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## THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

### Official Report of the Proceedings of the East African Legislative Assembly

### 10<sup>TH</sup> SITTING - FIRST ASSEMBLY: FOURTH MEETING - FIRST SESSION

Tuesday, 4 June 2002

*The East African Legislative Assembly met at 2.00 p.m. in the Parliament Buildings in the Old Chamber of the Kenya National Assembly*

### PRAYERS

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

*(The Assembly was called to order)*

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### LAYING OF PAPERS

The following Paper was laid on the Table:

The first report and recommendation of the Standing Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution on the Study and Review of the Processes and Stages of Integration in the East African Community”

*(By Mrs. S.M. Kamba, Chairperson Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution)*

### NOTICE OF MOTION

**Mrs. Kate Sylvia Magdalene Kamba (Tanzania):** Hon. Speaker, sir, I beg to give notice of the following Motion:

THAT; this House adopts the first report and recommendation of the

Standing Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution on the study and review of processes and stages of integration in the East African Community laid on the Table on Tuesday, 4 June 2002.

### MOTION

THAT The House adopts the first report and recommendation of the Standing Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution on the study and review of processes and stages of integration in the East African Community laid on the Table on Tuesday, 4 June 2002.

**Mrs Kate Sylvia Magdalene Kamba**

**(Tanzania):** Mr. Speaker, sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to move this very important Motion. I would like to urge this House to adopt the first report and the recommendations of the Standing Committee on the study and review of processes and stages of integration in the East African Community that I laid on the Table today Tuesday, 4 June 2002.

Mr. Speaker, sir, I am grateful for the opportunity to present an interim report of the Standing Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution, on an issue which you referred to the Committee at the end of a four-day debate at Kampala, from 21<sup>st</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> January 2002 on the aims and objectives of the processes and stages of the integration which have culminated in the creation of the East African Community (EAC), and a call for all organs to continue the efforts towards the realization of the epic stage of the integration, that is the political federation.

Indeed, during the debate, virtually all Members raised questions on the degree and extent to which East Africans of all cadres were or could be involved in the creation of the East African Community as currently constituted. In a nutshell, it could be summed up that the Assembly was of the view that there was an urgent need to avail an opportunity to East Africans to express their views on the need for a political federation.

Mr. Speaker, sir, the sequence of the processes and the stages as currently stipulated in the requisite documents of the EAC, including the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, the East African Community Development Strategy 2001 to 2005, put the political federation as the final stage. The sequence starts with the setting up and operationalisation of the organs of the EAC,

which was completed on 30 November 2001.

The first major step to deepening the integration is the creation of a Customs Union. This would be sequentially followed by the creation of a Common Market and Monetary Union with a common currency. However, during the debate, unanimity among the Members of the Assembly was lacking on whether the sequence as stated above should be the sequence of the integration processes. In the final analysis, there emerged three distinct approaches:

1. That the sequence of the stages as stated in the EAC documents be adhered to;
2. That the stages as stated in the EAC documents be pursued concurrently; and,
3. That the formation of a political federation should come first.

Mr. Speaker, sir, arising from the foregoing, and following the concise manner in which the Hon. Maj. Gen. Mugisha O. Muntu from Uganda summed up the variant views on the Motion, you then ruled and referred to the Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution the following salient issues, which also translate into their terms of reference. They are:

1. To study and review the processes and stages of integration within the East African Community;
2. To gauge the views and opinions of East Africans on a political federation through a referendum;
3. To present a report of findings to the EALA by June 2002 for their consideration; and,

4. To do any other matters relating thereto.

Mr. Speaker, sir, the Committee has had the advantage of perusing through a Report of the Select Committee on East African Federation, 1975, of the former East African Legislative Assembly, chaired by hon. I.M. Bhoke Munanka. The collective view of the Committee is that the Munanka

Report is a worthy working and reference document for any study on the question of deepening and sustainable integration in East Africa, especially by way of political federation. Thus, the Committee wishes to commend the Members of the former EALA, and specifically those who constituted the Munanka Committee for the commitment to the spirit of East Africa in those final and difficult days of the defunct EAC. Also, the Committee would recommend the reading of the Munanka Report by all honourable Members of this Assembly.

Mr Speaker, sir, the Committee held three sittings on 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>, April 2002 in Arusha to deliberate on the modality for the execution of the mandate. The sittings of April 19th and 30th, as was the case with the five Standing Committees, were used for the purpose of receiving an up-date from the EAC officers servicing the EAC Sectoral Committees. In the case of our Committee, briefs were received on the work of the EAC Sectoral Committee on Interstate Defence, Security and on facilitation of movement of persons.

During that part of the Second and Third Sittings on 20th and 30th, the Committee deliberated at length on the task and its terms of reference as you had assigned pursuant to provisions of Rule 8(2) (g) of the Rules of Procedure, referred to them at the sitting of the EALA on January 25th,

2002 in Kampala. A sizeable amount of work was done, though it was not possible to complete the study due to a number of factors.

The Committee received and perused the following material and literature deemed relevant to the study. These include the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, 2000; the East African Community Development Strategy 2001-2005 and the Report of the Select Committee on East African Federation by Hon. Bhoke Munanka.

Mr. Speaker, sir, the Committee considered all aspects of their terms of reference and the likely *modus operandi*, and noted that in respect to the dominant requirement in the terms of reference, that is, the views of the East Africans, the only appropriate mechanism that would satisfy that requirement would involve the following steps.

If we want it to be done on capacity building, then we should invite people with knowledge on the processes of regional integration not limited to East Africa to attend scheduled sittings of the Committee either in Arusha or during the visits referred to below, to present both oral and written submissions. Still on the area of capacity building, there is need to hire some expertise in the realm of regional integration to assist in the work of the Committee.

On collection of views, we were of the view that we should hold meetings with the various leaders of the governments of the partner states, and also to hold meetings with honourable Members of Parliament within the partner states. Also, there should be a public notification to all East Africans through the print and audio media that the Committee would be carrying out the study; the notification would specify the terms of

reference.

There should be public invitation for all East Africans to submit written memoranda containing their views and recommendations on how the task could be dealt with, and the Committee is to hold sittings and visit specific centres within the three partner States.

Mr. Speaker, sir, arising from the above, the Committee noted the following as constraints to proper execution of the task in the period from January up to 30 June 2002. They are:

- i. Inadequate financial provision to meet the costs that the *modus operandi* above would entail;
- ii. Inadequate time within which to seek, find and assemble the human resources identified above as appropriate.
- iii. Inadequate time within which to carry out the survey of the views of East Africans, that is to collect and collate and be able to write a report.

Mr. Speaker, sir, in consideration of the foregoing, the Standing Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution would like to report and recommend to the House as follows:

1. That this be noted and adopted as an interim report; and,
2. That leave is granted for the Committee to sit again and complete the assignment.

The Members of the Committee as appointed on 22 January 2002 are as follows:

- i. The Hon. Kate S.M. Kamba - Chairperson

- ii. The Hon. Said B. Jecha
- iii. The Hon. Lt. Gen. Adan Abdullahi
- iv. The Hon. Maxwell Shamala
- v. The Hon. Ochieng G. Mbeo
- vi. The Hon. Irene Ovonji-Odida
- vii. The Hon. G. Mugisha Muntu Oyera (Maj. Gen.)
- viii. The Hon. Beatrice M. Shellukindo
- ix. The Hon. Lydia Wanyoto-Mutende

Hon. Speaker, in conclusion, I would like to record the gratitude of the Committee and my own to you and the House for having found it appropriate that we should start our work by the study of such an all important subject to East Africans. The Committee commends this report and recommendations to the House, and in the same breath assures the House that they remain committed to proper conclusion of the task and submission of a comprehensive report in the very near future.

Finally, the Committee is grateful to the Clerk of the Assembly, Mr. Werunga and the staff for facilitating their work. Attached to this report are the Minutes of the Committee Sittings. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move.

