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EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Official Report of the Proceedings of the East African Legislative Assembly

6TH SITTING – FIRST ASSEMBLY: SECOND MEETING – FIRST SESSION

Friday, 25 January 2002

The East African Legislative Assembly met at 9.00 a.m. in Parliament House, Kampala

PRAYERS

(The Speaker, Mr. Abdulrahman Kinana, in the Chair)

The Assembly was called to order

MOTION

The Speaker: I am sorry I was to call Dr. Harrison Mwakyembe after hon. Irene Ovonji but I do not see Irene here. So, I call upon hon. Harrison Mwakyembe. I am sorry if it is an ambush on you; I will give you about two minutes to prepare yourself.

Dr. Harrison Mwakyembe (Tanzania): Thank you Mr. Speaker. Being one of the last people to speak, and having been absent for a day or so from the House, one runs the risk of regurgitating what has already been adequately discussed and traversed by other legislators. Therefore, I will try my best to be very brief, and to touch on those salient features of the discourse.

May I begin by joining hands with my fellow legislators, who thanked our host, the Parliament of Uganda and Members of the East African Legislative Assembly from Uganda for the warm reception they accorded to us upon our arrival last Sunday - (*Applause*). Some of us felt very good. We felt really good to be part of this beautiful country and to be East Africans. And I think I should also thank them for their continued brotherly – I should add ‘sisterly’ to avoid looking gender insensitive – and sisterly attention they are giving us.

May I also take this opportunity to join hands with my fellow legislators in applauding the timely rebirth of the East African Community? I am insisting on

“timely” because it has come at a time when the world is witnessing the maturation of monopoly capital into a sophisticated global system, which is characterised by swift movement of capital across continents and between states, swift movement of goods across continents, across countries as well as swift movement of human resources.

We are witnessing a re-fuelling of an acute shortcut competition, unprecedented in recent history. For those who love history, what is happening now can only be equated to what was happening during the era of primitive accumulation of capital. The drive towards a single global economy has taken advantage of the collapse of the world socialist system, a system that was a challenge to capitalism, a system that offered some alternatives. But since the collapse, there is the hegemony of monopoly capital and this is what we are seeing.

The globalisation of capital, which is taking place now, is so harsh and uncompromising. The principle is; it is the tough who will be going and the weak will always be sidelined. It is not fashionable nowadays to quote Mao Tse-tung; you look very old fashioned to do so, but he made certain contributions, which are still relevant today.

In the early 1960s, he had warned small states which had just emerged from independence that you cannot fight for your rights as individual states. He was calling it, “little lonely battles”. Even now, to wage little lonely battles, is a futile exercise.

As we have noted recently, even during the WTO negotiations and other

multilateral agreements, the principle now is not that of giving you democracy to choose, especially when you are poor. It is simply a question of dictation. Take it or leave it. If you are poor and you do not take it, you are already getting to the sidelines. The poverty and the situation we live in, in our poor countries in Africa and other countries, speak for themselves.

The United Nations Economic and Social Council has designated a total of 49 least developed countries and in this group, we find two prominent members of the East African Community – Tanzania and Uganda. They belong to this special category of least developed countries. I know fellow legislators would feel very uncomfortable if we say we are in the same group with countries like Afghanistan, Vanuatu, Somalia, et cetera, but this is the reality.

What criteria does the United Nations use in designating these countries? There are about three criteria. The first criterion, Mr. Speaker, is the low income as measured by the GDP per capita. The second one is the question of weak human resources. Here they look at the question of life expectancy, enrolment in schools, as well as adult literacy. The third criterion they use is the low level of economic diversification. They would always look at the share of manufacturing in the country’s GDP. They will look at questions of exports, as well as the scale and level of energy consumptions. So, a country having all these three criteria, qualifies for the LDC category.

Kenya has been elevated. Luckily enough, one of the partner States in East Africa has been elevated from this

category of LDCs, to a category of developing countries. It may sound extremely promising that we can move a step further from this horrible category to a much better category but economists say this classification is a shame, and it is fiction. I think I agree with them, because the borderline here, the basic question here is that we are all poor. It is just differentiations in the intensity and the scale of poverty.

I would take the example of a one-legged man. He remains a one-legged man, whether his leg has been amputated below the knee or above the knee. He is still a one-legged person. So, Mr. Speaker, what I want to emphasize here is that we are all in bad shape in East Africa. We are all in bad shape, and we are poor and vulnerable to further marginalization in the current dynamics of globalization.

If one who recalls just looks back a bit, what dragged us deeper into poverty, into stagnation, into destitution? I think it has also been our blind belief in, and our fidelity to sovereignty after attainment of political independence in the 1960s. We have been so much fond of sovereignty, to guard it so jealously. But the question is, “do we really enjoy any sovereignty worth protecting as third world countries?”

I would boldly say, what we are protecting so jealously to encourage further fragmentation of Africa in the Third World is simply pseudo sovereignty. It is simply a dream! How can you claim, for example, to be sovereign when you have no control whatsoever of your national budget? How can you claim to be sovereign, when your national budget becomes a

budget after endorsement by Paris, London and Washington? How can you claim to be sovereign, when you cannot undertake major development projects for your people until some IMF/World Bank people come and say, “This is good, boy, this is good”? How can you claim, Mr. Speaker, to be sovereign, when all your expenditures are subject to control by external forces? What kind of independence is this?

I also ask myself what kind of sovereignty do we have when foreigners wearing the cloak of diplomats, wearing the cloak of ambassadors, can interfere in your internal affairs at will and with impunity, and in total disregard of international conventions regarding diplomatic relations? Mr. Speaker, in normal human life, how can you claim to be your own man or to be your own woman, when somebody else has access to your spouse and to your bedroom for 24 hours! (*Applause*)

This has been the African predicament. It is a predicament born out of our long history of destitution, and the politics of fragmentation. This is why I said from the beginning that I am joining hands with my fellow Legislators in applauding the timely decision to re-introduce this body, which will help us pull our resources together.

I have full confidence in the East African Community that the Community shall strengthen our bargaining power. The East African Community shall also enhance our competitiveness in this unfair global economy. Mr. Speaker, I also believe that the East African Community shall put a stop to our further marginalization in this international system, because right now,

if you make a very critical analysis, you will find that we have been reduced to the level of local governments in the international system. Just like you see your local governments in the national entity, we are like them in the international system - local governments!

Regional integration being a political end, economic imperative on our part as East Africans must be jealously guarded; must be jealously protected by all East Africans. I applaud the three East African leaders, President Yoweri Museveni, President Daniel Arap Moi, President Benjamin William Mkapa, for mincing no words in describing the factors which brought down our former East African Community. I, think this was very important, and I am so glad that these factors are reproduced neatly in the preamble to the Treaty - very neatly reproduced.

Let me read a line or two. The preamble says: *“What contributed to the downfall of our former Community was lack of strong political will.”* Mr. Speaker, I am so happy that we do not suffer from this problem now. The commitment of our three Presidents at the helm of power is unquestionable and very clear. We talk about the continued proportionate sharing of beliefs of the Community among the partner States due to their levels of development, and lack of adequate policies to address this situation. This is no longer a problem to us now, and I am so happy, Mr. Speaker, that the current negotiations taking place in Arusha - so painstaking but they are there to take care of this situation, and they will take care of the situation.

But what disturbs me a bit is the other reason here: *“Lack of strong participation of the private sector and the civil society in the Cooperation activities.”*

Now, Mr. Speaker, while I do acknowledge that unlike the old East African Community the present one places a lot of emphasis on the role of the private sector and the civil society as major stakeholders in this regional body, I still see the need for Community intervention in the provision of essential services to the people of East Africa. It appears it is now a fashion, and it always comes from the old mentality and we sing like hell these multi-lateral institutions. It is true we can see the demerits of Government moving away from getting involved in the economy, but you can play this role strictly with a strong private sector, with a strong economy.

President Museveni just a few days ago told us that the wealth of our three countries when you combine the three markets just comes to 20 billion dollars. This is the private sector. Now if we are going to over-emphasize the question of Government hands-off, community hands-off from social services and we leave the private sector to do the job, we are going to fail our people! There are social services that are so expensive and capital intensive and do not generate benefit immediately, and you cannot expect the private sector in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda combined to take effect!

