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**EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**  
**EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY**

REPORT ON THE EIGHTH INTER-PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS  
SEMINAR (NANYUKI VIII) ON THE THEME INSECURITY AND  
TERRORISM AS THREATS TO EAC INTEGRATION: HOW CAN EAC  
DEVELOP A COMMON POSITION?

National Parliament of Rwanda in Kigali, Rwanda  
30<sup>th</sup> October – 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 2014



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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACP:	African Caribbean and Pacific countries
ACP:	Association of Commonwealth Parliamentarians
CBOs:	Community Based Organizations
CET:	Common External Tariffs
EABC:	East African Business Council
EAC:	East African Community
EACJ:	East African Court of Justice
EADB:	East African Development Bank
EALA:	East African Legislative Assembly
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
EPA:	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU:	European Union
FA:	Framework Agreement
GATS:	General Agreement on Trade in services
LVBC:	Lake Victoria Basin Commission
LVFO:	Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization
MPs:	Members of Parliament
NA:	National Assemblies
NTB:	Non-Tariff Barrier
WTO:	World Trade Organization
IPU:	International Parliamentary Union

# 1. BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

The current dispensation of the East African Community (EAC) came into being in July 2000, after the Treaty for its (re)establishment was signed on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1999 by the Heads of State of the original three East African Community (EAC) Partner States, the Republic of Kenya, the Republic of Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania.<sup>1</sup> The membership of the Community was expanded to five after the Republic of Burundi and the Republic of Rwanda acceded to the treaty. The five Partner States are committed to act in concert to achieve the objectives set out in the Treaty; with the establishment of an East African Customs Union and a Common Market as transitional stages to, and integral parts thereof, a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation.

## **The East African Legislative Assembly**

The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) is the independent legislative arm of the East African Community (EAC), and is one of the seven organs of the EAC, the others being the Summit of the Heads of State, the Council of Ministers, the Co-ordination Committee, Sectoral Committees, EALA, the East African Court of Justice (EACJ) and the EAC Secretariat. To date, EALA has had three Assemblies, with the first (2001 – 2006) being inaugurated in Arusha, Tanzania on the 30<sup>th</sup> day of November 2001. The term of the second Assembly ran from 2007 – 2012, with its membership expanded to include members from the new Partner States. The term of the third and current Assembly runs from its inauguration in 2012 and is projected to run until 2017.

## **The Nanyuki Series**

In 2004, in line with Article 49 of the EAC Treaty, EALA held the first of what would become the Community's annual Inter-Parliamentary Series with the objective of strengthening the functional relationships between the regional assembly on one hand, and the national assemblies of Partner States on the other. While the legislature remains the central point of focus in these deliberations, the presence of officials and staff from

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<sup>1</sup> The East African Community, comprising of the three Partner-States of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, was first instituted in 1967 and lasted a decade before its collapse in 1977.

other EAC organs and institutions as well as regional stakeholders has made this a valuable regional forum that has facilitated the work of integration in many different levels. The first gathering in the series was held in Nanyuki, Kenya, and the forums are now thus popularly known as the Nanyuki Series. Since that first meeting, EALA has gone on to host seven other forums in different cities in each of the Partner States, each meeting contributing to the deepening and widening of the integration process and ameliorating the flow of communication on matters of integration amongst the EAC Partner States.<sup>2</sup> This eighth meeting of the Nanyuki series, held at the Rwanda Chamber of Deputies in Kigali on the theme of “Insecurity and Terrorism as a Threat to the EAC Agenda” that seeks to build a common EAC position on these issues builds on the foundation laid by previous meetings.

### **Nanyuki VIII: Insecurity and Terrorism as a Threat of the EAC Agenda**

In light of the EAC Treaty mandate, EALA in conjunction with its partner, AWEPA, has made annual provisions to enable EALA Members exchange information and policy ideas with their counter parts in the National Assemblies in the EAC Partner States and other institutions both at regional and international levels on the EAC project. The Nanyuki VIII is therefore in essence aimed at trying to address the issue of perceptions especially, against the background that the implementation of the various stages of integration has been slow and with little involvement of stakeholders.

Article 7(a) of the Treaty emphasizes the people centered and market driven cooperation, and is one of the operational principles of the Community that should govern the practical achievements of the objectives of the Community. Despite all attempts by EAC to involve stakeholders, perceptions still exist that not enough has been done in this respect and if not well addressed may have a negative impact on an

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<sup>2</sup> The themes for the preceding meetings are as follows: Nanyuki I (2004, Nanyuki Kenya) “Roles and Mandate of EALA”; Nanyuki II (2005, Entebbe, Uganda) “Enhancing the EAC Integration: Application and Implications”; Nanyuki III (2006, Dar es Salaam) “Enhancing Functional relations in the EAC”; Nanyuki IV (2008, Kigali, Rwanda) “EAC from Customs Union to the Common market: Prospects and Challenges”; Nanyuki V (2010, Bujumbura, Burundi) EAC Common Market Protocol, the Prospects, the Challenges and Opportunities”; Nanyuki VI (2011, Bujumbura, Burundi) “Role of Legislature in Achieving a Political Federation”; Nanyuki VII (2013, Entebbe, Uganda) “Promoting a People-Centred and Market-Driven East Africa: The Missing Link in the EAC Integration”.

otherwise well-meaning agenda. It is therefore relevant to bring on board these stakeholders to illustrate to MPs and other stakeholders exactly what the missing link is in the EAC integration agenda from other respective perspectives.

The 131 official participants for this seminar (see Appendix I) were drawn from relevant National Assemblies of Partner States, Members of EALA, the EAC Ambassadors in the respective countries, the EAC Secretariat Staff led by the Secretary General, EAC Ministers and Ministry officials in the respective Partner States, selected EU Ambassadors, the Private Sector representatives, the local government representatives, Civil Society, youth, academicians, policy experts in respective countries and other prominent citizens of East Africa.

## **DAY ONE: FRIDAY 31<sup>ST</sup> OCTOBER 2014**

### **OPENING SESSION**

- Welcoming remarks by the Speaker, EALA, Rt. Hon. Margaret Zziwa
- Official opening by Rt. Hon Bernard Makuza, President Of the Rwanda Senate

The Master of Ceremonies for the first day, Hon. Habiyirama, set the stage for the day's activities by issuing a general welcome to all participants to Rwanda and the meeting. He then formally introduced the participants of the meeting. The two speakers for this session were the Speaker of EALA, the Right Hon. Margaret Nantongo Zziwa, and the President of the President of the Rwandan Senate – Rt. Hon. Bernard Makuza.

### **Speaker of the East African Legislative Assembly: Rt.Hon. Margaret Nantongo Zziwa**

On behalf of EALA, the Speaker, Rt. Hon. Margaret Zziwa welcomed the participants to Rwanda and the Eighth meeting of the Nanyuki series. She expressed the regional assembly's appreciation to the host president, parliament, government and citizens, as well as to all the participants for taking the time to attend the meeting.

