# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

# **OFFICIAL REPORT**

# Tuesday, 3rd May, 2005

The House met at 2.30 p.m.

# [Mr. Speaker in the Chair]

#### PRAYERS

## **QUESTIONS BY PRIVATE NOTICE**

#### STATUS OF DEVELOPMENT BANK OF KENYA

**Mr. Billow:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to ask the Minister for Finance the following Question by Private Notice:-

(a) What is the status of the ownership of Development Bank of Kenya?

(b) Is the Minister aware of the intended merger of the bank with the Housing Finance?

(c) If the answer to (b) is in affirmative, could the Minister confirm that there are adequate measures to protect interests of the Government?

**The Assistant Minister for Finance** (Mr. Katuku): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I seek your indulgence to answer this Question on Thursday when I am ready.

Mr. Speaker: What is your reaction to that hon. Member for Mandera Central?

**Mr. Billow:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a Question by Private Notice. I made a similar request last week. I think it is good if he answers the Question tomorrow if he can. It is important that he treats it with urgency.

Mr. Speaker: Tomorrow and Thursday is almost the same.

**Mr. Billow:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, owing to the transactions going on, it is good if he answers it by Thursday. Let us not have any further postponement.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Assistant Minister, appreciate the need to address Questions by Private Notice urgently. You can answer it on Thursday.

The Assistant Minister for Finance (Mr. Katuku): Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you, very much.

(Question deferred)

# IRREGULAR LEASE OF MOI UNIVERSITY LAND

(Mr. Koros) to ask the Minister for Education, Science and Technology:-

(a) Is the Minister aware that Moi University administration has irregularly leased out 100 acres of its land to individuals?

(b) Is he further aware that the land in question is part of 135 acres which was initially donated to the community by the University Council?

(c) Could the Minister confirm that the Kshs350,000 collected as lease fees was deposited into the University Account?

(d) What steps will the Minister take to ensure that the resolution of the University Council to donate the land to the community is

implemented and that action is taken against officers involved in the irregular transaction?

**Mr. Speaker:** Is Mr. Koros not here? We will come back to this Question at the end. Next Question!

# CHAIRMAN FOR PCK BOARD OF DIRECTORS

(Mr. Muturi) to ask the Minister for Information and Communications:-

(a) Could the Minister confirm whether the Board of Directors of Postal Corporation

of Kenya had a Chairman between June, 2003 and April, 2005?

(b) If the answer to "a" is in negative, what is the legal status of the Board's decisions made without a Chairman being appointed in accordance with the Postal Corporation Act?

**Mr. Speaker:** Is the hon. Member for Siakago not here? We will come back to this Question at the end. Why am I not hearing anyone complaining about this?

Next is the hon. Member for Subukia!

# NON-PAYMENT OF WORKERS' SALARIES IN SUBUKIA

Mr. Wamwere: Bw. Spika, naomba kumuuliza Waziri wa Leba Swali Maalum lifuatalo.

(a) Waziri anajua ya kwamba makampuni ya Ceres Ltd. Ngenda Farm, Banita Sisal Estate na Ampiva Ltd. katika Subukia na Rongai yamekataa kuwalipa wafanyakazi mishahara yao kwa miaka zaidi ya mitano?

(b) Waziri ana habari kwamba wafanyakazi wa kampuni ya Ceres Ltd. wamekuwa wakiandamana na kuzusha fujo wakitaka kuwalipwa mishahara yao?

(c) Waziri ana habari pia kwamba kuna mpango wa kuliuza shamba la Ceres Ltd. bila mipango ya kuwalipa wafanyakazi mishahara yao na kuwatengea ardhi ya makao kabla ya shamba kuuzwa?

(d) Waziri ana mipango gani kuhakikisha kwamba mishahara inayodaiwa makampuni yaliyotajwa imelipwa mara moja?

**The Assistant Minister for Labour and Human Resource Development** (Mr. Khalif): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply.

(a) I am aware that Ceres Ltd., Ngenda Farm, and Banita Sisal Estate in Subukia and Rongai Constituencies are having problems in paying their workers. However, Ceres Ltd. which is under receivership, has depostied Kshs359,659.15 at the Nakuru District Labour Officer's Office (DLO). Only 16 workers out of the 129 have collected their dues.

(b) I am not aware that any of the Ceres Ltd. workers have been demonstrating to demand their wages. They should be advised to collect their money from the DLO, Nakuru.

(c) Ceres Ltd., which is under receivership has made arrangements to pay the workers by depositing Kshs359,659.15 with the DLO, Nakuru in lieu of outstanding wages accrued. Any plans to allocate land to workers is not under the docket of my Ministry.

(d) I have taken action, through the Nakuru DLO, by filing cases in court as follows:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, first, Case No.3101/2003 for recovery of outstanding unpaid wages. I later withdrew it under Section 87(A) of CPC after the employer deposited the total amount claimed to be with the DLO, Nakuru, for payment of the workers. Secondly, Banita Sisal Estate has been charged in

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court vide case No.4889/2003 for non-payment of outstanding wages amounting to Kshs25,816,067.40 for the period 1996 - 2003. The case is coming up for hearing on 18th July, 2005. Thirdly, the directors of Ngenda Farm have also been charged in court vide case No.2017/2005, for non-payment of wages amounting to Kshs2,639,111 for the period of 1st January, 2001, to July 2003. The case is coming up for hearing on 20th June, 2005.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, lastly, records held by the Nakuru Labour Office do not reflect Ampiva Ltd. as an employer within its jurisdiction. Further investigations and consultations with the Kenya Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union have yielded similar results. If allowed more time to facilitate comprehensive investigations, a supplementary answer will follow on this company.

**Mr. Wamwere:** Bw. Spika, ningetaka kutoa shukrani kwa Waziri Msaidizi kwa jibu alilotoa. Ningependa kupata ushauri wako kwa sababu kuna swali la nyongeza ambalo nilikuwa nikitaka kuliuliza kuhusu uuzaji wa shamba la Ceres kwa kampuni inayoitwa Lastic Ltd. ambayo inamilikiwa na Waziri Bw. Mwiraria na Bw. G.K. Mbugua ambao wameuziwa shamba hili bila kibali cha Land Control Board. Nilikuwa nikitaka kujua ni kwa nini shamba hili linaweza kuuziwa watu hawa na huko maskwota hawajatengewa ardhi ya makao wala kuhakikisha kwamba wamelipwa mishahara yao.

Mr. Speaker: Unataka uamuzi wangu kuhusu jambo hilo?

**Mr. Wamwere:** Bw. Spika, nilikuwa nataka uamuzi wako. Sijui kama utanisaidia ili suala hili lisukumwe katika Wizara ya Ardhi na Nyumba. Hili ni jambo muhimu ambalo Waziri Msaidizi amesema hawezi kuhusika nalo.

**Mr. Speaker:** Unajua kuna mambo mawili tofauti hapa. Kulipa wafanyakazi mishahara ni tofauti na kuwapatia ardhi. Swali uliloweka na ndilo Waziri Msaidizi amelijibu ni kuhusu kulipwa ama kutolipwa mishahara. Nafikiri tunaweza kuendelea na Swali hilo. Ukitaka kuuliza Swali juu ya ununuzi wa ardhi, una uhuru kuliweka pia lakini umuulize Waziri wa Ardhi na Nyumba.

**Mr. Wamwere:** Bw. Spika, nadhani kulitokea makosa kwa sababu mambo haya mawili yaliwekwa katika Swali moja na kama unaweza kunisaidia, labda unaweza ukatoa agizo ya kwamba sehemu hii ya pili ijibiwe na Wizara ya Ardhi na Nyumba badala ya mimi kuandika Swali mpya ambalo litachukua muda mrefu sana kujibiwa na huku kuna mzozo mkubwa kwa sababu maskwota wanahamishwa hivi tunavyoongea na watu hawa wawili ambao nimetaja wanaendelea na ununuzi wa shamba hili kinyume cha sheria.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Let us get this issue straight. I think it is a distinct duty of an employer to pay wages but there is, in fact, no obligation to give in kind. You may wish if you want to do it by mutual agreement but you cannot say that because you are unable to pay salaries, therefore, you must give either land, a car or a house. It certainly does not follow that under the law. Under the law, if the workers cannot get paid then there is, of course, a court process which will order for the attachment of the land if there is any or stop any further transactions until those encumbrances are paid. So, please pursue the question of non-payment. You may wish to take other options at a subsequent time.

**Mr. Wamwere:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I guess I have no choice but to go by your ruling. Maybe if you allow I can---

An hon. Member: Talk in Kiswahili!

Mr. Wamwere: No, we have gone English!

**Mr. Speaker:** I think I have made a ruling. Pursue this one because that will not bar you from taking any other available legal avenue.

Mr. Wamwere: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will see you later!

(Laughter)

Mr. Speaker: Yes, so long as hunioni kando!

# (Laughter)

Do you have any other question on that or that is the end of the story?

**Mr. Wamwere:** No, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I think that I am satisfied with the first part of the answer and the second part was rather sticky.

**Mr. Speaker:** Okay, you are at liberty at any time to consult the Chair in the interests of your constituents.

Mr. Wamwere: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

**Mr. Mwandawiro:** Jambo la nidhamu, Bw. Spika. Nadhani inaeleweka ya kwamba Swali hilo si la mhe. Wamwere peke yake; ni la Bunge. Ninatoka sehemu ambapo kuna shamba la makonge na hali ni kama ile ile. Je, ninaweza kupewa nafasi ya kuuliza swali?

Mr. Speaker: Mbona hukusimama? Swali limekwisha.

#### (Laughter)

#### **ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS**

#### Question No.274

# LACK OF TELEPHONE FACILITIES IN KALAMA DIVISION

Mr. Mwanzia asked the Minister for Information and Communications:-

(a) whether he is aware that Kalama Divisional headquarters has no telephone facilities; and,

(b) if the answer to "a" is in the affirmative, what urgent plans he has put in place to provide this essential service.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Mwanzia, I was just going to inform you that the Assistant Minister had intimated to me that he is not prepared to answer this Question. Mr. Gumo, are you ready for it?

**The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications** (Mr. Gumo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry I do not have an answer right away but I am prepared to bring an answer maybe next week.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, Mr. Assistant Minister! Although you have made a good effort to let the Chair know in advance that you are not prepared for the Question, you should not take too much liberty of the House and Chair. If you are saying you will answer it on Thursday, we can allow it but to say you will do so next week is so casual. Why are you so casual about it?

**The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications** (Mr. Gumo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, because I do not think the Question is very difficult. It just needs me to confirm whether there are telephone facilities in Kalama Divisional headquarters or not. My officers have not brought the answer.

Mr. Speaker: Will it be okay if you answer it on Thursday this week?

The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications (Mr. Gumo): It will be okay, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Mwanzia, will that be okay with you?

Mr. Mwanzia: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is okay.

(Question deferred)

#### Question No.208

# MEASURES TO STOP OFFENDING MEDIA ADVERTISEMENTS

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members, hon. Ms. Mwau has also requested that due to [Mr. Speaker]

her inability to ask this Question at this time, the Question be deferred to Thursday.

(Question deferred)

Next Question by Mr. Kimeto!

Question No.042

# LACK OF MOBILE TELEPHONE SERVICES IN SOTIK

Mr. Kimeto asked the Minister for Information and Communications:-

(a) whether he is aware that Mulot and Olulunga Divisions and Sagamian areas have not been covered by mobile telephone services; and,

(b) when he will compel mobile phone companies to take telephone services to the

people of these areas.

**The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications** (Mr. Gumo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry. I do not have an answer.

# (Laughter)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Mr. Gumo, you know the Chair transacts business with hon. Members in the spirit of honesty and frankness. You called my office and told me that you were not prepared to answer Question Nos. 274 and 208 but you were prepared to answer Question No.042!

**The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications** (Mr. Gumo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very sorry. I am sure if I am given enough time I will get the hon. Member an answer.

Mr. Speaker: It is all right. When can we get the answer?

**The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications** (Mr. Gumo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will be ready with the answer next week. I do not think this is a very urgent Question but I will do my best.

**Mr. Speaker:** Mr. Kimeto, what is your reaction?

**Mr. Kimeto:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have heard the Assistant Minister admit that he is not prepared to answer two Questions. Why do you not request him to disqualify himself from that Ministry and go where he thinks he is competent to answer Questions?

**The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications** (Mr. Gumo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not think the hon. Member has the power to ask me to disqualify myself. However, I have told the House that I will get him an answer. The hon. Member must know that installation of mobile phones services does not take a day. So, if they are not there, he will not be able to get them until next year but I will get a proper answer for him. That is for his information.

(Mr. Kimeto stood up

# *in his place)*

The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications (Mr. Gumo): *Keti chini!* Mr. Speaker: Mr. Gumo, did I hear you order an hon. Member to sit down?

**The Assistant Minister for Information and Communications** (Mr. Gumo): Mr. Speaker, Sir, well, I said it. I am sorry because I thought I had given him an answer, but he kept on pushing me too hard.

#### (Laughter)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, hon. Members! Mr. Kimeto, I defer this Question to Tuesday next week. I would like to warn the Assistant Minister that he should not take the House in that spirit. We may, in fact, end up teaching the whole Front Bench. We must proceed and do things correctly.

#### (Question deferred)

Next Question by the Nominated Member of Parliament, Mr. Bett!

**Mr. Kimeto:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. When will the Assistant Minister answer the Question?

Mr. Speaker: I said he will answer it on Tuesday, next week.

Mr. Kimeto: It is okay, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Question by Nominated Member of Parliament, Mr. Bett!

#### Question No.116

# APPOINTMENT OF STATE HOUSE COMPTROLLERS

Mr. Bett asked the Minister of State, Office of the President:-

(a) whether he could inform the House how State House Comptrollers are appointed; and,

(b) what the duties of a State House Comptroller are.

**The Assistant Minister, Office of the President** (Mr. Shitanda): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to beg for the indulgence of the House, so that I answer this Question next week because it got to our office this morning.

**Mr. Kamama:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I think the hon. Member who has just asked this Question is taking this House for granted. He was a former State House Comptroller and he knows the answer. So, would I be in order to say that---

#### (Loud consultations)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, Mr. Kamama! I really see nothing wrong with this Question. If in the end he proves that he was wrongly appointed, then he knows what the consequences will be. He must be ready to face the music! In the meantime, let us hold our breath and see how it goes.

So, shall we have it on Tuesday, next week, Mr. Bett?

**Mr. Bett:** That is okay, Mr. Speaker, Sir. But could the Chair ask him to give me a written copy of the answer because he has not done so?

Mr. Speaker: Order! That is the law!

(Question deferred)

Next Question by the hon. Member for Karachuonyo Constituency!

Question No.021

# IMPLEMENTATION OF IFAD PROJECT IN SOUTH NYANZA

Dr. Awiti asked the Minister for Planning and National Development:-

(a) when the implementation of International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) project in greater South Nyanza will start;

(b) what the amount of investment involved is and how much is earmarked for Karachuonyo Constituency; and,

(c) in what way the local community will benefit.

**The Minister for Planning and National Development** (Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply.

(a) The implementation of South Nyanza Community Development Project started on 11th October, 2004 when the project was launched in Homa Bay by myself.

(b) The total cost of the project is US\$17.8 million, of which, IFAD will contribute US\$15.6 million and the Government of Kenya, US\$1.7 million in the form of taxes or duty exemptions, and the community will contribute US\$0.5 million, in the form of labour, cash and local materials. The project will run for seven years, starting from 10th August, 2004 to 30th September, 2011.

In regard to Karachuonyo Constituency, of Rachuonyo District, in the Financial Year 2004/2005, a total of Kshs4,683,242 will be spent, while in the Financial Year 2005/2006, a total of Kshs19,255,303 has been proposed for the constituency.

(c) The project will provide the local community with the following: Domestic water, agriculture extension services, preventive health care services, training of infected and affected members of the community in HIV/AIDS and its prevention, and rural finance and credit services. There will also be indirect benefits accruing to the community, such as improved incomes, businesses and food security.

The project will also stimulate community mobilization, capacity building and attitudinal change.

**Dr. Awiti:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to thank the Minister for giving a very comprehensive answer to my Question. But Karachuonyo Constituency has 22 locations. All these locations are poverty-stricken. In fact, my people live on less than one US dollar a day. Could he tell this House how many locations is this project covering within Karachuonyo Constituency?

**Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the project is based on constituency level. In the hon. Member's constituency, there are officials of the Ministry beginning with implementing office in Homa Bay, but also working with the District Development Officer of Rachuonyo District. If I look at the selection criteria for the planning area, there are two priority divisions; in Homa Bay, that is Kobana. In Rachuonyo, it is West Karachuonyo. In priority division number two, it is East Karachuonyo. This means that in the first step of implementing the project, it may not necessarily cover all the locations, but it will be implemented according to those priorities. Our aim, however, is to ensure that all poverty-stricken locations are covered, not necessarily by this particular project, but by other poverty alleviation projects envisaged in the Ministry, like the Kenya Social Action Fund which I will be introducing to the House at a later date.