The Community must reinstate railway services. Mr. Speaker, most of you have visited major countries; they talk big that they are indeed students of the market.

You go to Germany, the Bundesbank is still Government controlled, and there is heavy intervention by the State because, first of all, the German system understands that communication is very essential for the economy that people have to move around cheaply and efficiently. No private entrepreneur will offer you cheap services. He may offer efficiencies but not cheapness! So, Government intervention is still cherished in the first world, and here we are moving away from any kind of intervention.

We should intervene effectively in social services, even for air travel. It is an expensive undertaking but air travel should be a pre-occupation of our original cooperation. Just going to Tanzania, Mr. Speaker, when you gave me permission two days ago, it was hell! It is easier to fly from Kampala to London than from Entebbe to Dar-salaam; it is easier to fly from Nairobi to London than from Nairobi to Dar-salaam - why? It is not that our airmen do not want it. No! It is an expensive undertaking, and we say we leave it to the private sector? This is a trap in the private sector we are talking about. It is not our indigenous private sector; it is the foreign private sector which is being prepared to come and dominate our economies here - *(Applause)*.

Lastly, there is a need to institutionalize ownership of the Community among the people of East Africa. Mr. Speaker, very briefly, I appreciate the efforts already done to democratize and to make this organ the business of the people of East Africa, but we should not end there, we should improve it further. It should generally be seen not only to be a

Community, but it should also be seen to be their property.

I have a few suggestions. The first one is about our organ here, the East African Legislative Assembly. It is an important critical link between the people of East Africa and the Community. We need this Community; we need this Assembly to reflect this scenario as a link between the people and the Community. And one of the suggestions I would make is the direct election of the Members of the Assembly by the people of East Africa. The people should directly elect us! It will be difficult but it is an essential element of democracy, if you want to give ownership to the people.

Secondly, there are so many provisions in this Treaty, which give enormous powers to the summit. Because we have said the summit we have now is a progressive summit, if we love East Africans, then there is need for the summit to shift part of its powers to the people and their representatives in this Legislative Assembly - *(Applause)*.

Mr. Speaker, I said I will be very brief, and I will touch only on the few salient features of our discourse. I thank you for giving me this opportunity to take the Floor, and I thank the hon. Members of this House for their indulgence. Thank you, Mr. Speaker - *(Applause)*.

Mrs. Irene Ovonji-Odida (Uganda):

Mr. Speaker, hon. Members, I would like to thank you, Mr. Speaker, for this opportunity to address this House. I do believe we are all cognizant of how historic this occasion is, and once again, I must thank the three East African States, who came together, inaugurated

and began the process of the cooperation.

I would like to add my voice to that of other Members of this House, who have congratulated you upon your election unanimously, to steer us in our deliberations.

Congratulations! *(Applause)* And likewise, I join add voice to those who have passed congratulations to all the other Members of this House. We know what a grueling race it was to navigate the National Assemblies, and I do believe the choices that were made in each country were wise.

As I mentioned to the Ugandan Parliament when I addressed it, our election was not the end of that race, but merely the beginning. Likewise, I am sure we are all aware of the task ahead of us, and we shall be committed to the challenge of the Community ahead of us.

Certainly, integration is not debatable. Now our partner States have taken concrete steps towards actualizing it. The very existence of the Assembly along with other organs is evidence of that. When you look further on what is happening in the rest of the world, we can see that regional integration is imperative.

We are all aware of the challenges posed by the WTO, but also, we need to think of the opportunities within our own regional context of Africa. The movement towards the African Union is further evidence of that global trend. What then we have to see, I believe, Mr. Speaker, is what concrete steps we can take towards the desired goals of regional integration. Here, within the African region, certainly the East

African Community should be, and is one of the building blocks for the greater unity of the continent.

As we face the task ahead, I ask myself, out of the more than 8 million members of East Africa, why are we, the 27, chosen? I believe our selection is for a purpose, and we must rise to meet that challenge. Our citizens have given us the mandate through our national Parliaments, to provide strategic leadership to this sub-region. And to what is this strategic leadership supposed to be directed?

Fortunately, we can look to the Treaty, which sets out very clearly the parameters for this co-operation. We have very clear principles in the Treaty that set out the fundamentals, the underpinnings of our co-operation. We also have specific sectors set out, and the issues are further elaborated within the strategy. I will look at two of these issues.

One of the principles underpinning the Treaty is that of equity; and I believe equity can be looked at in many different dimensions. When we look within our different nations, which have now come together, we can see many areas in which there is need to emphasize and ensure equity. And why should we have equity?

There are groups within our countries which have been marginalized, and yet these groups have a role to play in development. They have a very positive role in economic development and other forms of development. We have women, persons with disability, the youth, workers and others. All of these groups, without a doubt, are playing a role. And indeed with the right, free market and

conditions, they can play an even greater role in economic development, in social development, in political development. I believe that as the legislature, we have a responsibility to enact legislation that will provide a framework conducive to free up the energies of all these groups so that they too can continue to play a role in the development of our region. They too can take their rightful place in decision making in this region.

Secondly, there is the question of human development itself. There is a lot of emphasis in the Treaty, and rightly so, on economic issues. I do not need to repeat here what has been said about the lack of development and the economic struggles and challenges that all our countries face, and have faced historically. I am sure you all recall the allusion to this in the speech of His Excellency the President of Uganda. We all live this daily, and we know less fortunate members of our community who face poverty.

So, certainly, economic issues are crucial. However, I would urge us to remember that at the end of the day, we would like to see economic development, not merely for its own sake as an end in itself, but as a means of furthering human development. As we legislate and look at the budget for the Community, I would wish that we addressed those kinds of concerns as well.

The Community will be investing in infrastructure, for example, in the road systems, in the telephone network. Let us try, as we do this, to ensure that the manner of investment furthers the goals of human development alongside the economic - *(Applause)*.

Fortunately, in all of our countries in various sectors; in health, in education and others, there are clear means of mapping progress. We therefore need to borrow a leaf and see what the clear indicators of progress as a Community, as a region, will be.

We are 27 out of more than 80 million, and we have to provide the strategic leadership. What does this demand of us? In my opinion, one of the essentials is for us to look beyond narrow or parochial interests – *(Applause)*- and begin to focus on the potential benefits of coming together, and indeed these are many. We already feel it as Members of this House. Certainly, our interaction is enriched by sitting as Ugandans with Members from Kenya and Tanzania. There is an additional flavour added to this interaction, which we would never have had if we did not have this co-operation. *(Applause)*

I would like us to recognise that there are comparative advantages in each of our partner States, and as we move forward, to see how best to tap and exploit those advantages. Given this, I believe that we will be working very closely with various groups within the partner States in consultation.

We know, for example, that we have a Treaty, but this Treaty has been the result of a process of dialogue, a process of discussion, of negotiation, and those actors are still with us. Some are in the Secretariat at Arusha, others within various sectors within our countries. We have been consulting with them and I believe this is the way to continue, so that as we are working on the regional issues, we do not lose the connection

with the national, but rather include the national inputs into the deliberations and decisions that we make at the regional level.

One of the issues raised in the East African Development Strategy is how to scale up capacities within the region. As we do this, and looking at our comparative advantages, I know we will be faced with a task of identifying which sectors in the different countries to promote, which are the interests that will take precedence, knowing that overall, this contributes to the progress of the region as a whole.

In that context, we can also borrow a leaf from other regional blocks where the sectors of the areas - they may be geographical - which have fewer economic advantages may benefit from a fund kind of affirmative action, one could say, that enables them to compete and not lose out completely from the cooperation of that region.

As we carry out this consultation, I support the proposals made here that we also need to consult widely with the private sector and with the civil society. They too have their roles to play in their different perspectives, which will enable us at the end to make decisions, formulate laws, endorse budgets that have meaning and that resonate with the people of East Africa by providing actual benefits to them.

We all know that our cooperation is not an island; it operates in a global economy, in a global regime which carries with it both threats and opportunities. I believe reference has been made, Mr. Speaker, to the AGOA and to the WTO. We know there are

other arrangements like the EU and the ACP relationship. Within our region, we have SADAC and we have COMESA. I think we can learn lessons from the progress and the process that has been adopted by these other bodies.

