

Lake Victoria Region



List of Contents

Abbreviations	5
1. Introduction	7
1.1. Objectives and methodology	7
Methodology material and timeframe	8
Material	9
1.2. Theoretical framework	9
Conflict analysis – structural violence reduction	10
1.3. Outline of the report	12
2. A conflict analysis of the Lake Victoria Region	14
2.1. Physical description of Lake Victoria	15
2.2. Lake Victoria from an ecological perspective	17
2.3. Lake Victoria from three national perspectives	18
Lake Victoria from a Ugandan perspective	19
Lake Victoria from a Kenyan perspective	21
Lake Victoria from a Tanzanian perspective	24
2.4. Lake Victoria from an East African perspective	29
Conflict dynamics in economic integration	30
Monetary and financial policy coordination	31
Taxation and trade tariffs	31
Conflict dynamics in the energy sector	33
2.5. Conflict dynamics in the mining sector	35
Market structures marginalise local actors	37
Organisation of public administration	38
Degradation of the environment	39
2.6. Conflict dynamics in the fishing sector	39
Market structures marginalise local actors	40
Organisation of public administration	41
Decreased biodiversity	42
Unsustainable fishing practices	43
Decreased basin environment pollutes the lake	43
2.7. Brief actor reviews	44
2.8. Lake Victoria from a Nile basin perspective	44
Increased water demand and conflict in the Nile basin	45
Lack of legitimate institutions for conflict mitigation in the Nile Basin	48
The Nile Treaties	48
Nile Basin Initiative	49

3. Cross cutting issues	52
3.1. Direct violence in the Lake Victoria Region	53
Direct violence threatening peace and stability in the region	53
Militaryisation of societies in parts of the region	54
Refugees and internally displaced people	54
Arms trade —escalating conflicts	56
3.2. Structural Violence	56
Poverty processes of exclusion and marginalisation	56
Processes of exclusion and marginalisation	
— a source to political mobilisation	57
Social stratification – marginalisation and frustration gaps	58
Poverty – insecurity	58
Gender issues	59
Children rights and violence	59
HIV/AIDS	60
Crippled social service	61
Infrastructure	61
Natural resources	62
3.3. Democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building	63
Insufficient structures of governance and lack of	
democratic processes	63
Civil Society — trade unions not the least	63
The Political Society – democracy needs working	
political parties	63
3.4. Nation-states under stress	64
The Ugandan state under stress	64
Reconstruction of the Sudan	64
Kenya – a nation-state?	64
Challenges to the nation state in Tanzania	65
The spread of religious fundamentalism — reawakening	
of the Zanzibari sultanate as a political vision?	65
Clashing cultures	66
International capital: opportunity and challenges	66
3.5. Challenges from asymmetric regional integration	67
Different economic base – competing for small markets	67
EAC is what the members make of it	67
EAC caught in zero-sum power game	68
Complex of regional organisations	69
3.6. Production of knowledge and identities	69
Politics of identity	69
Media	69
4. Scenario Analysis	70
4.1. Worst-case scenario	70
Direct violence	70
Structural Violence	71
Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy	
and state building	71
Challenges from asymmetric regional integration	72
Lake Victoria issues	72
Global and (mega) regional issues	73
4.2. A best-case scenario	74
Direct violence	74
Structural violence	74

Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building	75
Challenges from asymmetric regional integration	75
Lake Victoria issues	76
Global and (mega) regional issues	76
4.3 Most realistic scenario	77
Direct violence	77
Structural violence	79
Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building	79
Challenges from asymmetric regional integration	80
Lake Victoria issues	80
Global and (mega) regional issues	81
5. Options & recommendations	82
5.1 Sources of conflict and challenges ahead – recommendations	83
Direct violence	84
Structural violence	84
Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building	85
Subsidiarity	85
Lake Victoria issues	87
Global and (mega) regional issues	89

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Abbreviations

ADF	Allied Democratic Force (Uganda)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ENSAP	Eastern Nile Subsidiary Action Programme
EU	European Union
FAO	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
ICCON	International Consortium for cooperation on the Nile
IDA	International Development Association
IDP	Internally Displaced People
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
LVDP	Lake Victoria Development Strategy and Action Plan for Sustainable Development
LVEMP	Lake Victoria Environmental Management Programme
LVFO	Lake Victoria Fisheries Organisation
LVP	Lake Victoria Programme
LVR	Lake Victoria Region
MNC	Multi-National Corporation
NBD	Nile Basin Discourse
NBI	Nile Basin Initiative
NDP	National Development Party
NELSAP	Nile Equatorial Lakes Subsidiary Action Programme
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
Nile-COM	Nile Equatorial Lakes Council of Ministers
Nile-SEC	Nile Basin Secretariat
Nile-TAC	Nile Basin Initiative Technical Advisory Committee

SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAP	Subsidiary Action Programme
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation
SVP	Shared Vision Programme
TLP	Tanzania Labour Party
TNC	Trans National Corporation
UDP	United Democratic Party
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WNBF	West Nile Bank Front

1. Introduction

During 2003, Sida is developing a strategy for Swedish development co-operation in the Lake Victoria region. Because of the complex conflict situation in the region, Sida decided to consult experts to conduct a comprehensive conflict analysis including recommendations on how donors could promote peace building in the region. Jonas Ewald was consulted to write a conflict analysis of the Lake Victoria region, Tanzania and Rwanda; Patrik Stålgren about the Lake Victoria region and Burundi; Anders Nilsson about the DRC; and Anders Närman on Uganda and Kenya. The analysis will serve as input in the strategy process. Jonas Ewald has functioned as a team leader and coordinator for the study.¹

1.1. Objectives and methodology

According to the terms of reference, the overall objective of the Strategic Conflict Analysis of the Lake Victoria is “to deepen Sida’s understanding of potential and ongoing conflicts, with the aim of strengthening Sida’s ability to contribute to conflict management responses in the regions. The analysis will include an overview of the regional conflict context in order to identify current trends within the regions and map out conflict related risks and opportunities for promoting peace, with a view to outlining a number of options for Sida’s work in the future.

The framework of the analysis will include the following parts:

1. Conflict analysis – will endeavour to map out existing and potential conflicts, and seek to understand the causes and dynamics of the conflicts as well as the forces pushing for violent conflict respectively for peace.
2. Scenario analysis – with a point of departure in the Conflict analysis above, will assess the likelihood of ongoing conflicts, as well as poten-

¹ During our work, we have benefited greatly from the assistance of a large number of people both within Sida as well as outside the organisation. Charlotte Eriksson, Inger Buxton, Lars Ekengren and K-G Olofsson at Sida/Afra and the Lake Victoria Secretariat have all been generous with their time and inputs in the study. In particular Charlotte Eriksson has created a conducive and constructive dialogue during the whole process. We are also grateful to the staffs at the embassies in the region for the time they have taken to discuss with us as well as read and comment on earlier drafts: Bo Göransson, David Viking, Per Karlsson in Nairobi, Erik Åberg in Kampala, Sten Rylander, Bertil Odeén and Marie Bergström in Dar es Salaam and Ingrid Lövsström Berg in Kigali. We have also been given the opportunity for discussing with a large number of functionaries, officials as well as researchers and NGOs in the region. We are deeply indebted to them for the time and the insights they have shared with us, some of which might conceivably appear in the report. Lennart Wohlgenut at the Nordic Africa Institute has been an invaluable discussion partner as well. We have also had the opportunity to present the report at Sida for a number of staffs that contributed valuable comments. In the end, however, it is the authors who are responsible for the text and views in this report.

tial conflicts, increasing, decreasing or remaining stable, will give likely future conflict scenarios and assess their probability.

3. Developing strategies and options – with a point of departure in the Conflict analysis and Scenario analysis as well as a dialogue with Sida, will identify opportunities and risks for Sida's and other donors' work in the regions and in the individual countries. The strategies and options should emanate from an understanding of local and regional processes, the needs of local ownership and Sida's previous engagements within the regions".² (Full ToR in appendix).

Methodology material and timeframe

The work commenced in May 2003 with consultations with desk officers at Sida/Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), the embassies/delegations in Kigali, Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam. Sida provided background material and the team collected and analysed relevant literature and research material. Interviews were conducted with stakeholders and key informants in Sweden.

The main fieldwork for the Lake Victoria study was done in June 2003, with followups in September and November in connection with other assignments.³ Interviews/consultations were conducted with Sida/embassy staff and field staff, government and elected representatives at different levels, political/military actors, NGOs, representatives from religious organisations, researchers, other countries' embassies/aid agency staff and journalists. The interviews were conducted with the help of semi-structured question guides or as guided conversations. In selecting interviewees, the team sought to hear the views of Swedish representatives and the informants usually used by the Swedish aid and embassy staff, on the one hand, and on the other, to seek to go beyond these channels in order to gather information from diverse sources and various actors, not least from the networks the various team members had built up after several years' work in the region. As some of the information gathered could be of a sensitive nature, most interviews were conducted under the assurance of anonymity. Nowhere in the report will we link any individual or organisation to any type of statement, and vice versa, none of the information in this report can be attributed or linked to one individual. We have systematically triangulated and/or validated all information from as diverse sources as possible and if we received controversial statements or information, we have always used at least two different sources before inclusion in our analysis. However, it should be

² Terms of Reference for strategic conflict analyses of Lake Victoria and Great Lake Regions. Sida/Stockholm May 2003.

³ The fieldwork was carried out in three phases: Jonas Ewald visited Dar es Salaam briefly in late April. In June, the team travelled together to Nairobi, Kampala and from Kampala Patrik Stålgren went to Burundi while the other three continued to Kigali. In Kigali the team was joined by Paulino Macaringue and Eugene Ntanganda. From Kigali Anders Närman returned to Sweden while Anders Nilsson, Jonas Ewald and Paulino Macaringue travelled to DRC (Bukavu and Goma). Jonas Ewald returned later to Kigali while Nilsson continued to Kinshasa. Eugene Ntanganda worked first with Stålgren in Burundi and later returned to work with Ewald in Rwanda. Jonas Ewald made a second field visit in August/September to Rwanda and Anders Nilsson to DRC. Initially a very tight deadline was set up for the Lake Victoria part of the project, which forced the team to make clear priorities. In that context, it was decided that the team would not visit Tanzania; the reason being twofold. Firstly it was considered that the situation in Kenya, Ugandan, Rwanda and Burundi was much more precarious and thus motivated stronger attention. Secondly, the Embassy in Tanzania was consulted briefly in connection with another assignment in early May, and several of the team members felt that the situation in Tanzania had been well covered by previous research undertakings. Team members had visited both Dar es Salaam and the East African Community secretariat in March and April. However, we understood later that it was a mistake not to include a visit to Tanzania in our field visit. It was, however, almost impossible to be able to do so according to the first time plan allocated to the study. The time plan was later extended and allowed us to consult the Swedish Embassy and other stakeholders in Tanzania in November.

noted that ultimately we rely on our own interpretations of plausibility and likelihood.

Material

The material used has been the customary mix of governmental reports and steering documents, research reports, national and international NGOs reports, books, papers and news media. It should be evident that the short time at our disposal for this work constitutes a major obstacle to any 'primary research'. Thus, we rely entirely on written sources and the interviews and informal conversations that we had conducted on our tour in the region.

However, from a methodological point of view it is important to say that our considerations are based on a first step in a triangulation process, in which we construct our first interpretation of the situation and its dynamics based on three pillars. The first one is our pre-understanding of the situation, including our (somewhat individually different) theory assumptions. The second pillar is our reading of books and reports, and the third being our direct impressions from interviews and conversations, as well as our observation of concrete expressions of societal phenomena. Triangulation as a methodological approach to reliability means that we have to allow our interpretation to be scrutinised by the actors themselves, and other observers that we rely on.

Thus, it is with a great measure of humbleness and respect for the complex situation that we leave this text to the reader.

There are numerous descriptions of the course of the conflicts, both in its national and regional dimensions, documented in consultancy reports, conference papers and books. Therefore, we assume that the interested reader of this report is reasonably well informed about the empirical expressions of the conflicts. We will then concentrate our efforts on the analytical side. We have chosen this analytical approach because of our conviction, that measures to be taken in any context of international development cooperation must be based on a thorough understanding of the dynamics of, say, an armed conflict. Thus, where possible, the analytical side of investigation should be prioritised, rather than the descriptive.

We also actively try to minimise descriptions of the theoretical approaches, which underpin our analysis. However, we do give brief accounts of our underlying basic assumptions, as well as of our understanding of the main concepts that appear below.

1.2. Theoretical framework

We do in principle, try to follow the reporting structure proposed in the ToR, based on the DFID's conflict analysis approach – 'Conducting Conflict Assessments: Guidance Notes'. Although this structure sometimes contradicts our holistic ideal, we have tried to overcome these potential obstacles as smoothly as possible. We have done so to some extent, but supplemented with some more theoretical assumptions, guiding our understanding of the conflict dynamics.

Conflict analysis – structural violence reduction

It has become fashionable in conflict analysis to take a position in the dichotomised debate on greed or grievances as the main explanations for contemporary violent conflicts. Both being elusive concepts, they seem to escape operative possibility. Beyond this, greed as a personality trait has a primordial and pejorative position in Western and Christian culture since the 'Ten Commandments'. Thus, its strength as an analytical tool does not seem too relevant. The choice of wording decides: By defining the illness in such morally and ethically entrenched concepts, a thorough deconstruction of the social phenomenon is seldom called for.

Instead we search for an improved understanding of contemporary conflicts within the framework of three overlapping layers of sources of conflict, formulated by John Burton (Burton, 1990), where possible sources of conflict may be divided into three categories: interests, values and basic human needs.

The basic idea is that sources of conflict can be distributed between three different categories, with the following features.

Interests are here understood as material or monetary claims, which are clearly over and above is required for physical survival, but still within the framework of what can be socially justifiable in any societal context. The proper nature of these kinds of claims makes them objects for negotiations, thus interests as a source of conflict are less prone to end up in violence. However, as will be noted below, claims of interests may also be accompanied by strong perceptions of their social justifiability, especially if vindicated by marginalised elite groups. Struggle for political influence/power in order to secure access to resources – or to sustain/augment security could also be seen as a part of interests.

Values, as a category of sources of conflict, is here understood as including issues linked to culture, ideology, religion, participation, freedom of expression, citizenship, etc. The idea is that obstacles to people's free choices of the value content of their lives may create tensions, which, if not removed, may contribute to conflict escalation, including armed conflict. Although values in this sense may be altered individually (people may, for example, convert to other religions, or substitute one ideology for another) collective changes or collectively felt obstacles are harder to negotiate than claims of interests.

Basic Human Needs are understood not only in its material dimension, as food, shelter, water, and long-term survival. It also includes other, and immaterial, social human needs, as identity, belonging, dignity, long-term group survival, language, reproductive rights, etc. In this sense, the satisfaction of basic human needs is not negotiable. Any durable situation of non-fulfilment of these needs will inevitably imply increased risks for future violent conflicts.

Thus, what we are dealing with is an approach to conflict analysis, in which we see these three clusters of sources of conflict as layers of more or less conflict prone societal conditions, of which the interaction is essential to understand. One party of a conflict may be driven by deeply felt sentiments at the 'values' layer, combined with more or less other salient layers, while another part may be understood as having its basic sources of conflict at the basic human needs level. In reality, most conflict actors display various degrees of dissatisfaction from all three levels.

Although we recognise that some sources of conflict may be more entrenched than others in people's perceptions and cognitive structures, our approach also leads us to try to avoid the concept of 'root causes' of armed conflicts. Independently of how 'root causes' are defined, the concept invites a hierarchy of 'causes', in which some are not accounted for since they are not sufficiently 'rooted', and others are not accounted for, since they are not considered 'noble' enough to be considered 'rooted' (Anderson, 1997?). Altogether, this imposes a limitation on the analysis, because it excludes the perception and the rightfulness the actors themselves attach to their engagement in an armed conflict.

A second part of the analysis is the institutional/structural context/order in which different actors/conflict dynamics operate. Available frameworks for negotiations/political interaction, its degree of legitimacy and inclusion as well as capacity are of crucial importance for the way conflict dynamic unfolds. Lack of – or insufficient – legitimate and inclusive political structures, rule of law and good governance, democratic or inclusive political culture etc., amplifies existing conflicts. (Development, or at least slowly improving conditions also for the majority, is as well an important part of the structural context for conflicts.)

Before going into the more palpable parts of the analysis, there are two more theoretical assumptions underlying our analytical approach.

The first assumption is derived from the idea that there are three different areas of sources of conflict. This means that the possible sources of conflict for all actors can be analysed within the same framework. Hence, we have to try to look into the motivational processes of both groups of the population and the rank-and-file recruits to different movements and rebellions, and to the elite and leadership layers of the same organisations. Both of them possess their own specific combination of sources from the three areas, which can be analysed and, maybe, better understood.

Finally, it should be noted that elite and rank-and-file dynamics in our approach should be analysed simultaneously. Elite contradictions, how acute they may seem, cannot develop any broader violent activities if there is no meeting point between elite efforts to instrumentalise their political activities, and a growing discontent among the population of a 'suitable' identity group. We may talk about vulnerability for violent mobilisation, or politicisation of identity if there is a degree of confidence between elite and broader layers of that group of identity. The point is that this meeting point between mobilised rank-and-file and mobilising elites has to be reached if societal violence is to develop beyond inter-elite coups or individual assassinations. An analysis of each actors specific combination of sources of conflicts, and their respective negotiability, is therefore paramount if we want to identify possible interventions within the available battery of humanitarian assistance, and development co-operation measures, in order to work in, and especially if we want to work on, the conflict.

Attached to this idea of three different realms of sources of conflicts is the perception that 'gaps of frustration' are a main dynamic force in conflict escalation. A 'gap of frustration' is understood as the gap between an identity group's socially justifiable aspirations, and the same group's own perception of its possibility to satisfy these aspirations.

This, as hinted above, implies that a frustration gap can emerge within any identity group, among its elite as well as among peasants and/or ordinary grass-root people, on the margin of material survival. Gaps of frustration, defined in this way, imply that also conflicting elites in a society can be analysed with a reference to what they themselves consider to be their justifiable rights. Thus, also sources of conflict within the realm of interests, though more negotiable than other sources, may heavily contribute to conflicts, if the gap of frustration widens among the elites.

In this context, we find it useful to bring in Amartya Sen and his theoretical framework for analysing poverty. The deprivation of entitlements – and thus capabilities to develop – is an important explanation for poverty, as well as ground for political mobilisation.

In the text and in our analysis we use a broad definition of conflict. It thus refers both to open armed struggle over political power and to conflicting interest that must not necessarily take a violent form.

We prefer to distinguish between direct violence and structural violence, where we perceive structural violence, in the tradition from Galtung and informed by Sen's theories, as the most important underlying condition for conflicts. Consequently, 'structural violence reduction' is a necessary strategy in order to create condition for peaceful development. In using the expression 'structural violence reduction', we want to emphasise that efforts to address potential conflicts should go beyond the common expression of poverty alleviation. Thus, we see poverty alleviation as a humanitarian imperative in all contexts. However, when we are dealing with conflicts and conflict analysis, more attention should be directed at identifying root causes among the multifold expressions of structural violence, which surround most armed conflicts in Africa. Hence, poverty alleviation is an important part of structural violence reduction, though the concept of structural violence also tries to include the structures and dynamics of political and economic power, which create poverty in the first hand.

1.3. Outline of the report

The report is organised into five chapters. The second chapter makes a conflict analysis of Lake Victoria by envisaging the region in four different ways: Lake Victoria from an ecologic perspective; from three national perspectives; from an East African perspective; and from a Nile Basin perspective, respectively. In addition, a review of the main actors is made. The third chapter brings out five crosscutting conflict issues in the region: Direct violence; structural violence; democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building; challenges from asymmetric integration; and lastly, production of knowledge and identities. The fourth chapter spells out scenarios and the last chapter policy options and recommendations.

The report encompasses analyses of three different countries and a complex regional process with unclear boundaries. We envisaged that most readers of this report have detailed information about the context to the respective programme areas, but perhaps not on all three countries and the regional processes. We have consequently endeavoured to strike a balance between bringing in enough empirical information to make the essence of the analytical section more concrete, but without overburden-

ing the reader with too many nitty gritty details. The advantage of the approach is that the text – conceivably – could serve many different readers. There are few texts available that actually try to analyse the contemporary situation in all the countries in the same framework. I hope that some crosscutting themes; interconnections and new perspectives emerge from this exercise. The drawback of course is that the text becomes a bit lengthy; on the other hand, it is easy for the reader to omit sections they are familiar with.

2. A conflict analysis of the Lake Victoria Region

From a conflict perspective, it is futile to regard the Lake Victoria region as one unit. The lake and its basin area are made up of a complex web of social, political, and economic dynamics presented at local, national, and global levels. At the same time the actors in the region live in social manifestations, norms and institutions in a process of social constructions and reconstruction. Moreover, the boundaries of the Lake Victoria region are fluid. It could be envisaged as a set of concentric circles with the lake itself in the middle, with the widest circle encompassing the outmost sources and outlets of the Nile basin – stretching from the hinterland of Burundi and Rwanda, including the Ethiopian highlands as well as Somalia, the Sudan and Egypt.

We approach the complexity and multidimensionality of Lake Victoria by envisaging the region in four different ways. Each ‘cut’ of the region displays a separate set of actors, structure constellations, and dynamics. The focus of the report is on the “inner” circles of cooperation and conflicts around the lake itself.

- 1) Lake Victoria from an ecologic perspective: This perspective brings out a conflict dynamics made up of increased structural constraints created by decreasing resources in the ecosystem and hence increased potential for social mobilisation and political discontent building on a deprivation of livelihood.
- 2) Lake Victoria from three national perspectives: This perspective stresses the fact that Lake Victoria is composed of nation states each claiming to represent the legitimate power over its territory and to be the custodian of its nation’s interests. As such, Lake Victoria and its conflict dynamics must be seen in light of the wider conflict configurations in the respective riparian states. Separate sections are thus used to contextualise the lake from Ugandan, Kenyan, and Tanzanian perspectives. Conflict challenges that exist in the wider geographical area, but which are not necessarily directly linked to water resources or the lake itself. If these conflicts are not managed they might directly or indirectly affect the Lake Victoria cooperation, e.g. through increased transaction cost, lack of legitimacy or destruction of institutions or physical assets founded by the programme. This explains why we bring in different conflict dimensions or perspectives into the different sec-

tions of the report, which might at times appear to be far from the waters of Lake Victoria.

- 3) Lake Victoria from an East African perspective: This perspective takes as its point of departure the symbiotic relationship between Lake Victoria and the wider integration process in EAC. The conflict dynamic that emerges from this perspective focus is firstly the need for the Lake Victoria region to obtain its political legitimacy from the incumbent, national, political structures; and secondly on how the conflict configurations in a number of key sectors are directly linked to the lake region through geographic functional proximity, or indirectly through their role in the wider regional integration process.
- 4) Lake Victoria from a Nile basin perspective: Following the flow of Lake Victoria brings in the Nile basin perspective. As much as a Lake Victoria perspective must account for the context in the riparian states, it must consider the fact that the lake is part of the Nile. In a manner similar to the conflict configuration in the immediate Lake Victoria basin, the Nile basin ushers in conflicts concerning water scarcity and water development projects. What is more, this perspective forces us to take into account a conflict dynamic built around a line of contention between the predominantly Christian southern part of the Nile, and the predominantly Islamic, Arabic part in the north.

We will bring to light conflicts related directly to the work of the organisation/institutions carrying out the programme and conflicts/challenges related to the symbolic meaning of the Lake Victoria cooperation within the four dimensions. Using these four perspectives on the lake calls for an attentive reading of this report. Changes in perspectives and emphasis may at times be as demanding for the reader as it has been for the writers. The rationale of our structure is this: To be able to address the real and potential conflicts in the region we must understand them as interactive processes simultaneously exposing the region and its inhabitants to strains, frustrations, and insecurity, but also to venues for collective action.

2.1. Physical description of Lake Victoria

Lake Victoria, with a surface area of 68,800 km² and adjoining catchments of 184,000 km², is the world's second largest surface of fresh water, and the largest in the developing world, second only to Lake Superior in size. Lake Victoria touches the Equator in its northern reaches, and is relatively shallow, reaching a maximum depth of about 80 m, and an average depth of about 40 m. The lake's shoreline is long (about 3,500 km) and convoluted, enclosing innumerable small, shallow bays and inlets, many of which include swamps and wetlands that differ a great deal from one another and from the lake itself. Because the lake is shallow, its volume is substantially less than that of other Eastern African lakes with a much smaller surface area. Lake Victoria holds about 2,760 km³ of water, only 15 percent of the volume of Lake Tanganyika, even though the latter has less than half the surface area.

