



EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

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5TH SITTING – FIRST ASSEMBLY: SECOND MEETING – FIRST SESSION

Thursday, 24 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

Ms. Kate Sylvia Kamba (Tanzania):

Mr. Speaker, hon. Members of Parliament, let me begin by congratulating you, Mr. Speaker, for being elected to lead us in this House. At the same time, let me congratulate fellow Members of Parliament for being elected to this very special Assembly.

From the onset, people have been congratulating our Heads of State, Members of the Secretariat for making it possible for all of us to realize our dream

of having an East African Community back. Mr. Speaker, us being the last speakers, bear with us because we will be repeating ourselves sometimes by trying to stress on a point which has already been said.

The East African Community as we are all aware was created by the colonial masters to serve their interests, and indeed it really managed. They had the common services put in place to serve the three East African countries, and they maximized the use of these common services. When we got

independence, we put on shoes of our colonial master's East African Community and we went on board for 10 years. And I believe it was through the imagination of the metropolitan that we were confused, we lost track and they managed to dismantle the East African Community. Mr. Speaker that was really a loss of a battle, but that was not a loss of a war - that is why we are here (*Applause*).

In the same way, now that we did not lose the war, we are back on track, but then we have to take stock of the importance of this East African Community. We are all aware of the fact that we are still very backward, and in the Treaty, that has already been said on and on.

The intention of this new East African Community is to bring back the glory of the East African people. We have similar problems. When you drive in all the three East African countries, the poverty is glaring; there is no doubt about that! We had the East African Community; we have been independent for almost - some of us - for 40 years, 30 years and yet we are very, very, backward. How do we explain this malaise?

Mr. Speaker, it is a pity in the sense that we are in the East African countries. We have three countries where peace has not prevailed throughout. There had been a war in Kenya and Tanzania, we had wars here in Uganda and yet the three East African countries are really backward. Not only East Africa, but also - when I traveled to Abuja, I did not believe what I was seeing; Africans are still living in huts! What do we really want?

I was reading different philosophers on what are economists' measurements of development. There is that tendency of imitating the West. When we talk of development, we look at how the West is doing things and we try to imitate. Maybe that is one of our problems. If we use all our resources in providing the basics to our people - that is shelter, make sure that they have enough food, clothing, basic education, and relevant education - definitely we would not be where we are. But our measurement of development leaves a lot to be desired.

I think that with the new East African Community, we should really have a measure of development so that after five years when we retire from this Assembly, when we drive along East Africa, we should see some change. You know, change can be seen, and our people should really appreciate that this is why this East African Community came back, at least to see to it that they should change - (*Applause*).

But what do we miss? I started by saying that the British saw sense in having these three countries united; they had nationalism but it was British nationalism. So, the British who were in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda were speaking the same language. They had differences obviously, if you read in the reports, but they were nationalist. Let us be East Africans in that aspect - (*Applause*).

Then that calls for a sense of unity. We should be proud to be seen as East Africans, not as Kenyans, as Tanzanians, as Ugandans. Let us start feeling proud that we are East Africans. But we actually deserve that only if we act and behave as East Africans.

We should try in a way to sacrifice for a short time our small sovereign States and our selfish interests for the interest of East Africa. That is how the colonial masters achieved what they achieved in making the economic services, the customs union and all this that we are talking about. The things we inherited were achieved by British nationalism. Let us have East African nationalism. Let us unite not by talking, but by really adhering to the Treaty.

The Treaty is really what it is; it is our ideology as East Africans. We might be talking about ideology of East or West, but we are all poor! Our ideology should be to transform our East African countries into glory. People should glorify East Africa because it will be different from others.

We have an advantage that the colonial masters, for example, created the telecommunications. It is in East Africa where you can go to all the villages and enjoy a telephone service. At least all districts have telecommunications. We have an East African Railway; it is a matter of expanding; the Musoma-Tanga line, the lines which President Museveni was talking about. Let us strengthen what we have by being nationalists and focusing on small things. Let us not think of big things because normally we will not achieve them.

