



EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

Report of the Team of Experts on
**Addressing the Fears, Concerns and
Challenges of the East African
Federation**



ONE PEOPLE, ONE DESTINY

October, 2011



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

We, the Team of Experts, feel greatly honoured by the EAC Partner States, specifically the Summit and Council, for having been assigned this noble task. The Team observed that prescribing solutions to a myriad of Fears, Concerns and Challenges (FCCs) of a young but very dynamic integration schemes was not an easy task. Nonetheless, the Team got comfort from the fact that non of the FCCs is insurmountable. Thus, the Team believes that the EAC Partner States will find this modest contribution useful.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Report is a product of efforts of many people who contributed invaluable support to the Team of Experts. For lack of space it is not possible to name all of them. We are, however greatly indebted to them.

Nonetheless, some of them deserve special mention. They include the five Partner States who hosted the Team and provided logistical support during the assignment; and the EAC Secretariat, specifically the Department of Political Federation for the tireless back-up that eased the task of Team.

As with the first report, the Team found the process during the assignment built and enhanced a spirit of *East African-ness* within it. This enabled it to achieve a report which all fifteen members have full confidence in, as reflecting the substance and spirit of discussions throughout the writing of the report.





LIST OF ACRONYMS

CET	:	Common External Tariff
COMESA	:	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
E.A	:	East African
EAC	:	East African Community
EACSCO	:	East African Common Services Organization
EADB	:	East African Development Bank
EAPF	:	East African Political Federation
EAHC	:	East African High Commission
EPAs	:	Economic Partnership Agreements
EU	:	European Union
FCCs	:	Fears, Concerns & Challenges
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
GRP	:	Gross Regional Product
IEC	:	Information, Education & Communication
NTBs	:	Non-Tariff Barriers
SMEs	:	Small to Medium-Size Enterprises
SADC	:	Southern Africa Development Community
TOR	:	Terms of Reference
WTO	:	World Trade Organization





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The East African Community (EAC) is the only regional economic community whose treaty explicitly states that it aspires to establish a political federation as its ultimate goal. Article 2 of the EAC Treaty establishes a Customs Union and a Common Market as transitional stages towards political federation, but it does not do the same for the Monetary Union and Political Federation.

The initial stages of integration have faced serious challenges of implementation undermining the integration process. Therefore the quest for political federation is coming at a time when benefits have not been fully realized.

In addition, absence of a model for the proposed East African Federation has evoked fears of the “unknown” among East African citizens, which has impacted on the speed of implementation. Therefore, the pace of political federation will be determined by the strategies adopted to address the prevailing challenges.

This report analyses the fears, concerns and challenges (FCCs) expressed by the peoples of the EAC during the national consultations on political federation. It proposes recommendations on how the FCCs will be addressed. To this end, the Team of Experts has classified the FCCs into three categories namely political and legal, economic as well as socio-cultural. The Team has also identified overarching challenges and made recommendations on how to address them.

FCCs related to political and legal issues are linked with the fear of losing national sovereignty and the ability to make independent national decisions. Since federation results in the birth of a new international entity, Partner States will have to address the question of ceding of sovereignty. In the meantime, Partner States have to commonly exercise their sovereignty before federating to lock-in and showcase the benefits of integration. East

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African citizens are also concerned about the disparity in upholding good governance standards and a possible spill over of bad governance practices from one Partner State to another.

Among other measures, Partner States are required to develop and implement a common foreign, and security policies as enshrined in the EAC Treaty. The East African Court of Justice as a regional judicial body should be empowered to play its role to be the guardian of justice, uphold the rule of law, protect human rights and promote good governance across the region.

There are certain concerns that are specific to each Partner State that could hinder the federation process. These concerns ought to be addressed at either national or regional level, depending on the context, to strengthen the integration process.

Economic related FCCs mainly arise out of inadequate implementation of the Customs Union and slow take-off of the Common Market. This has affected the realization of benefits of integration. Realizing benefits will necessitate strong regional institutions to implement fully the Customs Union and the Common Market as a foundation for a stable and sustainable monetary and fiscal integration.

The citizens of East Africa are concerned over loss of employment opportunities through increased labour mobility and competition. Deliberate programs should be developed to tap the benefits of labour mobility, for instance through exchange programs of language teachers across the region. In addition, the region should also focus on building productivity and competitiveness of the human resource.





The fear of loss and competition over land continues to be a sensitive issue and potential source of conflict. This fear is largely a symptom of limited alternative means of livelihood besides land. A regional strategy should thus be developed to create alternative means of livelihood besides land.

Socio-cultural FCCs are mainly associated with the loss of identity and social cohesion. The biggest threats to social cohesion identified both at the national and regional levels are largely subsumed under ethnicity. Partner States need to develop solutions to address divisive politics by adopting inclusive policies that promote unity in diversity.

Citizens of East Africa are also worried of losing social protection measures gained at national level. The EAC should thus adopt best practices to establish regional social protection mechanisms to avoid the erosion of gains in this area.

There were also cross cutting issues identified from the analysis of the FCCs that have implications for integration. Unless the Partner States accept to cede powers to the regional level and refrain from undertaking new engagements before honoring past commitments, the deepening of the integration process will be set back.

The Team of Experts broadly recommends the following measures to address the identified FCCs and overarching issues:

- i. For effective implementation of the stages of integration, the Summit should establish the following institutions and instruments: the Customs Union Authority, Common Market Authority and Economic Union Commission;**
- ii. The EAC should embark on negotiation of a Treaty for the establishment of the Monetary Union;**





- iii. **The EAC should negotiate a Treaty for the establishment Political Federation**
- iv. **Reform the Organs and Institutions of the Community to effectively manage the deepening of the integration process; particularly the East African Court of Justice, the East African Legislative Assembly and the EAC Secretariat; and**
- v. **Further, the Team recommends that the Summit adopt the specific recommendations in respect of FCCs and Cross Cutting issues in Chapter 3 - 5 and direct that they be implemented.**

In conclusion, for concerns about political federation to be defused and political integration to proceed, it is critical that the top leadership in the region ie the Summit sends a clear signal of strong political will and commitment to political federation, and mobilize and encourage citizens at the grassroots and other stakeholders to embrace the political federation.

In the above respect, therefore, the Team has recommended that the Summit should give direction in consolidating a way forward towards an East African Federation by making significant statements regarding the agreed purpose of the federation and, by implication, the type of federation. Coupled with this would be action in three specific areas that would enhance the grounding of these pronouncements namely: military integration, development of a common foreign policy, and thirdly operationalization of Article 8 (4) & (5) of the EAC Treaty in order to *".....confer precedence of Community organs, institution and laws over similar national ones....."*





CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The EAC Heads of State during their Summit on the 20th November, 2009 directed the Council to constitute a Team of Experts to undertake a detailed study on the Fears, Concerns and Challenges (FCCs) raised in the national consultations on Political Federation carried out in Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania on the Political Federation between 2008 and 2009. The Summit on the 19th April 2011 considered the report of the Team Experts and directed that it be reconstituted to further analyze and make concrete proposals on how to address the FCCs.

This report is a response to that directive to enable Summit to give a way forward on the East African Political Federation.

1.2 Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference (ToR) for the Team were as follows:

- i. Formulate concrete proposals on how to address the FCCs on Political Federation; and
- i. Prepare a Report on the matter for consideration by the Council and the Summit in November 2011.

1.3 Methodology

The Team carried out its work through a review of its previous report as well as other existing documents related to the subject matter. For ease of analysis and clarity, the team classified the FCCs into three thematic areas, namely, Economic, Political, and Socio-





Cultural. The Team also identified cross cutting issues that are recurrent and underpin successful implementation of EAC regional integration.

1.4 Imperatives of Political Federations

The formation of political federations has been driven by different motives in various parts of the world. The Team examined four types of imperatives, that is, affection, gain, threat and power. These imperatives are briefly analysed below.