Table 1. Lake Victoria per country

Country	Lake surface area		Shoreline		Tributary basin	
	Km ²	percent	km	percent	km ²	percent
Kenya	4,113	6	550	17	38,913	21.5
Tanzania	33,756	49	1150	33	79,570	44
Uganda	31,001	45	1750	50	28,857	15.9
Rwanda	0	0	0	0	20,550	11.4
Burundi	0	0	0	0	13,060	7.2
Total	68,870	100	3450	100	180,950	100

Map of Lake Victoria in a Nile Basin perspective



Source: Slightly adjusted from
<http://www.worldbank.org/afr/nilebasin/nileimages/afr-nbi-map.gif>

Some 85 percent of the water entering the lake comes from precipitation directly on to the lake surface; the remainder comes from rivers, which drain the surrounding catchments. The most significant of these rivers, the Kagera, contributes roughly 7 percent of the total inflow, or one-half of that over and above direct precipitation. The Kagera River, which rises in the highlands of Burundi and Rwanda, forms the border between Rwanda and Tanzania before turning to the east, and flows for at least 150 km completely in Tanzanian territory. It discharges into the lake just north of the border between Tanzania and Uganda.

Some 85 percent of the water leaving the lake does so through direct evaporation from its surface, and the remaining 15 percent largely by way of the Victoria Nile, which leaves the lake near Jinja in Uganda, and flows via the Owen Falls, Lake Kyoga, and the Murchison Falls to join the outflow from Lake Albert; these two outflows are the main sources of the “White Nile”. The annual outflow at Owen Falls is around 38 km³. Add to that the fact that before Lake Victoria’s water reaches the lower parts of the Nile basin, it is subjected to significant evaporation due to great swamps in the Sudan.⁴ Never the less, the lake’s connection to the Nile basin has gained increasing political attention and will be further analysed below.

2.2. Lake Victoria from an ecological perspective

The ecosystem of the lake catchments, forming the habitat for an estimated 30 million people and a unique fauna and flora, is being degraded. Today the gross economic product of the lake catchments is in the order of US\$ 3–4 billion annually, and supports its population at incomes in the range of US\$ 90–270 per capita p.a. The lake catchments thus provides for the livelihood of about one third of the combined populations of the three countries, and about the same proportion of the combined gross domestic product in the three riparian states. However, deforestation has followed as a result of the increase in human population in the riparian area, which has put pressure on the forests for agricultural land, timber, firewood and habitation. This deforestation, coupled with bad agricultural practices, has degraded the soil leading to siltation along the rivers into the lake. Agro-chemicals and industrial effluents are now polluting the lake, while deforestation, soil erosion and increasing human and livestock populations have all contributed to an increased nutrient loading which in turn has brought about eutrophication by a factor of five. Eutrophication has increased algal populations, caused deoxygenation of deep water and created conditions favourable for growth of noxious weeds such as water hyacinth.

One of the sectors most hurt by the degradation of Lake Victoria is the fishing sector, which is of paramount economic and social importance in the region. The number of fish species has decreased dramatically. From a fauna of some five hundred species, there is today a concentration on only three species of which the Nile perch is of dominate economic significance. The declining annual yields of Nile perch are commonly attributed to the degradation of the basin’s ecosystem. In addition, the spread of the water hyacinth has a direct effect on the fishing sector as

⁴ Lake Victoria: A Case in International Cooperation; Wulf Klohn and Mihailo Andjelic Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

the hyacinth occasionally blocks the fishermen's access to the waters of the lake.

Moreover, wetlands, which normally filter the water before entering the lake are under stress. The total area of wetlands has decreased as some wetlands have been claimed for agricultural use, industrial development and human settlements. Other wetlands have been drained to control human disease vectors, while still others have been excessively harvested. Many wetlands have received too much pollution to the extent that they cannot perform their filtration function efficiently. Therefore, pollutants normally retained by wetlands enter the lake unchecked, thus further contributing to the deterioration of the Lake.⁵

The general low-level capacity of the official administrative systems in the riparian states is one reason behind the high level of pollution into the lake (see further elaboration of this dynamic below). Moreover, polluting industries typically play a vital role in the countries economies and are backed by political interests. A significant proportion of the tea and coffee growers in Kenya – known for their extensive use of fertilisers – are found in the headwaters of streams feeding into Lake Victoria. Close to the lake, sugar cane and rice, also contributing to export earnings, are grown in areas that were formerly wetlands.

The degradation ecosystem in the basin is not in itself a source of conflict. It should rather be regarded as an underlying structural factor, which may, in combination with other factors, hold a conflict potential. Two main conflict dynamics can be identified.

- (i) The degradation ecosystem accelerates other structural factors known to be conducive to conflicts. In particular, the degradation of the environmental resource base of the basin increases ill health, decreases economic productivity and causes poverty. In the long term, the resource base of the basin is drained of its capacity to sustain its inhabitants. A lack of subsidiary revenue basis may lead to severe social frustration, social mobilisation, and tensions of regional magnitude.
 - (ii) The degraded ecosystem can be used by politically ambitious actors to mobilise social discontent, which may spark violent conflicts.
- In practice, these two dynamics are typically intertwined whereby the degrading ecosystem contributes to the undermining of the social and economic livelihood in the region creating an inflammable social situation used by political actors to mobilise society for conflict.

2.3. Lake Victoria from three national perspectives

To understand the conflict dynamics of LVR, we must consider the fact that the region is composed of nation states each claiming to represent the legitimate political power over its territory and the position of custodian of its national interests. Surely there is an increasing regional dynamic that gives LVR per se an independent dynamic. But to an overwhelming extent, the lake region is what the states make of it.

Therefore the following section portrays LVR as three parts; Lake Victoria from a Ugandan, Kenyan and Tanzanian perspective. From this national contextualisation we bring out a number of crosscutting conflict dynamics that – in varying degrees – are found in the three countries.

⁵ Gehab et al p 104

Together these dynamics contribute to the region's conflict configuration elaborated in a separate section of the report. The point that we want to bring out is this: Whereas LVR forms part of three specific national contexts, it shares a regional conflict dynamics. But to understand and address these dynamics they must also be seen in their national manifestations. Each country analysis start with a description of the situation in the areas around the lake.

Lake Victoria from a Ugandan perspective

Resources

The area next to Lake Victoria is an important part of Uganda economically. An intensive commercial agriculture was developed during the early colonial days. Important crops during that time were sugar cane, coffee and tea. Towards the Kenyan border cotton was also of significance. An important sugar processing plant has been established in Kakira. At present, we can also see how peasant farmers are intensively cultivating products such as vanilla, pepper and cocoa. Besides the cash crops people grow the staple food, e.g. bananas and to a certain extent sweet potatoes.

Even if the area close to Lake Victoria is very fertile, there is at present a strain on the land. According to the population census of 2002, the average population of Uganda had a density of 126 per sq km. For the Central Region (basically Buganda) the corresponding figure was 179. However, for the districts at the shoreline many are calculated to reach well over 200 inhabitants per sq km. At the same time we find the highest population density in the region close to Kenya (outside Buganda), with Jinja (590), Iganga (328), Bugiri (272), Busia (312) and Tororo (346).

Some of the major industrial, commercial and administrative urban centres are located close to the Lake, Kampala (the capital), Entebbe (the former capital) and Jinja. Before the Amin period, some Asian families heavily dominated industrial activities. At present, some of them have returned and are engaged in the reconstruction of some industrial plants.

Rapid urbanisation particularly in Kampala, but also in Masaka, Jinja and Iganga has been coupled to an increased rate of youth unemployment. This is a matter of grave insecurity and escalating crime rates. It has also been argued that these towns have been a fertile ground for a fundamentalist Islamic movement. A number of youths among them have been recruited by the rebel group ADF in Ruwenzori Mountains or for terrorist attacks in Kampala City and other urban areas.

Poverty

In a poverty analysis for Uganda at the end of the 1990s it was noted that the achievements were pretty encouraging, even if the percentage living in absolute poverty was set at 44 (compared with the target of 10). However, it is also noted that the advantages have been unevenly spread in the country. In the Central Region (basically Buganda) the figure was down to 28 percent in 1997, compared with 45 in the early part of the 1990s. In addition, the Western region had been fairly successful, with the North noted for the least improvements. Comparing other indices and trends it seems obvious that the Central Region has the highest literacy rates.

In a similar followup during the early parts of the 2000s we can note corresponding results, with Central Region as the best achievers. At the same time, the most positive trends can be found in the Western Region. Still far behind are the districts in the North, which are also under a state of heavy insecurity. This makes the picture of the distribution of poverty in Uganda conflate with the general pattern of a North as the most marginalised from an economic, political, as well as security perspective.

Historical context

In the pre-colonial times what is now Uganda was constituted by a number of kingdoms of various sizes and influence, next to communities of peasant farming and pastoralism. In time two of these kingdoms acquired a special status, e.g. Buganda and Bunyoro, of which the former was located just to the north of Lake Victoria. Missionary activities in Buganda were dominated by the British in the central areas, while the French came to put their stamp on the southern part of Buganda. With the British colonial strategy from the late 1800s, Buganda came to occupy a favoured place in the region. The King (Kabaka) could trace his ancestry back for some millennia and he was given a prominent position in the British Commonwealth.

At the time of Independence there were attempts made to make the Buganda kingdom into a separate country. In a historical compromise, the Kabaka was made to function as the Head of State, while he was given a Langi Prime Minister from the present Lira District in the northern parts of the country (Milton Obote). To a certain extent, this solution came to be one of the unfortunate events that lead up to a long and volatile independence. Often the year 1966 has been given as a point in time for the outbreak of these conflicts, as the Kabaka was overthrown and Obote elected himself executive President. At his side at the time was the head of the military forces Idi Amin.

Obote lost power in a military coup; this was partly caused by a threat against Amin that he was going to be put on trial for his shady deals with what was then Zaire. The country was then ruled, with a brief exception in 1979–80, by people from the North, Obote (twice), Amin and Tito Okello. During this time the national army was to be dominated by people from the North.

Even if the Buganda kingdom came to be regarded as marginalised from the National policies it was impossible to rule without at least the token support from the Baganda. Consequently, Amin brought the remains of the late Kabaka home from the UK for a state funeral. When assuming power in 1986, President Museveni promised a role for the present Kabaka in the Uganda of today. Even if this is primarily supposed to be a traditional ceremonial position, it is doubtful if the Baganda will accept this in the long run. However, politically we can also observe a split within the Buganda kingdom, to the south many of the Catholics support the Democratic Party (DP), while other groups have been traditional followers of the Conservative Party (a strong royalist party).

During the protracted war leading to Museveni's presidency, a main area of fighting was in the so-called Luwero Triangle, being a part of Buganda. However, with this new regime the political core of Uganda

was transferred to the West from the North. Consequently, apart from internal Buganda politics (with their own Government and Parliament) this part of the country is still to a certain extent excluded from a central position of power.

Some concluding notes

The areas next to Lake Victoria, especially the Buganda Kingdom, have a special place in the national development. In the same context, the conflicts that have been part of the Uganda life since the middle of the 1960s have often been described as a North to South dilemma. This can chiefly be seen as a correct interpretation, but the main roots of this have been the marginalisation of the North during the time since the middle of the 1980s coupled to the ongoing insecurity.

The danger of the regional structures evolving is that the Ugandan status as a nation state is heavily eroded. Partly, we would be back to the situation that was obvious at the time of Independence. With a continuous situation of escalating insecurity and poverty in the North the links to Central Uganda is diminishing.

For past decades, we can also note that events in the North are to a large extent part of a greater regional complex – north-west to DRC, North to the Sudan, and north-west to Kenya. A future scenario must take all this into account. What it means to the Lake Victoria region is that either we have to continue seeing this as the economic core of Uganda, at present together with the Western Region, or we have to see this as a national unit on its own, leaving the North to develop into some new form of configuration.

Lake Victoria from a Kenyan perspective

Resources

The area next to the Lake Victoria is largely an area dominated by subsistence agriculture. In addition, in the Luo areas in what is known as the Nyanza Province sugar cane is of importance. In the rest of the Nyanza Province, the Kisii has been developing successful tea production. To the North the Luhya areas have been seen as areas dominated by peasant agriculture.

What is extremely sensitive now is the land issue, with the high population density in the area. According to the Population Census 1989, Kenya had a population density of 37 inhabitants per sq km.; against this Western Province had 307, and Nyanza 280. Among districts with extreme figures, we find Kisii (517), Kakamega 411, Kisumu (320) and Siaya (253). Of course, some 15 years later the situation is becoming acute from the point of view of land shortages. Apart from the issue of production, this would also have a number of ecological considerations, soil erosion, overuse of fertilisers etc.

Industrially, Kisumu has dominated in Western Kenya, with an industrial sector largely owned by Asians. However, in a national context even Kisumu is of insignificance. The previously prominent textile sector is now no longer of importance. A huge factory built to produce power alcohol never got started – the reason for much political controversy. In the rest of the region only a paper mill in Webuye has been of any significance.

It can be observed that apart from the central Kikuyu areas, industrial development has mostly been occurred in the Kalenjin areas during the regime of President Moi. Still, Kisumu was the third largest city in the country with some 150.000 people in 1989.

It is often stated, and correctly, that coffee and tea jointly contribute some 50% to the national export earnings. However, at the same time there has been a large increase in inputs for this cash crop production in the form of equipment and fertiliser. As these inputs are imported from global markets, the net contribution is significantly lower. At the same time, the coffee and tea plantations occupy roughly six times the amount of land it did at Independence. This, of course, puts a strain on the land available for subsistent farmers who are forced to see alternative ways of ensuring their food security in a context with a poorly diversified economy.

Poverty

The share of the Kenyan population living in poverty has increased steadily during the latter part of the 1990s. Approximately half of the population was living in absolute poverty in 1997– this follows upon a certain improvement in the early parts of the 1990s. In a regional comparison, this has been most accentuated in the Western parts. Between 1994 and 1997 Nyanza poverty grew from being a fact of life for 42 to 63 percent of the population and for Western province from 54 to 59 percent.

In a report from 2002, it was noted that in Kenya poverty had increased on average during the last five years. Most of the poor people were said to be in the northern and western parts of the country. What was also stressed was that Kenya is one of the most unequal societies in Africa, with politicians granting themselves undue favours to rich agricultural areas. This also means regional differences in access to public services, such as health, education and infrastructure. This can partly be seen as an effect of relative affluence in the Central Province, as well as KANU support to loyal regions during Moi.

Adding further to the poverty on the Kenyan side of Lake Victoria is that Nyanza province is noted for the highest share of population with HIV/AIDS in Kenya.

Historical context

In the pre-colonial time, the area close to Lake Victoria has experienced some turbulent changes. Since the early parts of the last millennium, Bantu speaking people, e.g. the Luhya and the Luo, dominated it. However, in the 1600s, these were forced away from the close proximity to the Lake by a Nilotic group known as the Luo. The Luhya and the Kisii were forced up into the nearby fertile mountain areas.

During the colonial days Luo, together with the Central Bantu group Kikuyu, were involved in the monetary economy ahead of other groups. Many of them were involved in settler agriculture or working in the docks on the coast. Thereby, they were reaping the benefits of education and other branches of the social development made available, much earlier.

At Independence, the British colonialist strictly separated politics on tribal lines, in an attempt to maintain the strategy of divide and rule.

However, when Kenya took over from the colonialists after a long and bitter struggle there were two main parties established. One of them was the Kenya African national Union (KANU) led by the President-to-be Jomo Kenyatta (Kikuyu), but with high-ranking positions for two Luo, Odinga Odinga and Tom Mboya. As this was regarded as a purely Kikuyu and Luo alliance, the opposition Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was seen as a grouping of the other ethnic groups. Soon after that, however, KADU was dissolved and the main members crossed the floor to join KANU.

In the early Governments Odinga was given the position as Vice-President and Tom Mboya were made the Minister for Planning and Economic Development. During the dramatic first decade of Independence, Odinga left the party and formed a short-lived opposition, before being detained. Mboya was shot in the street in Nairobi 1969. After that time it can be argued that the Luo lost a lot of its influence politically, during both the regimes of Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi. At the same time Odinga was to be the unofficial Luo leader up to his demise in the early 1990s.

From a time of great promise in the early days, the situation turned into a problematic state of affairs gradually under the Moi regime, not least on account of the human rights situation. As part of the repression a leading Luo politician, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Robert Ouko, was murdered in 1990. The evidence pointed to the inner circle of the Government to being responsible.

In a new era of multi-party politics in 1990, the Luo has not been able to gain any substantial political achievements. In the first election, most of the community voted for a party called FORD Kenya under Odinga, who also stood for president. In the next election Odinga had passed away and his son Raila Odinga had taken over the position among the Luo from his father. He won a majority vote from his “people” both for a party he called National Development Party (NDP) and in the presidential election. FORD Kenya was at that time taken over by a Luhya, Kijana Wamalwa.

It was only at the end of that period that Raila Odinga was able to make a compromise, merging KANU and NDP, and enter the Government. However, realising that he would not be able to stand for president, he left the new alliance and ended up once again in the opposition. Largely, the Luo political influence has followed its leaders, e.g. Odinga – that is leadership being handed down from father to son.

After the last election in 2002, a new coalition took over, with Odinga as one of the ministers. However, there has been much talk about what is now the new Mount Kenya Mafia, consisting of the three ethnic groups in that region – Kikuyu, Embu and Meru (possible also the Kamba). Consequently, even if some changes have taken place politically this might not mean any substantial change for the Luo. The Luhya, on the other hand, has now acquired the vice-presidency under Wamalwa. This constant exclusion from political dominance has to a certain extent made Luo into a marginal group nationally, not least from the fact that economic favours often follow political positions.

Some concluding notes

From the above we can see the Lake Victoria part of Kenya as partially marginalised politically and economically compared with the rest of the country. At the same time, even if it is rapidly deteriorating we have to note that in a comparison with the North of the country it is far ahead in development in terms of modernisation.

What is essential is that if we look at the Western part in relation to the Central Kikuyu areas, it is lagging behind and the present tendencies further accentuate this, which might lead to new clashes of a more ethnical (economic class) than political nature. Of course, this also presents a strong challenge to continued Kenyan unity.

Lake Victoria from a Tanzanian perspective

Resources

The Lake region in Tanzania is among the more prominent in the country, both economically, demographically and politically. Mwanza region is the third fastest growing economy after Arusha and Dar es Salaam. Mwanza City with 476600 inhabitants is the second largest town and second largest harbour in the country. The three regions that border Lake Victoria, Mwanza, Kagera and Mara, are among the biggest in terms of population in Tanzania. The Mwanza region has the biggest population as well as the highest population density in the country, outside of Dar es Salaam. 6.3 million people live in the Lake Victoria regions, about 18 percent of the Tanzania's population. Despite this, the region is somehow marginalised from the commercial capital Dar es Salaam due to the distance⁶ and the extremely bad infrastructure.⁷

Table 2. Population and Poverty on the Tanzanian side of Lake Victoria

	Population 2002, mill. (1)	Share of Tanzania's population	Population growth 1988–2002 (1)	percent of h-holds below food poverty line (2)	percent of h-holds below basic needs poverty line (2)	Mean per capita monthly income (Tsh) (2)
Mwanza	2,94	8,5%	3,2	30	48	17566
Kagera	2,03	5,9%	3,1	18	29	14057
Mara	1,37	4,0%	2,5	36	46	13721
Tanzania	34,6		2,9	19	36	17922

(1) 2002 Population and Housing Census. (2) Household Budget Survey 2000/01. NBS 2002

Even if subsistence agriculture is largely still the dominating economic activity, a comparatively diversified economy has developed in recent years, in particular, the fishing and fish processing industries, mining, some industries and commercial enterprises and tourism. The increased diversification of the economy has as well brought about urbanisation and social problems, not least the increased prevalence of HIV/AIDS. The three lake regions differ in character:

⁶ The distance from Dar es Salaam to Mwanza is roughly 1250 km.

⁷ The railway built by the Germans before the first world war is worn out and the rolling stock in bad shape. The roads are under improvement but still a large part of the distance is in very bad shape. The roads to Kenya are better and even in November 2003 the buses from Dar to Mwanza travel via Arusha, Nairobi and Musoma, a 24-hour ride! It is, however, anticipated that the remaining roads will be completed in late 2004.

The Mwanza region has the most diversified economy. Traditionally, ironworks supplemented the agricultural activities, with extensive trading patterns to the coast long before colonialism, paving the way for the slave trade. From the 50s, 40 percent of Tanzania's cotton was produced in the region, bringing modern institutions such as cash flows, cooperatives and peasant organisations to the area, as well as industries for ginning the cotton and textile mills. The "modern" farmer's organisations in the more cash crop and market-oriented lake regions played an important role in the struggle for independence. The town of Mwanza was an early commercial centre with a large population of entrepreneurs and merchants with an Indian or Arabian background, giving the town a certain Indian outlook. CCM still have a strong hold on the region, apart from certain districts like Bariadi.

The industries and cooperatives collapsed in late eighties and the cotton prices from the early nineties. Artisan mining expanded. Large-scale informal trade with cotton, minerals and fish took place with Kenya, as well as with Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda. The economic situation deteriorated up to late nineties. In the last few years, a rapid diversification of manufacturing, fishing and mineral extraction as well as tourism has made Mwanza into one of the fastest growing areas in the country, after Dar es Salaam and Arusha. In some cases, these new investments are brought about through funds accumulated from the informal trade, but as we will see below, the major investment come from outside, at times to the cost of the local population. It is an uneven growth, where the benefits have yet to trickle down to the majority. Still about half of the population lives below a basic need poverty line, the worst figure on Tanzania mainland. This is a potentially conflict-ridden situation.

The Mwanza region have also a stronger influence of Islam, than the mainly Christian Kagera. The Wasukumas, the largest ethnic group by far in Tanzania, have Mwanza as its main place of origin. Recently a culturally resurgence has been taking place. The chiefs and royal clans used by the British to administer the area were sidelined by Nyerere and prohibited in 1963 in his efforts to build a modern nation-state, but have recently started to play some role again. A Sukuma museum has been established, cultural festivals and tradition reactivated. However, in comparison with neighbouring countries Tanzania has managed to build a strong national identity, where ethnicity and ethnic identity do not play any prominent role, so far, in Tanzanian politics. The voting pattern in the region, however, slightly diverts from the national. The opposition parties, the United Democratic Party (UDP) as well as the Tanzania Labour Party (TLP) have a slightly stronger following in some of the constituencies.

The Mara region, bordering Kenya, is the least developed region in the area. The collapse of cotton production and the textile industries had an even more adverse effect on the region. In similarity with Mwanza, the resurgence of fishing and mining has improved the economic situation recently as well as the formal and informal cross-border trade. In the region, conflicts occur regularly between pastoralist and peasant on the one hand and between pastoralists on the Kenyan side and those on the Tanzanian side, on the other. Conflicting interests also exist between

pastoralists and environmental conservation interests in the Serengeti national park.

The Kagera region, situated on the west side of the Lake, has better pre-conditions for agriculture, and has, up to the collapse of the coffee market, been one of the more “affluent” parts of Tanzania, as is illustrated below by the relatively low level of poverty, compared with the other regions. The coffee/banana agriculture system provides both cash and food, as displayed by a food and basic need poverty line slightly below the national average.

The closeness to Uganda (Kampala 350 km away, Kigali 170 km from the border post in Rusumu, while Dar es Salaam is 1500 km away), both in terms of distance and the much better roads on the Ugandan side, has nurtured the links to Uganda, as regards informal trade, export of coffee, labour, import of consumer goods, and negative spill over from the conflicts in the eighties.

The long borders the Kagera region shares with Rwanda and Burundi also cut across pre-colonial political, cultural and economic units. A large part of the export and import from Rwanda pass via the border post in Rusumu on its way to and from Dar es Salaam. The repercussions of civil conflicts and war in Rwanda and Burundi have overflowed into the Kagera basin communities of Uganda and Tanzania, creating insecurity and instability, facilitated HIV-AIDS diffusion as well as putting pressure on land, food, wood, infrastructure and other resources and creating income opportunities. Over the last decade, the refugee inflow, at the almost inconceivable scale of at times more than one million, sought solace in underpopulated and peripheral border areas in areas dedicated to wildlife sanctuaries, national parks (the Akagera National Park) or nature reserves (e.g. Kikagati.). Fortunately, many pastoralists have now returned to Rwanda as well to as a large part of the 500,000 refugees that were encamped at Ngara near Rusumo Falls. Much of the wildlife in the Akagera, the Ibanda and Kikagati game reserves has been killed, the environment has been devastated by overgrazing and deforestation and the potentially lucrative tourist industry has been severely hampered in its recovery.