Introducing the theme, Insecurity and Terrorism as threats to EAC integration she reiterated that terrorism stands as a great threat to international peace and security all over the world, noting that no individual, institution or nation is safe, as had been seen on the recent attack on the Canadian parliament. She acknowledged that the East African region is no exception to the general trend, mentioning the 2013 Westgate attack in Nairobi Kenya as well as other attacks that had taken place earlier in Kampala, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. This eight meeting of the Nanyuki series has therefore been convened to facilitate a united regional approach to the fight against terrorism and other forms of insecurity, and she therefore looked forward to the rich interactions with participation from the diverse stakeholders gathered at the meeting.

Hon. Zziwa reminded the meeting that Article 5 of the EAC Treaty commits Partner States to work together on issues of peace and security in order to foster an enabling environment for nurturing regional integration, with Article 124 of the same treaty providing for wide ranging approaches promoting a stable and secure environment facilitating the harmonious co-existence of East Africans through a commitment to cooperation and consultation for dispute resolution. She congratulated Rwanda and Uganda for ratifying EAC Protocol on Peace and Security, while urging the other three Partner States to follow suit.<sup>3</sup> She drew the meeting's attention to Chapter 23 of the Treaty, which particularly focuses on good governance, emphasising the relationship between good governance and security.

Noting that legislatures have a role to play with regard their mandate of legislation, the appropriation, oversight and representation, she made particular mention of EALA's most recent efforts in the area of peace and security. The East African Conflict Management Bill which seeks to establish to establish a regional conflict prevention management and resolution mechanism was passed b the Assembly in 2012, and currently awaits the assent

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<sup>3</sup> The EAC Protocol on Peace and Security was signed into being on 15<sup>th</sup> February 2013 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It has not yet however come into force, awaiting its ratification and the deposit of the relevant instruments thereof by three of the EAC partner-states.

of the Summit. In collaboration with the African Leadership Centre, EALA held a conference earlier on in the year on East African Societies and Regional Security that has become the foundation for the development of an institutional teamwork strategy to address security matters in the region.

Wishing the meeting fruitful deliberations, the Rt. Hon. Zziwa closed her remarks by reiterating her conviction that it is time for the region to develop a concerted approach featuring shared instruments and mechanisms, given the multi-dimensional, international nature of the current security terrain.

**President of the Rwandan Senate – Rt. Hon. Bernard Makuza**

The President of the Rwandan Senate, the Rt. Hon. Bernard Makuza warmly welcomed to Rwanda the Members of all the national assemblies of the EAC Partner States, as well as those from EALA. He noted that the latter had already been working in Rwanda for several days and wished them inspiration and more constructive interactions. He reiterated the pleasure of the parliament of Rwanda at being the host of this meeting, and its commitment to the fostering of stronger collaboration with EALA and with national assemblies of Partner States in order to fast track the process of regional integration for sustainable development. He noted this to be an opportunity to reflect on inter-parliamentary relations amongst Partner States and on the role of the regional and national legislators in fostering regional integration in the EAC.

Noting that the meeting theme recognised peace and security as pre-requisites to the attainment and safeguarding of sustainable development, Rt. Hon Makuza emphasised how important it is to facilitate the exchange of views and idea by regional and national parliamentarians in order to develop and articulate a common understanding on the contexts, causes and consequences of insecurity and terrorism within the region and further abroad, leading to the identification of appropriate solutions and the

advancement of the regional integration agenda. He echoed the EALA Speaker in reiterating the importance of the principles of good governance as provided for in the Treaty, including democracy, the rule of law, accountability and transparency. He noted that insecurity and terrorism take advantage of conditions such as discrimination, exclusion, injustice, poverty and unresponsive leadership to the basic needs of the population and lack of human values. Arguing the need for a concerted approach to dealing with insecurity and terrorism, he noted that parliamentarians and other stakeholders need to collaborate to develop common positions, policies and legislation to address the underlying conditions that foster violent tendencies, negative and destructive ideologies. He provided Rwanda's 20 year old journey of transformation through visionary leadership from the tragedy of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi to a secure and united country as a case study of how the causes of insecurity such as discrimination, lack of accountability, corruption, bad governance in general can be defeated. He affirmed Rwanda's self-confidence, reiterating the country's commitment to its East African partners, even as he identified peace and security as the foundation of the region's achievements and aspirations. He emphasised the importance of making the right choices as leaders cognisant of the duty to prevent and fight the root causes of insecurity and terrorism such as genocide ideologies and denial in all manifestations. In this regard, he expressed his appreciation to the EALA Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution (EALA-RACR) for its initiative in putting into place the mechanisms for the creation of a global parliamentary network to fight against genocide and other crimes against humanity.

Before declaring the eight meeting of the Nanyuki Series open, The Rt. Hon. Makuza challenged his fellow parliamentarians to develop an implementation framework to carry out a critical, impartial assessment and evaluation of the follow-through of decisions taken at previous Nanyuki series meetings, and ensure the implementation of those taken at this one. In relation to the meeting theme, he challenged Members of both the regional and national assemblies to sharpen the regional response to insecurity and terrorism to be inclusive of diverse elements; from prevention and early warning, to

cooperation and dialogue, to diplomacy and legislation, to smart peace-building and reconciliation programs.

**SESSION ONE:** “Insecurity and terrorism as threats to EAC integration: How can EAC develop a common position?”

- Chair: Hon. Chris Opoka Okumu, Member of EALA (Uganda)
- Keynote Address: Dr. Paschal Mihyo, Executive Director for Social Science in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA)
- Discussant Remarks: Dr. Godwin Murunga, Executive Director of the African Leadership Centre (ALC).

**Keynote Address: Dr. Paschal Mihyo**

Having expressed his gratitude to the leadership and Members of EALA, the EAC and the Rwandan parliaments for facilitating this eighth Nanyuki Series meeting, Prof. Mihyo noted that the meeting was a follow-up of another meeting that took place in Arusha earlier in the year on the broader issue of regional insecurity. He articulated as the task of the meeting the assessment of the challenges that terrorism and its related activities pose to the East African people and process of integration, and the search for ways, strategies and mechanisms of a collaborative approach to addressing the identified issues.

He noted that despite the intellectual challenge of defining terrorism, (“one man’s terrorist is another man’s hero”) its existence as a current reality in the region means that we cannot afford to indulge in semantics. Instead, the focus has to be on what to do to counter it.

Citing John Davis,<sup>4</sup> he argued that Africa has become involved in the war against terrorism as a proxy, with terrorists exploiting porous borders, weak governance institutions and other forms of insecurity to use the continent as a launch pad for attacks against the West. Abject poverty, youth dissatisfaction and religious diversity all make for a particularly attractive environment for the recruitment of disenchanted individuals into terrorist groups and the continent is becoming a rich catchment area for the formation, precipitation and continuation and transformation of hatred and terrorist activities.

