



BABY STEPS: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACHIEVING A MILESTONE TOWARD THE EAST AFRICA FEDERATION DREAM THROUGH DEFENCE COOPERATION

Lieutenant Colonel Ntemi Deograsiss Masalu

JCSP 49

Exercise Solo Flight

Disclaimer

Opinions expressed remain those of the author and do not represent Department of National Defence or Canadian Forces policy. This paper may not be used without written permission.

© His Majesty the King in Right of Canada, as represented by the Minister of National Defence, 2023.

PCEMI n° 49

Exercice Solo Flight

Avertissement

Les opinions exprimées n'engagent que leurs auteurs et ne reflètent aucunement des politiques du Ministère de la Défense nationale ou des Forces canadiennes. Ce papier ne peut être reproduit sans autorisation écrite.

© Sa Majesté le Roi du chef du Canada, représenté par le ministre de la Défense nationale, 2023.

CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE - COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES

JCSP 49 - PCEMI n° 49
2022 - 2023

Exercise Solo Flight – Exercice Solo Flight

**BABY STEPS: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACHIEVING A MILESTONE TOWARD
THE EAST AFRICA FEDERATION DREAM THROUGH DEFENCE COOPERATION**

Lieutenant Colonel Ntemi Deograsiss Masalu

“This paper was written by a candidate attending the Canadian Forces College in fulfilment of one of the requirements of the Course of Studies. The paper is a scholastic document, and thus contains facts and opinions which the author alone considered appropriate and correct for the subject. It does not necessarily reflect the policy or the opinion of any agency, including the Government of Canada and the Canadian Department of National Defence. This paper may not be released, quoted or copied, except with the express permission of the Canadian Department of National Defence.”

« La présente étude a été rédigée par un stagiaire du Collège des Forces canadiennes pour satisfaire à l'une des exigences du cours. L'étude est un document qui se rapporte au cours et contient donc des faits et des opinions que seul l'auteur considère appropriés et convenables au sujet. Elle ne reflète pas nécessairement la politique ou l'opinion d'un organisme quelconque, y compris le gouvernement du Canada et le ministère de la Défense nationale du Canada. Il est défendu de diffuser, de citer ou de reproduire cette étude sans la permission expresse du ministère de la Défense nationale. »

BABY STEPS: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACHIEVING A MILESTONE TOWARDS THE EAST AFRICA FEDERATION DREAM THROUGH DEFENCE COOPERATION

We have not been able to move fast because of National fears, a sense of insecurity that if one opens up their people will be denied jobs and other opportunities. We must deal with these fears. We need to start talking about our people being East African people.

- H.E. Uhuru Kenyatta (Former President of The Republic of Kenya)

The Pan-African Dream

The dream of Pan-Africanism aspired to bring together Africans by advancing their shared interests and upholding their rights. Pan-Africanism's foundation is the African people's fortitude in the face of centuries of colonialism, enslavement, and exploitation.¹ In response to these difficulties, Pan-Africanism's was anchored on the intention of uniting, liberating, and establishing justice across Africa as articulated by the man who all credit for the dream; Kwame Nkrumah, a Ghanaian politician and activist who was instrumental in Africa's independence struggles.² Nkrumah was a relentless advocate for African unification because of his firm belief in the cause. He played a key role in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which would eventually become the African Union (AU). Nkrumah believed that if Africa was to attain political and economic independence from the West, Pan-Africanism was crucial. Marcus Garvey, Patrice Lumumba, and W.E.B. Du Bois are some of the other well-known figures associated with the Pan-Africanism movement.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in 1963 by African states in an attempt to achieve political and economic independence throughout the continent. Pan-Africanism inspired it, and it helped Africa gain independence. The organization worked to foster economic growth and cooperation among African nations, as well as to end apartheid in South Africa.³ The AU, which was established in 2002 to advance Pan-Africanism and build on the OAU's achievements, succeeded the OAU in 2002. The AU promotes social, economic, and political integration in Africa and addresses its difficulties. It promotes peace, security, democracy, decent governance, and economic integration.

