



EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Official Report of the Proceedings of the East African Legislative Assembly

2ND SITTING - FIRST ASSEMBLY: FIRST SESSION – SECOND MEETING

Monday, 21 January 2002

The East African Legislative Assembly met at 9.20 a.m. in the Chamber of the Parliament of Uganda in the Parliamentary Building in Kampala

PRAYERS

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

The Assembly was called to order.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

The Speaker: Hon. Members, I would like to make the following communication regarding our sitting here:

WHEREAS the First Segment of the First Session of the Assembly was adjourned on Monday, December 3rd 2001 in Arusha Tanzania;

AND WHEREAS Clause (1) of Article 55 of the Treaty provides that the Assembly shall be held in such times and places as the Assembly may appoint;

AND WHEREAS sub-rule (7) of Rule 11 and Rule (1) of the Rules of Procedure of

the Assembly states that the Assembly may, on a resolution adopted by a majority of its members, decide to hold one or more sittings elsewhere within the Partner States other than at its seat at Arusha, in the United Republic of Tanzania;

AND WHEREAS in accordance with sub-rules (1) and (7) of Rule 11, the Assembly by resolution on December 3rd 2001 resolved to sit in Kampala, Uganda from January 21st to 25th 2002;

AND WHEREAS sub-rule (6) of Rule 11 states that the House shall sit on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays;

AND WHEREAS sub-rule (1) of rule 12 states that:

'The sittings shall, unless the Speaker otherwise directs, ordinarily commence at 2.00 O'clock in the afternoon and conclude at 7.00 O'clock in the evening';

NOW THEREFORE, the hon. Speaker, having taken cognisance of the foregoing, and yet having regard to the nature of business to be transacted by the Assembly, has in the exercise of the mandate vested in the Speaker pursuant to the provisions of sub-rule (8) of Rule 11, directed as follows:

1. That, the Assembly shall sit on each day commencing Monday, 21st to Friday, 25th January 2002.

2. That the times of sittings shall be;

(a) Morning sittings - 9.00 O'clock to 12.00 O'clock;

(b) Afternoon sittings – 16:00 hours to 19:00 hours.

3. The Assembly shall sit in the Chambers of the Parliament of the Republic of Uganda or the Uganda International conference Centre as and when it is deemed necessary.

NOTICE OF MOTION

Mr. James Wapakabulo (Member of the Council of Ministers, Uganda): Mr. Speaker, I wish to give notice of the following motion:

That this House resolves to appoint the following Members to serve on the House Business Committee during the First Assembly:

- Hon. Abdulrahman Kinana, the Speaker, to serve as Chairperson
- Hon. Kikwete M. Jakaya - Chairperson of the Council of Ministers
- Hon. Sepetu Isaac
- Hon. Kanyomozi Yonasani Bankobeza
- Prof. Kamar Margaret
- Hon. Ogalo Wandera Daniel
- Hon. Shellukindo Beatrice
- Hon. Ochieng-Mbeo Gilbert

I beg to give notice.

Mr. Mwatela Calist (Kenya): Seconded.

PROCEDURAL MOTION

Mr. Wapakabulo: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for giving me the Floor once more. But before I move the motion, notice of which I gave moments ago, let me, first of all, as a Member of the Council of Ministers, and also Minister in the Government of the Republic of Uganda, congratulate you on your elevation to the post of Speaker of this Assembly. I did not have the opportunity to do so in Arusha.

Secondly, I would like also to congratulate the Members of this Assembly for having come out of the battles for the few seats of East Africa to come here to join the Assembly as Members.

Let me also, on behalf of the people of Uganda, welcome you and the Members of the Assembly - I do not know whether I should also welcome those from Uganda, but I think I should, but more so, our brothers and sisters from Kenya and Tanzania - for assembling in our capital city of Kampala. It is an honour

to us that for the first time we move out of Arusha, Kampala was chosen as a venue. We are most grateful, and we thank you for that decision - *(Applause)*.

The motion before the House is for the appointment of the Membership of the House Business Committee in accordance with the Rules of Procedure. Members should be acquainted with the Rules, and therefore I do not want to bother the House by going through them.

Needless to say, the House Business Committee is a very important Committee. It not only acts to set business for this House, but also acts to establish other Committees as required. It is the engine of our House, and through it, the manager of our business. Therefore, I would like to commend to the House that we appoint these eminent Members, under your own chairmanship, to lead the business of this House.

As I gave notice, I will remind the House of the names of the Members. Mr. Speaker, the chairmanship should be entrusted to you, since you are the leader of this House, so that the business is developed under your leadership. Therefore, hon. Abdulrahman Kinana, our Speaker, should be the chairman of the Business Committee. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the source of some of the business of this House should, in my view, be a Member of this Committee. Therefore, I wish to propose that hon. Jakaya Kikwete be a member of the committee.

The other Members as I mentioned, hon. Gilbert Ochieng-Mbeo, hon. Beatrice Shellukindo, hon. Ogalo Wandera Daniel, Prof. Margaret Kamar, hon. Sepetu Isaac and the hon. Kanyomozi

Yonasani, should be appointed to serve on the Business Committee. Mr. Speaker, I beg to move.

The Speaker: I now call upon hon. Mwatela to second the motion.

Mr. Mwatela Calist (Kenya): Mr. Speaker, hon. Wapakabulo James has talked extensively on the motion. I can only add one or two things. Indeed, this noble House is being looked upon by East Africans with a lot of hope, and the Members of this Committee are some of the most outstanding persons in East Africa. We have faith in their capabilities, and as much as we appreciate that the task before them is pretty tough, we are confident they will be able to handle it. Mr. Speaker, I beg to second. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker: I now propose that the House resolves to appoint the following Members to serve the House - *(Interruption)*

Mr. Med Kaggwa (Uganda): Mr. Speaker, I have a small item before you propose.

The Speaker: Yes, honourable member.

Mr. Kaggwa: Thank you, Mr. Speaker - *(Interruption)*

The Speaker: But before you ask for the Floor, I wish to finish, then I will give you the opportunity to contribute. I propose again that this House resolve to appoint the following Members to serve on the House Business Committee during the First Assembly: The Speaker, the hon. Jakaya Kikwete, hon. Isaac Sepetu, hon. Yonasani Kanyomozi, Prof.

Margaret Kamar, the hon. Daniel Wandera Ogalo, the hon. Beatrice Shellukindo and the hon. Gilbert Ochieng-Mbeo. I now give the Floor to hon. Med Kaggwa.

Mr. Kaggwa (Uganda): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Before I go on to second the motion, I would want to make or to seek for an amendment on the names proposed.

Mr. Speaker, the Business Committee, as we have been told, is a very important Committee, and indeed since it organises the business of the House, I would want to propose and request Members to support me that we include the Secretary General and the Legal Counsel, because I do not see how this Business Committee will be deliberating when the people who operationalise what they deliberate are not part of the Committee. So, before I proceed, I wish to propose that those people be included on the Committee of Business of the House. I so propose.

