EMERGENCE OF EAST CENTRAL AFRICAN NATIONS AND COLONIAL LEGACY

The political scenario of the East Central African nations, before the colonial rule was a period of strife among the native tribes for the establishment and expansion of their self styled rule and territorial jurisdiction in their respective areas. In the process of expansion of these countries, the Arab traders occupied East African nations viz. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The native tribes of Central Africa viz. Twa and Tutsi occupied nations -- Burundi and Rwanda -- till 1800 A.D. 1 Thereafter, that is after 1800 A.D. the history of East and Central African nations had experienced political, social and economic crisis under the colonial powers of Portugal, France, Britain, Germany, Belgium and Italy. These colonial powers imposed their imperialism in the East Central Africa with deception, hypocrisy, oppression and exploitation. 2 As a result, the natural conditions and the degeneration of administration in these native countries had invited the colonial masters of 18th century in this region.

How the natural conditions of East Central Africa have influenced the man-kind can be understood by the study of Ecology which would mean, man’s relationship with nature. The Ecology can help us to know the conditions of the African people, how they lived in tropical countries, how they lived in a hot and dry atmosphere, some were in the forest, open plains and some were at high altitude.

The historical perspective of each country of East and Central Africa was more or less the same since the Central African nations i.e. Burundi and Rwanda are the appendices of the East African nations namely Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

**East Central Africa**

The knowledge of East and Central African nations’ history before 15th century was based on unwritten history in the form of archaeology and the things used by the people and remembered history i.e. spoken or oral history respectively since the people did not know the knowledge of writing in the concerned country.  

Since time immemorial the East Central African people lived in groups of villages and such a group came

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under a single chief, which indicates self rule. The nature of the problems in social life will take us to the root cause of conflict among the native rulers. The Kikuyu, Nilotic, Bantu and Tutsi ethnic groups had played a vital role in the administration. The nature of the backwardness of economic, political and social issues had forced the subjects of these countries to keep their sweat and blood in the colonial Treasury. African livelihood was mainly based on the development of agriculture, cattle and pasture.

Due to the poor quality of the soil, the people use to migrate to fertile lands even where little land is available to develop the pasture. Sometimes they have to face the storms of rain or fury of flooded rivers. While migrating from place to place and settling in new places, the people obviously faced many situations of conflicts. The presence of Arab Traders had appeared to Kenya and Tanzania in the eighth century and they occupied these two countries till the sixteenth century. There was a scene of extensive migration and establishment of number of separate powerful chiefs with their area of dominance till the arrival of Britishers in Uganda. The background of the Central African nations i.e. Burundi and Rwanda which were in feudal social structure was with the conflicts

of the native ethnic groups of Hutu and Tutsi.

The princely dynastic families of Ganwa and Mwami of Burundi fought against each other for power. The Mwami family indicates the Tutsi people who were cattle breeders arrived from the Horn of Africa to this area about 500 years ago and gradually subdued the Hutu inhabitants who were cultivating the lands.

The powers and the skill of organisation of the Tutsi group led it to dominate the various small kingdoms before the arrival of the colonial powers in nineteenth century.

**Spread of Colonial Rule**

The colonial rule had been spread over the East Central Africa after 500 years as compared to the continents of America and Australia. May be the Portuguese and Dutch rulers had come to East Central Africa in the 16th century, but they could not sustain themselves in these areas for a long time. The British, French, Germans and Belgians rulers arrived and occupied these countries mostly at the end of the 19th century and established their colonies and left their legacy for history.

Why the Europeans have arrived in East Central Africa at the end of the 19th century? What are the

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causes or circumstances that prevented them to have a thou-
to come to East Central Africa before the 19th century? Th
are the questions to be clarified in the context of spread of colonial rule in the East Central Africa.

The Europeans had established their colonies in America and Australia over the past 500 years, for a new society with new politics and religion. At that time the African continent as a whole was not attractive to the Europeans, because of its harsh geographical ambience. What are the geographical factors of African continent one must know it.

If we have a look at the physical map of the African continent, we can understand the physical structure of largely composed of a great central high plateau and a very narrow belt of low coastal land, wide area of swamps desert. So the Europeans' belief that it is not good and possible to settle in this continent at that time that is before 19th century by noticing the poverty of the land and heavy incidents of tropical diseases.

The pertinent view is that due to these reasons, the colonial powers had established their colonies in the

East Central Africa at the end of the 19th century and caused so many problems in the aspect of social, political and economic issues which will come under colonial legacy. Then what is the interest of Britishers especially to involve in these countries' administration in the 19th century?

Before their arrival some Europeans had come and found the sea route to establish their colonies. The British colonial policy consisted of divide and rule and was interested in raw materials and power. No doubt their method was to impose their policy in the administration and protect their interests. Their policy was indicative of the strategies they used in communication with Europe.

So, the foreign invaders i.e. Portuguese, Dutch, and Arabs had occupied the East Central Africa in the 16th century and later these countries, namely Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, were occupied by the Britishers and Germans in the year 1895, 1885 and 1894 respectively.