**The Speaker:** Is there any Member who wishes to second the Motion? Yes, hon. Maj. Gen. Muntu Mugisha.

**Maj. Gen. G. Mugisha Muntu Oyera (Uganda):** Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I stand to second the Motion. I would like to start by thanking you, Mr. Speaker, for having tasked the Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution to sit as a Committee and look at the question of political integration of the East African countries; that is Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. This is an issue, which so far has not been highlighted even if it is within the Treaty. As is indicated in the report, it was in the minds of those who wrote the Treaty

that ultimately, that question would have to be handled as a consequence of the processes that are so far being undertaken.

Some of these processes are the customs union, which is being negotiated even as we speak today. We are made to understand that possibly by the end of this year, the protocol on the customs union would have been signed. The other process is on the monetary union. As of now, this is also another issue, which is being negotiated. We are aware that the technical committees and the Council of Ministers have been meeting and discussing that question even though it does not have a time frame. However, we believe that in its own time, that issue will be settled as well.

Of course, all this is geared towards creating a common market as well as a common investment area. We all know the importance of that. When you read the Treaty and look at the Strategic Plan 2001 - 2005, you see the importance of creating a large market because ultimately that is the main thrust.

As separate entities as Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, our markets are so minuscule that when it comes to the present global environment, it is very difficult to have an advantage when it comes to competition in the world economy. That is why this question of moving ultimately towards integration becomes very critical because when you combine the population of the three countries, you get a market of close to 80 - 100 million people. That is a significant market when it comes to internal investment by the local entrepreneurs, whether from Kenya, Tanzania or Uganda. That means a lot when you are producing for a market of 100 million people.

Even when it comes to the question of direct foreign investment, to anybody seated in

any major capital in the world looking at the so many investment destinations in the world, a common investment area that creates a market of close to 100 million people makes an impact. There is no doubt about that. So, as we discuss whatever issues are being discussed, that must remain at the back of our minds.

When you look at this report, it is clear that one can break it down into two parts: There is the question of federation, and that of a referendum. Before I talk on those two issues, I would like to highlight our commendation on the Munanka Report. As the Chairperson has already done, I would like to give it a little bit of highlight. We chose to give it commendation, not so much because of the content but because of the spirit and the context within which the report was written.

This report was written around 1975. As we may all recall, that was around the time when the East African Community was disintegrating. Signals were showing the disintegration of the East African Community. This is because there were very many conflicts that were not being resolved because the mechanisms were not adequate to resolve them at that time. But something important to note is the fact that the East African Legislative Assembly was not thinking Ugandan, Tanzanian or Kenyan.

Even though its composition was drawn from those three East African Countries, they were thinking East African. Their thinking was: "In spite of the problems that there are, let us look for mechanisms of resolving the problems and see how we can survive them to the extent of building to the future when the three East African countries can integrate".

We know that this is all history. The East

African Community disintegrated. However, that is not the point: the point is that at that time, there were people who were ready to stand and say that they thought they could overcome the problems of the time then. That is why, in spite of the context and the environment within which they were operating, they still went ahead and recommended for a federation of the East African countries. Even if it did not happen, we thought we should commend them for that.

Fortunately, as a friend of mine once told me, nobody can stop an idea whose time has come. I suspect that the idea of integration has come in its time and I believe and suspect that it will not be possible for anybody to stop it. That is my belief. We only need to wait for time to prove us right or wrong.

We now come to the question of federation and referendum. The federation can come through so many ways. There are so many ways, but I will not dwell on any other than the one we have discussed. This is the question of referendum. There is a thinking, which is prevalent, at least in the Committee, which was the central thinking. This is that, regardless of the processes - because as you may have seen, there are three different opinions; whether to start with the federation, end with it or have a movement of the other process simultaneously with the federation.

At this point in time, it may not be necessary to discuss those because if it be the wish of this Assembly to task the Committee to continue and finish its work, then the Committee, ultimately, in the work that it is going to perform, will come up with recommendations after synthesising all the issues that are relevant to this question as laid out between 5.11 to 5.17. They will come up with recommendations that will

enable this House to make a decision as to what steps should be taken next. But the current thinking is; whatever we start with, be it a federation now, after or whether there should be a simultaneous movement, the question of federation should be subjected to the will of the people.

The people of East Africa should be the ultimate decision makers as to whether to federate or not. This, of necessity, would mean that this question would be subjected to a referendum. Why has that thinking been pre-dominant? The most critical reason is that it will form the firmest base that any country or federation can have.

This is because, once the people express themselves or their will in a positive directive leading to a federation of countries, it will be impossible for any individual or group of persons to bring down such a desire. That is the main reason. It may not be expressed in the same words, but it is clearly stated within the Treaty. When you talk about "people-based" I do not see any other interpretation you can give it.

So, as we discuss the question of the federation, and as the Committee goes through the processes that it has recommended, that is the question that needs to be at the back of our minds. That is the question that has to be resolved one way or the other. We cannot escape from that. The House has got the liberty to determine when that can be done. The good thing with it is that there are no calculations or plans that need to be done. It is just a question of making the decision whether, at whatever point, the question of federation will be decided through a referendum or not.

In fact, if you look closely, you will find that it is not even in conflict at all with the continuation of this Committee. Even if within this week the House wanted to make

a decision on that, it could do so. It would not be in conflict at all with the continuation of working on the rest of the requirements for determining this question. However, we will leave it to the House to make a decision on it.

Now, on the question of the federation, the good thing is the environment within which we are operating as of now. Wherever you go, you find that there are positive sentiments for the community, be it in the private sector, the academia and generally, people from all walks of life that we meet. Rarely do you meet anybody who has negative sentiments.

I think we have learnt from history. You know, history is a good teacher. If you make wrong decisions, you will suffer. I think we have learnt our lessons. We have learnt that we cannot do it alone or separately, that we need to work together as regional groups because everybody wants a good life. If you want a good life, you have to work for it. But to work for it, we need to create an environment that will enable us to make our economies grow fast. We need an environment that will make our economies competitive. If you do not have the competitive advantage in the present global environment, you just cannot survive.

I think those are some of the lessons that we have learnt. Therefore, I believe that most people would want us to move in that direction of ultimately having the integration. The environment within Parliament - last year in November before we were sworn in, I did not know how exactly Parliament would be. I knew that we were going to operate as a Parliament, and that we were going to come from three different countries. We had not interacted and we did not know each other.

I do not know what other Members were

thinking, but I am just talking about my own experience. I did not know how we would operate with members from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. I must say that I feel gratified that ever since we met in the conduct of the business of the House, I have found that many times when we look at issues, we do it as East Africans. I would not think of any better environment to operate in other than the one we have within the East African Legislative Assembly.

Last but not least is the environment at the top. If you read statements of the three leaders at different places, you will see the spirit that they exhibit when it comes to the question of integration. They have been talking about it in different fora and, therefore, they have also created an enabling environment for those who are operating in different systems of government. It is quite encouraging for those who are handling the processes being talked about - the monetary union, the customs union and the question of integration. It is quite encouraging because the moment you see green light from the leaders, what else would anybody be waiting for?

Ultimately, the faster we resolve these questions the better for our communities because at the end of the day, whom are we working for? Maybe we as individuals have our families, but at the end of the day, we work for the communities that we represent. In any case, even as individuals, we cannot exist in an island! If you exist in a society that has better standards of living, the better for you even as an individual. At the end of the day, we work for the societies that we represent.

The Report is seeking the leave of this House to say that they recommend the draft report and adopt it, and to ask the committee to go ahead and handle this question in a more incisive and systematic manner as is

laid down from sections 5.1.1. to 5.1.7. Good as the idea is, we must not have a false start or take wrong steps. That is why we thought that we needed to move in a two-phased manner and undertake those seven stages as is entailed in the Report.

We think that this issue should be handled with the seriousness it deserves, and the study should be incisive and systematic. We should look at all aspects so that ultimately the decisions that need to be taken, first by Parliament, are taken in a manner of making an informed choice. That is why it is necessary to go through all those stages.

If ultimately a report were to come out, it would end up with the council of Ministers, which would, as of necessity, send it to the Summit of Heads of State. Once there is a background that is well studied with all the questions and issues answered, it would guide the decision makers at different levels to make the correct decisions because we would have to look at methods of conduct, time frames and whatever other issues as indicated in the report. We would have to look at what needs to be done and when.