**Mr. Maore:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, looking at the disbursement of this money to South Nyanza, I would like the Minister to say whether it is possible to have a national plan of similar projects to cover other needy areas of the country, and within what time frame.

**Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the IFAD project covers not just South Nyanza, but other areas as well. It is only that, in other areas the project had been started earlier. For example, we have a project for the Mt. Kenya area and Eastern Province. Particulars of these areas and the implementation of the particular projects can be responded to when the hon. Member asks the relevant Question.

Mr. Speaker: Last question by the Member of Parliament for Karachuonyo Constituency!

**Dr. Awiti:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Minister has not answered my Question. I had asked a very specific Question. That project was supposed to take seven years. It was being implemented in phases. But, presently, it covers only one location. What I would like to know is this: Will the project cover the rest of the locations at the end of seven years?

**Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to assure the hon. Member for Karachuonyo that the aim of the Ministry is to ensure that the 22 [**Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o**] locations are covered. Indeed, the aim of the Ministry is to ensure that all poverty-stricken Kenyans are reached through the poverty eradication programme.

#### Question No.026

# FOOD SECURITY PROJECTS IN THE COUNTRY

Prof. Olweny asked the Minister for Agriculture:-

(a) whether he could indicate the amount of money that has been spent on food security projects in each province within the last five years; and,

(b) how many food security projects have been undertaken in Muhoroni Constituency during the same period.

The Assistant Minister for Agriculture (Mr. Akaranga): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply.

(a) The amount of money that has been spent on food security projects in each province in the last five years is as follows:-

#### PROVINCE - KSHS

Western	-	167,090,919
North Eastern	-	203,787,789
Nyanza	-	261,256,828.30
Central	-	1,139,417,197.70
Rift Valley	-	314,872,119
Nairobi	-	7,670,574
Eastern Province	-	459,102,204
Coast Province	-	127,276,539

(b) There are eight food security projects that were undertaken in Muhoroni Constituency within the same period, costing Kshs28,562,244.20.

**Prof. Olweny:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, that was a very good and clear answer. It shows that Kshs2.6 billion has been spent on food security projects in the country. Out of that figure, Kshs1.1 billion went to Central Province. The other seven provinces shared Kshs1.5 billion. But my question is: In Muhoroni Constituency, where you have spent Kshs28 million, where are the projects located? That is because I have never seen them.

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can easily give a summary of the projects in Muhoroni Constituency. First, we have the Nale Project which cost Kshs2.8 million. There is the Lake Victoria Environmental Management Programme which cost Kshs1.4 million. There is the Kenya Safe-Use Projects which cost Kshs90,000. There is a Cotton Revitalisation Project which cost Kshs40,000. There is a Cassava Banking Programme which cost Kshs51,000. Then we have ATIRI which cost Kshs112,500. The Nale Project cost Kshs2,298,137 and it belongs to the Government. Then, we have the Nale/SIDA/International Centre for Research and Agro-Forestry (ICRAF) which cost Kshs1,035,000.

**Eng. Muriuki:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, Kshs1.139 billion is a lot of money for one province. Could the Assistant Minister kindly tell us where projects amounting to Kshs1.139 billion are located in Central Province? Are there any projects in Nyandarua District where I come from?

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I did not come with a list of projects in each province. But I have asked the Ministry to prepare a list showing all the projects in each district or constituency as hon. Members would like to know.

**Mr. Sasura:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sure the Assistant Minister knows that food security is not about relief food. Such projects should focus on the food deficit areas. If the Assistant Minister could allocate Kshs200 million to North Eastern Province where people starve day in, day out, and allocate Kshs1.1 billion to the Mt. Kenya area, what criteria was used to come up with such a discrepancy?

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, almost 75 per cent of those funds come from the donors. They do not come from the Government of Kenya. Therefore, it is the donors who chose where they were going to carry out the various projects.

**Mr. Kembi-Gitura:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to follow up on the question by Eng. Muriuki. I am from Central Province and I have not seen any of those projects! It is not enough for people to stand here and say that Central Province got Kshs1.1 billion. Could we defer this Question and have the Assistant Minister table the schedule that he is talking about?

#### (Applause)

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, hon. Members! I discourage deferring of Questions. You can ask other questions as I order the Assistant Minister to bring a schedule of all the projects and where they are situated countrywide. Let him table it in the House, so that hon. Members can see whether it is true or not. You should do that within one week. Bring it here and table it. I think it is of sufficient interest because projects do not disappear in the air or somewhere else. Is that okay with you?

Mr. Akaranga: Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is okay with me.

Mr. Speaker: Very well. Mr. Wario!

**Mr. Wario:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, what parameters did the Assistant Minister use in identifying the needy? Could he justify the distribution based on the poverty rate of each province?

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, you heard the Minister for Planning and National Development explain how those things are distributed. Indeed, even in the Question that he answered previously, part of those funds are included in my reply.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Do we understand from the Government that, in fact, donors thrust projects through their throats and they have absolutely no say? Is that what you are saying?

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, that is not what I said. I said that donors discuss with the Government of Kenya to carry out various projects. I thought we agreed that I will table a list of all the projects next Tuesday. That way, hon. Members will see it.

Mr. Speaker: Order, Mr. Akranga! If you have an answer on the site of the project, then

answer Mr. Wario.

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am happy because I have the Minister, Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o here with me, who sits in those meetings. I do not sit in those meetings.

(Laughter)

(Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o stood up in his place)

Mr. Speaker: What are you doing professor?

The Minister for Planning and National Development (Prof. Anyang-Nyong'o): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am trying to---

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! We will not have it that way; that we have one Minister who is answering a Question and because he does not know what is happening, another one comes up to save him! I can see the pain on the face of the hon. Assistant Minister for Agriculture. Apparently, the Assistant Ministers do not know what the Cabinet is doing. So, you never let them know what is going on.

**Dr. Ali:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Now that the Assistant Minister has said that he does not know what is happening, am I in order to request that the substantive Minister comes to the House and tells us what happens in the Cabinet?

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members, it is not for the Chair to allocate duties either to the Ministers or Assistant Ministers. That is within their dockets. All we want are good answers here, and I hope it happens next time. There is no rule asking substantive Ministers not to be in the House. In fact, they are encouraged and expected to do so. I think the hon. Assistant Minister is doing his best under the circumstances. Mr. Akaranga, would you like to add anything further?

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I personally agreed that I will table that list here. If any supplementary question arises from that, I will be prepared to answer it. I was answering a specific Question.

**Prof. Olweny:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a food security issue. Could the Assistant Minister inform the House about the achievements of the projects he named? He just gave the names of projects and not what they have achieved. What are the achievements of those specific projects in Muhoroni, in terms of food security?

Mr. Speaker: In other words, how much food did they secure?

**Mr. Akaranga:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the hon. Member will agree with me that we visited Muhoroni to oversee some of the projects. The projects are going on well. When I lay the list on the Table, I would encourage hon. Members of Parliament to oversee whether the projects are on course or not.

Mr. Speaker: Very well! Next Question!

Question No.162

UPGRADING OF VIPINGO HEALTH CENTRE

**Mr. Khamisi** asked the Minister for Health when Vipingo Health Centre in Bahari Constituency will be elevated to a sub-district hospital.

The Assistant Minister for Health (Mr. Konchella): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply.

There is a district hospital in Kilifi District. In this regard, my Ministry has no immediate plans to elevate Vipingo Health Centre to a district hospital since Mariakani Health Centre is being elevated to a sub-district hospital and it is also in Kilifi District.

The services being offered at Vipingo Health Centre are adequate and the distance to referral facilities is reasonable. It is about 30 kilometres from Kilifi District and 32 kilometres from Coast General Hospital, where referral cases are sent.

**Mr. Khamisi:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is true that Vipingo Hospital is somewhere between Kilifi and Mombasa. However, the health centre that the Assistant Minister is talking about in Mariakani is almost 90 kilometres away. In view of the fact that there is only one clinical officer who facilitates its operations, could he consider adding at least another clinical officer or bringing a doctor on a weekly basis to take care of those patients?

**Mr. Konchella:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do agree with what the hon. Member has said, but I would like to mention that, according to the patients attendance list in the sub-district hospital, there are only about 70 patients a day. That is enough for one clinical officer to handle. But we can make arrangements with the MOH, Kilifi, to make a weekly visit to assist the clinical officer.

**Mr. Abdirahman:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to know from the Assistant Minister how long it takes to upgrade a health facility to a particular status. I am asking this question because, even in areas where certain health centres have been recommended for upgrading through the DDCs, this has not been regularised at the Ministerial level. Could he confirm how long it takes to do this, because there are some hospitals which are even not worth being sub-district hospitals, but they have been considered as district hospitals? Could he also tell us what criteria they use?

**Mr. Konchella:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the criteria is based on the catchment area; the distance to the furthest referral facility. Once the DDC and other Government agencies approve, it is the budget that will allow this to take place. For a health centre to be upgraded to a sub-district hospital or a major health centre, it must have certain facilities. Unless those facilities are there, it is not possible to send staff there and, therefore, upgrade it. Funds are the criteria for upgrading. Once it is improved to the required standards, then the facilities can be open to the public.

**Mrs. Kihara:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is no point of elevating a health centre to a sub-district hospital when the Ministry has not equipped the already existing sub-district hospitals like Gilgil. Could the Assistant Minister tell this House when he will give us theatre equipment in Gilgil which is already a sub-district hospital, but it is not serving its purpose?

**Mr. Konchella:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I agree with that hon. Member that a sub-district hospital must have a theatre for a doctor to undertake operations, but because of budgetary constraints, we are not able to do that. This can be planned once funds are available.

**Mr. Khamisi:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the reason why there are only 70 people attending this health facility per day is because of the long distances from the catchment areas. Could the Assistant Minister tell us why, among all the dispensaries in Kilifi District, this is the only one that does not have an ambulance? Could he promise us that he will provide an ambulance for this facility?

**Mr. Konchella:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the distance to Kilifi is 30 kilometres. It can be supported from that particular area. We will consider that once we have funds and have procured enough ambulances.

Mr. Speaker: Very well! Next Question!

Question No.094

#### FUNDING OF SIGOR WATER PROJECT

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Rotino is not here? The Question is dropped.

(Question dropped)

Question No.009

# PROVISION OF ELECTRICITY IN MANYALA AND SHIATSALA

# Mr. Oparanya asked the Minister for Energy:-

(a) whether he is aware that Manyala Sub-District Hospital and Shiatsala Market in Butere Division were left out during the implementation of rural electrification programme sponsored by the French; and,

(b) what steps he is taking to ensure that these important public facilities are supplied with electricity.

The Assistant Minister for Energy (Mr. Kiunjuri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to reply.

(a) I am aware that Manyala Sub-District Hospital and Shiatsala Market in Butere Division were left out during the implementation of Phase I of the French-funded rural electrification scheme in Western Kenya. This is because they were not part of the scope of work agreed on, for implementation.

(b)(i) The Ministry of Energy has already approved electricity supply to Manyala Sub-District Hospital through the Rural Electrification Programme, funded by the Ministry, and it is expected that the hospital will get electricity in this calendar year.

(ii) Shiatsala Market is programmed to get electricity under Phase II of the French-funded rural electrification scheme, which will be implemented during the next two financial years, commencing July, 2005.

**Mr. Oparanya:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank the Assistant Minister for that answer, especially now that Manyala Sub-District Hospital will get electricity within this calendar year. However, Shiatsala Market is just next to Manyala Sub-District Hospital. For economies of scale, it would be important that when the Ministry supplies electricity to Manyala, it should, at the same time, be supplied to Shiatsala Market. Since Shiatsala Market was left out during the implementation of the first phase of the French-funded rural electrification scheme, what assurance can the Assistant Minister give this House to show that Shiatsala Market will not be left out during Phase II of the French-funded scheme?

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the assurance I can give to the House is that Shiatsala Market has already been slotted in Phase II of the French-funded programme.

**Mr. Osundwa:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, could the Assistant Minister inform the House which areas in Western Province will be covered under Phase II of the French-funded programme?

Mr. Kiunjuri: Mr. Speaker, Sir, you will agree with me that, that is a different Question.

**Mr. Sasura:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the year 2003, this same Assistant Minister stood in this House and promised that the Ministry would change the system of allocating funds for rural electrification, from the old system of going through the district development committees' (DDCs) prioritization of projects. In view of the fact that every Kenyan is levied 5 per cent, through his electricity bill, and is entitled to these funds, what has happened to the new policy which was adopted by this Government?

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I believe that even the HANSARD does not contain the commitment that the hon. Member claims I made to this House. It is, however, the duty of legislators, if they so wish, to amend the existing law and we will implement it.

Mr. Oparanya: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the people within Shiatsala Market have contributed some

money for electrification of their market. Could the Assistant Minister consider supplying electricity to that market when he supplies electricity to Manyala Sub-District Hospital, so that the people can contribute directly, instead of waiting for Phase II of the French-funded programme, which we are not sure when it will be implemented?

**Mr. Kiunjuri:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, if the residents of Shiatsala Market have contributed some money for the project, it means that the Government should chip in. However, the Government is not ready to chip in now, because it has already committed itself to supply electricity to Manyala Sub-District Hospital. So, unless the residents of Shiatsala Market opt to undertake the whole project, I request the hon. Member to be patient, and this project will be implemented.

Mr. Speaker: Very well! That brings us to the end of Question Time.

# **POINT OF ORDER** Conduct of Her Excellency the First Lady Mrs. Kibaki

**Mr. Billow:** On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I stand to seek a Ministerial Statement from the Office of the President, or as may be advised by the Leader of Government Business, on the recent conduct of Her Excellency the First Lady, Mama Lucy Kibaki.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are concerned that the utterances of Mama Lucy, whom we respect, are a matter of national concern not befitting her esteemed status. Secondly, her security, as she seeks to take mundane matters into her own hands rather than leave them to her security detail is also a matter of concern, and thirdly, her actions in physically confronting those she believes to be her detractors, thereby acting in a manner that is inconsistent with the dignity of her status, are matters of concern.

Therefore, I request the Minister to inform the nation on the preferred role befitting her status. Thank you.

(Applause)

Mr. Speaker: Is there any response from the Minister or the Leader of Government Business? The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Mr. M. Kariuki): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we will issue a Ministerial Statement on Thursday with respect to those concerns.

**The Assistant Minister for Energy** (Mr. Kiunjuri): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I would like to have some guidance from the Chair. In the first place, was it in order for the hon. Member to seek a Ministerial Statement relating to an individual Kenyan? Is Mama Lucy Kibaki not a Kenyan like any other Kenyan?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order, Mr. Kiunjuri! The Chair was listening very attentively to the way the hon. Member framed the various concerns. I am sure the Assistant Minister will be able to respond. The Assistant Minister is not under any direction from the Chair on how to respond. I have every faith that Mr. M. Kariuki is competent enough to respond to those concerns. Does that make you a little happy?

Mr. Mukiri: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I thought this is a personal matter. I do not know under what Ministry---

**Mr. Speaker:** Order! Order! Hon. Members, I hope you will understand that before an hon. Member raises such an issue, most of the time, he consults the Chair. The Chair is under due consideration as to what ought to come to the Floor of this House and what ought not to come to the Floor of this House. The hon. Member who has raised this issue has been dully advised by the Chair as to what ought to be raised here and what ought not to be raised here.

Finally, and most importantly, there are certain issues that the hon. Member has raised, which are of public nature, to which the Assistant Minister ought to respond in good time.

Hon. Members, I think that should rest the issue now. From now onwards, no further discussion on this issue.

Next Order!

#### MOTION

# ADOPTION OF REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FAST TRACKING OF THE EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION

**The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J.K. Koech): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move:-

THAT, this House adopts the Report of the Committee on Fast Tracking of the East African Federation, which was submitted to the Sixth Summit of Heads of State of the East African Community in Arusha, Tanzania, on 26th November, 2004 and laid on the Table of the House on Wednesday, 6th April, 2005.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Summit of the East African Heads of State held a meeting at the Windsor Golf and Country Club, Nairobi, on the 27th to 29th August last year where they undertook a broad view of the status of the East African integration process. They examined ways and means of deepening and accelerating the process. The Summit then decided to appoint a Committee of three persons, one from each [The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation] partner State, with three assisting members, to examine how the fast-tracking mechanism could be achieved.

# (Loud consultations)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a lot of excitement in the House over some issues that are not related to the Motion. I beg the indulgence of the Chair to request the hon. Members to consult quietly.

Mr. Speaker: Order! Order, Members! Could we please, listen to the Minister?

Proceed, Mr. Koech!

**The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J.K. Koech): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a very important Motion which is touching on the people of East Africa. I believe every Member here should be interested in what is going on so that we expect their comments and contribution to the Motion and help the integration process.