Other factors to pay attention to:

- The high propensity of minority populations, most who are, or perceive themselves as, marginalised.
- High levels of illiteracy, especially in these marginalised groups, combined with a strong attachment to their culture and traditions, sometimes to exclusionist degrees, that are hostile to integration with others.
- A culture of restricted loyalties to particular identities, and a strong culture of identity-politics
- A culture of inter-mediation which does not support independent thinking and action.

He emphasised that terrorism must be seen as a threat that is not only national but regional. Noting that the East African Community tends to see issues of security and terrorism through the narrow prism of the sovereignty. He called for the adoption of a common approach and course of action in facing this challenge. He pointed out that challenges of insecurity or threats to security in any part of the region often precipitate a knee-jerk reaction that undermines the principles of regional integration such as the free movement of people and of labour. The consequences of insecurity and terrorism cannot be confined to political boundaries, and manifest in the depreciation of the stock market across the region, and impact on critical regional economic drivers such as tourism, and critical services such as education and health. Furthermore, the entire region suffers in

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<sup>4</sup> John Davies (ed). Africa and the War on Terrorism, 2007. Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate Publishers.

terms of its global reputation, with regional trade (with other regional blocs) and the region's standing in the Commonwealth of Nations suffering. He linked all this to the growth of a culture of insecurity and in-gathering that raises suspicions between East African communities and Partner-States, and an erosion of confidence in the institutions and instruments of the state.

To ameliorate the situation, Dr. Mihyo recommended the following:

1. The development of a common EAC position leading to the de-institutionalisation of communal and ethnic tension.
2. The development of a framework of understanding on the use (and potential abuse) of Information technology, given its propensity to be harnessed in the propagation of the hate-based propaganda.
3. The development, adoption, ratification and implementation of regional / international frameworks, protocols, laws and guidelines for use in combatting hate propaganda.
4. The building of human and technological capacity to ensure compliance with such laws.
5. The development of capacity in schools to nurture a proper understanding of history and appreciation of diversity in the region

He also noted that the EAC needs to be proactive in addressing new and potential forms of terrorism including eco-terrorism, bio-terrorism, virulent transmittable diseases, radiological weapons. He warned that the region needed to prepare for potential terrorist attacks on major infrastructure as well as common services and systems by investing insecurity-conscious infrastructure design, and establishing frameworks of cooperation with countries with experience in handling techno-terrorism targeting infrastructure. He also recommended that the EAC pay particular attention to failed states in the region so as to stem the tide of fragility. In closing, Dr. Mihyo reiterated the imperative of a common approach, and also argued for a move from a state-centric

approach to security to a people-centered approach that also harnessed the tools of technology.

### Discussant, **Dr. Godwin Murunga**

In his complementary presentation to the keynote, Dr. Murunga discussed four key themes. He began by returning to the definitional question – who is a terrorist and what is terrorism? Then he articulated what he saw, in his opinion, as the next major terrorist threats for East Africa. He touched on the central role of governance in dealing with these threats and concluded by spelling out the implications thereof for legislatures with regard to security and regional integration.

On the question of what is terrorism, he pointed out that a cut-and-paste strategy *à la* global powers such as the American “either you are with us or against us” strategy was not a viable one for East Africa because of the difference of the contexts within which each of these countries were facing terrorist threats. As such, he argued that the design of anti-terror legislation, or laws formulated to curb insecurity in general, must take into account the priorities and imperatives of the environment within which the threat was manifest, pointing out that the antecedents that produced the US anti-terror law differed from those out of which the terrorist attacks in East Africa emerged. He reminded the gathering that the legislative mandate of parliament complements its representative mandate; the attendant responsibility in the case of the EAC regional and national assemblies is to look after the interests and priorities of East African citizens in the formulation of terror (and related) legislation. He illustrated the complexities of mediating between diverse interests that could make of one community’s hero another’s terrorist by reminding the meeting that Nelson Mandela and Jomo Kenyatta, freedom fighters later credited with leading their nations to independence were once designated by the state as terrorists.

He therefore called for the identification of a framework of understanding the complexity of the East African security terrain, influenced as it is by the conflicts happening in the Horn of Africa, the porosity of regional borders and long-standing historical realities. He spoke to the historical relationship between the larger eastern African region and the East African Community, using the example of the complex situation emerging out of the Somalian conflict. Noting that there are, and have been, historically a large community of people of Somali ethnicity across the region for example, he pointed to the consequences of the international jihadist movement taking advantage of the political *impasse* in Somalia and the consequence thereof in the growing influence of Al Shabaab in the region. Even more of a concern is that group's strategic exploitation of social injustices amongst communities (in Kenya for example) who perceive themselves as historically marginalised. The battle is one for the mind and hearts of people, and this is a development that the regional and national assemblies need to grapple with in their formulation of appropriate anti-terror legislation.

Turning to the issue of governance, he pointed out a terrorist strategy articulated in the language of social justice that pits the marginalised against the state takes advantage of historical grievances, particularly those existing in communities and spaces where policing and other state security infrastructure is wanting. The challenges here, he suggested, can only be resolved by the identification and engagement with those genuine historical injustices and grievances that have alienated critical 'frontline' communities from the state.

Finally, he noted that attacks on the (in)security of the state through its institutions and leading actors is going to be less of an issue than that of public spaces, both physical such as the street and virtual. As this is not the traditional concern or sphere of our security institutions and mechanisms, he argued for new thinking and strategizing that leads us to revisiting the role, mandate, potential and efficacy of our security and legal institutions and frameworks. This will require of regional and national assemblies in this region a whole new conceptualisation of the concept of security and what it actually

encompasses.

The discussion touched on various elements of the two presentations. Hon. Ramadhan Karenga raised the issue of freedom of speech in relation to hate propaganda. Hon. Kapuya reiterated the need to understand the context within which terrorism emerges in order to formulate adequate and appropriate responses, especially in the rapidly mutating security landscape. Hon. Kajuju reflected on the implications of porous borders in relation to the goal of increased regional integration while Hon. Kasamba and Hon. Biraro focused on the need to pay attention to human security issues, noting how livelihood realities and the pressing search for basic necessities and economic opportunities impact on people's perception and lived experience of (in) security. Hon. Ayoo called for attention to be paid to youth issues, given the co-relation between youth and insecurity including elsewhere in the world. Hon. Rwabuhoro spoke on how culture can be a factor in facilitating or curbing insecurity and recommended a deliberate approach to strengthening efforts to appropriate cultural tools and processes in combatting insecurity. Hon. Bagiire extended the conversation to the question of Information Technology (IT) and raised the possibility of cyber-terrorism. Hon. Muhongayire called for the adoption of a common position on genocide ideology and denial. She reiterated the importance of a people-centric approach to combating insecurity, with particular focus on younger people. Hon. Bonaya called for a broader understanding of the concept of terrorism to include the everyday marginalisation of communities and peoples who have suffered from historical neglect and marginalisation, both within the local context and on the wider global sphere where Africa countries continue to perpetuate the dangerous cycle of dependency. Hon. Mossi challenged Partner-States to articulate how they are integrating women and youth in security discourses. Hon. Muhwaye suggested the development of a strategy that was not just regional but dovetailed with other international efforts while Hon. Kanego sought clarification on the contradictory dual identity of the terrorist-as-another's hero, and the development of a common regional position.