Why am I saying that? We will be talking about industrialisation; Yes! We should concentrate on industrialisation but to what extent and at whose expense? The common man is normally the one who suffers. When you start doing all other big things, the tendency is to forget about the small things for the

small people. So, let us put our focus on these things which are very conspicuous.

When you are measuring per-capita income and life expectancy, they are reflected in how our people are living. Their standard of living is so backward, and there is no explanation whatsoever why our people are still in those mud houses. I do not see any other good explanation. If not, it is not for good planning.

When *Mwalimu* was visiting the South African Parliament, I managed to go with him. He was telling Africa through the Parliament that Europe is concentrating on Eastern Europe and some countries in North Africa simply because there are limited resources. They want to concentrate their efforts in Europe and North Africa because they do not want the North Africans to bring problems to them by immigrating to their countries. So, they started industries in those areas.

Asia is also concentrating within itself. Japan is leading the role. So, you have giants like China, India, Japan, coming together, supporting the small countries. Imagine the South East Asian countries are coming together; they are fighting poverty and they are going forward!

America is moving very fast with Canada and Mexico, and the next area of interest will be Latin America. What remains is Africa, South of the Sahara. Actually, we are irrelevant to Europe and America. That was what he was saying. If we do not pull up our socks and look into our problems and make sense out of them, we are going to be left out of the race. We may as well become

a zoo for those people to come and see underdevelopment! This is very serious!

The best thing for all of us now is to use these bricks, the East African Community, to build a proud Africa. We have everything; we have intelligent people, we now have literate people, we have the resources. What we lack is seriousness in our own planning. It is a pity that we are easily divided and easily infiltrated by the fourth enemy which Kangwana explained last time.

The imperialists are looking very keenly at what we are doing. They are focusing on what we are doing and they are going to use our internal weaknesses to break this. So, we should also be alert on this because they will not be happy because we are still in a neo-colonial situation. They still want us to serve their interests if we are not ready to serve our own interests. So let us be united, let us speak one language; that is, fighting poverty and bringing peace and unity to our people.

As I said, and I keep on repeating it, we need political unity; we need a federation. I do not see these three East African countries making sense in their planning if we are not one. If you look in the archives, this was almost a federation during the colonial times. They used to work together. In Kenya, the colonial - I do not know whether he was a Governor, the Tanzanian Governor and the Ugandan one used to work together. It was almost a federal way of working. We need that more than they did.

I think our three Heads of State, President Museveni, President Mkapa and President Moi are serving their last terms as far as I know. So, let us

capitalise on this that they should - because they started the East African Community, they should sit down and work together so that they leave the federation in place. That is my prayer.

So, I join hands with my colleagues who have already said this. I think we need it now more than we needed it yesterday. I beg to support the motion. Thank you (*Applause*).

Ms. Beatrice Matumbo Shellukindo (Tanzania): Mr. Speaker, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this very important debate in this august House.

Like other previous speakers, I would like first to congratulate you for having been elected to lead the House. This shows the confidence the Members have in you. In the few days we have had with you, we already know how competent you are, and that we did not make a mistake to choose you. So, I congratulate you for that.

I would also like to join hands with my other colleagues to recognise and congratulate the three Heads of State, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, President Arap Moi of Kenya and President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, for seeing the need to revive the Community.

I would also like to congratulate the Secretariat, the Council of Ministers and all those who in one way or another contributed to the reformation of the Community.

I would also like to take the opportunity to thank - this I say here in particular because I am sure they have heard - the

Tanzanian National Assembly for having elected me from among the many educated and able brothers and sisters, to represent them in this House. I thank them.

Last but not the least, I would like to congratulate my fellow colleagues, the Legislators for having been elected to this House. I know it was not an easy job for many of us. I know how tough it was and so I would like to sincerely congratulate you all!

I would also, at this juncture, Mr. Speaker, like to thank our Ugandan colleagues. Indeed, we had a very warm reception; we were welcomed very well and we were surprised, some of us, to see our colleagues with us from the beginning. Every one of us will agree that we are really having a nice time in Uganda. So, I really thank our Ugandan colleagues, and I hope we will reciprocate when you come to our countries - (*Applause*).