The Heads of State met from the 27th to 29th August last year to look into ways of accelerating economic and political integration of East Africa and they came up with the appointment of three eminent persons to look into fast-tracking the political federation. I believe that the Members have read the Report which was laid on the Table of this House last month. The Report was also handed over to the Heads of State in Arusha, Tanzania on the 25th November. At that meeting, the Summit decided to have the Report studied by the partner States. This is why I have brought this Report to this House so that Members can have a look at it and give comments and suggestions on how we can go about fast-tracking the political federation. I believe that by now, they should be able to contribute.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in brief, the report contains the introduction, which shows what the Committee was supposed to do and the state of economic integration in East Africa. It also gives a historical background to this information. As we all know, in the 1960s, our forefathers had a vision for the federation of East Africa. This vision is well amplified by the then Chief Minister of Tanzania and later President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere when he pointed out that he could delay the independence of Tanzania until all the three East African countries gained independence so that they could be able to form the East African Federation at that time. The desire for a federation started at

that time. What resulted was not a political federation, but the coming up of the East African Community which, after sometime, collapsed. It was however, an integration process which was extremely important to the people of this region.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, although the East African Community collapsed in 1977, the people of East Africa still felt that there should be some integration of some sorts for the East African people. That is why in 1996, the Heads of State again met to find ways and means of bringing about integration of the East African region. This culminated in the negotiation for a treaty for the East African Community which was signed on 30th November, 1999.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the East African Community Treaty encompasses the coming up of a Customs Union which would bring free trade among East African countries, a common market, which would free labour and other factors of production to be moving among the borders of East Africa. Finally, there is the coming up of a monetary union which would finally usher in a common Central Bank and a common currency. After that, it is expected that there would be a political federation.

# [Mr. Speaker left the Chair]

# [The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi) took the Chair)]

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the process of integration so far, though it has moved so well, has not moved as fast as it was envisaged. Therefore, despite the many achievements made, the Committee established that the momentum of integration has been slow. The Report has identified various hurdles and obstacles leading to the slow progress in the integration process.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the obstacles which the Committee found out are the problems of governance and institutional constraints. There was also the problem of budgetary constraints, as the three countries have not been able to submit sufficient funds to run the Secretariat at the East African Community Headquarters. There is also the lack of enforcement machinery such that what has been agreed upon has been extremely impossible to enforce. The Committee also found that negotiations in Arusha have been very lengthy such that the process has become very slow and the decision making takes a long process, and that it appears if we go this way, it is not going to be successful. We also have the legal and administrative constraints and capacity constraints. That is why this Committee has to find out how we can move out of these constraints and fast-track this process so that we can achieve a political federation in the shortest time possible.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Committee made wide consultations among the people of East Africa. They even met the Members of this House and all those people concerned, including the relevant Ministers, the business community and all stakeholders in East Africa. They found that the people in East Africa had a lot of expectations, ranging from social, political and economic expectations. They also encountered fears and concerns, including the fear of loss of sovereignty, imbalances, fears of sources of revenue and global reactions. When the Committee finalised its report, it found out that there were three open options as far as fast-tracking the East African Federation was concerned. First and foremost, there was a question about the comprehension of the current stages of integration. This entails the speeding up of all these processes, for example, by setting up a customs union, a common market, a monetary union and eventually coming up with a political federation. Secondly, we have the overlap and parallel stages of integration. This entails allowing the four processes to move together in such a way that we could achieve a political federation in the shortest time possible. Thirdly, there was a question about the immediate establishment of the East African Federation. The Heads of States pronounced, through a decree, that since we now have the East African Community, a Supreme Court and other mandatory institutions have already been

established, we could then move straight on to establish a federation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, after considering all the three options, the Committee recommended the overlap and parallel approach which calls for maintaining of the proposed time-frame for the establishment of the customs union for five years with effect from 1st January, 2005. The customs union, in its first year of operation, has allowed goods from Uganda and Tanzania to get through our borders tariff-free. The Kenyan goods, it was agreed, would be subjected to taxation for five years as a way of solving the problem of asymmetry. However, it was agreed that this should be done at a declining rate so that after five years the Kenya goods would also be able to go through the borders of Uganda and Tanzania tax free.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is also the overlapping of other stages of integration to allow parallel activities which would ensure that there are basic minimum requirements for the setting up of the federation. That means that other processes should be allowed to continue in such a way as to allow the setting up of a political federation after a specified time. The report proposes a roadmap for the customs union, a common market, a monetary union and, thereafter, a political federation which, it is envisaged, should be achieved by 2013.

Other important issues to be addressed include: Financing the East African Secretariat Transition to a federation whose matters will include tackling issues of taxation, constitutional issues such as the form of federation that we are supposed to adopt. We need to understand the nature of the federation, the structural organs of government and, lastly, the distribution of offices and functions. An indicative roadmap of action for an East African Federation has been recommended within a time-frame that can be compressed to enable the East African Federation to be realised much sooner. The three phases of the roadmap are: The preparatory stage for the transitional period to the Federation of East Africa from December, 2004 to December, 2005; the transitional phase to the Federation, that is, from January, 2005 to December, 2009; and the consolidation phase of the East African Federation, that is, from January, 2010 to March, 2013.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with regard to the preparatory phase of the transitional period to the Federation of East Africa, the Committee recommended that the Ministers responsible for East African Affairs from the partner States take residence in Arusha with effect from June, 2005. Each Minister will be assigned specific portfolios within the East African Community. This will quicken the pace towards integration.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, what I am emphasising on is the question of fast-tracking the political federation of East Africa. Activities of the customs union, the common market and the monetary union should be able to fast-track the establishment of a political federation within a very short time. The Report shows very well that whenever eminent persons went round East Africa, they received positive nods from people. This shows that the people of East Africa want a political federation. The only questions being asked are: How will the political federation be achieved? How will it be realised? Many people feel that the urge for a federation should come from the people and not the leaders. Instead of the urge coming from the top, it should come from the bottom.

We do envisage that after all the processes have been completed, there will be a referendum which, of course, will tell whether the people of East Africa want a political federation or not. So many things have been achieved so far. In the East African Community, the Common Market and the Customs Union are already in place. Kenyans are benefitting so much from the Customs Union although we, sometimes, hear a lot of cries that our farmers and industrialists are being affected negatively. Overall, there is an increase in trade among the East African Countries. Kenya has increased its exports to the neighbouring countries through the establishment of the East African Community and the Customs Union. I believe that the success of the Customs Union will usher in quickly the processes that will eventually lead to the establishment of the political federation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I believe hon. Members have read the Report and they

have realised that there is need to establish the Federation of East African Countries. This will assist in many ways, for example, the utilisation of natural resources such as Lake Victoria. Within a federal State, Lake Victoria will be better utilised for the benefit of the people of this country. There are people who have been divided by administrative boundaries like the Maasai or people in North Eastern Province. When we form a federal State, these artificial borders will become a thing of the past and we will be able to unite our people. We envisage that our people will benefit in terms of security and economic development.

In Arusha, there are interministerial meetings researching on matters pertaining to all Ministries and ensuring that there is an integration of the East African Community. Indeed, we have moved a long way. We need the comments of hon. Members of this House so that we can see how to fast track the political federation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with those few remarks, I beg to move.

**The Minister for Planning and National Development** (Prof. Anyang'-Nyong'o): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to second this important Motion, which has been moved by the Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation, on the matter of Fast-Tracking the East African Federation.

I look at the East African Federation with nostalgia. There was a time when East Africa was one during the community days. Indeed, the East African Community was the most advanced example of communities in the world then and the European Economic Community borrowed from its structures, situations and processes on how to establish the European Community. For purely political reasons of those days, the community was wound up, but the spirit of the East African Community was never wound up, nor did all the institutions that brought together the East Africans die. The Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI) based in Arusha survived the death of the community and still exists in Arusha and has been over the years training civil servants, not just in the East African Development Bank (EADB) survived and has continued to finance development in our part of the world and it is a good example of a development financial institution.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, regarding the education system in East Africa, although there was a difference between Kenya and the other countries when we adopted the 8-4-4 System, there is still a free flow of students among the East African countries. Kenyan students go to Uganda for both high school and college and Ugandan students come to Kenya particularly to attend our private institutions, so do Tanzanian students. I know that there is a boarding high school not too far from Nairobi in an area called Ikenya, where many Tanzanian students go to high school. So, East Africans over these years, have continued to exchange services and economic goods to emphasise that East Africa is one and what we lack is a political shell to integrate this oneness and institutionalise it.

We are happy and, indeed, grateful, that under the NARC Government in conjunction with our partners in East Africa, a committee was set up under the Chairmanship of our Attorney-General to make sure that this is fast-tracked. I am quite sure that as they went around East Africa receiving evidence, it was very clear that all East Africans want a federation. This Report was published recently and is now under limited circulation. It was released on 26th November, 2004, and submitted to our Heads of States. It is now before us for consideration. It is a rich document, not only telling us why East Africa should become a one political federation, but also calling upon us to rise up in oneness and speed up the process because the world is not waiting for us.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, if we look at the data about our countries, we will find that Kenya has a population of 33 million people; uganda has a population of 24 million people and Tanzania has a population of 34 million people. That comes to a total of 91 million people. That is the total population of the Federal Republic of Mexico. It is a population just under that of Nigeria. Mexico and Nigeria are rich, oil producing countries. Mexico is a country with all the soil qualities you

can think of from one region to the other. It has various climatic conditions. Indeed, if you look at the agricultural produce of Mexico, you will find that it is as varied as that of East Africa. So, coming together, we shall capture what Mexico and Nigeria have in terms of regional varieties, soil fertility, different ecological zones, not to mention natural resources.

With a population of 91 million people and a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US\$27.5 billion - Kenya has the biggest share in this GDP of US\$12.5 billion - this is a very viable home market which can, indeed, become very attractive for foreign investments given the fact that in terms of physical infrastructural inter-connectiveness, East Africa is not doing very badly. We only need to improve the railway, road and the energy systems and telephony services to make this market even more viable. At the moment, Kenya alone exports 49 per cent of its exports to the COMESA region. A substantial part of this goes to the East African Community alone. Indeed, apart from Great Britain, Uganda is our biggest trading partner. All these factors mean that if we have a political federation, not only will we, as Kenyans, benefit, but we shall enter into a political unit that is not only viable economically, but also has a very big potential to leap frog into an industrial age.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, if you look at the potentialities for East Africa, you will find that both Kenya and Uganda have a potential for oil at the moment. All geological surveys show that in the Lake Yoga area and off the Lamu Coast, there is a high potentiality for oil production. Tanzania has tremendous deposits of coke, coal and natural gas. These deposits cannot be used in the present economy of Tanzania economically. but within the context of East Africa, it becomes an extremely viable source of raw materials to be used in industrialisation. The Owen Falls Dam, if properly harnessed, can be tremendously used for energy production in our region. In the present world, we must realise that all these resources, for example, coal, natural gas, coke and water are extremely important in energy production.

It is now known and it has gone beyond the realm of speculation that within a matter of seven to ten years, the oil deposits of the Middle East will be drying up. Indeed, the United Arab Emirates has, perhaps, only seven years to go before her oil wells dry up. This means that areas like East Africa, Sudan and others have a great potential to be contributors to the energy production in the world. It is no wonder, therefore, that there is a big scramble for Sudan at the moment realising that oil deposits elsewhere are bound to dry-up and the ones in Sudan are hardly exploited. We must, therefore, be a very proud people in East Africa that if we are better politically organised, we are not only going to have an internal capacity for tremendous development and industrialisation, but, we may, indeed, be sitting at the cutting edge of the civilisation of the future. This region is the origin and the cradle of mankind, whether you are looking at Tanzania or Kenya. Metropologists, archaeologists and Anthropologists know that humankind originated from here. In that regard, it was not an accident that God, many trillion years ago, knew that this part of the world was not only going to be the origin of mankind, but several trillion years later, will be the cutting edge of leading world civilisation. Therefore, we should not mess ourselves up by not developing the political shell to spearhead an East African revolution or civilisation. That political shell is the political federation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have referred to the water resources of East Africa, namely, Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika and Albert. All these lakes are somehow joined by the Rift Valley at one point or the other. If proper canalling from Lake Nyasa upwards was done, we could have tremendous water communication in East Africa. However, this comes with a political goodwill that is harnessed at the Federation level. The Federation should not be set up with individual nationalist interests, which sometimes can border on xenophobia if we are looking for our inward interests. It is imperative that we support the federation.

In terms of the free movement of labour, capital and persons, any economy will only develop if there is extreme movement of the three. At the moment, we know that in Kenya, we have free movement of labour, capital and persons, but our economy is limited. Our economy is limited in the sense that we need much more capital generated internally to develop ourselves. Kenya collects the highest revenue through taxation in East Africa. Tax is about 19 to 21 per cent of our GDP while in the other two East African countries, tax is less than 10 per cent. This means that Tanzanians and Ugandans have a lot to learn from us. We also want Tanzania and Uganda to collect taxes at the rate of 20 per cent of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and when this is combined, it will be a tremendous source of international resource for development. We shall, therefore, be less reliant or dependent on external financing for our development.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we need to have cross learning or horizontal learning among the three East African countries in terms of generating domestic resources for development. This will be much easier if we have a federation where we are guaranteed free movement of labour, capital and persons, because there will be no demarcation limiting people to move or the ability to generate revenue across the borders. It is also important to understand that, in order to develop, we need peace, security and political stability. There is less political stability when you have too many "big fish" trying to swim in small ponds. So long as you have the three nations and each nation is seeking to elect the president every five years, you will have a five year process of potential political instability when too many "big fish" are trying to swim in small ponds.

I also do believe that when we have a federation, to begin with, we will have a rotating presidency. One president of one East African country will be the president of East Africa in one year, then another one takes over the following year until we come to a point where we can elect the president of East Africa; until we come to a point where each of the member states will send senators to one assembly in Arusha, governing the whole of East Africa. Until we externalize our internal problems into East Africa, which are usually leading us to fight over resources on ethnic lines, I think we can externalize tribalism when we have an East African Federation. It will no longer be that urgent to scramble for resources in one particular state when they are more available outside if we are joined with people in those states.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, let us learn from the history of Nigeria, where before the civil war, there were only two or three states. But after the civil war, Nigeria had been divided into close to 40 states. There is much more political stability in Nigeria today as the states compete in generating revenue and in trying to influence the federal government and, in this regard, there is what I call a much freer market for politics. The free market for politics based on a federal system has a certain energizing force that has been seen in several federal systems. You can see it in Mexico, Nigeria, United States of America (USA) and also in Brazil. Therefore, there is a lot of merit in going federal, because this will devolve certain powers to the states, while also making sure that there is synergy at the centre for pulling the whole East African region towards development.

There is also a bigger potential for tourism if we are an East African Federation where we do not have different authorities for tourism in each country making different laws, appealing and competing for external markets. Our tourism market is complementary because Tanzania has wildlife in places like Serengeti and it also has wide plains, Uganda has forests, lakes and so on, Rwanda has the black and blue monkeys and all that. So, if all this is put together in a tourist package, and I am quite sure that our Ministers for Tourism in the three countries can come together and come up with a very good package; this will also help articulate and put together a transportation system that makes it very quick for tourists to move from one area to the other.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, coming from Western Kenya, I know, for example, that we are nearer the Northern Tanzania tourism circuit than we are to Central Kenya. It will make a lot of sense if the western circuit of Kenyan tourism is joined to the Northern Tanzania tourism circuit. This will greatly be aided if there are no customs and visa procedures at the borders and if we do not have to deal with different police forces, laws and regulations. It all makes sense that a federation will simplify things and make it much easier for us to develop, have synergy in what we do and, indeed, will lead to prosperity for all East Africans.

