of existence since the independence years of the three founding members namely; Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. However, the existence of the community has been shaky with numerous disagreements and reunions. Common security problems and increasing western interest in the region hastened the development of collective security. The region is mainly threatened by growing radicalization of the youth that usually spirals into deadly terrorist attacks, which annihilate the economic potential of the region. Other security threats emanate from poverty, high unemployment, and militarization of the youth for

political purposes, weak democratic structures, boundary disputes, bad governance, and unfair distribution of resources. Collective security in East Africa has mainly been focused on addressing terrorism but it is likely going to expand to address the other major security challenges. Some challenges are mainly associated with collective security in the East African Community seen as related to the definition of collective security with regard to what is being practiced in the region.

## **Collective Security Challenges**

### **Terrorism in East Africa**

Alshabab in Somali has become an international problem because it has taken advantage of the political instability in the country along with the clan-based politics to set foot in the country. Alshabab, which is a close ally of Al-Qaida, the global terrorist organization, has masterminded numerous terrorist attacks in East Africa and Africa in general. The terrorist organization has been behind all sorts of heinous attacks in Uganda, Kenya, and the Indian Ocean at large.

Piracy has been the major source of income for the organization, which generated income through ransom from captives and container goods. Constant kidnapping of tourists on the coastal and North Eastern part of Kenya led the Kenyan government to make an incursion into Somalia with the aim of driving out the terrorists and destroying their safe havens. A lot has been achieved since Kenya set foot in Somalia with the capture of major cities under Alshabab including the key port city of Kismayu. The establishment of federal transitional government in Somalia officially recognized by the United States in 2013 marked the road towards political stability in the horn of Africa country.

Numerous terrorist attacks in Uganda led the Ugandan government to send its troops into Somali under the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). African union through AMISOM has made great achievements in the form of curtailing the expansion of Al shabab, destruction of safe havens, cutting their sources of funds like piracy and marshalling continental and global support against the terrorist organization.

The support of the United States has been crucial in combating international terrorism in Africa with special reference to Alshabab in Somali. Having been a victim of terrorist attacks in East Africa particularly Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, the US has been supporting African countries in the horn of Africa specifically Kenya to fight alshabab in Somali. When Kenya sent its troops to Somali in 2012, the United States pledged different forms of support to the Kenyan government and approved the approach. The recognition of Somali transitional government by the US was a major step in the right direction because most African countries, UN and the AU have been propping the transitional government in a bid to entrench political stability in the war torn country. By offering support to this government, the US and other international partners offer legitimacy thus providing a relevant background for the extermination of Al Shabab from Somali. Therefore, though the organization maintains a presence in the country, much of its structures, sources of income and safe havens have been destroyed. The United States has been particularly supporting of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which underscores a regional and continental approach against Alshabab.



**U.S. assistance to Somalia endeavours to: help establish a stable government; guarantee Somalia is not a safe-haven for terrorists; counter and alleviate humanitarian crises; fight piracy; and prevent insecurity in Somalia from destabilizing the region. On January 17, 2013, the United States officially recognized the Federal Government of Somalia as recognition of the latest political and security achievements in Somalia. Thanks to the hard-won achievements of Somali and global security forces in Somalia, U.S. assistance reaches some areas formerly inaccessible because of security concerns. The U.S. approach in Somalia, centres primarily on supporting the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and Somalia's National Security Forces (NSF) and supporting stabilization and development opportunities.**

### **Human Security**

**The human security paradigm outlines a non-military approach which aims to address the enduring underlying inequalities which fuel terrorist activity. Causal factors need to be delineated and measures implemented which allow equal access to resources and sustainability for all people. Such activities empower citizens providing 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. This human security includes: Removal of injustice, poverty, corruption, and upholding the values of justice and equality amongst societies, because most of the communities who are marginalized in their own countries will have no option but turn to violence and terror.**

**The correct understanding of Islam: it has been proven that terrorists exploit the lack of understanding of Islam. Groups who are ignorant of the high purpose and objectives of this religion and lack the power of persuasion and dialogue have distorted this tolerant religion. Spreading the culture of tolerance, coexistence and acceptance of others because religion cannot**

be forced upon people, and thus, we must fight extremism in all its forms. Creating a serious dialogue with the groups in society who are most exposed to these ideas, such as the youth and children. This is because killing them does not bear any results, for the maximum penalty you can incur on a human being is by killing them. This is actually what these terrorists are looking for. We should employ persuasion and dialogue for they are the right way to get them back to their conscious and to humanity. Undoubtedly, peace is often conceptually opposed to war. Peace, however, especially among pacifists, is also opposed to violence. This includes war, of course, but additionally covers violent acts not ordinarily thought of or legally defined as war. Many do feel that peace, conceptually, applies only to those human relations which exclude personal, organized, or collective violence.