1.4.1 The Affection Imperative

There have been political integration arrangements where countries have come together due to common attributes and bonds of affection. In the case of the EAC, what the people have in common are languages, history and cross border ethnic affinities. However, there are also some regional differences that work against the affection imperative. However, some regional differences like strong national identities, different languages, legal systems, political culture, social and economic policies and geopolitical configurations as well as the collapse of the defunct EAC reduce the effectiveness of affection as a sufficient driver of East African Political Federation (EAPF).

1.4.2 The Gain Imperative

The gain imperative is driven by the motive to maximize gains and minimize losses. In the case of EAC, such gains would include greater military might; a unified political system that enhances the voice of the region on the international arena and bargaining power in trade and other international relations. The federation would also allow for free movement of factors of production, and benefit from a larger and unified population. However, there would be need to address the challenge of equitable distribution of benefits and costs arising from integration.





1.4.3 The Threat Imperative

This imperative arises, firstly, when two or more countries are in conflict and each needs to achieve peaceful co-existence. The threat imperative also refers to a situation where countries' motivation to come together is in response to a common external threat. Both instances apply to the EAC in terms of threats like terrorism, piracy, other security challenges arising from porous borders, arms proliferation, trafficking, and natural resource based conflicts for example, over the Nile. Collectively, EAC countries face the challenges of negative effects of external economic competition.

1.4.4 The Power Imperative

This imperative refers to a situation where a regional hegemon annexes neighboring states. This scenario does not apply to the EAC.

Therefore, understanding the motives driving East African political federation is key in addressing the FCCs. It is important for both the leaders and the people to have clarity on the purpose, model and road map for the EAPF.

1.5 Types of Political Federations

There are three types of political federations, that is, “holding together” federations; “putting together” federations and “coming together” federations. A more detailed description of the types of federation is available in the report of the first team of experts.

For the EAC the “coming together” federation is the only applicable type as it involves voluntary bargain by relatively autonomous units which come together to pool their sovereignty. As the EAC deepens integration towards political federation it can draw lessons from other experiences of “coming together” federations.





CHAPTER 2

PROPOSALS TO ADDRESS POLITICAL-RELATED FEARS, CONCERNS AND CHALLENGES

This chapter highlights the political-related FCCs, gives an analysis of each and provides concrete proposals on how to address them.

2.1 Loss of Sovereignty

2.1.1 Background

There is fear that Partner States will lose power and independence of decision making. Two questions are linked with this challenge, how political federation will modify the sovereignty of the Partner States, and the kind of sovereignty that will emerge out of the political federation.

2.1.2 Analysis

Sovereignty refers to the supreme authority within a territory and has three dimensions — the holder of sovereignty; the supremacy and legitimacy of power within a territory; and thirdly, international legal personality¹.

Ceding international personality is a major challenge and poses the difficult question of state succession affecting matters such as debts contracted, properties acquired and agreements

¹ Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/sovereignty/#1> ; Wolfgang H. Reinicke, Global Public Policy, Foreign Affairs, Volume 76 No. 6 November/December 1997, p. 129; Alain Benoist, 'What is Sovereignty?', p. 100 http://www.alaindebenoist.com/pdf/what_is_sovereignty.pdf





already entered with international organizations and countries². An additional challenge relates to who will manage common resources. This relates to issues of budget and resource allocation, taxation, disbursement of development aid and shared resources.

The above challenges notwithstanding, there are benefits to political federation. While smaller economies risk marginalization in the globalized world, a larger sovereign state will be stronger with enhanced bargaining power in international trade and foreign relations.

2.1.3 Recommendations

- i. The people of East Africa should be sensitized to appreciate that political federation involves ceding some sovereignty and that benefits should be highlighted and disseminated;**
- ii. The EAC should implement fully the stages of integration preceding the political federation to realize tangible benefits to build confidence in the federation;**
- iii. As a transitional measure, before the establishment of the political federation and to enable the gradual ceding of sovereignty to the regional level some more powers of exclusive competence should be given to the Secretariat, for example, in external trade; and**
- iv. Partner States should be prepared to cede their international legal status in order to federate.**

² This is governed by the Vienna Convention of State Succession to Treaties and the Vienna Convention to Succession of Debts, State Property and Archives.





2.2 Lack of clarity on the Model of Federation

2.2.1 Background

Many citizens are unaware what the political federation will look like. Concern was raised that there is no clarity on what model of federation East Africa wants to adopt. As a consequence there is significant fear of the unknown.

2.2.2 Analysis

The Treaty establishing the East African Community indicates political federation is the ultimate objective of the Community (Article 5 (2)), but does not specify the nature of the federation. In its present form, the treaty is not sufficient to guide the process of the establishment of the EAC political federation and the outcome itself. Nevertheless, the principles provided for in the treaty including that of Subsidiarity, Variable Geometry, Equitable Distribution of Benefits, Asymmetry and of Complementarity are a starting point to but not fully sufficient to guide the establishment of the political federation.

2.2.3 Recommendations

- i. Negotiate the Treaty for the establishment of the EAPF on the basis of concrete principles; and**
- ii. Define the model of the EAPF.**





2.3 Disparities in Governance

2.3.1 Background

Many citizens of East Africa fear that poor governance practices, including corruption, human rights abuse, and failure to observe constitutionalism and the rule of law³, may spillover to Partner States with better governance records. In their view this could undo progress made at national level for example in achieving peaceful, constitutional transfer of power or fighting corruption. There was concern also that democratic deficits and lack of accountability that exists in some of the Partner States may be replicated at the regional level. Another concern is about disparity in political systems and Partner States' constitutions.

2.3.2 Analysis

There are commonalities and divergencies with respect to political systems within the region. Although the existing divergences such as different election cycles and legislative structures (Bi-Cameral and Uni - Cameral) could possibly be accommodated within a federal entity, as is the case in other federations⁴, it would be better for reasons of efficiency and convenience to push for harmonization and convergence. The lack of convergence in election cycles results in national elections being spread over three consecutive years. This disrupts the integration process and the economies of the Partner States. It is therefore worth considering a convergence to create a uniform election cycle for all five states so that all national elections in all five Partner States can be held in the same year⁵.

³ National Consultative Committee Reports.

⁴ Such as the Federal Republic of Germany. Let us Talk About EA Federation, EAC Occasional Papers.

⁵ In practice it affects operations and timing of meetings at EAC as most decision-making involves Partner State officials or national political leaders.





Nonetheless, it is important to note that despite recent major constitutional reform processes in Uganda (2005) and Kenya (2010), none has sought to achieve convergence in political systems nor been seen to be guided by the EAC Treaty.

Fears about political values and culture are related to governance practices in the Partner States ranging from limited political space, inadequate judicial independence, limitations in exercising civil rights, corruption, and lack of respect for the rule of law.

The Team noted that in terms of governance practices, Partner States have different weaknesses. Similarly, adherence to EAC fundamental principles is a condition for admission into the Community, but compliance is not enforced against existing members.

It is worth noting that all Partner States have national laws and policies that address most of the governance issues, except that the Constitution of one Partner State (Uganda) no longer has presidential term limits. However, Partner States fall short in terms of adherence and compliance. The primary concerns of East Africans are about militarization of politics, peaceful political transition, electoral violence, the removal of presidential term limits, protection and promotion of human rights, equal opportunities, among others. The citizens of EAC Partner States expect compliance with governance standards as well as harmonization of good governance practices.

2.3.3 Recommendations

- i. EAC Partner States should expedite the conclusion of the Protocol on Good Governance and establish a strong implementation mechanism;**
- ii. Partner states should harmonize their constitutions to ensure existence of presidential term limits, harmonise on the length of the presidential term, harmonise electoral cycles and electoral processes management;**





- iii. Empower the EACJ to be a strong regional institution that should guarantee compliance to all agreed regional standards on good governance including extending the jurisdiction to cover human rights; and
- iv. Develop regional monitoring and evaluation mechanisms on issues of constitutionalism and good governance e.g. an EAC peer review mechanism.