The nature of policy of administration of the Britishers in the East Africa can be seen in Burundi and Rwanda also which were occupied by the French, German and Belgium in 1894 and 1916 respectively.

The main cause for colonial rule in the East Central Africa and elsewhere was the struggle for raw materials for their industrial development. Their intention to get the raw materials had been spread over to the
dimensions of economic, social and political motives to establish their colonies and their motives were the cause which laid down the foundation for imperialism in the East Central Africa in the 19th century.

Consolidation of Colonial Rule

Soon after occupying the areas of East Central Africa, the colonial rulers have decided to consolidate their rule to have political power, economic influence, their culture and religion spread through length and breadth of the region.\(^9\) After their settlement in the East Central Africa, the colonial rulers have decided to make some agreements among themselves to help each other in the context of consolidation of their rule.

The political agreement in the year 1885 among the Anglo-German-French colonial rulers was held to hold their position in East Africa, but it was not fruitful. Due to the failure of the treaty of 1885 the Anglo-German rulers decided to make a political agreement for their mutual co-operation in partition of land in East Central Africa in the year 1886. The 1886 agreement was the first and most significant political treaty.\(^{10}\) The British and

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German rulers consolidated their administration with the signing of a treaty at Berlin in 1890 which was called "Holigoland Treaty". This treaty was very important to them, because Holigoland was a naval base of Germany and moreover the Britain wanted the German co-operation against the French or the Russian threat of war. According to this agreement they have to co-operate and help each other. So, it was useful to both of them. The German and the British had made not only these agreements but also some protocol agreement in 1892, 1893, 1898 and 1906 to co-operate with each other to consolidate their rule in the East Central Africa.

Therefore, in Kenya, the British protectorate was declared in 1895 primarily to secure the route to Uganda. After securing the route, British explorers, missionaries and traders reached Uganda. Due to inefficiency of native rulers of Kenya, the white settlers were encouraged in the highland and gradually the Europeans had become landholders.

With the primary establishment of European existence in Kenya, a thought of "white men's country" had appeared in the minds of native Africans. The settlers were allowed to have a voice in the Kenyan Government even before Kenya was officially made a British colony in 1920.

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Thus, the Europeans were dominating the government since the time when they had a voice on official matters and after the Africans were not allowed any direct political participation until 1944.

Before the British arrival in Uganda, the Arab Traders were moving from their enclaves along the Indian Ocean coast of East Africa and reached the interior Uganda in 1830. At the same time, the British explorers were searching for the Nile River, but they reached first Buganda in 1860 which was under discussion to get separate statehood from Uganda. The British rulers declared Buganda as a protectorate in 1894 and at that time Uganda also came under the control of Britishers. With the policy of administration of the Britishers, the relations between native chiefs and Britishers had been strained and they waited for their independence. Thus, the Britishers consolidated their rule in Buganda and Uganda till the time of formation of the United States of Uganda under the leadership of Matayo.

Germans ruled Tanzania from 1885 till the first world war. During this period, the administration of the Germans in East Africa was cruel and ruthless especially in Tanganyika by the then colonial administrator Peter. The goal of his administration was clear that the German flag
and its impact should be spread over the entire East Africa and should dominate among the colonial rulers.

By imposing the rigid and inhuman methods of colonial rule which were unacceptable even by the German settlers of East Africa, he ruled with ruthlessness. So that he was nicknamed by Africans as "Mkono- wa-dance" that is "the man with the bloodstained hands". Why then the Germans' administration was inflexible in character? The reason given by one of the administrators was that it was very very difficult to administer . African since the Africans were strong and persistent.

After the first world war German East Africa was mandated to Britain in the year 1916. The German rulers faced the problems of administration due to their direct rule, whereas the British rulers have managed to administer the Africans by introducing indirect rule and moreover the divide and rule policy which was gradually introduced by Germans. During the administration of Britain in Tanganyika "Cameron" the administrator was the important figure in the history of British rule. He introduced the system of Local Native Administration by taking most able natives as chiefs and the natives were given the administrative duties and powers. The difference between Germans and

13 Daniel D.C. Don Nanjira, n. 10, p. 35.
Britishers was the administration, the way they ruled in East Africa. The East Africa was under the control of Britain till the year of 1945 and it was named Tanganyika. The following year the Tanganyika had become a trust territory under the British administration and the British rule was there till its independence.

The Central African countries, namely Rwanda and Burundi, were mostly administered by Belgians. Though the first European country to occupy these countries was Germany in 1899, but it could not sustain itself for a long time. After the first world war the territory of Rwanda-Urundi was mandated by the League of Nations to Belgium in 1915.\footnote{14} After the second world war, this territory was made under the UN a trustee territory with the administration of Belgium. Even though Rwanda was under the control of Belgium the administrative powers have been given to native Tutsi chiefs by implementing the indirect rule till the end of the year 1958.

As a result of Tutsi's administration in this area, the Hutu people revolted and they were driven out during the rule of Tutsi in the year 1962 and Belgium trusteeship had also ended. At the same time Burundi also attained independence under a monarch. Thus the foreign

\footnote{14 Year Book, n. 6.}
rule ended in 1962.