Finally, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to end up with one important subject which is very close to my heart. During the days of the East African Community, we had what was called the East African University, and it had campuses in Makerere University, Kampala, Nairobi University College and Dar es Salaam University College. It is, indeed, good that all these colleges have all become autonomous universities. It is also very good that now, we have several universities in East Africa, both public and private. It is also good that we have in Kampala, the Inter University Council which helps to harmonize standards in all our East African university institutions. It is good news that we are soon establishing in Arusha, the Nelson Mandela Institute for the Advancement of Knowledge, Science and Technology. This institute is established by Africans and supported by development partners meant to enhance the development of knowledge, science and technology in Africa as a whole. It is going to have four campuses, one in Abuja, the second one in Arusha, Tanzania, the third one will be in southern Africa and the place has not yet been ascertained, while the fourth one will be in central Africa at a place which is also yet to be ascertained. But the aim of the Nelson Mandela Institute for the Advancement of Knowledge, Science and Technology is to make sure that science and technology is put at the forefront of Africa's development, because without science and technology, as we know, in the modern era, no nation is going anywhere.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am happy to announce that I am a member of the board of the Nelson Mandela Institute for the Advancement of Knowledge, Science and Technology and Kenya, being one of the few countries in Africa endowed with very many research institutes, both in the life sciences and the hard sciences, stands to gain a lot from the establishment of this institution. East Africa stands to gain a lot from the establishment of this institution. We in the board argued for this institute to be placed in Arusha precisely because we are looking forward to Arusha being the capital of East Africa, and we would like Arusha to be associated with a centre of excellence in Africa.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, when that institute is established, I assure you that Kenya will be the greatest beneficiary, because plans are already under way to build a dual carriageway from Arusha to Nairobi. It will also be possible in the not too distant future, to live in Nairobi and work in Arusha. It will be possible for the business community in Nairobi to have branches in Arusha and do business there. So, the development of Arusha as a centre for learning and as a capital for East Africa will have a tremendous impact on Kenya's development. This august House will be doing us a great deal of service if we in Kenya are in the forefront in championing the coming together of East Africa as a federation. We will do ourselves a great service if we down play xenophobia, national interests and any kind of particularistic interests. As the most advanced economy in East Africa, whatever we lose today, we shall gain it tomorrow. In all areas of economic integration, the most advanced economy always loses certain advantages at the beginning but it benefits in the long run. All other things conceded, I believe that Kenya, as a member of the East African Federation (EAF), must be a leader and must be prepared to lose Kshs2 in order to gain Kshs40.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I beg to support this Motion.

# (Question proposed)

The Minister for Roads and Public Works (Mr. Raila): Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. I rise to strongly support this Motion. All of us who lived during the days of the East African Community (EAC) can do nothing but to support this Motion. This is because the advantages of having an EAF cannot be gainsaid. We know the realities of the world today. We know that globalization has come here to stay. It was a very sad day when the EAC was dissolved in 1977. I remember this very well because I happened to have been in Dar es Salaam at that time attending a Commonwealth Science Council meeting. We had gone to Dar es Salaam using the East

African Airways flight but by the time our meeting was over, that company was no longer existing. The aircraft were grounded at Dar es Salaam Airport and we spent two days there. We eventually came back from Dar es Salaam to Nairobi on an Egyptian Airline. I am saying this to illustrate a very important point. At the time when some of us were mourning the death of the EAC, some people were drinking champagne celebrating its death. I am sure that those people will feel very ashamed and over 30 years later, they will realise the effects of what they did at that time. Some of those people are still alive and someone can only say; "shame on them."

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, one of the reasons why the EAC collapsed at that time was the manner in which it had been established. The EAC was established by the political leadership. It was given a top-bottom approach where the political leadership met, discussed and came up with proposals to form the Community. Therefore, in order not to fall in the same pitfalls like in the past, this time round, the formation of the EAF must be bottom-up. In other words, I am saying that it must be people-based. The people of the partner states must discuss, agree and approve it in a referendum.

Kenya was the biggest beneficiary of the EAC because it was much more developed and had a dominant economy. It, therefore, defeats logic that it was the Kenyan leadership which was actually responsible for the collapse of the EAC. I fully support the recommendations contained in this Report that the formation of the EAF should be fast-tracked. I also endorse the steps which the Report recommends should be taken in fast-tracking the process.

The advantages of a Customs Union are very many. Initially, Kenya is slightly disadvantaged in the formula which has been agreed on. Kenyan goods will still be subject to payment of duty whereas those from Uganda and Tanzania will enter Kenya duty free. However, this is a small price we will pay compared to the benefits that the Kenyan economy will reap as a result.

An hon. Member: Kenya is a big brother!

The Minister for Roads and Public Works (Mr. Raila): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, Kenya is a big brother and so it should pay the price of being a big brother. Because of the bureaucratic red tape which still exists in our system compared to our neighbouring countries, we are unable to fully reap the benefits accruing from the enlarged market. I am saying this because yesterday I talked to a Rwandan importer who wants to import goods from Kenya. I also talked to another Rwandan importer who wants to import alcohol from Kenya. They told me that a requirement was imposed on them by the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) that in order for them to buy goods from Kenya and take them to Rwanda, they must be cleared that they are genuine importers by the Rwandan Revenue Authority (RRA). If somebody is coming to buy our goods, what business do we have in finding out whether he is a genuine importer from the country of origin? We are looking for foreign exchange. This requirement also applies to Ugandan importers. I am raising this issue with regard to export of alcohol from the Molasses Plant in Kisumu, which is a business worth billions of shillings. As I speak here, the Rwandese and Ugandan importers cannot be allowed to import goods from this country until the KRA is satisfied that they are genuine importers from their respective countries. The KRA wants a letter from the Ugandan Revenue Authority (URA) to confirm that the importer is a genuine Ugandan and is importing goods from this country. This is the case and yet those importers have got money to pay for the goods they want to import. One wonders whether the KRA is meant to generate revenue for Kenyan or it is an Authority which is meant to frustrate Kenyan businessmen. The work of the KRA is not to frustrate and overtax local businessmen but to get genuine revenue from people who want to buy goods from this country.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was around when we had the East African Shilling which was a freely convertible currency. You could go with the East African Shilling to a bank in London and exchange it, and I did this myself. At that time, the East African Shilling was a very strong currency exchanging at par with the Sterling Pound. However, the East African Currency

Board was dissolved because the new Heads of States of the three partner states wanted to have their images on currency. As a result, various national currencies were introduced with images of the Heads of States. Eventually, we were stranded with the Kenyan shilling, which we could not carry anywhere. The same case applied to the Ugandan and Tanzanian currency. I know the advantages which accrue when you have a strong currency. That is why I fully support the monetary union; that we should go back to the East African Currency. I also fully endorse the recommendations which are made here in this Report of setting up one common central bank with a common East African currency.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with regard to the political federation, hon. Members here will remember that Tanzania, shortly before Independence, was ready to delay her Independence so that Kenya and Uganda could become independent together and form a federation. Mwalimu Nyerere stated this very clearly. You will remember that those days they used to sing: "*Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika na Zanzibar, sisi tusaidiane kwa Uhuru*."

# (Mr. Raila sang)

#### (Laughter)

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): Order, Mr. Minister! You are not going to conduct a choir here!

**The Minister for Roads and Public Works** (Mr. Raila) Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am just stating this as a fact because I feel nostalgic. That is a quotation from a statement of fact.

The founding fathers of our various nations had a vision for this region that it could only prosper economically if it was united as one unit. The experience of our Independence separately from that time up to now, has confirmed that they were right in what they were saying at the time. Instead of coming together, we decided to hang separately. At that time people were saying that these countries could grow; that Kenya was capable of getting other markets outside like in the Middle East. However, when Kenyan businessmen went on a promotion tour to the Middle East, they found that the Arabs were more interested in goods from Europe. They could get the goods that we were able to make here much more cheaply from Italy than they could get them from Kenya. In the end, the big Middle East market which we were expecting to get never came to pass. We never saw it! We ended up with Kenyan infant industries without a market because the Tanzanians eventually closed the border and Ugandans were not buying from us. As a result, the Kenyan economy has suffered tremendously. We would not be where we are if we had followed that route. We had reached a stage of 6 per cent annual growth. We regret because of the shrunk market.

We should go back to what our founding fathers proposed and create a political union. As has been proposed here, initially, we are going to have rotation of the Presidency. Before this happens, it has been proposed that there should be a joint assembly of the Parliaments of all these three countries to debate extensively this issue before a referendum is held. There is also going to be need for political parties with common ideology in these countries to come and work together so that we can then form intra-East African political parties. This will ensure that we do not relate with each other here on the basis of ethnicity. As Prof. Anyang'-Nyong'o has stated, this is going to reduce, if not kill, ethnicity in our politics.

# (Applause)

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, ethnicity is backward, primitive, archaic and it belongs to the museum. That is why sometimes I am pained when I see some people trying to re-introduce

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politics of the 1960s and 1970s; ethnic-based politics of isolation in order to balkanise this country. Some of these people belong to the museum and not to the leadership of this country. If we look at the 1960s, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) was dissolved and it merged with KANU and they divided KANU along ethnic lines. This is politics of isolation! The Kenyan society has now advanced and is much more literate and we have people who know. In the 21st Century, we want to develop a knowledge-based economy and not an economy where you are typified by your name; that is if you are Onyango, you belong there. If you are Kamau, *upande huu*; if you are Mutua, *upande ule*; if you are Wanyama, then you belong to that other side while if you are Fatuma, you should go down at the corner. That is the politics of the 1960s and 1970s which gave rise to the single-party dictatorship in this country. We do not want to see it repeated. We would like to move on. That is why in this country, as we are going to the federation, we must prepare ourselves properly here and practise multi-party politics in the way it is practised in modern society. This means that we must be tolerant with each other and accept that we need to have a strong ruling party and a strong opposition. The opposition has a very important role to play in keeping the Government of the day under check. That is why sometimes it is disappointing to hear hon. Members of the Opposition saying that they want to support the Government of the day.

#### An hon. Member: Shame on them!

The Minister for Roads and Public Works (Mr. Raila): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we also want to see that there is democracy and tolerance on both sides and to be able to agree to disagree. I may not agree with what you have to say but I shall defend, unto death, your right to say it. That is democracy! If we do that, we know that when we go into the Union with our colleagues from Uganda and Tanzania, we will be able to relate with them on the basis of ideology. Kenya needs to take the lead.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, recently I was invited to go and give a lecture to political parties in Uganda. I went there to tell them about the Kenyan experience with multi-partism because Uganda is moving from a one-party movement system and she is doing it step by step. They have had a very nasty experience but at the moment they are discussing how multi-party system is going to work. However, in talking to the Ugandan politicians, I was put on the spot and I was asked to explain how it is that we have hon. Members of the Opposition sitting on the Government bench. I told them that we have a Government of National Unity. They asked me: "How is that different from a movement system that we are practising here in Uganda?" We should not make ourselves a laughing stock in this country. We should be the example to the rest of East Africa. We can only do that if we do our things in accordance with not only the law, but how it is practised elsewhere in the rest of the world. Sometimes I am taken aback when I hear some people say that we cannot have two centres of power. What is wrong with two centres of power? We can have three, four or even five so long as we know what we are doing. In France, we have an Executive President and an Executive Prime Minister.

The Minister for Water and Irrigation (Ms. Karua): They are both elected!

# (*Ms. Karua withdrew from the Chamber*)

The Minister for Roads and Public Works (Mr. Raila): No, the Prime Minister is never elected! He is the leader of the majority political party.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Minister is expressing her ignorance as she walks out.

(Laughter)

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): Order, Mr. Raila! Do not attempt to say

The Minister for Roads and Public Works (Mr. Raila): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am not attempting to say so. I said the hon. Member for Gichugu Constituency was expressing her ignorance as she walked out of the Chambers. However, the Britons will go to the polls the day after tomorrow. They will elect hon. Members of Parliament. Whichever party wins, and I have seen it from *the Evening Post*, that it is most likely to be Mr. Tony Blair's, it will bring the Prime Minister. That Prime Minister will be the head of the Executive. He will have Executive powers. However, he will not be voted for by the

British people directly. A number of hon. Members of Parliament here keep telling us that if we want a Prime Minister with Executive powers, then he must be elected by the people. Prime Ministers in parliamentary systems are never voted for by the people. It is only presidents in a Presidential Systems who are voted for by the people. Mr. Gerhard Schroder is the Prime Minister of Germany. He is not elected, and so is Mr. Manmohan Singh, the Prime Minister of India. So, we need to have different systems. I am saying this because we need to talk about these political systems as we talk about the integration of the East African Community (EAC) because these are issues that we need to address when we, as a community, come together.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, in conclusion, I would like to say that the East African Federation (EAF) will allow and facilitate free movement of people and goods across the border. We have people living across the borders; the borders which were artificially drawn up by colonialists in Berlin without due regard to the ethnic mix. That is the reason why we have the Bukusus and Bagisus divided by a common border. We have got more Samias in Uganda than in Kenya. We also have got Maasais in Tanzania and Kenya. We also have the Kurias; my friend, Dr. Machage is here, sometimes people say he is Tanzanian. So, there are Kurias in Kenya and Tanzania. We have Luos in Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya. So, the EAF will make meaningless this artificial boundary which was created by colonialist in Berlin without consultations with the people who were affected. The EAF will unite our people. It will also give us opportunities to develop a much more civilised society within the EAF. There will be a much bigger market. We will have an enhanced bargaining position in the international community.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with those few remarks, I beg to support.

**Mr. Samoei:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the recommendations that have been made on this Motion on the Report of Fast Tracking the EAF. From the outset, I would like to commend the people who have put together this report.

# (Mr. Samoei spoke from the Dispatch Box)

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): Order, Mr. Samoei! You are contributing from the Dispatch Box, are you a Shadow Minister?

Mr. Samoei: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am a Back-Bencher.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): If you could move back and speak from there.

# (Mr. Samoei withdrew from the Dispatch Box)

**Dr. Godana:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, but he is the Secretary-General of the party!

so!

# **The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): Order, Dr. Godana! Proceed, Mr. Samoei!

**Mr. Samoei:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, from the outset, I would like to commend Mr. Wako, who chaired the session that put together this report. While doing that, right from the outset, I would like to take issue with the Ministry concerned. Very few Kenyans, if any, know what goes on with the East African affairs. Over the weekend, I was in Mombasa with members of the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA). It was a shame that we have a whole Ministry in charge of matters concerning the EAC and there was no senior official from that Ministry. When the whole EALA was meeting in Mombasa, the Minister, the Assistant Minister and the Permanent Secretary did not find it

necessary to attend that meeting. They had more important things to do. So, it was a shame that we were in Mombasa pretending to discuss important issues about the EAC when the Ministry did not bother. All we found were very junior officers who did not even understand a thing about the issues that were being discussed.

**The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J.K. Koech): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): What is your point of order, Mr. Koech?

**The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J.K. Koech): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, my point of order is that the hon. Member for Eldoret North is misleading this House and the nation. I was aware of what was happening in this particular meeting. This meeting was organised purely for hon. Members of Parliament. We are in the process of organising another seminar, which is more important---

**Dr. Godana:** So, is that what you wanted to say?

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): Order! Dr. Godana, this House can only be presided over by one person and that is the Speaker.

Mr. Koech, you rose on a point of order and I am yet to hear it.

The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation (Mr. J.K. Koech): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, my point of order is that Mr. Samoei is misleading this House because every seminar is organised on its own merit. When that seminar was organised, we knew what was happening. However, we had left it purely for the Backbenchers to handle that situation because we have other meetings at a higher level. So, it does not mean that there was total disregard of that meeting in Mombasa. We are in the process of organising other meetings.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): Mr. Samoei, proceed. Do not respond to what he has said because that was not a point of order!

**Mr. Samoei:** Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. That is the kind of ignorance that I am referring to.

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): Hon. Members, this is the sort of language that the Chair has time and again appealed to hon. Members not to use.

Mr. Samoei, use decent language!

**Mr. Samoei:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, when we were in Mombasa, senior officers, including the Permanent Secretary and the Minister were listed as people who were supposed to speak in that meeting. However, they did not find it necessary to attend. Now the Minister says that his Ministry is in the process of organizing other meetings at a higher level. Which higher level is this that is higher than this House? Be that as it may---

**The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J.K. Koech): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to disapprove---

# (Mr. Koech moved towards the Dispatch Box)

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): Order, Mr. Koech! I have not even given you the authority to go to the Dispatch Box. You can only wait for the Chair to grant you the permission to say what you want to.

Mr. Koech, you can raise what you want to if it is a point of order.

**The Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J.K. Koech): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, my point of order is that in the programme there was nothing for the Minister to speak on. So, when Mr. Samoei says the Minister was meant to present something, that is wrong.

**Mr. Samoei:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I guess the Minister is waiting for this higher level. We will wait to see what that higher level is. However, there is a lot of ignorance by Kenyans. Kenyans do not understand what is going on.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I think it is the business of the Ministry to make sure that the benefit of what the EAC will bring to our country is explained to Kenyans so that we can buy into this drive. If ever we intend to bring the people of East Africa together, we can only do so, with their consent. The Ministry that was specifically created to handle that issue has a duty to the people of Kenya to make sure that East Africans, especially Kenyans for that matter, understand and are fully briefed so that the---

**The Assistant Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J. Nyaga): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member correct to imply that the Ministry is doing nothing, when we are the first Ministry in East Africa to bring this debate to Parliament? Is the hon. Member in order to mislead Kenyans?

**Mr. Samoei**: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for the information of the Assistant Minister, this Motion has already been discussed in Uganda and Tanzania and passed.

# (Applause)

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, that is what we are talking about! The Ministry needs to up date itself on the issues concerning the East African Community---

**The Assistant Minister, Office of the President** (Dr. Machage): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member in order to mislead this House that Tanzania has already discussed this Motion and passed it, when it has not?