2.4 Effect of Political Federation on Existing National Foreign and Defence Policies

2.4.1 Background

Partner States presently pursue different foreign and security policies. The question is therefore how the federation will affect the individual foreign relations of each Partner State, given that the people of East Africa fear losing security and defense autonomy, especially in post-conflict countries such as Burundi and Rwanda.

2.4.2 Analysis

Article 123 of the Treaty requires Partner States to establish common foreign and security policies. So far, the Partner States have signed a protocol to coordinate their individual foreign policies. Establishment of the EAC Common Market already implies that Partner States implement a common external trade policy. Thus, the adoption of a common foreign policy is an imperative.

Deeper integration shall necessitate a common approach on issues of defence and security. A conflict in one Partner State has significant spillover effects on the rest of the region. It is important to have a common mechanism to address both internal conflicts and external





security threats. A secure, peaceful, and stable East Africa will attract investment and accelerate social economic development.

2.4.3 Recommendations

- i. **Expedite the harmonisation of the Partner States foreign, security and defence policies and practices; and**
- ii. **Expedite the conclusion of the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (CPMR) and implementation of the Conflict Early Warning Mechanism.**

2.5 Unique Challenges Affecting Some Partner States

The Team of Experts recognized that there are some concerns raised by the people that were specific to certain countries including the issue of *federo* in Uganda and of the Union of Tanzania that may be a hindrance to the political federation.

- a. **The *Federo* issue in Uganda:** there is demand from some sections that Uganda become a federal state with different regions becoming semi-autonomous entities.
- b. **In the United Republic of Tanzania:** this is a Union of two formerly independent States in which the Union provides for non Union and Union matters. Thus, participation in the East African political federation shall have to be agreed upon by both parties.





2.5.1 Recommendations:

The two issues above should be addressed through the administrative structures of the envisaged EAC political federation. These issues should be a subject of discussion while adopting the principles and model of the federation.





CHAPTER 3

PROPOSALS TO ADDRESS ECONOMIC-RELATED FEARS, CONCERNS AND CHALLENGES

3.1 Economic Imbalances

3.1.1 Background

There is a concern that stronger economies in the region will dominate the weaker ones, thus causing imbalance and inequitable distribution of benefits arising out of integration. If this concern is not addressed, it will undermine the integration process.

Differences in the levels of wealth even within the same nation endanger socio-political cohesion, peace and security of any country. An essential question for regional integration, therefore, is: How do differentially-developed economies transit into a Single Market without disadvantaging some Partner States?

3.1.2 Analysis

EAC Partner States have diverse socio-economic and political backgrounds as well as skills gaps. This has led to imbalances in entrepreneurship, competitiveness in manufacturing and provision of services, especially professional and financial services. From the historical view-point as well as the current state of EAC integration, this challenge still remains and thus it should be addressed in transition to deeper forms of economic integration in the EAC.

It is noted that the EAC Council of Ministers had directed the EAC Secretariat to commission a study on the equitable sharing of costs and benefits of the EAC integration and to develop an EAC Industrialization and Investment Promotion Strategy.





3.1.3 Recommendations

- i. Expedite finalization of the study and strategy mentioned in this section to inform decision-makers on how best to address this challenge and institute an appropriate mechanism;**
- ii. Expedite the establishment of the EAC Development Fund;**
- iii. Devise concrete alternative mechanisms of financing EAC Projects and Programmes; and**
- iv. Summit should pronounce a deadline within which Partner States should streamline their national laws and policies to conform to the Common Market Protocol.**

3.2 Labour and Competitiveness

3.2.1 Background

People are concerned that with deeper integration, increased labour mobility will disadvantage less qualified and unskilled persons in the labour market.

3.2.2 Analysis

The Common Market Protocol lacks provisions for addressing the skewed labour mobility and makes no mention on how economically vulnerable groups will be assisted in catching with the rest in the society. Human resource Surveys and Studies on harmonization of labour laws, including social security schemes across the region, are on-going; but at a slow pace; and harmonization of education and training curricula and certification, across the region, is





at a nascent stage. In addition, the region is characterised by a general low level of productivity.

3.2.3 Recommendations

In the short to the medium term,

- i. Address the fear of loss of employment through the following immediate deliberate measures (Quick wins):**
 - a) Facilitate nationals of Partner States who are skilful in Kiswahili, English and French to take up teaching positions respectively in Partner States; and**
 - b) Develop specific programs for unskilled labour and SMEs.**
- ii. Develop an EAC Strategy for Skills and Competitiveness Development to enhance productivity through vocation training, science and technology; and**
- iii. Expedite the harmonization of curricula and certification across the region.**

In the long term,

- i. In the Federal Government, should develop a comprehensive Human Development and Deployment Policy, incorporating, amongst others, programmes and innovations for economic empowerment of unemployed youths and women;**
- ii. Reform and standardize the curricula of all East African education and training institutions, based on the three pillars of values, knowledge and skills;**





- iii. **Expedite the standardization of educational, training and certification systems;
and**
- iv. **Expedite the standardization of all job titles in the EAC labour market.**

3.3 Loss of Land and Disparities in Land Tenure Systems

3.3.1 Background

Concerns were raised about differences in the land tenure systems of Partner States and loss of land due to free movement and right of establishment within the EAC Partner States.

3.3.2 Analysis

The fear of loss of land arises out of varied population densities of the Partner States and within countries where weak land management systems continue to disadvantage some sections of the population. Similarly, increased competition and unfair accessibility poses a human security issue for those whose livelihood depends on land and yet they do not have security of tenure.

Partner States have different land policies and laws, and land management systems, modeled against the traditional and colonial systems at independence. The land tenure systems, range from customary law, statutory land law offering various forms of ownership such as communal, freehold, “mailo”, and fixed term leasehold or right of occupancy.

These various land tenure systems in Partner States have led to poor land management and with increasing population pressure on the land, has led to disputes. There is therefore an urgent need to balance security of tenure on one hand and land as an asset/ resource for economic development.





3.3.3 Recommendations

- i. **Partner States should survey land to provide basic instruments that provide security of tenure to the people;**
- ii. **Work towards equitable distribution of land within individual Partner States;**
- iii. **Initiate actions towards harmonization of land policies and laws, and work towards eventual convergence; and**
- iv. **Initiate socio-economic transformation programmes in order to minimize the subsistence use of land for sustainability.**

3.4 Increased Costs/Sharing of Benefits of Integration

3.4.1 Background

There is concern that political federation will lead to increased taxation for sustaining an additional tier of government and disproportional sharing of the financial burden. Another concern is about sharing of benefits between the states, but more importantly how these will trickle down.

3.4.2 Analysis

A federation will entail the creation of a new tier of government to execute federal powers and functions. Therefore, there will be two basic financial implications, namely, administrative costs associated with establishing and running federal institutions such as the executive, legislature, and the judiciary; and adjustment costs arising from the usual redistribution policies expected from a people-centered federal government. Redistribution policies would be required to develop the socially and economically disadvantage parts of the





federation, in the form of necessary, special structural initiatives for maintenance of commitment, support, and faith in the federal system.

Besides the costs, there shall be numerous benefits that accrue from a well constructed federation, designed with a clearly stated purpose and well-managed. Other benefits will include efficiency, effectiveness, and sustainability in the management of the Common Market buttressed by an Economic Union. Effective implementation of the fundamental stages of integration would, in turn, accelerate economic growth and development and, thus, widen the tax base to enhance revenue collection necessary for socio-economic development of the people. It would also result in improved social service delivery, infrastructure development, and welfare programmes.