Another concept goes even further, seeing peace as absolute harmony, serenity, or quietude; that is, as opposed to any kind of conflict, antagonistic or otherwise. Conflict is a general concept meaning, in essence, a balancing of power, which may involve not only hostile or antagonistic balancing but also that of intellectual conflict, bargaining conflict, or a lover's conflict. We may conceive of conflict resolution because of conscious settlement of issues in dispute. The forms of conflict resolution are as diverse as the forms, nature of conflicts. There are evidences that the person or group when deprived of some essential human needs cannot be socialize or induced to behave according to the dictates of law. With policy formation that is based on political philosophy that asserts that, the satisfaction of human needs that are universal must be the ultimate goal of survival of societies.

The resolution of conflict is only a minimalist condition of achievement of peace. This implies an identification of the causes, the nature of dynamics, the involvement of external actors and adoption of the appropriate methods. A conflict is not a single-event phenomenon but is a dynamic process having different stages where the objectives, approaches of the involved parties, change between the various phases of a conflict's life cycle. Therefore, an optimum conflict management strategy differs from stage to stage. Literature on various conflict and conflict resolution shows that theories on conflict resolution are closely intertwined with broader assumptions about conflict. Burton stated that, one should recognize that each of the main theoretical approaches to understanding conflict implies an approach to conflict resolution.

One of the identified theories is Human Needs Theory which will be applied to this case study. Human Needs Theory as a generic or holistic theory of human behaviour looks at the roots of insecurity or conflict. It offers an important insight into the sources of insecurity and suggested solutions. Al Shabaab is recruiting through radicalization and use of incentives to hire foreigners from non-Somali people. That means that, the Al Shabaab militants are taking advantage of poverty, unemployed youth who are promised good money in exchange for their services including death. Burton states: "We believe that the human participants in conflict situations are compulsively struggling in their respective institutional environments at all social levels to satisfy primordial and universal needs - needs such as security, identity, recognition, and development. They strive increasingly to gain the control of their environment that is necessary to ensure the satisfaction of these needs. This struggle cannot be curbed; it is primordial. Human needs are a powerful source of explanation of human behaviour and social interaction. All individuals have needs that they strive to satisfy. Given this condition, social systems must be

responsive to individual needs or be subject to instability and forced change. If there are certain human needs that are required for human development and social stability, the solution to conflict must be the ability to create an environment in which these needs can be met by all segments of societies.

### **Security Attacks**

In targeting nationalist combatants, they utilized asymmetric combat tactics, which ranged from bombing civilian homes, raids on military camps, abductions and disrupt of transportation infrastructure. The bush war ended in 1979 with a consequent transition to preponderance rule in 1980 whereby Robert Mugabe was elected to power and continues to rule the state up to this day. Nevertheless, in recent years it seems as though Mugabe, in his pursuit to maintain a one-party state under his rule, has espoused some of the methods employed by the Selous Scouts. In the previous 15 years, African states have not only struggled against domestic terrorism, they have also been challenged by the surfacing of transnational terrorist groups that have used Africa as a theatre to perform attacks against both domestic and worldwide targets as well as to develop and maintain operations.

The 1998 US embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, the 2002 bombing of an Israeli-owned hotel and airplane, and attacks against UN buildings in Algeria and Nigeria offer just a few instances of terrorist attacks executed on African soil with a discrete international dimension. In such cases, terrorists groups use the softness of African-based targets to attack Western – principally European and US – and international interests. According to one report, during the

first decade after the end of the Cold War (between 1990 and 2002), “Africa recorded 6,177 casualties from 296 acts of [international] terrorism” on the continent.

A diversity of socio-economic and political conditions in Africa too, produces complaints that have been used by militant groups to validate their recourse to cruel actions. While generalizations are perilous, some comparisons can be made in the way that physical topography is used and the brutal methods are employed. In terms of terrain, this comprises securing a location that serve as an operational foundation to host members, plan attacks, receive support and offer a source of recruitment.