I also would like, at this time of the day, to commend the previous speakers for having raised very important and crucial issues. And being one of the last speakers, as my previous colleague has said, it is really difficult to find words to say - unless you really want to repeat everything. But in principle, I do concur with all that has been said, and I feel that maybe that would have been much of my opinion too. However, I still feel that I have one or two things I can add to this important debate.

On Monday morning, during the discussions, among the many important issues that were discussed and raised was one of establishing a political federation prior to the Customs Union,

the Common Market and Monetary Union. Yes, in principle I do agree, and I understand that it is a crucial issue, but then again, I was of another opinion, Mr. Speaker. I felt that talking of a political federation basically means a federal government with apexes of State governments. Now, in my position I feel that there are many factors to consider before that. There are a number of them, but I will just highlight on a few.

One is the stability of the economy among the partner States. Because when you talk of stability of the economy, you talk a lot and basically that is also political.

Another one would be the harmonization of the tariffs. I am going quickly through them so that I do not run out of time.

Another one would be free movement of the people. That would mean harmonizing the immigration status, hence removing the existing barriers and obstacles.

And again another major issue that we would have to look at would be the identification of our neighbours. We do have our neighbours who are not members of the Community. We would also have to look into their interests and see what they have to say about it all.

And then another issue - because I thought that all issues of the Customs Union have an immediate effect on the population, and really do need a political will, which can be done of course without a federation, I was of the idea that perhaps we could have some laws set just to be able to establish the Customs Union, and to reinstate the Common Market and the Monetary

Union. And then later on, when the ordinary people have appreciated all this, I feel that then it will be easy to get the legitimacy to move to the Political Federation.

We also need to look into the possibility of easing transport for people moving into and out of our partner States. There was the East African Railway before, now we have national railways, and mostly - for example in Tanzania, the Tanzanian Railways is now being privatized. I am not very sure about Kenya and Uganda, but I am sure in the long run, that will happen. So, I was also going to insist that we do try as much as possible to make sure that the East African Railways and the other transport means come back into the Community, so that we can have competition and we can move freely as we did before through Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

I would also like to propose the introduction of an East African tourism plan so that all the people from the partner States could benefit equally, and it could allow the free movement of the tourists from one country to another. And not only that, the tourism companies and tour operators could be allowed to operate within the partner states. For example, tour operators from Tanzania could go to Kenya and operate; likewise Uganda would come to Kenya and Tanzania - (*Applause*).

Mr. Speaker, as I said that much has been said, so I am actually highlighting just on a few points that I feel that I need to add on.

If you turn to the Treaty, Article 119(d), about the development and promotion of

an indigenous language, it states Kiswahili as a *lingua franca*. So, I would really like to urge the House, Mr. Speaker, to decide how best we can see the implementation of this, because I feel that we need a language which the ordinary people can use to communicate easily.

It is easy to talk about trade and other things, but again we need a language that they can use to understand each other. For example, in Tanzania we say the official languages are English and Kiswahili, but basically we use Kiswahili. That is why you might find that many times, a Tanzanian even going to conferences and other places might have very good and broad ideas, but then due to the fact that maybe he or she is not good with the English language, he might not be able to express himself. Such is the situation with me right now - (*Applause*). So, I urge the House to see how possible it is for us to start the implementation of this. Because, you see in Kenya they all speak Kiswahili - but it might not be the Kiswahili that we know, but at least we can understand each other. In Uganda not all speak Kiswahili, except very few.

Another issue, Mr. Speaker, is the democratization of our institutions from the grassroots level right up to the top. Our people need to participate in the different political activities to share their views. And I believe by doing this, they will be able to understand and enhance - even the idea of a political federation will also be understood easily and accepted. Although we represent our three sovereign States, but I think we all have a collective responsibility of seeing to it that the objectives of the Community are implemented according

to the provisions of the Treaty. I think that is one of our major issues.