The Speaker: The Clerk has advised me that rule 78 sets the Committee Members of the House Business Committee, and it will be difficult to make changes here. For any change to be made, the proposal will have to be taken to the Legal Committee of the House, and then be brought to the Whole House. I therefore request hon. Med Kaggwa to delay his proposal here, and maybe follow the procedure and put his proposal to the Legal Committee.

Mr. Kaggwa: Obligated, Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker: I wish to ask hon. Med if he wishes to continue.

Mr. Kaggwa: Mr. Speaker, the Business Committee we are now to put in place, as already mentioned by my colleagues, is a very important Committee. It deals with the business of the House, it maps out the business of the House, it interacts with the various officials in the Community and it puts them together, and by the time the Order Paper comes to the House, they have already gone through it.

As hon. Calist Mwatela mentioned, the people who are proposed here are all ladies and gentlemen who are honourable, in the first place, they have vast experience and we have interacted with them. We really have the confidence in them and feel that they will live to the expectations and serve this House honourably.

I therefore second the motion wholeheartedly and call upon Members to endorse the names as read out in the proposal by hon. Wapakabulo. I thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Marando Mabere Nyauchio (Tanzania): Mr. Speaker, I also wish to register my support for the names as proposed.

During the last meeting we had a short tour to Lake Manyara and Ngorongoro; we had occasion to interact with those we had not known before. During that time, I had occasion to have discussions with most of my colleagues who have just been appointed to the Committee. So, they are people whom I believe will transact business of the House properly, including, Mr. Speaker, ensuring that we start at 9.00 O'clock if we want to start at 9.00 O'clock, and not even 10 minutes later.

So, Mr. Speaker, I support my colleagues whom I have high confidence in, and I hope my colleagues will pass the names. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker: I now wish to call upon the proposer to reply to the statements made.

Mr. Wapakabulo (Member of the Council of Ministers (Uganda): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Let me thank, Mr. Speaker, the hon. Members who have contributed to my motion and for the support that they have given to my proposal. I do not want to waste any more time. Sir, I would like to move that the question be put and the Members as proposed be appointed to the Committee. I thank you, sir.

(Question put and agreed to)

The Speaker: I will now suspend the business of the House, but before I do that, I am aware that you all know that at 11 O'clock, at the International Conference Centre Committee Room C, we will all assemble and the President will address us. We will have the privilege of being addressed by the President. After the address, I will not want to repeat many things there while the President is present.

Before the president arrives, we will all be seated. After the President arrives, the Speaker will escort him, of course, whom the Sergeant-At Arms will lead. The House will resume at 11.00 O'clock. I will invite the President to address us. After that address, I will request hon. Rose Waruhiu to give a vote-of-thanks on behalf of all of us to the President. I will adjourn the meeting, and then the Members of Parliament will walk to the

Nile Mansion where we will have lunch. In the meantime, the President will be seated in the VIP Lounge and I will escort him to lunch.

I intend - I am not sure, I have to discuss this with the President - to invite the President to informally say something for ten to fifteen minutes, and ask him if the Members of Parliament can also engage in a dialogue with him, and also have the privilege of asking the President questions on what he thinks the Community should be like or the objectives of the Community, and the speed at which the Community should move forward.

With these few remarks, I now suspend the House until 11.00 O'clock to Committee Room C at the Uganda International Conference Centre.

(The Assembly was suspended at 9.43 a.m. and resumed at 11.57 a.m. at the International Conference Centre)

*(On resumption_
The Speaker, Mr Abdulrahman O.
Kinana, presiding)*

NATIONAL ANTHEMS

(- of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda were sung)

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

The Speaker: Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Uganda, the hon. Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda, Ministers, Members of the Legislative Assembly, Ambassadors and High Commissioners, Members of Parliament of Uganda, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. I call the

House to order and we resume with the business of the House.

Hon. Members, I would like to make the following communication to welcome the presence, in the Assembly, of the President of the Republic of Uganda, His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni:

WHEREAS clause (1) of Article 45 of the Treaty provides that the Speaker of the Assembly can invite any person to attend the Assembly notwithstanding that he or she is not a Member of the Assembly if in his or her opinion the Business of the Assembly renders his or her presence desirable;

AND WHEREAS in the opinion of the Speaker the attendance and the presence in the Assembly of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Uganda is desirable in accordance with the business now before the Assembly;

AND WHEREAS His Excellency the President of the Republic of Uganda did kindly accept the invitation to address the Assembly, for which I would like, on your behalf, to express our gratitude to His Excellency the President;

NOW THEREFORE, it is with great pleasure and honour, on your behalf, distinguished Members of the Legislative Assembly, that I execute my humble duty to welcome you, Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Uganda, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, and Member of the Summit of the East African Community, to address the Assembly today, the 21st of January 2002, here at the Uganda International Conference Centre. Your Excellency, Mr. President.

H.E the President of the Republic of Uganda (Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni): Members of the Legislative Assembly, the hon. Speaker of the Uganda Parliament, I am still waiting for my speech. It is my fault, because I did not accept the other one they had written, because it was just full of the usual story, and I do not want to keep talking about the usual story. So I did not accept their speech. I wrote my own little one, and that is why they were not coordinated.

(H.E. the President's speech is delivered to him)

Hon. Abdulrahman Kinana, Speaker of the East African Legislative Assembly, the hon. Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda, ladies and gentlemen. On behalf of the Government and the people of Uganda, and on my own behalf, I welcome Members of the East African Legislative Assembly to Kampala, and to Uganda. We are honoured to host the second segment of the First Session of the Legislative Assembly here in Kampala. We hope that you will have an enjoyable stay here.

I would like to ask the question, what is the rationale of the East African Co-operation? The problem is that in Africa we normally take things as if they are hairstyles. A hairstyle comes, like the "Afro", and then we all go "Afro", and whatever other fashions; I do not know the other ones, but we all just follow! But, what is the rationale of the East African co-operation? Why do we co-operate; what for? This must be clear. We cannot just go on talking about things as if it is just for talking. What is the rationale of the East African co-operation?

In the pre-industrial times - before the industrial revolution - in the time of feudalism, in the time of ancient systems like the Roman Empire, big political units were mainly for security and defence, and natural resources. That was the purpose at that time. The more people you had, the more you could defend yourself, and the more natural resources you had.

Let me talk about the issue of natural resources. In this zone - what is now Uganda, north-western Tanzania and Congo - we had two salt-lakes. One salt-lake, I think, is called Uvinza in Kigoma region of Tanzania. That was one salt lake. The other salt-lake was Katwe; it is here near Kasese. Now, people used to walk long distances to get access to either of these natural salts. The children of Uganda were quarrelling over who would control Katwe salt lake.

Therefore, the big political units in the pre-industrial times - in the times of the Industrial Revolution were mainly for security and defence, and also for uniting the natural resources.

