

Friday 20th May 1994

The Assembly met at 9.30 a.m in the International Conference Centre

(The Chairman, Mr J. Wapakhabulo, in the Chair)

The Assembly was called to order.

DR. CHEBROT: Point of clarification Mr. chairman, before we start the business for today I thought I should seek clarification from the Chair. Before we closed yesterday you did indicate that you are going to adjourn this House for a period of two weeks and one of the reasons you did give was to allow the distinguished delegates to go through the documents. Yesterday I did thumb through the documents and I realised that the most important document was actually the draft Constitution. The other documents are merely indexes and documents which honourable Members have already read through and when I look at the time we have - 16 weeks to about 28 weeks, two weeks is a bit too much for us to adjourn. I would like to Propose that instead of adjourning for two weeks, since we have 16 weeks minimum and 28 maximum, that is a big percentage. I wish only to propose that we only adjourn for a period of one week.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, the Distinguished Delegate, Prof. Kajubi did interrupt You yesterday about the question of time when it reached 5.00 o'clock, I think this is not Proper. When we are discussing business here if a delegate is tired and wishes to go out he does not have to stop the businesses of the day just because it is 5.00 O'clock. Many delegates would like to discuss important issues in this House even if it is 5.00 O'clock if you are tired the doors are open and any delegate who is tired can be able to walk out without being stopped. So if we are going to interrupt the Chairman and tell him the time is up, it is now 5.00 p.m, we should go out I think this is not proper. We should be able to continue until we feel that the business of the day has been accomplished. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your observations but I think let us really get on to the business. Among the reasons given yesterday for justifying this adjournment was also for technical reasons for the secretariat to be able to have equipment to

drew my attention. I also just took note of his observation as I did point out until we have our rules which tell us exactly our time, we are operating on a flexible Program and I do not think it was unfair yesterday when we adjourned at the time we did. So with those observations I think we should continue with our business.

MR. OMARA ATUBO: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I thank you for your ruling that we should adjourn for two weeks and I fully agree with you that we should really come on Monday but I want to propose that with the experience that we might have had in NRC the problem of getting transport on Sunday for Members to come back to Kampala especially up-country Members and the fact that Sunday normally is a day when Members would like to have a cool off with their families and so on. I think the most convenient day for us to come back may not be a Monday but a Tuesday and so I propose that instead of coming back on the 6th and be here at 9.30 a.m. on Monday, Tuesday may be quite a much better convenient date because this is really when buses and other transport are easier to get from up-country. So I propose that we come back on Tuesday the 7th rather than on Monday the 6th, Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: I guess many members travel by public transport from various parts of the country and the observation made and the suggestion made will be taken into account at the time we come to an adjournment. I will consult my people as well. Thank you.

MR. KARUHANGA: Point of procedure. Mr. Chairman I have a procedural Point to make. There are many people who are going to come later and when they come they would like to speak. I would propose that those who want to speak and are here should put up their hands. Late Comers should not interrupt us. So that we can also hear the names of those people going on the committee and it is a Friday and people can be able to disperse in time before lunch.

A DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: We need to expedite our work but of course we must be slightly flexible. However it would appear that more hands are beginning to

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES: Let us have the names, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us do it this way, let us count from there. Let us clear this way so that we do not go back. I will ask the Deputy Commissioner to take note of the names of those Members so that I will be calling them name by name. Meanwhile you start.

MRS. J. MUKWAYA (Mukono South): Mr. Chairman, I want to register my sincere thanks to the Distinguished Delegates for having agreed in principle to give the Chair of the Deputy to a lady. *(Applause)*

THE CHAIRMAN: Sorry, just a moment. Will those delegates who would like to speak put up their hands so that they can be noted by their names? *(Interruption)*. So that we do not appear to be chaotic let us do this ritual first before we begin.

MR. KARUHANGA: May be I thought I could raise another matter you could consider. Seeing that there are more than thirty people who are going to speak, is it possible for us to dispose of the committee first and then talk?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am also trying to get a consensus as to the need for the committee so if we assume that, I think we should allow everybody a comment, may be the thirty may not want the committee. Sorry, Distinguished Delegate, you can continue.

MRS. MUKWAYA: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, I continue from the point I had already made. I want to mention here that from my own experience, I realise that we have a distorted history. Some history has been written with malice, some is exaggerated and information is left out. So, I would request that during the debate, the Distinguished Delegates listen even if a point which is being raised by a delegate appears out of context. Secondly, I would also request that now we are embarking on National building, I would wish to see our real political values being enshrined in this Constitution and political values are different from place to place. I realise there are some of the common constitutional values but at the same time we should also respect different political values from different areas.