Another issue, Mr. Speaker, which I feel that I should talk about, is that you will all agree with me that the social welfare is not actually functioning as it is right now. So, you will find that there is a group that is actually left aside for the moment. You can see it in the Treaty, Article 120, and also we do have national policies that talk about the development of a common approach towards the disadvantaged and marginalized groups. It is really sad these days when you see all these street children on the streets; orphans from AIDS-stricken families, the elderly without actual basis of survival.

So, I was trying to say that, because now that the social welfare maybe does not have the resources, it does not function. I would like to urge, Mr. Speaker, Members of the House to take any measure and put strategies in place to see to the welfare of the disabled, the elders and the children, so that at least we can get what we have envisaged in the Treaty, to get provision for foster homes, and finally health care, education and training - (*Applause*).

Mr. Speaker, before I come to the end of my speech, I would like to quote a saying from *Mwalimu* Nyerere. *Mwalimu* Nyerere had among his many good quotes this saying: “*While others are walking, we should be running.*” Mr. Speaker, fellow Members of the House, given the situation that we are in, and the issues and obstacles around and ahead of us, I would like to urge all of you to start running to meet the high expectations of the East Africans - (*Applause*). I, Mr. Speaker, would like

to show you my commitment. I will run together with the Members of the House, and I will not stop until the end of the race. I beg to support the motion. Thank you - (*Applause*).

Mr. Yonasani Bankobeza Kanyomozi (Uganda): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. May I take this opportunity, Sir, to congratulate you for being elected our first Speaker in the revived Community? I am sure with you in the Chair, we will progress. May I also extend my congratulations to my colleagues in this House?

I would also like to take the opportunity to say that we are privileged, as Ugandan Members, to have had you agree to have the first Session of this Assembly in Kampala, and in the Chambers of the National Assembly.

In my discourse, I am going to be straight on issues. There are three methods of unity, which I would like Members to reflect on. There is the ‘*La Sadam*’ method - conquer and get the countries co-operating. We cannot use that one, Mr. Speaker. Even those who have tried to use it have failed. I think you have seen little examples in our own region here. The ‘*La Sadam*’ method is not all.

That leaves us with two other methods. One is that one of seeing a common threat and realizing that you are marginalized, and you need to do something about your country or your region. Sir, this country and region, Member partner states are completely marginalized. We face problems, which I do not need to go through. HIV, any epidemic, any disease - Malaria, Ebola, name it, we have it. Therefore, we have

a problem to solve as a people in this region.

Equally, in the Committee of Nations, we are completely marginalized. Our role in world trade is next to zero. If you look at the statistics, you will get amazed. Our level of development is even worse. I will take two indicators which will give the House the state of things, and allow me to quote the figures.

Normally, people look at electricity consumption as an indicator. What is our electricity consumption? The most industrialized country in our region is Kenya. What do they consume; four billion kilowatt-hours in a year? What is Tanzania's; two billion kilowatt hours? What is Uganda's, even with the big dam next to us? One billion! That is the state of things.

Globally, normally you look at the GDP percentage and contributions from the different sectors. What is the state of things? Kenya is 27 percent dependent on agriculture, Tanzania is 49 percent and Uganda is 42 percent. So, with that level of development, our role in international trade, in everything, is marginal. We have got to do something about that.

The third method, given that we are marginalized, is to use persuasion, since we are threatened. That is what Europe did. When you look at Europe, when the Coal and Steel Union started, it was a threat, seeing how America was going and how Japan was rising up. They had to start that way because they found themselves threatened.

Since we are threatened, since we cannot use the "*La Sadam*" method of conquest, we are left with one method. Realizing the threats, we now move on to the third method. The third method is persuasion. We have realized the threats. We want to work with a persuasive voice and get together, and that is the method the Treaty has adopted. The Treaty has persuaded us.

Besides that, we have a common history, a colonial history; we are next to each other. Our people are in all the territories. You have people in Kenya who have relatives in Uganda. In fact, I could use an example of one Member of Parliament whose brother is a Minister in the other country. So, we are close! We have things to bind us. And we are endowed with resources, which also bring us together like Lake Victoria – (*Interjection*). The Minister is warning me that this MP was going to be a President of Uganda. He actually stood for President while the other one was in another country. So, with those things in line, we should categorically go persuasively to have unity, because we need it.