The political scenario in East Central Africa before the colonial rule was the perpetual feuds and incessant bloody wars among the tribal chiefs for the establishment of their local authority in their regions. The disunity among the local chiefs was utilized by the colonizing powers to intervene in the administrative matters of East Central Africa. The subsequent colonial rule hampered the development of the post colonial new emergent nations in East Central Africa in such a way that they have not been able to overcome the problems of the poverty and underdevelopment even today. The impact of the colonial administration has remained a legacy with the acute border problems leading to conflict situation in this region.

Socio-Economic Environment

The socio-economic environment during the colonial rule in the East Central Africa was a typical product of imperialism. In fact, these countries had only a few coastal fertile lands in Kenya and Tanzania. The remaining area was filled with rift vallies, rock livers and hills.

The industrialists and capitalists of Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and other colonial powers occupied the coastal lands and the lands by the side of great lakes like Lake Victoria, with an intention to get the raw
materials and to have the market for sale of the manufactured goods of the home countries and at the same time, to defuse the investment of surplus capital in these areas to capture the markets. To develop the trade, the settlers occupied the areas where the sea route to their homelands were available and where the natural resources were available.

The nature of capturing wealth from the poor countries was the gift for the colonial power. Earlier, the Europeans bought black slaves from Africa for exchange of guns and ammunition.

During the regime of the colonial rule the East Central African people were suppressed socially and depressed economically. African people were not allowed to participate in the state administration most of the time. Even if the colonial rulers introduced the new methods for the development of agriculture, industries etc. the African people were employed as manual labourers only. They were not allowed to learn the skilled work to know the development of their lands and industries.

Causes and Process Responsible for the Breakdown of the Colonial Regime

The nature of the colonial rule in the administration and the methods and policies which they applied during their regimes in the East Central Africa made the natives for self-rule in their countries. So the East Central
African people were forced to change their concept from the situation of apathy and despair which had completely deprived their lives.

In such circumstances any human being would want a self-reliant existence. Because no man, no society, or country can live on the idea of the past which was not suitable to the present situation. The people of East Central Africa have decided to sacrifice their lives for nationalism. It was filled in their minds that they must have determination to create separate political entity and freedom from colonial rule. They wanted to cultivate the common ideals to attain nationalism. They thought that the nationalism represents the feeling of belonging, a spirit of sentiment of loyalty. In their view that the unity can provide a group consciousness of nationality. The unity and national feeling can prevent the attacks launched by the foreigners. 15 Hence the causes of nationalism in indigenous Africans were mainly in three dimensions i.e., social, economic, and political.

Socially, the first problem of Africans was the question of their land, which flourished from time immemorial by customs and traditions. This was a sensitive issue to the indigenous people for their culture. The colonial rulers occupied these areas and exploited the natural resources and

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15 Nanjira, n. 10, p. 76.
human resources. In the East Central Africa the manpower was considered as one of the leading resources. The colonial rulers treated the manpower (slaves) as the chief export from the continent. In this way the African people were socially depressed and this led to vociferous call for return of their land. Another point of cause was economically the Africans were exploited. The settlers occupied the fertile lands and got mineral wealth and developed their home industries in the coastal line of East Africa. Among the causes of responsible attitudes to break down the colonial rule in the East Central Africa, the political aspect was the vital point. Because of the ruthless and inhuman administration of the colonial powers especially the German government during the regime of Peter was unforgettable in the history of East Central Africa.

The foreigners always followed the divide and rule policy, as a method of imposing control, indirect rule in the East Central Africa. Because of these conditions the people of East Central Africa struggled for national liberation from the European powers. In this connection the statement given by "Kwame Nkrumah" was correct. He said that the road of the national liberation movement to colonial independence cannot come through delegations, gifts, charity, paternalism, grants, concessions, proclamations, charters of reformism but only through the complete change of the
colonial system, a united effort is indispensable to break the colonial rule. So, to get unity, the East Central African people thought that of how to organise a new community, how to choose leading men, how to fix rules for keeping law and order, how to live in peace with the other people in the land. Because before launching a national movement to get freedom, these are the chief fundamental outlines to achieve their goals.

The problem of unity among these people was not a single reason. There are problems of beliefs, customs, languages and forces. All the types of people having different views and methods, it was a problematic deed to get unity.

In the area of East Africa the people got unity against the administration of the European rule and had profound effect in Kenya and northern Tanzania after 1600 A.D. or 1700 A.D. The main causes for East African people's reaction or response to the European rule were:


17 Knappert, n. 4, p. 175.

18 Nanjira, n. 10, p. 80.
(1) The European colonial policies and practices had included restrictions on the movements of the Africans, the loss of their stock, and closing of forests to them, fines imposed on Africans for the slightest trespass, excessive and inhuman physical abuse of Africans, summary dismissals of the Africans after they had done dirty work, and encouragement of disrespect among African youth for the traditional and customary ways of African life.

(2) The Euro-Asian struggle for dominance war in complete disregard of African interests and aspirations.