Partner States, except Kenya, as well as the EAC face the challenge of heavy donor dependence. Furthermore, Partner States are inflexible in adopting new and more innovative development financing alternatives for the EAC. Proposals on new financing arrangements, to minimize, and finally, eliminate donor dependence and meet the expanding activities of the Community, have been on the drawing board for some time now.

3.4.3 Recommendations

- i. Embark on design of institutions that will address cost- effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability for accelerated economic growth and sustainable development;**
- ii. In line with Partner States' obligations, under Article 8 (4) and (5), they should align their relevant national policies with regional priorities within the regional policy frameworks; and**





- iii. **The Summit should agree on sustainable financing arrangements for the EAC by examining the options of either introducing an integration tax, or contribution, based on the ability to pay which, in essence, shifts the burden of financing the Community to a few Partner States.**

3.5 Environment and Sustainable Exploitation of Natural Resources

3.5.1 Background

There is concern regarding management and exploitation of natural resources such as oil and gas and other minerals in the envisaged political federation, specifically with regard to ownership and sharing of costs and benefits.

3.5.2 Analysis

EAC Partner States are members of the Great Lakes Region and are, thus, custodians of a globally-important eco-resources and systems such as the Lake Victoria Basin. Most of the provisions of the Treaty in chapter 19 are yet to be implemented. The EAC protocols on Environment and Natural Resources Management and that establishing the Lake Victoria Basin Commission (LVBC) have been negotiated but their implementation is weak. Some piecemeal developments have been made through the Lake Victoria Environment Management Program (LVEMP I and II). The federal constitution would have to spell out all the rights and responsibilities of the federal government, constituent states, local governments, and local communities with respect to ownership, management and sharing of costs and benefits of all natural resources.





3.5.3 Recommendations:

- i. Partner States should implement the EAC protocols on Environment and Natural Resources Management and strengthen the oversight agency of the Community in respect of the management and sustainable utilization of inland water bodies;**

- ii. Establish a regional policy framework for ownership, management, and sharing of costs and benefits of other natural resources across the region; and**

- iii. Issues of ownership, management, and sharing of benefits and costs of natural resources should be a subject of negotiation in the Treaty for the establishment of the federation.**





CHAPTER 4

PROPOSALS TO ADDRESS SOCIO-CULTURAL - RELATED FEARS, CONCERNS AND CHALLENGES

4.1 Loss of Social Cohesion and National Identity

4.1.1 Background

There is a concern for some Partner States that federating may lead to the erosion of their national identities and social cohesion, which have been developed over time.

4.1.2 Analysis

Partner States have pursued different policies and priorities in building their national identity. While some East African countries recognize ethnic identities, others have pursued a national identity.

There have been cases of ethnic-driven politics in all Partner States except Tanzania that led to conflicts and violence. The fear of losing national identity is related to concerns about decentralization pressures driven by ethnic constituencies, which erodes the ability of the region to develop social cohesion and a regional identity. The existence of politics based on ethnic loyalties across the region casts doubts on the ability of the future EAC federation to halt the regionalization of national ethnic conflicts.





4.1.3 Recommendations

- i. EAC should develop policies and programs to promote a regional identity to gradually replace national ones; and**
- ii. Partner States should adopt deliberate policies to eliminate ethnic differences and build national cohesiveness.**

4.2 Erosion of Cultural and Traditional Norms and Values

4.2.1 Background

There is a fear that in a bigger entity the indigenous languages, cultures and traditional norms may get eroded or lost.

4.2.2 Analysis

The importance of cultural and traditional norms in diverse communities of the region has changed over time depending on economic, political and military influences. The diversity of cultures and traditional norms in the region today is marked both by regional and socio-economic differences and by unifying tendencies.

The challenge at the regional level is to promote unity while preserving diversity. East African regionalism - culture, traditional norms and language - should be promoted on the basis of positive values.





4.2.3 Recommendations

- i. The EAC should initiate actions towards developing ‘East African-ness’ while recognizing and affirming the diverse cultural, traditional values and identities; and**
- ii. The EAC and Partner States should encourage regional and national cultural activities and educational programs to promote social cohesion.**

4.3 Lack of Identification Documents

4.3.1 Background

There is a challenge posed by lack of a harmonized form of identification especially in view of free movement of persons and other transactions. This hinders transactions and may cause security and other challenges.

4.3.2 Analysis

Regional decisions taken to address this challenge have not been implemented. In 2002, Council directed that all Partner States should introduce National Identification Cards (ID). The Common Market Protocol requires the introduction of machine-readable and electronic national identification cards in all Partner States. Only Rwanda has fulfilled this requirement.

This is an urgent and important issue to address in view of increased mobility and liberalized economies, political and social transactions in the Common Market.





4.3.3 Recommendations

- i. Summit should give a timeframe for implementation of the decision on issuance of machine-readable and electronic national identity cards; and**
- ii. Partner States should avail the EAC passports to their nationals and expedite the process to have it internationalized.**

4.4 Erosion of National Affirmative Action Policies

4.4.1 Background

There is fear that countries which have made great gains at national level in affirmative action for women and other marginalized groups may lose those gains in a federation.

4.4.2 Analysis

Partner States, in varying degrees, have enacted laws, and devised policies and programs entrenching affirmative action. However, a lot still needs to be done to empower women and girls as well as to address existing gender inequalities.

4.4.3 Recommendations

- i. The EAC should borrow from existing best practices to establish regional affirmative action laws, policies and programs; and**
- ii. Partner States should uphold and safeguard existing initiatives that address gender inequality.**





4.5 Disparities in Partner States' Social Protection Systems

4.5.1 Background

The concern is that with free movement of persons and without common standards of social protection, some Partner States may face high migration, putting pressure on their social services. Likewise, citizens of Partner States who have entrenched certain protection systems will not enjoy the benefits in case they move to other Partner States.

4.5.2 Analysis

There is disparity in social protection systems, such as medical insurance and pension schemes, which may disadvantage persons who move to Partner States with weak or no systems. A variation of social protection is inevitable, but certain basic minimum standards should be regionally maintained.

4.5.3 Recommendation

The EAC should borrow from existing best practices to establish regional social security systems.

4.6 Spread of Epidemics as a Result of Free Movement

4.6.1 Background

Free movement may lead to easier spread of epidemics and other infectious diseases to persons and livestock. This challenge is magnified by inadequate information on disease control, research and the surveillance system in the region. The envisaged EAC Health Research Commission is expected to address some issues related to spread of epidemics.





4.6.2 Analysis

There is insufficient data and information on epidemics and other communicable diseases as well as no efficient and effective mechanisms for sharing and exchanging information within and between Partner States. In addition, programs for control, research and surveillance are affected by lack of financial and technical capacity.

4.6.3 Recommendations

- i. Expedite the establishment of the EAC Health Research Commission; and**
- ii. A regional surveillance and early warning mechanism should be established to address issues related to epidemics.**





CHAPTER 5

CROSS CUTTING AND OVERARCHING ISSUES FOR ACTION

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters 2, 3 and 4 are direct responses to the terms of reference from the Summit directive. The FCCs have been analyzed and concrete proposals provided to address them.

An overview of the chapters referred in this section shows a recurrence of certain cross-cutting challenges, which, if comprehensively addressed, may obviate many of the enumerated FCCs, and give a substantial boost to the pursuit of political federation. Identifying basic actions and fundamental policy interventions will have a knock on effect in different clusters of concerns and generate significant momentum for deepening integration through their multiplier effects.

This chapter, therefore, covers cross-cutting and overarching challenges under the sub-titles below. The Team considered these in terms of recurrent issues that underpin successful implementation of the EAC integration project:

- i. Recurrent challenges in the management of East African Integration;
- ii. Rationale for East African Federation;
- iii. Pre-requisites of an East African Federation;
- iv. Principles of an East African Federation;
- v. Reform of organs and institutions of the EAC; and
- vi. Political leadership of EAC integration.