The Treaty has now chosen the path it will take, and we are taking this because we have this shared vision and shared mission to fulfill. One day we heard complaints about the Kenyans taking our fish, but the fish in Lake Victoria do not know boundaries of this nature. They go where they feel they should go. The utilization is what we need. Together we can exploit that lake to our benefit.

Equally, the water hyacinth that floats in the lake does not know any boundary. Once it is pushed by Kagera River, it either comes here or continues down to

Tanzania, or goes on to Kisumu. So, these things are a real basis of our co-operation, and we better use them for the benefit of our people.

Why are we co-operating? When you are going to co-operate, you co-operate for a purpose. What is the purpose?

- For a large internal market. I will be giving you the figures, which show that in fact the trade between us is also marginal.

- For a large investment area to attract people from outside.

- For a large product volume.

Everybody is talking of AGOA, but if we have got to produce for the American market or even the Chinese market, can you imagine if we were producing a toy for every Chinese child or even American child, how many toys would we sell? A lot! American children have an average of ten toys per child, and if we were to produce only toys for America, with the population they have, everybody would end up being employed. So, we need that.

- For a larger infrastructure which would help us in employment. That is if we do not go out to bring people to be the ones to push our wheelbarrows, even on roads.

These would help us in education, in health and improved levels of household incomes in the countryside.

We cannot do research and development as single countries, but we could do it as a region. It is easy, because research and development is normally very expensive,

and if one country alone has got to do it, they will not do much. So, on that one, we would gain economies of scale because we would combine and give special arrangements to be made to help us. One country would do this, another country that, another country that, and in that way, but with a common source of funding, we would move on.

Above all, with the introduction of the World Trade Organization, we need a common voice to negotiate and be heard in the Committee of Nations - (*Applause*). Singly, what is Uganda with 23 million people and per capita income of 350? Who is going to listen? Nobody! But a 90 million region going in for a programme will make an impact, and it is important that we do it and do it quickly?

We have got to look at our history; we had pitfalls that made the former Community fail. I was a Member, with the hon. Minister, of that Community, and where is the hon. Hamid Alley who worked with the Post Office? She has gone to Jinja to see the remnants left. That Community, despite everything that happened to it, it gave us pride, Mr. Speaker.

You would come from Nimule and go to Singida down in your home area with a piece of paper, pick money from the Post Office, drive back and go to Arusha, go to Zanzibar and it was so easy. You pick the money, you post the letters, you go anywhere, and I used to feel great, Mr. Speaker. I want in my lifetime to again feel the same way - (*Applause*).

So what is the state of affairs, Mr. Speaker? I want to congratulate the Secretariat, the officials; they have done a lot. If you look at the things they have

done, in the papers you have given us, most of the things are there. We only need to implement them.

With all due respect, the Ministers are the ones to generate most of the Bills, but the Ministers here have double allegiance - I do not know whether to call it double allegiance. They are assigned too many duties. Our Minister here has been sitting in this place alone; where are his two friends? They have other State duties and the first preference is of course at home. In Economics, we have what we call a preference curve; so the second preference is this Community.

May I suggest, Mr. Speaker, we start looking at the possibilities of having home-grown East African Community ministers - (*Applause*). I am saying this advisedly. I know that most people are concerned about saving; that if we have Ministers, it will increase the Budget. But, we are being pennywise and pound-foolish because the gains that I have mentioned would be of greater importance to enable us move on.

Yesterday, hon. Ogalo gave you a list of things which we should have fulfilled, and if you look at this new strategy plan, there are things that are already overdue. When are we going to get things done? The sequencing is going to change, and that is why I am of the opinion that maybe President Museveni's suggestion of moving as fast as possible on political federation is right. We cannot finish customs union, then go to the common market, then go to monetary policy, then come to the federation. I think we can simultaneously do certain things in sequence, in a manner that will allow the quickest means of getting them.

So, Mr. Speaker, I would like now to touch on the level of trade and the confusion arising out of it. Most people think that if we came together under a Customs Union, under a Common Market we are going to have problems; that one country is going to flood the market. Flood the market! What is the state of affairs now? If we are not flooded by Kenya, we are being flooded - (*Interjection*) - by someone else very far.