One of the major challenges facing Pan-Africanism is the issue of national borders and state formation in Africa. Much of Africa's current boundaries were formed by colonial powers and do not correlate to the local population's cultural, linguistic, or ethnic divides.⁴ Disputes over resources, identities, and power have emerged, making Pan-Africanism difficult to establish. The fact that many African countries lack efficient institutions and governance is another problem. Corruption, poor leadership, and weak institutions have made it difficult to execute pan-African

¹ Malisa, M., & Nhengeze, P. (2018). Pan-Africanism: A quest for liberation and the pursuit of a united Africa. *Genealogy*, 2(3), 28.

² Oloruntoba, S. O. (2020). *Pan-Africanism, regional integration and development in Africa* (pp. 1-14). Springer International Publishing.

³ Van Klinken, A. (2020). Queer Pan-Africanism in contemporary Africa. In *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 343-354). Routledge.

⁴ Oloruntoba, S. O. (2020). *Pan-Africanism, regional integration and development in Africa* (pp. 1-14). Springer International Publishing.

policies and projects effectively. Poverty, disease, and underdevelopment continue to be major barriers in many parts of the continent that prevent the achievement of global goals.

Despite the challenges, there have been some successes in promoting Pan-Africanism through the creation of regional bodies. There are currently five major regional bodies in Africa, each with its own specific mandate and focus. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 and includes 15 countries in West Africa. Second is the Southern African Development Community (SADC) founded in 1980 and currently has a membership of 16 countries. Third is the East African Community (EAC) which was re-established in 2000 and now comprises 7 member States. The fourth and fifth African regional bodies are the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). The former was established in 1983 and now has 11 member States situated in Central Africa, while the latter was established in 1989 and includes 5 countries in North Africa.

These regional bodies have made significant strides in promoting economic integration, trade, and regional cooperation in their respective areas.⁵ They have also worked to address common challenges such as food security, security, infrastructure development, and poverty reduction. However, there is still much work to be done to achieve the broader goals of Pan-Africanism, including the creation of a united African continent with a strong voice on the global stage.

The Proposed East African Federation

The seven EAC member states include Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo. Although the regional body was originally established in 1967, it collapsed in 1977 due to political differences among the member states. The organization was revived in 2000 with a renewed focus on regional integration and cooperation. The EAC has always aimed at achieving a political federation since its revival in 2000.⁶ The initial proposal was made in 2006, and subsequently, a treaty was signed in 2013 to establish a political federation. Despite its noble aims, the journey towards achieving this goal has been plagued with obstacles, leading to a slow pace of milestones.⁷ One of the main challenges faced by the union is the lack of common security appreciation, which has significantly hindered the building of trust and the formation of joint institutions. Political interests and changing political cycles have also played a disruptive role, affecting the progress of long-term projects.

Apart from political steps, several other measures are required for the successful implementation of the federation. These include border management, customs unions and telecommunication. Border management is crucial to ensure the smooth movement of people and goods across borders. Customs unions are required to promote trade and economic cooperation among member states, and telecommunication is necessary to ensure effective communication

⁵ Malisa, M., & Nhengeze, P. (2018). Pan-Africanism: A quest for liberation and the pursuit of a united Africa. *Genealogy*, 2(3), 28.

⁶ Were, E. (2022). East African infrastructural development race: a sign of postmodern Pan-Africanism? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 35(4), 566-591.

⁷ Mamdani, M. (2011). The East African federation: challenges for the future.

and information sharing among member states.⁸ This paper, however, does not deal with the aforementioned challenges including the political steps required for the federation but rather focuses on the potential benefits of defense cooperation for regional security harmonization. Defense cooperation can provide opportunities for member states to share intelligence, conduct joint military exercises, and coordinate their efforts to address common security threats. The paper will explore these opportunities and assess the feasibility of defense cooperation as a means to achieve an integrated security architecture as one of the key milestones towards the actualization of the proposed East Africa Federation.

Joint Professional Military Training

Also referred to as Joint training, Joint professional military training is a collaborative effort between two or more militaries to train and educate their personnel to operate together effectively. It involves sharing knowledge, skills, and techniques to improve interoperability and enhance the ability of each military to work together and understand each other's Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTPs). It is usually conducted over an extended period, and it focuses on building long-term relationships between the participating militaries. In the context of achieving the proposed East African Federation, joint training can be used to develop common operating procedures, share best practices, and enhance the capacity of the militaries to work together.⁹ Joint training can also help build trust and understanding between the participating militaries, which is essential for successful defense cooperation.