5.2 Recurrent Challenges in the Management of East African Community Integration

5.2.1 Institutionalization of Regional Integration

The decision-making process in the EAC is set out in various articles of the EAC Treaty. However, most fundamental decisions and commitments of the Community remain unimplemented.

This situation reflects the absence of a mechanism to enforce compliance and the lack of sanctions for non-performance of commitments made by Partner States. This calls for the establishment of a regional mechanism with appropriate political authority to ensure effective implementation.

While the EAC has made relatively bold strides towards economic integration, the process of building regional bodies and pooling sovereignty as envisaged in the treaty has been minimal. The political control of the community is vested in Partner States through the Summit, Council of Ministers, Sectoral Councils and Coordination Committees. The creation of a political federation will require a steady transfer of political control to the centre as a step towards ceding powers and creating the nucleus of a future federal authority of East Africa. Unless each Partner State commits in principle and actions to the provisions of article 8 (4) and (5) which “confer precedence of community organs, institutions and laws over similar national ones”, none of the above challenges can be adequately dealt with.

Failure to operationalise Article 8 of the Treaty leads directly to the watered down pursuit of co-ordination and co-operation in sectors like foreign policy, trade promotion and defense when the promise of the Treaty was for a convergence reflected in common policy in macro-economic, defence, foreign and productive sectors.

Furthermore there is a need for a new Treaty on Monetary Union and Political Federation.





5.2.2 Inter-Partner State relations

The EAC is founded and run on an assumption of parity among Partner States. This assumption has imposed a false sense of equality reflected in equal contributions to the Community budget, and equal representation in staffing EAC institutions. While the false comfort of equal benefit nurtures inter-Partner States relations, no efficient, effective and sustainable integration can be built on this premise.

5.2.3 People-centred Integration

Article 7(1) (a) of the Treaty provides that the EAC will be people-centred. In the same breath it also provides that the EAC will be market driven. This conception is structurally contradictory. Markets are not normally people-centred. Hence, their pursuits will rarely deliver on popular expectations. It can already be discerned that from the two stages of integration so far undertaken, free market forces have not only been in the forefront, but also been the primary beneficiaries of integration. The people are neither adequately informed nor playing any active role; obviously they are not at the centre. As a result, the ultimate purpose of political federation, which is development, is not being pursued in a manner that leads to tangible development outcomes for the people of East Africa. No roads, no schools, no hospitals, no water supplies etc.

There is thus urgent need to go beyond rhetoric and establish policies and mechanisms at both national and regional level to centre the people into the integration process. A priority should be to strengthen the role and accountability of EALA as the EAC organ with the mandate to represent the people, and strengthen its link to the citizens of East Africa as one way to build the legitimacy and relevance of the EAC and address fears of the people about inadequate participation and representation in regional decision making. The funding mechanism for the Community should be reformed to enable ease of access to funds and inclusion of pro-people and poverty alleviation initiatives in the form of programmes and projects for the productive and social sectors. This way the EAC will become visible and





relevant to the people. One way to enhance a sense of relevance to the people is to blend quick win deliverables into the programme of activities at Community level, including that of EALA.

Regarding the creation of awareness, a comprehensive and implementable EAC Information, Education and Communication (IEC) strategy will be required.

Free movement of people is one of the most anticipated benefits of EAC integration. Currently, this is restricted in spite of the EAC Common Market Protocol (Article 7). There is a need for each Partner State to clearly indicate to the EAC Secretariat how it intends to implement provisions of this article with applicable time limits; especially with respect to the liberalization of labour markets.

5.2.4 Defining the Purpose of Political Federation

No clear statement has been made on why integration should lead to federation. It may go a long way in validating the federation project if the Summit made a coherent and clear statement setting out the potential benefits that would accrue from a political federation. In addition, the type of federation to be pursued is not clearly set out in any of the instruments of the community. Clarity of anticipated benefits will help define what type of federation to pursue; this is a task that is overdue.

5.2.5 External Trade Arrangements [Tripartite (EAC/SADC/COMESA) Free Trade Agreement and EAC- Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)].

As the EAC continues to expand and deepen integration, there are initiatives aimed at creating external trade arrangements including EPAs and EAC/SADC/COMESA FTA.





Such initiatives have the potential to promote intra-regional trade for purposes of growth and development. However, further liberalization of trade may compound fears related to trade and economic imbalance. Therefore, governments of the EAC Partner States may need to strategically manage the process to strike a balance between the EAC objectives including the stated goal of achieving political federation and those of its external trade relations.

5.2.6 Potential for Enlargement of EAC

The EAC Treaty under article 3 provides for other countries to join the Community. There is need for strategic management of enlargement, in order for it to accord with further deepening of regional integration.

5.3 Prerequisites for an East African Federation

To create a sustainable East African Federation the following should be adopted:

- i. the realization of earlier stages of integration envisaged in article 5 of the Treaty, that is, Customs Union, Common Market, strengthened by Economic Union, and Monetary Union;
- ii. Gradual entry into each stage of deepening the process of the E.A. integration to avoid institutional shocks and resistance;
- iii. Negotiate a Treaty on Monetary Union and Political Federation; and





- iv. Develop a rational roadmap towards a political federation with milestones and benchmarks.

5.4 Principles for an East African Federation.

A recurrent question in the course of national consultations on the federation was how the federation would be managed. The following principles are pertinent:

- i. The driving purpose for political federation should be development, that is, integration should be development-driven;
- ii. It should be built on strong grounds of knowledge base, democracy and good governance (as articulated in the Treaty and subsequent protocols), including rule of law, respect for human rights, constitutionalism, democratic governance, access to justice and eradication of nepotism and corruption
- iii. The application of the principle of separation of powers at Partner States and federal levels;
- iv. The application of the principle that no State will lose in the process of integration; actual losers will be compensated through appropriate policies at the regional or federal level; The EAC, and later the federation will put in place regional policies, special programmes and creative innovations for all actual (or potentially) vulnerable groups, amongst the peoples of East Africa including women and youth;
- v. Precedence Principle: community organs institutions, laws and later federal institutions shall take precedence over national ones;





- vi. Sublimity Principle: The federal institutions policies adopted must at a minimum be at par or better than the respective national ones;
- vii. Subsidiarity Principle: which emphasizes multi-level participation of a wide range of participants in the process of integration;
- viii. Defense of territorial, economic, political and social integrity of the Federation; and
- ix. Adherence to the Charters of AU and UN as well as other appropriate regional bodies as one entity.

5.5 Reform of Existing Organs and Institutions of the EAC

In order to deepen integration and transit to political federation, virtually all the organs and institutions of the EAC as set out in article 9 of the treaty will need to be reformed. This should address issues of core functions, membership, method of work, reporting and monitoring. Effective implementation requires a robust institutional, enforcement and evaluation mechanism, which implies structural transformation of regional organs and institutions at each stage, as indicated below, to empower them to handle each level of deepening or widening of integration. The structural transformation would require a shift from policy harmonization to common policy in sectors like trade, agriculture and industry:

Institutional transformation will be needed to effectively implement the Customs Union and Common Market, as fundamental stages of EAC integration. This will have to be accompanied by deeper commitment by Partner States in respect of monitoring, enforcement and resource allocation for regional projects and programmes; and a robust institutional framework such as a Customs Union Authority for customs matters and Common Market Authority or Commission for common market issues. Further, transition from a Common





Market to a Monetary Union represents a major structural transformation requiring the deepening of the Common Market to Economic Union as a foundation upon which macro-economic harmonization and convergence as well as sectoral policy convergence in key productive sector are achieved. It is only on such a platform that a stable Monetary Union can be constructed. A Monetary Union with neither macro-economic nor sectoral policies convergence is a risky venture that may jeopardize the sustainability of both the Common Market and the eventual Political Federation⁶.