**The Assistant Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J. Nyaga): There have been workshops. *Hauna habari*?

**Mr. Samoei**: Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not wish to reply to him because there has been a great demonstration of what they know and what they do not know.

#### (Laughter)

However, I wish to state as follows---

**The Assistant Minister, Office of the President** (Dr. Machage): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir.

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): Order, Mr. Samoei! You called for it. Dr. Machage, please, proceed!

**The Assistant Minister, Office of the President** (Dr. Machage): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, is the hon. Member in order to express his ignorance by not accepting information?

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): Order, Dr. Machage! Once again, you were here when I was advising Mr. Samoei about the language that is to be used here. The Chair will

not take this one!

Mr. Samoei, please, proceed!

**Mr. Samoei**: Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. There is a reason why our founding fathers fought for Independence. There is a reason why blood was shed, so that we can be independent. I guess that, amongst the reasons was so that, we can make the lives of Kenyans better. It was so that our people can earn a decent living, eat good meals, take their children to school, work and get paid for every minute they do so. As leaders of East Africa, we must justify why our forefathers fought for Independence.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, to the best of my knowledge, the three economies of the East African countries have been declining since Independence. There are many more poorer people today than there were at Independence. It is becoming a shame as to why we ever got Independence. People have began to ask questions: "Why did we do this? So that we can become poorer?" I think it is time we started to think. As a result of the balcanisation that our people were subjected to by the colonialists, specifically because they wanted to further their doctrine of divide and rule, the three East African countries were sub-divided. They did so to control, divide and make us become easy prey for their schemes.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, in my observation, any leadership that continues to perpetuate the balcanisation that East Africans went through in the hands of the colonialist, is as good as the colonialist themselves! The sooner we realise the folly of working in little, small and unviable groups, the better for East Africans.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the six months that we have experienced the Customs Union that was launched by our three Presidents in December last year, the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA) has recorded an increase in business between the East African countries from Kshs20 billion to Kshs45 billion. That goes to demonstrate the potential that we have when we work together. That demonstrates the synergy that can be there if the three East African countries can agree to work together.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a clear demonstration that any serious visionary leadership should be walking in that direction. The former East African Community collapsed not because it was not a viable entity, but because of greed and primitive leadership. That primitive leadership thought that by allowing the East African Community to collapse, they would have little cocoons where everybody would become the boss. The common man is ahead of leaders when it comes to the East African Community. Our citizens are a head of us. As leaders, we need to hasten our steps to catch up and provide leadership to the people of East Africa. We need leaders with the necessary foresight and vision to take us to the East African Political Federation. The East African Business Council already exists. It puts together all the serious businessmen across the board.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, one of my secondary schools in Eldoret North Constituency - that is Kapsaos Secondary School - is actually the East African Secondary Schools volleyball champion.

# (Applause)

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, imagine secondary schools have already realised that East Africans are one and the same thing! It is a tragedy that today, we have leaders who ask: "What is the benefit of the East African Federation?" They would ask: "What is in it for us, so that we can become East Africans?"

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, as it has been said, during Tanzanian Independence in 1960, the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was ready to delay the Independence, so that Tanzania could form a political federation with Kenya and Uganda. That was leadership that knew the good of its people. It was selfless and visionary leadership. We need to read from that script as leaders of today, if our people are going to get out of the poverty, crime and economic decline that our country continues

to face today.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is one thing which is lacking. We need that to be demonstrated to the people of East Africa, especially by a country that boosts to be the "big brother". The Government had the courage to concede that we are the big brother and, therefore, agreed that our industries and businessmen should be subjected to a 5 per cent duty when they take their goods across to Tanzania and Uganda. That was a very bold and commendable move. We should match that with the kind of leadership that is required to bring about the fruits of having an East African Community.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have elected people who have gone to Arusha. The East African Legislative Assembly legislators have never transacted a single business. We continue to pay them using taxpayers' money, but they have only passed Private Members Motions. You cannot believe it! We have set up an Assembly. We are busy saying that, that is the direction we should be going and yet, we have not given that Assembly any business!

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, are you aware that there is an East African Court of Justice with appointed judges although they have never presided over any case? Are we really serious? Do we really have the necessary leadership to bring back the East African Community? We have to be serious. We need the leadership which will take the East African Community to where we want it to go. Otherwise, we will be talking, time will come and we will get nowhere. I hope the Minister is listening.

When I was in the Government side, we used to use the phrase, "when funds become available", when we did not want to carry out a project. That is what is facing the East African Community. We have no budget for it. We have personnel there. However, those people are just skeleton personnel.

Figures are already demonstrating to us that this is the direction to go. If we were serious leaders and believed in the welfare of the masses then we lead well, we should not perpetuate this big-man syndrome around. We should be humble enough to know that by working together, we will make the lives of our people better.

**Mr. Mwenje:** On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member in order to attack the East African Legislative Assembly Members when, indeed, it is Ministers who do not sanction what they have passed?

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): I do not think that Mr. Samoei blamed the Members of the East African Legislative Assembly. I do not think so.

Continue, Mr. Samoei!

**Mr. Samoei:** Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. What Mr. Mwenje is saying is exactly what I am talking about. The East African Legislative Assembly affairs are supposed to be conducted by a council of Ministers. Some of the Ministers have never attended the East African Legislative Assembly. Not even once. They are supposed to meet twice in a year. Please tell me, what business can they transact if they meet only twice in a year?

**The Assistant Minister for East African and Regional Co-operation** (Mr. J. Nyagah): On a point of order, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is the hon. Member in order to mislead this House when he knows that the reason we brought this report was to address all those anomalies and problems which he has been articulating for the past 20 minutes?

**Mr. Samoei:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I do not wish to answer the Assistant Minister.

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): Do not answer him.

**Mr. Samoei:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, the structures that have been set up to run the affairs of the East African Community have failed. The body that is charged with giving business to the East African Legislative Assembly, which is a council of Ministers, meets twice a year. If you meet twice a year, how do you expect to run the business of such an important body? These are the kind of things we need to be serious about and go through carefully, so that Kenya can begin to

provide necessary leadership to the sister States of the East African Community.

With those remarks, I support.

The Assistant Minister, Office of the President (Dr. Machage): Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, ningependa kuunga mkono wazo la kupendekeza Ripoti kwa Bunge hili, ambayo inahusu mambo yaliyopendekezwa na viongozi wa Mkutano wa Sita wa Muungano wa Afrika Mashariki huko Arusha, Tanzania, tarehe 26 Novemba, 2004.

Wazungu walioketi katika siku za zama mjini Berlin na kuligawa bara la Afrika kwa vijiji vidogo vidogo, walitupa hasara isiyokuwa na kifani. Hawakujali masilahi ya watu wanaoishi hapa Afrika, wala uongozi uliokuwepo. Walituona kuwa duni na baradhuli na kuanza kutugawa sisi. Ndiposa tukapata nchi zimegawa na watu wamechanganyika katika vikundi huku na huku.

Watu wangu waligawanyika kwa vikundi viwili. Kimoja kikubwa kilibaki Tanzania na kile kidogo kilibaki nchini Kenya. Wengine walibaki katika mpaka wa Tanzania na Kenya na Uganda na Kenya. Hili lilikuwa kosa kubwa. Nashukuru kwamba viongozi wa hapo awali akiwemo Kwame Nkurumah katika miaka ya hamsini waliiona shida hii na kuwazua kuwa na muungano wa mataifa; si wa mataifa machache tu, mbali wa nchi zote za Afrika. Hata hivyo, viongozi wetu wa awali, akiwemo marehemu Nyerere waliwaza na kusema kwamba wahairishe uhuru wao, ili waungane na nchi huru za Afrika zikapate uhuru wakati mmoja. Jambo hili lilipuuzwa. Hata hivyo, ninashukuru kwamba waliweza kufanya muungano mwaka 1967 hadi 1977. Wengi wetu tuliona faida iliyokuwa wakati huo ingawa watu wa siasa waliuvunja muungano huo mwaka wa 1977.

Uchumi ulizoroteka katika nchi zote tatu. Kulikuwa na vilio vya kusiaga meno kwa watu walioishi mpakani. Tukiangalia mambo ya jamii zinazoishi mpakani, tunaona kwamba ilikuwa ni lazima ziwe na vibali ili kuenda nchi ingine. Lilikuwa jambo la aibu na mtu hangepenya mpaka. Mipango ya kilimo ilidhoofika. Ilikuwa vigumu kuangalia maradhi ambayo yalikuwa yameadhiri nchi moja na kujua namna ya kupigana na maradhi hayo ikiwepo kwamba nchi jirani haikuwa ikiona jambo hilo likiwa la maana. Kilimo kilidhoofika.

Katika Wilaya ya Kuria, kilimo cha tubako na mahindi kilidhoofika kwa sababu hii. Ni kweli tumekuwa na fikira ambayo ilitiwa maanani 1991, ambayo ni ya kujaribu kuweka umoja wa nchi huru za Afrika kuwa jamii moja na taifa moja. Hata hivyo, ratiba ambayo imetayarishwa imekuwa ya mwendo wa kinyonga. Naunga mkono kwamba Kifungu 5(2) ambacho kinasema kwamba---

# (A phone rang)

The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi): Order, hon. Members! Whose phone is that?

**The Assistant Minister for Regional Development Authorities** (Mr. Odoyo): Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is mine. It rang in my pocket.

## (Laughter)

**The Temporary Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Khamasi): Give it to the Serjeant-At-Arms and then come back and sit.

#### (Mr. Odoyo withdrew from the Chamber)

**The Assistant Minister, Office of the President** (Dr. Machage): Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, naunga kifungu kilichopendekezwa cha 5(2) ambacho kinapendekezwa kwa kujaribu kufupisha muda uliowekwa kwa kuleta uhuru wa nchi za Afrika Mashariki kuwa nchi moja ikiangalia hasa mambo ya forodha, biashara, fedha na siasa. Ilikuwa imebainika kwamba mwaka wa 2013 ndipo tungekuwa na muungano huu. Lakini, imebainika kwamba miaka hii ni mingi. Kifungu hiki kimejaribu kuleta muungano huu kuja haraka hata uwezo wa kuwa na Rais wa nchi huru za Afrika Mashariki

akiteuliwa katika mwaka wa 2009. Nafikiri tutakuwa na vigelegele vya kufurahia siku hii hili jambo likitendeka. Ni furaha kwa watu wa Afrika na ulimwengu mzima.

Umoja ni nguvu; utengamano ni udhaifu. Kuna mambo mengi ambayo tunastahili kuyapata yakiwa mema kama tukiwa na umoja huu hasa vile kuendeleza haki zetu za kibinafsi kama zile za elimu ambapo tunaona kwamba elimu ya hizi nchi tatu imekuwa tofauti kwa miaka hii. Hapo siku za zama tulikuwa na elimu ambayo iliambatana na vile tulivyoishi tukiwa pamoja. Mtu angetoka Tanzania au Uganda na kupata kazi hapa. Angetoka hapa na kwenda Burundi au nchi nyingine na kupata kazi bila maswala mengi. Kwa hivyo, hiki kifungu cha kuweza kuwapa watu uhuru wa kuvuka mipaka bila matatizo, kuwapa watu uhuru wa kutafuta kazi kwa nchi huru za Afrika Mashariki ikiwa imefanywa nchi moja, uwezo wa kupeleka hudumu zozote zile za hali na mali na uwezo wa kuamua utaishi wapi kwa mapenzi yako, itakuwa ni baraka kabisa kwa nchi yetu hii. Hii Hoja ni lazima iratibishwe haraka iwezekanavyo.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, kuna mipango ya ardhi ambayo imedhoofika kabisa kwa sababu ya uhusiano ulio mmbaya kwa hiyo miaka ambayo tulivunja umoja wa nchi huru za Afrika Mashariki. Kwa hivyo, kurekebisha mipango ya kuangalia mambo ya ardhi ni jambo ambalo litakuwa la maana zaidi kwa hizi nchi. Tukiwa na mpango wa kuwa na fedha aina moja, kuunganisha benki zetu za nchi zote tatu na kuwa na benki kuu moja kuangalia masilahi ya nchi zote tatu za Afrika Mashariki, itakuwa jambo bora la kustawisha uchumi wetu bila mapendeleo kwa nchi hizi. Ni jambo la maana pia kujua kwamba tutakuwa na mpango mzuri hasa kuangalia mambo ya afya. Kukikuwa na janga kama tulivyonalo sasa hivi, janga la ukimwi, inakuwa rahisi kuanza kuwa na fikira moja kwa wakati mmoja na mpango mmoja kupigana na janga kama hili ambalo limetupata wakati huu. Kwa hivyo, naunga mkono kabisa kupunguza huu muda na nina furahi kwamba wenzangu na pia wale wa Upinzani wameunga mkono Hoja hii kwa sababu ni nzuri kwa nchi yetu ambayo wote tunaishi. Kwa hivyo, mpango huu wa kujaribu kuweka mambo kadha yaende sambamba kwa wakati mmoja ili kufupisha huu muda ni jambo la hekima. Kutaka kupendekeza huu muungano uje haraka kuliko ilivyopangiliwa hapo awali ni jambo nzuri. Mimi nawalaani wale wanasiasa wabovu waliokuwepo wakati huo wa zamani wasije tena wakaanza kuingilia mpango huu na kuuharibu kwa sababu hii ni njozi nzuri ambayo ilionwa tangu hapo zamani na viongozi wetu vile nilivyosema hata Kwame Nkrumah na Nyerere mwenyewe.

Tukiangalia mambo ya usalama, imekuwa vigumu kabisa kuangalia usalama wa mipakani hasa kati ya Kenya na Sudan na Kenya na Uganda. Tukiwa na muungano ulio mzuri jambo la kuwa na silaha kuingizwa nchini humu bila kibali wakati wowote ule itakuwa jambo la kusahaulika. Hata hivyo, kama kuna wabovu ambao wameingia nchini kwetu tunaweza kuwaandama mpaka nchini jirani na kuwashika na kuwashtaki kwa njia iliyo nzuri. Kwa hivyo, usalama wetu utaimarika na kuwapa watu wa nchi yetu nafasi ya kupamba na kuendelea na maendeleo ya kila siku.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, mimi naunga mkono Hoja hii kwa hili pendekezo kabisa.

**Prof. Oniang'o:** Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to contribute to this Motion on fast tracking the East African Federation. It is one thing to fast track and another to actually make it work.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to support this Motion but not on the basis that there is security in numbers. We can have a population of nearly 100 million people and we will still continue to have over 50 per cent of them living below the poverty line. It is important that as we head towards a common federation whether political, economic, social, educational, scientific or of whatever nature, that we improve on the goings on right now within our East African Community.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are aware that movement of people between the three countries is not easy. Many of our people get frustrated when they want to move goods between the countries. They revert to using *panya* routes as they try to eke a living and, therefore, it is important that we consider the many Members of the East African Community who try to eke a living under very harsh conditions. These people look forward to opportunities that will be opened up by us becoming a federation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, even as we continue with this discussion, it is important that we remove the tariffs that make it difficult for small traders to trade between the countries. We should remove the hostilities that exist within the same people of East African Community. We are aware that when you look at Lake Victoria, Kenyans' boats and fishermen get arrested on the other side of the Tanzanian or Ugandan borders and they are told that these waters do not belong to them as if there is a physical wall that separates the countries or lake. So, it is important that we change the mind set of our people and also of the officials who handle most of our people that are trying to carry out trade.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, we should also ask ourselves: Who is going to benefit? Is it the elite or the majority of the East Africans? We are aware that as these discussions go on, just like other hon. Members have contributed here, the bulk of the East Africans are not aware of what is going on. We are aware that we are spending money holding many meetings which do not benefit our ordinary people.

It is good to have this document here. It has been well prepared and thought out. It has built on the vision and statements of our founding fathers. We are aware that any founding leaders are normally visionary. Unfortunately, sometimes successive leaders do not bother to follow on those visions and so it is commendable to see that those who worked on this report went back to some of the statements that were made by our founding fathers because indeed that is our foundation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is very common of us to begin to blame our woes and problems on the colonialists. It is very easy for us to blame our lack of economic growth on the European Union (EU) for shutting us out of their market and yet we are not able to facilitate trade between our own countries. Why do European countries, for example, America, Japan or Germany open up their markets to us when we do not even open up markets within Africa and ourselves? My family was in Uganda during the mid 1970s. It was easier for us to travel from Kampala to Butere than to travel from Nairobi to Butere where I come from. We were using the same currency. Therefore, when we come up with a federation, we shall be saying that we are children of the same womb, soil and livelihood. As a result, Kenyans will stand to benefit from this kind of a federation. They are also likely to become less tribal. This is because we are aware that Uganda and Tanzania are not as tribalistic as Kenyans. We will also stand to benefit from minimising of the wrangles that are going on right now within the NARC administration. This is because we are aware that Uganda, especially Tanzania, have a more peaceful succession between the different political systems. Moreso, Kenya will stand to benefit from appreciating the role women have to play in leadership because our sister countries have the largest number of women in political parties, decision making, Cabinet and Parliament. Therefore, we have a lot to learn from each other.