In his response, Dr. Mihyo concurred on the need to balance the right of free expression with the responsibility not to harm another, drawing from the Kenyan and Rwandan experiences to make his point. He acknowledged the additional challenges to security brought by the regional integration but urged that the efforts be made to strengthen systems and infrastructure across the region to the benefit of the whole Community. He also pleaded for particular attention to be paid to the creation of a conducive environment for the region's youth to create their own jobs through a revamping of educational systems geared to producing job-hunters. He pointed to the AU Convention on Terrorism as a starting place to understanding what terrorism is, and to developing a regional framework. He reiterated the importance of a people / community centred approach to solving security threats, and of putting the needs, priorities and concerns of Africa before those of the rest of the world.

Dr. Murunga noted that insecurity and terrorism are on-going challenges that demand a process of constant engagement – a lingering presence on the policy agenda manifest in the legislative and representational agenda of the various assemblies in the region. The different aspects of the discussion – touching on different sectors and aspects of the society – can therefore be dealt with as appropriate, not as a one-off solution to a single problem but rather as the complicated constantly evolving conundrum that insecurity is. This, he suggested, will require dealing with different aspects of governance relating to the fault lines that have produced the current insecurity the region is facing. He challenged regional stakeholders to:-

1. develop a home-grown framework grounded on an endogenous analysis adequately resourced from within the region.
2. develop a regional framework to address common challenges complementary to national frameworks that can preclude badly needed solutions
3. resist playing into the hands of terrorists and terrorist networks by stopping processes of regional integration that actually hold the solution to defeating them.
4. take seriously the question of identity-politics and the creation of enclaves of marginalisation easily susceptible to the terrorist ideology.

5. develop a local mechanism for defining and identifying regional security priorities, threats and solutions.
6. transform the existing state security apparatus so that it can translate the language of security from a state-centric obsession with law and order into a human-centric approach and language that appreciates the contributions of East African citizens as co-providers and guarantors of regional security.

## **SESSION TWO: The Status of Security in the EAC Region**

- **Chair:** Hon. Taslima Twaha. Member of EALA (Tanzania)
- **Presentation by** Dr. Adams Oloo, Professor of Political Science, University of Nairobi
- **Discussant,** Mr. Leonard Onyonyi, Peace and Security Expert, EAC Secretariat

### **Presentation by Dr. Adams Oloo**

While acknowledging that the East African Community is made up of five Partner States, Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, Dr. Oloo said that in order to capture the state of security in the EAC, he would need to refer to what is happening in countries in the Greater Horn and Great Lakes regions of Africa at both the national and regional level. Indeed the region can be said to be affected by three conflict systems (the East African Community states conflict system, the Great lakes conflict system and the Horn of Africa conflict system). He noted that differences and similarities exist amongst the EAC Partners States in so far as political, economic and their social systems are concerned, all of which have a bearing on the regional security challenges.

While traditional security concerns are reflective of the Cold War scenario that prioritised the security of the state, the post-Cold War period has more complexity. The former revolved around border disputes, interstate conflicts and Cold War proxy wars

on behalf of the then super powers; the latter – the focus of the presentation - includes in addition to those concerns, human security challenges.

He argued that the region has transitioned from the era dominated by Cold war border disputes, ideologically inspired great power conflicts, and inter- and intra- state conflicts to intra-state conflict characterized by a spill-over effect into neighbouring countries with a resultant impact on regional security. He cited examples from Kenya and Uganda to make his point that failed states, “ungoverned spaces” and countries in political transition all contribute to regional insecurity as manifested today. Intra-state conflicts, as manifest in this region emanate from various forms of identity politics and remain major challenges in the region. In addition to this, he cited conflicts emanating from the scarcity and contestation over shared resources, identifying land and water as being at the centre of many of the disputes, including those of a regional nature. The contestation over the control of the region’s rich mineral resources provides another theatre for conflict.

Turning to the question of terrorism, he identified three forms of terrorism – domestic / local terrorism organised by local groups with no external connection; domestic / local terrorism organised by local groups but with regional or external connections and terrorism organised by global actors with regional /domestic/ local support. He also discussed other forms of crime affecting the region, such as maritime insecurity / piracy and transnational organised crime (including the illegal trade in small arms drugs, and humans, as well as cyber-crime). Finally, he mentioned the emerging challenges emanating from the religious radicalisation of youth.

Dr. Oloo argued that the appropriate security response to all these challenges would demand careful thinking through the nexus between regional and national approaches. Despite the shift of focus in security thinking from a prioritisation of the traditional security objectives of the state to a broader human security perspective, he noted the tendency and temptation to entrench the national interest before that of the region. The

emphasis on national sovereignty impedes the crafting of an overarching regional security response framework in the East African region, especially given that unlike other continental regions, there is no clear hegemony that can force a “coalition of the willing”. He further identified the lack of a concrete appreciation of the importance of a shared understanding about what constitutes common threats to the region, which would act as the impetus for the development of viable and appropriate regional security strategies, warning against the tendency by which Partner States import their local/ national security concerns or priorities as regional threats. He also challenged the Partner States to curtail the mistrust and suspicion amongst them that makes difficult the implementation of regional security strategies. Pleading for greater commitment to the funding of the regional security budget by the respective Partners States, he noted the discrepancy in the Partner State allocations to the regional security budget *vis à vis* that allocated to the national security ones. And finally, he argued that regional integration founded on a security imperative is likely to be more profound than one on economy, given that security is about a political process, not an economic process.

#### **Discussant, Mr. Leonard Onyonyi**

The discussant approached the presentation from a practitioner’s perspective, agreeing with many, if not all, of the issues raised by Dr. Oloo. In particular, he concurred with Dr. Oloo’s analysis on the factors influencing the regional security dynamics, on the shift from the focus on inter-state conflict to intra-state, and on the most immediate threats to regional security. He noted that terrorism feeds into and off other forms of transnational and international crime, and that the region is now dealing mostly with the third type of terrorism identified by Dr. Oloo. He pointed out that radicalism and extremism are fuelled by the kind of human security concerns noted in the first session, such as high unemployment among the youth in a region with a growing youth bulge.

Mr. Onyonyi explored further the tension between national and regional interests, arguing for a complementary relationship where neither threatened the other. Pointing out that the EAC Treaty left no room for hegemony, he prescribed a common approach that gave each Partner State an equal voice and stake. He was doubtful about the attempt to demarcate rigidly between regional and national interests / priorities given the realities of regional integration, and suggested that the prioritisation of political processes over economic in determining regional security interests was not necessarily the wisest approach. Concurring on the need to reduce suspicion and mistrust between the Partner States, he however noted a decrease in the same over time as Partner States became more used to working together. He concluded by reiterating the caution on donor dependency, pointing out that the Partner States had begun to address the same.