#### **Collective Security Response to regional security threats**

Regional security threats originated mainly from aggressive extremism along with organized crime. At the time of this study, an incorporated national counter-terrorism approach, to be supported by an execution action plan, was under preparation in Kenya. Adjustments to criminal code and procedure were aligning them with global standards. Besides, terrorism had been more obviously defined. Moreover, a national risk evaluation on terrorist financing threats as well as risks based on World Bank line of attack had been undertaken. United Nations technical assistance in some areas would be supportive, including the training of prosecutors along with judges in counter-terrorism prosecutions, with a concentration on human rights law along with due process.

Terrorism is a contravention on the sovereignty of countries. It evaded the peaceful resolution of crises and rejected the rule of law. Nevertheless, claims to validate State terrorism and

excessively apply the ruse of legitimate defence and certain “abusive” Security Council resolutions should be condemned. The conference to be adopted ought to achieve a fair balance that would not meet the criteria, as a terrorist act, the exercise of peoples’ right to self-determination, a right in line with the principles of global peace and security

Most countries have been a target of terrorist attacks and this scourge is not disappearing. Therefore, all efforts ought to be made to face up to new signals of terrorism. That would only be achievable by tackling its entrenched causes through development, education, along with promoting the rule of law. Additionally, there was a distinction between arbitrary terrorism and the struggle of peoples under foreign occupation for their genuine right to self-determination. The global community must centre on defining terrorism so that serious measures could be taken towards the drafting of a counter-terrorism meeting and improving the ways and means to fight that evil, including at a financial level. A difference must be established between terrorism and the justifiable right of people to self-determination. It was also essential to identify and expunge the causes and factors that could result to terrorism.

The UN emphasizes that any measures adopted outside the structure of the Charter, including extrajudicial executions, are unlawful. Further, the existing differences in the current debate were of concept and not merely semantic that could be determined only through an open and clear debate. Reiterating the position shared by numerous delegations, it was articulated that full support for convening a high-level meeting in parallel and irrespective of whichever progress made on the meeting. A complete definition of terrorism which distinguishes between terrorism and the justifiable struggle against colonial dominion, foreign occupation in addition to the right

to self-determination is needed. Moreover, the convention ought to also address the basic causes of terrorism, including economic inequality and deprivation, political suppression and exclusion, long-lasting and unresolved divergences, neo colonialism, and the deficiency of the rule of law, among others. Top priority ought to be placed on ending terrorist acts against sovereign States, as violence under the excuse of the war on terror could not be vindicated. Armed forces attempting to conquer the Government in Syria comprised State-sponsored terrorism. If the goal of the community is to establish collective security in the region, the major challenges are associated with the cooperation and support of all members of the regional body.

**Limited access to finance:** There is limited funding for the East African Community's collective security agenda. The member countries of the regional body have not offered adequate financial support towards this endeavor. However, since the community is full of developing countries, the respective GDP's cannot sustain the numerous international obligations required.

**Inadequate international support:** The East African Community still does not have sufficient international support. The East African community has not been successful in attracting international support. The many challenges facing the EAC have made it difficult for the international community to embrace it<sup>62</sup>. Corruption problems, civil strife, lack of respect for presidential term limits are among the many challenges making it difficult for the EAC to win international support.

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<sup>62</sup> East Africa: A Year of Multiple Challenges for EAC.

**Inadequate collective security skills:** The East African Community has insufficient skilled personnel in the collective security field to drive security strategy development. As such, more security professionals will be trained and developed to increase the East African Community's collective security skills base. "Despite this progress made throughout the years, some challenges remain noteworthy when it comes to the implementation of the EAC Customs Union<sup>63</sup>."

**Low collective security awareness and support:** Most citizens of the East African Community are still not aware of the available collective security strategies and their benefits. This is largely attributed to the lack of awareness, insufficient content relevant to the general population. Collective security in education, community development and public awareness initiatives will be implemented to increase collective security awareness among citizens of the East African Community.

**Inadequate information security:** The East African Community's security needs to be reinforced to mitigate ever-increasing security threats. Collective security awareness will need to be disseminated and intergovernmental institutional collaboration strengthened. Furthermore, a strong policy, legal and regulatory framework to ensure collective security and compliance will be required.

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<sup>63</sup> Makame, A. The East African Integration: Achievements and Challenges

2012 <http://ecdpm.org/great-insights/trade-and-development-making-the-link/east-african-integration-achievements-challenges/>



**Limited interoperability of regional systems:** Many regional systems work in isolation of each other, which creates duplication and inefficient resource management. Most processes are largely paper-based, which creates unnecessary delays. As such collective security mechanisms can be leveraged through joint government initiatives to further improve regional operational effectiveness and efficiency, thereby improving service delivery to citizens.