This reform would also necessarily target other organs and institutions of the Community like EALA and EACJ as they will also play a role in effective management of the deepening of the integration process.

5.6 Political Leadership of the EAC Integration Process

One of the imperatives of political leadership is to provide strategic orientation and offer leadership in moving the people towards defined goals. Inadequate attention has been dedicated to this challenge including embracing the key power sacrifices needed to deepen EAC integration.

Consequently, current focus on fears has eclipsed attention to prospective political and strategic opportunities that federation would bring to the region as a whole. The statement of intent on moving from current level of integration to political federation needs to be accompanied by bold actions displaying a willingness to make the sacrifices needed to kick start the process.

⁶ Further, even long before the federated state, it is the assessment of the Team that a Monetary Union without *fiscal integration* (or political integration) is likely to be an uncertain experience (cf: The Eurozone).





5.7 Recommendations

In line with the above, recommendations to boost regional integration towards political federation are made as below:

- i. Evaluate the level of attainment of the EAC objectives in order to inform a realistic roadmap towards realization of the Community and the Federation.
- ii. Ensure implementation through a rational road map with clear benchmarks and effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation mechanism, including sanctions in case of non compliance.
- iii. Adopt an approach that recognizes parallel as well as overlapping initiatives to complement and consolidate the gains so far while laying a firm foundation for a political federation.
- iv. Beyond economic arguments, identify specific imperatives that will drive the political integration process. These should be popularized, debated and owned by the citizenry of East Africa. It is only then that political federation will be seen as a strategic necessity.
- v. In the process of resolving the FCCs, there is a need to shift focus from discussion of fears, concerns and challenges and adjust the balance of emphasis to opportunities and benefits of deepening integration.
- vi. There is a need for a comprehensive reform of organs and institutions of the EAC to improve effectiveness of decision-making and implementation of EAC decisions and commitments as follows:
 - a) E.A. Customs Authority for the Customs Union, manned by competent executive and professional staff.





- b) **E.A. Common Market Authority for the Common Market with adequate powers for monitoring and enforcement.**
 - c) **A politically-managed E.A. Commission for an E.A. Economic Union Authority;**
 - d) **An E.A. Monetary Authority, leading to an E.A. Central Bank for the Monetary Union;**
 - e) **A unified Federal Treasury for the Federation;**
 - f) **The East African Court of Justice as the guarantor of compliance with the Treaty; and**
 - g) **The East African Legislative Assembly which has a political representative and oversight mandate.**
- vii. **Appropriate mechanisms and frameworks should be put in place to nurture soft instruments for integration such as EAC scholarships, EAC sports leagues and EAC cultural fora, including mainstreaming the East African identity, and make the integration truly people-centered;**
- viii. **In order to enhance the process of regional integration, all Partner States should implement the provisions of Article 8(4) and (5) of the Treaty to confer “... .. precedence of community organs, institutions and laws over similar national ones... ..”. and,**
- ix. **The Summit should give direction on the process of consolidating national sovereignty to become one international sovereign state. Specific attention should be given way forward on two critical issues pertaining to the establishment of the EA Federation: military integration and ceding of national sovereignty to become one international sovereign state.**





CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this assignment, the Team of Experts realized that some FCCs are interrelated and may not be effectively dealt with in isolation. Therefore, there is need for a comprehensive incremental approach that enables citizens to realize the benefits accruing from all the stages of the EAC integration. An approach that recognizes parallel as well as overlapping initiatives will complement and serve to consolidate the gains made so far, while laying a firm foundation for a political federation.

The Team of Experts view is that the FCCs are as a result of lack of awareness and information on the benefits, achievements and opportunities as well as challenges of integration. A closer examination of the FCCs illustrates that East Africans are not fully involved in the integration process and are not informed on the EAC integration process.

Although some of the FCCs are based on real issues, others are based on perceptions. There is also fear of the unknown in terms of what the Political Federation will entail. Nevertheless, the Team of Experts assessment is that addressing the FCCs is important for the sustainability of the federation and this report makes concrete proposals on in this regard.

While it can be argued that great achievements have been made in a number of areas, there is a lack of popular ownership of the process of political integration across the region. Ownership through involvement of *wananchi* is fundamental for political integration. There is need for strategies, measures and mechanisms that transform the EAC into a Community of citizens with common values and identity, in a manner that inculcates the spirit of *East Africaness*.





Another assessment of the Team of Experts is that most FCCs, that East Africans have towards political federation, are of a political nature, as political federation by itself is a political process. The team has, therefore, recommended, among others that there is need to lay the foundation and principles that shall guide a negotiated treaty on political federation.

The Team of Experts noted that, arising from the fact that EAC Partner States have diverse socio-economic challenges, there are economic imbalances in terms of entrepreneurship, competitiveness in manufacturing and provision of services as well as trade capacities. Bearing in mind that economic integration is a building block to political federation, such fears have to be addressed first. The Team has, therefore, among other things, recommended that the finalization of the *EAC Study on Equitable Sharing of Costs and Benefits* of the East African integration be expedited.

The Team of Experts noted further that geography, historical events, foreign and internal forces have shaped diverse cultures in the Partner States. As a result, there is fear that a new East African identity may undermine the contemporary cultural and national diversities. The Team recommends development of a principle of unity in diversity that includes the harnessing of a new East African identity while, at the same time, recognizing the diverse and robust national identities and the various cultures therein.

Similarly, a closer examination of these fears, concerns and challenges depicts that there are still some problems in the management of regional integration. East African people are not fully involved or even sufficiently informed in the decision making process in so far as integration is concerned. The end result is that East Africans are largely unaware of the various steps that have been taken on economic integration and at the same time they fear the unknown in so far as political federation is concerned.





Arising from the above, the Team of Experts is of the view that there is need for a gradual building-block approach towards a political federation. This will entail harnessing the Community of East African citizens by ensuring that the benefits of economic integration accrue to all, as these are to be the sound foundation for a political federation. More importantly, East Africans must own the economic integration and the political federation project.

For this to happen, the Team of Experts proposes that there be a strong political will and commitment from the top leadership to the grassroots requiring both courage and determination from the stakeholders to embrace the political federation.

In conclusion, to effectively defuse concerns about political federation and position the EAC for sustainable political integration, it is critical that the top leadership in the region ie the Summit sends a clear signal of strong political will and commitment to political federation, and mobilize and encourage citizens at the grassroots and other stakeholders to embrace the political federation.

In the above respect, therefore, the Team has recommended that the Summit should give direction in consolidating a way forward towards an East African Federation by making significant statements regarding the agreed purpose of the federation and, by implication, the type of federation. Coupled with this would be action in three specific areas that would enhance the grounding of these pronouncements namely: military integration, development of a common foreign policy, and thirdly operationalization of Article 8 (4) & (5) of the EAC Treaty in order to *".....confer precedence of Community organs, institution and laws over similar national ones....."*.