(3) The overall position of aliens in East Africa was continually improving.

(4) The position of Africans vis-a-vis the position of aliens in these regions was deteriorated.

These are the problems faced by East African people as a whole. In this struggle from 1952 to December 1959, Kenya was under the state of emergency arising from the "Mau Mau" rebellion against British colonial rule and during this period only the political movement had increased rapidly and finally with the result of this movement Jomo Kenyatta a member of the predominant Kijiyu tribe became Kenya's first president in the year 1964.

19 Year Book, n. 6, p. 725.
In the case of Tanzania the national movement was in two phases. One was at one mainland and another was at Zanzibar before independence. In the area of Zanzibar the native Africans faced the domination of Arab Traders whereas in the main land i.e. Tanganyika the people were dominated by Germans and Britishers. In the mainland and Zanzibar there was development of territorial political consciousness among the African civil servants; basing on this and intact development, after the Second World War, the European rule was unable to exist in these areas. After 1945 Tanganyika was declared to be a multiracial rather than African country and in 1951 the local government councils exclusively for Africans was opposed. To protest against this intention, the then leader Dr Julius Nyerere fought for legitimacy rights to have a Central Organisation to which many local groups were already affiliated. With the Organisation of Tanganyika African National Union which was founded by Julius Nyerere, the Africans got through the elections in 1958 and 1959. After a couple of years Tanzania got independence and Julius Nyerere had come to the power as a president.

There was strife in Uganda for independence between the modern nationalists and the champions of traditional values i.e. hereditary kings, long established tribal forms

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of government, religious rivalries. Taking advantage of the native kingdom rivalries, the British government extended its rule everywhere in Uganda. And mainly the period between 1920 and 1940 witnessed increasing strain between the British authorities and the chiefs who feared the extension of Kenyan settler power. 21 Therefore, with the result of the policy of imperialism, the people of Uganda were disgusted at the most and launched the anti-British revolts in Uganda. At the same time, the nearby territory of Uganda namely Buganada demanded separate independence for it from British rulers but it was not fruitful. In the year 1962 the general election was held and the Uganda People's Congress defeated its opposition and Obetto was elected as the chief and in the same year Uganda got complete independence.

The result of the European explorers, missionaries of 1858 in Rwanda-Burundi was caused to establish Germany's administration in 1899 and later the Belgium rule was there from 1916 onwards. 22 The nature of colonial rule in these two countries also was the same as in East Africa. Since then there was a struggle for power between Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Burundi and Rwanda, the Hutu people who were

21 Walker, n. 11, p. 1029.

cultivators of agricultural land, occupied the position in the government and at the same time these countries got independence in 1962.

**Colonial Legacy and Underdevelopment**

The colonial legacy in terms of underdevelopment and disparities among the East African nations and its people was diversified with respect to the three utterly different nations i.e. one, slaughter house, two, slum and thirdly a risky success. All three may now be turning in new directions into Tragic Uganda, Failed Tanzania and Upwardly mobile Kenya.  

This condition is existing in these countries and still these three regions and its people should develop. Because the common characteristics of East Central African countries are peculiar, the ecological consequences lead to the depth of the economic problems. In fact, the underdevelopment of politics and the society of East Central Africa were encashed upon by the European powers for their industrial development for the last hundred years. Basing on these factors the economic condition of these countries was that the underdevelopment of East Central Africa and the wealth of these countries in respect of minerals and

agricultural products had been captured by the European powers and the colonial powers became as regular suppliers of finished goods to these countries.

The colonial power always kept these African nations as the main source of the raw materials and did not want to develop these countries in economies. The partial tone of economic development among these regions was kept for their entire colonial regime and caused to food problem mainly. The motivation of politics and administration of colonial powers has made the African people to cultivate the habit of dependency for their lives as a whole. The disparity among the regions and its people in East Central Africa was caused to face the multi-problems even after their independence in 1960s.

Due to the colonial legacy there were problems of food, agriculture and transport and in addition to that exploitation of minerals led to deprivation in natural resources. All the problems cited above are derived from the following objectives of the colonial powers. The first is that the area of extraction and production of raw materials. Second is the convenient places to build ports for the export of raw material and import of manufactured goods. The third is the regions suitable for locating colonial administration and the last point is the localities where white settlements could be set up.
Therefore, one can understand the situation of the East Central African regions and its people under the control of the European powers by studying their policies in administration. In this connection it can be said that the process of under development of East Central Africa has been started when the Europeans entered after 1885 and the political motivation of the colonial power was to involve indirectly and later directly in the affairs of politics of East Central Africa and their spheres of influence had been penetrated into the nature of the exploitation. During the period of colonial rule the fertile lands of these areas were alienated for European settlers or converted into plantations on the Africans were forced to work in mines or plantations producing export commodities i.e. especially minerals and cash crops. The minerals and agricultural products were committed to be sold to Europeans and later the Europeans became as regular suppliers of finished goods in their colonies.