Missionaries moved early to the well-tempered area in Kagera, bringing among other things, the tradition of education. People from Kagera are well represented, often accused of being overrepresented at higher institutions of learning and public administration in Tanzania. Since the early eighties, the economy in Kagera has deteriorated. Recently the fishing, and the economic recovery in Uganda, has brought about a slight improvement.

Kagera was a part of the interlacustrine belt of kingdoms, and has a tradition of well-established political and cultural institutions and cross-border cultural/language links and economic exchange with today's Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. Mutually intelligible languages are spoken, facilitating, e.g., trade, and labour migration, intermarriages as well as integration of refugees from the conflicts in Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. The colonial border between Uganda and Tanzania splintered the old Bunyoro kingdom of Kitara, which extended from Uganda into the Kagera region across the Kagera River. The border, up to recent times, has been a source of conflict. Uganda invaded Kagera in 1978

under the pretext of the disputed border. Tanzania responded by invading Uganda. Tanzanian troops aided by Ugandans who opposed President. Idi Amin, defeated Uganda's Army and withdrew in 1981 after Idi Amin had been overthrown.

Political context

The British administered Tanganyika as a territory under a League of Nations mandate after the German defeat in 1918. It never became as deeply colonised, or developed, as Kenya and Uganda. It is worth emphasising that all three colonies were administered closely together within the East African framework, with a common currency, infrastructures and public services. Few areas developed more "modern" forms of production, apart from rudimentary development in areas like Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro, Arusha, the lake Zone, Morogoro, Iringa, and Mbeya. Independence came quickly and without much struggle in 1961. Zanzibar/Pemba with its sharply divergent history closely linked to Arabian/Persian trading interest and later Oman/Muscat, from where the Sultanate moved its capital to Zanzibar in the 1840, developed a slave-based plantation economy and trading centre for the interior. The slave-owning Arabian elite encouraged traders from the Indian subcontinent to settle on the island, creating a racially divided hierarchy with black slaves and black original inhabitants at the bottom, Indians in the middle and an Arab elite at the top. Zanzibar received independence first in 1963, as a constitutional monarchy under the Sultan. Three weeks later, on January 12th 1964, the African majority revolted against the Sultanate and Abied Karume was installed as the new President of Zanzibar and Chairman of the Revolutionary council. An unknown number of "Arabs" were killed and others fled. A political union was formed with Tanganyika with considerable local autonomy for Zanzibar in April 1964.

A democratic socialistic model gradually developed. The few private economic activities that existed were nationalised. An ambitious development strategy comprising rural development, including forced villagisation, rural-based industrialisation and large investments in social sectors were launched. The one party system and nationalisation of cooperatives, trade unions and other civil society organisations created the foundation for the statist development model, limiting political and economic scope. Reasonably free and democratic elections have, however, been held every five years since independence. The divergent development strategies in the three East African countries led to tensions between the neighbours and finally to the breakup of the EAC in 1973. A deep economic and political crisis in early eighties paved the way for the dismantling of the statist development model, under strong pressure from both the international community and the internal opposition. Economic reforms have now created an open market-based economy, but at a high price. Almost all industries have collapsed in the process. New industries are, however, gradually developing. The macro-economy is in reasonable shape, the real GDP growth rate averaged 4.6% in 1996–2002, (reaching 6.2% in 2002), the inflation fell to below 5% and fiscal imbalances have been reduced. Tanzania reached the completion point under HIPIC initiative in 2001 and the PRSP have been successfully established. The changes

have, however, so far resulted in little change for the majority. Instead, a number of societal cleavages have been increasing; rifts between urban-rural areas, between regions and between the few that have had the capacity to reap the benefit of the changes and the large majority that still sees very little improvement in their living conditions. A situation that has created widespread dissatisfaction and frustration, not least among the underemployed young men in urban areas. The reforms are, however, ongoing and changes are expected to trickle down in the coming years, not least through the latest investments in primary and secondary school education.⁸

A multiparty system was introduced in 1992. Elections on the mainland have generally been reasonably well conducted, but unfair in respect of the distribution of resources between the ruling party and the opposition. On Zanzibar, the situation has been much more complicated. The Zanzibar society has much deeper social cleavages than that on the mainland, based on its different history. In particular, Pemba has a strong Arabic and Arab-influenced community. With liberalisation, a large number of families that fled in the sixties and seventies have returned to Zanzibar. In 1995, the CCM defeated the opposition Civic United Front (CUF) in Zanzibar by a very narrow margin, 50.2 percent to 49.8 percent, in a controversial presidential election. International observers, human rights groups and the CUF accused the Zanzibar government of rigging the election and of other irregularities. A number of opposition MPs were detained for more than two years without proper trial; this contributed to increasing tensions.

In the second multiparty election in 2000, Abeid Amani Karume, the son of the Island's first president, defeated the CUF candidate Seif Sharif Hamad by a very narrow margin in an election marred with irregularities. The opposition protested against the election and demanded that a new election should be conducted, at least in the constituencies where most irregularities took place. During a peaceful demonstration for a rerun of the election on January 31st 2001, the conflicts between the opposition and CCM culminated and the police attacked and killed at least 22 people. A committee investigated the killings and a peace accord, the Mwafakaa, was brokered. In the peace accord, most of the complaints raised by the opposition parties were settled, among them the establishment of an independent electoral commission and the release of political prisoners. The accord must be regarded as successful, even if the opposition argues that the implementation has been slow. Both sides now talk to each other and the political climate has become more open. Still, the CCM government on the islands restricts various human rights, like the freedom of the press, speech and assembly. The upcoming elections of 2004 and 2005 will be an important watershed in Zanzibar's political history.

Quite strong separatist forces exist on Zanzibar, in particular on Pemba. On the mainland there appears to be an increasing public support for a rewriting of the constitution, creating either a three-government structure or a more or less independent Zanzibar. The viability for

⁸ IMF, 2003, Tanzania: Sixth Review Under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility and Requests for Waiver of a Performance Criterion and for a New Three-Year Arrangement Under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility—Staff Report; Washington: IMF/IMF, 2003, Tanzania: Joint Staff Assessment of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Progress Report

the small island, with slightly less than one million inhabitants, to becoming an independent state is of course questionable.

One important aspect of Tanzanian foreign policy has been to support regional cooperation. A broad political support exists for the East African Community in Tanzania. However, the terms of the integration are debatable and strong interest groups within different economic sectors argue for protection against competition from the more developed Kenyan industries.

Concluding remarks

The policy to strengthen the East African cooperation, including the Lake Victoria project, is well anchored in Tanzania. The memories of the former EAC are still very much alive. Tanzania has developed a stable political culture, and has the macro-economy in reasonable shape. This has created a favourable climate for foreign direct investment and general economic development. Poverty, however, is persistent and deep; frustration is increasing among poor people, in particular among young men in urban areas. It could provide a hotbed for political mobilisation for radical political visions. Tanzania still has much less developed economic structures than Kenya and Uganda, which is a source of concern and a conflict of interest in the regional integration process. The country is well endowed with natural resources, some of these stretching between Kenya and Uganda (oil in the Indian Ocean, fish and minerals in the Lake Victoria area, game and pastoralist along the borders between Kenya and Tanzania). The exploration and use of these resources could generate conflicting interests. Lastly, the situation on Zanzibar appears for the moment to be under control, but strong underlying societal conflicts exist which might flare up if not properly addressed, for instance through a genuine democratisation process. A separation between Zanzibar and the mainland might be managed within the framework of the EAC. However, this could generate tensions as well, as the radical groups in Kenya's coastal areas might use it as a pretext for political mobilisation for Islamist political projects.

2.4. Lake Victoria from an East African perspective

The East African Community (EAC) is the most important institutional framework for the development of LVR. EAC is the regional integration organisation of the Republics of Kenya, Uganda, and the United Republic of Tanzania.

EAC makes up the latest effort in a series of attempts to achieve regional integration in East Africa. The manifested aim of EAC is to widen and deepen cooperation among the Partner States. Integration is seen as an all-encompassing commitment, involving cooperation in practically all spheres of life. Negotiations concerning the expansion of EAC to include Rwanda and Burundi are underway, and representatives from the two countries are already invited as observers to a high level meeting of EAC. The main obstacles for this expansion of EAC is, first, the involvement of Rwanda and Burundi in armed conflicts, and second, the political will of the current EAC members to finalise negotiations on a customs union before new members are welcomed.

Lake Victoria and EAC exist in a symbiotic relationship. Together with the Customs Union, the focus on development of the Lake Victoria region is at the top of EAC's agenda and the administration of the Lake Victoria initiative is one of the main concerns of the EAC institutions. In addition, the lake carries much symbolic value as the icon for the integration of East Africa. In fact, much of EAC's political viability is connected to the developments around the lake region. As has often been said: "What is more East African than Lake Victoria?" In other words, the integration process of EAC stands to gain from a successful development of the Lake Victoria initiative. Simultaneously, the Lake Victoria initiative is inseparable from the political and institutional framework of the broader EAC process. The transaction costs for an integrated development strategy for LVR would increase considerably in the loss of momentum for the EAC process.

Attempts to base the development of the Lake Victoria basin on the priorities of its inhabitants and political leadership has inspired a comprehensive Vision and Strategy Process in which an impressive number of stakeholder consultations have been conducted with, among others, representatives of civil society, the private sector, local communities, and the concerned public administrations in the member states. Sida has committed itself to develop its efforts in the region to reflect the outcome of the Vision and Strategy Process. The data collection and processing of the process have been completed and as deliberations are currently underway on how to harmonise the results from the different countries, sectors, and areas to come up with a common, comprehensive vision and strategy for Lake Victoria region.

Conflict dynamics in economic integration

One of the major reasons for the failure of previous attempts to further integrate the East African countries can be found in the economic sector. Differences in the approach to market economy, comparative advantages in industrial sectors, and access to natural resources created an asymmetry in the economic sector, which blocked further integration. Today there is an increasing convergence towards principles of market economy but the three EAC countries still display significant differences in a number of economic areas. Two areas stand at the core of EAC's economic integration: (i) monetary and financial policy coordination; (ii) taxation and trade tariffs. The potential for conflicts in relation to these areas lies in the dilemma that both progress and status quo will create winners and losers. In its simplest form the dilemma looks like this: Meeting the macro-economic goals set for regional harmonisation implies a price to be paid in terms of less focus on other macro-economic priorities (such as social services and employment): Not meeting the macro-economic goals means losing out on the benefits of increased regional economic interaction.

Even though there are long-term aggregated gains to be obtained from further economic integration, there are also short-term prices to be paid and those who stand to pay will use their influence and resources to guard their current positions. This implies that there is no conflict-free path to economic integration. There are however possibilities to make trade-offs to compensate for the group who stands to pay the short-term

costs of regional integration and harmonisation. These groups include actors in industrial and professional sectors who will not stand tall in the increased regional competition, and weak groups in society who may lose out from postponed reforms within the social sectors.

The following sections look closer at the two areas identified above and points out areas of progress as well as risks.

Monetary and financial policy coordination

Monetary and financial policy coordination is the key to establishing and maintaining macro-economic stability within the community. Further, such policy harmonisation has been identified as more important than conventional trade barriers (such as trade tariffs) to facilitate trade expansion and regional growth. Therefore, it is encouraging to note that the discussions in this area are showing some progress. Areas of success include agreement to have a market determined exchange rate regime where central bank intervention is used only for the purposes of market stabilisation. Uganda and Kenya have opened up their current and capital accounts and Tanzania is being encouraged to do so. The states are cooperating to harmonise laws on money laundering and regulations to ensure proper auditing of commercial banks. Even though some differences remain, the three countries have come a long way towards market-determined interest rates

The objective of monetary cooperation is to have an East African Single Currency in place by 2010. Whether this will be achieved or not depends on how rapidly the three countries move toward macro-economic convergence. The Monetary Affairs Technical Committee of the EAC developed macro-economic convergence targets that are yet to be realised before the move is taken to a single currency. Still considerable ground needs to be covered by the individual countries in relation to key convergence goals.

Failure to implement or inadequate followup with regard to decisions made to meet these objectives is one of the major problems slowing the progress of EAC. However, as the three member states focus their economic and financial policies towards meeting the goals necessary for further regional integration, the state may have to be less attentive to other, costly, economic projects such as reforms in education, health and other social sector. The states may also have to increase taxation to meet budget goals and hence put the burden on regional integration on large segments of the population. Whereas long-term regional integration calls for monetary and financial policy coordination, these objectives may only be met at the price of cutbacks in the national budgets and increased taxation on an already impoverished population.

Taxation and trade tariffs

Trade in East Africa is characterised by complex patterns of official/unofficial, legal/illegal, and formal/informal trade that thrive on historical trade routes, intricate patterns of identity and ethnicity, national borders, as well as national and international trade regulations.

Currently, the value of the official trade between EAC countries is small; taken together, intraregional trade accounts for approximately 10 percent of total trade for the three countries. Uganda, trading ap-

proximately 15 percent within EAC, is followed by Kenya and Tanzania displaying figures in the order of 7–8 percent.

Regional trade integration creates winners and losers. Vested interests in the three countries will end up in both groups, which create the basis for tensions in trade negotiations. Even though there are differences at a sector level, Kenya, as the strongest economy in the region, can be identified as the most vocal proponent of eliminating internal tariffs. Tanzanian and Ugandan manufacturers are clearly worried that a free trade area will lead to an immediate collapse of a number of industries. Within the EAC negotiations, it has been agreed that while trade between Uganda and Tanzania will be free with the coming into force of the customs union; both countries would charge certain levels of tax on specified products originating from Kenya. Negotiations are on going to agree to the details of such an arrangement, and the positions are quite far apart.

Recognising Kenya and Uganda's membership in COMESA—from which Tanzania has decided to withdraw from—the Tanzanian business community also realises that a free trade agreement within EAC will have implications beyond trade with the two EAC countries. And vice versa, Tanzania has decided to focus on SADC, and is the only East African member of that organisation, which will also have implications for Kenya and Uganda, not least through competition from South Africa. Tanzanian stakeholders have called on their government to first speed up domestic investments in infrastructure and alike before it opens up the market for increased competition. Together with Ugandan stakeholders, concerns have also been made over the lack of forceful Rules of Origin. The concern is that, for example, textiles from Kenya will actually originate from one of Kenya's trading partners in Asia and hence expose their markets to uncontrolled competition from the world markets.

Part of the rationale for regional integration via EAC is to address the large "black markets" by lowering the costs associated with official trade. However, as regional trade shifts from "black" to "white" market trade, there will be large groups of traders whose current standings will decline and who consequently may obstruct the integration process.

The signing of the draft of the protocol for re-establishing the East African Customs Union (EACU) was supposed to take place on November 28th 2003. It was postponed at the very last minute until 2004. The postponement came at a time when sections of the private sector, especially in Uganda and Tanzania, complained of poor participation in negotiations and therefore unfair tariffs for them. Another controversial issue in the protocol was the Common External Tariff structure where no consensus on the rates was achieved.

Thirdly the membership arrangements by EAC states in COMESA and SADC have not been resolved. Technically, the customs union prohibits an individual state from signing similar trade arrangements with more than one economic bloc. While Kenya and Uganda are members of COMESA, Tanzania is a member of SADC. The imminent dilemma is for either Kenya and Uganda not to sign another customs union with COMESA and Tanzania not to do so with SADC. The Council of Ministers had once pledged to resolve the issue, but their agreement, if any, is not known so far. It is still unknown if the interlocking issue will be re-

solved by the member states, but there has been some pressure on Tanzania by Uganda and Kenya to convince it to rejoin COMESA. This could enable them to enter a customs union with COMESA as the EAC bloc comes in 2004.

However, Tanzania would still be prohibited from signing the customs union with SADC in 2008. If Kenya and Uganda sign the customs union protocol with COMESA next year, they will have violated the agreement, and Tanzania might take it for granted and do the same in SADC come 2008. By so doing the three countries will be violating directives of the World Trade Organization (WTO), which also prohibits a country from signing a customs union with more than one economic bloc.

The EACU is a precondition for the optimal achievement of other integration phases, which are a common market, a monetary union, and ultimately a political federation.

To eliminate internal trade barriers and establish a common external tariff, a well-functioning customs union also needs to have a consensus about other components of trade arrangements.

Despite these sources of conflict there is widespread political commitment to deepen the East African integration process in all member countries.

Conflict dynamics in the energy sector

Access to secure energy is vital for the development in the region. Consequently, EAC has identified the sector as a prioritised area for regional integration and development. Currently, the majority of the rural population in the region relies on biofuel as the primary fuel source. The available figures from 1996 states that the numbers of inhabitants with access to electricity range from 2.1 percent in Burundi to 8 percent in Kenya. EAC aims at developing a regional Power Master Plan to guide the development of the integration and development of the energy sector. As a vital step towards this objective, EAC has launched a study of the energy sector, which is financed by Sida through the Trust Fund at the World Bank. These ambitions are in accordance with Article 101 of the EAC Treaty which states that the Master Plan will seek to promote the cost effective development of electric power and exploration and exploitation of fossil fuels and utilisation of new and renewable energy sources. In addition, the aim Treaty spells out the aim at enhancing the interconnectedness of the power grids in the Partner State.

The main source of commercial energy for electricity in the region is hydroelectricity (78 percent of total). Kenya is the biggest producer of hydropower in EAC, followed by Tanzania and Uganda. Hydropower holds great potential for increased power production in the region. However, as recent developments in Uganda have shown, meeting the increased energy demand through hydropower production can be a very conflict-ridden exercise where the value added of additional hydropower is compared with the environmental and social costs of dam constructions in a context of available renewable sources such as solar energy, and a low fraction of the population being connected to the national power grid.

The hydropower capacity is dependent on weather conditions. The vulnerability of the system is clearly displayed in Tanzania, where

the insufficient rainfalls drastically have lowered the capacity of the Mteradam in 2003/04, creating countrywide power shortages.

Today Uganda's major hydropower plant at Owen Falls serves the double interest of regulating the outflow to the Victoria Nile, and generating power, which supplies Kampala and Jinja as well as the export markets in Kenya and Bukoba in western Tanzania. Plans for the development of Uganda's hydropower potential has for some time been focused on the Bujagali Falls. However, as late as in August 2003, the Bujagali saga seems to have ended when the U.S.-based AES corporation, the largest independent power producer in the world with assets of \$11 billion, said that it will not follow up its intended constructions at Bujagali. The US \$520-million project was planned with financial support from IDA and loans from the IFC. The plant was expected to provide a total of 340 MW of which 200 MW were designated for regional exports. The project had high-level political support in Uganda as well as from strong economic interests in Uganda and beyond. However, critics have maintained that the dam would create a socially and environmentally destructive reservoir, and would drown the spectacular Bujagali Falls. In addition, the project's power would not meet the needs of the 95 percent of the country's population who are not connected to the power grid. In fact, local environmentalists have argued that the dam would obstruct the "unplugged population" from obtaining political and economic support in their pursuit of true renewables like solar and wind. It was also pointed out that the reservoir would increase serious water-borne diseases like malaria and schistosomiasis. The creation of a reservoir could also permanently harm fisheries and submerge highly productive agricultural land on the river's banks as well as islands of extreme biodiversity leading to increased stress on land near the reservoir, resulting in further watershed degradation and deforestation and a loss in soil productivity.

Even if it has now been taken off the agenda, the Bujagali controversy stands as a reminder of the conflict dynamic connected to ambitions of using hydropower production to meet the region's energy need. The lesson that should be learnt is to connect the need for power production to the core problem of the region: grinding poverty. NGOs in Uganda have been pressing for a sustainable fuel wood programme as well as a solar PV programme, which could be modelled on Kenya's experiences, these have been highly successful, and are pushing for effective measures to reduce wastage in the existing system (estimated to have losses of power of up to 40%).

As spelled out in Article 101 of the EAC Treaty, one strategy to address the need for secure energy is to increase the currently low level of interregional trade in electricity. This calls for substantial infrastructural investments to achieve a higher level of interconnectedness between the countries national power systems. The political ambitions to connect the national power grids have increased, perhaps partly due to the prolonged drought in 1999 when both Kenya and Tanzania experienced lack of electricity and had to ration power consumption. It is estimated that Kenya will need to double its import of electricity from Uganda, and Uganda has expressed hopes to be able to export electricity to Tanzania and Rwanda. In January 2001, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia agreed to implement cross-border electricity trade and to develop power lines from

Zambia to Mbeya, and from Arusha to Nairobi. Given its connection to the SADC power grid, Zambia will be able to sell low-cost and reliable electricity to Kenya and Tanzania. In this context, it should also be mentioned that Terms of Reference have been drawn up for a comprehensive assessment of power development options in Burundi, Rwanda and western Tanzania. The project is envisaged as part of NELSAP and explores possibilities of further connections to the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP) as well as to EAC.

The region also holds great potentials for petroleum exploration. This high-risk business has recently experienced an upswing after a period of relative lull. In Uganda, drilling by Heritage Oil in the Albertine Graben is in progress with seismic surveys planned. In Kenya, there are some activities in the continental shelf and the Anza Graben to the north. In Tanzania, the Songo Songo gas pipeline and plans to develop the Mnazi Bay gas fields are underway. Large potential deposits of oil are claimed to have been found in the waters north of Pemba, as well further to the south of Mafia Island. Like the exploration of hydropower, these projects raise questions regarding the cost-effectiveness in relation to the overarching objective of poverty reduction and sustainability. In addition, it should be noted that the potential oil findings in DRC are a frequently cited motive for Uganda's involvement in the military conflict in DRC.

The dependency on petroleum calls for high infrastructural investments in roads, railway and pipelines. The oil to the inland is imported to Kenya, which holds the major oil refinery in East Africa located in Mombassa. The only other, much smaller, refinery is placed in Tanzania, and its production reliability has been irregular and it has mainly acted as a storage depot. Uganda receives its supply of oil from a pipeline to Eldoret in western Kenya where trucks and railway tankers continue the transport to Uganda and further to other countries in the region. However, the dominant role of Kenya in the oil supply to the region creates an asymmetric relation, which has proven to be a source of contention. The vulnerability created by Kenya's dominating position was clearly illustrated in 2000 when the truck drivers who distribute oil from the depot in Eldoret went on strike in protest against changes in Kenyan regulations of their trade. The strike prompted an acute fuel shortage in the region. Under the auspices of the EAC, the Kenyan and Ugandan governments have announced plans to extend the pipeline from Eldoret to Kampala. The pipeline is expected to cut the price of oil in Uganda by almost half, and facilitate the supply of oil to Rwanda, Burundi, northwestern Tanzania and eastern DRC. There are also plans for a pipeline from Tanga via Moshi/Arusha to Musoma/Mwanza.

2.5. Conflict dynamics in the mining sector

The development of the mining sector in Tanzania could be used to highlight how new opportunities develop with deregulation and integration in the global economy, bringing about new production structure and social structures — as well as pointing at some of the conflict dimensions that also follow. The lake related resources are comparatively small in relation to the, short-term, income from the emerging mining sector.

The basin contains significant mineral resources in various parts. The mines in Mwanza and Mare region in Tanzania are one example on

the new economy that is emerging. The mining sector presents a great paradox. Mwanza, with the largest share of its population below the poverty line in the country, is witnessing one of most rapid expansion of gold production in Africa. The Lake zone gold fields, south and east of Lake Victoria, up to the Kenya border, have yielded considerable exploration success with over 30 million ounces of gold “discovered” during the past ten years, the largest deposits currently known outside Ghana and South Africa. The most active sites are Geita, Bulyanhulu near Kahama, Irambe, Sekenke, Kilima Fedha, Serengeti, Nyambegena, Buzroba, Matinje, Musoma and Tarime (north Mara). Four large-scale modern mines have commenced production since 1999: Resolute LTDs Golden Pride Mine, Bulyanhulu, and Ashanti’s Golds and the Anglo-American co-owned Geita Gold Mine. The North Mara Gold mine and recently Tulawaka, south west of Geita were granted mining licenses in November 2003. At least four more gold mines are expected to come open in the next few years. The Geita Gold mine is already the second biggest gold mine in Africa, outside South Africa, and has the capacity to become the biggest. In addition, nine larger gold and diamond mines have been established in the area or in neighbouring regions. One of the major traders in gold is Merrick, a joint venture between Tanzania’s military and the South African company Executive Outcomes. Barrick gold, a Canadian Transnational mining company, owns several of the mines and claims via KMCL holdings Ltd, a holding company based in the tax haven, Cayman Island.