Here in Uganda and in parts of Tanzania, parts of Congo and Rwanda, we had one political unit until about 1500. We had one unit from around 900 AD to about 1500, when the political unit broke up into these kingdoms which you are talking of now, these Buganda, Bunyoro and all this. These kingdoms are not all that old. That is why, for instance, His Highness Mutebi must be the 36th *Kabaka* or something like that. Now, if you give each *Kabaka* 20 years, that means that, his lineage goes back about 600 - 700 years. But what was happening before that? There was another kingdom. There was another

dynasty which collapsed around 1500 and that is how these kingdoms you know came about.

Now, when these kingdoms came about, there was quite an inconvenience, because here in Buganda you could not have easy access to salt; all the salt was now in Bunyoro. With the breakup, the salt lake was now monopolised by Bunyoro. Therefore, Buganda had no access to the salt lake except with permission from Bunyoro, and that is why the Baganda started improvising and getting salt from plants, because they had no access to the already-made salt.

People would come from Karagwe - Karagwe is in Tanzania - and Bukoba; they would come through Ankole because Ankole also became a kingdom, Buganda became a kingdom and Bunyoro became a kingdom but the salt remained in Bunyoro kingdom. Now down there, Uvinza must have been in Burundi or something like that at that time. So for Karagwe, for Buganda, for Ankole to get access to the salt, they had to go through Bunyoro and they would pay quite a bit of taxes because chiefs were really extortionate. If you were coming from Karagwe, for instance, you would pay tax in Ankole and then from Ankole you would pay tax as you entered Bunyoro. You would pay tax twice.

So, co-operation in the pre-industrial times was mainly for security and for uniting as much as possible the natural resources like the salt I am talking about in the example which I have given you. With the emergence of capitalism, especially after the industrial revolution, markets for finance capital, markets for

goods and services as well as sources of large-scale and varied materials became the main reason for integration. So, with the Industrial Revolution, in addition to the old reasons for unity - the old reasons as I have said were security and raw materials or natural resources - other factors were added: market for finance capital, and secondly, market for goods and services.

You need a big unit so that you sell your goods profitably. You need a big unit so that you sell your services profitably. I cannot remember any country that has modernised without having access to big markets. I would like somebody to quote one, when you are debating, that such and such a country modernised without a big market.

The small countries of Europe such as Denmark and Holland - they are small countries; small in land, small in population also but they access the European Union market of US dollars 8 trillion. Trillion is 1,000 billion, so the market of the European Union is 8 trillion; in other words, 8,000 billion.

So, even if you have got a small country like Holland or like Denmark, but if they have got free access to that big market, their smallness becomes irrelevant because they are selling as if they are in a big country. They can get access to this market of eight trillion dollars – eight thousand billion dollars.

Before the European Union was created, many of these European countries were colonial powers exploiting the markets and raw materials of the colonies. So, before the European Union was created, these European countries, even the small ones like Holland, developed because

they exploited a bigger area of the backward people – the Africans, the Asians and the Latin Americans.

Holland is a small country; it is about one-eighth the size of Uganda in land area; it is very small. Holland can fit in Uganda eight times and Uganda itself is not a very big country. It can fit into Tanzania twenty-four times because Tanzania is bigger than Uganda. Holland has got a population of sixteen million. But before, they had big colonies in Indonesia. You remember Holland is the one which was controlling that big area that was called the Dutch East Indies that later became Indonesia. So, they were taking advantage of all those huge resources of that big country, Indonesia.

Belgium is about the size of Karamoja. One district of Uganda is as big as Belgium! It has got a population of ten million people, but they had colonized Congo. Congo is 100 times the size of Belgium. That is how they were able to solve the problem of natural resources and the problem of markets; by colonizing those who were stupid to accept to be colonized.

Later on, when the world situation could no longer permit colonies to exist, they quickly thought of how to solve their problem, and they created their big market – the European Market. Former enemies now became partners; they were very clever people!

There were very, very serious wars, as you know, between Germany and England but now when they saw the international situation changing, and they could no longer have colonies, they quickly changed and said, “We better

cooperate, otherwise we shall be finished”. ‘Let us forget our old enmity; let us cooperate’. So when they lost the colonies, they reorganized their own market quickly.

The U.S market is currently, US dollars 11 trillion; that is 11,000 billion dollars. It is bigger than that of the European Market. The East African market combined - Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania - is 20 billion dollars! Remember, one trillion is 1,000 billion. So, your big market of East Africa, hon. Members and Rt. Hon. Speaker, I am sorry to inform you that it is only 20 billion dollars! 20 billion dollars is not even ten per cent of one trillion. It is not 100 billion dollars! If it were 100 billion dollars, it would be ten per cent. So, the whole of the East African market is 20 billion dollars. But the American market is 11 trillion dollars, which is 11,000 billion dollars. So, compare the 20 billion with the 11,000 billion!

Even this minuscule market – this small market of East Africa is not fully integrated. So you cannot fully use this because at the border, when you get there you must get off your bicycle, they remove all the things! They look inside - they do not even have the machines to look inside! You spend there the whole day instead of going and coming back, because that is how you can make money. But if you are going to reach the border of Malaba at night, they will close and then you will just go to sleep; they think business closes at night! So recently I complained to the Commissioner General of Taxation in Uganda. I said, ‘Why do you close at night?’ ‘Why don’t you work 24 hours?’ Then she wrote back to me and said, ‘Look here, Mr. Museveni, it is a

waste of time. Even if we opened for 24 hours, there is too much disorganization that it will not make any difference so it is as good as going to sleep’. I said, ‘Where is the disorganization?’

She said that first of all the Customs people deal with cargo, and somebody who has got small cash in his pocket - that one they must also deal with him. They are the same people who deal with passenger cars; they are the same people who deal with buses and they are the same ones who deal with trailers. So she said that first of all, let us segregate the cargo; let somebody deal with only pedestrians. You can imagine, the person who will deal with the trailer also deals with the pedestrians! By the time she completes the pedestrians who are numerous and she comes to deal with the trailers, the trailer will never move!

So, the Commissioner General wrote back and said, “Mr. Museveni, this question of 24 hours is a waste of time because even if we work for 24 hours, with this disorganization, it will not make a difference. Let us first resolve the disorganization, and if we find that there is still slowness, then we can think about the 24 hours.’ And I agreed with her.

You can imagine, after all these 16 years! I am glad I got this European lady because - I am afraid, hon. Members of the East African Legislative Assembly, you may not regard me as a nationalist because I rejected Ugandans to head the Uganda Revenue Authority because I had tried them for 16 years and I was not moving. So, I decided to take advantage of my tribal proverb, which says: *“Owafa nabyenda amaguru tigamugaya”* which means that if you

keep trying you may succeed. So, I decided to bring a European, a lady.