The European powers have achieved their goal of capturing the ownership, the means of production, accumulation of the surplus and developed their relations with developed countries especially with the countries of the capitalist systems. The indigenous markets were suppressed by the

colonial sophisticated traders and the colonial rulers aligned with capitalists, imperialist countries to prevent any opposition in this context. Since there was no co-operation and integration among the export commodities producers of East Central Africa, the white settlers have taken an advantage to exploit the African society. With this particular political motivation the colonial powers have decided to make co-operation and integration among themselves at their home and in East Central Africa to create a common service in this regard to serve two purposes, viz.

1) it was designed to exploit the raw materials and to create and easy access to the East African markets for the imported manufactured goods;

2) it served as a base for the expansion of foreign manufacturing industries in East Central Africa.

Therefore, the underdeveloped colonies were left in a poor condition due to the colonial powers' vested interest. Moreover some of indigenous petty bourgeoisie have co-operated with the white settlers to promote the system of freehold title of lands in order to hold the power and share the profit of exploitation of their native land. Therefore the exploitation of the poor has existed between the rich and the poor and was perpetuated. The time when the East Central African people did not have unity among themselves with the
attitudes of vested interest, the administration of their countries obviously deteriorated. By taking this advantage of coups, economic strangulation and political destabilization the colonial powers kept control over small mono-crop or mono-mineral oriented African countries. Hence, the colonial legacy in the East Central Africa has been spread over the main potential means of the food source for which they are facing problems at present. The colonial legacy can be seen in mass starvation due to agricultural problems which are more than any other; the colonial legacy caused the socio-cultural crisis. In this particular phenomena Mustafa Tolba of UNEP says that this "lack of skills and technologies, finances, management and other strictly human ingenicities that have led to the formation of a new generalisation of environmental refuges".

Because of the European rule or imperialism, the legacy of the colonial powers has created a new dimensions among the East Central Africa. The relations between these countries at best distrustful, at worst hostile and they remained as more and more poor. Since these countries are facing development problems, naturally they have to get loans


from the developed countries which leads to debt crisis. Hence the debt crisis can come from the external and internal factors. To have a relationship to get a loan or aid from a country is not much of a problem but to come out from the net or clutches of the debts is not so easy. To come out from the debt crisis the East Central African nations are spending the wealth of the natural resources on impracticable and extravagant schemes for development and by this process one can say that they are ruining their economies. Since they do not have the technological know-how for large scale industries and import substitution and since they do not have neither the technology nor the capital to sustain such policies, they have to spend more money at the cost of the welfare of the people.

In addition to this, the external factor is that the oil price increase commencing with Arab oil boycott of 1973-74 slapped oil importers with new burdens, the subsequent worldwide recession devastated foreign exchange holdings, and the higher interest rates blotted existing debts. Moreover the British had left a set of joint agencies in East Central Africa to run the many air, rail and water transport, harbours and whole range of British regional services. Even after their independence, the East Central African states are dependent on the colonial powers. Then

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where is the possibility to get out from these crises which are the results of colonial legacy. To add to these factors of economic crisis of East Central Africa, the nature of dependency of these countries for want of infrastructure equipment mainly for food storage is another severe problem. The growth of population is also one of the main problems in the East Central Africa.

Basically the lands of these countries were underdeveloped in agriculture due to the ecological degradation, soil erosion, over-grazing of large lands. So, the main national income source i.e. agriculture income is badly affected. It has caused many crises and the neighbouring countries will also face the impact of these crises. Therefore the governments of these countries have to take a drastic step to solve the burning problems. By observing these conditions of these countries Mc Namara has stated that "the economic crisis in East Central Africa threatens to condemn an entire continent to unimaginable human misery unless strong action is taken to control population growth, reverse ecological devastation, climate distortions in domestic policies and increase external development finance."

The nature of the development in the East Central Africa was to struggle for life. The condition of socio-

economic and political problems in these areas will direct the subjects to exist in an uncertainty situation. Because the unfavourable weather, adverse natural conditions, the shortage of agricultural production factors i.e. land, water, power and capital, the increase of population, the unfavourable world economic situation, the insufficient amount of aid, the underdevelopment agricultural wealth which was the main characteristic to the concept of industrial development, are the reasons for the uncertain situations of the Africans. According to the development theories of 1960s, the root cause of economic crisis in Tanzania was that the agriculture was the source of capital that would help initiate new industries and finance their continuing needs for raw material, technology and expatriate management and also the agriculture would be the spring board for the development of a wide array of sundry rural industries devoted transportation, storage and processing.

To solve these problems, the governments of these countries have to have mutual co-operation among themselves with cordial talks or some agreement regarding their agricultural problems. They have to work unitedly to drive


out the devil of the debt crisis. And also it is very important and vital issue to take up a special research programme to increase the world's understanding towards Africa's ecological issues. Then there may be possibility to develop these countries.

Regional Issues and Conflict Situation

After the colonial rule in the East Central Africa, there are so many problems which are the results of the European administration. Among the issues of East Central Africa, the regional issues are the burning problems, which include border disputes, the problem of border demarcation and with this result, the conflict situation among the nations. The cause of the border dispute between two or more countries was their misguided policy. There was no proper identification of a broader area and this gave rise to disputes. The native kings of the East Central Africa and the foreigners have administered their concerned states with an easy method of administration by framing the jurisdiction according to their convenience.

