



EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

EAST AFRICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (EALA)

Official Report of the Proceedings of the East African Legislative Assembly

4TH SITTING - FOURTH ASSEMBLY: SECOND MEETING – FIRST SESSION

Tuesday, 23 January 2018

*The East African Legislative Assembly met at 9.00 .a.m. in the Parliament of Uganda,
Kampala, Uganda.*

(The Speaker, Mr. Martin .K. Ngoga, in the Chair.)

The Assembly was called to order.

(The Uganda National Anthem was played)

(The East African Community Anthem was played)

PRAYER

PROCEDURAL MOTION

Ms Muhia Wanjiku (Kenya): Motion that this House, pursuant to the provisions of Article 55(1) of the Treaty and Rule 10 of the Rules of Procedure do resolve to hold sittings in Kampala in the Republic of Uganda.

The Speaker: Thank you, hon. Wanjiku. Seconders? Hon. Mbidde, hon. Maryam, hon. Musamali and all the members standing.

Ms Wanjiku: Mr. Speaker,

“WHEREAS Clause 1 of Article 55 of the Treaty provides that the meeting of the Assembly shall be held at such times and places as the Assembly may appoint;

AND WHEREAS Rule 2 of the Rules of Procedure provides that, the seat of the Assembly shall be at Arusha in the Republic of Tanzania;

AND WHEREAS sub-rule 5 of Rule 10 provides that the meetings of the Assembly shall be held at such times and places as the Assembly may appoint and shall meet at least

once in every year at Arusha in the United Republic of Tanzania and at a time to be determined by the Assembly;

NOW THEREFORE, this Assembly do resolve as follows:

That pursuant to the provisions of sub-rule 5 of rule 10 cited above, the Assembly shall hold sittings in the Chamber of Parliament of Uganda from today, 23 January 2018 up to Thursday, 8 February 2018."

Mr Speaker, I beg to move.

The Speaker: Thank you. Honourable Members, I now propose the motion that this House, pursuant to the provisions of Article 55(1) of the Treaty and Rule 10 of the Rules of Procedure do resolve to hold sittings in Kampala in the Republic of Uganda. Debate is open.

There being no Member willing to debate the motion, I now proceed to propose the question that this House, pursuant to the provisions of Rule 55(1) of the Treaty and Rule 10 of the Rules of Procedure do resolve to hold sittings in Kampala in the Republic of Uganda. I put the question.

(Question put and agreed to.)

PROCLAMATION

The Speaker: Honourable Members, I now wish to make the following proclamation.

Amidst us today is His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda and Rt. hon. Rebecca Kadaga, the Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda.

I have, in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty, invited His Excellency the President, to address this

Assembly on the occasion of the State of the EAC Address.

I now would like to make the following proclamation to welcome his presence in the Assembly.

"WHEREAS Clause 1 of Article 54 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 presence in the Assembly of the President of the Republic of Uganda is desirable in accordance with the business now before the Assembly;

NOW THEREFORE it is with great pleasure and honour, on your behalf honourable members, to welcome His Excellency the President of the Republic of Uganda in this Assembly."

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
UGANDA WELCOME REMARKS BY
THE RT HON. SPEAKER OF EALA

The Speaker: Your Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, Rt. hon. Rebecca Kadaga, Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda, honourable Chairperson and members of the EAC Council of Ministers, Speakers emeritus: Rt. hon. Abdirahin Abdi, Rt. hon. Margaret Zziwa, Rt. hon. Daniel Kidega, Your Lordship Justice Dr Emmanuel Ugirashebuja, President of the East African Court of Justice, honourable members of the East African Legislative Assembly and the Parliament of Uganda, members emeritus of EALA present, members of the diplomatic corps, senior government officials in

attendance, representatives of the private sector and civil society, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I wish you all a progressive and fruitful year 2018. I thank the Speaker, Rt. hon. Rebecca Kadaga, the Parliament of Uganda and the entire Government of Uganda for accepting to host EALA at the commencement of its Second Meeting of the First Session of the Fourth Assembly.

Your Excellency, I thank the Rt. hon. Speaker for the great lengths that she and the Parliament of Uganda went through to ensure that our stay is made comfortable right from the period we arrived in Kampala last week.

Rt. hon. Speaker, EALA is cognisant of the fact that your House is currently undertaking various businesses and in addition, Parliament of Uganda is hosting the annual Parliament week yet despite your very busy schedule, you found both space and time to accommodate us.

Yesterday, Rt. hon. Kadaga made time to open our induction programme officially where she reassured us of her full collaboration. We thank you, Rt. hon. Speaker and the Parliament of Uganda for your generosity. *(Applause)*

The members and I are most grateful for your magnanimity and true sign of friendship. The relation between the Parliament of Uganda and EALA continue to be warm and very cordial. Today, both assemblies keep avenues open for regular consultations at the speakership level and among members of Parliament.