Nobody had ever told me about this mix-up: I had never known that the fact that you are not able to say pedestrians this is your line, passengers this is your line, buses this is your line and heavy trucks with cargo, this is your line was part of the problem! Nobody had ever told me about this. I am always attacking them that they are inefficient, but they say, "We are trying very hard." Now, trying very hard, are you going to carry a trailer on your head? What does "trying" mean? They cannot give you an answer! But this person has helped me to understand that problem.

Now, your small market of 20 billion dollars is also much disorganized. So, if I have a business in Uganda, I cannot take advantage of this market easily because to go from Uganda to Kenya is a nightmare; to go from Uganda to Tanzania is a nightmare; to go from Tanzania to Kenya is a nightmare! So, the market is small and also disorganised. That is the situation.

I was trying to get figures - it seems they did not manage to get them here. They say the Kenya - Uganda railway carries about 800,000 tonnes per year. I was trying to calculate the cost per tonne but they could not do it because they did not have all the figures. But some time back I was told that the Beijing- Shanghai line carries 60 million tonnes per annum. You can get the figures yourselves from your Secretariat, of how much cargo the Kampala-Mombasa line carries per annum, or the Mwanza-Dar-es-Salaam line, and compare it with the Beijing-Shanghai line.

Of course the more cargo you carry the cheaper it becomes because the railway line is already built. Whether you use it once or 20 times a day, it is there. This is what we call fixed costs. So the more we use it, the better the profitability. But ours which the British built for us, we have not even added another yet, except *Mwalimu* added the line to Zambia, the Uhuru line which is under-utilised. That is why these people were delaying. I said we must get these figures, but they could not get them - running up and down, the Permanent Secretary does not know. But why are you "permanent" if you do not know? (*Laughter*)

Anyway, I have given you the assignment now, hon. Speaker, and I am glad in your introduction you said that you have found it "desirable" that I come here. (*Laughter*) Now that I am a "desirable guest", can I also give you some work? What is the cargo between Kampala and Mombasa on the railway? Compare it with the Shanghai line, or any other busy highways. The Minister of Transport is here; he may have some ideas. You can see him later on.

They were trying to calculate but these calculations are a bit mixed up. They were trying to say that they could not get the current figures for the Beijing-Shanghai line, but I had heard some years ago when I was trying to build the Musoma-Arusha line with *Mwalimu* and Mr. Mwinyi that the Beijing-Shanghai line is 60 million tonnes per annum. But you can get the figures. I am sure you can even get them on the Internet. This is why I am now saying that the cost per tonne - that one you can get. The more the volume, the cheaper it is. If you have small cargo, obviously because you must maintain the line, the unit cost is very

high and it undermines your businessmen.

They are claiming that on the Uganda side, the cost per tonne is US\$22.5 and US\$42 on the Kenyan side. They are mixed up, but you can see what I am trying to get at. I am sure you can get it if you take your time.

The smallness of our market is due to the smallness of the population and the low income per capita. However, even if Uganda's income per capita grew to US\$20,000 like that of Italy, our total market would then be about 460 billion. Even if Ugandans became prosperous and we got to a situation where the income per capita was US\$20,000 per annum, which is the current level of Italy, the total market of Uganda could be about 460 billion. This is still not as big as the big ones, which I have quoted for you. With modern economies, small is not beautiful; big is not only desirable but also a necessity.

Still on the side of the economy, there is a question of the ability to bargain. Uganda with her 23 million people and a GDP of about 7 billion cannot seriously bargain with anybody. East Africa, Rwanda and Burundi with a population of 100 million and a GDP of only US\$22 billion have slightly more chances of causing an impression on the partners you are bargaining with. The whole of East Africa, Rwanda and Burundi has got a combined GDP of about US\$22 billion. This is very small!

Let us not talk generally, let us not come here and spend the whole time on "Honourable", "Your Excellency", and I do not know what! Let us look at the figures; what are our figures? That is

what I see when I go to the OAU. "*Mademoiselle*", "*Monsieur*", when shall we get to the production figures? You go to the OAU and the whole day is on protocol. Protocol takes all the time, "*madam*", "*mademoiselle*", "*excuse moi*"! When shall we get to the figures? The figures are here; the whole of East Africa plus Rwanda and Burundi, the GDP is about 22 billion dollars. Even if they have made some few mistakes, but I am sure this is roughly the figure - 22 billion dollars. This is the combined output value of these esteemed countries! Compare this with other countries, how shall we move?

The other day I was talking to these pressmen of mine - multiparty, I do not know what! Okay, even if you want to have monarchies or whatever system you want to have, what shall you eat? What shall you eat? Whether you want to be a monarchist, whether you want to be pro-party or multiparty or whatever, what shall you eat? Why do you not first of all talk about the food that you will eat?

These African countries, they are all backward! Here in Uganda, I hear them say, "oh, you know here in Uganda we had a problem; we had wars". But there are many countries in Africa that did not have wars! Kenya did not have a war; Tanzania did not have a war; Zambia did not have a war; Malawi has never had a war; Ivory Coast has never had a war and Senegal. Why are they backward like the ones that had wars? Why are they backward if you say that Uganda is backward because of war? How about those who did not have wars, why are they backward? Multiparty, multiparty, multiparty!

Ivory Coast, which has always had multi-parties from independence, is as backward as Uganda where multi-parties failed! We started off with the multi-parties but they failed, then we went into all forms of governance regimes. We even had Idi Amin! But when we rose from the dead, we found that the ones who were supposed to be all right were as we left them, in real terms! Of course, there is slightly more education; people speaking English and French, but qualitatively, there is nothing new!

Ivory Coast and Senegal have never had a war; they have always had multiparty all the time. So my dear sisters and brothers, I think Africans had better be serious; we are not serious. We are not serious!

Apart from the economic problems, the present political fragmentation is also responsible for serious cultural mutilation. This East Africa mutilates our culture! The Ateso are in Kenya, they are in Uganda. Now we have got a problem because the King of the Ateso is in Uganda. The Ateso have hitherto been republican but recently they woke up, they said they wanted to have a king also - (*Laughter*). So, they looked around and they concocted a king also - (*Laughter*). He is called “*Emorimor*” or something like that. Now, the Ateso of Kenya came to join these ones. Very soon you will hear somebody complaining that Uganda is interfering with Kenya’s affairs, or asking why the Ateso of Kenya are going to Soroti to see the Ateso of Uganda? Very soon you will hear of some problem.

I have launched a disarmament programme in Karamoja to remove guns from those wild tribes of ours. Now,

when they see that this man Museveni is disturbing them, they go and keep their guns with their aunties in Kenya. This is so especially with the Pokot. If you disturb them, they go and keep the guns with their brothers. You move up and down, up and down and when you go back they bring out the guns! So these units, the colonial units as they are, mutilate the culture of our people.

