

## TALKING NOTES FOR MZEE ALI HASSAN MWINYI

1. I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE RT. HON. SPEAKER, ABDIRAHIN ABDI AND THE EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY FOR THE INVITATION. THE INVITATION TO ME WOULD SEEM TO REFLECT THE SAYING THAT "GOOD MEMORIES DIE HARD".
2. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO CONGRATULATE THE EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (EALA) FOR COMMEMORATING ITS 10<sup>TH</sup> YEAR ANNIVERSARY. 10 YEARS IS A SHORT TIME FOR HUMAN ORGANIZATIONS, YET EALA HAS MUCH TO BE PROUD OF DURING THIS BRIEF PERIOD OF SERVICE TO EAC INTEGRATION. PLEASE ACCEPT MY CONGRATULATIONS.
3. MR. CHAIRMAN, YOU HAVE INVITED ME TO PARTICIPATE IN A PANEL OF PAST AND PRESENT EAC HEADS OF STATE ON THE THEME: "VISION FOR THE EAC: YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW". I BELIEVE THAT MY INCLUSION ON THIS PANEL IS MAINLY TO REFLECT ON "YESTERDAY". I BELIEVE, IN ALL FAIRNESS, THAT SUCH FOCUS WOULD ONLY BE RIGHT AND APPROPRIATE, DURING MY LEADERSHIP AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA. I WAS, ON OCCASIONS, CONFRONTED BY CRITICISMS OF MWALIMU NYERERE (PEACE BE UPON HIM) DURING MY PRESIDENCY. MY RESPONSE WAS ALWAYS FOUNDED ON THE PREACHINGS OF THE QUR'AN WHERE, IN SURAH XIII, LINE 38, IT IS STATED, "TO EACH EPOCH, ITS BOOK." LEADERSHIP GUIDES THE PEOPLE, DEPENDING ON CIRCUMSTANCES OBTAINING AT ANY MATERIAL TIME. AND THIS IS BECAUSE, AS THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIST-ALEC NOVE-ONCE WROTE, "IDEAS EVOLVE, IDEAS CAN BE REINTERPRETED, ELEMENTS OF DOCTRINE CAN BE DROPPED, IN RESPONSE TO CIRCUMSTANCES, EVEN WHILE MEN SEEK TO SHAPE CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE LIGHT OF THEIR IDEAS". IT IS IMPORTANT TO APPRECIATE THIS POINT, AS MZEE MOI, "MZEE NYAYO" I THINK WOULD INDEED, IN THE CASE OF THE POST KENYATTA ERA.

4. I COMPLETED MY TERM OF OFFICE IN NOVEMBER 1995. THE EAC WAS NOT BORN AS YET. WHAT WAS IN PLACE THEN WAS THE PERMANENT TRIPARTITE COMMISSION AGREEMENT WHICH I WAS INVOLVED IN ITS SIGNING ALONG WITH PRESIDENTS MOI AND MUSEVENI IN NOVEMBER 1993. OUR ACTION WAS PARTLY INFORMED BY THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MEDIATION AGREEMENT ON DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE DEMISED EAC, WHICH WAS SIGNED IN 1984, WHEN THE LATE MWALIMU NYERERE WAS STILL TANZANIA'S PRESIDENT AND BEFORE PRESIDENT MUSEVENI BECAME UGANDA'S PRESIDENT. THAT AGREEMENT ALSO PROVIDED FOR THE THEN EAC STATES TO EXPLORE AREAS OF FUTURE COOPERATION AND TO MAKE CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH CO-OPERATION.
  
5. IN DISCUSSING VISION FOR THE EAC FROM "YESTERDAY'S" PERSPECTIVE, IT IS THUS IMPORTANT TO APPRECIATE THE CONDITIONS – SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC THAT EMERGED IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN DECEMBER 1985 AND NOVEMBER 1993 WHEN THE PERMANENT TRIPARTITE COMMISSION FOR EAST AFRICAN COOPERATION AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. THERE WERE A NUMBER OF DRIVING FORCES, IDEAS IF YOU LIKE, THAT FERTILIZED THE REBIRTH OF AN EAST AFRICAN COOPERATION VISION.
  - A) IT WAS THE END OF THE IDDI AMIN REGIME AND THE UNSTABLE POLITICAL TRANSITION IN UGANDA UNTIL WHEN PRESIDENT YOWERI MUSEVENI BECAME PRESIDENT IN 1986. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI HIT THE GROUND RUNNING WITH A STRONG PASSION AND DRIVE FOR EAST AFRICAN INTEGRATION.
  
  - B) IT WAS THE TIME OF THE IDEOLOGICAL SHIFT FROM A SOCIALIST COMMAND ECONOMY IN UGANDA AND TANZANIA. THIS SHIFT, WHICH IN TANZANIA, I COINED AS "RUKSA", OPENED UP A NEW CONFIDENCE IN CROSS-BORDER TRADING RELATIONSHIPS IN EAST AFRICA.