We, as the Fourth Assembly, will do all that it takes to strengthen the relations and to take them a notch higher.

As a former member of the Third Assembly and a returnee to the Fourth Assembly, I am

seized of the fact that the Third EALA collaborated very closely and in a number of areas with the Parliament of Uganda in general and the Rt. hon. Speaker Kadaga specifically.

I am aware of the fact that the Rt. hon. Speaker Kadaga inspired and made tremendous contribution to the EAC Bureau of Speakers which is the political bureau of Speakers that sit regularly to deliberate on the progress of the process of integration.

In addition, members of staff from across various departments of both Parliament of Uganda and EALA continue to learn and to benefit from each other's experiences. Our presence here today is a further sign of true friendship and commitment that both institutions enjoy as they strengthen ties and promote the integration process.

Article 49 of the Treaty for the establishment of the East African Community envisages the liaison with the National Assemblies of the Partner States on matters related to the Community. It is pleasing to note that under your leadership, the parliamentary Committee on EAC Affairs led by hon. Tony Ayoo has continued to remain vibrant. In fact, this committee and others continuously interface with EALA through visits by delegations to the headquarters and wherever possible in various capitals where we hold our sittings. The experiences shared and views exchanged have indeed been worth the while.

That said, I take my initial steps in the new role of speakership and I wish to thank you, in a special way, for the support you have already and will continue to render me as we consult on parliamentary matters and on other regional matters that are healthy and mutual for our institution.

My colleagues and I have taken note of your advice when you opened the induction

meeting yesterday that we need to do more to take the message of integration and its benefits to the people. We shall prioritise sensitisation and outreach programmes in our planning.

I wish you well as you continue the deserved leadership to your Parliament and the much-needed guidance to our Assembly.

Your Excellency, it is vital for the region to continue to be steadfast in its desire to remain a strong, united, resilient, influential player in the continent and the globe. Today, the region is proud of the achievements of the Customs Union, Common Market, the Monetary Union and other steps that we will continue to undertake. In all endeavours we are determined to uphold and take forward in this Assembly, we shall continue to bank on the support of the Rt. hon. Kadaga and the Parliament of Uganda.

On that remark, honourable members, please welcome Rt. hon. Kadaga for her remarks. *(Applause)*

The Rt. hon. Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda (Ms Rebecca Kadaga): Thank you very much, Mr Speaker. Your Excellency President of the Republic of Uganda and the Chair of the Summit of the East African Community, the Speaker, Rt. hon. Ngoga, we congratulate you and welcome you to Kampala. I am delighted to see Speakers emeritus: Speaker Abdi. Mr President, when he was still with us, he was like a beacon. If you wanted to give directions, you would say, “Where that tall man is standing is where we are going”. We are happy to see him again. Rt. hon. Zziwa, thank you very much for your pioneering work. Rt. hon. Kidega, welcome and thank you for the work.

On behalf of Parliament, I welcome the Chief Justice of the East African Court of Justice and of course welcome the members. Your Excellency, I am particularly happy to

welcome our sixth delegation of South Sudan who are sitting in EALA for the first time. You are welcome.

On that note, Your Excellency, I would like to thank you and the other heads of state for the commitment that has enabled the East African Community to grow from three countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania to five with the inclusion of Rwanda and Burundi and now the sixth member, South Sudan. Thank you so much for the work done.

Your Excellency, yesterday I had an opportunity to speak to the members during the induction. I pointed out the areas of need but I also told them that they now have the benefit of precedence from the other three assemblies and that we expect them to work very hard to fortify the issues of cooperation and to ensure that the integration is finally realised.

I would also like to take this opportunity to remind them about other issues of our community. We need to do a lot on the issues of climate change. There has been considerable drought in the region, there has been crop failure in some instances, and thousands of cattle have died, especially in the Horn of Africa. This has made the food prices very high and left a number of our populations struggling to survive.

I do want to appeal to you, as you do your other work, to keep in focus those issues of the population.

Your Excellency, we are happy that the EALA members are here this week because this is the parliamentary week and I know that some of the members have not been in Parliament before. They now have an opportunity to attend our exhibition, discuss with the staff and understand how Parliaments work.

We are happy that the opportunity has come when they are here and on that note, your Excellency, I would like to invite you to address us on the state of the East African Community. You are welcome, Your Excellency.