The EU, for example, we know has systematically taken steps at a time as it moves towards its goal ultimately of monetary and political union. Steps have been elaborated in our own context through which we will travel towards that ultimate goal. I would urge us all to consider carefully the process and invest in those decisions which will strengthen the unity; invest in those institutions that can further the goals of unity. We need to look at issues such as harmonization of laws and policies within the partner States, so that both at the national and then at the regional level, there is less difference.

I am sure, we all look back to the first attempt we had at cooperation and learn lessons from that. I believe we have many resources that we can tap into in our quest. We can work with the technical support that we have in the region. The East African Community Secretariat can make a lot of input. And I invite them, Mr. Speaker, to share information as much as possible, to network, and to work closely with us because at the end of the day, we have one goal, and that is of integration.

They may be different organs and they may look at us as political animals, but Mr. Speaker, we are East Africans first, and we are intent on working together with all the organs within the EAC. We can also take advantage of the technical input within the partner States - the various line Ministries.

Secondly, Mr. Speaker, we have a very fundamental resource - that is political goodwill. This has been demonstrated really by the various presidents and by other actors. This political support extends to our Parliaments and down to the grassroots. There is a lot of interest, there is a lot of anticipation, and there is a lot of goodwill as we speak for this Assembly. And I request all my colleagues here that we take advantage of this and we live up to the promise, we live up to the anticipation by focusing on the agenda of cooperation.

Mr. Speaker, I will not speak much longer, except to reiterate the importance of institutional strengthening - (*Applause*). I believe we have the goodwill, we have the support, but at the end of the day, we will have to ensure that we strengthen the organs, the institutions themselves so that they take life beyond and above the individuals within them. The Assembly is a good place to start, and we are fortunate that we have you at the helm; we are fortunate that we share a common vision.

I believe we need to look at issues that will strengthen our working together as a team, that will strengthen our various capacities in different issues; reconciliation, lawmaking - those skills that we will bring together to carry our work to fruition. And I believe this institutional strengthening should extend to all the organs of the EAC, and further to look at the various organs within our countries - the Judiciary and so on. At the end of the day, these form the building blocks for the collective strength of East Africa.

With those few words, Mr. Speaker, I thank the hon. Members for their attention, and I beg to support the motion - (*Applause*).

Maj. Gen. Mugisha Muntu (Uganda): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I would like to thank you for the manner in which you have conducted the business of this House since the beginning of your election. I also thank all the Members for having elected you and for their participation in this debate. In fact, coming at the end, I wonder what I am going to talk about because most of the subjects have more or less been handled and effectively so.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Summit of the Heads of State for their vision and the tireless effort they have put in the resurrection of the East African Community, and for the work so far done.

I also thank the Council of Ministers, the Secretariat of the Community, all the past and present Secretary-Generals, their support staff and the technical committees from the three different countries.

When you look at the Treaty, the East African Community Development Strategy 2001-2005, the Perspectives Of Regional Integration and Co-operation in East Africa, Science and Technology Policy in East Africa and all the other documents which have so far been formulated, you can see the amount of effort and work that have been put in. You can also see the systematic way in which the vision has been set and the roadmap put in place. I think what is left is how to implement what is so far in place - (*Applause*). In fact, the few

issues I will talk about will be more or less on 'how do we do that?'

The fundamental principles are six, but I will zero on only one: good governance. The operational principles are nine, but I will touch only one: people-centred and market-driven co-operation. The objectives are six, but I will only refer to one - promotion of good governance, including adherence to the principles of democracy, rule of law, accountability, transparency, social justice, equal opportunities and gender equality. In fact, the three are inter-related. So, how do we have the three inter-related issues to foster and sustain the development process?

A lot has been talked about the past, and we all know the pitfalls of the past. There have been many visions in the past but for the last 40 years or so, for many of our African countries, we are yet to see a systematic process, that is an uninterrupted development process, and we need to ask ourselves why.

At some point, it has been lack of vision, but even where there has been vision, still there have been a number of failures. In fact, as I was coming from home today, I was reading one of the newspapers, and I saw a comment by British Minister, Straw. He was referring to the effort the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, is trying to put in the G8 to make sure that we do not have a situation in the world where four continents are moving forward while one is moving backwards. It is quite interesting!

The foreigners are interested in doing that and they imagine we are interested in doing that. But I think it can only be ourselves who will do it. I do not think

that any foreigner is going to come here and start and maintain the development process. It is not possible - (*Applause*).

The world is about interests. Politics and life is about the struggle of interests. We have got our own interests. Nobody is going to effectively take care of our interests other than us, and I would like to keep touch on the question. I think we are our own enemies because we have the natural resources; we also have the human resource. We also have the capability to analyse what the problems are and quite often, we do correctly analyse what the problems are, but at some point we get stuck. I think we at times hope that we can keep on stumbling from one stage of development to another without having a systematic and managed development process. It is not possible.

We also have to make choices. As I talk about democracy, there are all areas where there has not been necessarily democracy, but which have developed. Look at Singapore. I would encourage you to read a book by Lee Kuan Yu. It is called: *Singapore from 1962 to 19 – 30 Years of Development in Singapore*.

Singapore was not necessarily democratic but I think what the leadership there did was to look at their situation. 'We are a small country, we are a small population'. They looked at no resources at all. They assessed correctly and decided on how to develop Singapore. But the most critical thing other than the correct analysis was that they developed the human resource. They made sure that they were disciplined in the way they managed their development process.

Three; there was zero tolerance of corruption. Within 30 years, Singapore is more or less competing with the First World, and it is now opening up, it is becoming democratic. I am not suggesting that we do that, but in the past we even tried that. We tried not to be democratic but we did not develop. Well, at the present moment, there is no way you can run the country other than on a democratic process. So, we must make sure that we have a democratic process in place, and we do everything possible to sustain it.

In the global world now, I do not see how you can do it any other way. Anyway, once you have freedoms and you have got a sustained democratic process, it opens up the creative energies of the people. Once they are well directed and involved in the development process, there is no way any country can fail to develop.

For example Thailand and Malaysia were more or less like us, and as our President keeps quoting, Korea in the 60s had a lower GDP than we had in the East Africa Community. Within a short period of 30 years, you almost cannot say that those countries are still within the Third World, but we are. What is the problem? In my own assessment, I think there is an organisational problem and failure to study and manage change on a sustained basis.

Change is constant, but somehow we seem not to realise that. There are times when we seem to want to stand against the unfolding of history. It is not possible! Change is a constant. The basic thing we need to do and to know is how to manage it in a situation where it is constant, and in the interest of our countries, and our population.

In this case, the regional block which we are forming, is a sheer necessity. It is a question of survival. I do not think we are trying to create the East African Community and later have it integrated just because we want to saunter in our natural environment, enjoying the beauties of our countries. No! I think we must do it. It is a necessity. There is no way you can compete in the present global competition. It is a question of markets.

That brings me to good governance, because when you look at our environment, you look at our internal levels of savings, they are almost non-existent. Look at our export base, it is still very small. So, if we want to invest in industry, if we want to invest in modernised agriculture, how are we going to do that unless we have got adequate revenues, which we do not have? Unless you have got a large export base, and you get those revenues from exports and inject them in the development process, unless you have got adequate internal savings, there is no other option.

The only immediate option, in my honest submission, is how do we create a situation where we become competitive in attracting foreign direct investment? I do not think we have got many options. I have heard hon. Mwakyembe talk about this, and to a large extent I agree with you, but at the same time, there is no other alternative. The only thing is when you attract foreign direct investment, how do you use it to build your internal local capacities? How do you build your own local entrepreneurs? Thailand is doing that, Malaysia is doing that, and you can see how their economies are.

To attract foreign direct investment, there are certain conditions that must be in place. If someone is seated in New York, or London or wherever, and he wants to invest his money, the destinations are very many. There are about 100 destinations in this world. Why would he have to choose to come to East Africa rather than take his money to Vietnam, or to Brazil, or to Singapore? There are certain conditions that must be in place.

Just place yourselves as foreign investors. If you were the ones who are based there, what would you want? You would want predictability; you would want stability. You would want certainty, and of course fair economic policies, where you know that you are going to put your money in an investment long-term, and you are going to get profits, and you have got no worries at all! Well, there are risks, but those risks must be measured. It is a question that we must focus on. If we do not focus on that question, we will keep moving on, but we will not develop as fast as really is required.