The plenary discussion brought to the fore a number of issues for clarification and elaboration. Hon. Biraaro, Hon. Ayoo, Hon. Abisai, Hon. Ngenzebuhoro commented on the issue of financing of the regional security infrastructure. Hon. Karenga and Hon. Abisai sought clarification on different issues around the question of sovereignty with Hon. Kajuju illustrating the complexities of the impact of the larger regional dynamics on the EAC with specific reference to the security challenges posed by refugees.

In clarifying the issues raised, Dr. Oloo agreed with Mr. Onyonyi that the goal of regional integration – and regional approaches to security - is an incremental process of growth dependent on political choices. The ultimate question is whose interest policy caters for, and security apparatus exists to operationalise this, be it in terms of resourcing, prioritising or determining the foundation for collective approaches. Mr. Onyonyi pointed out that the Treaty and Peace and Security Protocol are clear on the demarcation between regional and national matters with regard to peace and security. He also spoke to the work within the EAC with regard to raising the security budgetary allocation, which is currently on the table of the EAC Council of Ministers, and the EAC infrastructure supporting the peace and security sector. This includes the work being jointly undertaken by the three Sectoral Councils on Defence, Inter-State Security and

Foreign Affairs and that being done through the thematic working groups, such as the one on the Police, and task forces such as the Financial Action task force. He noted that the Council of Ministers has already commissioned a framework for the involvement of border communities in border security. He concluded by cautioning against the broad criminalisation of refugees.

### **SESSION THREE: The Role of Parliamentarians and the stakeholders in to ensuring regional peace and security in the EAC**

**Chair:** Jeremie Ngendakumana (EALA, Burundi)

**Presentation:** Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga, Speaker of Uganda Parliament

**Discussant:** Hon. Zeno Mutimura for Rt. Hon. Donatille Mukabalisa, Speaker of Rwanda Parliament

#### **Presentation by Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga**

Rt. Hon Rebecca Kadaga began by noting that each of the EAC Partner-States has experienced terrorism in one form or another in the recent past, as have neighbouring countries such as South Sudan which is currently still in crisis. This, she argued, has had a multiplier effect on the region's people and economy. Parliament has a specific, unique role to play in sustaining peace and security in collaboration with other stakeholders such as other state and non-state institutions and the citizens themselves.

The EAC Treaty provides for the involvement of parliaments in peacebuilding within the Community, recognising their role as primary institutions providing the space for the negotiation of divergent interests. She warned that parliaments have the potential to either fuel or reduce conflict, providing examples drawn from the region of instances when the exercise of parliamentary mandate of representation, legislation and oversight have had an impact on conflict situations. She appealed for the design of more ways

through which parliamentarians can contribute to peacebuilding, including through the promotion of cultural activities such as educational and sporting initiatives. Rt. Hon Kadaga urged parliaments to be deliberate in the exercise of their mandate, pointing out that when carried out carelessly, there is the risk of exacerbating conflict as witnessed in Burkina Faso, leading to a popular revolution against parliament.

She drew the attention to the challenges facing parliament in the exercise of its mandate in times of conflict, especially with regard to carrying out oversight of peace agreements and the allocation of resources. Often, parliaments are even excluded from the process of negotiation of such agreements, denying citizens the right of representation in processes that are then held hostage to the priorities of the protagonists. This can mean the further marginalisation of already disenfranchised groups such as women despite evidence from a range of conflict situations in Africa of their potential to positively impact such processes. She urged parliaments to position themselves to participate in such negotiations so as to exercise their representational mandate to the benefit of those who might otherwise be ignored. This role extends to post-conflict settlements and processes that should prioritise victim concerns such as reparations and post-conflict trauma counselling and reconciliation programmes. Rt. Hon. Kadaga also raised the issue of border conflicts and the sharing of military intelligence in relation to the potential contribution of parliament in these areas, noting that the legislature has a role that must be respected.

Speaking to the contribution of other stakeholders to the regional peace and security agenda, she called for the revival of the Amani forums and greater engagement with non-state actors and ordinary citizens in the development and implementation of a regional security response. She concluded by noting that all, including parliaments, have a role to play when it comes to the issue of combatting terrorism.

**Discussant, Hon. Mr. Zeno Mutimura**

Noting that regional peace and security can only be achieved if there is peace and security within the borders of the different Partner States, the Speaker gave the historical context of Rwanda's transition from the immediate aftermath of genocide to its present state as a member of the EAC, emphasising the choices that had been made along the way by the leadership, including that to apply for membership of the regional community. He reminded the gathering of the particular challenges facing Rwanda in its efforts to move towards stability, including the challenge of the return and re-integration of the refugees who had fled the country. Speaking to the critical role played by neighbours such as Tanzania in facilitating that mission, he noted how important the partnership of the EAC Partner-States was in enabling Rwanda to achieve its stated goal. However he also noted that the crime of genocide and the propagation of genocide ideology continue to require regional efforts to successfully eradicate once and for all.

Hon. Mutimura also delineated some of the most important peace and security frameworks in place in Rwanda ever since it became a EAC Partner State. These include the ratification of EAC protocols on Foreign Policy Coordination, Peace and Security, Cooperation on Defence Affairs and Combatting Drug Trafficking in the East African region. Furthermore, Rwanda has participated in the development of the EAC counter terrorism strategy and the establishment of the East African Community integration Council. Other measures that are not technically EAC initiatives that he mentioned included the Peace, Security and Cooperation framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the mutual defence and peace and security pacts with fellow Partner States Uganda and Kenya. The two pacts, having been signed under the EAC northern corridor infrastructure projects, have fast tracked the East African Community protocols on defence and peace and security and remain open for automatic accession by the other two sister states of East African Community and indeed any other state in the region. Other efforts include the East African standby brigade and Rwanda's participation in regional standby forces to peace-keeping forces all over the continent.

The meeting was reminded of the obligations of each Partner State to the others in the region, which included, on the parliamentary level, follow up on implementation of EAC decisions and obligations regionally. Hon. Mutimura recalled that a key aspect of compliance is the alignment of Partner States laws with EAC obligations, and urged his fellow parliamentarians and other stakeholders to continue to play an active role in the maintenance of peace and security to our countries and the sub region.

He pointed out the danger posed to the region by terrorist institutions such as the FDLR, ADL NALU and the Lord's Resistance Army, which have been at the centre of civil wars, terrorism and piracy that has created untold humanitarian crises in the EAC region. He called for the immediate deployment and intervention brigade under MONUSCO but also reiterated the critical role all parliaments within the region play in conflict prevention, peace building and post-conflict construction. In closing, he reiterated the importance of an inclusive process that accommodates all stakeholders, as reflected in the Rwandan parliament which has the representation of women rise from 23% to 64%.