Capacity building is crucial for the creation of a trained and effective military force that can operate together towards a shared objective. Joint training, which enables military personnel from several nations to exchange experiences and learn from one another, can act as a platform for capacity building. For instance, since 2005, periodic collaborative military drills like "Operation Flintlock" in West Africa have brought together military forces from African, European, and North American nations to strengthen counterterrorism efforts.¹⁰ These exercises have improved military personnel's skills, interoperability, and partner nation relations.

Joint training may be used in the East African Federation to strengthen interoperability and develop military capacity. For instance, combined training exercises might be held in fields like disaster relief, counterterrorism, and peacekeeping to help military troops build specific knowledge and abilities hence fostering joint measures on transnational issues. As a result, the East African Federation may be able to react to threats and problems with more effectiveness, enhancing regional security.

Standardizing training and procedures are critical for improving coordination and cooperation among military personnel from different countries. Joint training can provide an opportunity for the standardization of training and procedures, which can facilitate coordination and cooperation among military personnel from different countries. For instance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has a structure in place for establishing uniformity in

⁸ Kiraso, B. B. (2009). EAC integration process and enabling peace and security architecture.

⁹ Kiraso, B. B. (2009). EAC integration process and enabling peace and security architecture.

¹⁰ Burgess, S. (2018). Military Intervention in Africa.

training and practices.¹¹ Standard operating procedures (SOPs) have been created by NATO nations to provide a uniform approach to military operations. These SOPs provide a more effective response to security risks by removing ambiguity, minimizing mistakes, and eliminating misunderstanding.

Joint training within the framework of the East African Federation may provide an opportunity for the creation of SOPs among the member nations. As a result of SOPs, military personnel from various nations are better able to work together and coordinate their efforts. For instance, SOPs could be developed for areas such as command and control, communication, and logistics to ensure a common approach to military operations.¹² Moreover, standardization of training and procedures could include the support of the Shared Accord and the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS).

Shared Accord is a joint military exercise that is conducted annually in the East African region. The exercise is aimed at building the capacity of military personnel from East African countries in areas such as peacekeeping, disaster response, and counter-terrorism. Shared Accord involves the development of common SOPs and training modules that ensure a common approach to military operations. Through this exercise, military personnel from different countries learn to work together more effectively, which improves coordination and cooperation among the participating countries' military forces.¹³ Standardization of training and procedures helps to eliminate confusion, reduce errors, and ensure a more efficient response to security threats.

ATMIS is a regional peacekeeping mission that is composed of military personnel from different East African countries. The mission has been instrumental in stabilizing Somalia and supporting the country's transition to democracy. To achieve its objectives, ATMIS conducts joint military training exercises that build capacity and enhance interoperability among the participating countries' military forces.¹⁴ Through joint training, ATMIS has developed common SOPs that ensure a common approach to military operations. The standardization of training and procedures has facilitated coordination and cooperation among the participating countries' military forces, leading to better outcomes in responding to security threats.

Knowledge and skills sharing is essential for the professional development of military personnel. Joint training can promote knowledge transfer and professional development among the East African Member States through the exchange of ideas, experiences, and best practices in military training and operations. For example, the United States Army's Partnership for Peace (PfP) program has been instrumental in promoting knowledge transfer and professional development among partner nations.¹⁵ The PfP program provides opportunities for military personnel from partner nations to attend training and educational programs in the United States,

¹¹ Oloruntoba, S. O. (2020). *Pan-Africanism, regional integration and development in Africa* (pp. 1-14). Springer International Publishing.

¹² Mamdani, M. (2011). The East African federation: challenges for the future.

¹³ Mamdani, M. (2011). The East African federation: challenges for the future.

¹⁴ Kiraso, B. B. (2009). EAC integration process and enabling peace and security architecture.

¹⁵ Van Klinken, A. (2020). Queer Pan-Africanism in contemporary Africa. In *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 343-354). Routledge.

which enables them to gain new skills and knowledge in areas such as leadership, management, and technical training.