APPENDICES

Appendix 1 : Matrix of FCCS and proposals at a glance

I. POLITICAL & LEGAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
1.	Loss of sovereignty: People are concerned about the loss of power and independent national decision making.	<p>The 5 partner states acquired international legal personality as independent sovereign states. Federating involves ceding or sharing sovereignty, potentially problematic due to different state doctrines, policies, and priorities.</p> <p>If partner states cease to be subjects of international law, challenges will arise out of the Vienna Convention of State Succession to Treaties and the Vienna Convention to Succession of Debts, State Property and Archives. However, what is perceived as loss can be interpreted as gain.</p>	<p>i. The people of East Africa should be sensitized to appreciate that political federation involves ceding some sovereignty and that benefits should be highlighted and disseminated;</p> <p>ii. The EAC should implement fully the stages of integration preceding the political federation to realize tangible benefits to build confidence in the federation;</p> <p>iii. As a transitional measure, before the establishment of the political federation and to enable the gradual ceding of sovereignty to the regional level some more powers of exclusive competence should be given to the Secretariat, for example, in external trade; and</p> <p>iv. Partner States should be prepared to cede their international legal status in order to federate.</p>
2.	<p>Disparities in Governance: Disparities in national constitutions and practices of democracy and good governance;</p> <p>Lack of uniformity in</p>	<p>Partner States have different weaknesses in governance which include militarization of politics, peaceful political transition, electoral violence, the removal of presidential term limits, protection, and promotion of human rights, equal opportunities, among others. If Partner States don't agree on expanding the powers of the EACJ, regional issues</p>	<p>i. EAC Partner States should expedite the conclusion of the Protocol on Good Governance and establish a strong implementation mechanism;</p> <p>ii. Partner states should harmonize their constitutions to ensure existence of presidential term limits, harmonise on the length of the presidential term, harmonise electoral cycles and electoral processes management;</p> <p>iii. Empower the EACJ to be a strong regional institution that should guarantee compliance to all agreed regional standards on good governance including</p>





I. POLITICAL & LEGAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
	doctrine, discipline and accountability; and fear of replication and spillover of national bad practices.	will be dealt with by international courts with all their pitfalls.	extending the jurisdiction to cover human rights; and iv. Develop regional monitoring and evaluation mechanisms on issues of constitutionalism and good governance e.g. an EAC peer review mechanism.
3.	Participation of people in decision making: People need assurance that they will be involved in the process of making major decisions that touch on their livelihood, including electoral processes; and Concerned that the political federation agenda is driven by the political leadership or external forces.	The people are neither adequately informed nor playing any active role; obviously they are not at the centre. As a result, the ultimate purpose of political federation, which is development, is not being pursued in a manner that leads to tangible development outcomes for the people of East Africa. No roads, no schools, no hospitals, no water supplies etc.	Beyond economic arguments, identify specific imperatives that will drive the political integration process. These should be popularized, debated and owned by the citizenry of East Africa. It is only then that political federation will be seen as a strategic necessity
4.	Effect of Political Federation on Existing National Foreign and Defence Policies.	Partner States presently pursue different foreign and security policies. The Customs Union and now the Common Market requires a common external trade policy. Thus, the adoption of a common foreign policy is an imperative and the integration deepens as well as a common approach on issues of defence and security.	i. Expedite the harmonisation of the Partner States foreign, security and defence policies and practices; and ii. Expedite the conclusion of the Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (CPMR) and implementation of the Conflict Early Warning Mechanism.





I. POLITICAL & LEGAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
5.	Lack of clarity on the Model of Federation	Many citizens are unaware what the political federation will look like. Concern was raised that there is no clarity on what model of federation East Africa wants to adopt.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Negotiate the Treaty for the establishment of the EAPF on the basis of concrete principles. ii. Define the model of the EAPF.
6.	Unique Challenges Affecting Some Partner States: Issues: (i) federo in Uganda; (ii) Union between Tanzania Zanzibar/ Tanzania Mainland Union; and (iii) Ethnic tensions in Kenya, Burundi, Uganda & Rwanda	<p>Internal conflicts within Partner States have already led to national collapse; the fear is that these conflicts may spill-over in other Partner States.</p> <p>While Partner States ought to solve internal conflicts by themselves, regional integration can give a broader perspective to internal challenges.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Partner States should solve national conflicts in a way that does not undermine the EAC integration process by avoiding ethnic constituencies. ii. International best practices in conflict resolutions should be recognized at regional level.
7.	Representation and participation of citizens in regional decision making institutions	Regional integration has been government driven process, whereas the Treaty says the Community is people-centred. Citizens feel alienated from the process and decision making because of lack of effective mechanisms for their participation and ownership.	<p>EALA members should be directly elected by the people.</p> <p>Partner states should amend the treaty to strengthen accountability of the Council to EALA</p>





I. POLITICAL & LEGAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
8.	Inefficiency of current EAC institutions	<p>Most of the EAC decisions are currently not fully implemented and current decision making structure is too costly and inefficient because of very limited mandate of EAC institutions.</p> <p>East African citizens are asking themselves why they should get involved in another EAC adventure without the previous commitments respected.</p>	The EAC secretariat should become a Commission that would spearhead the federal institutions. Such a Commission needs to have strict accountability measures and work on performance contract basis to avoid further loss of confidence of citizens.





9.	II. ECONOMIC FCCs		
No. (0)	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments/	Recommendations
10.	Economic Imbalances: Weak economies will be dominated by the stronger economies in the region in the absence of mechanisms to address imbalances and ensure equitable distribution of benefits.	Unequal distribution of costs of benefits is the one of the major factors that tends to undermine efforts by federal arrangements to produce stability and prosperity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Expedite finalization of the Expedite the finalization of the EAC Study on Equitable Sharing of Costs and Benefits of the E.A Integration and the EAC Industrialization and Investment Promotion Strategy to inform decision-makers on how best to address this challenge and institute an appropriate mechanism; ii. Expedite the establishment of the EAC Development Fund; iii. Devise concrete alternative mechanisms of financing EAC Projects and Programmes; iv. Implement effectively the EAC Customs Union and the Common Market Protocols by putting in place a robust enforcement and evaluation mechanism for assessing if the benefits of integration are trickling down to weaker economies demonstrated by accelerated economic growth and developmentand v. Summit should pronounce a deadline within which Partner States should streamline their national laws and policies to conform to the Common Market Protocol.
11.	Domination of the labour market by more skilled and qualified labour force to the disadvantage of nationals.	People of East Africa fear the domination of the East African labour market by the more skilled and qualified labour cadres in some of the Partner States to the disadvantage of nationals of the less labour – endowed Partner States	<p>In the short to the medium term,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Address the fear of loss of employment through the following immediate deliberate measures (Quick wins): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Facilitate nationals of Partner States who are skilful in Kiswahili, English and French to take up teaching positions respectively in Partner States; and b) Develop specific programs for unskilled labour and SMEs. ii. Develop an EAC Strategy for Skills and Competitiveness





9.	II. ECONOMIC FCCs		
No. (0)	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments/	Recommendations
			Development to enhance productivity through vocation training, science and technology; and iii. Expedite the harmonization of curricula and certification across the region.
12.	Loss of Land and Disparities in Land Tenure Systems	Partner States have different land policies and laws, and land management systems. \There is skewed land ownership and prevalence of disputes aggravated by population density and resource constraint for land use planning, survey and demarcation in the Partner States.	i. Maintain national jurisdiction on land. ii. Partner States should survey land to provide basic instruments that provide security of tenure to the people; iii. Work towards equitable distribution of land within individual Partner States; iv. Initiate actions towards harmonization of land policies and laws, and work towards eventual convergence; and v. Initiate socio-economic transformation programmes in order to minimize the subsistence use of land for sustainability.
13.	Increased Costs/Sharing of Benefits of Integration: There is concern that political federation will lead to increased taxation, disproportional sharing of the financial burden and benefits between the states.	EAC face the challenge of heavy donor dependence which could undermine integration.	i. Embark on design of institutions that will address cost- effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability for accelerated economic growth and sustainable development; ii. In line with Partner States' obligations, under Article 8 (4) and (5), they should align their relevant national policies with regional priorities within the regional policy frameworks; and iii. The Summit should agree on sustainable financing arrangements for