Here on this other border where I come from, I can speak all the vernaculars up to Mwanza. Those who come from Mwanza may know a place called Busisi Ferry. When I went there when I was fighting Amin, I asked them: “do you know what ‘*busisi*’ means?” Some knew some did not. The ones who knew told me that ‘*busisi*’ means the small black ants, the very small ones. That is exactly what I call them in my language. The Baganda call them *Munyeera*. The Maasai, as you go on the Kenya border, are quite inconvenienced.

Recently there were these herdsmen of ours here from Uganda who went into Tanzania, especially the undisciplined ones who do not want to settle down. You hear of them in Rusuhunga and you hear of them in Biharamuro. So some Chiefs in Tanzania expelled them and they came back here. These people came and said, “Oh! You know our people have been expelled.” I said “No; either you find a way of getting rid of the borders or if they are still there you respect them. You must either keep right or left. You cannot be in the middle of the road. If you do not keep left and you do not keep right, where do you want to be?”

If you want the borders to go, you have the powers, you go and work and have

one East Africa so that the tribes can go the way they want. But if you do not want that, and you want the borders to stay, then you must respect the borders. You cannot have the borders and then you do not respect them. I do not agree with that because it has got implications for planning and so on. You know my opinion about the borders - that one I will say at the end, but as long as they are there, you should respect them please, because you are the ones who are maintaining them. We are the ones who are maintaining them, we the political leaders. If we want to remove them, we can remove them by political decision.

You find some people torn up by colonial borders that were maintained and paralyzed by either not seeing where the future of Africa is or by narrow interest. History and logic, therefore, compel us to move towards integration with greater speed than hitherto. The modest gains we have made in the East African Treaty for co-operation are most welcome.

The Treaty offers us the following chances: monetary and financial co-operation, monetary and fiscal harmonization, micro-economic co-operation, common transport and communication policies, co-operation on the development of the human resource, science and technology, the East African Court of Justice, etc. These are good steps. They are better than nothing. I regard this, however, as modest and only a first step.

Political integration, culminating into an East African political federation that will then be an economic component of the African Union would serve the interests of our people better in the current era.

The interest of the African people, like all the other peoples in the world, is modernization. We must modernize. If we do not modernize, we shall perish.

The other day, when I spoke to you in Arusha, I reminded you about this Afghan war. Do you call that a war! Was there a war in Afghanistan? There was no war; this was a hunting trip for the Americans. They were just shooting some guinea fowls! Backward people cannot defend themselves, if you have got idiots like these Talibans! And I wrote about it.

When it happened, people were saying, "Oh the Talibans are very tough; they are suicidal." Well, they are indeed suicidal for sure; there is no doubt about it. You cannot have backward people confronting modern people. This is what normally happens. Backward people are vanquished, defeated, and they survive at the mercy of the advanced people. If the advanced people want to kill you, they kill you. If they want to keep you for some reason, they keep you. Is this really what we should give Africa?

I see all these people moving up and down saying 'multiparty' and I do not know what. Okay, but where is the transformation from backward to modern? I do not see it in all those things they are talking about. I do not see many people talking about transformation. This Afghan so-called war was a very good lesson to show you the difference between a modern organization and a backward organization. These Arabs and all those groups, confused women and they covered themselves. How can people who are covering themselves confront

the ones who are looking at the moon? The other half see what is happening on Mars and these ones do not even see what is happening here!

Modernization entails the following major tasks - again when we talk, we talk in vague terms. What does modernization mean?

1. Creating employment for the people through industrialization, expanding the services and modernizing agriculture; “services” meaning banks and all that.

2. As you industrialize, as you modernize services, and as you modernize agriculture, you at the same time expand the tax base. This is how the donor/donee relationship will end, by the African governments having 100 percent internally financed budgets. If the industries do not expand, do not modernize, you will not expand the tax base. You will not be able to collect enough taxes. And if you are not able to collect enough taxes, you will not be able to fund your budget, except through donors.

3. Developing the human resource through education for all and health for all. This is a modern task.

The first modern task is to create employment by modernization of industrialization, developing the services and agriculture. And then you expand the tax base; you collect more taxes, then you are able to develop the human resource, the human being, instead of having Baganda just there dancing *kiganda* dance.

One day I was going very early in the morning - I normally go very early in the

morning to do some work and I found my people, 12 miles from Kampala, with nets and dogs going to hunt. There is some small animal which they hunt. 12 miles from here, and 50 people are just hunting something weighing three kilogrammes from morning! This is 12 miles from Kampala here. It is a place called Buloba. I saw them with dogs and with nets - because they are not employed. How are we going to employ all these people? This human resource must be developed. All those can no longer go to school, but all their children must go to school: primary, secondary, and technical schools.

Here in Uganda, when we introduced universal primary education, there were only 2.5 million children in primary school. There are now seven million children in primary school, and we intend to keep them in school.

4. Expanding and modernizing the infrastructure and consolidating democratization. It is easier to do all this if you have got a democratic system, or when people have got a say. Although the problem I see is that with weak leadership, democratization also becomes another diversion into religion, tribes and so on which adds to opportunism, and corruption also adds to the diversion.

For instance, you see the dilemma of Pakistan: the politicians encouraged extremism, which has been coming out of Pakistan from those Moslem groups preaching hatred in the mosque that “you must hate Christians”, there were jihads and all these in the mosques, and the politicians, my friends whom the General kicked out - Nowaz Sharif, Benazir Bhutto - could not stand up to

say stop this nonsense. They could not stop the preaching of nonsense in the mosques! They feared because they wanted votes. They wanted votes on a wrong basis: votes based on religion, votes based on tribes, so they became prisoners! Now they are no longer reformists. Until General Musharaf who is not looking for votes came and said “shut up you fools!” So, who is more useful? It is a dilemma now. Musharaf – I do not want to call him; I should not antagonise him also.

When we talk of democracy we must talk of disciplined democracy because if democracy is not disciplined, it will be useless; it will actually be counter-productive. So, I am now in a dilemma: Who is more useful in Pakistan, Musharaf or my friend Nowaz Sharif, a very intelligent man? Nowaz Sharif was an industrialist and our sister Benazir Bhutto is very, very clever, but this holds them prisoners. We call it cheap popularity in our Movement.

When we were in the “bush”, we did not allow this. You could not go on talking like this. We would put you – *tunakuingiza kwa andaki!* We would not kill you but put you there and you would lie in the cold. But here, somebody can talk nonsense in the name of democracy. Are you not going to become like Pakistan? So, the challenge of democratisation in a backward situation is also something that needs to be studied carefully.

Pakistan is very, very interesting for me. That extremism of killing people, the preaching that was being allowed in the mosques with nobody to stop them because politicians are looking for votes, even of the confused because the

confused also vote, it is quite a struggle. But you can struggle against it if the political elite unite and are conscious, if they are not opportunistic and if they are principled. But if they are not principled and are simply looking for any support, even wrongly based support, they can complicate the problem for democracy. So now the Pakistanis have had to wait for the General to come and discipline all these so-called democrats who are just opportunists, who encourage on the wrong basis and almost put Pakistan in - because they were moving Pakistan towards Afghanistan! You know that the extremism in Afghanistan was partly from the Pakistan preaching in the mosques that you must hate Christians; the Jihad. So, this is a dilemma. This Musharaf put all of them in jail - all those groups.