The migration of a particular region's people will create a border dispute basing on their ethnic group or language factors by settling in other areas. Because these people will claim the area which they occupied. The third reason is that the rulers used to invade the other country
for their political influence. In the process of administration of the particular area, the administrator will divide the territory for their convenience to rule the country. After some time the new rulers will come and so on. This process will be in a scramble situation for successors, and that will be caused to expose the border dispute or regional issue. And the fourth reason is that if there are mineral deposits in a particular region and intense political situation develops, then there will be a cause to raise border dispute and fifth reason is that the occupation of the grazing land or access to water sources of a policy of territorial expansion based on current power and historical arguments.

Having a broad perception on the study of the origin of the boundaries, some writers have classified boundaries in terms of geographical, strategic and ethnic factors.

The alignments which recognize a particular area is boundary which is also to be known as artificial one. The process to recognize an area is that there should be a line describing in words in a treaty and shown on map or chart and should mark on the ground by physical indicators such as concrete pillars or cairn of stones. Some boundaries may be in terms of natural features such as embankments or watersheds.
While the competent authority is discharging its duties in demarcation on a particular area, due to misguided policy or lack of correct information to the concerned work, some problems or issues may arise. This situation has occurred in the case of British administration during their rule in East Central Africa. Because of these mistakes there are some internal and external border disputes between the East Central African countries among themselves and their neighbouring countries.

There were 33 agreements and protocols between the East Central African countries and their neighbours from 1890 to 1960 in connection with the fixation of their concerned borders and border disputes. After their independence also the East Central African people are facing border dispute problems and conflict situation within their territorials.

The problems of border disputes are not correctly exposing as burning ones but there were suffocated aspirations among the people of East Central African countries which are obstacles to their day-to-day lives.

**Burundi-Rwanda**

There was no border dispute between these two countries as such, since the area is consisting of rivers and streams to indicate the border limits of each country. But the conflict situation in these countries is a struggle
for power. The situation of Burundi's internal problems is with the groups of Hutu and Tutsi people for the kinship from 1960 onwards. The military regime has shown the path to overthrow the opposite group. In this manner the monarch was overthrown by military coup in 1966 and 1976 and in the same year Jean Bapatista Bagaza had come to power. The nature of the administration of Burundi and the manner how the successors are attaining the position is the same policy in Rwanda also, since these countries' administration is under the military regime. The recent conflict situation in Burundi was between the Roman Catholic Church and the Government which took place on 10 March 1985.31 As a result of this, some Roman Catholics were asked to leave the country.

Burundi-Tanzania

There is no border dispute between these two countries. The boundary was demarcated by streams and pillars apart from the Lake Tanganyika segment.

Kenya-Uganda

The issues of Kenya and Uganda are not leading to the conflict situation. But there was a particular area of Bukwa and Kanamuton rivers is undemarcated, and since the

31 Rake, n. 22, p. 293.
time of colonial rule there was a problem of recognition for the pastoral people who were inhabitants of Karasuk, the region of Kenya, and administered by Ugandan Government. This region/adjacent to the boundary of Karamoja district. In this area there was competition for a pastoral people between these two countries.

Since Kenya is located on the coastal land it has transport convenience on the sea also. Uganda is a land-locked country and it has to depend on its neighbouring coastal land countries for its development by sharing the water facilities also. And another important fact was that it has already constructed Railway line in 1901 up to Kisumu area on Lake Victoria to develop its trade with Kenya.32

But the internal conflict situation in Uganda can be disclosed from the time of its independence. It is the scenario of coups from the beginning. The rulers do not have desire to develop the welfare of the country. There is a power strife among the political leaders and military administrators. The desire to capture the chair is not for the welfare of the people. So this country is facing the serious condition since 1966 with the regime of Milton Obote and after from the time of Maj. Gen. Idi Amin till 1985.33

32 Mountjoy and Embelton, n. 8, p. 335.
The conditions of security and economy completely deteriorated.

Kenya-Tanzania

The border between these two countries has been demarcated in 1898 from Lake Jipe eastward to the coast, and in second phase between Lake Victoria to Laitokitok and thence to Lake Jipe in 1904-1905 during the colonial period. Since the demarcation between these two countries was not satisfied by the both nations, again some alignments and protocols have taken place and accordingly the redemarcation has taken place in 1925-26, 1927-28 but during the period 1956-57 the survey departments of Kenya and Tanzania have made a joint undertaking to demarcate the area as per the alignment of 1898. Due to disintegration of unilateral decisions the relations between these countries have not improved.