As we discuss this, each country will ask itself: What comparative advantage do we have in this whole scenario? What are we bringing to the table that will add value to the federation? What divides us that we need to remove? What binds us that we should bring together? When you look at the education system, you will find that Tanzania and Uganda are still on the A-Level system while Kenya is on a different system. We have our children going to institutions in these other countries when Kenya should be the leader. We have our children going to universities in Uganda, for example, when we are not even sure of the quality of education they are receiving. Therefore, this federation will give us a chance to harmonise our educational system and the standards, so that we can move together. Indeed, Kenya should be able to provide a leadership role here.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, right now, investors pass through the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA) on their way to Uganda and Tanzania. They say the Kenyan environment is not conducive for trade. Who stands to lose? It is Kenya which is losing. I see so many people passing through Nairobi on their way to Dubai to buy goods and do business. I met a Kenyan who is based in Dubai who said that she is no longer trading because we have allowed foreigners to dominate our trade. Whatever trade she was engaged in, she cannot continue to undertake it. I look at Dubai and wish it were Nairobi. Nairobi is the hub for trade in this region. It is a strategic City for this region. Nairobi could undertake trade which could benefit our people. But what has stopped us is too much bureaucracy. We do not facilitate. Instead, we put in place deterrent laws. We still live under laws of the 1930s which do not help our people to move forward. We have only ourselves to blame for this. It would be nice to see people bringing their children to schools in Kenya. This is because we have schools in Kenya of international repute and standing. We produce children here who go overseas and are able to compete internationally. But what happens? Instead, we have Kenyans who are taking their children to institutions out of the country whose quality they do not even know, separating them from families, because our own insecurity is our undoing.

[The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi) left the Chair]

[Mr. Deputy Speaker took the Chair]

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to believe that when we do this, we will look at what will benefit us. It is not just a question of numbers. We are aware that Scandinavian countries, for example, Sweden, Norway and Finland are small. Yet, right now, they are among the most developed countries in the world economically and socially. So, it is not just a question of numbers or quantity. We want to look at quality. For example, as we look forward for a political federation, we should make sure that we have a new Constitution in this country. So, what political federation are we heading to if we cannot even have a new Constitution? We are wrangling and arguing. Kenyans are now tired. They are looking at us and asking: "What kind of leadership is this?" It is as if we are at war. One would think we are campaigning to have elections today.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I know we uphold this fast track which I look at like a courtship between a man and woman. When you rush it, that marriage will fall flat on its face. But when you treat it carefully, then we can have a foundation where our federation can withstand the test of time. As we anticipate a federation, we should tell ourselves that there are certain practices that govern international leadership and we need to adopt them as countries. I believe that when a man and woman are courting each other, their families get to know each other. They get to know the histories of the other. They get to know about diseases that may exist.

**The Assistant Minister for Regional Development Authorities** (Mr. Odoyo): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. Is it in order for Prof. Oniang'o to mislead this House that the delicate task of trying to put a federation together can be equated to a marriage, yet, we know many marriages have taken place on love at first sight?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, Mr. Odoyo! With all due respect, that is a very frivolous point of order!

**Prof. Oniang'o:** Thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir. I am not surprised at that. In fact, it is all he heard out of everything else I said since I stood here. It was meant to do exactly that; that he listens.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we all want a federation because it has more pros than cons. For that reason, we need to treat it carefully and look at aspects that we can fast track. But at the same time, we need to look at those aspects that might threaten the federation, thus, the equating of it to a courtship, and therefore, a marriage. We all want to support this because we do not want this community or federation to break up again. Those of us who travel to Tanzania and Uganda look at one another and wonder what separates us? We are one and the same. I want to believe that when we come together, it will, in fact, have more benefits. We, as a people, shall be respected. We can discard those bad elements within our individual communities because when you bring a women and man together, they do not wash their dirty linen at the bride-price ceremony. Each side talks about what it has to offer. They say all the good things about their daughter. The man comes with the bridegroom

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and says: "This is what our young man has!" They hide all the naughty things that the young man used to do when he was young. Therefore, when we come together as a federation, it will help if we get rid of the baggage that has held us behind and pulled us down economically and socially. I believe we shall proudly bring to the table the good elements of our society and communities.

With those few remarks, I wish to support.

**Capt. Nakitare:** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this is a very interesting topic. We are looking at the East African Community. We are looking at contours of development in the three partner States. But we have things to be considered. We are looking for a red reckoner which will direct us to where we are going. I worked under the East African Community. It was a very thrilling exposure and I was very proud. The three leaders of the East African Community were gentlemen. But there was one thing that was lacking. No Constitution was enacted to bind the East African Community at that time. Although the three countries were together and had many things in common, there was nothing binding them. Therefore, I witnessed the problems that bedeviled the East African Community in 1974, and that led to its collapse in 1977. I was working with the East African Airways.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when we look at the three countries, they have different cultures. But, as the "big brother", we are supposed to nurture the two "little brothers"; that is, Uganda and Tanzania. We have to think about what the late Mwalimu Nyerere called Kenya at one time. He called Kenya a "man-eating" lion. We have not corrected that image. We are struggling for brotherhood with countries that have been neighbours for years or even centuries. There is rampant insecurity within the countries of modern East Africa. What steps are our legislators in the East African Legislative Assembly taking to correct the borders of the three East African countries first, before we prepare the kitchen and cook food for them. Will we be able to tame the Karamojong and allow them to come and graze in Kenya freely? Are we going to enjoy seeing the Pokots cross over to Tepesi and graze their animals across Uganda because the countries have no borders? Are we going to look at some cultures where killing on cattle rustling missions is taken as a sport? Those are the things that we need to consider as East Africans. The East African People was formed in London by Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and Jomo Kenyatta when they were students. They were talking about Pan Africanism. We read in history of what befell the three gentlemen. They did not disagree to agree, but they agreed that there was need for Pan Africanism. We now have the Pan African Parliament. What does it do for the African Continent? We are now looking at the East African Legislative Assembly. What laws is it going to enact and to whom? There is a question of Custom tariffs. It is a very linear consideration when it comes to amalgamating countries of different ethnic backgrounds and economic viability. Custom tariffs is money! Money is not an African culture. Ownership of land is one culture that an East African could talk about. In the recent years, we have had invasions by people who thought that, once upon a time, they belonged to this country. They came and said: "Our ancestors belonged here!" Now, they are being told by modern Kenyans: "You do not belong here!"

So, there is going to be a big square of considerations. We shall be asking: Why are we moving towards the direction of financial viability or a common market? The East African Community collapsed not because of one big reason, but a simple reason of contributions into the basket of the Community. Tanzania refused to put money in the basket of the East Africa Community and said that Kenyans had taken all the tourism. Everything to do with tourism goes to Nairobi. They said that they did not have anything else. Nairobi had the majority of East African Community buildings. The Headquarters were in Arusha, but Nairobi was shining. So, there was envy in that process.

On the other hand, Uganda said that they would not afford to put money into the basket of the Community. So, those of us who were employed by the East African Community fore saw its collapse. Even after the collapse, most of my colleagues who worked with the East African Airways were never paid their benefits even after working for over 15 years. They are still crying for the revival of the East African Community, so that they can take it to court and claim payment for services that they rendered for their mother countries.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a good idea. Even the United States of America (USA) has

softer tariffs with Canada. Canadians have cheaper ways of life while the Americans have expensive ways of life. But when it comes to the common border, their tariffs are softer than any other person coming from a different country. When you consider matters in the three East African countries, Kenya is overtaxing its nationals! Would you want to transfer your taxation capability to other countries and say: "Yes! We are smart. We are able to get you together!" Will they listen to that when they want to come and invest in this country? Their money will be taxed! They cannot even get a tax relief. People are running away from this country because of overtaxation. The Treasury is the watchdog! It is amassing wealth by getting taxes from all the four corners of the country, and scaring away investors. So, when we look at the East African Community, what are we looking at? When are we going to have the East African Constitution, even as we struggle with ours in this House? We do not have a surviving Constitution where we can be an example to other countries. We are miles away! So, let us clean our house first, before we can ask for entry into somebody else's house.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Prof. Oniang'o said that it is not proper to wash our dirty linen in the presence of the bride and bridegroom. That is true. We are supposed to clean ourselves and make sure that we do not squabble, because everybody else is watching us. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are on the same geographical pattern of Equator. We can benefit a lot. In the near future, when things cool down, we should be the first to spearhead our economy by proper scientific industrialisation of our country based on simple technology that would be marketed to other countries of East Africa, because we are on Equator. We have solar energy, wind-propelled energy and water energy. If we conserve our own forests, we could have hydro-electric system that can supply us with enough electricity and sell the surplus to other countries. If our rates and tariffs are more rigid now, than they were during colonial times, then we have many miles to go. An argument will ensue before 2009 when we will be asked questions, particularly Kenyan hon. Members of Parliament who will be Members of the East African Community then. We can only avoid this if we think of how we are going to sort out our own house soonest and provide our country with the Constitution they want. We will then become an example to ourselves and other African countries.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I look at Southern Sudan as the eminent welcome to East African Community, because they are interlocked; they would want to use our Mombasa harbour. I look at Ethiopia as interlocked, because they would also want to use our Mombasa harbour. If we have a legislation of privatising or selling all our assets because we cannot afford to run them, what do the constitutions of other countries say? Has Uganda done that? Will they allow us to go into the community services with them after we have sold all the property that we have? That is the question that we have to look at.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, as I said, the East African Community is an eye catcher? We cannot equate ourselves to the European Union. We do not manufacture money. We do not even know where money is manufactured. Therefore, we should not give ourselves as an example without remembering what the colonial masters did to us. We were taught to produce raw materials and export to them. They would then process and sell it back to us as a finished material at a price. What does this mean to us in terms of the economy?

Ninety-five per cent of our economy is in foreign hands. What does Kenya as a Republic boast of? Are we the role models of our generation or is it the breed that is making us go into the formation of the East African Community? Are we asking ourselves why the East African Community failed in the past? Do we have proper strategies that will improve this country, Uganda and Tanzania to come forward and say we are able to be the genius East Africans? The East African Community shined during the early times of Independence, because we had inherited what the white man left in these countries. We had sugar companies in Uganda which were manipulated and destroyed. The Madhvani Group of companies was driven out of the country. When Uganda realised that they had made a mistake Madhvani came back and their sugar industry is doing well. What are we doing here in Kenya? We are importing sugar into the country when we have sugar-cane farmers here.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Bible tells us not to give our food to dogs, but instead, give it to

our children. I am not implying that other countries are dogs. My projection is on the economy of the country. If you give your property to a foreigner and expect them to look after it, he or she will definitely give it back to you at a price. You will have to spend more to get what is your own, than if you had taken care of what nature gave you. Had you done that you would even have gained more and become a role model of your country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have many universities. Hon. Members of **[Capt. Nakitare]** Parliament have realised that when other two countries have a general certificate of education; the Cambridge Standard which most of us did and we have the 8-4-4 system of education, we cannot interlink with the general certificate of education set in England. We said that we will create our own examination council and set our exams according to our standards. We are now stuck with a syllabus which is not transferable. It is a mediocre syllabus that cannot even transform this country. It is a burden to children and parents. Is has also created a big market to publishers because today they publish certain books and the following day, the Ministry says that those books are obsolete and that they should print others. This is what is happening here in Kenya. It is not happening in Uganda and Tanzania.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we had Physics books that were in the syllabus for four years. For example, we had books by Abbot for Physics and Mackean for Biology which lasted for years. We had Durell textbooks. We had genius mathematicians. It was manual Arithmetics, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry and people came up shining. This time we have heaped all those subjects on our children and in the end they come out with nothing to show. No children in our country are preparing for curriculums in Industrial Chemistry. This is because they fear that they have too much to do. So, they fail and do not get where they want to get.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, even with the East African Community in place, we have to first think as Kenyans and put our house in order. After that we can convince our brothers that we are their "big brother" as Mr. Raila said. You can be a big brother with best brothers. Even your step brothers can kick you because of the information that you have. Each of these countries has a different population. Tanzania has 34 million, Uganda has 28 million and Kenya has 33 million. Do you see the imbalance When you put all of them together and say: "I want to govern you", and yet each one of them wants a president of their own, what are you going to do? You would require 10 years to educate these people in order to accept themselves as East Africans. That is democratic education. After that, the next stage would be the formulation of the Assembly and the federation.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we cannot compare ourselves to Nigeria because it has been a federal government for a long time. They did not form their system yesterday. They have their own governance. They know how to rule themselves. We cannot borrow a leaf from them. They still have major internal problems. Economically they are poor. They have oil resources and yet they are the poorest people in Africa today.

As I conclude, I would like to borrow a leaf from what J.F. Kennedy said. He said that democracy is good, but it is not good enough.

With those remarks, I support the formulation of the East African Community.

**Mr. Mwandawiro:** Asante sana, Bw. Naibu Spika, kwa kunipatia hii fursa ili nichangie Hoja hii yenye lengo la kuharakisha njia ya kuelekea kwa Shirikisho la Afrika Mashariki.

Ninaunga mkono Hoja hii kwa sababu kadhaa. Kwanza, nikiwa mwanachama wa Kamati ya Bunge ya Ulinzi na Mashauri ya Nchi za Nje, hii ni sehemu ya taarifa yetu. Tuna mchango mkubwa katika kufikia hiyo taarifa. Vile vile, katika historia yangu na ya nchi, tumepitia hali nyingi kwa sababu ya imla. Tumelazimika kuishi Tanzania, Uganda na sehemu nyingi duniani. Kwa hivyo, kwa upeo wa kuangalia mambo, upeo wetu ni wa kimataifa. Kwa hivyo, inafaa tuwe na upeo wa kimataifa. Hatuamini kwamba ulimwengu utadumu tu kwa kufinyiliwa katika mipaka, haswa mipaka iliyowekwa na wabeberu. Tunaamini kwamba sisi ni Waafrika. Na tukiwa binadamu, tuna jukumu la kuhakikisha kwamba tunatumia raslimali zote ambazo tumezikuta duniani kuboresha maisha ya binadamu, pamoja na mazingira ambamo tunaishi.

Bw. Naibu Spika, jambo muhimu tunalofaa kuzingatia ni umuhimu wetu sisi kuungana, na kuwa na Shirikisho la Afrika Mashariki. Hili si swala la kuzungumzia wakati huu. Tumeshalizungumzia kwa muda mrefu. Tunajua kwamba kwa ujumla, wananchi wa Afrika Mashariki wanataka muungano.

Kamati ya Bunge inayohusika na maswala haya ilitembelea sehemu kadha za Afrika Mashariki. Tulienda Dodoma, Kampala, Kigali, Bujumbura hadi Kinshasa. Kila tulipofika, watu walikuwa na maoni sawa. Walituuliza: "Sisi ni Waafrika na hii mipaka ni ya nini"? Hata lugha tunayoongea ni moja. Kila tulikotembelea, watu walizungumza nasi kwa Kiswahili. Hata uchumi wetu katika eneo la Afrika Mashariki umeungana. Kiuchumi, Uganda, Tanzania na DRC Congo, zimeungana kabisa. Wananchi pia walikubali kuungana kwa mataifa ya kanda hii.

Bw. Naibu Spika, kwa hivyo, taarifa ya Bw. Amos Wako na wenzake inasisitiza swala la kuharakisha kuanzishwa kwa muungano huu. Taarifa hiyo inauliza ni jambo gani linalotuchelewesha kufikia lengo la kuanzisha Shirikisho la Afrika Mashariki. Zipo sababu, zikiwemo za kimataifa.

Tukiwa Wabunge, tunapaswa kufahamu kwamba nchi hii, kwa sababu za kihistoria, tuna jukumu kubwa kuliko nchi zingine katika Afrika Mashariki, na kanda ya Afrika kwa jumla, kuona kwamba tumefikia lengo la kuanzisha Shirikisho la Umoja wa Afrika Mashariki haraka iwezekenavyo. Ikibidi, tujitolee, hata ikibidi kupoteze hela zetu kwa muda; tuchangie zaidi kifedha, kimawazo, kidiplomasia, kisiasa, na kwa kila ushawishi na hali zote. Ikibidi tufanye hivyo kama Wakenya, hili ni jukumu letu.

Bw. Naibu Spika, jukumu tulilonalo si sawa na jukumu walilonalo Waganda, Watanzania, Warwanda, Waburundi na wenyeji wa DRC Congo. Hata tulipokuwa tukitembelea sehemu hizo, tulijua kwamba wananchi wa nchi hizo walikuwa wakiangalia Kenya, ili tuwape mwelekeo. Ninaipongeza nchi hii, kwa sababu, tuko na Waziri wa Mashauri ya Afrika Mashariki na Kanda. Huo ni mfano mzuri katika eneo hili, kwa sababu nchi zingine hazina mawaziri kama huyo.