Working through WTO for market access to the big markets of the world:

My dear Rt. hon. Speaker of the East African Legislative Assembly, your very brilliant colleagues, the MPs, fighting for markets is the future of Africa. You hear, for instance, of this American market which I quoted for you of US\$11 trillion. This is the first time I am really happy with the Americans. In fact, if the Americans tell me to dance with my head down, I will simply dance because I am very happy with them. If they say, “put your head down and dance”, *nitafanya tu* because I am very happy.

They have opened their market to us for the first time. This is the first useful thing the Americans have done in Africa. *Mambo ingine wanawambia, musaada bure bure* – but opening the market, this AGOA - the African Growth Opportunity Act, saying that you

can sell whatever you have in the United States tariff free and quota free is the real assistance the Americans have at last given to Africa - (*Applause*). This time I am really happy with the Americans and we should use this with aggressiveness. I am busy fighting with my Ugandan groups to make sure that they wake up and take advantage of this big market.

In several meetings in the past I have given an example which is not here, but I will integrate it in the speech when I finally write it properly for distribution to you. The total trade in agricultural products in the world some few years ago was US\$1.2 trillion. This was three or four years ago. The whole of Africa, including South Africa, Egypt, and Nigeria, was getting 13 billion, which was one percent of the global trade in agriculture! This was the only one which was coming to Africa. Now how can we develop? We cannot manage! So, struggling for these markets is very crucial.

If only all our political elite could combine their efforts to demand access to the markets of Europe, the United States, Russia, China, India and eventually South America, and maybe also Australia, that is the real challenge facing the African elite.

I forgot the other figures, but I will put them there. The total market of Africa is half a trillion dollars. If the whole of the African market were united, it would be half of one trillion dollars. So, the whole of the united African market is 20 times smaller than the United States market. You can see the situation in which we are! Even if you united the whole market of Africa, it would now be about one-

twentieth of the market of the United States! It is half a trillion dollars - 500 billion dollars - while the other one is 11,000 billion dollars! This is just the American market. So, fighting for access to these markets is one of the factors in modernising our economy.

In the last 16 years, we have solved some of the problems that had been obstacles in the 1960s. In Uganda, we now firmly believe that the private sector is the avenue for growth, and it is the one which will provide the way forward. The nationalisation of the private properties in the 1960s by our leaders here in Uganda, Idi Amin and Obote, was definitely a mistake. That is a mistake we shall not repeat. Freedom of private enterprise is one factor in the emancipation of the African people.

It is also common wisdom these days for all economic managers to ensure that there is macro-economic stability by controlling inflation through controlling public expenditure.

It is also wise to liberalise the economy by de-regulating marketing, de-regulating rent control, de-regulating transport prices, and ensuring that the currency is convertible. This is now agreed in many circles here in Uganda and, I am glad, in Africa also. These ratifications, even with all the other unresolved distortions, have ensured relatively high growth rates.

In the case of Uganda, in the last 16 years our average rate of growth of GDP has been 6 per cent per annum. On the side of inflation, the annualised inflation in December was minus 4 per cent; it was below zero.

However, we need to take very important strategic decisions, which I have mentioned above, that are a *sine qua non* for the consolidation of our independence and helping to guarantee our future. Thank you very much.

With these words, I declare your meeting open.

The Speaker: Your Excellency, the President of the Republic of Uganda, hon. Speaker of the Ugandan Parliament, religious leaders, hon. Ministers, Members of the Legislative Assembly, Members of Parliament, Ambassadors, High Commissioners, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. We have now come to the end of our session. Before I adjourn this session, I wish to call upon hon. Rose Waruhiu, Member of Parliament for East Africa, to give a vote of thanks on behalf of the Members of the East African Legislative Assembly.

Ms. Rose Wairimu Waruhiu (Kenya): The President of the Republic of Uganda, President Museveni, the Speaker of the East African Legislative Assembly, the Speaker of the National Assembly of Uganda, Members of Parliament, my fellow Members of the East African Legislative Assembly. The idea of giving a vote of thanks to the President of the Republic of Uganda certainly is overwhelming, and I am very humbled. But I am also very delighted that we put that item on our programme for this morning.

When the Speaker invited the President, he was quoting our Standing Orders, to state that we were at liberty to invite the President here under Section 45 of our Standing Orders. I would think that we

shall look forward, and we shall allow our Speaker to use that clause more often, so that we can enjoy this kind of interaction - (*Applause*).

I think we have made a wonderful start! You have welcomed us to Uganda, and you have also done us a great favour. Mr. President, in the next three to four days, we shall be making our maiden speeches, and the challenges you have thrown to us are providing an agenda for each one of us, whatever the area of interest. And for that, we are very grateful. In other words, we may have come here with our briefs from our own countries, but the approach we have adopted this morning has certainly been very challenging.

Before I get to that, let me first of all say that you and your colleagues in the Summit have been presidents at a very important time in the history of our countries. We are really very fortunate. When one is making history, obviously one cannot observe it, but you yourself have spent a great deal of time this morning talking about the need for leaders who have a vision; leaders who, like you gave us your own example, spend a lot of time going into the nitty-gritty details about why the border is not working. I may not know too many people at your level or of your calibre who would have the patience to delve into such details, and yet they may hold the difference to the things that we are going through ourselves daily. So, we are very proud of our Summit. We want to thank you and commend the three Heads of State for the work they have put in to bring us where we are - (*Applause*).

I am speaking for my colleagues, who I do not think had time to brief me, and of course I did not have any idea about what you were going to tell us this morning. And I was warned that since you were going to speak off the cuff, I had to listen, but after listening to several statistics, I completely lost my ability to follow. I thought I had some ability in Mathematics or some knowledge of Economics to the level where the ordinary person can understand what it is that the East Africans expect from the Community but hearing you put all those very intricate terms in everyday language has also given us very great encouragement.

We agreed among ourselves when we were in Tanzania, that one of our first tasks is to popularize the Treaty and make the ordinary people understand what we should do for them and what they should expect from us.

So, I was saying that while I speak on behalf of my colleagues, I am sure they will agree with me that they have received your challenge. We also expect that we shall get, as you have promised, your written speech. By speaking to a few of us, I know that you have formed the basis on which we shall be able, I hope, in a very serious way, to address ourselves to some of the issues you have said.

One of the comments you made this morning was that Africans are never serious. Most of us in this continent wonder about the destiny that landed us on a continent which can never overcome poverty; it has the highest death rates from AIDS. AIDS appeared in another continent, but it is now spreading on our continent. We have the

highest infant mortality rates, and one of your solutions or one of your statements today is that we really have to be serious.