Tanzania-Uganda

The dispute between Tanzania and Uganda was to claim the area between the Kagera river (which divides Uganda from Tanzania) and Lake Victoria from each side. Actually the boundary between these two places (Kagera river and Lake Victoria) was demarcated by Anglo-German governments' boundary commission in the year 1902-1904. The problem was
that the area of Busungwe belonging to Uganda was left south of the Kagera river, but not the parallel near the Lake Victoria. At this place there was a large area of Tanzania. In this issue there are various opinions. Because the countries needed the water facilities for their countries. The Government of Uganda has the same problem with Kenya and Tanzania since it was landlocked between Kenya and Tanzania. Having this critical problem the Government of Uganda was trying to occupy this particular area and the Government of Uganda announced on 1 November 1978 its annexation with the limits of the parallel and up to the Kagera river and boundary along the parallel leaves of the north part of Rubabu point within territory of Uganda.34 But Tanzania was accusing that Uganda has announced the annexation of the Kagera salient comprising 1,840 k.m. of Tanzania territory.35 After that some pressure from African countries has come and then the troops of Uganda were withdrawn but the border dispute has not been solved. (Map 2-A)

Rwanda-Tanzania

The border between these two countries lies with the frontier along with the river Kagera. There was no

35 Lonsdale, n. 20, p. 989.
dispute or conflict situation between these countries due to demarcation of the border.

Rwanda-Uganda

The border was demarcated between Uganda and Rwanda in 1911 by the Governments of German and Great Britain and it was indicated that a segment of traditional Rwanda should leave within Kigezi district of Uganda. After some time some minor claims have been exposed in respect of rectifications of mistakes which were occurred at the time of survey in 1911 and those were settled. Since then no dispute is known. The border disputes and conflict situation between the East Central African nations and the neighbouring countries are also important in the context of the regional issues. Among the external issues of East Central African nations, the issues between Kenya-Somalia and Tanzania-Malawi are the major problems.

Kenya-Somalia

The dispute between these countries is mainly focusing on the issue of recognizing the area of Northern Frontier District of Kenya as a Somali's land. It was stated that most of the people inhabited by the Northern Frontier District (land of 150,000 sq. miles) were Somali speaking people. The border demarcation between Kenya (specified NFD) and Somalia was not recognised by the latter, 36

where by the territory known as Jubaland. It was detached from the Britain Kenya colony and incorporated with Italian Somali land. Due to this policy of closed district of this area by the Britishers, the subjects of Somalia felt very difficult to exist in this area. To solve this border dispute, some commissions have been appointed and diplomatic relations have been done and also some organisations have taken a forward step to solve the problem, but they could not.

From 1967 to 1980 the relations between Kenya and Somalia had improved due to the Arusha formula and official meetings between these countries had taken place. Thereafter the President of Somalia Barre had a meeting with the President of Kenya, Moi, at Nairobi after the June 1981 and announced that Somalia had no territorial claims on Kenya, and as a result the two leaders had a further discussion in 1984. But due to insurgent activities by Shifta group in Kenya's North East Province, the relations between Kenya and Somalia did not improve and the problem is as it is. Therefore, it is understood that the problems of border dispute over the area of North Eastern part of Kenya i.e. Garrissa, Wajir and Mandera districts, which was demarcated in accordance with the treaty of 1924, were not recognized by both the countries, even after redemarcation in 1957 with pillars.\(^\text{38}\) (Map 2-B)


\(^{38}\) Brownlie, n. 34, p. 915.
Tanzania-Malawi

The issue between Tanzania and Malawi was to share the water from the Lake Nyasa. The water problem is vital point to these countries since the water is very important for agricultural developments. During their regime the British and the German governments had some agreements from 1890 onwards to solve the Lake Nyasa border dispute. Later the British Government has officially shown the western border of this territory as the median line through Lake Nyasa during the period 1916-1934 and issued a report between 1947 and 1961 for Tanganyika and Nyasa land regarding the recognition of eastern shore of Lake Nyasa as the boundary between Tanzania and Malawi. But the Government of Tanzania has rejected this change and stated that the maps produced in recent years will give the impression that the international boundary between Malawi and Tanzania follows the eastern and northern shore of Lake Nyasa. Therefore, it does not want an international issue between these countries to share the water of Lake Nyasa and Tanzania has no claims over the waters of Lake Nyasa beyond the median line running through the Lake which is both legal and delineation between Malawi and Tanzania. 39 (Map 2-C)

39 Ibid., p. 965.
The demarcation between Tanzania and Malawi has been done with the natural features of strait line sector adjacent to the Zambia tripoint lies between pillars 1 and 2 of the 1898. After that no demarcation has been occurred. 40

But the President of Malawi Banda has condemned the 1967 statement of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and disclosed his demarcation of all sides consisting of natural features of 160 k.m. north of Songwe river which is to the extent of in south-west Tanzania to the south, it is the Zambezi river which is in Mozambique to the west it is Luangwa river which is in Zambia and to the East it is the Indian Ocean. 41

The President of Malawi claimed the area as their territory as per the features cited above in 1968 was in the map of ancient Maravi designed by the Portuguese. So he was emphasizing that the Lake Nyasa is to belong to Malawi only to prove his legitimate right to declare the Lake Nyasa as Lake Malawi.