Look at our populations; they are growing on a daily basis. If the population growth keeps on moving much faster than our economic growth, what happens? We remain in a situation of crisis! So, we need to look at questions of good governance, equality before the law. There are a number. You know them. Besides attracting foreign directive investment, they also cause internal strengths.

Why do we get organisational failures? If you do not have internal strengths within an organisation, how can you resist exploitation; how can you resist

penetration; how can you resist external manipulation? We always blame everybody else other than ourselves. I think we need to carry out a self-analysis. There are other problems external to us, but the main problem is ourselves, and really the political elite within our countries must rise to this challenge!

How many people are involved in the leadership process? As we work towards economic integration in the three countries, how many of us are involved in this political-economic management? I do not think we are even half a million. If you added all the Parliaments and all the executives, I suspect we would be below fifty thousand. But the destiny of ninety million people is in our hands.

I heard just a few minutes ago, hon. Irene talking about building institutions and avoiding the question of being moved because of narrow and parochial interests. If we do not avoid being moved by narrow and parochial interests, there is no way we are going to effectively manage the challenges that face the ninety million people. It is not possible! We will keep churning on, like we have churned on.

We were here the last forty years; some of us exhausted our youth in a military struggle. Our youth is completely gone! Many people have exhausted their youth in the day-to-day struggles to survive. I think we need to invest the rest of our lives in the question of how to develop our economies. If our economies are not developed, there is no way we are going to face the day-to-day challenges of the times. If we are going to do it, let us do it seriously.

The other day our President was talking about lack of seriousness. In fact, additional to lack of seriousness, I would think the way we operate is criminal insensitivity. We see what is right, but often we do what is wrong, and it causes internal crises in organisations. I think we all know what our common interests are, we know the interests our nations have. Let us focus on these interests, even regardless of our political orientations, we are known to be in the boat together, and we need to see how we can create an environment conducive to dialogue. How do we discuss problems that commonly affect us, whether as political entities or as countries? And how do we resolve them and move on the roadmap that has been set? Do we have any alternatives?

In my own estimation, I do not think we have these alternatives anyway; I do not see how we can survive. Nobody is going to fall from Mars and do the job for us. We are the ones who will have to do it.

Then, the building of institutions - that is very critical, because to me, I think that any society would be at risk to depend on the goodwill of individuals - (*Applause*) - because individuals are very vulnerable. There are many things that affect us as individuals. In fact, when I always think of this in my mind, I see someone who is stable, who is walking steadily; he goes in a bar, one hour or two hours, he or she walks out and you wonder whether it is the same person! The person is staggering! That is something external which causes that occasion, but he or she is the same person.

So, the vulnerability of human beings is not affected only by alcohol but there are other things that we cannot manage; wealth is one of them and power is another. If we do not build institutions so that our destinies are based on the strong institutions other than depending on the goodwill of individuals then we will be doing a dangerous thing for our people. Suppose one steps in a bar and comes out drunk, and he or she has got to make decisions? There no are individuals; there are no institutions to check them, what happens?

In fact, there is one of our playwrights here - I attended the theatre one time and there was a man called Kalyekezi. They went to visit a *Kabaka* of Buganda with the *Katikiiro*. Whenever the *Kabaka's* guards saluted him, the *Katikiiro* would feel some sensation coming from the feet. It kept on moving up until it had reached the neck. So you can imagine someone not in power was the one feeling it. That is how vulnerable human beings can be.

All of us, if we are not checked by institutions - of course, the clever ones make sure that that sensation does not go beyond their neck. But how do you know, it could go into the head? What happens when it goes into the head? If there are no institutions to check the aftereffects of that sensation when it reaches the head, those are the endless problems that we get. So, the building of institutions is as important as the air we breathe. I do not see any other alternative to that, because when we have got institutions, we have got long-term stability in my own estimation.

The other issue is what hon. Marando talked about. It is not so much, but I

believe in what he said. I was happy that he was willing to talk about it, and I think that is the culture that we should build. I do not think there is any subject under the sun that we should not be able to discuss - (*Applause*).

Now, the outcome of the discussion depends on how it is held. There can be agreement or disagreement, but the most important issue is that there is an atmosphere created under which any subject can be discussed effectively, openly, honestly and with goodwill. After all, we are building countries for all of us; we are not building any body's house (*Applause*). When that is done, we create the internal strength in the organization and in our countries that will make us be able to resist the external manipulation and exploitation that we keep talking about. Without internal strength, there is no way we will resist that manipulation; there is no way we will resist that exploitation, we will keep agonizing.

There is a Pan-African Movement slogan, it always sounds beautiful to me, and it says, "*Organize, do not agonize*". Now if we fail to organize, let us not agonize - (*Applause*). It is within our means - mostly the political elite - and I know that this is a process; it is not something going to happen overnight. But if we focus on it, we will eventually build the critical force that is necessary to make sure that all the necessary ingredients of the development process are put in place and sustained.

So, it is a question of choice. We will either choose to do that or we will choose not to do it, and we will fail. So, if we do not do that, I do not think we should waste people's time to start

blaming everybody else other than ourselves, because we are our own enemies. The vision is there, the roadmap is set, and the only thing we need to do is, how do we walk that road?

I think my time is about to end, and I know there are going to be many other opportunities for us to contribute on the most substantive matters as laid out within the Treaty, and I hope, Mr. Speaker, you will keep on organizing seminars where we can meet and educate ourselves and see how we can support each other in doing the most critical things that will make the 90 million people believe in the Community, because, unless they get tangible results from the work that we do, the East African Community will remain a story. They will just hear about it, like now they are hearing about us.

Well, now when you look in the gallery, you do not see many people. Why? I do not think they have directly understood what is going on. Maybe I should also touch on that and say that is the good thing with the Assembly.

I know that the Council of Ministers meets and they have done a lot of great things; the Technical Committees meet and they have also done a lot of great things, but you see they are closed. But the opportunity now that the Assembly gives is, once you open up, the public knows, and many questions come out and they become questions of debate, and the more people debate them, the more related they get to the Community.

I do not know how many minutes I am left with, but I also intend, at the end of my presentation, Mr. Speaker, to move a motion about the question of the

Referendum, I think we will definitely succeed, if it has to be the will of God. Thank you, Mr. Speaker - *(Applause)*.

Mr. Speaker, if you allow me a few minutes, there is what I intended to move. I had intended to move a motion to refer the question of a referendum on a political union/federation by this august House to the Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution: *“That this august Assembly, having received and noted the speeches of the three East African Heads of State at the inauguration of the Assembly on 30th November 2001 in Arusha – Tanzania, and as contained in their different addresses at different times; and noting their full commitment and support to the ultimate Federation of the East African countries; realising that there is a general consensus among the Members of the Assembly that the necessary foundation should be put in place to speed up the attainment of a political union/federation; Seeking to involve the participation of the populations of the three countries in making such a critical decision in the political life and history of their countries – (Interruption)*

The Counsel to the Community (Mr. Wilbert Kaahwa): Mr. Speaker, rising under rule 38, is the hon. Member holding the Floor in order to raise a substantive motion contrary to the procedures laid down in the Rules of this august House?

The Speaker: I believe the hon. Member of the Assembly is not giving a notice to this House to move a motion. He is just stating an intention on what he is intending to do in future. You many continue hon. Member.

Maj. Gen. Mugisha Muntu: Mr. Speaker, thank you for your wise ruling. In fact, at the beginning I said, “what I had intended to be a motion”. It will no longer be, because I am going to put a request at the end of what I am reading.

The Member interrupted me at the most critical point of my submission – I wish the hon. Member had waited – *“seeking to involve the participation of the populations of the three countries in making such a critical decision in the political life and history of their countries; now this Assembly do resolve to refer the question of a referendum on a political union/federation to the Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution, which in consultation with the appropriate organs of the Community and the Governments of the three sister States should work out a framework and a realistic timeframe within which to have a referendum conducted in all the three East African countries on the question of a political union/federation.”*

I would have moved it as a motion, but I did not think, on advice, that that would be necessary because, again on advice, we realise that it is within the jurisdiction of the Speaker to take certain decisions.