In the context of the East African Federation, joint training can provide an opportunity for knowledge transfer and professional development among military personnel from different countries. For instance, joint training exercises could be conducted in areas such as military leadership, management, and technical training to enable the sharing of knowledge and skills among military personnel.¹⁶ This can enhance the professionalism and efficiency of the military force, leading to improved security outcomes.

Joint military operations require a high degree of coordination, cooperation, and interoperability among military personnel from different countries. Joint training can provide an opportunity for military personnel to prepare for joint military operations by practicing and improving their coordination and cooperation skills. Joint training exercises such as "Amani Africa" have been conducted among African Union member states to prepare for joint peacekeeping operations.¹⁷ These exercises have been instrumental in improving coordination and cooperation among military personnel, enhancing interoperability between different military forces, and preparing for joint military operations.

For the East African Federation, joint training can be an opportunity to prepare for joint military operations by practicing and improving coordination, cooperation, and interoperability skills. Joint training exercises could be conducted in areas such as peacekeeping, disaster response, and counter-terrorism to enable military personnel to practice joint operations and prepare for potential security threats. It will be a great value for the East Africa Standby Force which is part of the bigger aspiration of having an African standby Force under the Africa Peace and Security Architecture.

Building trust and understanding is critical for enhancing communication and cooperation among military personnel from different countries. Joint training can provide an opportunity for military personnel to build trust and understanding through shared experiences and cultural exchanges. The "Pacific Partnership" program, conducted by the United States Navy, has been instrumental in building trust and understanding among partner nations in the Pacific region.¹⁸ The program includes joint training exercises, humanitarian assistance, and cultural exchanges, enabling military personnel to build relationships and enhance mutual understanding. In the context of the East African Federation, joint training can be an opportunity to build trust and understanding among military personnel from different countries through shared experiences and cultural exchanges. Joint training exercises could include cultural events, language training, and other activities to enable military personnel to build relationships and enhance mutual

¹⁶ Ong'oyi, M. K. (2021). *The influence of national interest on regional integration: the case of Kenya in the East African community* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

¹⁷ Were, E. (2022). East African infrastructural development race: a sign of postmodern Pan-Africanism? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 35(4), 566-591.

¹⁸ Reuben, A., Kigen, M., & Stephen, H. (2022). Border Security Challenges: a Case Study of Kenya and Somalia Border Relations (1991-2017). *Path of Science*, 8(5), 2001-2006.

understanding.¹⁹ This can improve communication and cooperation among military personnel, leading to improved security outcomes.

The National Defence Colleges (NDC) of Kenya and Tanzania offer limited slots for training to military officers from East African countries. The colleges provide a forum for officers to discuss regional security issues and develop joint strategies to address them.²⁰ The program includes classroom instruction, practical exercises, and discussions on topics such as international security, crisis management, and conflict resolution. The NDC program is critical in fostering trust and cooperation among military officers from different countries. It creates a common understanding of regional security challenges and helps to develop joint strategies to address them. The program also builds relationships between military officers from different countries, which is essential in promoting regional security cooperation. Nonetheless, a deliberate increase in capacity for the NDCs needs to be institutionalized in order to standardize and enable the training to fall under one structure so that there is equal representation of all countries in all the Regional NDCs.

Another ongoing measure of joint military training in the region is the East Africa Standby Force (EASF), which is a regional peacekeeping force composed of military personnel from the East African countries. The EASF conducts joint military training exercises to build capacity and enhance interoperability among the participating countries' military forces.²¹ These exercises can include joint command and control, logistics, and communication training, as well as peacekeeping skills such as negotiation and conflict resolution.

The EASF's joint training program presents an opportunity for the East African countries to enhance their military capabilities, which can contribute to the realization of the East African Federation. A strong and capable EASF can play a critical role in ensuring the security and stability of the region, which can be a fundamental building block for the Federation.²² Additionally, the EASF can serve as a model for the integration of other security institutions within the East African Federation, such as a joint military command or a regional police force. Joint training can be an essential tool in building the capacity of these institutions and enabling them to work collaboratively towards the Federation's goals.