If we were to adopt, for example, the question of the referendum, we would have to look at a number of questions because if you were to ask a person at Kisoro, Wajir or Lokichoggio about the East African Community - forget even about the federation - I can tell you that many of these people do not know what it is all about.

There are quite a number of achievements on the ground, and there is no doubt about it, but most of them are still felt by a few people. Maybe people who are operating within the economies, for example, people in the private sector. We also have the elite. These are people who move. Quite a number of us already have the East African Passports. A person in Lokichoggio does

not even know how an East African Passport looks like.

So, there are some small things that would have to be done, and those are some of the things that we need to look at. Things that would make the ordinary person relate even to the idea of the community, and that is where the question of integration comes in. When we were in Mwanza, we heard the people there asking about boarder crossing. The same question arose when we were in Moshi. These were ordinary people at different areas of the region in three different countries asking about the same questions! Those are some of the issues that we need to look at; those are some of the issues that we think we could recommend to be handled first, and that they be resolved to the extent that it would make the question of integration become relevant even in the remotest part of the region.

It should be relevant to the extent that if you were to ask the population the question, "what do you think?" their response would be positive because they know that they are going to gain. Even the question of federation has to be tackled because there is no way you can operationalise the question of free movement of goods, services, labour and persons without having a common permit. Once the committee gets time, it would have to look at the most critical issues. The Secretariat should liaise with the executives in the three countries and resolve them. It should sensitize the population.

There are two ways of sensitizing the population, through the media and oral dissemination of information. To me, I do not think that, that can be as effective as doing things which are concrete and which make people relate. Things that make people know that their interest will be better served if they do one thing or the other. If people



from hon. Mbeo's area knew that they could fish up to Musoma or Masaka, I can tell you that they would be very happy. If people in Kapchorwa, Mbale, Busia or Namanga knew that with an East African permit you can move to any country without any hindrance at the boarder point, that would make them relate. I have got no doubts in my mind about that.

There are other small issues that you experience on day-to-day basis. If you are from Kenya or Tanzania and you want to open a bank account in Uganda, you will be asked to produce your work permit. You can even go to sleep in a hotel and find that your rates are different. If you are from Kenya and you go to a hotel in Uganda, in most cases they will ask you whether you are from Uganda and if you are not, your rates will be different. You then ask yourself what the East African Community is all about!

Those are issues where, in many cases, Heads of State have taken positions, and in some cases have even given directives. But operationalising those directives has not yet happened. These are some of the areas that we need to look at and see how we can resolve the issues there. In this way, we will make our populations in the three countries to start feeling that they are from East Africa.

If you are a Ugandan from Arua, you can just go to Kampala. Even if you want to cross River Nile, nobody would stop you to ask for a permit or any document. It is in the mind. Somebody moving from Mombasa to Kisumu is not asked for any permit if he is a Kenyan. The same case happens in Tanzania. From Athi River to a small town in Tanzania, immediately after crossing the boarder, which is less than 100 kilometres, you are required to produce a permit!

It is in our thinking. Once we adjust our thinking, then it can be very good. If we have made up our mind that we want to have a common East Africa, then we must start thinking the East African way. That is not to say that all problems can be resolved overnight.

Mr. Speaker, sir, I would like to thank you for your wise decision of having asked this committee to carry out a study on the question of the integration of the East African countries. We would like to thank you for the time that you gave us to carry out this study and the backup that was given to us through your staff. We have done our best to present this draft report, which crystallizes our thinking in the committee, which I believe gives a road mark that we would need to follow to be able to make the right decisions on the question of the integration of the East African countries.

This is a decision which most of us know to be quite critical, and which I believe is at the core of whatever else we are trying to do.

I would not want to take any more of the time of the House. My appeal to the House is for the house to take a positive position by adopting this report and recommending that this Committee continues and does the necessary incisive work that needs to be done to be able to make the ultimate decision.

*(Question proposed)*

*(The proceedings were interrupted for 20 minutes due to power failure)*

*(Mr Kanyomozi and Mr Mbeo's speeches were inaudible due to the resultant technical fault)*

**Mr Calist Mwatela (Kenya):** Mr. Speaker, sir, thank you very much for giving me the

Floor. I would like to thank the mover of the Motion for eloquently moving this very honourable Motion. I would like to look at history a bit so that we understand our position.

As you all know, unless you know your past, you cannot know your present; neither can you know where you are going. I would like to look at this history I am talking about in two sections: The first section is the overall world economic order of recent times. We all know that East Africa suffered from slavery. Immediately after slavery, we had direct colonization. After that, we got into the so-called independence times. This was during the 1950s. After that, we now have globalization. I would like to state categorically that all this, beginning with the age of slavery up to now is nothing but economics.

The age of slavery was an age where the strong West and East got free labour from Africa. They transported the labour to wherever it was relevant in order to acquire cheap goods and a surplus to build their economies. That is how Africans ended up in the Caribbean, North America, South America, the Middle East and the Far East. It was all a question of creating wealth!

It became difficult to sustain this arrangement because, naturally, if you brought people, they created problems of their own. As communication technology developed, it became easier to retain these people wherever the plantations were, make them work for meagre wages and pocket huge profits. It is all economics!

That is how we now ended up with the conference in Brussels where the colonialists divided up the African continent among themselves. They decided that Belgium should go to Congo and Britain to Kenya and some other places. France went to Ivory Coast. They

apportioned themselves these places for management purposes so that they could get people working at very low wages and they would get economic wealth from them.

I am referring to this because even this East African Community is a matter of economics. So, we have to begin with economics! We have to think about economics and we have to understand what is happening internationally in order to appreciate whatever moves we are making.

So, we have reached this stage where the rule was out there in Europe and we had small districts in Africa as well as in Asia and South America. At this time, the wealth continued flowing to Europe. This became difficult, as masses in these areas got educated, particularly after the Second World War. After people went out and they were exposed to many things, it became very difficult to maintain the arrangement that was there before where some people were subjects of others.

The clamour for independence came in and people got independence, but again it was because the arrangement could not be sustained. So, another arrangement was put in place where we had big companies operating in these same areas, more or less with the same kind of order, but without having a direct rule. Again, it is economics. They were still appropriating labour from the colonies.

The arrangements continued, but albeit from a different angle, the angle of multinationals. We have to see it again in terms of the so-called "Cold War". This had spheres of influence. The West used the multinationals while the Communist world used a more direct kind of approach. But all the same this arrangement continued. When

there was collapse in the Communist world, the arrangement was no longer useful. That is how we ended up with what we are now calling globalization. Globalization would not have come if the Cold War were there. So, what is this globalization? It is purely an arrangement where trading can occur freely all over the world. It became necessary, as you can see in Europe, to move fast and come together as a group.

Mr. Speaker, sir, there was an earlier reference made by the previous Member that because of our scarce economies we should do things in a particular way. I agree that we have scarce economies and for that same reason, we need to come together very fast. It is not the other way round. I am saying this because we saw what is happening in Zanzibar where the port is falling apart and needs US\$ 20 million for repair. If this were one economy, the taxpayers of East Africa would directly finance this project. We would just use this money to build the port; it would never be a matter of going to the donors. Our scarce resources have to be put together as fast as possible.

Mr. Speaker, sir, I would like to look at the second bit of my history, the history of the Community. Again, it is all economics. As we know, the first customs unit was Kenya and I think the next one was Tanzania. But the first customs union was between Kenya and Uganda in 1901. Again, it was purely to facilitate the movement of goods from the hinterland. Now that the railway line was there, goods could move from Uganda to Mombasa without any problems. It is a matter of economics.

Of course later on after the First World War, Tanganyika joined the customs union. Remember that the three countries were under the management of Britain. Again it was a question of facilitating everything. It

was economics. So, the customs union was followed in the 1940s by an upgraded kind of co-operation between the three countries up to independence time. Again it was a way of managing the economies of these three countries.

I would like to say without fear that upon independence, the East African Common Services Organization was not a darling of the western countries. It would not have been because it was giving strength to the newly independent countries. They would not have been happy if we came together and strengthened the East African Common Services Organization into a federation. All of you must have read the Munaka Report and seen what happened in 1963, and subsequently in 1964.