The Speaker: Your Excellency, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, Rt. hon. Rebecca Kadaga, Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda, honourable Chairperson and members of the EAC Council of Ministers, Speakers emeritus, Rt. hon. Abdirahin Abdi, Rt. hon. Daniel Kidega, Rt. hon. Margaret Zziwa, Your Lordship Justice Dr Emmanuel Ugirashebuja, President of the East African Court of Justice, honourable members of the East African Legislative Assembly and the Parliament of Uganda, members emeritus of EALA present, members of the diplomatic corps, senior government officials in attendance, representatives of the private sector and civil society, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

Your Excellency, it is with profound humility and I warmly welcome you to deliver the State of the East African Community address at the Second Meeting of the First Session of the Fourth Assembly.

At the outset, I wish you a progressive year full of good health and prosperity as you lead the Republic of Uganda and the EAC to greater heights.

I duly express my gratitude to Your Excellency for positively responding to this invitation. (*Applause*) Recalling that you have previously honoured all nine invitations, this is the 10th time that Your Excellency is going to address us without missing a single invitation.

Since the inaugural speech in 2008, EALA remains truly indebted to Your Excellency and thank you for your endless support.

Your Excellency, we are very pleased to commence our sitting right here in Kampala following our inauguration in December 2017. The members of the Fourth Assembly seated here before you collectively intend to deliver to the expectations of the people of East Africa. The members elected me to lead the Assembly as we steer the integration agenda forward.

I accepted the responsibility of the speakership with magnanimity and with a promise to uphold the dignity of the House at all times. I promise to spare no efforts to provide the desired leadership and enhance teamwork with my colleagues.

My colleagues and I believe in the resilience of a great region and together we can and must do more for the sustainable future of our Community.

Your Excellency, the current East African Integration endeavours have come a long way. As our integration is deepened and widened in its scope, the issues for which the Assembly is called to address are also becoming complex.

We recognise that all pillars of integration shall, in the longrun, unlock great opportunities for our citizens. During our tenure, the Assembly shall collaborate with all stakeholders to solidify integration and give East Africans the benefits that integration offers.

In line with the standard practice of parliamentary autonomy and in accordance with the directive of the Council of Ministers taken some time back, the Assembly has done the preparatory work, picking up from where our predecessors ended to operationalise the autonomy of Finance and Administration of the Assembly. This will improve on the efficiency with which we intend to execute our mandate.

Your Excellency, the opportunity to interact with you gives us one more moment to reflect on the journey ahead of us and to take stock of where we have succeeded and where we need to do more. We thank you for always availing that opportunity to us.

Your Excellency, it is vital for the region to continue to be steadfast in its desire to remain a strong united, resilient and influential layer and we trust your commitment and resilience to provide the leadership we need to secure that objective.

Your Excellency, allow me a moment to introduce some of the invitees but I have to start with my colleagues. By chapters, Republic of Uganda, if you can stand up for recognition, Republic of Kenya, Republic of Rwanda, Republic of Burundi, republic of South Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania. Thank you very much.

We have been honoured with the presence of our former members of the Third Assembly: hon. Nusura Tiperu hon. Bernard Mulengani, hon. Dora Byamukama, hon. Mike Sebalu. Thank you for your continuous support to this Assembly. Your experience will be very much needed as we move forward.

Your Excellency, on that note, it is my honour and privilege to invite you to address the Fourth EALA.

The President of the Republic of Uganda
(His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni):
Thank you very much. Sit down.

Rt. hon. Speaker of EALA, Mr Ngoga, Rt. hon. Speaker of the Parliament of Uganda, Rt. hon. Rebecca Kadaga, all important persons - You spend so much time on protocol mentioning all important people. Please, allow me to say that you are all very important because the two big ones represent all of you - (*Laughter*). Once I address the Speaker of EALA and the Speaker of

Parliament of Uganda, you are all covered as they represent you. When you go to these African ceremonies - *majina yote wanasoma* - (*Laughter*).

I congratulate the new Speaker of EALA, Mr Ngoga - (*Applause*). The birth of Ngoga had some issues in the labour room - (*Laughter*). I was going for an external trip, and then our Minister, Julius Maganda, rang me and said there was a crisis. I said, what is the crisis? The crisis was that you could not elect a Speaker. I said, how is that possible? Just voting? *Kitu rahisi namna hiyo kinawasumbua?*

He told me that there was a problem of taking turns. *Waswahili wanaita zamu. Si ndiyo?* I said, but what is the problem? Because the three original members - Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania - have already had their *zamu*. I remember the people: Mwapachu, Kinana, I remember Margaret - I cannot forget Margaret. She was so powerful, how can I forget? Then she was assisted by Kidega - (*Laughter*). Then there was the tall man.

In my peasant logic - *watu washambani* - I said the old members have already had their turn, so that means it must be the turn of the new members, which are Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. These are the ones, which must produce the Speaker now. I was just using my bush sense of justice. I did not ask the Attorney-General and all those people because I did not have time.