After the statement of the President of Malawi, Nyerere, the President of Tanzania and Kunde, the President of Zambia discussed their common problem and decided to dismiss the claim of the President of Malawi. After that


41 Ibid.
the relations of Tanzania with Zambia have strengthened the trade through Dar-es-Salaam and also Tanzania relaxed the closure of its Kenyan border allowing the transportation through Tanzania to Zambia. After three years, the presidents of these three countries decided to develop their bilateral relations. Therefore, Zambia opened its high Commission at Malawi and Tanzania in 1971 and Nyerere, the President of Tanzania exchanged message with Banda, the President of Malawi in 1972. According to their exchange of message, it was announced that the relations between these countries would be strengthened.

Kenya-Sudan

There was no border dispute between these two countries. The area Rudolf was between Sudan and Uganda. According to the protectorate order of 1926 the area of Rudolf, the province of Uganda, has been transferred to Kenya. So finally, the border between Kenya-Sudan was Rudolf. No conflict situation is there relating to the border dispute.

Kenya-Ethiopia

Kenya may not have a problem with Sudan but there was a problem with Ethiopia. The border issue between

42 Lonsdale, n. 20, p. 989.

these countries could not be solved for a period of 80 years. The problem of the issue was since 1891 and with a treaty a definite alignment was made and also demarcated on 9 June 1970 but the problem is that Ethiopia's area adjacent to the Sudan tripoint has been postponed, and the Sudan tripoint was not determined for demarcation. In this area there was a long standing issue of access to wells at Gaddaduma. The people of this area had to depend on the water facilities and grazing rights. The alignment of 1907 of British Government created the problem of Gaddaduma area's issue and later it was resolved in 1970. (Map 2-D)

**Tanzania-Zaire**

The demarcation of the border between Tanzania and Zaire does not have the nature of dispute of conflict but the media line of Lake Tanganyike requires joint determination from Tanzania and Zaire to share the water facilities and other privileges with mutual co-operation. The demarcation of border between Tanzania and Zaire was the media line sector on Lake Tanganyika.

**Tanzania-Zambia**

In settling the border between Tanzania and Zambia, an agreement between Great Britain and Germany was signed

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44 Brownlie, n. 34, p. 823.
at Berlin on 23 February 1901 by demarcating the area between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika. This agreement will define to share the water resources from the concerned lake. But there was no sign of dispute between these countries.

**Tanzania-Mozambique**

The border issue between Tanzania and Mozambique was not a dispute since the area consisting of natural features i.e. Ruvuma river does not require any demarcation.

**Uganda-Zaire**

The border issue between Uganda and Zaire was with the territorial plateau adjacent to lakes Edward and Albert. The colonial powers of these countries -- Great Britain and Belgium -- made an agreement on 14 May 1910 at Brussels to fix the border between Uganda and Congo (Zaire). Despite they demarcated the area, the north-south division of Uganda to the Sudan tripoint, there was an unsurveyed sector of the boundary. This particular area follows the Congo-Nile watershed. Even then, there is no dispute in this area. But Uganda wants demarcation of the waters in lakes Albert and Edward, otherwise there was no dispute. 45 (Map 2-E)

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Uganda-Sudan

The border between Uganda and Sudan was piller for 30 miles from Jebel Lonili to Jebel Urengo in 1960 but it was not demarcated, even though no dispute is existing.

Burundi-Zaire

In the case of Burundi-Zaire the border demarcation is not there. The area of the border is surrounded by rivers or the median line of Lake Tanganyika. When there is natural features there will not be any dispute.

It is clear to state and identify the correct border between Rwanda and Zaire which was demarcated by pillars between the shore of Lake Kivu and Mount Nehu. This was approved by both the sides.

Conclusion of Border Disputes

In the early 19th century, the European power have occupied the regions of East Central Africa. The colonial powers have imposed their colonialism in these regions and ruled these countries till 1960s. These East Central African nations viz. Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda got their independence after the 1960 only. During their regime, the colonial powers have made their own jurisdiction in these areas by making some
artificial lines as boundaries for their easy administration.

So the legacy of the colonial powers has left some border issues which are now remained as disputes among the East Central African nations and its neighbouring countries. The internal dispute between Tanzania and Uganda is on the Busungwe area which is between Kagera river and Lake Victoria. This particular area was left south of the Kagera river but not the parallel to the Lake Victoria. Since both countries are needed to share water facilities, this problem has come up.

The external border disputes are between Kenya and Ethiopia and Kenya and Somalia. The dispute between Kenya and Ethiopia is a pending case since long time. The problem is that the Ethiopia's area adjacent to the Sudan tripoint has to be demarcated. Since the dispute area is connected with the lands of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, the problem has arisen. The dispute between Kenya and Somalia is the issue of recognition of the area of Northern Frontier District of Kenya as Somalia land. It was claimed that most of the people inhabited by the Northern Frontier District were Somali speaking people.

There are some water sharing disputes between Tanzania and Malawi, and Uganda and Zaire. The dispute
between Tanzania and Malawi is to share water from the Lake Nyasa. And another dispute between Uganda and Zaire is to share the water from the lakes Albert and Edward. In fact, Uganda wants demarcation in these lakes, otherwise there is no dispute.