In 1963, one President and two Prime Ministers met here in Nairobi. If I am not wrong, I think it was on 5 June 1963. They all categorically decided that they were going to move very fast towards the federation. This was not to be, and so the following year in 1964, backbenchers from TANU, which was the ruling party in Tanganyika and KANU, the ruling party in Kenya then met and came up with a memorandum for the three government heads. They visited each one of them. The invitation was to all the backbenchers as well as Zanzibar. The Zanzibar backbenchers did not attend the meeting because of some logistic reasons; communication. The backbenchers from Uganda did not attend for reasons not very clear up to now.

What is of material substance is the fact that these backbenchers were furious with their leaders for not making a forward move towards the federation. They were very clear and they said that any further delay would derail the whole process. They chose a team, which visited the heads of the

governments.

The visit to Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika then, was very positive. He said, "Let us go ahead". He appreciated that there would be problems. If you were to go into a federation, you would expect problems. He appreciated that and even said that any further delay would cause more problems because people would tend to move their own ways. The visit to Mzee Kenyatta was also positive. The Report says that Kenyatta was ready for federation any time. Unfortunately, the visit to the leader of Uganda, and the statement is very clear, was negative. He was adamant that Uganda would not be pushed into a federation.

It is unfortunate because in my view, if the federation came into being then, we would have avoided things like *coup d' etats*. It is possible to avoid such things if you have such a huge area of management. It is unfortunate that the first and only person to suffer was the same Head of State who refused the federation.

Mr Speaker, sir, what is so great about being a Kenyan, Ugandan or Tanzanian? I think the most important thing is for us to have countries that are strong economically and those that can feed people. We should not have countries that can be manipulated by the so-called "world forces". It is important for us that as we move along, we should not forget the fact that these are not issues of sentiments. It is not a question of whether you love to have a big country. It is a question of seeing ourselves as a team that has a duty. It is a question of seeing ourselves as a group that can work together for the sake of our people. We should start acting on the federation.

Until we have acted on passes, identity cards, common passports and movement of goods, that idea cannot go far. I would like

to explain myself. We can have all these things working just as we had them working in 1977. Then one night somebody gets up on the wrong side of his bed and says, "I do not want this federation any more". All these things you are saying you are putting in place will be gone! We need to found our cooperation on the people themselves, be it the East African Community or federation, so that no leader can wake up one day and withdraw from the federation. It has happened before.

The mover of this Motion, the hon. Maj. Gen. Muntu Mugisha, must have had that fear that we are mandating a very critical item or element on very few people, who are unfortunately few and powerful. When you are powerful you can do things.

Mr. Speaker, sir, if this House were to go ahead and pass the Motion that hon. Maj. Gen. Mugisha had wanted to move, it would have become the responsibility of the states to educate their masses. It would have become the responsibility of this Community, first of all to look at what kind of cooperation we are talking about. You cannot float something to the people before you tell them how it will work. The question of a referendum is not purely for the sake of the people being asked!

Lawyers will agree with me that when you are an agent, the principal has to describe what exactly you are going to act for. I am not a lawyer, but I know that if you are an agent you have to be very clear as to what we can do. I cannot act outside your prescription. Members of this assembly are here, having being elected by their national assemblies. Our national assemblies are where they are on the basis of the strength of their constitutions.

We do not have that mandate, and we can only get it from the people. So, in the first

place, the referendum is not an issue for us. I think we do not have the power to say that we will have a referendum. So, legally we are not empowered to take a decision on a referendum. The Treaty talks about moving towards a federation. The people must decide on the question of having a federation. It is not an issue for a few people to decide on.

I mentioned earlier that we need to protect the Community, and if a federation comes it will also need to be protected. We need to move into a federation in such a way that if any country will want to pull out of it, it will have to go back to the people for a decision.

I would like to say that this Motion is a beginning of a process. The next sitting of the Committee must be more precise as to what is going to happen. I am just saying that it may be too late for us to form a federation; we might be caught up in the so-called "globalisation". But I am sure that globalisation is not good for small economies; it is only good for large economies that can dictate terms to a certain extent.

When we were in Uganda, you mandated me to go and witness the opening of a construction of a hydropower plant. For Uganda's economy, that is a huge investment, which must be financed by Uganda's economy without external aid. Let us look at a future East Africa with such development projects in mind. With those few remarks, I beg to support.

**The Speaker:** And with those few remarks, I would like to appeal to hon. Members to be a little more considerate on time. I have a list of eight speakers and if everybody takes as long as some hon. Members have taken, our debate will take quite a long time. I now call upon hon. Marando to contribute.

**Mr. Mabere Nyaicho Marando (Tanzania):** Mr. Speaker, sir, I am grateful for your having availed me this opportunity to also make a few remarks on this very important matter to the East African people.

I also wish to associate myself with those who have expressed gratitude for the kindness of Kenyans and their leadership in availing us the opportunity to meet here, and also for handling us in a manner that some of us consider encouraging.

There is a famous Chinese saying to the effect that a long journey starts with the first step. I wish to take recognition of the resolution proposed by Maj. Gen. Oyera, which has brought us to this stage. It was the first step of a very long journey, which may see us through to an East African federation some day to come.

I feel privileged to be part of this Assembly, which is now debating a possible realisation of an East African federation. I once said, and I wish to repeat it, that there is a necessity for us to stand tall in the community of nations. East Africa, in which we have Mount Kilimanjaro, must stand tall, not only in Africa, but also in the world. We have the capability and the capacity - we have the natural resources - to enable us to be seen in the world.

The first step, as has been stated by hon. Mwatela, is the necessary political will. That political will now manifests itself from the statements made by our Heads of State. We in this Assembly have mixed with the people of East Africa at various times and heard them say that they want a federation. Therefore, the political will exists at the top, in the middle and at the bottom. It is now our task to measure up to the expectations of East Africans by giving them a political federation.

Mr. Speaker, sir, I wish to concentrate on a little point. There are fears among some East Africans, particularly the business communities of Uganda and Tanzania. There are fears of possible economic domination as we move along. I wish to take this opportunity to say that in my humble opinion, there is no reason for any fear. There are some businessmen in Tanzania and Uganda who feel that the Kenyan businessmen will dominate them but the same people do not complain of domination by South Africa and Europe! So, such fears have no basis.

Even when we take internal development of our individual countries, we see that levels of development in various regions are different. The level of development in Kilimanjaro Region is different from that of Musoma and Mtwara regions and yet they are part of the same country. The level of development in Central Province in Kenya is different from that of the Eastern Province. The level of development in Buganda region is different from that of West Nile region and yet they are parts of the same country.

This is an analogy that would apply to East African as a whole. We cannot grow at the same rate at any given time. There will always be a necessity to plan the development of our countries with the aim of attaining a bigger economy. That is why we all crave for a federation.

Mr. Speaker, sir, a federation has already been anticipated in the Treaty. The authors who spent their energy and time drafting the Treaty did a commendable job. I am sure that they represent the majority of the East African people. It is now our job to take the lead. I very much share the views of my colleagues who emphasised economic development. Really, any development

makes sense when it has an economic aspect. I think Europe concentrated more on the economic aspect of development in order to reach the stage in which they are now. For the first 40 years when we have been independent, we have not managed to build our economies to such levels, as we would have wished to. We also know that our continued attempts to develop our economies before we go into a federation may not bear fruit as soon as we would wish them to. It is my considered and humble opinion that Africa is at a stage where politics should take the lead.

Since we know that we desire a larger economy and market for our success, then it is necessary for us and our leaders to accept that political federation may take us to success sooner than if we follow the steps outlined here. The Treaty anticipates a situation where we could gain some kind of economic strength before we go into political federation. As mentioned earlier, in the strategy there is a very small paragraph about the politics of East Africa. In my humble opinion, it is a political determination that will make East Africa stand tall. I felt glad when a few days ago I heard the President of Kenya say that a committee has been set up to look into this possibility.