Then you would have to use other criteria. If the old members have already had their turn, what other criteria do you use? Did the new members join at different times, because that can also be considered? Apart from the old members, who joined next? That one I could not remember, but I thought that Burundi and Rwanda joined at about the same time. I could not remember that from my head.

Assuming they joined at the same time, what other criteria do you have? I remembered – this is all bush and not bureaucratic files; just in my head, I remembered that Burundi has a Secretary General now. So *hawa wameisha pata kitu kizito*. When I went to Kenya - that day I was going to Kenya, it was the 19th of December and I was going to Kenya the same day. When I got to Kenya and consulted His Excellency Uhuru, somebody in the meeting said, no, wait a minute. Rwanda also has some big person. I said who is that one? He said, he is the Chief Judge of the Court of Appeal. That means that the new members both have some heavy weight. So, where do we go? Do we go to South Sudan now? Because that would have been the...

As we were still discussing, I heard that you had elected. I still followed. I said, okay they have elected but what is the logic of electing? Somebody gave me information that, look here, between Rwanda and Burundi, Burundi has a Secretary General, and Rwanda has a Judge President. However, a Judge President is just a lawyer, deciding cases. He is not so much involved in the management of the organisation. The people who are involved in the management of the organisation are these powerful people, the Speaker and Secretary General. These ones are running the organisation. One is running the Assembly, which allows the Secretary General to do his work or whatever; supervises him.

Therefore, in terms of the organisation, these are the crucial posts. The other one – the judge is there but he is busy with some cases. Once they come - sometimes they do not come - *wako pembeni kidogo*.

Then I said, once I see these young people, maybe I will mention this logic to them, that maybe we pray for this Speaker who is there now *tumpe baraka tuone mambo yatakwendaje*. After all, this is not the end of the world. *Dunia iko;tunaendelea mbele*.

What are the years? Five? I think we can survive five years of this man – (*Laughter*). That is how I got involved, but we can discuss it more. I am glad that you are all here now. I was told that some of the members had boycotted, but I am very happy that you are all here, and I congratulate you.

I did not come to talk about the state of the East Africa because I had not been alerted on the bureaucratic side of how to do that, but I came to talk about a subject, which I know very well, and which is the need for African integration. This one, even if you wake me at midnight, I will give you a lecture of five hours if you have the stamina to survive the lecture – (*Applause*).

Integration in Africa, or in any other part of the world, is about four things: Number one, prosperity for the members of that area. We integrate in order to unite the markets so that the markets can support the prosperity of our citizens. This integration is not about leaders, it is about the people. It is about the producers of wealth. When I produce wealth - if I am a farmer and I farm on a big scale, how big is the market for my products? As I speak, in Uganda...you were talking of hunger, Rt. hon. Kadaga, that there is hunger in East Africa, and some problems somewhere, but in Uganda we have got a huge crop of maize; 5 million tonnes. We are stuck with the maize. For us we do not eat maize so much because we have other foods like bananas, cassava. Maize flour – *kaunga* - is eaten by soldiers and other people.

Therefore, we end up eating only one million tonnes. The four million are a surplus, and the production is increasing. So, when you go there, do not go there to fight for speakership and all this because whether you are Speaker or not Speaker, you are there to fight for the prosperity of your people – (*Applause*). Ask, please Tanzanians, Kenyans, Banyarwanda, Barundi, and South Sudan people, let us unite

our markets so that my maize producers in Kibale district are not stuck with their maize, and the producers of milk are not stuck with their milk. The same with the people of Kenya and the things that they are producing to be sold here.

The people of Kenya, about 50 years ago, liberated me from Coca Cola. In the 1950s and 1960s, if you went from home, you could not get anything decent to drink except Coca Cola, Fanta, which was in Indian shops. I do not know why people drink those drinks; they are really bad. They are full of gas. You drink it and you start *okutula embi* – belching – (*Laughter*). But you had to buy Coca Cola because you had nothing clean to drink if you left home.

In 1965, I went to Mbarara town and found KCC milk. It was called Kenya Creameries. I said, what is that? They said, this is milk. Raw or what? No, it is pasteurised. Really? So I can drink milk instead of drinking Coca Cola? From that time, I have never drunk Coca Cola again. That was 1965 – (*Laughter*).

The people of Kenya liberated me from Coca Cola but I also contributed to the prosperity of the farmers in Kenya because I would buy KCC milk whenever I was not at home to drink the tea of my mother and the milk of my cows.

Later on - and this time I was actually in Tanzania fighting Idi Amin - I went to Bukoba town and I saw on the shelf there was the same KCC milk, which had long life called UHT. The other one, which I bought in Mbarara, had short life; it had to be in the fridge and so on. It had some logistics, but this one could stay on the shelf and would not go bad. It was called UHT.