The policy and view of the government is that the mineral sector will substantially contribute to income generation, employment creation, social and economic infrastructural development, particularly for the rural areas. It is expected to increase foreign exchange earnings and government revenues, broadening the economic base away from the dependence of “traditional export”. In order to achieve the mineral sector objectives, the private sector has the lead and government is withdrawing from direct involvement in minerals production. The government expects to continue maintaining a promotional and regulatory role in directing the activities of the mineral sector [Mineral Policy of Tanzania].

Table 3. Share of various products in Tanzania’s export 2002/03

Product	% of export
Gold	37,2
Other export	15,2
Fish and fish products	12,7
Manufactured goods	7,5
Coffee	4,9
Minerals	4,8
Other traditional exports	4,6
Cashew nuts	4,5
Tobacco	4,4
Cotton	4,2

The result appears to be a success story, if we look at this year's export statistics in Table 3: Gold's share of the total export, July 2002–April 2003, has increased to 36 percent, up from a mere 2 percent in the late nineties. Marginalising the traditional major export earners, coffee and cotton to a mere 4 percent each, from having accounted for almost 50 percent of the export incomes before. Apart from increased production, an explanation could also be that gold that was smuggled out in the past is now recorded in the formal statistics. A second reservation could be that gold from DRC is smuggled into Tanzania and exported from there.

Benjamin Mkapa, the President of Tanzania, is pushing hard for continued liberalisation and attraction of FDI to develop the Tanzanian economy. All commercial gold production in Tanzania is subject to a 3% netback royalty payable to the State. This royalty is calculated as 3% of all of the proceeds received from the sale of gold produced. In addition, the mining companies pay taxes on profits and indirect taxes. However, all imports are duty free. In addition, the salaried personnel pay income taxes. Despite the official policy of encouraging FDI in the mining sector, and other sectors, a growing public opinion in Tanzania questions whether the deals concluded between the mining companies and the Tanzanian state are fair. The gold is extracted with large-scale modern technology, often with a life span of the mine between 4–15 years. The question is how much development that will generate and leave behind after the mine is closed down. Moreover, it is maintained that the gold not only belongs to the present generations but also the coming ones.

The cost for producing 1 ounce of gold in the Geita goldmine is about 180 dollars (in October 2003). The world market price is about 425 dollars. 500 kg–1 tonne of pure gold is produced per week. This indicates the high profits generated. The gold is transported out by plane once a week to an unknown destination. The extraction and export is closely monitored by the Tanzania Revenue Authority.

However, an analysis of the sector reveals three conflict dynamics with somewhat different origins:

- The organisation of mining markets marginalise local actors
- The organisation of the public administration set to regulate the sector
- The degradation of the environment following discharges in Lake Victoria

Market structures marginalise local actors

The first conflict dynamic emanates from the fact that the gold fields were not “discovered” only by the large Transnational mining companies. In several places large-scale, in terms of number of people mining, artisan-mining operations were established. Only in the Geita fields, e.g., it was estimated that as early as the mideighties around 50,000 miners were extracting gold. In a recent USAID financed report [Philips et.al. 2001], it was estimated that in 1995, 550,000 miners in total in the whole country were active, and that for each miner, three other jobs were created in trade, support, service, food productions etc. Thus the mining activity had created around 1,65 million jobs or enhanced farm incomes. Nearly all these were in rural areas where poverty is widespread.

“No combination of government or donor designed development pro-

grammes and projects have had any comparable impact on rural poverty” [Philips p: 60]. The conditions for extraction were hazardous, both for the miners’ working conditions and for the environment; the methods very primitive and thus the amount of mineral extracted limited. Modern mines create less demanding working conditions, more environmentally friendly, large-scale extraction that provides the government with tax incomes and royalties. The problem is that 100,000 thousands small-scale miners lose their income. The Geita goldmine for instance, replacing in the range of 50,000 small-scale miners, is now running a gigantic open pit mine with gigantic caterpillars and dumpers, with a labour force of 2000. Moreover, most of them are not from the local area as more skilled staff is required. (For instance Swedish mine workers from Gällivare have been working in the mines). The deposit is expected to be finished in 10–16 years. From the local miners’ perspective, this constitutes a loss. The tax income lost from the small business activities to the local government notwithstanding. In several cases this has led to fierce conflicts, the most prominent around the Bulyanhulu mine, where Barrick, a Canadian mining company with George Bush senior on the advisory board, received a MIGA grant to establish a modern mine in an area where up to 400,000 artisan miners was active. People from eight villages and mining towns were evicted without compensation, and fifty-six miners were said to have been buried alive in their pits by Barrick’s bulldozers, when continuing digging after the proclaimed closure date. The case has been taken up by the international human rights NGOs (LEAT) in the high court in Tanzania.

Organisation of public administration

A second conflict dynamic can be traced to the in/capacity of the government to regulate and tax the mining companies. A mining policy and regulatory body is in place. The capacity is debated, not least among the public. Two concerns have been raised. Firstly, with the development of EAC internal market there is a fear that Nairobi with its much more developed infrastructure and market facilities will attract an even larger share of the trading with Tanzanian minerals, thus undermining local traders. Secondly, strong public opinion has expressed concerns over the last few years against what has been perceived as selling national resources to foreign TNCs, i.e. soil mining, at the cost of what has been termed indigenous interest; and a political undercurrent has also been propagated by the Minister for Trade about the ongoing privatisation of the parastatals.

In a move to curb the criticism, international mineral experts visited the country in July on a mission to inspect all mining operations and to propose improvements in containing fraud in the sector. The Permanent Secretary in the Energy and Minerals Ministry, Patrick Rutabanzibwa had told the press that the experts had come at the invitation of the Government. He had stated that the mission had been a result of criticisms and outcries by the public that mining companies had been stealing minerals and spiriting them out of the country. He had also stated that the experts would inspect everything possible in every mining operation and that they would study production and export statistics and tax paid since operations had started. He had concluded by saying that the experts

would be able to suggest remedies for any discovered fraud or loopholes including compensation. (RAI 15/7)

Degradation of the environment

A third challenge is the environmental effects, a potential source of conflict with Uganda and Kenya if the waste from gold production spills over into Lake Victoria. Conventional methods used in gold extraction have been cyanidation and amalgamation. These processes involve the use of cyanide solutions and mercury respectively. Both are highly toxic, and their entering the environment seriously threatens the lives of bio species, including human beings. They can cause severe occupational health hazards to gold miners. Amalgamation is a process used in gold extraction mostly in small-scale mining. In Tanzania, this is a major source of mercury that enters the environment, thus causing pollution, sometimes with fatal consequences. Like any other heavy metal, one added problem with organic mercury is bioconcentration, i.e. the ability of certain organisms to concentrate to about ten-to-the-root-of-five times. Both in Geita and Mara gold extraction has been done or is being done close to shores or rivers leading to the lake.

2.6. Conflict dynamics in the fishing sector

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda hold 6, 49, and 45 percent of the lake surface, respectively. It is estimated that the present value of annual export earnings from the fishery is at the extent of about US\$ 600 million. About 90 percent of the export earnings derive from the Nile perch, which, although alien to the Lake Victoria ecosystem, has played an period.

Over the years there has been increased fish production from Lake Victoria, and the current levels of annual yield are considered to be unsustainable for the environment. Despite increased fishing efforts; the levels of catches have declined indicating declines in the levels of fish available. For various reasons, figures on the level of fish taken out of the lake must be considered as approximate. Indicating the long-term increase in annual fish landings from the lake, it can be noted that reports from the late 1960's put the figure around 115,000 metric tonnes p.a. In 1990, the catches peaked at nearly 790,000 metric tonnes. Since then the decline has been almost 50 percent and in 1995, the annual landing stood at 407,000 metric tonnes. Over a similar period, levels of fishing efforts grew exponentially from an estimated 12,041 boats in 1983, to 22,700 in 1990 and 42,548 in 2000. (As with the figures on fish landings, these figures should be seen as approximate).

According to LVFO, efforts are currently made to reduce the annual yield to find long-term sustainable levels while increasing the value added to fish products before exports. Part of these efforts is the increase in the number of fish processing plants along the shores of the lake. Today the number of processing industries in the region is as follows: Kenya (12), Uganda (10) and Tanzania (12).

Today the fishing sector is characterised by unsustainable yields and increasing levels of tensions, which has come to engage even top political actors in the EAC member states. Instead of functioning as a forerunner for regional integration, the fishing sector is thus currently highly conta-

gious and a potential source of escalating conflicts. Five dynamics can be identified behind the current situation.

1. Market structures marginalise local actors
2. Organisation of public administration
3. Decreased biodiversity
4. Unsustainable fishing practices
5. Decreased basin environment pollutes the lake

Market structures marginalise local actors

The increasing commercialisation of the fishing industry, including the development of export markets in the EU, has increased the economic values attached to the fishing industry. But the economic wealth has been concentrated to a small number of actors around the lake that have altered the social, economic, and political power balance.

The owners of the processing factories have different backgrounds. Many factories are owned and managed by people belonging to the Asian communities in East Africa. Other factories are owned by multinational companies and nationals originating many European nations. It seems to be a rule that the factories have employed influential Africans as directors. Common for almost all the owners of the factories are that they have no past connection with the Lake Victoria fisheries.

The main problem faced by these processing plants is to secure sufficient supply of fish in order to exploit as much as possible of their investments. This has led to an increased competition between the factories. Even though there are signs that this situation benefits the fishermen in terms of higher prices, there are also signs of an oligarchic situation developing in the sector. Although they compete over short supplies of fish, the owners of the factories have joint interests and collaborate. The owners of the factories in Uganda meet once a month to discuss matters of common interest. These matters relate, inter alia, to the factories' relationship to government institutions and to conditions of import of equipment and export of fish. Together the owners constitute a forceful and articulate lobby group vis-à-vis the government with substantial resources at their disposal to influence decisions that affect them. There is no doubt that this powerful lobby group has considerable influence in deciding where the balance between conflicting objectives (fish for export or local consumption) is drawn. There is no similar lobby group representing the interests of the population groups dependent on the traditional fisheries. Except for a few NGOs, in Kenya notably OSIENALA, the fisher folk have no one to represent their points of view towards the major decision-makers.

For lack of strong local organisations, local fishermen are known to have entered into "patron – client" relationships with the large-scale producers to gain access to fishing gear and credit. In return, they sell their catch to the commercial actors with access to marketing structures. The power asymmetry in this relation gives local fishermen virtually no influence over the price they receive for their catch. The implication of this dynamic is the creation of a highly marginalised local fishing community characterised by high levels of poverty and grievances.

Women stand out as a particularly victimised group in this process. In the past, thousands of women were engaged in fish processing. The fish, which was not sold fresh, was smoked or sun-dried. Most of the processing was carried out on the landing sites or in appropriate places close to it, and the main actors were women. Many of the fish processors were the wives of fishermen and many of them were also traders, selling the fish they had processed in the local markets. With increased commercialisation and industrialisation, many of the processing plants have been moved away from the immediate surroundings of the lake and thus deprived these women of the traditional economic base.

Organisation of public administration

The structure of the official administrative structures regulating the fishery sector adds to the conflict configuration in the fishing sector.

Three conflict-generating features of the administrative systems can be identified:

(i) Sector segmentation:

The lack of coherence within each member state's administration of the fishing sector adds to the complexity of the regional conflict configuration. Different aspects pertaining to the fishing sector fall under the different legal instruments and bodies within the respective riparian countries. This leads to a situation of tensions within each country's sector. This in turn impedes holistic management of the basin. In Kenya, for example, the Fishery Act [CAP 378–380] under the Fishery Department regulates who, when, where, and how fish can be extracted. However, the Department of Social Services of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports regulates many of the local cooperatives of fishermen around the lake. At the same time, the two departments lack sufficient communication and coordination. This kind of unclear division of responsibilities and labour between the administrative bodies is bound to lead to unsustainable management of the lake.

In recent efforts to address the issue of sector segmentation, each of the three countries has set up a coordination unit for all issues pertaining to the administration of the lake. It is pertinent that these coordination units not only work towards regional integration of specific sectors, but also see to the intragovernmental coordination of different initiatives and regulations related to the same sector. This is clearly a daunting task and the capacity of the national coordination units must be in parity with their tasks.

(ii) Lack of harmonisation:

Today the riparian states hold different legal regulations for fishing in the lake. Moreover despite a common colonial heritage the administrative structures in the EAC countries vary substantially which create communication problems such as identifying responsible agencies in the respective countries (in general terms, Kenya can be said to be more centralised than Uganda and Tanzania).

The risk of un-harmonised legal and administrative systems is illustrated by recent events in the fishing sector. Unilateral efforts by the three riparian states to curb illegal fishing activities have led to the arrest of a total of some 400 fishermen and the destruction of some 50 illegal fishing equipment between 1998 and 2001. Many of the arrested fishermen

have been accused of crossing the borders of a neighbouring country. This has led to high-level political turmoil and vast media attention throughout the region. When Tanzania police arrested some 85 Kenyan fishermen over alleged trespassing in early 2003, this evoked reactions from Kenya's Foreign Affairs Minister. The conflict aroused by these arrests has been increased by the lack of a harmonised legal system from which the incidents could be assessed and the appropriate measures taken. Instead, these incidents brought about two interpretations: (i) The Kenyan fishermen held correct Kenyan licenses but as they followed the fish they accidentally crossed over to the Tanzania side where they were arrested; (ii) The fishermen were poachers from Kenya but were not holding correct Kenyan licenses. At the time of writing this report, the fishermen are tired of using the municipal laws of Tanzania, and discussions have also been held at the Council of Ministers and Sectoral Committees of the EAC.

If not properly addressed, disputes over the abstraction from the common resource base can escalate or otherwise pollute the environment of dialogue and negotiation required to realise East African regional integration. The disputes also stand as a reminder of the high level of political mobilisation that can be achieved between the EAC states, despite the elaborated discourse on integration.

(iii) Low implementation levels:

Adding to the regional tensions around fisheries is the lack of implementation of existing rules and regulations. This is a problem faced by many sectors in the region. Augmenting the implementation problems relating to the fishing sector is the surveillance problem constituted by the vast shoreline of the lake, and the weak infrastructure around it. In practice, the possible landing shores for small fishing vessels are too numerous for surveillance even by a well-functioning public administration. Add to that the spread of corruption in the sector, including reports that public administrators at all levels are involved in illicit practices. The low level of implementation capacity obstructs efforts by EAC to harmonise the relevant legislation as part of the regionalisation process.

In addition, the high degree of corruption at all levels of the administration enables fish processing industries to avoid taxes.

Decreased biodiversity

The greatest economic values of the fishing industry are linked to the catch of the Nile perch, which was introduced to the Lake by the colonial government in 1954. Nile perch constitutes over half of the fish landings by weight and nearly three-quarters by value. The balance is mainly made up of tilapia and the small, sardine-like dagaa/omena. Since much of the tilapia and omena is used for domestic consumption, it is estimated that at least 90 percent of the exports of fish are Nile perch.

While the Nile perch has contributed to the economic values of the Lake, critics argue that the commercialisation of the lake's fishing industry around the Nile perch has contributed to a dramatic decline in the biodiversity of the lake. The commercial value of the perch has overshadowed the conditions for other, less economically viable species. The decreasing biodiversity of the Lake since the introduction of the Nile perch has been classified as one of the biggest mass extinction events

in modern history. Decreased biodiversity increases the vulnerability of the Lakes ecosystem and constitutes a potential threat to the social and economic life of the communities dependent on the lake.

Unsustainable fishing practices

A significant threat to the fish market is overfishing due to the use of illegal fishing gear including trawlers, which destroy nursery grounds and perch poaching on immature fish. Attempts have been made to refrain from using the use of seine nets by local fishermen but fisheries in the lake are severely under-regulated due to the low capacity, and inefficiency of responsible national authorities. It is reported that, for example, in the Tanzanian part of the Kagera region alone there are more than 200 seine nets in operation employing more than 1000 fishermen. Here a conflict dynamic is created as the local fishing processing, providing a short-term solution to the lack of local food security, undermines the long-term viability of the fishery in the entire region. The risk is that their activities will contribute to the decline of Nile perch in the lake as the nets sweep the tributaries catching even immature fish. This calls for a comprehensive approach where the needs for environmental sustainability must be addressed in consideration of local fishing communities' needs for food security.

The second conflict is that between a more modern way of fishing and the traditional methods. A trawler with an engine capacity of about 300 HP and fitted with suitable gear can catch over one tonne of fish a day. Such a trawler can employ a crew of about ten. In comparison, about eight artisan boats employing a crew of over thirty can catch the same amount of fish. Therefore, in a limited resource base such as Lake Victoria, one trawler can potentially displace many artisan boats, resulting in a net loss of employment. Trawling is regarded as the appropriate fishing method in the deep parts of the lake where there are strong undercurrents. However, in practice, trawlers rarely restrict their activities to the open waters, preferring to operate in the shallower but richer fishing grounds traditionally occupied by artisan fishermen. They destroy the set gillnets and long lines, leading to conflicts between the two groups. Trawlers can also have adverse biological implications. Bottom trawling disturbs the substrate, the water column and interferes with the breeding ground and the spawning process, especially for tilapines. It can also destroy larvae and eggs of fish, macro and micro-invertebrates in the different strata of the lake. Thus, trawling using non-selective mesh nets may cause overfishing by removing both the adult and juvenile fish, thus reducing the potential yield of the fishermen for years to come.

Decreased basin environment pollutes the lake

The diffusion of basin wide pollution into the lake has been described in some detail in the introduction to this Lake Victoria report and this need not be reiterated. Suffice it to point out the connection to the fishing sector. The most dramatic effect on the fishing sector comes from the explosive expansion of the water hyacinth. At times, the hyacinth has created a physical hinder stopping the fishermen from accessing the lake. On other occasions the use of chemical pesticides to combat the hyacinth has made the EU, which is the major import market, ban fish from Lake Victoria on the grounds of high levels of pesticides in the fish.

2.7. Brief actor reviews

The following section presents some key institutional actors related to the management of the resources base immediate related to Lake Victoria.

Lake Victoria Fisheries Organisation (LVFO): LVFO is an institution under EAC established by the riparian states in cooperation with FAO, EU, and WB/GWF. The vision is to facilitate a common resource management system with the goal of restoring and maintaining the long-term health of its ecosystem. LVFO is actively assisting the national fisheries department in managing fisheries including activities such as monitoring, sanitation at landing sights. LVFO also assist in the harmonisation of regional fisheries regulations.

Lake Victoria Environmental Management Programme (LVEMP) is a comprehensive programme that covers Lake Victoria and its catchments in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Its main objective is the rehabilitation of the ecosystem using a regional transboundary approach. LVEMP focus on overfishing, eutrophication and algae levels, pollution and the invasion of the water hyacinth. LVEMP commenced in 1994 with a Tri-partite Agreement and is funded by GEF and IDA in addition to national contributions. Following a recent evaluation and renegotiations, a follow-up, LVEMP II, was recently launched. A major emphasis of the continued work with LVEMP II is to ensure stronger connection to the EAC process, which is why the direction of the future work is said to depend on the outcome of the Lake Victoria Vision and Strategy Process. Moreover, GEF has stated that its further funding will seek to direct the development of LVEMP II towards further integration in the broader NBI framework. In this way, LVEMP II will be the primary vehicle for WB support to NBI/SAP investments in the Lake Victoria region.

Ecovic/Ocienala: Set up by locally based stakeholders, Ocienala aims at gathering and disseminating information on the lake environment, coordinating local level initiatives, and providing capacity building. Expressing an ambition to gain a truly regional outreach Ocienala has developed a regional 'alter ego' in the form of Ecovic. Discussions are underway concerning the division of labour between the two organisational bodies.

Lake Victoria Development Strategy and Action Plan for Sustainable Development (LVDP) is under preparation to become a platform for the promotion of the Lake Victoria Basin as a "Growth Zone" common for the three EAC countries. A Partnership Agreement has been entered into between the EAC, Sweden, France and Norway, as well as WB and East African Development Bank.

2.8. Lake Victoria from a Nile basin perspective

The Nile system drains a watershed area of 3,030,300 square kilometres, constituting approximately 10 percent of all of Africa. The Nile Basin encompasses land in ten nations: Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, and Egypt. The Nile basin countries have a joint population of about 300 million people expected to double within the next 25 years.

The Lake Victoria basin contributes to what makes up the White Nile. Around 30 percent of the Nile's 84 billion cubic metres (at Aswan) comes from the White Nile system. The White Nile's flow is especially important to the lower Nile basin because, due to variations in rainfall on the

continent, it supplies the lower Nile during the months when the Blue Nile is very low. Due to these seasonal variations, the White Nile may at times contribute 80 percent of the flow to the lower Nile. The main source of the White Nile is, however, not found in Lake Victoria but in Lake No in south central Sudan. The annual outflow from Lake Victoria to the White Nile is low. In addition, before Lake Victoria's water reaches the lower parts of the Nile basin, it is subjected to significant evaporation, in particular in the great swamps' systems along its way.

The low level of inflow from the Lake Victoria to the Nile suggests that, from a pure hydrological perspective, any interventions of the Lake Victoria will only have a marginal effect on the availability of water for down stream use. This would suggest that there is a quite low conflict potential between up-and downstream riparian states in the Nile Basin.

However, the actual conflict potential in the Nile basin must be understood from a political perspective with particular attention to unrealised irrigation and hydrological potentials, increasing populations, and the political discourse of colonialism. Therefore, as the subsequent section will elaborate further, the conflict potential around the Nile basin could be identified as deriving from two main sources:

1. *Increases in water demand and conflict in the Nile basin:* The main sources of increase in water are (i) agricultural development leading to increased demand for irrigation; (ii) exploitation of the hydropower potential of the Nile implying the construction of dams which offset a complex set of social and environmental conflicts; (iii) population growth and the subsequent increase in urbanisation and water demand for domestic consumption.
2. *Lack of legitimate institutions for conflict mitigation in the Nile Basin:* The viability of the Nile Treaties, a colonial reminiscent, is deminishing while the potentials of the Nile Basin Initiative are yet to be realised. This puts the Nile in a position with very weak, if any, form of governance structure for conflict management.

Increased water demand and conflict in the Nile basin

Table 4. Irrigation potentials and current area under irrigation in the Nile basin.

Country	Irrigation potential/ha	Area under irrigation/ha
Burundi	80 000	0
Egypt	4 420 000	3 078 000
Eritrea	150 000	15 124
Ethiopia	2 220 000	23 160
Kenya	180 000	6 000
Rwanda	150 000	2 000
Sudan	2 750 000	1 935 200
Tanzania	30 000	10 000
Uganda	202 000	9 120
DRC	10 000	0
Total	10 192 000	5 078 604

<http://www.fao.org/docrep/W4347E/w4347e0k.htm#thepercent20nilepercent20basin>

Resource scarcity is not in itself a source of conflict. We know, however, that resource scarcity typically inflates social discontent, creates social frustration, and is hence conducive to political mobilisation and conflict. The future demand on the Nile waters comes from different sources including hydropower, agriculture, increased urbanisation, and domestic consumption. There is no comprehensive estimation available on the aggregated effect of these different sources. In a recently published book by John Waterbury, *The Nile Basin* (2002), the point is made that there is no acute overdemand on water backed by a significant strong state actor in the basin. The current supply of water does not create an immediate rivalry between the concerned Nile states. Box 1 outlines the basin states' stakes for the Nile waters according to Waterbury.

According to table 4, there is no material resource conflict between the states in the Nile basin. This helps to explain the relative stability in the Nile basin area.

Another, partly overlapping, indication of the future water demand is the difference between potential and actual use of irrigation. Increased development of the agricultural sector may lead to increased use of irrigation. Depending on what irrigation techniques that are used, this may lead to significant increases in the use of water. Table 4 accounts for FAO's estimation of the potentials and real use of irrigation in the region. Whereas the actual use of water for various development projects may not be significant, lower riparian states (Egypt) may fear that by allowing even marginally increased extraction will set off a trend, which will threaten demands in the Nile delta. Therefore, low riparian states may use whatever available means of impeding the realisation of upstream irrigation development.