I would like to request you, Mr. Speaker, under Rule 8 to invoke your powers and gratify this request. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

The Secretary General of the Community (Mr. Nuwe Amanya Mushega): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. First of all, I join my colleagues in congratulating you, Mr. Speaker, for having been elected Member of this

august House, and also having capped it with being unanimously elected Speaker of this House. By Rules of the Treaty, Mr. Speaker, I was not allowed to vote, but my side would have been known, had I been allowed to.

Secondly, I would like to congratulate Members for having gone through a rigorous exercise and eventually being elected Members of this august House. I would also like to congratulate my colleagues, the Ex-Officio Members of this House, and to point out the importance that the Treaty attaches to these five officers that are made Members of this House by virtue of holding those offices.

I would like to thank and congratulate the people and Government of Uganda for having hosted this Session in Kampala so successfully. I would also like to thank members of the Press, both print and electronic, for the coverage and interest they have shown in the Community matters generally, and the proceedings of this Assembly in particular - *(Applause)*.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that when the Community broke up, it left bitterness, suspicion and some people were at a loss in the East African Community. But some people never lost hope and kept the candle of regional integration burning, in spite of the fact that some few misguided individuals celebrated the break-up of the Community. There is a saying in Buganda here that a young monkey danced when the forest was on fire, not knowing that it had nowhere to return in the evening. We have learnt our lessons!

In light of these people who kept the candle burning, I would like to salute the following; those who kept the idea of the East African Community Co-operation alive and burning; those who played a very vital role in its revival. Here I would like to recognise the participation of the three Presidents of the East African countries, namely, President Moi, President Mkapa, President Museveni and former President Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania - *(Applause)*.

Secondly, to recognise the role played by the coordinating ministries and the ministers in particular, and other government ministries and departments in general, of the three Partner States; my predecessor, Ambassador Muthaura and his team at the East African Secretariat headquarters who played a crucial role in the revival of this Community.

Finally, to I would like to recognize all East Africans and our well-wishers and supporters abroad, who made the revival of this Community possible. Together they made it possible, and we, Members of the Legislative Assembly, for our existence, we should recognise their contribution.

The role of the Legislative Assembly is well spelt out in the Treaty, but I would like to stress the following for consideration as we strive to strengthen and speed up the process of regional integration.

The African is the most humiliated most despised, most marginalised person at home and abroad on this earth. We have been enslaved, we have been colonised, and we have been split into tiny pieces, not in our interests, but in the interests of

those who control us. Our pride and our confidence were hurt and eroded. Unfortunately, some of our people take pride in this humiliation and hence the continued retardation of the continent.

The recovery process has been long and chequered, but the question I would like to ask hon. Members is, who is to blame for this humiliation, for these insults that the African people suffer both at home and abroad? In my humble opinion, the primary responsibility lies with us. We have the sole responsibility to recover our dignity and our pride by planning for ourselves, raising the standard of living of our people, and hence getting off the beggars' list.

Recently, when I left you in Manyara, I had opportunity to attend the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) meeting in Brussels. When you looked around the delegations, they were all representatives of black governments around the world. If you look at Africa, North Africa is not there. If you go to Latin America, it is Guyana, it is not Venezuela, and it is not Brazil. If you go to the Pacific, it is Fiji, it is Papua New Guinea, it does not involve the Philippines, and it does not involve New Zealand. If you come to the Indian Ocean, it is Madagascar, and it does not involve India, which is named after the Indian Ocean.

What does this mean? You have an Assembly where all these natives belong and they are the ones assembled to receive pittances from our people. I have a letter written by the Belgian Prime Minister. It is an open letter in which he argues that if the European markets were opened to products of the third world countries, we would get fourteen times as much money as we get from

donations and loans. Single handedly, this is not possible to be achieved; together we can have the clout.

We can only achieve this through pulling our immense human and natural resources together, which are currently scattered for the picks, not by us, but those who take advantage of our disintegration. This can be done through the processes of regional integration.

The creation of large units enhances confidence building, facilitates the creation of bigger internal markets for both foreign and low domestic investment. And big units attract meaningful domestic and foreign investors rather than good-weather friends who are attracted by smaller units. It makes it easier for us to isolate quack investors and adventurers who meander over the African Continent.

For those who like to talk about sovereignty, and I would like to recognize the contribution by my predecessors, larger units actually create real sovereign states or units that are there for everybody to see. So, there is no need to sing about sovereignty when you are indeed sovereign.

As one African writer said, 'the tiger does not sing about its tigerness'. If you are a real tiger, by moving around, you see the animals and human beings running around. But when you hear somebody saying 'I am a tiger', you know that one is not a tiger - (*Applause*). For example, big countries like United States rarely talk about their sovereignty; they only talk about being American, and when they say so, we all dance and run around. It is a small weak state that sings about sovereignty.

China is officially a communist state, but it attracts more investors - real investors - than all the African countries that have liberalized, privatized, have practiced and sung capitalism, put together. I do not want to say many things on this microphone, but you know what China can do, and nobody attacks it. But what is the secret behind China, a communist country, attracting more capitalist investors than all the capitalists of Africa put together? It is the size of its population and landmass.

Bigger populations and territories make it much easier to solve problems, which some people think caused the break-up of the former Community, and are hindering the speedy process of integration currently; issues of a balanced budget, the issues of uneven development, and the issues of foreign domination. One speaker said that when you are not able even to provide food for your children, how could you say that you are a sovereign head of the family?

In my opinion, it is too early, and therefore, there is no need to start apportioning blame as my old colleague was suggesting. In my humble view, let us work together as a team in a coordinated manner. Let us help each other to achieve and to succeed. At this stage, you cannot start saying it is the Assembly, it is the Secretariat, it is the Court, it is Uganda, and it is Tanzania, which is causing problems. I think it is too early, in my humble opinion.

At this stage, we need to find out who is weaker. Maj. Gen. Mugisha Muntu has just spoken, he is more familiar with this. When you are in a struggle, you must galvanize a process for carrying those who are wounded with you

because you need them. But when you are well to do - on Kampala Road, when you get injured, they pass by and only your relatives come to look for you.

So, my view is that at this stage really, we need to pull together, to work together in order to succeed - the secretariat, the Assembly, the Court, the Governments, the private sector, the civil society and the rest. We need to pull together. We all have one goal, and that is speeding up the process of integration of our people.

In my view, no single man or single woman, however brilliant or strong, can achieve alone. It is the size and quality of the team that he or she captains that achieves. So, anybody who would like to make success in the building of the East African Community must look for everybody around in order to go up.

Allow me to speculate and dream, and I hope that my old friend who was in that Community does not break down with emotion. If the old Community had succeeded and grown strong, what would have happened? In my speculation, Zambia, which had applied, would have joined with the whole length of the Tazara Railway. Rwanda and Burundi, whom we consider natural Members of this Community, would have joined. Somalia, which had applied, would have joined. And most probably, when Mozambique got independence, chances are good that it would have joined.

If that had happened, what would have happened? In my view, Somalia, if it were a member of this bigger group, would not have disintegrated. The so-called ethnic issues of Rwanda and

Burundi would not be issues at all because if you are well to do, who is bothered about the size of your bottoms or the length of your nose? It is the idle and disorderly who concentrate on such minor issues. In my speculation again, probably the genocide in Rwanda would not have taken place. And if it tried to take place, there would have been sufficient internal capacity to hold it.

We would be a proud people with big research institutions, an effective voice and clout and we would be balancing our budgets. We would be having sufficient goods and services for the welfare of our children. But unfortunately, we broke up the Community and we have ourselves to blame. There is a *Kirundi* saying that, “*you cannot go on blaming your neighbour for not having stopped you from burning your house.*” We burnt our house, we are suffering humiliation and we are regularly going to Europe to ask for arms. So, it is our duty to build it. It is our duty to ensure that something is done.

Why do I raise this speculation? We now have the chance, if we work together as a team and take concrete lessons from our sad history, to contribute immensely to the rebuilding of the East African Community, not just for ourselves but for our children and future generations. If we are to succeed, attract more members and rebuild our economies and our pride and confidence for our future and that of our children, we have the opportunity to do so because some people think that you build only for yourself. But most things which succeed, you do not actually enjoy the fruits for which you laboured.