Therefore, when we talk of integration, know that you are talking about the prosperity of ordinary East Africans. Do not go there to

fight for speakership and all these things – (*Applause*). That is not why you should go there. You go there to fight for opportunities for East Africans who are engaged in production. If they are engaged in rumour mongering, of course they will have nothing to sell. Rumours are not marketable; you cannot sell rumours. Maybe you can sell them on the FM stations but not in the shops. This is the first point about integration. It is about prosperity.

Because you like to compare yourselves to the Europeans, you can look at Germany. Until 1871, Germany was not one country. They were Germans by race and culture, but they were in 39 kingdoms. There was Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria – 39 different kingdoms. What sparked the Pan-German movement was the big farmers in one of the German kingdoms called Prussia. It had big farmers called Yinkas.

They had a lot of production but they could not sell their products in the entire German area because when you would leave Prussia and try to enter Saxony, they put a tax on you; you leave Saxony and go to the other one, there would be taxes. That is how they formed the Pan-German movement by Bismarck to fight the borders, which were stopping freedom of trade and, therefore, interfering with the prosperity of the Germans.

This is the first word about integration, not speakership, not Secretary General. If those people are there, they should be there to facilitate this. Otherwise, they should come back and just look after their goats – (*Applause*).

The second word about integration in our case is fraternity. These people of East Africa we are talking about are the same people. They are linked. Speaker Ngoga – that word “*Ngoga*” in Runyarwanda has a restricted meaning. It means speed in Runyarwanda but

in Runyankole it means a combination of speed and strength. It is both – “*ayine engoga*”. It is not just speed but also strength.

When I look at Rwanda and Burundi, Tanzania... this Ngoga man apparently grew up in Bukoba. He is actually a Muhaya, among other things, because when the Banyarwanda were scattered by the political upheavals in Rwanda, apparently this one was born in Mureeba. These Tanzanians do not know what Mureeba is. Kagera is just a river here. It is called Ihangiro. It belongs to the old kingdom of Ihangiro, the chiefdom.

I was speaking Ruhaya with him when we were sitting there because Ruhaya is very close to Runyankore. Now, your minister here, Maganda, strictly speaking I do not regard him as a Ugandan because you cannot be sure what he is. Most likely, he is Kenyan – (*Laughter*). This is because the Samia – all those people, you cannot know who is who.

At one time, they had a vice president in Kenya called Moody Awori who has a brother who wanted to be President of Uganda but I defeated him – (*Laughter*). Therefore, these people you are talking about – if you go to South Sudan – I do not know where some of my ministers belong. You ask them, where are you from exactly and they cannot tell you because some of them are actually South Sudanese. That shows you the linkages of these people you are talking about. When you are talking of East Africa, you are talking of people who are either similar or linked by language, by culture, by history.

The trail from Zanzibar through Bagamoyo, through Tabora, through Karagwe is old. Do not think it was started by the East African Community; No. there were excavations here in Uganda by archaeologists at a place called Ntusi and that settlement was active around 900 AD. They found *Ushanga* – what is that in Kiswahili? Glass beads. We were not

making glass beads here in Uganda at that time so where were they coming from? They were coming from Mesopotamia – what is now Iraq – through Zanzibar and Bagamoyo.

Therefore, apart from prosperity – *ustawi wa jamii* – the next word when we are talking about integration is *Undugu* – fraternity.

The third word we are talking about when we talk of integration is strategic security. America has one of the best Presidents ever – Mr Trump. I love Trump. I love Trump because he tells Africans frankly. I do not know whether he is misquoted or whatever, but when he speaks, I like him because he speaks frankly.

Africans need to solve their problems. They need to be strong. In the world, you cannot survive if you are weak. It is the fault of the Africans that they are weak because they have this huge continent. If you look at Africa, it is 12 times the size of India in land area, with many resources. The population is growing now. Why can't we make Africa strong?

Therefore, if you are not strong and somebody tells you that you are weak, I really love that person because he is doing my work. He is saying what I have been saying but from a different point of view – (*Laughter*).

Therefore, for Africa to be strong and to survive, we need integration so that we can be able to speak with one voice and act together.

Finally, when we talk of integration, in the case of East Africa, we are talking about the better and rational use of even our common natural resources. We have Lake Victoria, which is shared by three countries. If we do not manage it together and it is messed up on one side, the damage on one side will come and affect the other side. Therefore, there is

no way you can manage Lake Victoria as Uganda. Even if you do the good things on the Ugandan side, but on the Tanzanian side they do not do their work, or on the Kenyan side, the lake will be affected.

For this God given lake to be managed properly, it must be managed on an East African basis. We should all agree that this is what we should do, all of us, and we do it. If we say that there should be 500 metres of vegetation around the lake so that the water does not bring in soil in the lake, we should all do it because even if I do it on one side, it will not help.