The increased water demand from development of hydropower in the basin may also cause resource scarcity and hence feed into a complex of conflicts. However, as Waterbury (2002) argues, to the extent that hydropower production doesn't decrease the availability of water for downstream states, it has a low upstream- downstream conflict potential. In fact, an upstream hydropower plant may function as a storage facility and help downstream actors to better manage seasonal variations. Nevertheless, dam constructions imply high degrees of evaporation which decreases the total level of water available which may accelerate conflict dynamics.

In addition, the development of hydropower plants along the Nile may cause social and ecologic conflicts in direct connection to the dam. Dam constructions typically imply moving large population groups, which means separating them from their normal habitat. The creation of reservoirs also holds a potential to harm fisheries and submerge highly productive agricultural land on the river's banks leading to increased stress on land near the reservoir, resulting in further watershed degradation, deforestation and a loss in soil productivity. Development of hydropower plants in the Nile Basin may thus create conflicts between substantial economic interests and state elites who favour hydropower production and large-scale economic development, and on the other, the needs of local communities along the river.

Box 1: Increased demand from quantity of water

1. Egypt is by far the nation most dependent on the Nile but its interests are currently met, partly due to the series of treaties set to restrict the rights of upper riparian states (see below).
2. Sudan is somewhat less dependent upon the Nile as it has extensive rain fed areas within its borders. However, the most reliable production areas are the irrigated areas in the Nile Basin.
3. Ethiopia at present is not dependent upon the Nile in any important respect, but it would like to be. It sees its western Nile watershed as a crucial resource for irrigated agriculture, the exploitation of which has been unfairly denied it by Egypt and the Sudan.
4. Eritrea's stake in the Nile is confined to the management of two seasonal streams that flow from its territory into the Sudan. There have been periodic understandings between the two countries on the use of these flows. One of them now forms part of the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia, but the watercourse itself (the Mereb-Gash basin) has not been the cause or objective of the fighting between Ethiopia and Eritrea.
5. Kenya enjoys a portion of the shores of Lake Victoria and a number of tributaries to Lake Victoria arise on Kenyan territory. Kenya has seen itself more as a broker in the Nile basin and has never exhibited much interest in any binding accord on water use. Its main concern is with pollution and the spread of the water hyacinth.
6. Tanzania borders the Lake Victoria and holds part of the Kagera basin, which is the furthest tributary of the Nile system. Tanzania does not have any major stake in issues of water supply. However, this would change were it to pursue an old colonial scheme involving a canal from Lake Victoria to the interior of the country.
7. Burundi and Rwanda are part of the Kagera basin. Both countries enjoy high and fairly regular rainfall so that its interest in the Kagera is confined mainly to hydropower generation and not irrigation.
8. DRC has seldom shown any interest in the Nile. During the Mobuto era, discussions were held concerning plans to connect the hydropower station in Inga (Zaire) with the power grid in the upper Nile. DRC borders Lake Albert where DRC has some interests in shipping and fishing rights.
9. Uganda is typically classified as one of the four major stakeholders in the Nile basin (together with Egypt, the Sudan, and Ethiopia. Except in its semi-arid northeast, Uganda does not need surface irrigation or additional surface water given the current level of agricultural ambitions. However, Uganda straddles the exit of the Victoria Nile from Lake Victoria. At Jinja it operated the Owen Falls Dam that regulates the flow from Lake Victoria and generates power.

Source: Waterbury, John (2002:5–6).

The last source of increased water demand to be mentioned is the population growth in the region. As already mentioned the population of the Nile basin is estimated to double in the next 25 years, which naturally decreases the ratio of available water per person. With increased population growth, increased urbanisation often follows which implies an additional use of water per person. Using the conventional measures of “water scarcity” – below 1000 cubic metres per person per year – Burundi, Kenya and Rwanda already suffer from water scarcity and Egypt and Ethiopia are expected to fall into that category by 2025, followed by Tanzania and Uganda in 2050. Urbanised groups with low access to basic needs such as water and sanitation are ideal recruitment grounds for movements of popular discontent and political opportunism and may thus spark social conflict along the Nile basin.

Lack of legitimate institutions for conflict mitigation in the Nile Basin

The governance of the Nile is currently in a limbo between, on the one hand, a set of treaties signed under the colonial era, and, on the other, a new set of institutions within the framework of EAC and the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI). Even though the Nile Treaties have been contested during much of the post-colonial period, they have provided a basic form of governance for the basin. With the treaties increasingly called into question, it falls on EAC and NBI to step up and provide a framework for conflict mitigation in the basin. As of yet, neither EAC nor NBI has proven its ability to meet this role in a coordinated manner. A future framework for the sustainable, long-term management of the common resource base of the Nile is therefore not readily available which may be a source of future conflicts.

The Nile Treaties

The Nile treaties were signed during the colonial era. The text of the treaties severely restricted the usage rights of the upper riparian states. Despite the legitimacy of these treaties being highly contested, they have provided some guidance and regulation for the usage of the Nile. The first treaty was signed in 1902 between the UK (the colonial power) and the Ethiopian government. The treaty restricts Ethiopia from interference with the flow of the Nile. Another agreement was negotiated in 1929 between the British authorities in Egypt and in the East African countries under British rule – Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. The treaty forbids the East Africans from extracting any water without Egypt's consent. (In 1959 a treaty was signed between Egyptian and Sudanese governments after the construction of the Aswan dam had caused a breakdown in relations. The other Nile countries were not included in the 1959 treaty).

Notwithstanding the colonial ramification of the treaties, Egypt typically advocates their legitimacy by reference to the principle “do no harm”. The principle implies that upstream countries are restricted from actions with negative implications for down-stream users without prior consent. Upstream countries should “do no harm” to downstream riparian. Against this principle stands the principle of “equitable use” which stipulates that both up- and downstream countries have a legitimate right to water. Both these principles – do no harm and equitable use – are codified in the “Convention on the Law of the Non-navigational Uses of International Watercourses” which was presented before the UN General Assembly in 1997. The Convention has not obtained the status of international law. Kenya's signing of the Convention has not been followed by neither Egypt, Ethiopia, Tanzania nor Uganda. The Conventions do not provide clear guidance on how to balance the two principles and their conflicting claims in practical resource conflicts.

The legitimacy of the Nile treaties are increasingly contested by domestic actors in the EAC states. With references to the fact that the treaties were signed by the colonial powers, some actors have moved for the total disregard of the treaties. Kenya has at times called for a more pragmatic approach, including seeking to find venues for renegotiations. Of the three EAC states, Uganda finds itself in the peculiar situation of being both an up- and downstream country. It is a downstream country

in relation to Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya and Tanzania, while it is an upstream country in relation to the other basin countries, including Sudan and Egypt. This has exposed Uganda to pressure from two sides where the two principles – equitable use and do no harm – have been advocated by Uganda’s upstream and downstream neighbours respectively. On November 29th 2003, Uganda, together with Kenya and Tanzania, signed the EAC’s “Protocol for Sustainable Development of Lake Victoria Basin”. The Protocol borrows extensively from the UN Convention from 1997 and its formulations regarding the principle of “equitable use”. In contrast, the principle “do no harm” is largely left out. This is generally seen as a confirmation of Uganda’s role as primarily an upstream actor that identifies with the EAC community rather than the downstream state.

Despite criticism against the treaties, Egypt has acted to uphold the implications of their interpretation of the treaties. Egypt has located engineers at a gauging station upstream from Lake Victoria’s Owen Falls Dam to verify that Uganda is operating the dam according to an “agreed curve” simulating the Nile’s natural flow. It has also been suggested that Egypt tries to control upstream extractions by control of international financial institutions such as the African Development Bank. As any development on the Nile would call for big investments and financial support, control of the financial institutions is seen as a means of controlling the river.

The argument has also been made that Egypt makes use of its geopolitical importance in the Middle East to have the US maintain Egyptian interests in negotiations with the EAC states.

According to the text of the 1929 Nile Treaty, the EAC states are denied the usage of the water resources that flow within its territory. The degree to which this text actually has any implications for the level of development activities on the Nile is sometimes called in question. The argument is that no viable water development project proposed by and EAC state has been stopped with references to the treaty. Instead, the argument goes, the low level of water development in the EAC states should be attributed to the general low level of economic development in the region. In this reading of the situation, the frequent reference to the treaty in the political rhetoric in EAC should be understood as part of the familiarly rhetoric claiming that the present underdevelopment should be attributed to the colonial period. High-level Ugandan politicians have even come out and claimed that Egypt should compensate Uganda for its historical loss of development opportunities.

To sum up, the Nile Treaties have been able to provide at least a weak form of governance among the Nile state actors. The ability of the treaties to contribute to peaceful coexistence in the Nile basin is diminishing. At the same time, the demand for the Nile’s waters is increasing. This calls for new initiatives for management of the Nile. We now turn to the Nile Basin Initiative, which is one of the most viable attempts to address this task.

Nile Basin Initiative

The main initiative for conflict prevention and cooperation along the Nile is the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) founded in 1997. NBI should be seen as the latest initiative in a series of regional projects dating back at least to

the 1967 establishment of Hydromet and culminating in a series of ten “Nile 2002 Conferences” supported by CIDA as an informal mechanism for cooperation in the Basin. The main principle behind the NBI was stated in the Shared Vision Programmes emerging from the 8th Nile-COM meeting in Khartoum in August 2000: “To achieve sustainable socio-economic development through the equitable use of, and benefit from, the common Nile Basin water resources”. The NBI contains several bodies of which the Council of Ministers of Water affairs of the Nile Basin (Nile-COM) is the highest decision-making body. There is also the Technical Advisory Committee (Nile-TAC), and the Secretariat (Nile-SEC) which is based in Entebbe, Uganda. All riparian states are members of NBI, except Eritrea who holds a position as an observer. The work of NBI is carried out under two arms;

(i) Shared Vision Programme (SVP) commonly described as the “political” arm of NBI seeking to create an enabling environment for co-operative management and development in the Basin. Currently there are seven specific projects in the SVP portfolio, each with a headquarters being set up in different Nile states to increase the level of ownership.

(ii) Subsidiary Action Programme (SAP) is the implementing arm of the NBI mandated to turn the SVP into “real” projects with local impact. A large number of projects have been listed for implementation within SAP, including water resources management, regional infrastructure, trade promotion, health projects and so on. SAP consists of two geographic subsections: The Eastern Nile Subsidiary Action Programme (ENSAP) comprising Egypt, Ethiopia and the Sudan, and the Nile Equatorial Lakes Region Subsidiary Action Programme (NELSAP) comprising Burundi, DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda. Within the NELSAP framework, Sida has recently been engaged in the development of three river basins; Kagera basin comprising Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, and Tanzania; Sio, Malaba-Malakisi basin comprising Uganda and Kenya; the Mara basin comprising Kenya and Tanzania.

The International Consortium for Cooperation on the Nile (ICCON) was launched in June 2001 as a forum for interaction between international donors and the riparian states. The immediate task of ICCON is fundraising. The initial sponsors of the NBI are WB, UNDP and CIDA. As the NBI has moved forward, assistance has also been provided by nine donor countries, including Sweden, as well as FAO and GEF.

The Nile Basin Discourse (NBD) was set up in early 2000 to function as a public communication programme with the mandate to engage and coordinate civil society throughout the Nile Basin. The NBD is in the process of setting up a formal structure for its daunting task.

NBI is a unique construction in the history of the Nile basin. For the first time in history, the major stakeholders have joined in a common institutional framework committed to peaceful development of the common resource. There also seems to be an increasing realisation among the member states that the costs of non-engagement are higher than the costs of engagement and that cooperation along the river can lead away from the historical “zero-sum” thinking about the resource to a focus on the value added from cooperation. It is further believed that NBI may help to clarify the relationship between Egypt and the EAC member states which is now regulated by the ambiguous Nile Treaty from 1929.

A new agreement with wide international legitimacy might be conducive to the EAC member states in their negotiations for international financial support as the current legal uncertainties may discourage engagements.

However, there are reasons not to be too optimistic about the ability of NBI to actually meet its objectives. NBI is a vital and potentially viable first step for conflict prevention and cooperation, but much remains before the riparian states will reap the benefits of a fruitful cooperative, basin wide framework. One indication of the tasks ahead is given by the fact that, whereas the estimated cost of the total list of NBI projects varies from \$3billion to \$30billion, the current level of donor funding is about \$150 million and few commitments have been made from riparian states. Another potential obstacle for NBI is that it rests firmly on the principle of state sovereignty, which may be counterproductive for effective management given the complexity of political, religious, and historical relations between the riparian states. Moreover, the NBI stands the risk of not gaining local level legitimacy and being classified as “overstructured” and “donor driven”. A framework for civil society engagement in NBI has been initiated, the Nile Basin Discourse, but is still in its initial phase.

As already mentioned, the EAC states have recently signed the agreement “Protocol for Sustainable Development of Lake Victoria Basin” which signifies an increase level of coordination between these states. An increased coordination between the EAC states can be either a stepping stone or a stumbling block in the NBI process. With a united EAC agenda, the number of players in the NBI process would decrease, which potentially enhances the negotiations and increases the costs for anyone of the EAC states to defect from cooperation. However, a united EAC agenda may also become a united “EAC front” in the NBI process. The World Bank has expressed concern that the EAC Protocol was signed without prior consultations with the Bank and the down-stream Nile basin states. The risk potentials deriving from an EAC front is increased by the fact that it coincides with the historical divide between the “Christian/African south” and “Islamic/Arab north”. Increasing coordination within EAC may thus offset the current unstable equilibrium in the basin and create a problematic conflict configuration. In light of this conflict potential, it is encouraging that the need for coordination is high on the current political agenda of both EAC and NBI. A Memorandum of Understanding regarding coordination and cooperation between the two organisations is currently being drafted.

3. Cross cutting issues

The underlying actual and potential sources of conflict in the Lake Victoria Region can be summarised as follows:

- Proximity and high stakes in the Great Lakes conflicts
- Proximity and key role in the generically unstable Nile Basin
- Poverty and high level of economic marginalisation in an increasingly export driven economy (“creating an island of poverty in a sea of wealth”)
- Increasing demand (due to e.g. urbanisation, and population growth) on decreasing natural resources (due to unsustainable resource practices and management regimes)
- Low institutional capacity in a context of high social demand
- Inconclusive processes of democratisation, lack of legitimacy and trust
- High level of corruption
- High level of domestic violence and civil strife

A possible future conflict configuration in Lake Victoria and its environs is thus multidimensional and compounded by a number of different sources of conflict. We think that these different and possible sources of conflict can be amalgamated into five categories, which are conducive to understanding the conflict complex. Each of these categories are described and elaborated on in the section below. Moreover, they guide the subsequent section Approaching a cooperative strategy for Lake Victoria.

1. Direct violence
2. Structural violence; which also could be expressed in terms of poverty. However, in talking about structural violence, we want to highlight the protracted expressions of poverty, and the special risks that may appear in a conflict perspective, if poverty in a society is perceived as differentiated and below social expectations
3. Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building
4. Challenges from asymmetric regional integration
5. Cognitive interpretations and perceptions of historical and current developments. This includes productions of “knowledge and identities”

The content of these categories should be understood as process-oriented and hence not as any direct causal explanation for possible conflicts. Any of these conditions may contribute to the conflict complex, as well as at the same time being part of the same complex in a way that challenges conventional distinctions between dependent and independent variables in conflict analysis. The first and last categories have more limited importance in the Lake Victoria setting than in the Great Lakes setting. However, if we include Burundi and Rwanda in the Lake Victoria complex, they of course play a role.

Thus, we do not see direct violence only as an outcome of societal conditions. Direct violence can be both a consequence of societal conditions, and a stimuli for continuous violence.

Several of the conflict issues brought forward in this section might appear to be distant to the Lake Victoria project as such, but all have a direct or indirect influence on the context in which the programmes are implemented, and thus have a bearing on the unfolding of the programme. These issues are complementary to the specific issues related direct to Lake Victoria raised in the previous section.

3.1. Direct violence in the Lake Victoria Region

The Lake Victoria region is constituted by a number of conflict configurations that have generated direct violence at a number of times in recent history, as well as today. Earlier periods of violence had a direct bearing on current conflicts and on potential future conflicts. Direct violence today occurs in Burundi, Uganda, Kenya, and in the Sudan. The situation in Rwanda is fragile and highly dependent on the development in DRC. Kenya has a violent political history, and the current situation is a precarious balance between different political forces that again might flare up in political violence. The conflict on Africa's Horn must as well be regarded as a part of the regional security complex. Tanzania is the exception in the region, but has as well experienced violent conflicts on Pemba, where the situation still remains tense.

The ongoing violent conflicts have in common that they have a multi-country character and that the consequences of the conflicts affect several countries, even if they differ in types and extension. Consequently, the problems cannot be managed if the development in the different states does not pull in the same direction. Processes in a neighbouring country could easily undermine a reform process or aid intervention, even if the intervention as such in a given context is internally coherent. This points at the need to support and coordinate interventions in several countries at same time — as well as to analyse what collateral effects interventions in one country may have on the neighbours. The problem described, is in turn an expressions of sources of conflicts and dynamic processes.

Direct violence threatening peace and stability in the region

The violent situation in Burundi, Northern Uganda, Southern Sudan and in the eastern DRC can spill over and threaten the stability of other areas of the region, directly and indirectly. Directly through violent actions, IDPs, refugees, and indirectly through e.g., destabilising governments politically and contributing to a twisting of scarce governments budgets into increasing defence budgets. The simultaneous unfolding of

conflicts within the region is a challenge to manage, requiring a well-developed arsenal of policy measures and information, both about the situation and the consequences of the implemented policies. It requires the capacity to analyse, formulate policies and to implement, as well as a political will. One challenge is that the conflicts are often in different phases, thus needing different types of interventions; interventions, which in turn could fuel conflicts in another phase. A conflict in a post-conflict phase could easily be triggered into a new cycle of escalating violence by “spilling over” from conflicts in a neighbouring area in a pre-conflict phase.

Militarisation of societies in parts of the region

The drawnout conflicts have brought about a general militarisation in Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, in terms of budget allocation, lifestyle and the security situation. The proliferation of armed groups of different character and extent is a major challenge for conflict prevention, post-conflict rehabilitation and peace building. The term “rebel” group or “militia” refers to wide variety of groups, ranging from loose gangs of bandits, at times with a political objective, to relatively well-organised groups. The armed groups in Burundi, Uganda, Sudan and Kenya are linked in a cobweb of networks, with local, national, regional and international dimensions, often with connections to formal, as well as informal and illegal activities at all levels.

In this context, one could also point elite rivalry on a regional level. Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya see themselves, as potential leaders in the region. Kenya from its, historically, by far more developed society, Tanzania based on its size and the ideological and moral leadership remaining from the Nyerere era and Uganda from being transformed by Museveni to a growth engine of the region under a new generation of leaders. As will be evident from the section below, hegemonic efforts from elites in Tanzania stand out via the support to FDD and the “Hutu-movement”. In addition, Burundi is also affected by elites in Uganda and Rwanda as well as in DRC who seek to further their positions. The efforts are often channelled through proxies on other countries’ territories. This has contributed to a situation with multiplication of local warlords, often with weak social bases, but with protection from a government in another country. Patterns of alliances shift with a speed and flexibility that sometimes defies an outsider’s comprehension. In the process, spreading of rumours, disinformation, stereotyping and manipulation of identities all contribute to aggravate an already difficult situation.

Refugees and internally displaced people

The existence of flows of refugees is a phenomenon bridging direct violence and structural violence. As in the case of Rwandan refugees 1994, they carried expressions of direct violence with them into DRC, while for example Burundian refugees in Tanzania today are, still, typically victims of structural violence.

One of the consequences of conflicts in the Lake Victoria/Great Lakes region is, thus, the displacement of large numbers of people. Tanzania has been the recipient of up to a million refugees at times from neighbouring Burundi and Rwanda, causing environmental stress, pressure on scarce resources and increase in criminal activities around the

country. This has created a widespread resentment in Tanzania against in particular Burundians, and to a lesser extent Rwandese. Refugees from Rwanda and Burundi in DRC thus destabilise both the host country and the country of origin. With the conflict between Uganda and the Sudan many people have been forced to move for a longer or shorter time to the neighbouring country. The presence of refugees can cause tensions both within the country where they are (dis)placed and between the country of origin and country of displacement. It also could create tension related to demand on resources like food, firewood, water and grazing land. Repatriation and the integration of refugees and IDPs are two of more urgent issues to address in the region.

The huge influx of people at times conflicts with environmental concerns, for example in order to accommodate the influx of refugees flooding back into Rwanda from Tanzania, a decision was taken to degazette two-thirds of the Akagera National Park and house families on what had been parkland. This policy has allowed refugees who lost their land to return to their country of origin but has led to further environmental destruction in the fragile ecosystem of the Akagera, namely, encroachment in the national park for grazing of livestock in the dry season and decimation of the park's stock of natural predators, mainly lions and hippos, either by poachers or herders, or because the predators kill cattle at the new homesteads.

Uganda is now experiencing an influx of refugees from the DRC and Burundian and Rwandese from Tanzania. This is having consequences for the relatively poor districts in the West Nile or Bundibugyo in the West. It can be noted that the prevalence of refugees is nothing new in the region, with a high number of Rwandese living in Uganda for a few decades after Independence. This group has become very much part of the ruling elite for the last ten years in Rwanda. Rwandese refugees also played an important role in the overthrow of Mobuto in the Zaire. Somehow, this is an indication of the dynamism that is developed within large refugee populations.

The issue of IDPs is acute in certain parts of Tanzania, Uganda, and partly Kenya. In Uganda large camps have grown up in the Acholi districts in the North to protect the population from attacks from the LRA. In the Teso district of Katakwi at least half of the population is living in camps out of some 250.000 inhabitants. Living conditions in these camps are deplorable, with little assistance coming from outside. Donors, NGOs, the Government and even relatives of people in camps in Katakwi see little point in sending any supplies, as they will immediately find their way to raiders from outside. Some people try to cultivate cassava and some other basic foods, but the diet is now often turned into what can be collected in the neighbourhood, mainly leaves that are cooked. The social facilities in these camps are of a very low standard, and there is a constant fear of attacks from either the Karimojong warriors, or these days also from the LRA. People have to organise themselves into units that are made up of split families. Rape and child abuse are frequent in these camps, as an extra dilemma apart from the external threats.

We can also note that the desperate situation is also found in the neighbouring areas, with little cultivation due to fear of raids from outside. Therefore, there is an escalating deprivation in these areas.

During the 1990s, Kenya experienced numerous ethnic clashes, not least in connection with the multi-party elections. As in Uganda, this led to the establishment of many camps in the areas populated by various ethnic groups. In many cases this affected the Kikuyu as they were seen as intruders on land belonging to the Masai, Pokot, Kalenjin etc. It is important to note that many of these Kikuyu were poor peasant farmers, but often identified with the rich elite close to the previous regime under Kenyatta.

Arms trade —escalating conflicts

The massive trade in small arms and ammunition in the border regions in northern Uganda/southern Sudan/eastern DRC, all the way to Somalia, contributes to an escalation of conflicts and instability. A number of trade routes and open markets for military hardware exist in this region. Automatic guns, pistols and ammunition are sold more or less openly in these areas rather cheaply. This has developed into a profitable business for many people, who therefore may have less interest in peace efforts. However, local availability of small arms is not only a general threat to peace in general terms, but is also a main threat to social stability through increased criminality and other social disturbances. This means that weapons are also a ‘means of production’ for impoverished people, who may respond to structural violence with small-scale direct violence.

A case in point is Karamoja, where most of the Karimojong warriors carry arms. Estimates put the number of guns in the area to 60.000–70.000—possibly even double that. A “culture of the gun” has been established. This has largely replaced the normal social organisation in the region and affects most segments of life at present.

Efforts for societal normalisation in areas like northern Uganda must address both the matters of IDPs and guns. This requires both local legitimate governance and efforts from the civil society movements on both sides of a conflict, such as for example Karamoja – Teso. It is extremely difficult to deal with the armed conflict as such. Another issue is that there are people that take advantage of the insecure situation, either as gun traffickers or as corrupt officials in development programmes. This must be given serious attention in the future.

3.2. Structural Violence

Poverty processes of exclusion and marginalisation

Poverty is a fundamental condition in many of the conflicts in the region – and vice versa, conflicts have generated pauperisation, not least in Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya. This is so whether poverty is related to who you are (ethnically, regionally, gender, children etc), or if poverty is part of a general insecurity (ongoing violence, warlords, guns proliferation, displacement, bad governance etc.).