9.	II. ECONOMIC FCCs		
No. (0)	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments/	Recommendations
			the EAC by examining the options of either introducing an integration tax, or contribution, based on the ability to pay which, in essence, shifts the burden of financing the Community to a few Partner States.
14.	Environment and Sustainable Exploitation of Natural Resources	Sustainable exploitation of natural resources is linked to environmentally-sustainable development	Strengthen the LBC as an oversight agency of the Community in respect the sustainable utilization of the resources of Lake Victoria basin and other water bodies
15.	The Customs Union is faced with a number of operational problems that need to be addressed.	<p>The Customs Union faces the following challenges:</p> <p>Derogations from the EAC Common External Tariff (EAC CET);</p> <p>Dual Membership;</p> <p>Non-Tariff and Technical Barriers to Trade (NTBs and TBTs);</p> <p>Inadequate physical infrastructure;</p> <p>Weak Private Sector Participation:</p> <p>Extra-region Export Volatility:</p>	<p>(i) Strengthening the customs administration institutional framework;</p> <p>(ii) Resolve existing derogations by finalizing the CET review and addressing infrastructural constraints;</p> <p>(iii) Expedite the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite FTA negotiations;</p> <p>(iv) Review the role of the East African Business Council vis a vis its linkage with national sectoral private sector organisations.</p> <p>(v) Expedite the finalisation and implementation of the EAC Industrialisation Strategy and Export Promotion; and the Agricultural and Rural Development Strategy as a matter of priority for the region.</p>
16.	Management of the Integration Process towards a Federation	The framers of the EAC integration set out “to establish a Customs Union, a Common Market, and subsequently, a Monetary Union”, with the ultimate goal of a Political Federation	<p><i>a.</i> Effective implementation of the fundamental stages of the EAC integration (Customs Union, Common Market) buttressed by an Economic Union for sectoral policy harmonization and convergence.</p> <p><i>b.</i> E.A. Customs Authority for the Customs Union, managed by competent executive and professional staff.</p>





9.	II. ECONOMIC FCCs		
No. (0)	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments/	Recommendations
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>c.</i> E.A. Common Market Commission for the Common Market with adequate powers for monitoring and enforcement. <i>d.</i> E.A. Economic Union Commission managed by political heads; <i>e.</i> An E.A. Monetary Authority, leading to an E.A. Central Bank for the Monetary Union; <i>f.</i> A unified Federal Treasury for the Federation
17.	The need for mechanisms for addressing liabilities contracted by the Partner States before the federation	The issue of Partner State commitment is covered in Chapter 26 of the EAC Treaty (Article 130); but not nearly enough coverage, certainly not for deepening to a Political Federation. For instance, as a bare minimum the Treaty could have provided for Partner States to deposit a List of all External Commitments on ratification of (or, in the Case of Rwanda and Burundi accession to), the EAC Treaty. Partner States could also have been asked to continually up-date the list and reduce the Debt Burden in order to clean their Balance Sheets in readiness for the political federation..	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) EAC Secretariat to source and obtain a List of Multilateral Regional and bilateral Commitments of all Partner States; and ii) Refer and subject the same to E.A. Monetary Union Negotiations process.
18.	Benefits and Costs of Federation	<p>A federal arrangement will, therefore, have two basic financial implications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) <u>Administrative Costs</u>: Costs associated with establishing and running federal institutions such as the executive, legislature, and the judiciary; and (ii) <u>Adjustment Costs</u>: Costs arising from the usual redistribution policies expected from 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> iv. Federal institutions, should be designed on the basis of cost-effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability. v. In the short and medium term the EAC Partner States should effectively implement the fundamental stages of integration, grounded on the adoption of policies and strategies focusing on the primacy of accelerated economic growth and sustainable development. vi. In line with their obligations, under Article 8 (4) and (5), the Partner States should align their relevant national policies with regional





9.	II. ECONOMIC FCCs		
No. (0)	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments/	Recommendations
		a people-centered Federal Government, aimed at developing the socially and economically disadvantage parts of the federation, in the form of necessary, special structural initiatives for maintenance of commitment, support, and faith in the federal system.	vii. priorities within the regional policy frameworks. Partner States financial commitment need to be made before the federation become operational so that the financial sustainability is established a-priori.





III. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
19.	Lack of identification documents which are machine readable and which can be used in intra east Africa free movement	some countries do not have ID and others do not have machine readable ID	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Countries with no ID should be used have them • All partner states should have machine readable id and start issuing them in intra-EAC communications • EAC passport should be used in international travels; a roadmap for that should be designed implemented
20.	Loss of gains already made at national level in affirmative action for marginalized groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Countries have different policies on affirmative action, some more advanced than others. • The gains made by Partner States in recognizing marginalized and vulnerable groups should not be lost. 	Marginalized and vulnerable groups should be entrenched in a federal constitution of the EAC and represented in all EAC institutions.





III. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
21.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • .diversity in unity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultures, traditions and norms are part and parcel of what East Africans count as heritage. • Some value systems may dominate or dilute others • The social and cultural lives are not homogenous. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The federal constitution should recognize the positive cultures and traditions among the Partner States. • The move towards a united entity should also be grounded in education curriculum in schools and in socialization and sensitization programs. • Promote and encourage Kiswahili as the lingua franca. • Institute EAC cultural competitions to enhance east africaness
22.	Disparities and/or absence of comprehensive health and social schemes in the Partner States	The priority given to health programs and services in the region means some countries have comprehensive health and social insurances schemes, others do not.	Partner States should expedite review and harmonize their national social security policies, laws and systems.
23.	Easier Spread of epidemics and other infectious diseases due to free movement	Some progress has been made towards setting of East African Research council.	The protocol on should be completed and implemented. Ensure the EAIDS is operating in all parts of the region.





III. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
24.	There are some laws and actions that are perceived as contrary to the spirit of integration	Isolated cases of expulsions of persons from some Partner States remain Council had advised that this matter be handled at bilateral levels but this matter should be a regional one	Conflict Prevention Management Resolution should also include building the capacity of Partner States to manage conflict.
25.	Differences in education curricula and training systems. Variations of academic/professional qualifications among Partner States	Disparities in skills and acceptance of professional qualifications • This create a problem of cross-border	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expedite the process of harmonizing education curricula • Establish a professional accreditation system in the region
26.	Border communities and others crossing borders are concerned that the way they are treated is not consistent with the spirit of the EAC integration.	Border communities have been displaced or marginalized	Develop joint programs for border regions and communities to give them a chance to reap the benefits of integration.





III. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FCCs			
No.	Fears, Concerns, and Challenges	Analysis/Comments	Recommendations
27.	Women may have a diminished voice and influence at the EAC level	Fewer women than men are involved in the decision making at Partner State level this could persist at the regional level. There is inadequate gender-sensitive legislation in some Partner States.	Strengthen the Treaty provision on enhancing gender equality and equity; Borrow the best practices from some of Partner States. Expedite implementation of the EAC policy and strategy on gender Outlaw traditional and cultural practices that infringe on the rights of women for equal treatment.





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Appendix 3 : Terms of Reference

- I. Terms of Reference for Team Constituted by Council at the 20th Ordinary Meeting of Council of Ministers.**
 - i. Undertake a detailed review and analysis of the fears, concerns and challenges towards Political Federation raised by the citizens of East Africa based on existing documents.
 - ii. Examine the progress in addressing those fears, concerns and challenges, and propose ways of addressing those that have not been addressed.
 - iii. Identify any other emerging fears, concerns and challenges and propose how to deal with them; and propose ways of strengthening the pillars of Political Federation by locking in the gain attained in the other stages of integration.
 - iv. Identify appropriate regional policies, institutional arrangements and capacities which can address those fears, concerns and challenges for the Political Federation; and
 - v. Carry out such other activities that are relevant to the above Terms of Reference.

- II. Terms of Reference for the Reconstituted Team of Experts as per the Summit Directive of the 19th April 2011, through the Council**
 - i. Formulate concrete proposals on how to address the FCCs on Political Federation; and
 - ii. Prepare a Report on the matter for consideration by the Council and the Summit in November 2011.





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