Tunaendelea kuyashawishi na kuyasihi mataifa hayo yaharakishe ili yawe na mawaziri kama huyo, ili wakutane na kuyazungumzia maswala hayo. Baadaye, tutawapa jukumu la kuzungumza pamoja kule Arusha. Kwa hivyo, kwa upande huo, tunaipongeza Serikali yetu. Tunapaswa kusisitiza kwamba nchi zingine katika muungano huu pia zichukue mwelekeo huo.

Bw. Naibu Spika, jambo la muhimu ili kuharakisha kuanzishwa kwa Shirikisho la Muungano wa Afrika Mashariki inafaa tufahamu kwamba hatuwezi kufikia shirikisho letu jinsi Bara Ulaya lilivyofikia shilikisho lao. Ni lazima tuzingatie njia muafaka. Labda, tunafikiri kwamba tunaweza kuelekea katika shirikisho letu jinsi Bara Ulaya lilivyoanzisha shirikisho lake, bila kutambua kwamba hali halisi ya Bara Ulaya si sawa na ile ya Afrika Mashariki.

Bw. Naibu Spika, tunafikiria kwamba ni lazima tupitie njia ya shirikisho la forodha na kuwa na sarafu moja, soko moja, halafu baadaye tuangalie muungano wa kisiasa. Tukifuata njia hiyo, tutachukua muda mrefu na tunaweza kukosa kuendelea. Tunasisitiza kwamba eti ni lazima tumalize matatizo yetu yote ya kiuchumi na ya kiusalama halafu tuiangalie mikakati yote tuliyonayo, turekebishe matatizo yote ya kihistoria ndiyo tufikie lengo letu. Tukifikiria namna hiyo, tutachukua miaka mingi. Kwa sababu, Bara Ulaya linazungumzia shirikisho la forodha, sarafu moja na soko la pamoja, kwa sababu, lina uchumi wa kimasako. Wao ni mabepari walio na viwanda na biashara kubwa zilizotandaa duniani. Kwa hivyo, wakizungumzia maswala haya kwa misingi ya kibepari ni sahihi. Lakini, katika eneo hili la Afrika Mashariki tunazungumza juu ya wananchi ambao wengi wao ni wakulima wadogo wadogo. Ni watu ambao wanaweza kuishi mwaka mzima bila ya kushika pesa. Nyumbani mwao, wao hutumia vitu kutoka shambani. Halafu tunasema eti kabla ya kuungana ni lazima tuwe na uchumi wa masoko. Masoko gani? Katika eneo hili, uchumi wa masoko umemilikiwa na watu wachache, ambao ni wafanyibiashara mabepari. Ndiyo maana ukisoma sera zote zenye lengo la kuleta muungano wa Afrika Masharika, utaona kwamba zinaongozwa na falsafa ya masoko ya wafanyibiashara mabepari. Tunawafikiria wakaazi wa Afrika Mashariki kama soko. Hatuwafikirii kama watu.

Bw. Naibu Spika, jambo ambalo linaweza kuharakisha kuanzishwa kwa shirikisho letu ni

kufikiria upya jinsi tutakavyofikia lengo letu la kuanzisha shirikisho hilo, kwanza tukizingatia maslahi ya watu wa eneo hili. Chochote tunachofanya iwe ni katika nyanja ya elimu, sayansi na teknologia, utafiti, mazingira, na faida zote zitakazopatikana, tuwe na lengo la kuboresha maisha ya mkazi wa Afrika Mashariki. Tukifikiria hivyo, tutakuwa na maarifa mbali mbali.

Haifai tufikirie kwamba tutafikia lengo letu la kuanzisha muungano wa Afrika Mashariki jinsi Bara Ulaya lilivyofikia lengo lake la kuanzisha muungano wa Bara Ulaya. Kwanza, tufikirie kwamba ni muhimu tuwe na Shirikisho la Afrika Mashariki, halafu mambo mengine yatafuata. Tusifikiri kwamba tunaanzisha Shirikisho la Afrika Mashariki kwa sababu za kibiashara, kiuchumi, kodi na forodha, ama kufikiria juu ya vikwazo vingine kama vile Tanzania inavyofikiria kujiunga na muungano wa SADC. Jambo la muhimu ni kuhakikisha kwamba watu wa Afrika Mashariki wapo, na wameungana kihistoria na kitamaduni na wanasafiri bila shida kila siku wakienda Kampala, Kigali, Dar-es-Salaam, Arusha na kwingineko. Wao hukutana kila mahali na kuuziana bidhaa. Kwa hivyo, ni muhimu tuwe na ushirikiano wa Afrika Mashariki. Tukiwa na muungano wa Afrika Mashariki, matatizo yote yatasuluhishwa.

Bw. Naibu Spika, ningependa kukubaliana na alivyosema Rais Museveni wa Uganda tulipozungumza naye kule Kampala. Alisema kwamba tukifikiri juu ya maswala ya forodha tutachelewesha kufikiwa kwa lengo letu. Watu wanaogopa Kenya kwa sababu ina viwanda vingi, na kwamba biashara na uchumi wake ni thabiti, na hivyo basi utameza uchumi wa nchi zingine. Pendekezo la Rais Museveni ni kwamba mipaka ya nchi za Afrika Mashariki ifunguliwe ili wananchi katika eneo hili waweze kusafiri na kufanya biashara popote pale bila ya pingamizi lolote. Mwananchi akiwa mbali huko Uganda, wacha aende. Lakini tukisema tutazuia kuwaendelesha ati kwa sababu wanabiashara na wanasiasa wanataka njia ndefu ya kuzungumza, hayo mambo yatachelewesha huu muungano.

# [Mr. Deputy Speaker left the Chair]

# [The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi) took the Chair]

Hii ndio maana mambo ambayo ninapendekeza ambayo yanaweza kutuwezesha tufikie Shirikisho la Afrika Mashariki haraka iwezekanavyo ni kwamba tuanze na mambo halisi ambayo ni ya wananchi na ambayo yanaweza kutendeka, kwa mfano, mawasiliano ya barabara na reli. Tujaribu kuyaimarisha kabisa. Tukitazama wenzetu kule Tanzania, ukifika mpaka kule Taveta, utaona barabara imetengenezwa vizuri kabisa. Haidhuru ile barabara kutoka Arusha kuja Nairobi, upande wetu umetengenezwa. Lakini, ukitazama barabara ya Nairobi kwenda Mombasa, barabara ambayo mimi hutumia kila Ijumaa, unaona mlolongo wa malori makubwa ambayo yamekwama. Wananchi wametoka Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda na malori yameharibikia njiani kwa sababu barabara ni mbaya sana, hasa kutoka Mombasa hadi Mariakani. Msururu

umekuwa mkubwa kabisa na biashara yao inakuwa ngumu na gharama imepanda. Ukiangalia vile vile jirani yetu kama Ethiopia, wamejitahidi kujenga barabara kwa upande wao kwa sababu nia inaonyesha ipo. Kwa hivyo, tukijitayarisha kwa shirikisho, tuimarishe mawasiliano; usafiri wa barabara na reli.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, jambo la pili ninaona hii mipaka ifunguliwe. Kwa nini tusifungue mipaka wananchi wapite bila kuhitaji pasi kuenda kuuza vitu vyao? Tulinde mipaka nje ya Afrika Mashariki, lakini mipaka ndani ya Afrika Mashariki ifunguliwe. Ukiona wingi wa wananchi ambao wanasafiri katika kanda hii kila siku, inaonyesha ya kwamba wako na nia mipaka ifunguliwe. Wanafunzi wengi wanataka kwenda kusoma kule Kampala na wanabiashara pia ni wengi. Ni nini tunasumbuliwa na sisi wote ni watu wa Afrika Mashariki, tunajuana, tunazungumza lugha moja? Tukiendelea kuwa na hiyo mipaka, haionyeshi kwamba tuko na nia ya kuungana. Sasa tuko na pasi ya Afrika Mashariki. Lakini ni mchezo tu wa kuchezea hela za Afrika Mashariki. Mbona tutumie gharama kubwa ya kuwa na pasi ambayo huwezi kusafiri nayo nje? Tukifanya hivyo tutapunguza gharama ya

makaratasi ambayo tuko nayo na itaonyesha nia kwamba tunajitayarisha kuwa na shirikisho katika mwaka wa 2013.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, jambo lingine ni haya mambo ya ubalozi wa nchi za nje. Kama kwa kweli tuna nia ya kuungana, mbona tunakuwa na gharama ya mabalozi wengi? Utakuta balozi wa Tanzania kule Stockholm, balozi wa Uganda na wa Kenya, na mabalozi wengi ambao wanakula hela za watu wa Afrika Mashariki na sisi ni maskini waombaji. Kwa hivyo mambo ya ubalozi tuwe nayo pamoja ili tuonyeshe nia. Mtanzania anaweza kuwakilisha Wakenya sehemu nyingine na kadhalika.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, jambo lingine pia ni kuhusu mambo ya msimamo mmoja wa kimataifa. Wakati tunapozungumza, kwa mfano, na mashirika ambayo ni wadhamini wetu tukiwa na sauti moja, watatuheshimu zaidi ingawa tunawaomba. Hata tukifikiria mashirika kama World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) ama World Trade Organisation (WTO), kama tunaenda kuzungumza na kujadiliana nao kama watu wa Afrika Mashariki, tutaonyesha nia kwamba tunataka kuungana na tutakuwa na sauti kubwa zaidi.

Mambo mengine ambayo ningesema hapa, tayari yanafanywa. Hata hivyo jambo la kufurahisha ni kwamba wananchi wa Afrika Mashariki wako mbele. Kwa mfano, kwa upande wa lugha ya Kiswahili, kuna utafiti mkubwa unaofanywa na wataalamu wa lugha hiyo na wasomi mbali mbali kote katika vyuo vikuu vilivyo Afrika Mashariki. Aidha kuna mabadilishano ya utamaduni hasa muziki na densi mbali mbali. Wananchi kutoka nchi zote wanatembeleana na kwa namna hiyo kuendeleza utalii. Ikiwa tungeunda shirikisho la mataifa ya Afrika Mashariki, tungeokolewa sana.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, watalii wengi wanaendelea kutembelea nchi yetu licha ya maonyo kutoka Marekani eti nchi yetu haina usalama wa kutosha. Kile kinachohitajika ni kuwafutilia mbali wale watalii ambao hulipia kila gharama huko Ulaya na wakija nchini hawanunui bidhaa kutoka kwa wananchi wenyewe. Mazoea yao, wakishafika Pwani, ni kuketi kule katika mahoteli makubwa makubwa yaliyoko huko South Coast. Hawachanganyiki na watu wala kununua bidhaa mitaani. Kwa sababu hiyo, utalii huo unakuwa wa kikoloni mamboleo. Kwa vile tuna rasilimali nyingi hapa Afrika Mashariki, kwa mfano, mbuga za wanyama wa pori, tukishikana pamoja, yawezekana kukataa utalii ambao kila gharama zake zinalipiwa huko nje.

Ningependa kutoa tahadhari moja. Ni kweli kwamba tukiungana, eneo letu litakuwa kubwa kijeografia na kirasilmali. Baadaye, tukizijumuisha nchi jirani kama vile Rwanda, Burundi na Congo bila shaka tutakuwa na uchumi mkubwa. Hata hivyo, kuwa na idadi ya watu wengi na rasilimali nyingi zaidi si kumaanisha kwamba tutakuwa na maendeleo. La muhimu sana ni kujua mikakati tutakayotumia katika kujiendeleza. Ni jambo la kushangaza kwamba watu wa Afrika Mashariki wamekuwa watu wa mitumba. Tunaendelea kuzorota tu.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, ukimlinganisha aliyekuwa Rais wa Tanzania, Mwalimu Nyerere na viongozi wengine; kimawazo na kulingana na mambo aliyoyatenda, utagundua kwamba yeye alikuwa shujaa kweli. Yeye alikuwa na mawazo mengi ya maendeleo kuhusu bara hili. Sisi tukijilinganisha naye, tutagundua kuwa tuna kasoro fulani. Tazama historia ya nchi yetu, hasa miaka ya sabini Mzee Kenyatta alipokuwa Rais wa nchi hii. Wakati huo uchumi wa nchi yetu ulikuwa madhubuti. Nchi yetu ilikuwa na viwanda vingi. Nyakati hizo nilikuwa nasomea hapa Nairobi katika Shule ya Upili ya wavulana ya Starehe, na kila siku tungesikia katika vyombo vya habari eti Rais Kenyatta amekwenda kufungua kiwanda fulani Thika, Ruiru, Eldoret ama Mombasa. Siku hizi tumekuwa watu wa mitumba. Hiyo ni hali inayoathiri nchi zilizoko Afrika Mashariki. Sote tunazungumza lugha moja, ijapokuwa tumekaidi wasia wa waanzilishi wa mataifa yetu. Wao walitilia maanani utunzaji na maendeleo ya rasilmali zetu. Leo hii, tunategemea misaada. Eti tunajiambia kwamba tukiwa na demokrasia na tuzingatie haki za kibinadamu, na vile vile tuondoe ufisadi, basi kuna Mzungu fulani huku Ujerumani, Marekani ama Uswizi atakayekuja kutuokoa. Hakuna atakayekuja kutuokao. Kile kitakachotuokoa ni sisi kupanuka kiuchumi na kutunza rasilimali zetu. Huo ndio mtazamo wangu kuhusu shirikisho la Afrika Mashariki. Sharti tujue jinsi tutakavyoangalia uchumi wa nchi yetu na sio tu kuundia mabeberu soko.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, kwa hayo machache, ningependa kuiunga mkono Hoja hii.

The Minister for Water and Irrigation (Ms. Karua): Thank you, Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. I want to contribute in English although I was influenced by the former speaker, who is very fluent in Kiswahili. I would wish to emulate him and I will do my best to do that.

I rise to support this Motion. I want to agree with the hon. Member who has just contributed that we need to think on how to improve our economy and move forward. However, in some of our countries, especially in Kenya, we have leaders who spend time thinking more about themselves and their personal positions instead of thinking how to move forward. I have had occasion to visit both Uganda and Tanzania recently, and it is true that their road networks are superb. It is true that reasonable progress is being made in their infrastructure development. In the water sector, their reforms are ahead of Kenya's. We have something to benefit by consulting with our brethrens in those two countries on how they are progressing. Similarly, there are things in which they would want to emulate what we are doing. What is important is for us to walk the steps that this Report has prescribed, to accelerate the rate at which we will become a Federation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, on issues of education, both Uganda and Tanzania have retained the system that we discarded a while ago. If you listen to Kenyans and their representatives in this House, you will hear that they long for the system that we discarded. Perhaps, those who are looking into these issues will bear in mind these facts and take us towards returning to that system or finding an acceptable system. Our children are going to school in both countries. In fact, there are so many Kenyan students in Uganda today, both in high schools and universities. We can easily say that we are a major contributor to the education system in Uganda, the same way we are major contributors to the education systems in India and the West by our children being in universities there.

It is time we quickened the pace of the federation, so that people can freely utilise the facilities in each of our countries. I want to agree that the first step we should take is to completely open the borders. It does not make sense that when we are having a committee looking into how to fast track the federation, we still have nationals of the three countries getting arrested and harassed at each other's borders. Our fishermen are still being arrested on the either side of the lake, especially on the Kenyan side of the lake, because they do not have a compass to show them how far they should go into the lake. We could begin with these smaller issues to show the common man that we are serious about the federation.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, one hon. Member said that we should consult the people. I want to agree that the three East African countries should utilise all means possible, including radio programmes and using the leaders in their daily meetings with the people, to let the common man know what the federation is all about. As a Minister for Water and Irrigation, in conjunction with my two colleagues in Uganda and Tanzania, facilitated by the United Nations Habitat, we have had occasion to tour secondary towns around Lake Victoria on a joint programme of the sustainable developments of Lake Victoria. We are trying to simultaneously dig water and sanitation to secondary towns, which would otherwise cause pollution to the rivers that feed into Lake Victoria. When we went round the three countries in several town halls talking to the residents, we found out that people are really interested in the three countries working together. The people have already identified the need to work together. I have mentioned that Lake Victoria is indivisible. Therefore, with regard to fishing and other activities in the lake, you cannot separate which side they should start or end. Therefore, we should work together.

On the issue of trade, even our small traders on the border do not pay attention to whether there is a Federation or not. They have already identified the need to cross to the market on whichever side of the divide, where they can find the goods they are looking for or sell their wares. It is, therefore, correct to say that our nationals have identified the need for co-operation, but we need to heighten this awareness.