The plenary discussion that followed these presentations touched on a number of issues. Hon. Kiangoi raised the issue of the separation of powers between institutions of state, with particular reference to the relationship between parliaments and the judiciary. Hon. Biraaro elaborated on the role of parliament as a peacebuilding institution providing examples from recent African history, with Hon. Kapuya seeking the elaboration on an example used by the first speaker. Hon. Zein requested comment on the responsibilities of parliamentarians *vis à vis* guarding the independence and the autonomy of the institution, and what needs to be done to safeguard the respect for and integrity of the legislature as a high-trust body. Hon. Muserezo spoke to the role of parliaments in relation to the way its legislators are regarded in society as working for the best interest of the local communities within which they are situated. Hon. Kanego called for the revival of the Great Lakes Parliamentary Forum on Peace (the "Amani forum"). Hon. Sebunya urged the different EAC organs to harmonise agendas, and the national

parliaments to actively embrace the vision of East African integration. Hon. Okuonzi provided an update on a recent IGAD meeting on insecurity,<sup>55</sup> making mention of that body's newly created Centre for the Coordination of Security and emphasizing the need to engage the social drivers of insecurity, especially, in the case of parliaments through action that addresses social injustice. He also noted that the IGAD meeting had agreed on the need for collaborative approaches to security across the region. Hon. Tabin recommended a closer working relationship with that body and suggested that the region form a similar centre. He reminded the gathering of the twin roles parliamentarians play; they are both facilitators of the work of policy actors and also guardians of the international instruments that have been acceded to by their respective countries. Hon. Kapuya challenged the gathered legislators to lead by example when it came to conflict resolution, beginning with a commitment to work with the issues within the regional body itself. Hon. Sekamana echoed these sentiments, and also urged the three female Speakers of national assemblies to come up with a strategy for the amplification of the contribution of women to peacebuilding particularly within the space of the legislature. She argued a sincere commitment to the national interest as critical to the development of a regional interest and peace and security agenda. Hon. Bonaya emphasized the need to pay attention to the drivers of insecurity, singling out corruption and the illegal trade in small arms, before reiterating the imperative for the region itself to take responsibility for financing its peace and security agenda.

In her closing remarks, Hon. Kadaga agreed that national assemblies should prioritise the financing of the regional peace and security agenda, that regional speakers revive the Amani forum, and that regional assemblies become more proactive in ensuring that their countries meet their international obligations by ratifying and fast-tracking the domestication of instruments they have signed. Noting that the different Partner States belonged to many regional and international groupings, she suggested finding a way of identifying and working with points of convergence. She commended the EAC's progress on working on defence related issues.

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<sup>55</sup> The inter-Governmental for development consisting of 11 Greater Horn of Africa countries that has been described globally as the most volatile region in the world and that includes two EAC partner-states, Kenya and Uganda.

## SEMINAR RECOMMENDATIONS

Participants drawn from National Assemblies of Partner States, Members of EALA, the EAC Ambassadors in the respective countries, the EAC Secretariat Staff led by the Secretary General, EAC Ministers and Ministry officials in the respective Partner States, selected EU Ambassadors, the Private Sector representatives, the local government representatives, Civil Society, youth, academicians, policy experts in respective countries and other prominent citizens of East Africa discussed several topics under the theme “Insecurity and Terrorism as Threats to EAC Integration: how can EAC develop a common position?” Having received and discussed various presentations, participants made the following recommendations:

1. Develop a shared conceptual framework for understanding the regional security terrain – including but extending beyond terrorism – that helps the EAC develop consensus on shared priorities, concerns, strengths and challenges around security;
2. Document and understand the roots of different conflict drivers in the EAC region such as land conflict, youth unemployment, marginalisation of particular communities, unresolved historical injustices, and develop joint strategies to address them;
3. Develop joint strategies to address human security issues, including female genital mutilation and domestic violence.
4. Develop a multi-dimensional and regional approach to security (inclusive of information-sharing, training and joint operations), while bearing in mind that these issues and their consequences cannot be contained within national boundaries;
5. Commit, and develop joint strategies, to counter genocide ideology, extremism and radicalisation within the region;
6. Develop a conceptual framework of what constitutes terrorism in our regional context, its relationship to other crimes such as corruption, money laundering, human and drug trafficking, poaching; and develop strategies to deal with the complexities such crimes engender in the region;
7. Develop regional strategies to comprehensively deal with the illegal trafficking of small arms;
8. Develop regional strategies to deal with regional disarmament;
9. Take account of emerging or mutating security threats such as eco-terrorism, bio-

terrorism, cyber-terrorism, transmittable diseases and radiological warfare, attacks on infrastructure, and threats emanating from unstable states, and develop frameworks, policies and strategies to counter them;

10. Develop strong linkages, frameworks and resources for structured, sustainable and on-going joint action between the regional and the national assemblies, facilitating parliamentarians of both entities to work on the implementation of agreed strategies, including those dealing with peace and security;
11. Deepen the commitment to a regional approach to peace and security issues through the development of a comprehensive regional framework or institution to respond to and coordinate all aspects of regional peace and security, from prevention of insecurity to sustainable post-conflict reconstruction, reconciliation and healing in case conflict breaks out;
12. Urge Partner States to expedite the ratification and implementation of all regional peace and security related protocols and commitment;
13. Continue to reduce the issue of donor dependency in regional peace and security initiatives through practical measures, such as possibly the introduction of a regional security levy or increasing the regional budget allocations from Partner States to regional security processes and institutions;
14. Continue the progress towards greater cooperation between Partner States by, among other things, practically addressing the issues of mistrust and tension over national and regional priorities; and develop a mechanism to differentiate between issues of national concern and those of regional concern;
15. Ensure that an implementation framework is set up or strengthened at both national and regional levels to ensure that what is discussed and agreed in these Nanyuki Seminars or other forums is implemented;
16. Rejuvenate or re-energise the Amani Forum, or a similar forum, that will enable a sustainable and on-going inter-parliamentary forum for engagement on peace and security;
17. Develop a framework for working with other bodies, be they regional, continental and international, on peace and security issues, bearing in mind that different Partner States have different commitments to one or more of these bodies;
18. Initiate a twinning programme between the peoples, institutions and programmes of Partner States to facilitate social cohesion, beginning with border communities,

creative industries, schools, etc to increase citizen participation in regional peace and security efforts

19. Address the broader issues of governance that speak to people's aspirations and goals and therefore anticipate and reduce their propensity to resort to violent recourses;
20. Balance the traditional state-centric approaches to security with increased emphasis on the development and implementation of people-centric security approaches that recognise security as a shared responsibility between state, individual and institutional citizens (including civil society, religious institution and the private sector);
21. Develop a deliberate programme of inclusion for persons and sectors of society that are often not involved in peace and security processes as appropriate especially women, youth, PWDs, children and various minorities;
22. Re-emphasize the need for parliamentarians to become the role models for processes and practices engendering peace and security in the region;
23. Affirm the potential of each of the traditional roles of parliament – representation, oversight and legislation – in facilitating peace and security;
24. Understand the potential of diplomacy – particularly parliamentary diplomacy - in managing, preventing, intervening in and resolving conflict, and particularly its vital role of representing victims and others whose voices need to be amplified in these processes;
25. Commit to work on strengthening regional institutions that contribute to engendering peace and security in the region, while respecting the principals of separation of powers;
26. Deepen commitment to the development of a shared East African identity for example by promoting the use of Kiswahili as a lingua franca, adopting a common time zone and driving lanes
27. Urge MONUSCO / Intervention brigade to engage urgent military action against FDLR genocidal negative force in eastern DRC
28. Commit to the creation of a regional intervention brigade that would take action against regional terrorist actors such as Al Shabaab, LRA, M23 and FDLR