Poverty is an expression of a complex web of interrelated factors of deprivation, as elaborated by, among others, Chambers (1997) and Sen (1999). As seen from the country backgrounds, all the countries bordering Lake Victoria are characterised by an average, or slightly below average, situation in terms of economic development. All the six countries in

this study are found in the category of Low Human Development, according to UNDP HDI.⁹

Poverty is a controversial concept to measure the state of development in a national or regional context, as well as the relationship on an individual level. In many cases, a feeling of being left behind, or socially excluded might cause frustrations. These kinds of perceptions are not always, or necessarily, linked to absolute poverty. Looking at the case of northern Uganda, the present state of affairs is one of relative poverty in relation to a time of past glory under a president from that part of the country.

To these poverty-related factors, we can add the availability of natural resources, such as the strategic minerals in Uganda, Eastern DRC and several areas in Tanzania. This is an alternative source of survival for many poor. As such, it is also a base for traditional trade – with external (global) links. Thus, it should be seen as not only a source of local capital, contributing to the livelihood in the surrounding local communities, but also as a part of a complex international financial game; not constituting a complex mix of criminal networks, local warlords or strongmen, but linking into the formal system of international enterprises.

Processes of exclusion and marginalisation – a source to political mobilisation

All countries have identified poverty as a national issue to be alleviated or eradicated. Even if the strategies adopted have had a certain amount of success, measured at nationally aggregated level, this is normally accompanied by the fact that some parts of the population have been excluded these positive achievements. It is often here we find considerable opposition towards the central government. In Uganda, we can see how the lowest support for the incumbent president was noted in Acholi regions to the North. However, the picture is not so clear, as the percentage votes for Museveni in Karamoja was above 95 percent. In Tanzania the poor areas along the coast, and on Zanzibar, challenge CCM. Here poverty intertwined with Islam has become an important source of political mobilisation. Poverty and feelings of marginalisation and the Moslem identity overlap in the marginalised and disadvantaged communities.

A national comparison of poverty in the three East African countries gives a rather diverse picture. In Uganda, the most affluent regions are to be found in the core areas of the Buganda kingdom – or Central Uganda (including the capital Kampala). At the same time poverty is most widespread in the northern parts of the country, West Nile, Acholi/Langi areas and Karamoja. Most socio-economic indicators are distinctly below national average in these areas, the core regions for ongoing conflicts.

To address this situation, the Government has implemented various development programmes, of which the most ambitious are the Northern Ugandan Rehabilitation Programme (NURP) I and II. Unfortunately, the outcome was heavily hampered, due to corruption, which illustrates how a certain segment of the population is willing to use this kind of deprivation for personal gain. At present, the NURPs have

⁹ Out of 175 countries we find Kenya in 146th place, followed by Uganda 147th, Rwanda 158th, Tanzania 160th, DRC 167th and Burundi 1710th for the year 2001 (UNDP 2003). Looking at the one US\$ per day criteria we gain a rather dubious comparison, with Kenya indicating 23 percent of the population under that level and Tanzania at 20 percent. On the other end we find Uganda with as many as 82 per cent below, for the period of 1990–2001. However the national poverty assessments give a different picture.

been replaced by so-called social funds, which will strongly rely on the private sector development organs.

Social stratification – marginalisation and frustration gaps

In all countries, a process of social change is taking place. Integration in the global markets and deregulation of state-led economies bring about, on the one hand, an undermining of traditional forms of livelihoods, and, on the other, an opening-up of new opportunities. A rapid growth of some sectors of the economy, creating a new social structure often dominated by elite groups originating from Europe, Asia or South Africa, without inclusion of the majority, create a potentially fragile social situation. Marginalisation and feelings of being left out could easily be used for political mobilisation. In all countries, concerns are voiced about foreigners, perceived to come in and exploit resources with little benefit for the majority.

Certain groups are more sensitive in this respect. Young men in particular are such a group. The rapid urbanisation process in combination with loss of livelihoods in the rural areas have brought about a situation, in which large parts of the cohort of young men feel that the foreseen livelihood patterns are breaking down, and that they are unable to create a new livelihood in the “modern” economy. The gap between what available income opportunities may offer, and the aspired consumption/lifestyle — inspired by global media — widens. These groups of frustrated young men are easily mobilised either in ragtag vigilante groups or as a political base for movements mobilising on feelings of marginalisation. The cognitive bases for unfulfilled aspirations, needs and expectations are evidently different and overlapping, but the sense of marginalisation seems to be a common ground for violent mobilisation.

It should be noted that also elite groups in these societies easily could be sidelined from the ongoing reform process. These groups include high and middle range managers and officers in privatised or abandoned parastatals, as well as in private companies exposed to increased competition as a result of integration in the global market economy, and entrepreneurs/producers of various types, who earlier were protected behind imperfect markets/information or customs walls.

Poverty – insecurity

In a Ugandan national poverty assessment, emphasis is given to the mutually interdependent factors of insecurity and poverty. Not only is poverty a cause for grievances that eventually is expressed as some form of resistance, but insecurity also causes a deepening of the existing poverty. Insecurity leads to poverty both at the domestic/household and community level. This will be dealt with below, as it relates particularly to the most vulnerable members of the society, i.e. women and children.

On a lower level, we can see how a more regional variation in development trends can contribute to a state of insecurity. People in the Ruwenzori mountain range, for example, have traditionally been neglected compared with inhabitants of the Toro kingdom. This marginalisation has partly contributed to the rebellion surrounded by the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF).

A slightly different pattern of development has emerged in Kenya. Traditionally, since the early colonial days, the two major ethnic groups (Kikuyu and Luo) were brought into the white commercial sector, as labourers – but also became comparatively well-educated. After Independence, the Kikuyu have been able to consolidate this state of affairs, even if there is a distinct class division within this particular group. Still, even if the Kikuyu have been in a political backwater for well over two centuries the Central Province areas of the country, in which they dominate, is the region with the lowest poverty levels. There might be strong fears that the new Kikuyu (Kibaki)-led Government might further accentuate the disparities regionally, thus reinforcing social and regional differentiation patterns inherited from colonial time.

Traditionally, the northern parts of the country with a population largely dependent on pastoral cattle rearing are the poorest areas. However, it seems that since a decade or so ago the Luo people on the shores of Lake Victoria have wound up in a situation of increased deprivation. Largely this can be linked to the dilemma of high population density in an area of subsistence peasant farming. As was indicated above, the Luo situation might lead to renewed clashes with neighbouring people

Gender issues

It is obvious that women constitute a specific vulnerable group in the region. As an example, Kenya and Tanzania have a fairly good rating of girls' net enrolment in primary schools, compared with Uganda. On the other hand, the Uganda emphasis of political participation of women at various levels has been seen as very positive.

One crucial issue regarding the status of women is their actual legal rights, and how these are handled. In a report by the Human Rights Watch (2003) this has been expressed as double standards. Property rights are brought in as an essential part of how widows are discriminated. In this context, we will also mention the traditional Luo habits of widow cleansing and of "duty" of a younger brother to take the widow as his wife. These customs have been debated, especially in later years, and as seen as a strong contributory factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS in the Lake Victoria region.

Another serious factor in relation to insecurity was highlighted by the Ugandan poverty assessment, i.e. domestic violence. In the frustration and apathy felt, due to general insecurity, the use of alcohol has largely increased. This will also lead to an increased incidence of wife battering, and in the long run, a serious deterioration of traditional social structures. One of the victims will be the children

Women are marginalised both in terms of access to political office, to formal employment, and economic resources.

Children rights and violence

Many children are forced out of their normal social context due to three main factors; (i) war, (ii) HIV/AIDS, and (iii) domestic violence. What has been reported about northern Uganda is the frequent abduction of children to be enrolled as soldiers in the war. Lately, it has been reported that children near the town of Gulu sleep at night in open places in the

town to avoid being kidnapped. It has been the policy of the LRA to attack schools to recruit children for the army, or as “wives” for the commanders. One perspective in a post-conflict situation would be to regard them as war criminals, as they have been taking part in military activities with the rebel groups. On the other hand, we can realise the enormous needs behind the necessity of channelling these children into a normal life and education. A difficult matter as the children involved are under serious mental stress.

For the last few years, the issue of HIV/AIDS is reported to have improved in Uganda. Still we can assume that the knowledge of the situation in northern Uganda is unclear, but reports are frequent about rape in the fighting areas and in the refugee camps. Therefore, due to a high mortality rate from Aids, we would expect a continuous increase in the number of child-headed households, a particularly vulnerable group in any society.

In connection with domestic violence, it is common that children run away and survive by living on the streets of Kampala or in a smaller town. There is only one way to survive, through crime, anything from shop lifting to violent/armed robbery.

Consequently, any kind of poverty reduction programme must make specific provision for the situation of women and children in the society.

HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS pandemic and the poverty are mutually reinforcing. Besides being a terrifying tragedy for the individuals directly affected, HIV/AIDS leads to loss of human resources in all sectors of society and the economy. Likewise, poverty increases the spread of HIV/AIDS through social and cultural practice. Poverty and unemployment make women, boys, and girls highly vulnerable to abuse by more powerful men. The socio-economic marginalisation of these groups may also force them to engage in risky sex for economic and social protection. Likewise, poverty prevents young people, most frequently young girls, from attending school where they could have acquired information on protective measures and enhanced their socio-economic standing, by increasing their ability to provide for their sexual health. Information from UNAIDS claims that girls between 15–19 years of age are six times more likely to be HIV positive than boys of the same age. This raises some questions. How do we explain this? Are there only a few HIV positive boys indulging in unprotected sex – or do we for any reason underestimate the extent of promiscuity among young girls?

The transport system around the lake, the mining activities and the transient populations, the refugee movements, cross-border migrants and cross-border trade and commerce make the Lake Victoria area and the trans-border areas of Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda from Kagitumba to Murungu, Kigagati and Mutukula as well as at Rusumo Falls particularly at risk as regards HIV/AIDS. Apart from human suffering, social problems, loss of production, children losing parents and schooling opportunities etc., people in these high-risk zones will need to spend more money on health clinics and medicines than most, in looking after HIV patients, and as these are not wealthy areas, such expenditure would be expected to drain their finances even more. In addition, the health system becomes overburdened.

In the Lake Victoria region, the fishing sector is a catalyst of HIV/AIDS. The fishermen are very mobile and follow the whereabouts of the fish. They frequently take up temporary sexual relations as they move between different residences along the lakeshores, on the mainland, and on the islands along the shore. The trade in fish gives the fishermen access to cash, which increases their 'purchasing power' on the sex markets.¹⁰

Both bilateral and regional efforts are made to curb the pandemic. The EAC states have formed National AIDS Commissions/Councils to co-ordinate activities. In an attempt to form a regional platform the governments of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania, together with the EAC and a wide variety of stakeholders, recently launched "The Arusha Commitments on Gender and HIV & AIDS: From policy to Practice in East Africa".

Crippled social service

One component of poverty is the exclusion from social services, such as education and health. We can expect a "lost generation" due to an inadequate education. Even if there are schools, attendance is affected by insecurity. It cannot be easy to concentrate on schooling when other schools in the region have been attacked and many pupils have been kidnapped, ending up as child soldiers. Large programmes for broadening education have recently started up in all three countries, creating a hope for change.

Health facilities are of poor standard – hospitals without electricity and understaffed clinics and an increasing financial burden incurred by the sufferers from HIV/AIDS, or sometimes also from Ebola.

Lack of access to social service, or low quality of the services, could be a source, of conflict, undermining the legitimacy of the nation state project and providing ground for political mobilisation against real or perceived marginalisation.

Infrastructure

Destroyed, worn out by insufficient infrastructure both reduce possibilities for development and integration. Both processes increase frustration gaps and consequently the conflicts. Deficient infrastructure could facilitate tensions between communities and states. For example, Kenya is the most industrialised of the three countries and by a geographic quirk, its port of Mombasa is closer to the Tanzanian hinterland regions of Mwanza and Shinyanga. This has resulted in contraband goods finding their way into these regions, ferried across Lake Victoria and Kenyan imported goods, particularly fossil oil products, find their way into north-west Tanzania, where they are sold at cheap mark-ups. What could be done to contain this kind of conflict? The states could agree to the permanent demarcation of their borders with built-up beacons on land and anchor-type floating beacons in the lake. There is a need to strengthen their patrol systems and to agree to a common services legal structure and court system to adjudicate on crimes related to illegal border crossing.

¹⁰ Nyonyo, Venance (1999). "Aids Prevention among Mobile Fishermen: Experiences with HIV/AIDS prevention amongst fishermen on the shores of Lake Victoria, Mwanza Region, Tanzania". Paper presented to the conference on 'AIDS, Livelihood and Social Change in Africa' Wageningen, April 1999.

Natural resources

The possible conflicts could involve:

- Conflicts over ownership of natural resources like the discovery of oil close to the shared borders
- Conflicts pertaining to the marketing of strategic minerals such as uranium, gold
- Conflicts related to the environment in connection with exploration
- Conflicts related to processing of natural resources

(a) There is potential for discovering oil off the Coast of Pemba Island in Tanzania, close to the ocean boundary between Kenya and Tanzania. If there are no proper markings of the boundary physically, or through an agreed GIS mechanism with coordinates registered internationally, the two neighbours could squabble over rights to exploit this resource.

(b) It is known that Tanzania has reserves of uranium, in probably more than one locality. Uranium is of great strategic significance internationally, and if its mining and marketing is not properly handled, e.g. if this resource finds its way to so-called 'axis of evil' countries, this could trigger direct intervention by the ruling powers or through their agents. The potential for this type of conflict is very real, given the increasing level of corruption and greed among politicians, who would not be interested in the scrupulous handling of mining and marketing rights.

Concerning the problems relating to the ownership of new discoveries of oil close to shared international boundaries, there are no bilateral arrangements that address only that particular issue other than those contained in the EAC Agreements. There is a need to explore this possible eventuality further.

Concerning the handling of strategic resources like uranium, there is a need to overhaul existing constitutions of the states so that they are more in line with modern thinking as regards the democratisation of the electoral process and the creation of social capital frameworks for better empowerment of the people in decision-making.

(c) Another possible source of conflict could be the disposal of gold mining effluent and the effect of increased fertiliser and pesticides that leach into Lake Victoria. Earlier on, unacceptable levels of mercury were observed around Geita, and there are fears that a sizeable amount of pesticides will find their way into the lake and could increase BOD₅ loads beyond an acceptable level. In addition, it is obvious that increased use of fertilisers in agriculture has eutrophically changed the ecology of the lake and some of its visible results is the increase of hyacinth weeds seen essentially as a pernicious weed. The main actors in this conflict are the governments of Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. It is vitally important to have common initiatives and agendas that address the issue collectively for the common good.

(d) The other potential conflict area is the ownership of the fishing and fish processing industries on the Tanzanian border towns. Kenyans own most of these and conflicts could arise in the future with regard to national fishing quotas and over ownership. One possible solution is to ensure that the contracts/investments address environment, economic

and technical concerns and contain inbuilt milestones and key indicators with adequate safeguards for both parties.

Tourism is another area where conflict could arise both within countries and between countries. Tanzania and Kenya, as well as Tanzania and Rwanda, have game parks on each side of the border in several areas, which at times have led to tensions.

3.3. Democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building

The political situation in the region might be summarised as fragmented processes of democratisation, limping legitimacy and weak institutional structures, a situation that facilitates conflicts, rather than conflict management.

Insufficient structures of governance and lack of democratic processes

The weak structures of governance lack capacity and resources to manage the above mentioned challenges. One risk with that situation is that people feel even more marginalised, and that it is possible for unscrupulous actors to use the lack of capacity and governance to enrich themselves – and create further loss of trust from the structures of governance. In the same way, the inconclusive processes of democratisation risk undermining popular trust in the political processes as such. In a context of the rapid change of the economic and cultural structures and values, new elites will emerge and the old will lose ground. The resulting tensions, inevitable in any society that passes through a structural transformation, could be a fertile hotbed for conflicts if the existing institutional frameworks are unable to provide legitimate and reasonably efficient arenas for voicing and managing these tensions.

Civil Society — trade unions not the least

All countries in the region are walking a slippery tight walk from authoritarianism. The role of the civil society does in the same slippery way play a crucial role in carrying out activities in sectors where the state has failed. However, even more importantly is its role in promoting forums and frameworks to voice different groups' views in order to reduce potential tensions and to promote the growth of a democratic and pluralistic culture. Few of the NGOs could be defined as social movements in a Scandinavian sense, most are to be regarded as consultancy firms in the development business.

With changing economic structures, and with a larger share of the population in urban areas as salaried workers, trade unions have become even more important than before. Not least in the sectors of rapid growth, like tourism, mining and commercial primary production, often run by foreign companies.

The Political Society – democracy needs working political parties

An efficient democracy needs efficient channels for lobbying the executives from local to regional level. Ruling parties or movements often have access to resources directly or indirectly via the state apparatus. Most opposition parties struggle with meagre resources to organise resistance, and have difficulties in challenging the ruling party. The last election in

Kenya was the first example in the modern history of the region of it being actually possible for an opposition to take power by peaceful means.

Taken together, the weaknesses in the above-mentioned institutions in a context of rapid transformation of society, the deep and ever-increasing poverty, and widening gaps of frustration, are high risk factors.

3.4. Nation-states under stress

The Ugandan state under stress

The analysis of the current conflicts in Uganda shows that the Ugandan government has a large agenda to address in order to achieve peace.

Adding to the complexity of the Ugandan situation is the fact that Uganda as a nation-state is a weak construction, containing strong political sub-units in the traditional kingdoms. Most notably, advocates of the Buganda Kingdom have voiced discontent with the role of a more or less “traditional reminiscence”. Further, with any change it is likely that other kingdoms would eventually bring out similar demands. For the West Nile, claims have been made that this is part of a colonial formation known as the Lado State. Even if the claims on a Lado state might not be worth taking seriously, or realistically, they indicate that claims on secession from the Ugandan state is not just based on pre-colonial foundations. Realising this plasticity in the political geography of Uganda should call attention to the influx of refugees from DRC (in areas such as Kabarole, Bundibugyo and Kasese). Despite severe disability in these areas, the central government has shown no or very limited manifestations of its claim to be the politically legitimate ruler in the regions.

Reconstruction of the Sudan

The Sudan has never functioned as a stable nation-state. It has experienced insecurity and civil war more or less continuously since the 1950s, with the Anyanaya I and II and later on the SPLM/A. These conflicts are partly related to the ambition to reconstruct the colonial Sudan as a nation-state. Southern Sudan, with a majority of Christians, is a strong candidate for secession from the increasingly Islamic Sudan under the Khartoum regime adhering to the Sharia Laws. While the Ugandan government has supported dissident groups in the Sudan, the Khartoum regime has been doing the same in Uganda, particularly the LRA and groups in West Nile. A peace process is now underway that might at last end one of Africa's longest civil wars.

Kenya – a nation-state?

Since the time of Independence Kenya has been characterised by an uneven development process – regionally/ethnically. During the time of the first president Kenyatta the area north of Nairobi was receiving undue attention in terms of socio-economic development – education, health etc. This was changed drastically under the Moi regime, which also took on a violent expression. The Kikuyu of Central Province were threatened by other groups, such as the Masai, Pokot and Luhya, as intruders. Here we can also see the partial reason for the ethnic clashes during elections. After the new election with Kibaki as the new president, we seem to have moved back towards a new stage of a “Mount Kenya

Mafia” as the rulers. That could also be the reason for new forms of opposition between various groups.

Outside the Kenyan nation, building process has so far been the Somali population in the North East Province. The same can be said about other pastoralist groups, such as Galla, Turkana, Samburu and Pokot.

The nation building is also seriously taken to task by potential differences between the two largest groups Kikuyu and Luo, but also the position of the third largest group the Luhya. The appointment of a new vice-president after the late Wamalwa will be a test on the stability of Kenya as a nation, and the NARC as a potential force to unite Kenya, outside the ethnic domains.

Challenges to the nation state in Tanzania

Compared with its neighbours Tanzania is stable. However a number of challenges exist. The situation on the islands, Pemba in particular is most delicate. A peace accord has been brokered, the mwafakaa and both sides have implemented several of the measures. Even if the opposition argues that the implementation has been slow and inconclusive, still a widespread support appear to have been maintained. However, political forces exist on the islands that argue that it is time to split the republic and establish an independent Zanzibar. Within these forces, a minority of more radical elements favour the establishment of an Islamic state, eventually augmented along the borders of the former Sultanate (see below).

The idea of separating Zanzibar and Tanganyika also has support in circles on the mainland that have grown weary of the conflict, and costs, for maintaining the republic. The fraudulent elections of 1995 and 2000 provide a hotbed for the upcoming village elections in 2004 and the national elections in 2005. Religion has been used for political mobilisation. The widespread and continuous poverty, not the least among the Muslim part of the population, is another source of contention that might radicalise the political climate prior to the upcoming elections. In combination with the limping democratisation process, international and local election observers since the 1995 elections have pointed that the process has neither been free nor fair. The ruling party continues to poll over 80% of the total votes cast. This could be a problem area as the current voting population continues to age and will be replaced by new, independently minded, and frustrated, young voters who cannot easily be cowed nor made to conform. Not least the marginalised, and often Muslim, population in the rapidly growing urban areas. These disgruntled elements, could trigger conflicts if mobilised by the marginalised elite's with a radical political agenda. This could have a destabilising effect on the region.

The spread of religious fundamentalism

— reawakening of the Zanzibari sultanate as a political vision?

By providing social services to marginalised people, religious fundamentalists movements are acquiring social support, Christian as well as Islamic. In this way, structural factors, such as the inability of the state to deliver on expectations, widespread poverty, and environmental degradation is tied into the mobilisation on fundamentalism. Mirroring develop-

ments at the global level, Islamic fundamentalism is increasingly linked to acts of terrorism and political violence.

Islamic fundamentalism is raising issues, which are quite valid and need to be addressed, but the potential is there for troublemakers to introduce a secret agenda, with limited bearing on the real issues at hand. It is quite possible that fundamentalists in Kenya and Tanzania could unite and introduce a revisionist agenda of bringing to life geographic boundaries of the ancient Zanzibar Islamic Sultanate boundaries that stretched from the North of Mozambique to Lamu in Kenya and even to parts of Somalia. It is very likely a ‘Gallup’ Poll of the littoral populace between Lamu in Kenya and Mtwara in Tanzania if asked whether they would prefer an Islamic State that encompassed these populations, they would vote affirmatively. It is not impossible that elements in Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and East DRC would join or support such a union or force, as they too have a vocal Islamic presence; a move that would greatly increase tension between Christian and Islamic sections of the population. It is however, extremely unlikely that such an idea would receive any wider political support. But the idea of an “imagined Islamic community” crossing national borders could be used as a means of mobilising political support among the sections of marginalised Muslim population, in particular young unemployed men in the coastal cities in Kenya and Tanzania, by minority groups of radical Muslims. However, no Islamic political leaders have so far made any such political move.

Clashing cultures

Historically, nomadic cattle breeding, coupled with raiding against neighbouring communities, has been the main means of livelihood for most of the people of the Horn of Africa. In some instances, this goes back to the hostilities of pre-colonial days. On the Kenyan border, cattle rustling has been engaged in by the Pokot, Suk and Turkana for the last few hundred years. With increasing settlements and population density, the traditional nomadic cultures have been seen as a threat and a source of conflict. The procurement of guns has made this into a dangerous situation. The fundamental differences in lifestyle between nomads and settlers constitute a daunting challenge where national, as well as international policies, must be for fundamental change, not merely treating the symptoms, i.e. the frequent eruptions of violence.

International capital: opportunity and challenges

In several areas of the region, there is heavy involvement by international capital (as well as political) interest in the region. This needs to be explored. The interests of the MNFs can be expected to play a major role in the future of the conflicts in the region, as has been the case in Sudan, Uganda and DRC.

The weak structures of governance, particularly at district and regional level, have difficulties in regulating the new economic actors. In addition graft and corruption undermine the regulatory capacity. A large TNC mining company like Ashanti Gold’s capacity to negotiate is much greater than the administration and council in Geita District, Tanzania, as was discussed in the section on mining on p. 30 ff.