Joint Field Exercises

Joint Field exercises are short-term events that involve the deployment of military forces in simulated or actual combat scenarios. The exercises aim to test and evaluate the readiness, capabilities, and effectiveness of the participating militaries. They typically involve a higher level of complexity than joint training, and they require the coordination of multiple units and resources. Joint exercises can help identify strengths and weaknesses in the participating

¹⁹ Owaka, S. P. & Mutabazi, F. (March 31, 2021). EAC Military Command Post Exercise codenamed Ushirikiano Imara 2019 concludes in Tanzania. *East African Community*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/414-564-218-eac-military-command-post-exercise-codenamed-ushirikiano-imara-2016-concludes-in-nairobi>

²⁰ Kiraso, B. B. (2009). EAC integration process and enabling peace and security architecture.

²¹ Word, L. (2012). The State of East Africa 2012. *Development*, 55(4), 554-556.

²² Word, L. (2012). The State of East Africa 2012. *Development*, 55(4), 554-556.

militaries and provide opportunities for improvement. Joint exercises can be used to test and evaluate the readiness of the militaries to respond to common security threats. Joint exercises can also provide an opportunity for the militaries to practice working together in a realistic scenario, which can enhance their ability to respond effectively in the future.

Joint exercises are important in assessing military readiness, capabilities, and effectiveness among the East African member states. By participating in joint exercises, member states can test and evaluate their own military capabilities against those of their neighbors.²³ This can help identify areas where they need to improve and where they excel. During joint exercises, military personnel can practice their combat skills, hone their decision-making abilities, and learn to operate more effectively as part of a team; this being the main end-state, to have the regional forces as part of one team. This can also help identify areas where they may need additional training or equipment to enhance their capabilities. By testing and evaluating their military readiness through joint exercises, member states can better understand their own strengths and weaknesses, which can help them plan and allocate resources more effectively. This, in turn, can contribute to the development of a more capable and integrated security architecture in the region, which is a critical component of the East African Federation.

Developing interoperability among the East African member states is critical to achieving an integrated security architecture. Interoperability refers to the ability of different militaries to work together effectively, using compatible equipment, procedures, and communications systems.²⁴ Joint exercises offer a unique opportunity for member states to develop and test interoperability among their militaries. During joint exercises, member states can practice coordinating their efforts, exchanging information, and working together to achieve common objectives. This can help build trust and confidence among the participating militaries and enhance their ability to work together in real-world scenarios. However, developing interoperability is not without challenges. For instance, member states may have different levels of military readiness, equipment, and capabilities, which can make it difficult to achieve effective coordination, coupled with the budgetary implications of all this, bearing in mind each state's economic priorities.²⁵ Joint exercises can help identify these challenges and provide opportunities to address them through training, equipment procurement, and other measures.

Joint exercises can also enhance the ability of East African member states to respond to common security threats. These threats may include terrorism, piracy, transnational crime, or other forms of contemporary security challenges that require coordinated and effective responses. By participating in joint exercises, member states can practice responding to different types of security threats, develop common tactics and procedures, and coordinate their efforts more effectively.²⁶ An example is how the East African Forces are currently responding to the

²³ Vaughan, C. (2019). The politics of regionalism and federation in East Africa, 1958–1964. *The Historical Journal*, 62(2), 519-540.

²⁴ Kaburu, M. & Logan, C. (Sept. 9, 2022). What do Africans think about the proposed East African Federation? *The Washington Post*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/09/eac-east-african-federation/>

²⁵ Kaburu, M. & Logan, C. (Sept. 9, 2022). What do Africans think about the proposed East African Federation? *The Washington Post*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/09/eac-east-african-federation/>

²⁶ Owaka, S. P. & Mutabazi, F. (March 31, 2021). EAC Military Command Post Exercise codenamed Ushirikiano Imara 2019 concludes in Tanzania. *East African Community*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from

security situation in Eastern DRC through the East Africa Community Regional Force (EACRF). Deployments such as this will greatly benefit from prior joint exercises. This can help improve their ability to respond to security threats in real-world scenarios, which is critical to maintaining regional stability and security. Additionally, joint exercises can help build trust and cooperation among member states, which is essential to achieving the East African Federation. By working together to respond to common security threats, member states can develop a shared sense of purpose and identity, which can help overcome political and cultural differences and promote regional integration.