I may, Mr. Speaker, with your permission, use a *Runyankole/Rukiga* adage. I am very first when I say it in *Runyankole*. It says: "*Empisi yowanyu ekulya n'ekurundarunda*". *Empisi* is a hyena. When it is eating you, it gathers you together a bit by bit. I do not want a hyena to eat me, but if I am going to be eaten, let me be eaten by a hyena that I know rather than a hyena from outside. (*Laughter and Applause*)

The figures speak for themselves; let me give you the statistics. If you look at Kenya's exports to Tanzania and Uganda at the turn of this last century, Kenya exports to Tanzania only 17 per cent, and to Uganda 13 per cent. These figures added together are not like the exports to United Kingdom. The worst scenario is about the imports from Tanzania to Uganda to Kenya, which are totally insignificant; they are less than 1 per cent; so they are not recorded. UK alone imports 11 percent. Go further and look at the position of Tanzanian exports to Kenya and Ugandan; they amount to 4 per cent and 2 per cent respectively. They do not even add up to the exports of India in the same place, which are 21 per cent. So who is

flooding who? We need to be very careful.

Look at the imports from Tanzania to Uganda, they are completely insignificant. At one time they rose a bit, but if you compare that one to what the Emirates alone exports to these countries, it is over 20 per cent; and how big is the Emirates? So what is the worry? In any case, Mr. Speaker, the Treaty provides Article 77 and 78. It provides that when there is imbalance, the countries concerned can appeal through the Secretary General who is here sitting with us, and bring out the anomalies that are there.

Furthermore, there is a provision, which I also strongly support, but because of different levels of industrial development in our region and the impact of revenue loss caused by the Customs Union, there should be compensatory and structural funds to correct the imbalance. The Treaty provides for that under Article 77 and 78. So what is the problem? The problem is not with the Treaty; it is with us!

This is what Okot P'Bitek used to call indigenous ills. The indigenous ills are the ones stopping us, and if we are sure of this, then we can have these compensatory and imbalancing structural changes in our economies. We can set off and have these things done, the customs union and the common market - without the loss that people fear would be on us, especially those of us who are from countries with low levels of industrialisation.

Both the strategy plan and the Treaty are supposed to be pro-liberalization, pro-market, pro-private sector or private

sector driven. I would like to put it to you, Sir, and to this honourable House, that while those things are good, with our level of development, if we were to institute them without supervision and regulatory bodies or institutions, we would be calling for trouble.

I am sure last night a number of you may have watched the television and heard the news. Take an example of liberalisation which goes with privatisation. In Nigeria they have privatised most of the things, but what is the end result? The assets have been sold, and the country is in more debts.

In my own country here, and since our colleague the Minister is here, by the time we finish the exercise, we are going to end up having more money to pay to the World Bank, to the extent that the World Bank, now for a change, - you saw it in the papers - is saying 'please stop, you are going too fast', when it comes to utilities. Why? Who is buying these things?

We are privatising but we should privatise when we know that it is going to widen democratisation of ownership. We should privatise when the participation is going to be of our own people - (*Applause*). We are all sure we want privatisation, but liberalisation without regulatory institutions, without supervision, will end up being a dumping ground without positive gain.

There is another problem. If you are going to be pro-market, let us not parrot these things. 'Pro-market', whose market? Are we selling to them as they are selling to us? Are our people involved in these markets? The answer is, our people are not fully involved, and

we only buy. And when you open up the market, what has happened? We get second-hand clothes, we get second-hand cars, and we get all these substandard goods because those are the ones we can afford. But what is the impact of that?

Take the textile industry; when you get second-hand clothes, what happens to your cotton growing? It dies! What happens to the textile industry which we want to support so that we can sell to the Americans? It dies! Who is getting employed? The person who is packaging the second-hand clothes!