C) TANZANIA'S OPTING FOR RETURN TO MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM ENGENDERED A NEW POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT REINFORCED MARKET ECONOMY POLICIES BEING PURSUED.

D) GLOBALIZATION WAS TAKING ITS EFFECT IN OUR REGION, MARKED BY PRIVATIZATION POLICIES AND MEASURE PROPELLING MORE INTENSE TRADING TIES BETWEEN BUSINESS FIRMS IN EAST AFRICA.

6. HENCE THESE DIFFERENT BUT COMPLEMENTING FORCES AND IDEAS MADE A VISION FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EAST AFRICA INEVITABLE. THE PEOPLE APPEARED READY TO SEE THE REVIVAL OF THE EAC. BUT INTEGRATION OF ANY KIND, INVOLVING COUNTRIES POLITICS TAKES COMMAND AND IT IS NOT SIMPLY POLITICS OF THE LEADERS IN TERMS OF THE VIEWS AND PRINCIPLES THEY HOLD; THIS MAY HAVE BEEN SO WITH THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF OUR NATIONS. POLITICS IN RECENT YEARS HAS MEANT THE MOOD, PERCEPTIONS AND WISHES OF THE PEOPLE. THUS, IN MY VIEW, YESTERDAY'S VISION OF THE EAC WAS TRIGGERED BY CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH ENGENDERED PEOPLE'S SUPPORT FOR INTEGRATION. LEADERS TRANSLATED SUCH SUPPORT INTO AN AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH THE PERMANENT TRIPARTITE COMMISSION WHICH ALSO GAVE BIRTH TO THE EAC. I AM PROUD TO HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PROCESS.

7. I AM PROUD PARTICULARLY BECAUSE THAT VISION OF YESTERDAY RESULTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A VISION FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW; A VISION FOR AN EAST AFRICA THAT IS UNITED, PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS; A VISION SO WELL CAPTURED BY THE MANTRA OF "ONE PEOPLE, ONE DESTINY". INDEED, THE CITIZENS OF EAST AFRICA ARE NOW REAPING A GOOD HARVEST. THIS HARVEST ENCOMPASSES THE FOLLOWING:

A) THE ENLARGEMENT OF OUR COMMUNITY WITH THE ENTRY OF RWANDA AND BURUNDI INTO THE EAC SINCE JULY 2007;

- B) THE GROWTH IN INTRA-EAC TRADE BY ABOUT 50% SINCE THE ON-SET OF THE CUSTOMS UNION IN JANUARY, 2005;
- C) THE GROWTH OF CROSS-BORDER INVESTMENTS BY OUR OWN INDIGENOUS EAST AFRICAN COMPANIES SUCH AS AZAM OF TANZANIA; BIDCO OF KENYA; NAKUMATT OF KENYA; TRANSCENTURY OF KENYA AND KENYA COMMERCIAL BANK, AMONGST OTHERS. WE MUST HAIL KENYA AS A REGIONAL ECONOMIC POWER FOR SPEAR-HEADING THE INTEGRATION OF OUR ECONOMIES;
- D) THE DEEPENING OF DEMOCRACY, A SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY, ESPECIALLY IN BURUNDI AND RWANDA;
- E) THE GROWING POSITIVE ROLES OF THE EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AS A REGIONAL LEGISLATIVE/OVERSIGHT AND OUTREACH ORGAN OF THE EAC, SENDING OUT THE RIGHT SIGNALS ABOUT THE POLITICAL MATURITY OF THE EAC AS AN INTEGRATION OF OUR PEOPLES;
- F) THE ASTITUTE ROLE OF THE EAST AFRICAN COURT OF JUSTICE, UNIQUE IN AFRICA IN TERMS OF HOW QUICKLY IT HAS DEVELOPED AN ENVIABLE REGIONAL JURISPRUDENCE OF HIGH QUALITY;
- G) THE ON-SET OF THE COMMON MARKET, A COMPLEX STAGE OF INTEGRATION BUT FOR WHICH THERE IS POLITICAL WILL TO DRIVE ITS SUCCESS;
- H) THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS TOWARDS AN EAC MONETARY UNION WHICH SOME OF US STILL NOSTALGICALLY VIEW IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GOOD OLD DAYS OF THE EAST AFRICAN SHILLING AND HOW IT SHAPED AND GALVANIZED US AS AN EAST AFRICAN PEOPLE;

- I) AND FINALLY, THE ONE-GOING SERIOUS EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A COMMON GROUND THAT WOULD BEST LEAD US TO A POLITICAL FEDERATION.
8. THESE HARVESTS CONSTITUTE IN MY VIEW, THE EAC VISION OF TODAY AND TOMORROW. I AM NOT PART OF THE LEADERSHIP THAT OVERSEES EAC'S INTEGRATION. IT IS THUS IMPORTANT TO CONSOLIDATE AND ENHANCE THIS HOPE THROUGH GREATER SENSITIZATION PROGRAMMES ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE FEDERATION PROJECT WHERE THERE ARE POCKETS OF RESISTANCE OFTEN FOUNDED ON REAL FEARS AND CONCERNS.

I THANK YOU.