Mr. Speaker, sir, I subscribe to hon. Shamala's various schools of thought. I subscribe to his second school of thought that these considerations should be taken together. As economic analyses are undertaken, let the political possibilities be seriously looked into to enable our leaders make a decision which will lead into a federation sooner than may have been anticipated by those who drafted the Treaty. I know that there are bottlenecks, but we have technocrats.

In fact, I wish to strongly commend the

Committee for the proposals it has made to enable us move on in this process. One proposal is for us to consult experts on the technicalities of integration. This will enable us go into a federation carefully, but not slowly. If we go into the federation slowly, this will make East Africans accuse us of procrastination.

Much as we would wish to relax the movement of labour and use of a common currency as we had in the past, it is the political decision to go into a federation which will have an impact on the people of East Africa and even on the world. It is the realisation by East Africans that they are one people and that they confront the world as one country that will have a big impact. This is in your hands.

This Committee has done a great job because it has shown that this Assembly is now in the lead. Our Heads of State have done their job and brought us together, however, the practical part of our intentions are contained in the work of this Committee, and that is why we commend its members for their work. As Maj. Gen. Oyera has said, our technocrats need to change their thinking. It is their work that will enable us move forward. If they do not ensure that bottlenecks are removed, we shall move slowly, yet the people of East Africa do not expect us to go slowly.

I propose that we adopt the statements of fact contained in the Munanka Report. It did a good job and a generation or two have passed since then. At least its members did discover the willingness of the people of East African to form a federation. So, we can do no better than adopting that finding as a matter of fact. All that we will do will be added to the findings of this report.

Where we are going is very critical. The hon. Members have just said that we failed

in the 1970s because maybe too much power had been handed over to individuals. I know that we shall have a political federation; it is just a question of time! But as my friends have remarked earlier, power must be in the hands of the people of East Africa. Whatever work will now take place as we move on must be under the close superintendence of this Committee. The Committee, though elected by the national assemblies, represents the peoples of East Africa. So, the Committee must be enabled to closely superintend whatever work is taking place as we move along towards the federation. Financial constraint is only one of the bottlenecks, but those people who are controlling the finances for this work must realise that they are there because the East African people want them to be there. They should facilitate the work of this Committee.

Mr. Speaker, sir, it is, therefore, not good for this Committee to be meeting just when the Assembly happens to be meeting. The Committee is doing a very pioneering work for the people of East Africa as a whole. I am sure those who control the national budgets would also wish to ensure that this Committee works. It should have at its disposal sufficient funding.

The report is talking about organising a referendum. This is not a small thing. Getting experts from East Africa to gather together and give the Committee their views on the modalities of how we must move towards federation or about these enterprises is not a small thing. It is very costly. It may be more costly than the work of the Assembly. The Members of the Committee have said in their report that they may wish to visit the partner states. You may not wish to visit partner states only, but you would wish to travel to several parts of the world.

There used to be the Arab Federation comprising of Syria, Egypt, Libya and

Tunisia but it failed. Why? The Committee should go there and talk to them. We have had several attempts in the world at federation, which failed. Why? The Committee ought to go there and find out why those attempts towards federation failed. Even our old good Nyasaland Federation failed. Maybe it is still alive because the Kaundas are still alive; talk to them. Why did it fail? This is because we do not want to make similar mistakes because the people of East Africa will not excuse us this time.

Mr. Speaker, sir, I am budgeting on your time. This is a road that has been trodden by my predecessors. I do not wish to stand here much longer than I have done. Thank you very much. Once again, I commend the Committee for their good work. I beg to support the Motion - *(Applause)*.

**The Speaker:** Hon. Members, I would like to suspend the proceedings of the Assembly for 15 minutes. We will now adjourn briefly and come back at 5.00 p.m.

*The House was suspended at 3.25 p.m. and resumed at 5.00 p.m.)*

*(On resumption \_)*

*(The Speaker, Mr Kinana, in the Chair)*

**Mr Sozi Kiwanuka Med Kaggwa (Uganda):** Mr. Speaker, sir-----

*(This part of the speech was inaudible due to technical fault)*

It gave an idea as to what the people of East Africa wanted. Since the collapse of the former East African Community, a lot has changed - *(inaudible)*. It is important that the people of East Africa be consulted. However, what are we going to consult the

people of East Africa on? It is my humble view -*(inaudible)*- You can hold a referendum and get the desired results - *(inaudible)*.

Can the Secretariat not be assigned the duties of coming up with the issues touching on the benefits of a political federation? This can guide us and other leaders in the East African countries. They can go and talk to the people so that when they come to make a verdict, they will make a verdict that is well considered.

When the Budget was being read, mention was made of various studies. Why can we not commission a study to look at the possibility of having the integration first rather than what the Treaty prioritizes. Maybe it would guide us. As far as I am concerned, I do not see anything wrong with that. Many a time a few people have thought for others and at times they have ended up not having the masses with them. I would, therefore, want to see a situation where we move with the masses in this important matter. I would want to see a situation where we move with all cadres of leadership in this matter.

The three Presidents have supported this issue. I have also had the benefit of working in the government and I have seen that the head of a government may want something, but his cabinet may reject it.

Maybe the Committee would need to liaise with these various levels of government. They should get their honest feelings. They should not do that for public consumption. Maybe they have not given the issue a serious thought. I think the Committee should guide us more in this aspect, and as I said earlier on, I would want to see it acting in a supervisory capacity so that some other persons do the job. I would like to see a guiding body that comes up with ideas and



views and brings them to the House as they have done today. We need to deliberate on the issues and then give them a further go-ahead.

Mr. Speaker, sir, earlier on you requested us to be responsible on time. I do not want to become irresponsible. I would like to support that we adopt this report and this process should be continuous. We are making this one of our main agenda. So, this Committee should continuously study the changes in the people of East Africa. We should therefore give it all the necessary support. With those remarks, I beg to support the Motion.

*(Proceedings were interrupted at this point by power failure)*

**Mr. Mohammed Abdalla Zubedi (Kenya):** *(Inaudible)* - It will be up to our people to accept or not to accept the idea of a federation. Without our people seeing economic benefits, I do not think we can sell to them the idea of a political federation, and think that as naive as they might be, they will accept it wholesale. They might not. That might be embarrassing to all of us, and this is what we are trying to avoid.

Secondly, I think the second point boards on the technicalities that we are adopting. We have a problem, and I think my colleagues will agree with me.

The Sectoral committees that we have in the Secretariat are doing very well, but I would like to request the Members of the seven Parliamentary Committees that we have formed to be involved fully in the deliberations of the work that is being done by the Sectoral committees so that we can go back to the *wanainchi* and tell them what we are doing before we sell any idea of a federation to them. We want to tell the people what we are doing, what we have

achieved and where we have failed.

If we look at the Development Plan of 2001-2005, we see that we have not been able to implement anything that has been put down. So, if we go back to the *wanainchi* today, we are only going to tell them that we have not achieved anything. Now how can we tell the same people that we want a political federation first?

I think the Sectoral committees should involve the Members of the parliamentary committees in the work being done at all times. In this way, when the Bill comes to us we will know that we have been instrumental in the formation stage. This way, it will be easier for us to debate it and pass it. By that time, maybe we will have passed all the information to the people down there.

We have been reading in the papers that the protocol for a Customs Union is not ready because of various reasons. We do not actually know why that is happening. I beg that those issues be looked into before we go into other things.

Mr Speaker, sir, I said that I support the Customs Union, the Common Market, Monetary Union and then we go to the federation. We are talking of ways of alleviating poverty. Every country is preparing a session paper on poverty eradication. We have not even achieved that goal.

When we were talking about the East African Community, we spoke of very many economic projects that could be undertaken jointly so as to achieve some level of development, and an equal development level for our partner states, which can be enhanced with a customs union and a common market. If we can implement those policies first and we achieve that economic

growth that will alleviate poverty among our people, it will be very good.

I think it will be easier to move along the path of federation once we move out of that state of abject poverty. If we do that, we will enjoy some form of economic growth.

Our countries' economic growth is not uniform. Kenya's economic growth at the moment is very low. The same case applies to Uganda and Tanzania. We first want to harmonise those issues because they are very important. If we can have a harmonious economic growth in the region, we will move into other things slowly. Let us learn how to crawl first and then walk and finally run. We shall all run. The whole idea is for us to achieve political federation, which we will but let us have the economic federation first, and then move to political federation.