I know one of the regions of Tanzania is called Kajera region. For them they say Kagera, but that is the Swahili way. For us we say Kajera. *Okujera* is to melt. When something melts, that is *okujera*. I know that river very well. The water of that river used to be blue, but if you go there now, the Kagera is brown. It is full of soil from the soil erosion, which is happening upstream. EALA, if you could kindly visit the Kagera and you see how brown it is.

Kagera being brown means it is bringing all the soil from Burundi, Rwanda, Rusumo...there is an ancient place, about which we sing in our songs called Mubaali. Is it in Rwanda now or in Karagwe? You people do not know those – (*Laughter*). From all these places, the soil is brought into Lake Victoria. Therefore, Lake Victoria, which we are talking about, in time, will be silted up and become a swamp or shrink or disappear. Soil erosion is taking place, people are losing a lot of soil in one part of our region, here the lake is silting up and we are just looking on and fighting over speakership and all these things.

Please, manage these natural resources because they are shared, including the one who created them. We are not the one who created them. He is the one who said that this

river would go from here up to Egypt. For us, whether we say this is Uganda or Rwanda, or Burundi or Tanzania, it does not matter. The river is one, whatever we say. If we do not manage it well, too bad for us, we shall be the losers – (*Applause*).

When that soil is washed in the lake, it also affects the fish, because what happens is that when there is too much soil in the lake, there are nutrients and minerals in the water. These attract floating vegetation and algae. These take the oxygen of the fish, so the lake will die.

Therefore, when we talk of integration, the fourth value of integration, it is the ability to manage these common natural resources together and uniformly so that they can save us – (*Applause*).

The other day - during the new year - because God has given me a long life, and I have told you before that what you people call history, I call current affairs because I was there watching. Now here I have a paper called *Uganda Argus*. This was the paper, which was being published here in the 1950s and 1960s. This particular issue was published on 6 June 1963. I will give it to your Speaker so that he can make copies for you. (*Loud consultations*) - You have them? Very good. Thank you very much. Are you the one who did that? From your side? Okay.

This is the picture of Mzee Kenyatta, Mwalimu Nyerere, and Milton Obote when they wanted to form one government of East Africa before the end of 1963. They had agreed. However, *Shetani aliingia*. This story here and there, and so they failed. The only one who kept insisting was Mwalimu Nyerere, and that is why I am a follower of Mwalimu all the time. That is why I went to study in Tanzania. I was not looking for education; there was a university here. Why did I go to study in Tanzania? It is because I was following Mwalimu Nyerere.

By the failure of this move, here in my notes I call it “missed opportunity” and there were catastrophic events that happened because of this missed opportunity. If that union had taken place, you would never have had Idi Amin in Uganda because you could not have an Idi Amin in a United East Africa. It is not possible. When Idi Amin came up, Mwalimu tried to intervene but he could not because there was this idea that Uganda was an independent country. Therefore, with sovereignty, you have a right to kill your people because they are yours. You can kill people and nobody can say, please stop, because you are sovereign.

If we had had this union, Idi Amin would never have arisen in Uganda. The genocide in Rwanda, which took place, would never have happened. East Africa would not allow genocide to take place in a neighbouring country. In the end, the genocide in Rwanda was stopped by the Rwanda Patriotic Front. I was supporting them *chini chini uko*. I could not come out openly to support them because if I did, I was the bad one; I am interfering in the affairs of somebody who is killing people.

In this report, you will read that the Foreign Minister of Somalia attended this meeting as an observer, and Somalia wanted to join the East African Federation, if it had succeeded. Therefore, this chaos, which is going on in Somalia, we cannot do anything about it. Even when we are there, we are limited. You cannot do this because this is sovereign.

The problems that are going on in South Sudan...we tried to help but we are on the side. We are not able to act together fully. The issues in Burundi...Therefore, the integration that we are talking about is about the future of our people. It is not about positions. When you go there – and when I hear you quarrelling about positions, I feel so sorry. These people are quarrelling about positions? *Banange! Jamani!* It is not about

you people; it is about your people, the ones you represent and their future – (*Applause*).