Regarding education, I have already indicated that our people are educating their children across the border, mainly in Uganda, but also to a large extent, in Tanzania. We, therefore, have

already started practices that show that we are ready for the federation. But I would like to urge this House that, one of the key things that we need to do when speeding up the establishment of this federation is to ensure that there is enough debate and awareness in our respective countries. Our political systems may not exactly be the same, although we say we are three free democracies. This is another area that we have to look into.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, an hon. Member who happens to be a Cabinet colleague did give the virtues of an executive prime minister, I suppose, while comparing the systems in other countries, and did allege that others are ignorant about the issue. The population, and those who know about different systems of government, will be able to judge where ignorance lies. One does not become ignorant because they have been called ignorant. You can only become ignorant because you display lack of information on the subject. In Uganda, they have a non-executive prime minister appointed by the president and who can also be fired by the president. It is up to Kenyans to decide which method they wish to adopt. But those who opt for an executive prime minister around the world, those prime ministers are elected.

In Britain, although Mr. Blair is not standing for re-election as a person, the Labour Party which he heads is garnering for the slot to rule the country, and it is well known that when they win, their candidate for the post of prime minister is Mr. Blair. Therefore, the voters are ready and they know who is going to be their boss if they elect the Labour Party. The same thing happens in Germany and in any other country where one wants executive power; whether it is the president or the prime minister. But if you were to elect a president or a prime minister, and tomorrow, spring a surprise on them by giving them somebody they never even thought of as wanting that seat as their ruler, that would be a fraud on the electorate. Let those who seek power be bold enough to seek it through the ballot.

#### (Applause)

While East African countries are looking for which system to adopt, let them not be deceived by those who want power by whatever means, or by those who want to take shortcuts to power to have a system that is unworkable. Even where the party is proposing to take over power and then to forward its leader to be the prime minister, if you look at voting patterns, people vote for the party and for the candidate. For example, when the democrats were very popular in the United States of America (USA), they lost the elections to President G. Bush because their candidate, Mr. Al Gore was unable to rally support. A year ago, they lost again to President G. Bush because their candidate was once again unable to garner support. Therefore, I am saying that we, as East Africans and as Kenyans, when we are thinking about these issues, should remember that the candidate is very important. That is why your party can win and your candidate loses in an extreme case if people think that, that candidate is not worthy. Those who want executive power should seek it through the ballot and not through the backdoor.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am for the federation of the East African community and I am looking forward to robust debate when these issues come about, so that we can be able to convince each other on the best method. When I fight for election in Gichugu Constituency, I would hate to imagine that, later on, I would be told through the back door to appoint any other person to become the Member of Parliament when I have already won the elections through my sweat. Even if my best supporter comes and says that he supported me, I will tell him or her to seek the seat in his or her name and support him or herself. That will be a true test that the people have accepted him or her. So, as we talk about the East African Community, and our respective countries because we also have to improve them, let us debate openly and seriously not from personal points of view. People come and go. Let us agree on systems that can withstand the test of time and which will help this country to develop.

I would like us to live the dream of the EAC. Once again, I would like to say that as part of

those people charged with the various responsibilities in this country, it is our duty to ensure that whatever we do in our daily actions accelerates moving towards the Community. So, let each one of us look at his or her docket and see what we can do to live the dream of the EAC, knowing very well that our President and hon. Members have endorsed the fast tracking.

I have only one proposal I would like to make as I sit. One hon. Member has said that the EAC collapsed because some member states were late in submitting their contributions. Those who helped in the work of fast tracking and economists who have ideas to offer should come up with a proposal where the EAC collects revenue from the three or five countries, because we are expecting Rwanda and Burundi, proportionate to the country's revenue, so that it goes directly to the Community. Depending on members' contribution, the Community stands in shaky grounds. All of us are developing countries while some of us are classified as the least developed countries. This means that any money which comes to our Exchequer goes to the needs which are prioritised in our country. So, one way of making sure that the Community works is by devising a method of East Africa Taxation in whatever proportion which will be found best. I sincerely think that we shall help each other grow politically, socially, democratically and economically if we come closer as a Community. Our parochial politics of being tribal chiefs will be dissolved in the larger picture and we shall compete with other nations of the world. We have lost many years. We were ahead of the European Union (EU) when we formed our EAC several years ago. Now, we have to emulate some things from the EU because we have forgotten how it is to belong to one regional group.

Let those people who are charged with this responsibility negotiate about members of the Community being members of multiple regional blocks. I think that also undermines the spirit of the Community. Let us reduce the number of bodies we have. How many contributions can a poor country make to regional and sub-regional bodies? I agree with the hon. Members who have said that as a step forward, we should begin by having one East African ambassador in those foreign countries. All of us are cash-strapped and we can hardly maintain our embassies. The three countries are facing economic problems. There are some areas we can benefit greatly if we fast tracked. I support this Motion by saying that as leaders, let us take up our responsibilities and quickly work towards the formation of the EAF. We should always put the interest of our country before ours. Again, let us not look for issues which benefit us personally. We should vie for the Prime Minister for East Africa post, if it is created. However, let us not agitate for it just because we want power. Let us look at the larger picture so that our children may have a nice environment to grow in.

Mr. Temporary Deputy Speaker, Sir, with those very many remarks, I beg to support the Motion.

**Mr. Wario:** Asante, Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda. Nitachukua fursa hii kumshukuru Mwenyezi Mungu kunijalia kutekeleza ndoto ya Dkt. Kwame Nkurmah, Mwalimu Nyerere, Mzee Kenyatta na mashujaa wa uhuru ya kuleta Bara Afrika pamoja.

Bw. Naibu Spika wa Muda, itakumbukwa kwamba Mwalimu Nyerere alitaka Uhuru wa Tanzania ucheleweshwe ili nchi zingine za Afrika Mashariki zipate uhuru wao na waungane. Huo ni uzalendo kiasi gani? Ushirikiano wa Afrika Mashariki unathibitishwa na lugha tunayotumia, hasa lugha ya Kiswahili. Kinachochangia umoja na kutufanya kuwa jamii moja ni Ziwa Viktoria. Licha ya uhusiano wetu wa damu; Mpokot wa Kenya na wa Uganda, Mmaasai wa Kenya na wa Tanzania ni watu Mwenyezi Mungu aliwaumba pamoja na kamwe wasitenganishwe na mpaka wa dola.

Tutakapofaulu kujenga Halmsharuri ya Afrika Mashariki, matatizo ya ukabila yanayokumba nchi zetu yatakwisha kwa sababu mtu atajitambulisha kama Mwanaafrika Mashariki anayetoka nchini Kenya na wala si kwa kabila. Kwa hivyo, hii ndio itakuwa njia mwafaka ya kuua fikira ya ukabila iliyosambaratisha maendeleo na haki ya jamii ya Wafrika wanaoishi katika Afrika Mashariki.

[The Temporary Deputy Speaker (Mr. Khamasi) left the Chair]

#### PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

#### [Mr. Deputy Speaker resumed the Chair]

Bw. Naibu Spika, Kenya imekuwa mfano mzuri katika ushirikiano huu kwa sababu imepiga hatua kwa kumteua Waziri wa Ushirikiano wa Afrika Mashariki ingawa kuna maswali yanayotaka kujibiwa. Kweli tumempata Waziri, lakini amepewa ofisi? Je, Waziri huyo anapata pesa na wafanyakazi anaohitaji ili aendeshe shughuli hii? Itakuwa haina maana kuwa na Waziri ikiwa hana ofisi. Kikwetu tunasema kwamba "Baa ikizuka, watu hukimbilia Msikitini. Ikizuka msikitini, utafanya nini?" Tuna Waziri, lakini hana ofisi. Ni jinsi gani ataleta ushirikiano wa Afrika Mashariki? Ni vigumu!

Maswala ya kushirikiana kwa Afrika Mashariki si ya kubahatisha. Ni lazima tushirikiane ili tupige hatua katika harakati za kiuchumi. Kwa nini nasema hivi? Ukiangalia Ushirikiano wa Ulaya, hasa wa Kiingereza, ulichukua zaidi ya miaka 50. Mpaka leo haujafika hatua ya Jumuiaya; bado ni Tume ya Ushirikiano wa Ulaya. Kwa hivyo, licha ya Ushirikiano wa Ulaya kuwa wa nchi tajiri; ili wafaulu katika soko zao na soko la ulimwengu, ni lazima Ushirikano wa Ulaya ushikamane, upigane na upate faida kwa mauzo yao sokoni. Je, sisi watu maskini tusiposhirikiana, si tunawapa fursa wale walioshirikiana kuja kubeba rasilmali zetu? Ni lazima Afrika Mashariki itambue kwamba ni lazima ishirikiane ili iweze kupiga hatua mbele. Hii ndio sababu marehemu Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta na Mwalimu Julius Nyerere waliota juu ya ushirikiano wa Bara la Afrika. Iwapo ushirikiano huu ungekuwepo, basi hatungekuwa na umaskini ambao umelikumba bara hili.

Ningependa kuwauliza wakaazi wa Afrika Mashariki waache kuomba misaada. Ningependa tushirikiane ili tuendeleze biashara za nchi zetu ili tuwanufaishe watu wetu.

Bw. Naibu Spika, katika muungano huu, Kenya itafaidika sana kuliko mataifa mengine ya Afrika Mashariki. Juzi nilihudhuria warsha katika Mkoa wa Pwani. Tulielezwa ya kwamba Kenya iliuza bidhaa zenye thamani ya Kshs15 bilioni, ilhali Tanzania na Uganda pamoja waliuza bidhaa za thamani ya chini ya Kshs2 bilioni katika soko letu. Ni lazima tuulinde ushirikiano huu kwa sababa ni wa manufaa mengi kwa watu wetu.

Bw. Naibu Spika, natumaini kwamba tukiwa na ushirikiano kama huu, tutaweza kuleta sera ya umoja ili tutumie rasilmali zetu pamoja. Kwa mfano, tunaweza kutumia Ziwa Victoria kuwafaidi watu wetu wa Afrika Mashiriki. Kuna mhe. Mbunge hapa ambaye alisema samaki wa Kenya wanastahili wapate pasipoti ili wazulu maji ya Ziwa Victoria upande wa Tanzania. Tutakapoanzisha ushirikiano huu, basi samaki wetu hawatahiji pasipoti kuzulu maji ya Ziwa Victoria ya upande wa Tanzania au Uganda. Sote tutatumia rasilmali zetu pamoja.

Bw. Naibu Spika, kuna kutoaminiana na mizozo baina ya nchi hizi tatu. Wengine wetu wanaegemea upande wa SADC na ilhali sisi tunataka kuuimarisha ushirikiano wa Afrika Mashariki. Kila mmoja ana wasiwasi wake. Ni lazima tutambue kwamba huu ni ushirikiano mchanga. Inafaa sote tuelemishe watu wetu juu ya ushirikiano huu ili tumalize wasiwasi baina yetu. Hata kama kuna mizozo na kutoaminiana ni lazima tuendelee mbele na ushirikiano huu. Hata Ushirikiano wa Ulaya ulichukua zaidi ya miaka 50 kabla ya watu kuaminiana. Kwa hivyo, tusivunje nia na malengo ya ushirikiano huu. Hata kama gari lako litafanyiwa inspeksheni kule mpakani, vumilia ili tupate manufaa ya kutosha kutokana na ushirikiano huu.

Bw. Naibu Spika, naomba tusiwe na hamasa kwa sababu hii inaweza kufanya ushirikiano huu kuporomoka. Ni lazima kwanza tuanze na ushirikiano wa kibiashara. Wakati huu watu wetu wanaona jinsi watakavyofaidika kutokana na ushirikiano huu. Kwa mfano, kuna kiongozi anayefikiria ya kwamba atakuwa Waziri Mkuu au Rais wa ushirikiano huu. Tusiwe na haraka ya mambo. Baada ya kujenga misingi maalumu ya biashara, tutaanzisha ushirika wa kisiasa. Sioni ni kwa nini tulijadili swala la Waziri Mkuu au Rais kwa wakati huu. Kwanza, ni lazima tuwalete watu wa Afrika Mashariki pamoja ili washirikiane na wajuane. Bado hatujuani vizuri. Wakoloni walitugawanya katika misingi ya mkikabila. Hata hivyo, Mwenyezi Mungu alituumba na kutuweka katika mataifa haya matatu ya Afrika Mashariki. Vile tumekuja pamoja, tunataka kuwa na kila kitu. Tunataka leo hii tuwe na Rais wa Afrika Mashariki, kesho tuwe na Waziri Mkuu. Ni lazima mambo haya yaje kwa utaratibu.

Bw. Naibu Spika, kama kuna watu wanaojigamba kuwa ni wenyeji halisi wa Afrika Mashariki,

basi ni wafugaji. Hapo awali, hatukutaka ushirikiano wa aina yoyote baina yetu. Hatukutaka kitabu chochote kiwekwe sahihi kuuidhinisha uhusiano wowote. Nakumbuka sana wakati wafugaji wa Kenya hawangelisha mifugo yao Tanzania, na wa Tanzania kulisha mifugo yao hapa nchini; tulizozana na hata kuuana. Hata hivyo, wakati huu ni lazima tufanye biashara ya mifugo pamoja bila ubaguzi wowote. Ndiposa nasema tutakapozungumzia maswala ya kuwaleta wafugaji wa Afrika Mashariki, ambao wanamiliki sehemu kubwa katika nchi hizo tatu pamoja, wahusishwe na mbinu zao za maisha. Watu hao ni ishara maalumu ya Afrika Mashariki.

Bw. Naibu Spika, Shirikisho la Forodha la Afrika Mashariki lililobuniwa hivi maajuzi limeweka kodi kwa madawa. Baadhi ya madawa hayo ni ya ukimwi na mifugo. Ukiweka kodi kwa madawa ya ukimwi, unaeleza ulimwengu lugha gani? Utafahamika namna gani? Nina furaha Waziri yuko hapa. Ningependa aangalie maslahi ya wafugaji, kwa kutoongeza kodi ya vikoi na khanga kwa zaidi ya asilmia 25. Ukiweka kodi hiyo, wafugaji hawatavaa vikoi. Sisi ni maarufu kwa kuvaa vikoi. Akina mama hujipamba na khanga. Sasa, ukiweka kodi ya asilmia 25, watanunua vipi khanga na vikoi hivyo na umaskini umejikita huko? Tumesema tushirikiane tuondoe adui ambaye ni umaskini. Ukileta kodi kama hizo, utaturudisha nyuma miaka mingine miwili.

Bw. Naibu Spika, Waziri awe balozi wetu. Azungumze na ndugu zetu Watanzania. Marehemu Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, kabla hajafa, ndoto yake haikutimika. Ndoto yake ilikuwa Muungano wa Afrika Mashariki. Alichelewesha uhuru wa Tanzania. Kwa hivyo, wao wasijivute kule Afrika Kusini. Waje, sisi ndio ndugu zao, ili tutatue matatizo yaliyopo mbele yete. Inatakiwa tushirikiane, tusonge mbele ili wao na sisi tutafaidi. Wasiende upande wa Afrika Kusini.

Ni vipi tutafaulu ikiwa waliochaguliwa kuwakilisha maslahi ya nchi zetu tatu katika Bunge la Afrika Mashariki hawajimudu? Kiuchumi, hawakutengewa pesa za kutosha. Wenyewe hawajimudu katika kazi zao. Ni lazima Bunge hilo liwe huru. Lisishurutishwe na masilahi ya watu wachache. Tunafanya athari kubwa tusipowawezesha wale Wabunge wa Afrika Mashariki. Uhusiano huo utachukua muda mrefu sana!

Bw. Naibu Spika, ombi langu kwa Waziri na Serikali za Afrika Mashariki ni kusaidia Bunge la Afrika Mashariki. Ukiangalia tarakimu zetu, Wabunge wa Afrika Mashariki wako chini ya wafanyikazi wa Bunge la Kenya. Kwa nini tunawadhalalisha kiasi hicho na hao ndio tunawategemea walete ushirikiano wa nchi zetu tatu? Tutambue Bunge hilo, tulipe heshima na nguvu linalostahili ili liweze kutekeleza wajibu wake. Sisi tulisimama wima kutetea haki zetu. Zamani, Wabunge wakileta Hoja hapa, wanaambiwa kuna petroli. Ukisikia neno "petroli" basi unaweza kuondoa Hoja yako; Hoja ambayo ingefaidi Wakenya. Hata hawa Wabunge wa Afrika Mashariki ni hivyo hivyo. Usipowawezesha kutekeleza kazi yao, kwa hakika ushirikiano wetu utatuchukua muda zaidi.

#### **ADJOURNMENT**

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Nidhamu, Bw. Wario! Bado una dakika kumi na saba. Utaendelea kesho adhuhuri.

Kwa hayo, Waheshimiwa, umefika wakati wa kuahirisha shughuli za Bunge leo. Kwa hivyo, Bunge hili limehairishwa hadi kesho, Jumatano, tarehe 4 Mei, 2000, saa tatu asubuhi.

#### The House rose at 6.30 p.m.