The perceived, or real lack of capacity to manage the large-scale economic activities in combination with political processes that neither are inclusive nor democratic, risks creating a situation where people reject, or become even more alienated from the political structures; a potential conflict where people turn away from the political structures connected to the nation building process in democracy fatigue. At present, it is perceived that the government is making an alliance with the TNC, while marginalising its own poor segments of the local population, with the risk of fragmentation and political mobilisation on more conflict related platforms. Tanzania is so far a very different country, a country that has managed a relatively peaceful development in a context where all its neighbours have been in conflict(s).

Thus, Tanzania is not in a post-conflict transformation phase as all its neighbours, but as all the ingredients for a conflict mobilisation are present, in a pre-conflict phase, an integrative economic development and inclusive political development cannot be firmly established.

3.5. Challenges from asymmetric regional integration

Different economic base – competing for small markets

The initial asymmetry between the three countries has been slightly reduced the last few years – because of relatively decent growth in Uganda and in Tanzania. The political stability in Tanzania in combination with increased capacity in the administration, a government dedicated to reform the economy has attracted both donors and foreign investors, while Kenya's economy has suffered from the political situation, corruption etc. However, Kenya's economic base is still much more diversified, and its capacity both in terms of production facilities, human capital, internal and external networks is much larger. In the long run, the integration of East Africa will create much value added to the population of the region. However, the integration process also entails considerable costs to potentially very powerful actors who may act to impede the integration process. The integration process comprises three countries with various comparative advantages, and with Rwanda, Burundi and eventually even more countries about to join. Even though the aggregated effect of regional integration may be positive, there will be distinct groups that stand to lose from further integration. These groups include actors who have thrived on the arbitrage created by the existence of national borders. Due to the nature of economic markets in the region, such commercial groups will typically have strong political connections in the respective countries that may act against further integration using their political leverage. Another group that may incur considerable costs from the integration process are professional groups currently protected by national laws and regulations.

EAC is what the members make of it

The EAC has not yet obtained much own dynamic, by which a further integration evolves independent of developments within each of the member state. Each member state has an independent veto to any further developments of EAC. Consequently, domestic political developments within the member states are of the utmost importance to the integration of EAC. The most frequently cited domestic development that might

hinder the EAC process are the current developments in Uganda, including numerous military conflicts, and an upcoming presidential election, which might further derail the Ugandan situation. Some analysts also point to the fact that Uganda and Tanzania play active and dubious roles in the conflict configuration around eastern DRC. If Ugandan and Tanzanian interests collide in DRC this may spill over to the further integration of EAC.

EAC caught in zero-sum power game

The institutional structures of EAC are weak and lack independence from the member states. It is generally assessed that this is the effect of a conscious strategy by the member governments who do not want to delegate power to a body, which might render their own national platform less relevance. Despite the political discourse by national political leaders who frequently reaffirm their commitment to the integration process, it is fair to say that the availability of funds and capacity is not matched by a decisive political will to empower EAC. The unwillingness to engage in power sharing with a more competent regional body mirrors the domestic political strategies in the member states which can be characterised as a zero sum game, i.e. increased power to EAC is seen as decreased power to the national arena.

Even if there might be no strongly held different views on the cooperation within EAC, there are a number of misgivings. These are:

- Could the new EAC succeed where the old EAC failed? Especially when it appears that the new is not ready to learn from the old, and indeed the old civil servants in the EAC, particularly in Tanzania, claim to this day they have not been paid their retirements benefits and have opened a case in court against the government
- Can the sustainability of cooperation be guaranteed given the fragile political frameworks of the constituent countries in which democracy has not taken root and is in its very early formative stages? In this regard, there could be serious problems with the EAC in case a radical opposition party won an election and questioned the accords/agreement of the EAC.
- Unlike the old EAC whose building blocks consisted mainly of common public services like posts and communications, rail services, harbours, customs, air services, agricultural/forestry research, medical research, meteorological services etc; what are the new building blocks, given the fact that all the states are busily liberalising/privatising their public services?

In its present set-up, a strong EAC could not be perceived as a threat to national governments as it has a limited mandate in all the constituent countries, and lacks the means of enforcing its limited authority, if at all. As of now, all groups are in favour of stronger regional cooperation and take the present EAC as a stepping-stone to a full union/federation of the constituent members. So far, no country is against, and in fact, all countries in the Great Lakes Region want to join, and as of now, there are no main lines of differences in relation to EAC.

Complex of regional organisations

The member countries have different regional affinities, which might have an impact on the cooperation within EAC. Tanzania is affiliated to the south with SADC, Kenya to the North and the Horn. With the likely inclusion of Rwanda and Burundi in 2004 there will as well be connections to the different organisations addressing regional integration in central Africa. All countries, apart from Tanzania, are moreover members of COMESA.

3.6. Production of knowledge and identities

Politics of identity

The political and violent mobilisation based on identity has been one of the most powerful tools for mobilisation in the region, and one of the most lethal. One of the most effective arguments in this mobilisation has been that one group is marginalised, disadvantaged or under exploitation of another group. A strong belief today is that if legitimate and inclusive political processes had existed, at least parts of the conflicts could have been eased.

Media

The media could play an important role, both as watchdog, and in order to give different marginalised elites or people a forum to voice their concern; or to educate and inform the people in order to undermine hate propaganda. Kenya and Uganda have reasonably efficient media but due to its size, Tanzania is lagging behind. In Rwanda and Burundi the situation is much worse. Very little information is circulated. In all countries the media struggles with low purchasing power among the potential readers, high distribution costs, and with governments and officials unwilling to disclose sensitive information. The journalist training programmes are often not of the highest quality, and salaries are low. The tight human rights situation, particularly in countries like Rwanda, Burundi, and to certain extent in Uganda and Tanzania, forces journalists to work with a high degree of self-censorship, in order to be able to stay in business.

4. Scenario Analysis

In the previous section a number of risk factors were identified and grouped into five main categories: (i) Direct violence, (ii) Structural violence; (iii) Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building; (iv) Challenges from asymmetric regional integration; and (v) Knowledge and production of identities.

The following section perpetuates this analysis into three different scenarios for the future development of the Lake Victoria Region: (i) a worst-case scenario; (ii) a best-case scenario; and (iii) a most realistic-case scenario. Each scenario is constructed around possible developments in relation to the five types of risks identified. In addition, the specific challenges from the section on Lake Victoria are brought into the scenario discussion under the heading 'Lake Victoria issues'. Furthermore, global and (mega) regional issues are included in the development of the three scenarios.

4.1. Worst-case scenario

Direct violence

- Failure of the peace process in DRC, resulting in continued local and inter-group violence, at worst accompanied by considerable military interventions of Rwanda into the DRC. Rwanda would fear that its security was threatened by an inconclusive disarmament of Ex.-FAR/Interhamwe/ALIR/FDLR. If the new Congolese army would fail to contain these forces, and if the concerted efforts from MONUC and the MDRP-financed programmes for DDRRR will not be seen as satisfactory, Rwandan forces may return to DRC. Uganda could in that case perceive a security threat, enter into the DRC as well. Both countries may have the need to finance the war activities with renewed use of mineral resources from the DRC. Such competition could put Rwanda and Uganda at loggerheads again, and in the worst case bring the two into open conflict, which would greatly destabilise the region, economically, politically and socially.
- Continued conflict in Burundi will undermine the peace process, again resulting in massive inflows of refugees into Tanzania, and destabilising Rwanda. In the worst case, if the Burundian conflict escalates out of control, Tanzania might consider that it has to intervene militarily in Burundi, which in turn would provoke both Rwanda

and Uganda. If Rwanda would support anti-rebel forces, this might lead to counterattacks on Rwanda territory, resulting in destabilisation of the already fragile democratisation process.

- Intensified armed conflict in Uganda, coupled with an intensified involvement in DRC, will lead to the undermining of the current regime's capacity to uphold even a minimum of national security and unity. The upcoming presidential elections may increase current instability, and speed up the derailing of the relative progress of the post-Obote period.
- Intensified civil war in Sudan will increase the destabilisation of Kenya and Uganda. A scenario for Sudan could be partition in two or three parts, which might in turn mobilise sections of Ugandan, Congolese and Kenyan population along the borders to challenge their respective nation state.
- Resurgence of the conflicts on Africa's Horn will be destabilising in Kenya and Uganda
- Explicit confrontation between Uganda and Tanzania caused by their conflicting roles in the Great Lakes conflict. Persistent information suggests that very high-level political actors in Uganda and Tanzania are deeply entrenched in the Great Lakes conflict, by means of proxy forces. This highly complex conflict, with high stakes and great variability of actors and alliances, may lead to a situation where Ugandan and Tanzanian proxies are put at direct confrontation. Such developments would most probably spill over into the interstate relations between Uganda and Tanzania. It should be borne in mind that the history of the Great Lakes conflict entails several examples of former allies taking up arms against each other. The border issue between Uganda and Tanzania could be a triggering factor.
- No effective arms control. An abundance of small and medium sized arms escalates insecurity, and contributes to continued militarisation of societies, hindering developmental activities.

Structural Violence

- Increased social rifts in the whole region. Lack of commitments from all actors, and/or lack of conflict awareness in economic policy, development programme formulation, and implementation as regards poverty reduction, followed by a continuous deprivation of the majority of populations, will create widened frustration gaps and increase the lack of legitimacy of the nation-state projects. Reduced social trust may provide a hotbed for different types of violent political mobilisation against other identity groups, and/or ruling elites, and the proper modernisation project.
- Inter elite struggles may also grow out of perceived marginalisation (political and economic), and reduced social space for different elite groups which could pave the way for possible coups d'état.

Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building

- Breakdown of the transitional process in the DRC, leading to a situation in which the transitional government in DRC does not succeed in

creating conditions for elections within a reasonable period. Political infighting in Kinshasa will increase the regional east-west gap in the country, and the population will see few benefits of the peace agreement. In practice, the entire country continues to be ruled locally by the people and groups, who had the military upper hand at the time of the ceasefire.

- Failure of the fragile democratisation/reconciliation process in Rwanda, bringing instability both to Rwanda and its neighbours.
- Escalating conflict in Zanzibar destabilising Tanzania, and leading to the dismantling of the Republic of Tanzania. Radical Islamic mobilisation for an Islamic state, comprising the old Sultanate area of Zanzibar, and along the coast in Kenya and Tanzania. This could gain support from Sudan, and the Islamic groups in Uganda, which would undermine the EAC, as well as Kenya and Tanzania. If oil is discovered outside Pemba it will provide an economic base for the independent state, in combination with closer links to states in the Middle East.
- Establishment of Al Quaida and similar networks in East Africa. An alliance with other radical Muslim groups and politicisation of Muslim identity, making East Africa to a front line state for the expansion of Islam from the bridgeheads in Zanzibar, Kenyan coast, the Sudan, Northern Uganda (LRA), and the impoverished Muslim populations in all the large cities of the region, would provoke a strong Christian retaliation, collapse of tourist industries, and scaring away potential investors.
- Kenya – increasing political turbulence, after a failure of the new government, possibly leading to intrastate violent conflicts.

Challenges from asymmetric regional integration

- Lost of current momentum in EAC integration: The integration process is highly fragile and dependent on stable domestic developments in the three member states. Continuously biased development patterns or unequal economic growth between the states will increase asymmetries and put strain on integration. Increased domestic violence in any of the member states may cause its political elite to opt out of the EAC process. Alternatively, they may use EAC as an exit platform when the domestic powerbase erodes. In the later case the high level political rhetoric for EAC may increase in certain groups or countries, but will lack real domestic ownership and social base.
- Internal asymmetries increased by rapid efforts of integration of Rwanda and Burundi, may add to a lost momentum. The two new players are not sufficiently prepared for the new diplomatic environment. New patterns of alliance in the EAC process will create internal havoc.
- The unstable political development in the region repels tourists and investments.

Lake Victoria issues

- Increasing demand for water provoking a “water war” in the Nile Basin. The current situation in the Nile Basin is an anomaly in the sense

that a lower riparian maintains the hegemonic position, despite the lack of any legitimate and/or powerful regime to enforce its interests. Increased demand in the upper Nile region may challenge Egypt's interests and provoke violent reactions.

- Egyptian reactions to increased demand for water may come in different forms including support to destabilising forces in the Sudan. Increased tensions in the Nile basin may be accentuated by the existing religious and ethnical tensions between the “Christian and African south” and the “Islamic and Arab north”, or linking into existing patterns of tension in a Bantu-Nilotic dichotomy.
- While the Victoria Basin has a moderate contribution to the Nile, increased demand for water may not increase the direct threats to the Victoria basin riparians. However, increased demand and disputes along the White Nile, for example between Egypt and the Sudan, may spill over into the conflict configuration around the Lake. In this context, it should be remembered that Egypt has a history of intervention in the internal politics of its neighbours to reduce the risk of jeopardising the current hydro-political status quo. Most recently, the civil war in Sudan between the Muslim North and the Christian South and Egypt's efforts to mediate the conflict has demonstrated Egypt's fear that an independent state in the south may endanger her interests in the Nile.
- It should also be borne in mind that the Nile Basin is a conflict-ridden area. Seven of the Nile riparian countries are, or have recently been, engaged in armed conflict. Four are among the world's ten poorest countries. The World Bank estimates that the population of the Nile Valley will double by 2025 creating increased demands on the Nile, which will increase the risks of violent conflicts.
- Development of the hydropower potential in the Lake Victoria Region may offset a complex of socio-political conflicts between, on the one hand, political and economic elites opting for “modernisation” and increased constructions of dams and the development of national power grids, and, on the other hand, local actors protecting their rights to land, fishing rights, ancestral heritage, and alternative modes of development, including renewable, and locally accessible, sources of energy.

Global and (mega) regional issues

- EU is absorbed by its expansion eastwards, and internal issues, and will not be able to reform its agricultural and trade policies or increase aid. This will result in a demand downward on already artificially low world market prices on agricultural products, and reduced access to markets. The strong fisherman lobby in Europe, pressed by reduced catch of cod and other species, will petition for a reduced market access to fish from Lake Victoria.
- The economy in the US does not recover, and thus will not be a needed locomotive to kick-start the world economy. Thus, neither will it be an open market for export products from the region. In combination with an increased budget deficit, the US administration will neither accept stepping down from its subsidies to its agricultural and

industrial sector, pressing downwards world market prices for maize and cotton, among other products, nor giving market access to products from the region. The domestic problems will continue to tempt the administration not to fulfil its UN aid objective of 0,7% of its GDP. The perceived external threats will press US interest in global security issues and military expenditures – rather than focus on development in Africa. Any insensible expansion of the war on terrorism in the region, coupled with increased engagement in the region's oil and mineral resources, is evidently a possible trigger for violent resistance and/or acts of terrorism.

- Aid fatigue in western countries. Aid to Africa reduced, as bad governance, corruption and conflicts increase transaction cost and hollow out western taxpayers' willingness to contribute to African development.
- AU incapacitated by political blockages by member states. Neither NEPAD nor its institutions, dealing with conflict management or human rights, takes off.

4.2. A best-case scenario

Ideally, a best-case scenario would mirror the worst case – most of the problems would be solved. Nevertheless, there are circumstances and conditions, which not even in a best case scenario would be resolved, neither in the medium, nor in the long run, but must be monitored and dealt with for a very long period. A best-case scenario would entail:

Direct violence

- The peace process in DRC succeeds, a legitimate government is established through free and fair elections, and the Congolese state moves towards legitimacy and a legitimate administration is established nationwide. Ex-FAR/interhamwe/ALIR/FDLR/FNL/FDD forces are demobilised and integrated in respective country of origin. Thereby any claims on military security threats against Rwanda and Burundi are invalidated.
- Situation in Burundi stabilises, the elections are held without problems, and the new government is accepted.
- Control over and/or end to violence in Uganda and Kenya.
- Control over and/or end to violence in Sudan and the Horn
- Efficient arms control lead to increased security, and de-escalation of conflicts and demilitarisation of societies

Structural violence

- Substantial, visible and palpable improvements in poverty reduction and rural development are taking place. This development is geared specifically to the regions and areas most ridden by armed conflicts, i.e. eastern DRC, including Ituri, northern Uganda and the peasant population in Rwanda. Regional imbalances are treated consciously in order to guarantee territorial equality in terms of living standards in all parts of all countries, in order to reduce tensions as a foundation for identity based violent mobilisation against other groups or the

state building efforts. The balance between the alternative costs for war respective peace has been tilted in favour of peace. Poverty reduction goes well beyond what is foreseen in the PRSP, especially in Rwanda.

- Resources for social service increases. Improved education creates both trust in and legitimacy for political structures and capacity for further development. Expanded health services succeed in curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS.
- Taken together, this opens up a new chapter in the history of the region. The framework for a regional market economy is established – including a legal framework for regional and local entrepreneurs to invest in the natural resources in eastern DRC. The booming economy in the triangle eastern DRC, Rwanda and Uganda spills over to the rest of the region in terms of improved infrastructure (roads, railways grid systems), connecting eastern DRC to the outlets in Mombasa and Dar es Salaam, and market opportunity. The vast resources create a firm base for the regional economy, not the least the tourist industry. The preconditions for a “democratic peace” are established.

Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building

- The political process in Rwanda is relatively stable and inclusive accepted by the majority. The reconciliation process continues. Effective administration, good governance and political stability bring about preconditions for a rapid economic recovery in Rwanda.
- Elections are held within the time schedule in the DRC, and the transition period ends without tensions. The main and most burning issue in DRC is resolved, namely the question of nationality for kirwanda-speaking people in the Kivu provinces, as well as for those banyamulenge living in Kinshasa. Kirwanda-speaking elites are gradually accepted to play a role as Congolese in the reconstruction of the country’s political and economic framework.
- Inclusive democratisation processes are established in all EAC member countries.
- Political long-term momentum to address corruption and public mismanagement is established in all member states.
- The opposition is allowed to participate freely without hassle in the elections in Tanzania in 2005, and after victory in the election in Zanzibar, the opposition forces are allowed to take over.
- Kenya experiences a continued successful transition of power to the opposition, and a strengthening of the democratic culture and trust in the political process – and in the nation building process.

Challenges from asymmetric regional integration

- EAC institutions obtain higher level of legitimacy, capacity and acts as a progressive force for local and state level regionalisation, as well as a counterforce against domestic mismanagement.
- Increased regional development with concrete signs of progress at the local level.

- The customs union, coordination of economic policy, and a common currency is implemented and paves the way for a federation. EAC conflict resolution mechanism is established together with a peace-keeping force. Amalgamation of the national security structures to an East African Security structure.
- The strong EAC gains capacity and mandate to critically address current market structures at regional and global level to benefits the local level.
- Increased security plus stabile political development in the region and successful integration of EAC (inclusion of Rwanda and Burundi 2004, common market, economic policy), effective anti-corruption and public sector reforms in all countries create an attractive climate for both foreign direct investment and increased tourism as well as aid, accelerate growth in the whole region.

Lake Victoria issues

- The Vision and Strategy Process provides a broad based, constructive agenda for addressing long-term strains on environmental resources. The Vision and Strategy Process becomes the foundation of a “social contract” including public and political spheres, civil society, and the private sector, and provides the foundation for the development of mutual trust and envisages a common future on a regional basis.
- The Lake Victoria initiative is maintained as a firmly integrated and legitimate part of the broader EAC process.
- The communities around Lake Victoria experience real progress in their livelihoods, including reduction of poverty, increased economic development, augmented environmental standards, and a successful address of the HIV/AIDS situation.
- NBI institutions provide a forum for cooperative interaction along the Nile with focus on the potential mutual benefits of the resource. The Nile Basin Discourse develops into a forum for civil societies’ influence in NBI.

Global and (mega) regional issues

- It is agreed in the WTO negotiations that the EU and US agricultural and trade policies are illegal. EU and US change its agricultural and trade policies in order to provide opportunities for poor counties to gain access to their markets.
- In the US, a new administration is coming in with a vision to defeat perceived security threats from the South with political means and development, rather than with military power. Consequently, aid is increased, the small arms embargo and the autonomy of the international criminal court is accepted. The new anti-terrorist agenda is built on the expansion of poor countries’ trade. Export grants and subsidies to American farmers are substantially reduced.
- Increased aid flows to Africa as a consequence of better governance and fewer conflicts.
- The world economy recovers and increases demand on products from poor countries.

- AU enabled to develop the capacity and the will to develop regional mechanism for conflict management and the monitoring of civil and political rights. Regional customs union provides larger markets for east African products. Unified AU with the capacity to negotiate in international forums managed to change international conventions in favour of African interests.
- TNC investing in the region accepts the Code of conducts, where a larger share of the profits remains in the region. Investments are usually made in joint ventures with local business interests, allowing all elite groups to participate.

4.3. Most realistic scenario

Direct violence

From our earlier descriptions of the situation in the region, we can see that apart from the hopefully fading war in eastern DRC, the current armed activities in the Lake Victoria region are limited to certain areas of Uganda, to Burundi, and, to a lesser extent, to Kenya. The situation in Sudan and Africa's Horn could as well have an indirect impact on the programme. Nowhere, however, is this direct violence linked to issues, which are specifically within the domains of the programme.

At a lower end of an armed conflict continuum, we have to acknowledge the existence of a general social violence, emerging from high rates of criminality, social instability, proliferation of small arms, which in most environments can be attributed to lack of development, social marginalisation, exclusion and poverty. Although these manifestations of violence are not normally included in conflict analysis, they do constitute such a threat against development and peace that it must be taken into account in a conflict context.

Our general conclusion is that the interstate conflict potential is low. The real importance of the White Nile as a source of water to the Nile as such is low, only a few percent of the total flow originates in the Lake Victoria catchments area. Thus, even in a situation of increased use of upstream water resources, it would have only a minimum impact on Sudan's and Egypt's access to water.

Also armed conflicts between the three 'shore countries' should for the foreseeable future be ruled out – though Lake Victoria because of its high symbolic value may be used as a pretext for interventions based on other national interests. There is an awareness that the fishing potential is dwindling, and that it will not be able to regain the earlier peak level of catch. Smaller skirmishes in defence of own fishing rights may appear, but the value of this should not alone be sufficient for justifying a full-scale interstate war. For example, an offshore Tanzanian detention of Kenyan fishermen, if carried out in front of a Kenyan armed border patrol, could possibly imply some shooting.

We would apply a higher 'risk index' to the possibility that the specific countries do not manage to contain, let alone resolve, their local armed conflicts, ongoing in the respective countries for years.

Uganda is obviously the most complicated case, in which local armed activities have proven difficult to resolve. It seems as if the military heritage of the leadership implies an inflated belief in military solutions, which may prove to be disastrous at the end of the day.

Kenya has from time to time had local armed insurrections and social violence. It is a country with a marked regional imbalance as regards all social indicators. The new government may still have some time to address the high expectations attached to the post-Moi political situation. There are signs, however, that its determination in this sense is not the best.

Tanzania has traditionally been the most internally stable of these countries. This continues to be the case. One internal risk is the situation in Zanzibar. Even if the situation has improved, tensions remain. The election in 2005 will be an important indicator on how far the peace process has evolved, but it is unlikely that the conflict will escalate in such a way that it will affect the Lake Victoria programme.

Violent conflicts in the periphery of the Lake Victoria proper, i.e. Burundi, the Horn of Africa, Sudan, will continue to spill over and indirectly affect the programme and the EAC member countries. The fragile post-conflict transformation process in Rwanda will most likely continue without new violence, but the sensitive political situation in the country will be an important factor in the region.

The efforts recently made by the EAC legislative assembly to investigate the conflicts emerging from cattle rustling and over the rights to fish in Lake Victoria clearly display an increased political will and capacity for the EAC institutions to play a more active role. The plans for East African mechanism for conflict management in this context will also be an important institution. Cooperation between different actors in the regional security complex is crucial in order to contain the ongoing violent conflicts, as the conflicts have a multi-country character. Police cooperation to contain regional criminality and arms trade is as well important to reduce the conflicts. It might be that the Lake Victoria Program should consider supporting mechanism for regional conflict management in order to create a more stabile context for the programme.