One final point that I want to mention today – or maybe two. The Banyankore people say - these are some people who live around here; they are one of the groups, and they have good proverbs. One of them says “*ija turye kumwe biri ayineky kurebireho*”. This means, the one who invites you for a meal invites you because he expects you also to invite him back. *Usifikiri mtu akikupa chakula cha jioni, anakupenda tu. Anataka na wewe kesho umualike.*

We are negotiating with the European Union something called EPA (Economic Partnership Agreement). The people we are negotiating with – some of them are big countries or groups like China, India, USA, EU, and Russia. When we are negotiating with them, it is very important that we negotiate as East Africa because if we are tempted to go alone, in the end those people will never attend much to us because they will say *ana soko la uzito gani? Soko la huyu lina uzito gani?*

If it is Uganda, 40 million people for China, what does it mean? *Mchina anaweza ku* – out of politeness, when I go there, Your Excellency, guard of honour, 21-gun salute! It is politeness, but politeness is not the same thing as power. When people are polite to you, please know that – in our dialects here, Kinyarwanda-Kirundi, they will say “*imfura*”. You can see how advanced some of these groups were. This concept of “*enfura*” is ...my relative cannot be called *enfura*. My relative is just my relative, but the one who I treat as *enfura*, the one I must be careful about is the one who is not my relative. If the House is not clean, it must be clean because we do not want *enfura* to see bad things about us. It is a respected stranger, actually, not part of you.

These foreigners treat us as *enfura*. So, respect but please do not be deceived. If we do not build our power, we shall lose out as it has happened in the past.

Therefore, when we are negotiating, the reason why these EPAs came out, some countries like Kenya and Rwanda signed, Tanzania and Burundi did not sign. Uganda could have signed but I said, no. I will not sign. I want to see whether we can all sign together because that is where the strength is – (*Applause*). The strength is in togetherness. 170 million East Africans – actually I think they are a bit more now - will be more listened to than Uganda's 40 million in terms of bargaining power. Hence the proverb “*ija turye kumwe biri ayine ekyakurebireho*”. The one who invites you for a meal invites you because he says *huyu mtu mwenye maana naye kesho ataniajika*.

Therefore, Rt. hon. Speaker of EALA, Rt. hon. Speaker of Parliament of Uganda, you said something about me not missing any invitation you send to me. I cannot miss that invitation - (*Applause*) - to talk about African integration. What else am I talking about? *Halafu, Mungu amenipa miaka mingi* because if he did not want – I am now 73 years old. God could have called me when I was 50 but he postponed the summons – (*Laughter*). If I do not use that chance to talk about African integration, I would be causing myself *kisirani*. Is that what it is called in Kiswahili? *Unaweza kupata kisirani. Mungu akikupa uwezo ukakataa kuutumia ni mbaya. Akikupa uwezo utumie*.

Therefore, I will come all the time because I have the strength to come - (*Applause*) - and the opportunity to come.

With these few words...what do I do now? What am I supposed to do? To open what? *Mbulira. Nkole ki muwala?* Oh, I now officially open EALA sitting – (*Laughter*).

VOTE OF THANKS

The Speaker: Your Excellency, the beginning we had and the situation we went through and the ambition we have required that we come here for the First Sitting was because we needed these words of wisdom. This is what we expected. We have listened and understood – (*Applause*).

Honourable Members, every function I performed here was on your behalf. You delegated that I do that, but there is one function you never delegated because you believed that someone else could do it better than me. Therefore, hon. Dr Ann, can you please move the vote of thanks on behalf of all of us?

Dr Ann Itto Leonardo (South Sudan): Rt. hon. Speaker, I would like to thank you for the opportunity to speak on behalf of my colleagues.

Your Excellency, President of the Republic of Uganda and Chairperson of the Summit of East African heads of State, Rt. hon. Rebecca Kadaga, Speaker of Parliament of Uganda, Rt. hon. Martin Ngoga, Speaker of EALA, Chairperson of the EAC Council of Ministers, Speakers emeritus: Abdirahin Abdi, Rt. hon. Margaret Nantongo Zziwa, Rt. hon. Daniel Kidega, former Secretary Generals, Amanywa Mushega, my colleagues, members of the Fourth EALA, honourable Clerk of the Parliaments of Uganda and East African Legislative Assembly, invited guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I stand here before you on behalf of my colleagues, the members of the Fourth EALA, to give a vote of thanks to you, Mr President, for honouring our invitation to provide leadership whenever we make that request – (*Applause*).

May I also say, Mr President, that we appreciate your stand on integration and your passion for this East African integration and the integration of Africa as a whole, to give an opportunity for prosperity for our people? *(Applause)*

Mr President, I am an East African from South Sudan, recently admitted to the East African Community. I stand here proudly because of your efforts and commitment to integration and because of your help, even when other leaders doubted whether we should be admitted. Thank you very much – *(Applause)*. We feel that we belong here. Finally, after years of struggle, we have joined our brothers and sisters in East Africa with whom we can forge a common future of prosperity. Thank you for having us.

Mr President, we are already beginning to see the impact of your effort because it is working; we are seeing the fruits. There is peace and stability in most parts of East Africa. We cannot have everything, but there is peace. Moreover, wherever there is need for peace building, we see your footsteps there making an effort and doing all you can to make sure that our brothers and sisters enjoy peace because without peace, there can never be a successful integration of the economies, and it means that we continue to suffer – *(Applause)*.