My colleagues have talked about the suspicions that are inherent in our partner states. People are not sure what will happen if we integrate economically. People think that one country might "colonise" the other. But as we heard, those suspicions are not very strong. The arguments against them are stronger than they are. As we know, we are talking of globalization. We are being forced to globalize. Globalization is coming to us like a storm, and as His Excellency President Moi said a couple of days ago; globalization is a marketing tool for western goods and services. We all agree to that.

As much as we have our own inhibitions, by and large our countries have agreed without their choice to go the path of globalization. We are not against these foreign dominations where in the global picture we are very small and maybe singularly we have no say and we cannot bargain at all. We have accepted to do that, but we are very suspicious about trading with each

other. We still have a long way to go. There is a long way to go and the sooner we address those issues and get going, the better.

I do not want to take a lot of time because the issue here is known. As you said, we should be very much aware of time of which I will be. As I said, my view is that we support this Motion fully and we should work towards the goal that we have all set for ourselves. We should not slow down, but be cautious. We should adopt policies that will be implementable and sustainable; otherwise, it is like building houses from cards. We will build them and then one day the whole thing will collapse on us. With that, I beg to support the Motion.

**Mr Daniel Wandera Ogalo (Uganda):**

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, sir, for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this Motion.

I want to thank the Committee for a job well done. I want to enjoin my support for the extension. I would like to request the Committee to tell us how long the extension will be.

I see difficulties because Uganda has a different political system from Kenya and Tanzania, and instead we have to wait until Uganda catches up with Kenya and Tanzania before we federate the states! All the Heads of State have said that they want us to move fast towards the federation. I think that if we do not do that then the political will, will be lacking in us.

*(Proceedings were interrupted at this point by power failure)*

Mr. Speaker, sir, there is an agreement that was entered between the Republic of Sudan and United Arab Republic to construct dams in Sudan - *(Inaudible)*.

Mr. Speaker, sir, there is another agreement that was alluded to by hon. Mbeo. The

agreement was entered into between 30 May 1949 and 20 March 1950. I will lay this document on the Table but briefly, the governments of the United Kingdom and Egypt got into a contract to construct Owen Falls Dam in Uganda. The contract states that the Uganda Government would only be informed about the construction. That was the position.

As I said, the United Kingdom entered into an agreement with the Government of Egypt to construct a dam, but they were to inform the authorities in Uganda about their agreement. So, the colonial Government in Uganda at that time was not party to that contract. Since Uganda was not party to that contract, we can rescind that agreement. You cannot bind me with a contract that is not in my interest!

Mr. Speaker, sir, after signing the contract, certain conditions were introduced. Because of the lack of time, I will not go into details of those terms. The terms are in this document and they are bad. The only thing I can say about the Owen Falls Dam in Uganda is that later on the Sudan Government realised that they had given us such a bad deal. They had constructed the dam in Uganda, but they did not allow Ugandans to use the electric power.

According to the agreement, the Egyptian Government was supposed to pay Uganda Government £980,000 as a once-and-for-all settlement, but the electricity which Owen Falls Dam is losing year in, year out is enormous. This £980,000 which was paid Uganda in the 1950s to compensate for the loss of power is not enough. Even up to now electric power is being lost! If we generated and managed our resources, it is my strong belief that East Africa would be far ahead in industrialization. The rural electrification programme for which we borrow money from Sweden and other

donors, we would have done it long time ago from our own resources - (*Applause*).

Mr. Speaker, sir, it is my submission that we have had a raw deal. Other countries have taken advantage of our weaknesses. The only way out is for us to come together as one country and speak with one voice because the waters of Lake Victoria link us all of us together. Uganda, Tanzania or Kenya cannot talk alone. In any case, the 1929 agreement bound us together because we were all under the British Government. So we can only reverse this agreement if we speak with one voice.

Consequently, I would plead with hon. Members that in order to achieve development, we must move fast in terms of federation so that we can speak with one voice. We can even go to the International Court of Justice and say we were deprived of development by deliberate acts as this agreement shows and we seek justice from that court. Reparations have been made before. There are many countries that have been hurt by these agreements. We have been hurt by these agreements, which we were not party to. We must reverse that.

Mr. Speaker, sir, hon. Mbeo talked about the flooding of Lake Victoria in 1961, but in this agreement, as you will see, the agreement says that compensation for flooding will be limited to three metres from the lakeshore. It is like from here to where hon. Mbeo is. If you were where hon. Marando is, you would not get compensation. That is what is in the agreement.

So, whatever compensation our people got, is stipulated in the agreement. Those are the agreements that bind us even to date. Surely, somebody should have felt some shame in putting down such things on paper! We could not sue for slave trade

because it was not documented, however, for this we can sue because we have a copy of the agreement.

Mr. Speaker, sir, the second point on which I would like to comment is the enhancement of effective establishment of the political federation of the partner states. Sometimes we do not take advantage of the experience of our leaders. His Excellency President Moi, His Excellency President Museveni and His Excellency President Mkapa have given birth to this idea to revive the East African Community. They had the vision, and they want this vision to be seen through. They are men of considerable knowledge and experience in matters of East Africa. We can gain a lot more from them. But now, His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi is retiring at the end of this year. His Excellency President Yoweri Museveni will retire in 2006.

It is time, in my humble submission that tapped in this vast experience and knowledge of these leaders. It is time that we created an office in Arusha for an individual who can be respected by his colleagues, and who can assist us to achieve the political federation goal; someone who can lift the phone and talk to any Head of State! That kind of individual can only be an individual with considerable knowledge such as His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi, His Excellency President Museveni or His Excellency President Mkapa - (*Applause*).

Since His Excellency President Moi is retiring at the end of this year and His Excellency President Museveni will retire in 2006, I believe we should not leave out this experience. We can create an office within the Summit and have accommodation befitting former Heads of State built in Arusha. We can tap their experiences for the next four years.

For example, when His Excellency President Moi retires at the end of this year, he could go to Arusha where he could handle matters of the East African Federation from there, and we tap his experience. After four years, he hands over matters of East African Federation to His Excellency President Museveni when he retires. This was their vision, and they should nurture it. We can then provide that office with certain immunities and privileges befitting the Head of State.

I believe that in certain matters like meetings of the Commonwealth countries where all three heads of the East African states have to attend, they can delegate limited executive power to whoever is in that office. In that way, we will not only be recognising what these great sons of East Africa have achieved, but we shall also continue to learn more from them. I seriously propose to the Committee that when they are considering the enhancement of federation, they should look at this idea seriously.

Lastly, Mr. Speaker, sir, the other issue I would like to comment on is democracy and good governance; Mr. Kanyomozi has hinted at it. It reminded me of a picture I saw in a copy of the *Daily Nation*. I was still a student during the days of President Amin in Uganda when there were a lot of murders.

A *Daily Nation* correspondent had captured two policemen at the Malaba border of Kenya. Those policemen were standing and they saw blood flowing from Uganda into Kenya. One of the policeman remarked to his friend: "But even with blood flowing into our border, they still call it an internal affair!" There was then a policy that you do not interfere with the internal affairs of another nation. Therefore, Kenya

Government could not interfere with the internal affairs of Uganda. I was reminded of that, that even when life was being lost in Uganda, it was the internal matter of Uganda.

My appeal is that we should rise above national petty fights and be able to advise frankly because, according to the Treaty, there must be democracy and good governance. If hon. Mbeo and hon. Mwatela think the system in Uganda is not democratic, they should be clear and say so. You should not feel shy because this will help us change our system. You should not call it an internal affair of Uganda, and when I am not there, you ask: "*Lakini hao Waganda wanafanya nini?*" You should speak about it because it will assist us. Then we will be able to attain what is in the Treaty and what we are asking the Committee to deal with.

Mr. Speaker, sir, with those few remarks, I wish to thank you and the Committee for a well-done job. Thank you.

**The Speaker:** What I have observed in this House is that the word "a few" is getting a new interpretation. I will call upon three speakers; hon. Nangale, hon. Wanyoto and Capt Ddudu.