## Annex 1: List of Participants

S.NO	NAME	DESIGNATION	INSTITUTION	COUNTRY
1.	Hon. Ramadhan Karenga	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
2.	Hon. Jacques Gasuhuke	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
3.	Hon. Juvenal Ndikumana	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
4.	Hon. Oscar Ntasano	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
5.	Hon. Bernardine Bukuru	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
6.	Hon. Pierre Nizigiyimana	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
7.	Hon. James Samagorwa	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
8.	Hon. Gregoire Ntimpirangeza	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
9.	Hon. Mamerthe Nduwimana	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
10.	Hon. Elias Kuntwari	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
11.	Hon. Salvator Sinomenya	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
12.	Hon. Felicite Niyhire	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
13.	Hon. Gloriose Ndayizeye	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
14.	Hon. Charlotte Uwimana	Depute	National Assembly	Burundi
15.	Hon. Jocelyne Gahimbare	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Burundi
16.	Hon. Major Muluvi	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Kenya
17.	Hon. Florence Kajuju	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Kenya
18.	Hon. Samuel Moroto Chumel	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Kenya
19.	Hon. Jackson Kiptanui	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Kenya
20.	Hon. Joseph Gitari	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Kenya
21.	Hon. Alex M. Mwiru	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Kenya

22.	Ms. Esther Nginyo	Clerk Assistant	National Assembly	Kenya
23.	Mr. Rana K. Tiampati	Principal Clerk Assistant	National Assembly	Kenya
24.	Mr. Nicodemus K. Maluki	Clerk Assistant	National Assembly	Kenya
25.	Hon. David Were	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Kenya
26.	Mr. Finlay Muriuki	Clerk Assistant	National Assembly	Kenya
27.	Mr. Said Wako	Clerk Assistant	National Assembly	Kenya
28.	Ms. Zainab W.	Sergeant -At Arms	National Assembly	Kenya
29.	Hon. Mutinura Zeno	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Rwanda
30.	Hon. Rugema Mike	Senator	National Assembly	Rwanda
31.	Hon. Mukayuhi Rwaka Constance	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Rwanda
32.	Hon. Mukazibera Agnes	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Rwanda
33.	Hon. Kantengwa Juliana	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Rwanda
34.	Hon. Muhongayire Jacqueline	Member of Senate	Rwanda Senate	Rwanda
35.	Hon. Nzabanwita Joseph	Member of Senate	Rwanda Senate	Rwanda
36.	Hon. Bwiza Sekamana Gonnice	Member of Parliament	National Assembly	Rwanda
37.	Hon. Kazarwa Getrude	Member of Parliament	Rwanda Senate	Rwanda
38.	Hon. Byabarumwanzi Francois	Member of Parliament	Chamber of Deputies	Rwanda
39.	Hon. Bushishi Giovomni	Member of Parliament	Rwanda Senate	Rwanda
40.	Hon. Mukama Abbas	Deputy Speaker	Chamber of Deputies	
41.	Hon. Nyagahura Margverite	Senator	Senate-Rwanda Parliament	Rwanda
42.	Hon. Nyirasafari Esperance	Member of Parliament	Rwanda Parliament	Rwanda
43.	Hon. Uwimanimpaye Jean D'arc	Vice President	Parliament/CD	Rwanda

44.	Hon. Rusiha Gastone	Member of Parliament	Parliament Of Rwanda	Rwanda
45.	CSP. John Baptist Merangira	Director Counter Terrorism	Rwanda National Police	Rwanda
46.	Mr. Bagenda Diendonno	Interpreter	Rwanda	Rwanda
47.	Mr. Ben Basizi	Interpreter	Magnitude Ltd	Rwanda
48.	Hon. Mkusi Juvenal	Member of Parliament	Rwanda Parliament	Rwanda
49.	Ms. Getrude Kayitesi	Legal Advisor	Ministry of EAC	Rwanda
50.	Mr. Niyitegeka J. Piere	Director of Social & Governance	Ministry of EAC	Rwanda
51.	Ms. Rebecca Alitwala Kadaga	Speaker	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
52.	Ms. Nalumansi Joyce	Senior Administrative Officer	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
53.	Mr. Kasozi Abby	ADC/Speaker	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
54.	Mr. Ngabirano Herbert	Senior Research Officer	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
55.	Hon. Kasamba Mathias	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
56.	Ms. Katusiime Anne	Department Head of Mission	UGHC	Uganda
57.	Hon. Kasule Robert Sebunya	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
58.	Hon. Biraaro Ephraim Ganshanga	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
59.	Hon. Ayoo Tonny	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
60.	Hon. Kayagi Sarah	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
61.	Hon. Bageine Shem	Minister of State	MEACA	Uganda
62.	Hon. Ssemuli Anthony	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
63.	Hon. Okuouzi Sam	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
64.	Hon. Kyooma Xavier	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
65.	Hon. Bagiire Vincent Waiswa	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda

66.	Hon. Lanyero Sarh Ochien	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
67.	Ms. Komuhangi Margaret	Chair Gender Labour & Social, Development	Parliament of Uganda	Uganda
68.	Hon. Sara Msafiri Ali	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
69.	Hon. William M. Ngeleja	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
70.	Hon. Selemani Zedi	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
71.	Hon. Prof. Juma Athumani Kapuya	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
72.	Hon. John Paul Lwanji	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
73.	Hon. Dunstan L. Kitandula	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
74.	Ms. Justina M. Shauri	Assistant Director	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
75.	Hon. Saidi Nkumba	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
76.	Mr. Theonest Kajuma Ruhilabake	Director	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
77.	Hon. Christie Mughuwai Lissu	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
78.	Hon. Stephen Hilary Ngonyani	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
79.	Hon. Rage Ismail Aden	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
80.	Hon. Saidi M. Mtanda	Member of Parliament	Parliament of Tanzania	Tanzania
81.	Hon. Abdullah Mwinyi	Member of Parliament	EALA	Tanzania
82.	Hon. Twaha Taslima	Member of Parliament	EALA	Tanzania
83.	Hon. Maryam Ussi Yahaya	Member of Parliament	EALA	Tanzania
84.	Hon. Dr. Nderakindo Kessy	Member of Parliament	EALA	Tanzania
85.	Hon. Shy-Rose Bhanji	Member of Parliament	EALA	Tanzania
86.	Hon. Charles Makongoro	Member of Parliament	EALA	Tanzania