If we look around, we see that the Common Market is working. It used to take 28 days to move goods from Mombasa to Kampala. Now I understand it takes only six days. We are all looking forward to reaping the benefits of the Northern and Central Corridor projects of infrastructure, which include railways, road networks, river transport, energy and IT. All these will contribute to reduce time and cost of doing business, and that will all translate into benefits for our people. We are very thankful for the leadership you provide in that area.

Mr President, there are some people who like to talk big and do little, but we have learnt that charity begins at home. We see a lot of progress here in Uganda and you have been able, through your leadership, to transform Uganda from a poor, insecure, war torn country into one that can hope to achieve middle income status in 2020, and we believe you can make it because of the projects that have been undertaken by this government in this country – *(Applause)*.

We see peace and stability. I was around when it was almost impossible to go to Gulu and South Sudan. We had lost many people on that road. Today, people are engaged in production rather than hiding and running away. That tells a lot in terms of Uganda being able to achieve its 2020 vision.

Mr President, there is a focus on developing human capital. We see women being promoted as producers, as Speakers, and that is very important because they are the backbone of the family and the family is the backbone of the country. If we can focus on that, it means it is possible for Uganda to achieve the 2020 vision as a middle-income country.

Mr President, there is also the issue of Universal Primary and Secondary Education and you now have many universities apart from one Makerere. Believe me, Mr President, about a quarter of the students attending these universities and primary and secondary schools are mainly from South Sudan – *(Applause)*.

You do not only contribute to the economy, but you are giving us education and a prosperous future because a country cannot do anything without human capital. I am a beneficiary of that. 20 something years ago – I do not know whether I should say I am thankful there was war, but indeed it was a blessing in disguise because if I had stayed in South Sudan, I would have ended up an

uneducated woman. Thank God, I went to primary school here. Then I went to Kings College, Budo. I do not know whether it still has the same name, but it is due to that foundation that I got from Uganda that today I can provide leadership in South Sudan and in East Africa as a whole, and it is a big contribution, Mr President – *(Applause)*.

It is when somebody thinks about that – *(Interruption)* -

Mr Museveni: Which primary school did you go to?

Ms Leonardo: It is in Mpigi, Kabasanda - *(Laughter)*. It is unfortunate that my Luganda has worn out, but I went there.

Mr President, you also host – Uganda is one country, I think, that hosts a huge number of refugees, and I am among those refugees from South Sudan. Our children and women continue to benefit from the services you offer, particularly the primary, secondary and university education. This good effort is being made as a contribution to the integration process. It is when you acquire these skills that you can begin talking about wealth creation – *(Applause)*. We really appreciate that.

I heard you say something was in Kiswahili. I am just new and I do not know Kiswahili very well, but we pray that God does not open that file yet because there is a lot for you to do in Uganda, Mr President and in the whole of East Africa. We pray that he does not open that file because there is a lot to do - *(Laughter)*.

I would like to conclude, on behalf of my colleagues, that it is true that EALA Four started on rocky ground, but that is what happens when people do not know themselves and they are not aware of the mission they are on. However, after today, I think we are clear about our mission. We

came here united with one single mission, and we are going to work under our Speaker and we promise that our mission will be service to our people and not positions because we have seen what it can do.

We also pledge that we will work fully to support the efforts of our leaders in the process of integration because we need this unity, we need security and we need wealth creation so that we can stand tall and proud and not be bullied by other giants outside this region.

I therefore thank you very much, on behalf of my colleagues. Thank you - *(Applause)*.

The Speaker: Thank you, hon. Dr Ann for a very eloquent presentation of our message to His Excellency the President.

Your Excellency, honourable Members, just a small moment of indulgence so that I can do proper recognition of my seniors. The Speakers emeritus: hon. Abdi, hon. Zziwa, hon. Kidega, we have mentioned you repeatedly, but I have to do it the proper way - *(Applause)*. Your Lordship the Judge President, the ambassadors and high commissioners of the East African Partner States here in Kampala, thank you for accepting our invitation - *(Applause)*.

Honourable colleagues, we shall have a photo session right after this function. The protocol will lead us through and in a short while, I will adjourn the House.

ADJOURNMENT

The Speaker: Honourable colleagues, the House stands adjourned until Tuesday, 30 January at 9.30 a.m. right here in the Chambers of the Uganda Parliament. The House stands adjourned.

*(The House rose at 12.30 p. m and
adjourned until Tuesday,*

30 January 2018 at 9.30 a.m.)

(The EAC Anthem was played)

(The Uganda National Anthem was played)