**Mr George Francis Nangale (Tanzania):** Mr. Speaker, sir, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity. I will be brief so as to give time to my fellow other two speakers to complete their comments on this very important subject. First of all, I would like to join my fellow honourable Members to congratulate our fellow hon. Members of Parliament and Kenyan people for their hospitality and for availing these Parliamentary facilities which we are enjoying here today.

Mr. Speaker, sir, the East African people

have an affinity for co-operation. We have been told many times how the East African peoples have strived to co-operate. This goes back to over 100 years. So, what we are actually discussing today, the federation issue, to me, is a missed opportunity.

Going back to a few years before the independence of our three countries, or rather four countries including Zanzibar, the political heads of organisations who were fighting for independence, KANU, TANU and others met in Nairobi and agreed to formulate a political federation in 1963. In fact, the founding father of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, had vowed to postpone the independence of Tanzania in 1961 so that we wait for the other two countries and have the Independence Day on one day, and declare federation the same day. We all know that that did not happen.

The people of East Africa, in 1967, came together and formulated the East African Community. This community, as we all know, was mainly government-centred. It did very great things, including formulating very good and memorable common services. For example, buying the first DC9 Aircraft in Africa, which even the people in Europe were very surprised about.

Mr Speaker, sir, while hon. Munanka and his fellow East African parliamentarians were moving towards federation, the other parts of the community were struggling towards disintegration. Actually, what prevailed was disintegration in 1977. So, today, once again, we are on the move and I hope this time we will make it.

Mr Speaker, sir, I am positive thinker and I believe in integration by practical approach, which some of the previous speakers have just talked about. If you go through the Treaty, there are two important principles that the Treaty has stipulated very clearly,

the principle of subsidiarity and the principle of variable geometry. These two principles actually mean co-operative inquiry; that a group of people within East Africa should forge ahead and start co-operating. These are people with common interests and goals. The farmers, business people, politicians, students in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda could work together. If they did so, automatically the federation we are looking for would be formulated.

The governments are part of the stakeholders of the community. I think it is high time the three East African governments did their homework. This is because there are a lot of cries all over East Africa about hurdles that the people are experiencing, particularly when they are crossing borders. These are some of the things that the governments could handle. But on the other hand, the people themselves should forge ahead and co-operate without waiting for government directives because this has already been agreed upon in the Treaty.

Mr. Speaker, sir, on the collection of ideas, hon. Kamba's Committee has stipulated certain means of collecting ideas from different people in different places. I would like to remind the Committee that at the moment, we are living in the information age. There are a lot of East Africans who currently live outside the region. These people are entitled to the right to participate in what is happening in the region, and they might have good ideas. So, I would recommend that the Committee immediately sets up a website which will provide a forum for East Africans both, inside and outside the region to air their views and to participate in this very important discussion.

Mr Speaker, sir, the question of federation should be the dominant discourse in East Africa. Paradoxically, what is happening

now within our countries shows that people are not very much involved in issues of federation. From the Press reports in Kenya, it is clear that most people are talking about constitutional reforms. In Uganda, they are talking about political movements and systems while in Tanzania they are talking about something else. I think we should now move out of that and take the federation as the dominant discourse in the different forums in our society.

Mr Speaker, sir, with those few remarks, I once again commend the Committee for the good work done. We expect to hear more from them since this is supposed to be the interim report. Thank you very much.

**Mrs Lydia Mutende Wanyoto (Uganda):**

Thank you, Mr. Speaker, sir, and hon. Members. I stand here to support the Motion, but before I do that, I would like to join my colleagues in thanking and appreciating the Government of Kenya, especially His Excellency the President, Mr Daniel arap Moi, hon. Nicholas Biwott and the Minister for Information and Tourism. These are some of the Kenyan Cabinet Ministers that have received us since we arrived here. I would also like to thank the Parliament of Kenya, our colleagues, Members of Parliament of Kenya for the well co-ordinated programme and the wonderful reception we have received since we arrived here.

In addition to this, I would like to thank the media fraternity; both from Kenya and our partner states for the very good and positive coverage they have given us since we started our work. To me, the media is a very important arm of our support because whatever we do here would remain here if they did not spread it beyond this chamber.

Mr Speaker, sir, I would like to also thank

the people of Kenya, especially the private sector, the cultural groups and other members of the civil society whom we have met. They received us very well and have made our stay here very warm and comforting. Having said that, I would like to proceed with my recommendations and ideas about the Motion.

To me this Motion is very timely and I would like to thank the Chair and the House for having thought it worthwhile that the process of integration starts now than later. It is not that we want the federation today or tomorrow. My emphasis is on the initiation of the process. I am saying this because it takes time to reach our people. We all know that we have been independent for over 40 years but we still have problems and bottlenecks in communication and mass mobilization. We also know that the Treaty talks about involving the people; it is a people-centred Treaty. So, for us to begin such a process of integration, we need to talk about issues that many people consider sensitive. These are issues like the political federation.

We could never have a better time than now for starting the process. It may take us five or 10 years, but what is important for us is to let this process start, we grapple with it, send out feelers on the ground, involve the stakeholders so that at the end of the day, whatever it takes, people will be part and parcel of the decision that will be taken about the integration of the East African Community, including the political federation.

Mr Speaker, sir, issues of politics are very pertinent to some of us who have joined leadership at this time of our lives. I am saying this because all of us represent 85 million East Africans. For a long time, we have thought that issues of politics are very sensitive and that they should be kept in

wardrobes until they are given an appropriate time. Personally, I think politics is just responsibility and that it should be part and parcel of everyday life. We should not make it very secretive. It should be openly debated at every forum. We should begin this as soon as we can so that it is everybody's concern.

I say this because decision-making is a very important ingredient in our time in history. We are being pulled along with the rest of the world because we have been lagging behind since independence 40 years ago. The majority of East Africans do not belong to what we described in our Treaty. I believe that we need to bridge the gaps and build bridges to reach the real East Africans.

In our Treaty, we talk about the private sector, the public sector and the civil society. But I want to tell you today that a majority of the East Africans do not belong to any of these sectors. They are normal human beings that live in our villages and do not know anything about the civil society. In fact, these are defined sectors for some of us who are elitist, with particular programmes to carry out. The majority of East Africans are born in villages and societies where they grow up. Because of cultural inhibitions, the women may move to the next village to marry. Otherwise they would stay in their village of birth, live and die there like their male counterparts.

I think this political federation is a noble cause, and I would like to thank the House for initiating it. One day we should be able to involve the normal East African at the parish and village level in making this decision. I think they will be surprised that for the first time in the history of their lives, they have been consulted and informed in order to make an informed decision.

I am saying this because the issue of politics

and elections did not start with the East African Legislative Assembly. The issue of referendum is not news to many of us; however, many times we go to our people and bombard them with these statements, words and agenda when we have not prepared them to make informed decisions. At the end of the day, we bind them with the results for the rest of their lives. We have seen referendums whose results are predetermined and they bind the populations. Now we are talking about binding 85 million people. We need to prepare now and we must be ready to work with them if we really mean to develop East Africa.

This goes hand in hand with elections. Since Independence 40 years ago, we have been going through a political process. East Africa is under democratic rule. We have elections every other day. These are very expensive national exercises that are carried out at the expense of service delivery. But at the end of the day, you wonder whether these elections are genuine. Do they reflect the will of the people we represent?

We have a lot of violence every other day as we develop in our countries. We have a lot of distrust in the election processes that we have, including the referendum exercise. I think if we put our hearts where our mouths are, we should start now. We do not have to complete the process, but it should be put on record that we gave the normal, common East African the chance to make an informed decision about the future of East Africa.

Having said that, I also want to mention the issue of capacity building which hon. Kaggwa talked about. I look at this as the mass mobilization of the people in the real sense of it. Many times we go to the people to get their votes but we never tell them why we need their votes. If we really intent to

carry out this integration, then we have to carry out civic education. It cannot take one or two days. Hon. Yona Kanyomozi talked about involving schools. This includes developing a whole programme and a curriculum for sensitizing people, which might take many years.