Take the second-hand cars; most of us really want to drive these cars, but what is their impact at the macro level to the nation? It means that we are getting old things, therefore the maintenance of those cars is going to be high. At the national level, although people are driving, the economy as a whole suffers because you are going to spend more on spare parts! Worse still, if you include second-hand fridges, you are going to affect the environment; CFC gases are going to be on the rise. We spoil our breathing, and we start having bronchitis and other things. Is that what we want?

I am one of those people who do not believe in banning things, but there are other ways we can control the importation of old things in order to save ourselves. What are these? Use fiscal policies, use taxation, do not ban them, but make them expensive to be accessed. In that way, then the cotton industry can survive; in that way, we can get better things that are not injurious to the environment; in that way, we can do other things and see transfer of technology coming, and I am sure with

our expanded market, we should be able to do it.

Furthermore, our private sector is still in its infancy; they cannot take up large projects. They cannot! And if people say Government should get out, this is parroting, which I am against. If Government gets out, then you have a problem; either they are taken, and when they are taken and you want to connect Tanzania to Kenya, Kenya to Uganda you will have a problem. You may have to pay a subsidy to them.

We recently saw in the papers here that to get a line from the new Bujagali dam, where our friends have gone today, we would have to pay the persons who are putting up that dam 100 million dollars. Is that what we want?

I am suggesting that in this new Community we are going to have, we will have to have private-public participation initially. We will have to have private-public participation, and move slowly as we grow, and get the shares held by the public sector passed on to our own citizens. In that way, we will make sense. And once they get there, then they can compete effectively.

This Community we are forming has got to look at the politics. I do not want to go into the politics because I think hon. Marando did a good job of it, but the higher quality, which we are expecting in this Community, should have a degree of uniformity. The uniformity I am thinking of is in the practice of politics.

When I am walking on the streets, people tell me 'Kanyomozi, now that you have gone to this place, please keep politics outside the Community'. They

forget that all of us here now are politicians. Are we not? If they say keep politics out of the Community, it means we should not be here! Politics has got to be there for a simple reason; the politician is like the priest, or the Khadi or the Sheikh in the mosque. Those people are very powerful.

I think you have gone to church, Mr. Speaker. When you go to church, that village priest is so powerful. Even when the Presidents go there, you ask your President - I always see mine here - the small priest in the church always says, 'stand up', and you stand up; 'sing', and you sing; 'sit down', and you sit down; 'bring the money', and you bring! The politician is also like that. He is like the priest, because the politicians deal with groups like the priest or the Khadi does.

When you come to a place as a politician, people clap, they stand up, they shout your name, they do all kinds of things, and some even want to kneel for you. So, how do you then turn and say 'Kanyomonzi, keep our politics out of the East African Community'? You cannot, because the politicians are deciding on policy, which affects the economics. They are deciding on social life in the social aspect, so we cannot keep out the politics.

But the politics I want is that of an open society. An open society, Mr. Speaker, is very, very healthy.

I know that as young men we all used to believe in coming together because it would save. But, human beings are social animals; they always want to congregate on where their ideas, opinions and perceptions coincide. I am putting it to you Sir that we need to have

some sort of open society. I know our colleagues from Tanzania and Kenya have already gone that way, but we also need it here.

Why do we need it? We need it because, to plan is to choose and when you have to choose, you must have options on policies. We do not want to be in a situation where when we come to the Assembly, Mr. Speaker, we congregate in countries. We want to get to a higher level where our opinions have to be used to decide on the social policy, and be able to identify people who can have the same beliefs.

The Speaker: I just want to remind the hon. Members of the Assembly that you do not make any application for more minutes when you have used up all your time. I intend to adjourn this House, but before I do that, you must have received some documents that have been passed over to you by the Clerk of the House, regarding the meetings of the Sub-Committees this afternoon. The time has been indicated, the rooms have also been indicated and I would request you to meet so that you may fulfil the purposes of the meeting; and that is, first, to appoint the chairpersons, and secondly to deliberate on the activities of the Committees. The House Business committee will meet this afternoon at 3.00 O'clock, in the same room. I now adjourn this House until tomorrow morning at 9 O'clock.

(The Assembly rose at 10.00 a.m. and adjourned until Friday, 25 January at 9.00 a.m.)