I would like to quote from one old man called Badru Kakungulu. He lived on that hill where you see the mosque; he is dead now. But in 1986, he met a group of young people who had just captured power in Kampala, and I will retell the story briefly. He said, “You young people, you have done very well but you will not live to enjoy the fruits of your labour.” It was at State House in Entebbe and I was near enough to hear the story. Then he said, “You have not understood, let me tell you a story,” then we got lost.

He said, “One time, the King was going around his Kingdom and he found a very old man planting a coconut tree. He told the old man, ‘you old man, you must be very stupid. At your age, you know a coconut tree takes many years to bear fruit.’” My colleagues from Zanzibar will know this well. “He said, ‘you are foolish, will you live long enough to eat the fruits of this tree you are planting?’ Then the old man turned around and said, ‘My King, I do not know who planted this coconut tree I have been eating. So, I am also planting this coconut tree. If I am lucky, I will eat its fruits, if I am not, those after me will eat the fruits of the tree I have planted as I have been eating the fruits of the tree I never planted’. The King was so impressed that he gave the old man some gold. ‘You are clever’, the King said. Then the old man said, ‘Really this is wonderful. Normally when you plant a coconut tree, it takes many years to bear fruit. Mine has borne fruit the same day!’”

Why do I say this? Let us work hard to rebuild the Community. If we are lucky and it succeeds in our lifetime, it will be double luck. If we are not, let us lay a firm foundation so that the children after

us will not suffer the humiliation we have been undergoing because of the stupid mistakes made in the past, and crush the dream and speculation I have been talking about.

Let me say a few things that have been done in the Community in the process of regional integration that should be highlighted; first, the treaty itself, which we seek to amend immediately. The people had an opportunity to contribute ideas to its content. For those who did not have the opportunity to contribute, there is a chance to contribute to its improvement. The establishment of the Secretariat is in place, the Court of Justice is in place, and I think everybody is aware that the Legislative Assembly is not only in place but also in progress. To me, those are major milestones, considering that the history I gave you, that when it broke up, a lot of bitterness was left behind. Certain borders were even closed! So, the mere fact that not only have we opened borders but also we have a Treaty, which guides us, is a big process on the way to regional integration.

There is a process every year. The fiscal and monetary policies of the three countries have been harmonised. Every year the Ministers of Finance and their staff meet before the budget to harmonise their statements and tax policies, and they read the budgets at the same time. After the budget, there are post-budget meetings to see where things did not work so well and where they have worked very well.

There is an agreement in place about double taxation in the area, which is in place. Those who are in business know that. There are cross-border listings and

mergers. Our currencies are fully convertible in the three countries. Actually, I was amazed; I was talking to some businessmen in Uganda and they were not aware that you could go with Uganda shillings to Arusha or Nairobi and change it in the bank.

So, we have a big duty to educate our people on what is already in place so that we can build on it in order to expand it. The currencies are freely convertible and cross-border trade is strong.

Hon. Kanyomozi yesterday talked about that trade being insignificant, but we only look at the trade through Malaba and Namanga. But our people who are always ahead of Governments do daily cross-border trade that is not recorded. I will make available the research, which was done by the private people.

The unrecorded trade between Uganda and Kenya, between Uganda and Tanzania - what they call informal trade, is estimated to be worth over US\$270 million per annum. Crops, merchandise and animals cross borders and do not come back. People are freely trading with each other. It is we, the educated and those who carry passports that are bothered by borders. These ladies and gentlemen behave as if these borders have never been created, and we should take that one into account, and learn from them.

As you remember, when we were in Manyara, the Permanent Secretary from Kenya mentioned that when our countries put currency restrictions, our ordinary people already had forex bureaux in the no-man's area. They were not talking about no-woman's area at that time, you will forgive me. They

were exchanging the money and ignoring these central banks of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Confidence-building measures have been put in place; the Memorandum of Understanding in the Co-operation in Defence is operational; the Memorandum of Understanding in Foreign Policy Co-ordination is operational; the Memorandum of Understanding on Environmental Management is operational. The East African Community people have something to identify with. One, we have an East African Flag. People may think it is not important - the other day, Mr. Speaker, as you may know, the proceedings were delayed a little because when we looked here, there was only one flag, and Members quickly pointed out that, "Oh! There is no East African Flag in place." We should be recommending, maybe to the Speaker of the Uganda Parliament that that flag should be seen all over the place.

There is the East African passport. Some people are saying that this document is worthless because we do not go to London with it. Let me point out, Mr. Speaker, a colleague of mine, one hon. Member was saying that in Kenya they have an identity card, but you do not carry it beyond the Kenya borders. Now, there is an identity card that makes you feel East African in the whole of East Africa!

To me, hon. Members should give that identity recognition and support, because the majority of our people do not travel beyond their borders. Those who travel beyond their borders, the majority of the people travel across East Africa. A small minority goes to Dubai and

London. Whom should we cater for first, the majority who move from Kampala to Nairobi, from Kisumu to Busia, from Arusha to Nairobi, from Mombasa to Tanga or the few of us who go on trips abroad?

The point I am making is that, this identity should be given current support, and then we try to extend it when it has been strengthened and recognized by the East African people. *(Applause)*

I, for one, travel with this document whenever I am moving from here to Arusha, Arusha to Nairobi and when I have an opportunity to go beyond, then I pull out the other passport. It is stamped once every six months. The passport I move with in Uganda here, within three months it was full; but with this one, five months later, only one or two pages are being stamped. This is a very good recognition of confidence building, and we should give it our support.

Swahili is being developed as a *lingua franca*, and recently I was happy to read in the papers that a new curriculum has been issued in Uganda, which makes the teaching of Swahili compulsory - *(Applause)*. The University Council, which was in limbo has been rejuvenated and strengthened. While originally it had two or three members, I attended one of their meetings, they are now over 30 members and they all attended. When it was the University of Dar-salaam and Makerere University, attendance was a problem. When they are over 30, they are meeting regularly and discussing the process of integration.

A number of programs have been put in place. The Lake Victoria Development Program is in place and is coordinating

all the activities on Lake Victoria. The only common asset that we have between the three countries, where the three borders meet, is only Lake Victoria - on paper of course - if you go there I do not think you can identify the mark stone in that lake. I would like to urge hon. Members to take deep interest in Lake Victoria matters. As usual, our foreign supporters are more interested in the lake than we the owners. The Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization is in place and the Lake Victoria Environmental Management Program is in place.

The East Africa Road Network has been put in place, and numerous studies charting the way forward have been commissioned, and have been completed. They are there for us to study. The freeing of trade in agricultural products has been completed, and the study on the private sector development is now in process.

A number of East African associations have been put in place, both professional and business. There is the East African Business Council coordinating the businessmen in East Africa; the East African Trade Union Council; the Ugonzi Institute, which brings together the youth of East Africa. They meet regularly to discuss the way forward. There is the Youth council; there is the East African Law Council; there is the East African Magistrates and Judges Association; and the Medical Association is in the process of coming up again.

Why am I saying this? When you have a tree with a deep taproot, the more tertiary roots it develops the stronger its future is guaranteed. Because when the

wind blows from any direction, not only is there a taproot, but also there are tertiary roots in all directions to withhold the pressure. So, while we strengthen our organs of the community, we should ensure that many numerous associations that bring East Africans together are created. This is the best way of guaranteeing the future, and stability of this Community - (*Applause*).

Mr. Speaker, hon. Members, work on the Draft Protocol establishing the Customs Union has reached an advanced stage, and very soon we shall have the initial draft - what the technical people call the Zero Draft. I urge hon. Members to take an interest in this process, as I will elaborate later.

What is the way forward? While charting the way forward, we need to recognize the big and small steps that have taken place so far in building the Community. As the Chinese say, even a journey of a thousand kilometers starts with a single step. As I said earlier, when the Community broke up, it was rough; it left some people stranded! You had some witness on the Floor of this House, and I was interested to find out what happened to that product, but unfortunately, sad news was given to me about him.

So, this led to great regional economic decline. While the European Union was coming to East Africa to study the process of regional integration, we who lost our opportunity are going to Europe to learn how to unite, to learn from those who learnt from us, and also to borrow money. This should not be repeated. Now, those pieces have been picked and put together, and bitterness and mistrust

now have been reduced, and confidence measures have been put in place.