Joint exercises provide a valuable opportunity for the militaries of member states to work together in a realistic scenario. By simulating a crisis situation, they enable participants to identify areas of weakness in their crisis management plans and procedures, as well as to practice and refine their response capabilities.²⁷ Joint exercises can also help to develop interoperability among the militaries of member states. This refers to the ability of different military forces to work together seamlessly, despite differences in equipment, tactics, and culture. Through joint exercises, member states can learn to coordinate their efforts effectively and improve their ability to respond to crises as a team. East Africa is susceptible to conflicts, droughts and flooding that at times leads to refugee crisis like is the case along the Kenya-South Sudan border and the Tanzania-Burundi border.

The exercises also provide an opportunity for member states to learn from each other's experiences in crisis management. By sharing knowledge, best practices, and lessons learned, member states can develop a common understanding of how to handle different types of crises.²⁸ A mechanism like the Kenya National Disaster Operations Centre, established in 1998, can be a valuable benchmark for the region. This can lead to the development of regional standards and protocols for crisis management, which can enhance the effectiveness of the response to future crises. The development of strong crisis management capabilities among member states is crucial for the successful realization of the East African Federation. By working together to develop and refine these capabilities, member states can build confidence in their ability to handle crises effectively and demonstrate to the wider public the benefits of closer cooperation.

Joint exercises provide a valuable opportunity for member states to build relationships and establish personal contacts among their militaries. By working together towards a common goal, participants can develop team spirit and build a stronger sense of regional identity.²⁹ Through joint exercises, member states can also develop a common understanding of each other's capabilities and limitations. This can help to build confidence in the ability of member states to work together effectively, and encourage them to share resources and expertise. Joint exercises can also help to build trust between member states. By working together in a realistic scenario, participants can build mutual respect and confidence in each other's capabilities. This can help to break down barriers and build trust between member states, which is crucial for the successful realization of the East African Federation.

<https://www.eac.int/press-releases/414-564-218-eac-military-command-post-exercise-codenamed-ushirikiano-imara-2016-concludes-in-nairobi>

²⁷ Mamdani, M. (2011). The East African federation: challenges for the future.

²⁸ Mamdani, M. (2011). The East African federation: challenges for the future.

²⁹ Kiraso, B. B. (2009). EAC integration process and enabling peace and security architecture.

The development of trust and cooperation among member states is also crucial for building a strong sense of regional identity. By working together towards a common goal, member states can develop a shared sense of purpose and build a stronger sense of regional identity.³⁰ This can help to overcome any challenges that may arise during the process of integration, and build momentum towards the successful realization of the East African Federation. It is prudent to always remember that national interests are at play and all states should always feel that integration will lead to gains not losses for them.

The East African Community has an annual rotational Command Post Exercise code-named "Ushirikiano Imara,". The exercise involves troops from all the member states and is aimed at improving coordination and communication among the armed forces.³¹ During the exercise, the troops practise responding to various security threats, including terrorism, piracy, and organized crime from a command and policy level. The joint military exercise is significant in fostering trust and cooperation among the member states especially from the managerial level. It demonstrates the potential for joint military operations in the region and showcased the capabilities of the armed forces to work together to address regional security challenges. The exercise also helps to create a common understanding of security challenges and solutions among the member states.

In 2018, the East African Standby Force conducted a joint field exercise, code-named "Ushirikiano Wetu," in Uganda. The exercise focused on testing the readiness and capabilities of the force in responding to regional security threats. During the exercise, the force practiced responding to various scenarios, including natural disasters, terrorism, and cross-border conflicts.³² The joint exercise was significant in demonstrating the commitment of the member states to work together in addressing regional security challenges. It showcased the potential of the standby force in maintaining peace and security in the region and highlighted the importance of regional cooperation in addressing security threats. The exercise also helped to create a common understanding of security challenges and solutions among the member states.

Strengthening Defence Liaison Mechanisms

The realization of the East African Federation, as suggested requires the strengthening of regional defense liaison mechanisms. This involves improving the collaboration, communication, and coordination among defense forces from different countries within the region. Establishing formal or informal mechanisms to facilitate information and intelligence sharing, collaborative planning, and decision-making on issues pertaining to regional security is part of the process.³³ The main objective is to promote greater cooperation and coordination among the defense forces

³⁰ Mamdani, M. (2011). The East African federation: challenges for the future.