This will take years and it requires commitment and resources. Since it costs money, it might cover several generations. I think we have to start now. This is our responsibility. If we do not do it, then we will be dodging our responsibility.

Mr. Speaker, sir, on the issue of numbers, I would not be doing my job as a Member of Parliament if I did not talk about the question of involving the majority of the population in East Africa who are women. I was not going to talk about women, however, today when I was being oriented in this beautiful Parliament, I was told that the Kenyan Parliament has two wings. There is the old Chamber and the new Chamber. I was very eager to see what the new Chamber looks like in comparison with the old Chamber.

In the new Chamber, there is a beautiful Mission Statement of the Kenyan Parliament that reads as follows: "For the Welfare of Society and the Just Government of Men." I am a scholar of language and communication. When I read this statement in the new Chamber of the Kenyan Parliament, and knowing that more than half of the East African population is made up of women, I do not want to interpret what that Mission Statement says, but I think "governance" should involve both men and women. This is because in our cultural languages that we believe in and make decisions in, men are men and women are women.

Having said that, I know that we are going into this exercise with open hearts. I would



like this Assembly to be on record for making sure that the majority of East Africans who are women will be fully involved in civic education and awareness campaigns to determine the political future of their countries and their children who participate in some very violent exercises. I am very emphatic on this because we have left leadership to a particular aspect of our gender since independence, and you know what the results have been.

Many of you have stood up here and said we are poor and suffer from lack of service delivery in the health and education sectors.

We have learnt our lesson, and it is now time to involve every person who lives in this community of East Africa. We should all participate in all the processes so that at the end of the day, we either carry the cross or celebrate together as East Africans. In my opinion, the question of political leadership should no longer be a sensitive issue. It is a question of responsibility, service delivery, feeling for others and sacrifices. Since it concerns everybody, it should be debated in an open forum. Mr. Speaker, sir, with those few remarks, I support the Motion.

**Capt. Richard Baker Ddudu (Uganda):**

Thank you, Mr Speaker, sir. I would like to comment on some of the issues that the speakers before me have already gone through. I agree with the Committee's report at present and I think they have done a commendable job. On very many points spoken here, I am in total agreement. I would like to thank the people of Kenya, the Parliament and particularly the President and his Ministers, for having received us well. They have given us a good stay and facilitated us. I do not want to talk more about that. There are others who have expressed it better than I can.

Mr Speaker, sir, I would like to very

strongly commend and congratulate the people of Kenya and all their leaders for one particular issue: Keeping Kenya peaceful since independence. In the same breath, I would also want to commend the people of the Republic of Tanzania for keeping total peace in their country since independence. It is a very commendable job on the part of the leaders, the presidents and all the citizens. On a sad note, I cannot say the same for Uganda.

Since independence, our situation has been characterized by confusion and ultimately, wars. We have been fighting each other and tearing the country apart for so long. It is only in the last 16 years that the vast majority of the country has experienced total peace, while very small portions have war. But there are reasons for this. But there is something else, Mr Speaker, sir.

We in Uganda have gone through multiparty politics and currently we have a Movement system of governance in Uganda. In Kenya and Tanzania, they have gone through the same system. They have had single and multiparty eras, but they have never fought. That is the reason why both countries are more developed than Uganda. They still have peace despite being single party states at one time and multiparty at another. We have had peace in Uganda since the NRA time, except in certain areas in Uganda. I will have to come to why I say this; I want to connect it with harmonization of political situation in East Africa.

Some previous speakers have mentioned it here. We in Uganda, having recognized the important role a multiparty political system can play, have included it in our Constitution. It is there and provided for. Right now, as it is, the various parties have been given licenses to operate at a certain level because of our history. As I speak now, I do not want to believe that there is

anybody in Uganda who would want to curtail the movement of the whole of East Africa into a federation just simply because of the issue of multiparty politics; there is none! Our leaders are committed; we are committed people to move the East African region into a federation regardless of the system that is prevailing.

We trust that the leaders of all the other countries and the people in those countries want to go into this federation in spite of the different systems of governance that we actually have in our constitutions. Therefore, for anybody to come and even suggest that there is going to be some difficulties and, therefore, this House should discuss the multiparty issue in Uganda as something that will stop us from going into a federation is completely atrocious. We should therefore trust one another and know that from now onwards we do trust you and if you, the people of East Africa, say we go multiparty, it is very easy for us because we trust you.

I think it is a different situation in Uganda. As I speak now, we have an on-going process of consulting people in view of the constitutional review; to ask which parts we should take. We would like to know whether we should maintain the current system or we should change the constitution. Nobody is stopping that from happening, but the situation in Uganda is unique because the people who do not want to ascribe to all these methods of reaching where we want to go are the same people who have been murdering Ugandans for so long. Hundreds of thousands of Ugandans have been killed. They are spearheading this situation regardless of the way we can achieve a political federation ultimately or change the system.

Therefore, it is worrying for Ugandans at one stage because we are looking at who is

advocating what. Has the leopard of yesterday changed its spots? The one who said in 1964 that we couldn't be forced to go into a federation with the rest of East Africa, is he not the same leopard who is saying that there is a problem in Uganda?

So, hon. Members, there is no issue to contest at our level here because we are in total agreement. We shall move in the direction that we all agree, but please, at home we had a referendum. The same people who claim to lead are the same ones who say "We have all these in our constitution, but let us follow this for the time being".

If you people of East Africa went to Uganda and asked these same people what we should do and suggested another thing, I think we shall be in agreement with you. We are not difficult people. We only fear former dictators and those people who are killers. I am not scaring anybody. Most of us suffered from that. We are still living. We, being human beings, are worried of the same people saying that. So, I want to dispel this fear. We have no problems in that line.

Lastly, from my experience and in my opinion, for any undertaking to be correct in terms of a country, we should have a correct political line. That is what is important. Secondly, we should have a correct organizational line. That is about governance. Thirdly, we should have correct economic policies. At the same time, we should interact and then we can move ahead. That is why I am one of the people who fall in the third category of hon. Shamala's categorization.

I want the federation now for the same reasons that I have given. I want the interplay of the three - correct political line, correct governance and correct policies - at

the same time. We have no time to prepare all that we have talked about in order to go into this globalised world. We are already too late in the line.

So, what we should endeavour to do is to ensure that we have a correct political line, organizational line and policies. It is not my habit to go beyond the stipulated time. I will, therefore, state that I categorically support this report of the Committee. I beg to support.

**The Speaker:** Hon. Members, we have come to the end of this afternoon session. For tomorrow, I have three Members who will be speaking before I call upon hon. Kate S.M. Kamba to conclude. The three speakers are hon. Rose Waruhiu, hon. Isaac Sepetu and hon. Lt. Gen. Adan Abdullahi. I am not sure whether Dr. Mwakyembe is still intending to take the Floor.

**Dr Harrison Mwakyembe (Tanzania):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am intending to speak.

**The Speaker:** The list will end with Prof. Kamar Margaret Jepkoech.

I have two announcements to make. The executives from AZANIA Bancorp will be here in the afternoon at 12.00 o'clock and will meet Members of Parliament who are interested to meet them and those who do not know about their offer. The meeting will be in Room 7.

Secondly, we have been invited by the Speaker of the Kenyan Parliament this evening at 7.30 p.m. at Grand Regency Hotel for dinner. We will travel back to our hotel and immediately convene there. At around 7.20 p.m. we should be leaving our hotel for the Grand Regency Hotel. We will inform the Speaker accordingly that we will come a little bit late.

There will also be a group photograph tomorrow after the adjournment of the Assembly, or, if possible, we will adjourn for some 15 minutes in-between hon. Kamba's Motion and the other Motion at a later time.

We will leave from our hotels at 7.30 p.m. and I will inform the Speaker accordingly that we will be coming late. I believe that Grand Regency is not very far from the Inter-Continental Hotel.

The final announcement: whenever I come in and go out, you have to bow. To reduce the number of bowings, I suggest you all look at me and we bow all at once and continue.

I will now adjourn this Assembly until tomorrow at 2.00 O'clock.

*(The Assembly rose at 6.50 a.m. and adjourned until Wednesday 5 June 2002 at 2.00 p.m.)*