I am informed by my predecessors that in the earlier meetings, if an idea came from this country, the other country would go to meet to find what they were up to, but these days, thanks to my predecessors, you meet people disagreeing, we go for a cup of tea and within three hours or sometimes two days, an agreement is reached because everybody sees the importance of coming together, and the opportunities that were lost - (*Applause*).

I thank those who were wise enough and who had the foresight to see that in spite of the suspicions, we are better off together. And it is our duty to work together to overcome obstacles more than creating them. Hon. Kanyomozi, maybe instead of quoting that paper, should have told us what happened to him when the Community broke up. He was in Nairobi and he found himself without a house and without an office suddenly, and without transport.

The problem in Africa is not that we have bad laws; that is not the problem. The issue is that even those so-called bad laws are not recognized and implemented by those who made them. And quite often, they are breached without a sense of shame. Secondly is failure to give recognition to those before you and their achievements, however small - (*Applause*). Thirdly, having a bigger picture that the small losses of today will lead to big gains of tomorrow; I can give a simple example.

One family sent their children to school, the husband and wife suffered with fetching firewood, grazing the animals

and rearing the cocks. The other family did not send the children and they enjoyed themselves, so the children were there all the time. Twenty years down the road, how do you compare those two families; the one which suffered by sending all the children to school and the one, which had short-term benefits by having all the children and grandchildren around? I think we should take the option of the family that sacrificed a little and sent their children to school. Let us suffer for a short time but come together so that in future our children are proud and respected.

The Treaty we have is a comprehensive document and is a result of our history and protracted negotiations. We should therefore speed up its implementation with a purpose and amend it as we go along.

I appeal to you hon. Members, to study what has been going on in the process of establishing the Customs Union. Take note of the achievements that have been made so far and isolate the areas that appear to be a problem, and help us to lobby and resolve those problem areas, so that the process of establishing the Customs Union is enhanced.

In my view, Mr. Speaker, the absence of a political federation should not be used as an excuse to delay the bringing into force of a Customs Union - (*Applause*). It is like saying 'I will not send my child to a primary school' because they envisage secondary schools and universities are not yet in place. Let that child go to the primary school while you think of the process of establishing the secondary schools. And if the secondary school is never established, which I hope they will, at least the child will be

literate and be able to read its mail on the Internet. That is what I would be urging.

It is not that we are against the federation. No! We support it fully; we support the speed, but hon. Members, we would like you to concentrate now on ensuring that the Customs Union is speeded up and it is operational as soon as possible, while the process of moving a motion to bring the federation in place is also going on.

Secondly, let us be East Africans in words, in deeds and in thoughts. Think and dream East Africa. When I was a young student in Junior Secondary School, our English teacher used to tell us that, he would punish us for speaking vernacular and he would say, 'I advise you my children, the day you will start dreaming in English, you will have mastered it'. The day you will start dreaming East African, you will know that the Community is in progress.

I appeal to you to support the co-operation and to say what you believe in. Not to speak East African in the Assembly here and become Ugandan as soon as you go out. There is need to develop East African positions on many issues affecting our region. I appeal to you to publicise the virtues of the East African Community, and bring all the people abroad by creating broader awareness and thirst for it.

Let me repeat the story I told you in Manyara of this salesman who went out to sell goods and came back and told his master that, "Sir I could not sell anything". The master said, "Why?" - This is a quotation from President Mkapa. He said "You can take the horse

to the well but you cannot force it to drink." And the master turned around and said, "The business, my boy, is not for you to take the horse to the well, it is to make the horse thirsty." So, I appeal to you to make the East African people thirsty for co-operation, they will know how to look for it once they are thirsty for it, support the process and speed up the implementation of the various programmes that are in place.

The Baganda say, "*atamukutte yagamba.*" This means that, if you are not doing a task, you may think it is easy. I know you are watching the African Cup; if you sit there, you can have many scores when you are on the screen. You say, "If he had kicked this way, it would have been three scores!" But if you try to kick the ball, you will see it is not easy.

What am I saying? While you encourage us to implement the programmes, know that it is not easily done, so that you encourage us to go ahead. We in the Secretariat pledge and renew our commitment to work and co-operate with you Members of the Legislative Assembly and all the organs and institutions, the private sector and civil society, to make the Community succeed.

The Speaker: I now call upon our last speaker, the hon. James Wapakabulo, Third Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Co-operation.

Mr. James Wapakabulo: (Ex-Officio Member, Uganda): I thank you, Mr. Speaker, for giving me the Floor once more to wind up on this motion. Mr. Speaker, I would like to start by

thanking the Members for the support they gave to this motion that I moved on behalf of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Mr. Speaker, Members have made very valuable contributions, very useful suggestions and observations.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, that without conspiring between us, I think the Secretary General has talked more or less on my behalf. He did answer quite a number of issues that were raised, issues relating to implementation, issues relating to achievements and charting the way forward. That being the case, Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to take too long, but before I make one or two more other comments, let me say, Mr. Speaker, that it would be amiss if we were to close this sitting of the East African Assembly without paying tribute to the three Speakers of the Parliaments of East Africa. Why do I say this?

The inclusion of the East African Assembly in the Treaty was not a matter that was originally dreamt of by Ministers and Officials of the three Governments. It was a deliberate act, at the invitation of Speaker Msekwa, his colleagues the Speaker of Kenya, Speaker Ole Kaparo and the Speaker then of the Uganda Parliament named James Wapakabulo. They did meet at Arusha and at Ngorongoro and they drafted the first initial ideas of having an East African Assembly, included in the Treaty as a people's organ - (*Applause*).

Essentially, the elements that you see in the Treaty came from the three Speakers, with one major difference. We suggested 45 Members, 15 each from each State, but along the way, the number was reduced to 27. That is really the major difference. So, I

thought we should pay tribute to Speaker Msekwa and his colleagues and subsequent Speakers who followed up - I mean the subsequent Speakers of Uganda who followed up, together with the others, in achieving the inclusion of the East African Legislative Assembly in our Treaty arrangements. And what you have done, Mr. Speaker and Members, so far acquits very well the contribution that was made, because we have in the East African Assembly, an embryo of an East African Parliament actually in the making.

The question of implementation was fully covered by the Secretary General, by pointing out to the Members the achievement so far made, both in terms of institutional framework, and also in the direction of harmonization of activity in areas like the economy, defence, environment and so on. These are very important achievements, and I hope that we can now go on, as I said the other time, to build a customs union up to a federation.

Time-tabling is something that we shall have to look at. The general view here was that maybe we do not have to go through the stages of setting up a customs union, common market, monetary union and then a federation. The Secretary General says let us not use this as a basis for delaying to implement, but at the same time, it becomes imperative that we do not lose sight of the need to move towards a federation - (*Applause*).

I recollect I was in Beijing attending the Inter-Parliamentary Union; speaker after speaker from European countries lectured the Chinese on the need to bring democracy to Tibet and to leave

Tibetans alone, saying that China had wrongfully occupied Tibet. Then we got a message that Premier Lee Peng would come to address the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and his statement was very, very brief. He said, "The China that the Europeans used to rejoice in humiliating, the China which was despised by Europeans, is no longer available." That was his speech, and he finished - *(Applause)*.

East Africa, we all agree, is despised, and Africans are despised. As the Secretary-General said, America never goes around saying "We are a superpower"; they just show their presence. When Collin Powell arrives in a particular place that is enough!

I remember Kissinger came to Nairobi, some of us who were going to work could not go to work because they took over the entire town, including the airport. And it is only the Americans who were allowing us to go to the airport, not even the Kenyan security, because Kissinger had arrived. America was there! He did not have to say much.

For East Africa, we must be very serious on the question of unity, the question of the East African federation. For Uganda, as the President said, tell us when you want to discuss it. I can speak for Uganda; we are ready any time to begin discussing the question of a federation - *(Applause)*. Therefore, it was gratifying to see Member after Member supporting this very important step that we must take. We must be East Africa and big, and if we are, we will not have to go and say, 'we are Big East Africa'. Our presence alone will be sufficient to make people take us seriously.

Hon. Kanyomozi did say that you couldn't leave out politics, you cannot say, "Let us not talk politics." I agree with him fully. You cannot leave out political discourse because first and foremost, the East African Community is supposed to be a step towards a political union, and therefore, of necessity, you must discuss politics.