³¹ Owaka, S. P. & Mutabazi, F. (March 31, 2021). EAC Military Command Post Exercise codenamed Ushirikiano Imara 2019 concludes in Tanzania. *East African Community*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/414-564-218-eac-military-command-post-exercise-codenamed-ushirikiano-imara-2016-concludes-in-nairobi>

³² Owaka, S. P. & Mutabazi, F. (March 31, 2021). EAC Military Command Post Exercise codenamed Ushirikiano Imara 2019 concludes in Tanzania. *East African Community*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/414-564-218-eac-military-command-post-exercise-codenamed-ushirikiano-imara-2016-concludes-in-nairobi>

³³ Varhola, L. R., & Sheperd, T. E. (2013). Africa and the United States—A Military Perspective. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 35(6), 325-332.

in order to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of defense operations. This may entail providing logistical and infrastructure support as well as exchanging intelligence and information on widespread security threats.

Intelligence sharing is crucial for the success of any security operation. This is especially true in the context of the East African Federation, which it faces a range of trans-national security challenges, including terrorism, organized crime, and political instability.³⁴ Intelligence sharing can help member states to identify and respond to these threats in a more coordinated and effective manner. Intelligence sharing can enhance situational awareness by providing member states with a more comprehensive understanding of the security situation in the region. From an intelligence perspective, the states have an enormous information collection potential and this can greatly enhance joint analysis and fusion if a credible and acceptable sharing mechanism can be instituted and sustained. This can help to identify patterns of criminal activity, track the threats for effective disruption and mitigation.

Intelligence sharing can also help to build trust and cooperation between member states. By working together to address common security challenges, member states can develop a deeper understanding of each other's security concerns and priorities. This can help to reduce the potential for misunderstandings and conflicts that could undermine the success of the federation.

One example of successful intelligence sharing in the East African region is the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Security Sector Program (SSP). The SSP is a regional security initiative that aims to enhance the capacity of IGAD member states to address common security challenges.³⁵ Through the SSP, member states share intelligence on terrorism, cross-border crime, and political instability. This has enabled them to conduct more effective and coordinated operations, such as the joint military operation against the militant group Al-Shabaab in Somalia. Another example is the East African Standby Force (EASF). The EASF is a regional military organization that aims to promote peace and security in the East African region. Through the EASF, member states share intelligence and resources to address common security challenges.³⁶ An excellent model to borrow from would be the Five Eyes model of USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and due to the geographical proximity of EAC members, the interaction will be effective in addition to the ability of digital processes.

Every security operation must have strong infrastructure and logistical support to be successful. This is especially true for the East African Federation, which confronts significant logistical and infrastructure difficulties. Sharing logistics and infrastructure can enhance the mobility and reach of member states' security forces.³⁷ For example, if a member state lacks the necessary transportation resources to reach a particular area, another member state can provide logistical support, such as aircraft or vehicles, to enhance their mobility and reach.

³⁴ Walsh, J. I. (2009). *The international politics of intelligence sharing*. Columbia University Press.

³⁵ Oloruntoba, S. O. (2020). *Pan-Africanism, regional integration and development in Africa* (pp. 1-14). Springer International Publishing.

³⁶ Varhola, L. R., & Sheperd, T. E. (2013). Africa and the United States—A Military Perspective. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 35(6), 325-332.

³⁷ Enns, C., & Bersaglio, B. (2020). On the coloniality of “new” mega-infrastructure projects in East Africa. *Antipode*, 52(1), 101-123.

The capacity of member nations to interact with one another may be improved by sharing communication infrastructure. This is crucial for organizing cooperative activities and swiftly reacting to security concerns. If one country doesn't have a sophisticated communications infrastructure, for instance, another might help by providing contemporary tools like satellite phones and radios. A member state's financial burden may be lessened by sharing infrastructure and logistics. Member nations may share the expense of constructing and maintaining vital logistical infrastructure, like as ports, airports, and border crossings, by pooling their resources. This may encourage better resource efficiency and lessen the financial burden on individual member states.