Speaking as leaders from the East African Community in our Legislature, I think we shall take the cue from you. I repeat, we are very, very happy to have started off here. I want to add by saying that the whole issue of democracy is what establishes Parliament. We would wish to hear from you more often on how we as Africans can devolve our own democracy.

The basic thing about democracy really is the respect for the individual. It is giving a hearing to the people that we in the East African Legislative Assembly purport or intend to represent. We will take our duties seriously, we will be aware of where we are in the different countries in devolving the new responsibility for our own development, not only for our own transformation, but also for the respect of the rule of law and the observance of Human Rights.

I want to end by saying, as I stated at the beginning, that we shall look forward to interacting with you, and I am sure that before we do our homework on our speeches tomorrow, we shall have the benefit of going through your speech and catching up with all those statistics and your economics. Thank you very much - (*Applause*).

The Speaker: I now suspend the business of the House until 5.00 p.m. when we shall reconvene at the Parliament of Uganda. Thank you, *Ndugu Rais*.

(The proceedings were suspended at 1.25pm and resumed at 5.15 O' clock at Parliament House, Kampala)

(On resumption_)

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

The Speaker: Hon. Members of Parliament, since we suspended our House at the International Conference Centre, I now wish to adjourn the House for five minutes so that we come back again to start a new Session.

(The Assembly was adjourned at 5.16p.m. and resumed at 5.20p.m.)

The Speaker: We now resume the Second Session of our House, and I call upon the Clerk to read the Order Paper.

NOTICE OF MOTIONS

Mr. James Wapakabulo (Member of EAC Council of Ministers (Uganda): Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I have two notices to give. The first Notice is in the following terms that:

“Pursuant to the provisions of Rule 36 of this House, this House do resolve as follows:

1. That the general debate on the East African Community and the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community be limited to four sittings, excluding this one which we have just started.
2. That speeches in the general debate shall be limited in the following manner.

(a) That there will be no limit for the Chairperson of the Council of Ministers in moving and replying.

(b) That each Member other than the Chairman of the Council of Ministers will be limited to 30 minutes.

The second notice is to the effect that:

“This august Assembly is appreciative of the immense efforts, work and resources so far utilised by the East Africans of all standing under the inspiring and forward-looking leadership of the presidents of the Partner States, which has harnessed and guided their resilient spirit and desire to nurture an environment conducive to socio-economic, political integration in the form of the East African Community;

NOW THEREFORE, this House resolves to urge the Summit, the Council of Ministers, and all organs of the Community to spare no effort in working with, and mobilising the East Africans towards the realisation of the terms, objectives and goals of the process of co-operation, as enshrined in the Treaty.”

Mr. Speaker, I give notice.

PROCEDURAL MOTION

Mr. Wapakabulo: Thank you Mr. Speaker. Order No.7, Procedural motion, is a motion envisaged by our Rules of Procedure that in doing our work, we should allot time. We are suggesting that given the importance of the motion, the general debate should take four sittings, excluding the one we are now undertaking. Therefore, the first request

is for Members to agree to the period of four days being dedicated to that debate.

Secondly, in order for us to have a disciplined debate, it is necessary to put a time limit on our speeches so that Members debate in accordance with the Rules. That is, you are not allowed to read or repeat yourself tediously unless the Speaker so allows. I propose that we put a time limit on our speeches of up to 30 minutes for each Member. You do not have to use all the time. You can speak for five minutes and if you have run out of new ideas, you take your seat. But whatever ideas you have, because of the need that we carry out a disciplined discussion of the business before us, we should limit the upper ceiling of 30 minutes for each Member. Mr. Speaker, I beg to move.

The Speaker: I put the motion before the House. Is there any Secunder of the motion?

Mr. Wandera Ogalo (Uganda): Seconded.

Mr. Yonasani Kanyomozi (Uganda): Mr. Speaker, I do not need to speak much. The hon. Minister has outlined the procedure according to our Rules of Procedure. I support the motion because it will make us have an orderly debate and finish the business on time and present the case that we want to present. More so, we are privileged when we are more focused.

Since we do not need to speak for all the 30 minutes, I am sure in 30 minutes we will do a lot. In any case, during the elections for those Ugandans who are here as Members, we were only given 10 minutes. We are now given three times

as much. I think in those 30 minutes we should be able to present the Treaty with a discourse which will cover most of the important issues that we want to say on any motion that will be presented to us. Mr. Speaker, I support the motion.

The Speaker: I now propose the motion. If there is anyone of you who would like to contribute to this motion which states as follows that:

“Pursuant to provisions of Rule 36, this House do resolve as follows:

1. That the general debate on the East African Community (EAC) and the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community shall be limited to four sittings, excluding the sittings of commencement; and

2. That speeches in general debate shall be limited in the following manner: -

- (a) No limit for the Chairperson of the Council of Ministers in moving and replying;
- (b) Sixty minutes for the Secretary General of the EAC; and
- (c) Thirty minutes for each other Member.

I now call upon those Members of the Assembly who would like to contribute to this motion. Is there is no one to contribute? I now to put the question

(Question put and agreed to)

Mr. Wapakabulo (Member of the EAC Council of Ministers): Thank you Mr. Speaker, for giving me the opportunity to move this motion on

behalf of my Chairman of the Council of Ministers who, for unavoidable circumstances, is not with us here right now.

I wish to move, and I will read the motion once more that:

“This august Assembly, being appreciative of the immense efforts, work and resources so far utilised by East Africans of all standing under the inspiring and forward-looking leadership of the presidents of the partner States, which has harnessed and guided their resilient spirit and desire to nurture an environment conducive to essential socio-economic and political integration in the form of the East African Community (EAC);

NOW THEREFORE, this House resolves to urge the Summit, the Council of Ministers, and all organs of the Community to spare no effort in working with and mobilising the East Africans towards the realisation of the terms, objectives and goals of the process of co-operation as enshrined in the Treaty.”

Mr. Speaker, I do not have a written speech to support my motion, but I will make observations in support of the motion, and these, of course, will be recorded and appear in the *Hansard* when the record of this House for today is produced.

Right from the onset I want to say that this is a great honour to me personally, having started my working life as an employee of the former East African Community, and having served in the office of the Secretary General of the East African Community, and having also served, towards the end, in the

Department of Counsel to the Community. That is how I was sent to Australia to study legislative drafting so that when I came back I would be specialising in writing the laws of the Community. But the Community died when I was still there.

Now that I have got this opportunity to be one of you, having passed via that Chair, Mr. Speaker, to come here and now be part of the process of recreating the East African Community, it is an honour because we were saddened when the East African Community collapsed. Some anti-East Africans drank champagne, but many people still remember the loss they suffered.