The issues of harmonization of political systems, in fact, form part of the discussion. Why do I say this? At the end of the day, some of our national idiosyncrasies will disappear through an East African federation.

In Kenya, I have never known politics of religion. I do not even know the religion of many of the Kenyan leaders. In Uganda, it was a crucial thing to know who belongs to which religion. I have never known about politics of tribe in Tanzania. Someone is a president from Zanzibar, another one from Mtwara, another one is from a small tribe called Wazanaki here, but he is a great leader of the entire Tanzanian people. If his tribe were to vote for him, they would not even send him to Parliament! So, in Uganda, while we are very concerned about where you go to pray as a leader, in our other two states, these things are not there.

In Kenya, the British began inside here, the great leader of the entire Wakamba people, the great leader of the entire Luo people, in Tanzania it is not there. But if we came into unity, these idiosyncrasies, which explain in some degree why we have some political arrangements like we have in Uganda, would be submerged in the East African federation - *(Applause)*. And this would also

resolve some of the issues we have in the region.

You go to Tanzania, the *Barundi* refugees are supposed to be many, should they stay or should they go? You come to Uganda, we had *Rwandese* refugees, should they go; should they come? They keep going and coming at all times. But in the East African federation, with freedom of movement and right of establishment anywhere, the issues which appear to be important now, would become actually things of the past. Therefore, I agree that we cannot, in our discourse, fail or refuse to look at issues.

Why do we inconvenience our people at border points? I am glad that Members of the Assembly from Kenya did so disclose, because they have been able now to show us what really happens at these borders. And for us here, we are going to look into it. Why is it that our people are so inconvenienced by the bureaucracy that manages our borders?

We talked about common research services; I would go one step further. We have all these researches going on in viruses, HIV, in agriculture, industrial fields, in all sorts of things. Is it not possible? We had an East African University, which was doing ordinary things. Can't we have a research university of East Africa, for instance, based on these research institutes, which we already have?

In Australia they have the National University of Australia. It does not indulge in small things. They only deal with research at that level. If we say Nairobi and these other numerous universities are doing basic training in

first degrees and so on, can't we have an East African University based on our researches taking place at the institutes, and therefore, dealing in post-graduate and special studies to enhance our capacity as East Africa? These are things we can think of as we look at our Treaty, as we improve on it, as the Secretary-General did say.

It will not be opportune for me to try to answer point by point, but I thought I should only pick on the most salient points. As I said, the Secretary General covered the majority of the things, but as we move, we should be able to re-evaluate ourselves every time. We are implementing, is it the best or can we do better? What else can we bring on board? The realities of our situation now are what the hon. Kanyomozi told us about the figures of trade, but there are also other positive realities.

When I left University, I decided to work in the East African Community, but every time I came to Uganda, I had to explain why I chose to be there. At that time, everybody was supposed to come and work here and for those who worked outside, we owed an explanation to people every time we came here. Ugandans were the most inward looking of the three, but for every dark cloud, there is a silver lining.

Idi Amin came here and dispersed us. Politicians, civil servants, businessmen and Ugandans have now discovered the beauty of being East Africans. Many were in Nairobi and Tanzania doing business. The Ugandans who were inward looking through that silver lining are now among the most leading East Africans. We do not have that impediment any more. So let us move

quickly, let all of us work together and build an East Africa, which everybody shall be proud of. Our people will then be able to say that the generation which was given the opportunity, seized the occasion to be able to build what our dream for East Africa has always been.

As I conclude, let me thank you for the efficient and able manner in which you have conducted our proceedings, and also the dignity that you have brought, not only to the office, but also to this House - (*Applause*).

We pay tribute and give thanks to the Speaker, the Clerk and staff of the Parliament of Uganda for the arrangements they have made to enable us work. I also thank them for allowing us to declare strangers the owners of this House so that the Members of Parliament of Uganda for the time we have been here could only access the pigeonholes but not beyond. I think that is a fantastic contribution to the building of, not only East African institutions, but also to the spirit of East Africa.

My thanks also go to the Secretariat of the East African Community, the Secretary General and his staff, for having been able to generate ideas and also facilitating this Session of our Parliament. Our Clerk and his team - I do not know whether he has got many staff, but in due course, I presume he will. We must also pay tribute to him and his assistants for the work they have done to make sure that we achieve what we have done so far; also, members of the Press.

I think the press has really covered us well, and this is the way it should be. Let us hope that the spirit of co-operation

between the Press and this House will only grow and not diminish.

To the Members, this is the only Assembly I have attended where the question of quorum has never been raised. So, I would like to thank my colleagues for always being here - (*Applause*).

I am sorry I could not be with you all the time because I had other engagements. My planning was based on the assumption that we shall be three and therefore share out the work of the Assembly. But due to other engagements, my colleagues could not be present all the time. The Chairman of the Council came yesterday, but briefly, because he had to attend to other state matters.

I would like to promise the House that one of the items we are going to have in the Council will be how we are going to attend to the work of this Assembly - (*Applause*). Should our national duties take precedence over the East African Community duties or should it be the other way round? A suggestion was made, and I think it has to be looked into in due course.

We may have to have the institution of the East African Ministers like we used to have. People who could be there all the time, superintending together with the Secretary General our integration process, but also attend to the work of this Assembly. This is because if we begin to be diverted by national matters, then the importance of our process of integration may lose sight. So, I propose to raise this matter when we have the next Council so that with my Colleagues

will give it due consideration -
(*Applause*).

Otherwise, let me end by thanking Members again for supporting the motion. I look forward to having similar support as we continue to work together for the integration and unity of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that the motion be supported by a vote. I thank you.

(Question put and agreed to)

The Speaker: Hon. Members, before I adjourn this House, I would like to make a few remarks. One; you will realise that you have been invited to many places from this evening until Sunday. The Clerk has circulated memos regarding these invitations and the logistics to go and come back from those invitations. There is one this evening, another one tomorrow morning, and yet another in the evening and there is also our departure to Jinja. Please look into your pigeonholes. If you are not very clear, you may go back to the Clerk and get clarification.

Secondly, there is the matter raised in the House by hon. Maj. Gen. Mugisha Muntu, regarding the process of federation under the provisions of Rule (8)(2)(g). I refer this matter to the Standing Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution. But I also further direct that the sub-committee for Regional Integration and Conflict Resolution deliberate on this matter and submit their report to this House by June of this year.

There is another matter also raised to me several times by hon. Mwatela regarding the misspelling of his name. He has complained to me many times but I want to draw the attention of the Clerk and the rest that hon. Mwatela's name is Calist Andrew Mwatela and not what appears in some of the documents.

Finally, I wish to congratulate all the Members for participating in the deliberations of this House. You have done wonderfully. You have started well and I think it is a good beginning.

I have also been touched by the praises and the congratulations that you showered on me during your deliberations. Indeed, I am also very happy that all of you hold me in high regard as you did during my election when you elected me unanimously. But what makes me even especially happy is that at the time of my election to this seat, many of you did not know any of my qualifications or any of my abilities. All I can say is, I thank you very much for the praise and for the congratulations. I promise you that I will preside over this House fairly and efficiently, but I cannot succeed without your support.

You have given me a lot of support, and I appeal to you to continue supporting me.

I also wish to thank the Speaker, Parliament of Uganda and the Clerk, for facilitating our presence here, by being able to provide us with all the facilities. There are a few things that we cannot even mention, the costs that they have incurred in hosting us here. So, I once again thank the Speaker and the Clerk of the House - (*Applause*).

I also sincerely thank His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Uganda, for hosting us and spending time with us; something that is rare to have from a busy President. He spent the whole day with us and gave us very valuable advice.

I also sincerely thank the Third Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Co-operation of Uganda. He is the only Minister who took off time from his busy schedule and came and spent all the time with us here. Mr. Minister, thank you very much for taking the House and the Assembly so seriously - (*Applause*).

I also thank the Secretary General, although he is an Ex-officio Member here, he could as well have been absent. So, I also thank him for the commitment he has had for the Assembly - (*Applause*).

Finally, this House is now adjourned until early March at a date to be conveyed to you later.

(The Assembly rose at 11.25 a.m. and adjourned until March, 2002)