## **5.0 CHAPTER FIVE**

### **RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the research findings and proposes recommendations that may, in future, be used in understanding the role/impact of collective security in the East African Community, and to suggest items for further research. The chapter is divided into an introduction, conclusion and recommendations. The research objective was to examine the role of collective security in improving regional peace in the East African Community. The study made the following findings:

**Collective security is enshrined in the founding treaty of the East African Community**

The findings indicate that collective security is enshrined in the founding treaty of the East African Community. Therefore, the problem does not lie with the existence of collective security in EAC but with the implementation. There has been reluctance among partner states in implementing collective security ideals.

**The laws regulations and policies of the East African Community support collective security.**

The laws and policies governing the East African Community are supportive of collective security ideals in the sense that collective security is an inherent pillar of the EAC's policy and legal framework.

**Political and economic competition undermines the quest for collective security in the East African community**

The existence of competition on economic and political fronts among EAC members is the greatest obstacle towards the successful implementation of collective security. Member states of

the EAC have not yet harnessed the power of synergy and cooperation in achieving collective security ideals.

### **The full fulfillment of the commitments of member states will result in the attainment of collective security goals**

The treaty establishing the EAC had a number of commitments that involved boosting cooperation on security fronts. If all the commitments are fulfilled, the ideals of collective security will be achieved.

### **The implementation of collective security has promoted peace in the EAC**

Although the implementation of collective security has not been perfect, the successes achieved in this endeavor have promoted regional peace. Member states have developed a network of cooperation that cultivates peace in the region.

### **5.2 Areas for further research**

Although more and more research is being done on collective security, there are still some subjects that need further more extensive covering. Since insecurity attacks are the problems at their roots, it justifies extensive further research. Additionally, it would be interesting to see the results of a large-scale investigation of the insider security levels in different sectors, such as defence, surveillance, and judiciary. Therefore, future research should seek to delve deeper into this subject matter to epitomize areas that require addressing in order to boost collective security in East Africa. Moreover, the concept and theory of collective security with special reference to the East African Community ought to be investigated further to be in a better position to offer recommendations on the next course of action regarding the enhancement of collective security in East Africa.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

It is crucial to have an understanding of the reasons/motivations behind regional insecurity. These reasons are nearly countless, since human behavior and decision-making is affected by so many different factors. For example, there is the fact that people make implicit, intuitive trade-offs for their decisions, they sometimes imitate someone they've come to associate with, and there's the influence of certain social bonds. These are just a tiny fraction of the complex web of factors that influence human behavior and the human decision making process.

Furthermore, member states should implement various mechanisms to enforce behavioral compliance by their citizens. Some of the more familiar security mechanisms are security policies, codes of ethics, and of course physical mechanisms such as doors equipped with card key readers. Additionally, organizations try to deter improper behavior by imposing penalties on such behavior, or by rewarding good behavior.

Regional bodies can further prevent regional security incidents by modeling the effective collective security mechanisms. The single most promising solution to regional insecurity attacks is the development of joint strategies towards collective security.

The next five years will be the most critical to the East African Community's transformation into an economic union. This will require efficient collective security mechanisms to offer a credible environment for economic activities.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

No country in the entire world has the capacity to fight regional insecurity individually. Due to the nature of insecurity phenomenon, all nations of the world have to work hand in hand in dealing with the challenge that threatens to jeopardize not only the safety of the world populace, but also their health and wellbeing as well as their economy. The main challenge presented by regional security in the East African Community and the entire globe is that it is almost hard to notice the offense, let alone the offender. In most cases, the geographical location of a criminal is unidentifiable and impractical and his or her identity is anonymous. Therefore, the East African Community should collaborate with other nations in the community in the fight against insecurity.

The member states of the EAC should also strengthen its law enforcement units including the police and prosecution. Additionally, the government should organize trainings aimed at equipping the law enforcement agencies including the prosecutors' police, lawyers and judges on regional insecurity and the way in which they can collect electronic evidence. The East African Community administration should also create awareness campaigns to the members of the public aimed to sensitize them about regional insecurity and its changing faces. This involves equipping them with adequate knowledge on how regional insecurity occurs and the practices that can be carried out to keep perpetrators away. In fact, the prevention of regional insecurity is direct and straightforward. The east African community should compel all its members to fulfill their commitments and obligations under the treaty establishing the community.

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