Institutionally, Mr. Speaker, so far we have not yet reached where the East African Community that collapsed was. In the East African Community we had a number of things: We had the common services, the efforts to create a truly East African Common Market; we had institutions that supported the entire effort in place. There was no other experience in the world that I knew of - in federation - that was working so closely like the East African Community, because we did not only have a common Airline, but we had a common telecommunications network, including one which hon. Kanyomozi was heading, the East African External-Telecommunications in Nairobi. By the way, he was the General Manager of the East African External Telecommunications. From time to time, we used to quiz him when he would come to our Committees of the Assembly. So, the East African experience was special.

We had the East African Common Services, shared not by many countries in the world. We were even beyond Europe, because while Europe was only looking at the market, for us we had a common harbours' administration, a common railways' administration, a common posts and telecommunications.

We had joint research services. You will have the opportunity, Mr. Speaker and Members, to see what these were in the Ugandan context: The Virus Research at Entebbe, the Fisheries Research, the Fresh Water Fisheries at Jinja, the Trypanosomiasis Research at Tororo, in addition to Muguga in Kenya; the Medical Research in Mwanza, the Marine Fisheries in Zanzibar and the Malaria and water-borne diseases in Tanga, to mention but a few. So, the research common services then, in addition to creating a market, were far-looking, but alas, it came not to pass.

Some of us speculated that maybe the absence of the political superstructure might have caused the collapse of the East African Community, but others went further and said it was not just the political superstructure, but also the fact that ideologically we were moving in different directions but whatever the reasons, the experience and a very good experiment failed. But now, with new leadership, with direction now being given, following the fact that ideologically we are looking in the same direction, but also the fact of life is that however small our business community is, the business community is also beginning to feel that actually we should come together.

Leading in all this are the East Africans themselves, who have problems relating

to each other. Not because they do not like each other, but because we politicians put roadblocks in their way. When our methods of doing business inconvenience them and they find other ways, we call that smuggling, and we cause problems and even put more impediments in their way.

So, Mr. Speaker, with the new experience now, where we have already put institutional arrangements in place, more-or-less complete to the extent that we have the Secretariat in place, we have got this Assembly in place, we have got in place the Court of Justice, now we should move expeditiously to do one thing, to create a business area that is conducive to our people. And that business area is what the Treaty is calling for. We must start as quickly as possible to have a Customs Union in place, because that is really the agenda now.

This House, through debate on this motion, should make it its business to ensure that those who are responsible do their work. In the Council of Ministers, when we met in Arusha in November, one of the decisions we took was that we must operationalise Article 75 of the Treaty as soon as possible. Article 75 relates to the creation of a Customs Union and the abolition of the impediments internally which prohibit or impede free flow of goods and services.

As I speak, the timetable which we gave ourselves in the Council of Ministers was that come March this year, we should have operationalized Article 75 of the Treaty. And to that end, we agreed that technical experts must meet in the month of January this year to be able to

generate ideas for consideration in the Council of Ministers meeting.

I am glad to report that only last week in Arusha, such a meeting took place. I think it ended only two days ago – I do not have anyone with a good memory here who has been briefed on how successful it was. Today is only Monday, and they came back over the weekend, and I am going to be briefed. But what I know is that a meeting of officials who are responsible to us Ministers took place, preparing ground for us to get ideas as to how we can operationalise Article 75.

When we have operationalized Article 75, adopted one external tariff for all imports from across the world to us, removed internal tariffs and non-tariff barriers that inhibit trade between our three states, then we shall be able to say we are beginning to make the real thing. The real thing eventually will be political union, but what is political union?

If you read the constitutions of America and Australia, they have only one very important sentence in their federal constitutions, and that sentence says, *“Commerce between the states shall be absolutely free”*. That is commerce between the 50 American states; not those ones in Latin America. That is how their federal structure is.

In Australia, they have about seven states and the opening sentence in business - forget about currencies and all this - is one important statement, *“commerce between the states shall be absolutely free”*. That is where we should be going. And if we reach there before the political super-structure, we

shall be lucky. But our view here in Uganda, sir, is that even this one may find problems along the way as one Member did mention when we were with the President.

Bureaucrats will begin counting coins and seek to put impediments in the way of free flow of creating a common market of East Africa. They will begin saying, ‘this industry will die if you do this’; or ‘our revenue will disappear if you do not put the following’; or ‘if you put an impediment, it should be there for nine years instead of two or even less.’

It is therefore imperative that while those of us who are responsible, including this House, are moving in the direction of creating a customs union, a common market and eventually one currency like the Europeans have done, we should not relegate the movement towards a political union on the back seat.

Our view is that a mechanism should be found, where the East Africans, both at political level and at the ordinary level, can begin debating the question of an East African federation. While we are pushing these Treaty measures, we should not lose sight of the bigger picture. It is in that bigger picture that shall give political direction to our aspirations, apart from other advantages that President Museveni did mention in his speech to us.

Therefore, sir, I would like to commend this motion to the House, and ask the Members in their debate of this motion to have a bigger picture while at the same time pushing what we are required to do by the very Treaty under which we are operating.

I would like also to suggest that we begin looking again at the possibility of some services becoming common services. Why can't we begin looking at joint researches since the institutions are there anyway? Why don't we look at how we can utilize our institution we built beautifully in Soroti called the East African Flying School, to make it a school for all of us once more? Now we are calling them East African but whatever we do, I think we should go one step beyond.

Why can't we think of now looking at even a bigger picture? Does it really make sense to have these small airlines when even the Americans and the British, and all others are even finding theirs too small, and yet for us we must have flags and all that?

We can begin to debate all these things, and this is the forum for debating them. All these issues must be canvassed here, because we have been brought together through the representative bodies of the people of East Africa so that we may together canvass and push forward those issues that are so dear and crucial to our East African people.

As I said, I did not have a prepared text. I thought I should speak from the bottom of my heart as an East African who served East Africa, and who in my lifetime, had lost hope. But now I see a new light at the end of the tunnel towards a new effort and determination to bring integration back on the agenda, and in a more vigorous way. Therefore, sir, I wish to commend this motion to the House. I thank you – *(Applause)*.

The Speaker: Before I put the motion to the House, I intend to adjourn this

House. Before I do that, I have two announcements to make.

The AAR people wish to guide us on how to fill the forms and how to become members of AAR. They will be here at 6 o'clock. I will kindly request you to remain here once we adjourn the House so that you may be told - *(Interruption)*. I am told you will be meeting in the lounge. So as soon as we adjourn, please move to the lounge. The AAR people will be there with their forms, and they will tell you exactly what to do with those forms and how to fill them quickly, and they will take the forms.

Secondly, I wish to announce to the Members of the House Business Committee that immediately after the adjournment, we resume our work so that we may finish as soon as possible. The Minister is busy, he has a commitment and we would like to finish as soon as possible so that he may have time to attend to other matters relating to his Ministry.

With those few remarks, I now adjourn the House until tomorrow morning 9.00 O'clock here.

(The Assembly rose at 5.46 p.m. and adjourned until Tuesday, 22 January 2002 at 9.00am)