88.	Hon. Bernard M. Murunya	Member of Parliament	EALA	Tanzania
89.	Hon. Nderakumana Jeremie	Member of Parliament	EALA	Burundi
90.	Hon. Nduwimana Martin	Member of Parliament	EALA	Burundi
91.	Hon. Ndarubagiye Leonce	Member of Parliament	EALA	Burundi
92.	Hon. Yves Nsabimana	Member of Parliament	EALA	Burundi
93.	Hon. Hafsa Mossi	Member of Parliament	EALA	Burundi
94.	Hon. Judith Pareno	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
95.	Hon. Mumbi Ng'aru	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
96.	Hon. Peter Mathuki	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
97.	Hon. Nansy Abisai	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
98.	Hon. Sara T. Bonaya	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
99.	Hon. Ombasa Kiangoi	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
100.	Hon. Saoli Ole Nkanee	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
101.	Hon. Abubakar Zein	Member of Parliament	EALA	Kenya
102.	Hon. Abdul Karim Harelimana	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
103.	Hon. Ndikuryayo Straton	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
104.	Hon. Ngezebuhoro Frederic	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
105.	Hon. Dr. James Ndahiro	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
106.	Hon. Nengo Emmanuel	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
107.	Hon. Patricia M. Hajabakiga	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
108.	Hon. Nyiramilimo Odette	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda

109.	Hon. Christopher Bazivamom	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
110.	Hon. Celestin Kabahizi	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
111.	Hon. Rwigema Pierre Celetin	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
112.	Hon. Nyirahabineza Valerie	Member of Parliament	EALA	Rwanda
113.	Hon. Dora Byamukana	Member of Parliament	EALA	Uganda
114.	Hon. Nakawuki Susan	Member of Parliament	EALA	Uganda
115.	Hon. Chris Opoka Okumu	Member of Parliament	EALA	Uganda
116.	Hon. Nusura Tiperu	Member of Parliament	EALA	Uganda
117.	Ms. Grace Kilonzi	Research Fellow	ALC	Kenya
118.	Mr. Sema Abdulnelik	Research Fellow	ALC	Kenya
119.	Mr. Almasi Mahagala	Private Secretary to the Deputy Minister	MEAC	Tanzania
120.	Dr. Camilius Kamangire	Executive Secretary	LVBC	Rwanda
121.	Dr. Abdulla J. Abdulla Sadala	Deputy Minister	MEAC	Tanzania
122.	Mr. John O. Konchella	Principal Secretary	MEAA	Kenya
123.	Mr. John Niampoi	PS	M.N.O	Kenya
124.	Ms. Juster Nkoroi	Principal Secretary	PUBLIC SERVICE	Kenya
125.	Mr. George Arold	Senior Assistant Director	EAST AFRICAN AFFAIRS	Kenya
126.	Amb. Dr. Richard Sezibera	Secretary General	EAC	Rwanda
127.	Dr. Emmanuel Ugirashebuja	Judge President East Africa Court Of Justice	EAC	Rwanda
128.	Ms. Geraldine Umugweneza	Ag. Registrar East Africa Court of Justice	EAC	Rwanda
129.	Mr. Owora Richard Othieno	PIPRO	EAC	Kenya

130. Mr. Henry Kole

Assistant Security Officer EAC

Tanzania

**Annex 2: Provisional Seminar Program**

**INTER-PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS SEMINAR (NANYUKI VIII)  
KIGALI – RWANDA**

**30<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER – 2<sup>ND</sup> NOVEMBER, 2014**

**THEME: "INSECURITY AND TERRORISM AS THREATS TO EAC INTEGRATION: HOW CAN EAC  
DEVELOP A COMMON POSITION?"**

**VENUE: RWANDA CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES**

DAY	TIME	ACTIVITY	SESSION CHAIR
Thursday 30/10/2014	All Day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Arrivals</li><li>• Check in Hotel &amp; Registration</li></ul>	Clerk, EALA
Friday 31/10/2014	8.00 am - 9.00 am	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Registration (Cont'd)</li></ul>	
	<b>OPENING SESSION</b>		
	9.00 am - 10.30 am	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Welcoming remarks by the Speaker, EALA</li><li>• Statement by Speaker, Chamber of Deputies of Rwanda</li><li>•</li></ul>	Hon. Speaker, EALA
	10.30 am - 11.00 am	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Photo Session</li><li>• Health Break</li></ul>	Clerk, EALA

DAY	TIME	ACTIVITY	SESSION CHAIR
	<b>SESSION ONE</b>		
	11.30 am - 12.00 noon	Insecurity and terrorism as threats to EAC integration: How can EAC develop a common position? <b>Key note address by Dr. Paschal Mohiyo, Executive Director for Social Science in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA)</b>	EALA, Uganda Chapter
	12.00 noon - 12.15 pm	<b>Discussant</b> , Dr. Godwin Murunga, Executive Director, African Leadership Centre	
	12.15 pm - 1.15 pm	PLENARY DISCUSSION	
	1.15 pm - 2.15 pm	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>	Clerk, EALA
	<b>SESSION TWO</b>		
	2.15 pm - 2.45 pm	Status of Security in the EAC Region • <b>Presentation by Dr. Adams Oloo, Professor of Political Science, University of Nairobi</b>	EALA, Tanzania Chapter
	2.45 pm - 3.00 pm	<b>Discussant</b> , Mr. Leonard Onyonyi, Peace and Security Expert, EAC Secretariat	
	3.00 pm - 4.00 pm	PLENARY DISCUSSION	
	4.00 pm - 4.15 pm	<b>HEALTH BREAK</b>	Clerk, EALA
	4.15 pm - 4.45 pm	The Role of Parliamentarians and the stakeholders should engage in to ensure regional peace and security in the EAC sub-region • <b>Presentation by Rt. Hon. Rebecca Kadaga, Speaker, Uganda Parliament</b>	EALA, Burundi Chapter
	4.15 pm - 5.30 pm	<b>Discussant</b> ,	EALA, Burundi Chapter
	5.30 pm - 6.30 pm	PLENARY DISCUSSION	
	6.30 pm - 7.00 pm	<b>WRAP UP OF DAY ONE</b>  (Rappoteur)	EALA, Rwanda Chapter
	7.00 pm	<b>COCKTAIL</b>	Clerk, EALA
	<b>SESSION THREE</b>		
Saturday 01/11/2014	9.00am - 10.00 am	Statements by Leaders of delegations • From Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania & Burundi National Assemblies/Parliaments, EALA	EALA, Kenya Chapter
	10.00 am - 11.00 am	PLENARY DISCUSSION	
	11.00 am - 11.30 am	<b>HEALTH BREAK</b>	Clerk, EALA
	11.30 am - 12.00 noon	• Seminar Resolutions	Hon. Speaker, EALA
	12.00 noon -12.30 pm	<b>Official Closing</b> • President of the Rwanda Senate	

DAY	TIME	ACTIVITY	SESSION CHAIR
	1.00 pm - 2.30 pm	Lunch Break	Clerk, EALA
Sunday 02/11/2014		DEPARTURES	