One example of successful logistics and infrastructure support in the East African region is the East African Community (EAC) One Stop Border Posts (OSBP) program. The OSBP program aims to promote trade and regional integration by improving the efficiency of cross-border trade. Through the OSBP program, member states have established joint border posts that enable goods and people to be processed at a single location.³⁸ By making it possible for member nations to exchange information and plan their operations, this has decreased the time and expense associated with crossing borders and improved security. The Djibouti-Ethiopia Railway is another example that the EAC can learn from. The railway is a cooperative initiative between Djibouti and Ethiopia with the goal of enhancing travel options between the two nations. Djibouti and Ethiopia have been able to strengthen their economic and security connections by splitting the expense of constructing and maintaining the railway. Also, the railway has increased the mobility of its security staff, allowing them to react more quickly to regional security issues.

Conclusion

The actualization of The East African Federation is an aspiration that involves an all-of-society approach. The region is on the right path with the steps made by the EAC on both the political and economic spheres, though there is still a long way to go. It is therefore clear that each of the small mile stones needs to be well executed and achieved so that cumulatively significant progress is made towards the dream. This paper has looked at the potential of Defence cooperation as one of the milestones that can progress the process. An integrated security architecture will go a long way in setting the pre-conditions for an eventual stable and secure Federation. It is therefore recommended that the EAC Defence Forces institutionalize Joint professional military training, Joint Field Exercises and Mechanisms for intelligence training and security related infrastructure.

³⁸ Kaburu, M. & Logan, C. (Sept. 9, 2022). What do Africans think about the proposed East African Federation? *The Washington Post*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/09/eac-east-african-federation/>

REFERENCES

- Akoth, M. (2017). *The role of regional integration in promoting peace and security: A case of East African Community* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).
- Burgess, S. (2018). Military Intervention in Africa.
- Enns, C., & Bersaglio, B. (2020). On the coloniality of “new” mega-infrastructure projects in East Africa. *Antipode*, 52(1), 101-123.
- Kaburu, M. & Logan, C. (Sept. 9, 2022). What do Africans think about the proposed East African Federation? *The Washington Post*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/09/09/eac-east-african-federation/>
- Kiraso, B. B. (2009). EAC integration process and enabling peace and security architecture.
- Malisa, M., & Nhengeze, P. (2018). Pan-Africanism: A quest for liberation and the pursuit of a united Africa. *Genealogy*, 2(3), 28.
- Mamdani, M. (2011). The East African federation: challenges for the future.
- Oloruntoba, S. O. (2020). *Pan-Africanism, regional integration and development in Africa* (pp. 1-14). Springer International Publishing.
- Ong’oyi, M. K. (2021). *The influence of national interest on regional integration: the case of Kenya in the East African community* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).
- Owaka, S. P. & Mutabazi, F. (March 31, 2021). EAC Military Command Post Exercise codenamed Ushirikiano Imara 2019 concludes in Tanzania. *East African Community*. Retrieved March 11, 2023, from <https://www.eac.int/press-releases/414-564-218-eac-military-command-post-exercise-codenamed-ushirikiano-imara-2016-concludes-in-nairobi>.
- Reuben, A., Kigen, M., & Stephen, H. (2022). Border Security Challenges: a Case Study of Kenya and Somalia Border Relations (1991-2017). *Path of Science*, 8(5), 2001-2006.
- Snyder, H. (2019). Literature review as a research methodology: An overview and guidelines. *Journal of business research*, 104, 333-339.
- Van Klinken, A. (2020). Queer Pan-Africanism in contemporary Africa. In *Routledge handbook of Pan-Africanism* (pp. 343-354). Routledge.
- Varhola, L. R., & Sheperd, T. E. (2013). Africa and the United States—A Military Perspective. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 35(6), 325-332.
- Vaughan, C. (2019). The politics of regionalism and federation in East Africa, 1958–1964. *The Historical Journal*, 62(2), 519-540.

Walsh, J. I. (2009). *The international politics of intelligence sharing*. Columbia University Press.

Were, E. (2022). East African infrastructural development race: a sign of postmodern Pan-Africanism? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 35(4), 566-591.

Word, L. (2012). The State of East Africa 2012. *Development*, 55(4), 554-556.