Likely developments regarding direct violence in the region:

- No large-scale conflict will evolve between any of the neighbours in the region, even if at times the relation between Uganda and Rwanda will be tense, as well as between Rwanda and DRC, Uganda and the Sudan, and locally between Uganda and Kenya. The border issue between Uganda and Tanzania will be settled. However, depending on the ability of the Burundians to manage their internal conflict, the relation between Tanzania and Burundi might remain tense. Tanzania is suffering severely from the internal conflicts in Burundi, and growing increasingly weary of the resulting insecurity, environmental degradation, and competition for scarce resources and criminality resulting from the spillovers from the Burundian conflict.
- Uganda is gradually containing the conflicts in the North, but pockets of resistance will remain for a long time, flaring up occasionally.
- Frustration with the slow improvement of the economic situation in Kenya might again lead to a limited local violence.
- The peace process in DRC will slowly move ahead. The gradually reduced violence in the DRC will improve the security situation in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, as well as contributing to economic development. However, both the restructuring of the military forces,

and the demobilisation schemes for foreign forces in DRC may at times be met by armed resistance because of feelings of injustice in the demobilisation schemes.

- The political development in Rwanda will be stable, even if discontent with the elections and political situation will exist. A risk factor that, if not accommodated by successful poverty reduction, decentralisation and inclusive forms of governance, could destabilise the country. The development in eastern DRC, particularly the disarmament and integration of FNL/ALIR and their followers is crucial for the development in Rwanda.
- Burundi will experience a slow but progressing peace process with occasional drawbacks (incl. direct violence). A real democratisation process will progress with the slow pace of increased education, weaving of social trust, and a sense of a common destiny. A very slow, but noticeable, progress in poverty reduction and similar forms of structural violence is a necessary condition.
- Gradually control of arms trade, but still a large number of weapons in circulation, or hidden, will be a continuing risk factor in the region

Structural violence

- Poverty and structural violence will persist for a long time to come. Recent evaluations of the road to the fulfilment of the Millennium goals point at serious doubts as regards the possibilities for success. This is probably the most dangerous issue in a conflict perspective, as deprived broad segments of the population, vulnerable for elite mobilisation into violence and rebellions, will continue to exist for a long time. As an important condition in the existing armed conflicts, poverty and structural violence will continue to be a powder keg in the entire region.
- Close to the concept of structural violence we may also see long-term frustration gaps among certain elite groups. Liberalisation and integration in the world economy provide new opportunities, but also challenges for elite groups that have established an economic base before competition from international actors was the rule of the game.

Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building

- Uganda is in a very volatile stage of its national consolidation process putting issues of security and unity at the top of the political agenda. The elections for the presidency in 2006 is already setting its mark on the political climate and Museveni will most likely use substantial means to remain in power; this can become the source of increased violence.
- The post-election euphoria in Kenya should not be taken as a long-term momentum for reform. The increased political space may, however, encourage more engagement of the civil society, with long-term dividends.
- Tanzania struggles with the situation in Zanzibar and increasing demands from marginalised groups, but manage to keep political stability and reasonable growth. The elections in 2004 and 2005 will stir up

the political climate in particular on Zanzibar and the coast, but will most likely be relatively free and fair and result in a peaceful transition of power to a new president, from the ruling party.

- The democratisation process in DRC will be continuously fragile, and take time. Lack of a local legitimate administration will be an obstacle for normalisation of life in local communities.
- Continued reforms of the public sectors in all the member states including decentralisation will gradually improve governance.

Challenges from asymmetric regional integration

- Proceeding integration within EAC. Even if the achievements in relation to specific deadlines, e.g. the Customs Union set for 2003, might be delayed, it will not offset the momentum. The institutions of EAC will gradually be consolidated and get increased – albeit weak – capacity and start to play a stabilising role in the region. The peace and security mechanism receives the mandate and capacity to play a role in maintaining stability in the region.
- Current region interactions on the level of civil servants, and experts seem to have gained a stable momentum.
- Popular support for continued integration increase political will among state actors to move ahead towards a deepening of the integration.
- Rwanda will be accepted as a member within a 1–4 years span. Inclusion of Burundi will most likely be postponed pending developments in the GL conflicts.
- Economic development in a stable Tanzania as well as in Rwanda and more uncertainly in Uganda will contribute to reducing regional imbalance, but regional imbalance as well as issues related to gains and losses of integration will still continue to be a challenge to deal with in the EAC cooperation.
- The development and consolidation of a regional civil society will be an incremental process that gradually will also provide a constructive discourse for keeping reforms on track, and vitalise the debate the region. Increasing political acceptance for cross-border integration – following EAC – may spur the formalisation of existing “traditional” cross-border networks

Lake Victoria issues

- Progress continues with the development of the Lake Victoria Initiative. The Vision and Strategy Process provides legitimacy for a common agenda for the region, but the level of implementation is slow as is the degree of local level change.
- The focus on environmental sustainability is gradually changed to be more encompassing, including issues like economic development, cultural interaction, and forms for direct democratic accountability.
- A regional civil society is gradually developing in the interface between local, national, and truly regional actors.
- A community of highly skilled, and regionally oriented, civil servants emerge in the respective member states. These civil servants develop a

network of regional interaction that at times bypasses national forums for interaction.

- A weak form of governance of the Nile is maintained by means of a pragmatic interaction between the increasingly de-legitimised Nile Treaties, and the slow-to-deliver NBI. The local level influence on NBI remains very limited.

Global and (mega) regional issues

- Different positions as regards development priorities and the balance between the use of carrots and sticks will persist between the dominating international actors in the region. Francophone-Anglophone tensions will continue to be an issue in the diplomatic life, as well as a part of economic and investment strategies.
- Competition from overlapping regional projects/processes might reduce the political focus and resources devoted to the Lake Victoria programme. Tanzania is also occupied with SADC, Kenya with the Africa's Horn and the Sudan, Uganda with the Sudan and the DRC.
- Heavy concentration on macro-economic recovery in DRC, based on a revival of mineral exports and oil/gas resources, may withdraw attention from the need to formulate coherent rural development strategies, in which the need for small-scale investments resources and rural credit facilities for agriculture and trade. This may be an obstacle for badly needed structural violence reduction, and increased rural purchasing power.

5. Options & recommendations

The main task of this report is to focus the conflict prevention and peace promoting issues. The first issue is to what degree the Lake Victoria programme approach should be seen as working *around*, *in* or *on* the conflict in the region. We see a strong commitment of the programme to work *in*, or *on*, conflicts. However, albeit that there are no ongoing armed conflicts directly linked to the activities carried out within the programme, the context in which the programme is implemented suffers from a number of violent and non-violent conflicts. Thus, the concrete challenge is how the programme can play a role in the region, contributing to a continuous decrease in the armed activities taking place in the region as a whole, and developing its strategic activities in such a way that it can contribute to conflict prevention and a peaceful regional integration. Obviously, its focus is on the specific issues linked to the Nile basin and the Lake Victoria surroundings. Thus, we believe that the over-arching principle for the Lake Victoria programme should be to work for structural violence reduction.¹¹ The aim should be to prevent the escalation of structural violence into further direct violence in the region.

The second question we would like to address at the outset of this section in the report is how to conceptualise the Lake Victoria programme in the highly complex, multilevel context of East African integration. If we look back to the final breakdown of the earlier regionalisation efforts in East Africa, we may see three main reasons behind the failure. One is the asymmetries in most societal realms, from which these three countries left the colonial period. Kenya had obviously the upper hand. Another is the different ideological choice, which to some extent also reflected their different colonial past. The third final strike was the collapse of Uganda, and the Idi Amin adventure. The kind of regional integration that was conducted did not manage to resolve the first two issues; neither did it constitute any obstacle for the tragic developments in Uganda.

Looking at the situation today, many of these problems do still exist, and constitute heavy structural obstacles to integration. The basic eco-

¹¹ In using the expression 'structural violence reduction', we want to emphasise that efforts to address potential conflicts should go beyond the common expression of poverty alleviation. Thus, we see poverty alleviation as a humanitarian imperative in all contexts. But when we are dealing with conflicts and conflict analysis, more attention should be directed at identifying root causes among the multifold expressions of structural violence, which surround most armed conflicts in Africa. Hence, poverty alleviation is an important part of structural violence reduction, though the concept of structural violence also seeks to include the structures and dynamics of political and economic power, which create poverty in the first place.

conomic asymmetries are still there, and it is an old wisdom that integration between asymmetric parties must be undertaken with great caution. In terms of ideological paths, the differences may have diminished, but political culture still varies considerably between the three. Only to complete the picture, it is still Uganda, which is exposed to the highest risks in terms of heavy political turbulence. Domestic armed conflicts are threats, and the political consequences of constitutional changes allowing a third term in office for President Museveni may create internal protests.

Hence, there are huge needs for national political consolidation, and enhanced legitimacy, through some kind of long-term social contracts, celebrating an implicit agreement between elites and broad sectors of the population about the procedures that will surround the new multiparty democracies. Finding a balance between regional integration and these obvious domestic needs is, according to our view, a very important task for a number of emerging regional institutions and initiatives. Failure to do this harmoniously, and finely tuned to domestic concerns, may rapidly create a new breakdown in regional integration. Uganda may again fall out of the system for a new 10-year period.

Based on these historical lessons and our inventory of different potential sources of conflict in the broader Great Lakes region, we see the most important role of the Lake Victoria programme in acting as a kind of broker, and/or coordinator, in two different fields. On the one hand, as regards the division of labour between regional institutions, and institutions within the different national political systems, and on the other, between different donor interests, and the regional states and their common integration efforts. We suggest that the programme should be focused on capacity building regarding policy, regulations and regional interstate negotiations. Thus, it would leave capacity building for execution on the ground to the national level. The subsidiary principle in this context would imply that activities aiming at policy formulation, regulations and international negotiations would have its main added value within the programme, while activities to be implemented 'on the ground' would have more value added if integrated into the ordinary bi- and multilateral development cooperation structures and channels. The programme plays a crucial role in building the East African Community, and in that way it may contribute to the consolidation of a 'democratic peace' between the member countries, as well as to the stability in the wider region.

5.1. Sources of conflict and challenges ahead – recommendations

In this part of the report, we intend to link our earlier descriptions of potential sources of conflict and political challenges to proposals for the future activities within the Lake Victoria programme. We will use the same categories we have used in the chapter on crosscutting issues and the scenarios, i.e. direct violence; indirect violence; deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building; asymmetric regional integration; specific Lake Victoria issues; global and regional issues.

The proposals are generally formulated as principles, our guidelines, for concrete development of policy interventions by Sida. Under the sec-

tion on specific Lake Victoria issues, we offer some hands-on suggestions we find appropriate for the Lake Victoria programme.

Direct violence

From our earlier descriptions of the situation in the region, we can see that apart from the hopefully fading war in eastern DRC, the current armed activities in the Lake Victoria region are limited to certain areas of Uganda, to Burundi, and, to a lesser extent, to Kenya. Nowhere is this direct violence linked to issues, which are specifically within the domains of the programme. Therefore our first recommendation reads:

First recommendation: Our conclusion as regards the Lake Victoria programme is that its role and possibilities in relation to the threats of direct violence in the region should be one of monitoring and participation in policy and diplomatic consultations. The Lake Victoria program should not engage in the management of ongoing direct conflicts. However, the Lake Victoria program should play an active role in policy discussions and formulation with the aim of conflict prevention in sectors directly linked to the management of the common natural resources base of the basin (incl. developments in fishery, agriculture, hydropower, industrial and urban pollution, and ecosystem degradation). Together with the regional institutions it works with, it could have a role in monitoring, and discussing at policy level, current armed activities for early detection of possible signs that these conflicts do link up to the possible social grievances in the Lake Victoria region.

Structural violence

Issues of structural violence are at the heart of the programme's long-term objectives. A successful management of the basin resources will contribute to improved livelihoods for the population in the riparian states. However, as we forecast in the scenario analysis, the issues of poverty and structural violence are not easily resolved problems. For the foreseeable future, all efforts and programmes for poverty reduction and closing of frustration gaps will have to have a deep national political legitimacy, in order to be successfully financed and implemented. The proper base for new policy awareness must lie in the possibilities for the new political system to deliver to the electorates, especially if we look at the democratisation processes, and the new multiparty electoral systems.

Second recommendation: Thus, a successful Lake Victoria programme should closely monitor the social developments around the shores, with a specific focus on biased welfare distribution between different territories and social groups. This is not least important in relation to the population gaining any part of its livelihood out of lake resources. In addition, Sida should monitor and try to mitigate negative welfare developments amongst already frustrated and potentially violent elites.

Third recommendation: With a possible regional overview, the programme could participate in policy initiatives in relation to the shore states. It should facilitate the development of infrastructure projects that integrates impoverished and marginalised regions, as well as facilitates cross-border exchange in the region in order to establish a regional market economy, including Eastern DRC.

Deficient democratisation, governance, legitimacy and state building

The general picture painted in the most likely scenario is one of continuous weakness in both 'stateness' and 'regionness'. Also 'nationness' is fragile, i.e. most people in the region do still identify more with societal subgroups than with any prescribed state-based identity, with the possible exception of Tanzania. The potential pattern of conflict in the region, may emerge at the crossroads of these three processes.

Nationness, seen as the degree of adherence to the values of a nation is low. In fact, most people would probably define their primary identity as something else than Kenyan, Ugandan or Tanzanian. Different sub-state identities are often available as a basis for mobilisation emerging from social grievances or perceived injustices.

Stateness is also low. The administration is weak, the political system has a low legitimacy, and the extremely low quality of public service raises the question if the politicians do deserve the little legitimacy they currently have.

So how is regionness perceived? Kiswahili and a history of regional cooperation, has brought about that the region may exist as an idea about far, but reachable, places, even among ordinary people. There also exists a feeling of belonging together in an imagined East African Community, particularly along the borders. However, this vague idea of a distant reality has so far, and to a limited extent, been confronted by visible institutional expression, or local intervention.

Most efforts to explain the ongoing armed conflicts in the region emphasise as proximate causes the lack of democracy, bad governance, and state failure. We are convinced that in the foreseeable future conflict prevention and resolution will mainly be an activity carried out at the state level of the international system. This is the relevant level for democratisation and good governance.

Dealing with, and participating in, a simultaneous process of nation building, state-building, and regional integration requires a high degree of political and social sensibility. Since our point of departure is a conflict perspective, we would argue that keeping a correct balance of scope and pace between regionalisation, and the needs for nation and state building efforts, is crucial. Such an undertaking must be based on a high degree of current, and changeable, ad hoc positions and proposals.

One of the potential tensions in this process is that between national political interests, and the institutional requirements for regional integration. Phrased in another way: to what extent should the ownership issue be allowed to determine the balance between, on the one hand, regional integration and institution building process, and on the other, the need for a strengthened domestic political legitimacy in the respective country?

A trade-off in the balance between national interests, and the drive towards regionalisation calls us to underline the principle of subsidiarity as a guiding principle for the Lake Victoria programme.

Subsidiarity

It is evident that there are project activities that by its proper nature require a regional executive capacity, for example fishing control. As soon as a system for 'country neutral' monitoring could be agreed upon, there

is a need for executive capacity, free from short term national bias in relation to the fishermen transgressing agreed rules.

But there would also be a number of activities in a grey zone, in which there is a real choice between national and regional procedures. This choice should be informed by a conflict perspective.

The perceived 'added value' in a transfer from nationally carried out activities, to a regional responsibility may be measured in economic terms, or in terms of efficiency measured according to some defined principles, as for example, expected degree of corruption, or available human capacity, just to mention a few. But we should also be aware that the creation of this added value might create 'collateral damage' as regards conflicts. Allocating resources for executive capacity in a regionalised institutional framework, at the expense of local or provincial institutions on the ground in each country, may by local social forces, be seen as an unfair intervention. Local social forces could try to impede regionally organised interventions in 'their' area of jurisdiction. Thus, an evaluation of the 'additional benefits' in economic terms or in administrative efficiency should always be measured against possible costs in a conflict perspective.

This relates to potentially marginalised local and provincial elite groups, which easily can become important conflict actors, as a consequence of perceived discrimination and marginalisation. This includes local administrations feeling marginalised, for example by donor financed NGOs, or regional institutions, with far more resources to carry out public service like activities, than what is available within local government structures.

In addition, breaking with the subsidiarity principles implies increasing the gap of democratic influence and accountability in the region. All the states in the region need to consolidate the democratic influence of their populations. Few people would today argue against the need of democratisation at the national level. This is not the case at the regional level, where neither mechanisms, nor a vibrant discussion for democratic influence, exist. This implies that moving programs and interventions, as well as resources, from a local and national level, to a regional level, will decrease the chances for democratic influence by the concerned demos.

Built into this dilemma we find a priority discussion for the programme: Should it mainly be a programme dealing with capacity building at institutional level, or should it also take on an administrative role for projects dealing with development issues on the ground? Our conclusion is that the programme should be restrictive in taking on activities, which require concrete interventions at local level – if these can be organised and implemented at a lower administrative level. Both our conflict perspective, and the general need for focus and concentration in the international development cooperation, tends to favour the heart of the program, i.e. capacity building within a growing framework for regional integration and management of a shared resource.

Identified local needs within the programme area should, basically, be handled through tilting, as the main planning instrument for allocation of development resources on the ground, to the entire basin region.. If tilting does not work, or if tilting negatively affects national resource and power distribution, and that could be attributed to lack of political

will to close regional development and resource gaps within a country, contributing to both elite exclusion, and less poverty reduction, donors should question their participation.

In conclusion of this part, we would like to suggest two principle recommendations for the Lake Victoria programme:

Fourth recommendation: Social stability, conflict prevention and peace building are goals that should be taken into account in the application of the subsidiarity principle. The benefits and alternative costs for regional cooperation should be operationalised, e.g. through specific indicators, in order to determine the value added of transferring activities between the local, national, and regional level. Particular attention should be paid to which groups stand to gain/lose from a specific policy change, as well as the conflict potential of these groups. In addition, the effects of mechanisms and institutions for democratic accountability should be included.

Fifth recommendation: Tilting and national coordination should be main instruments in implementation of a subsidiarity principle.

Lake Victoria issues

This section contains hands-on suggestions for intervention in direct relation to the Lake Victoria programme. The recommendations are structured under the following headings: institutional support, research support, support to civil society, and support to sustainable development.

Sixth recommendation: Institutional support

- (i) Capacity building of EAC institutions: Sida should consider extending its capacity building support to EAC beyond its current focus on the Lake Victoria office. Such support should be seen as a natural extension of the current focus as any developments around Lake Victoria are dependent on the progress of the larger EAC endeavour. In particular, Sida should support efforts to ensure rule of law and democratic governance within EAC. This could imply support for the EAC Legislative Assembly, and the Court of Justice. The form of support should be decided in dialogue with the respective bodies. Taking stock of Sweden's own development of regional integration in the European context, Sida should consider supporting networks of officials and delegates to the EAC and EU institutions respectively. Support to development of EAC mechanism for conflict management, and a potential peace-keeping force, might also be considered.
- (ii) Facilitate networks for public officials in the basin countries to interact, develop, and share experiences. The existing framework of LVRLAC/UBC can be seen as a template that could inspire interstate cooperation in the region in an international context. Sida should look to support networks with public officials from a range of line departments, including agriculture, industries, environment, tourism, energy, transport, and infrastructure, but also sectors that could be engaged in the building of a regional culture, such as sports, education, media, and culture.
- (iii) Encourage and support cross-sector initiatives. Increased regional cooperation may lead to sector segmentation where the intersectorial cooperation between states is developed, but not the cooperation between different sectors within states. The existing initiatives with Co-

ordination Committees should provide the focal point for both interregional and intrastate coordination, and should be provided with the appropriate institutional capacity.

- (iv) Support ongoing national initiatives of harmonisation of policy, rules and regulations within sectors with regional externalities, such as agriculture, environmental, transport, tourism, and industrial standards.
- (v) The Baltic Sea cooperation has functioned as a source of inspiration for Sida and its regional partners. Sida should encourage extending this process of international learning to other regional cooperatives, such as initiatives around the Zambezi, the Mekong, and the Rein. Moreover, envisaging the LVR in a broader perspective, Sida should also support initiative with the aim at learning from initiatives such as the EU, ECOWAS, SADC, and the AU.

Seventh recommendation: Research support:

- (i) Sida should maintain, or increase its support to the Inter-University Council of East African. The cooperation should aim at developing the highest possible standard of research. Increased interaction and networking with international research community should be sought.
- (ii) The research agenda should include research that holds a critical and constructive approach to the conceptualisation of East Africa as a community in terms of culture, history, religion, and so on.
- (iii) Support an intensification of research and implementation of environmentally sustainable technologies for crops and livestock production.

Eighth recommendation: Support to civil society

- (i) Support a regional civil society. Among the initiatives that should be considered for further support is East African Law society, East African Business Council, Ocienala/Ecovic, and Nile Basin Discourse. In this context, Sida should stress the need for the burgeoning regional civil society to have a strong national and local connection.
- (ii) Sida could be instrumental in the development of existing transboundary initiatives within civil society to develop more formal regional networks and platforms. The basin countries host vibrant civil societies within all spheres of life whose transaction costs would decrease from more formalised regional arrangements. For example, local institutions for judicial arbitration (often based on traditional, ethnic legitimacy), small scale transboundary trade networks (sometimes functioning outside existing national legislation but well within a regional framework), transboundary networks for livestock production and exchange, and transboundary networks for the cultural exchange. In this context, Sida could pay special attention to local training and capacity building within transboundary civil society to ensure that regional networks add to a sustainable and democratic management of common resources.
- (iii) Sida should be attentive and supportive to groups in civil society and the economic sector that are exposed to changes in their livelihood as a consequence of the regional integration process. This could include groups of petty traders whose line of business is undercut by increased region trade. Sida could engage in supporting structures to

smoothen their reintegration into the economy by, for example, providing venture capital, and training. Groups whose livelihood is challenged from regional integration also includes professional groups such as layers and teachers. Sida could engage in support and training programmes to ensure their positioning in an increasingly regionalised East Africa.

- (iv) Extend current regional media support beyond its environmental focus. The support to regional media training should focus on creating awareness of the common history and mutual benefits and obstacles of regional cooperation within a wide range of social, political, economic, and environmental areas.
- (v) Develop ideas on how to support the emerging East African identity and culture as a means of consolidating peaceful coexistence in the region. It could include support to develop the use of Kiswahili, regional cultural events and activities within the field of sports, music, theatre, film and literature.

Ninth recommendation: Support for sustainable development

- (i) Following the increased economic value of Nile perch, the living conditions of other species have been increasingly neglected with negative consequences for the biodiversity in the Lake. Sida could encourage activities that would attach increased economic values to a rich biodiversity. This could include support to eco-tourism and nature trails within the region. In this context, Sida could encourage the development of cooperation between actors engaged in eco-tourism in Sweden and local and regional eco-entrepreneurs.
- (ii) Facilitate risk capital to local fishermen and fishermen organisations. This can increase the competition within the sector, disperse the value added to local actors, and break some of the existing patron-client relation between small- and large-scale actors in the fishing market. This can also include risk capital to improve local landing beaches around the lake.
- (iii) Support the development of signals and telecommunication network facilities across the lake. This will be instrumental in avoiding disputes on illicit yields, as well as obtaining additional information for research on the lake's bio system.

Global and (mega) regional issues

There are in the region three potential tensions linked to the wider international community.

The first regards the proper Lake Victoria activity and its integration in the overall regionalisation, within the EAC process at large. Here Sweden could use its longstanding presence and relations in the region to play a coordinating role. Many different interests are at stake, both within the region and within the donor community.

Tenth recommendation: Sida should take a clear position in favour of the ownership principle, as a guiding principle in these negotiations would be a contribution to political stability.

The second global or (mega) regional issue regards the future integration of Rwanda and Burundi in the EAC. Here the traditional Francophone-Anglophone tensions may appear as obstacles to smooth

integration. Sweden without colonial history could play a positive role in this context through the Lake Victoria framework. In order to achieve this, the Nile basin issue could put more weight on the need for increased Swedish engagement also in Burundi. The delicate political situation in Rwanda and fragile peace process in Burundi could be stabilised through the integration in the EAC. In this context, the regional conflict management mechanisms within the EAC could be strengthened in order for the EAC to play a more proactive role in the regional conflicts. The EAC assembles various attempts to mediate in the cattle rustling tensions between the communities on the borders between Kenya and Uganda as well as in relation to conflicts over fishing rights is a case in point. This leads to our last recommendation.

Eleventh recommendation: Sida should work for the enlargement of EAC to include Rwanda and Burundi.

The third global or (mega) regional issue regards capacity to exert an influence in negotiations in international foras, not the least WTO. Facilitating EAC capacity as a regional entity to participate in international negotiations might be considered.. Linked to this is the capacity for national and local authorities to negotiate and monitor large-scale foreign investments. A mechanism for exchange of information and monitoring of Transnational Companies activities in the region might improve the negotiation capacity of national and local authorities.

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