Mr. Chairman, about the lobby groups, I think it is important that we should have them. People should

lobby and people should explain what exactly they want because I do not want to see a constitution being rejected because some people did not actually feel that their views were catered for. So, let lobby groups be encouraged. Those who fear lobby groups should enter them and hear what people are explaining or what they are talking about. Mr. Chairman, we have only suggested only one committee and that is the Rules Committee but I did not like the idea of our allowances being discussed in the newspapers. I would suggest that we have a Welfare Committee. Let us give our views of what we think our welfare should be and when we come back, let us find a package of what this Welfare Committee has suggested other than - we have problems, we have debts. We do not want people to come around lingering because we have to pay for accommodation, lunch, transport. I did not like the idea of my allowances being discussed. I think the others feel the same way too. So, I suggest Mr. Chairman, that besides the Rules Committee, we have a Welfare Committee. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

MR. A. MUKWAYA (C.A. Delegate, Busiro East County): Thank You very much Mr. Chairman. I am going to make just a few points. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to be out of gear. I would like also to follow suit those people who congratulated you and your deputy and pray that you succeed in the task ahead of you. I am happy that the chair is being occupied by a very able chairman and a charismatic deputy. Mr. Chairman, the onus before us is to make a good document and in my view, every document of importance must have a spirit. It is my humble opinion Mr. Chairman, that this Constitution must have a basic spirit geared to uniting the people of Uganda for economic emancipation, political and social development. I, therefore, appeal to my fellow delegates Mr. Chairman, that while we are deliberating this Constitution, we must focus on that objective; that we must have a spirit enshrined in the constitution for political, cultural and economic emancipation of our people and try as much as possible to gap our differences or opinions, be them cultural, political or Otherwise. Mr. Chairman, why I am saying this? we have heard in many circles and somewhat it may be correct that some of our Past constitutions are being rejected because of the spirit under which they were written and promulgated. I hate to see this Constitution we are going to make being labelled NRM's something of the sort. So, I think while we are here, the focus should be actually to make a good Constitution that will stand the test of time.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, I am happy to have received yesterday the text of the Draft Constitution which is a true copy of the draft which was circulated. You must have heard Mr. Chairman, that there were other copies of constitutions - I do not know from where and some of our people were worried about these copies which are not official. So, I wanted to thank the Commission for having achieved that objective of circulating the true copies of our draft constitution which was circulated to the population and I want to assure our population especially the electorate in my constituency of Busiro east that the copy we have received is a true copy of the draft which is already in circulation. I think the affair should be put to rest. Lastly, Mr. Chairman, I think while we are here we should try to speak loud and clear about all our issues. Since we have had this opportunity to meet as Ugandans, to forge our future, we should leave no stone unturned - if there is any issue, however controversial or delicate it would sound; Let it be discussed openly and then we will come to a common ground. Other than thinking that if I speak such and such, I will be misunderstood or if I give Opinion I will be labelled. I think let us be open and free so that at the end of the day each and everybody's view is heard and understood and appreciated. I think that is the only way we are going to achieve our objective and make a meaningful constitution for our people. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

MR. MUKASA MURULI (C.A. Delegate, Nakasongola County): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I represent Nakasongola County in Luwero District. I too, Mr. Chairman, would like to extend my Warm congratulations to you and deputy chairman and the Distinguished Delegates, the Constitutional Commission and indeed everybody who has done this or that to make sure that this Assembly is in place. Mr. Chairman, and the Distinguished Delegates, I would like us really not to lose the significance of this moment. This moment is very important because for the first time in the history of modern Uganda, the people of Uganda have come together here in their own country to chart out a way we shall govern ourselves. It is for the first time. This moment has taken 100 years to arrive here. I say 100 years because really I think it is about 100 years that Sir Gerald Portal made the first British foothold here in this part of Uganda. Now, this journey of a hundred years has been very long. It has not been very easy. It has been marred with wars, with problems, with dictatorships name it; all

the suffering and all the problems that we have gone through. Now there is hope that we have gone through all these problems, there is hope now that practically almost every Ugandan would like to be governed in peace, would like to be in unity, would like really to settle down and work for the development of this country. However, these problems that we have gone through are not too far away; we could very easily if we are not very careful go back through the same path that we have travelled for the last 100 years. Therefore, as we debate this constitution we should never either consciously or unconsciously do anything or debate in such manner that will lead us back to the problems that we have endured for the last 100 years. Mr. Chairman, a lot has been said about lobbying. Lobbying in itself really is not very bad but i think it can be a double edged sword if it is not done properly. We would like to lobby maybe in the spirit of carrying out consultation or trying to explain the position with the view of wooing or winning over the other side but if we lobby with the spirit of hardening feelings and making sure that the different blocks are concretised, then lobbying can be a problem. So i hope if you lobby then you should lobby for the sake of unity, for the sake of oneness. You do not lose track of where you are going. Mr. Chairman, I wish to suggest that there should be a registration book, an attendance book at the entrance to this hall so that when we come in every morning we register as come in; instead of this other system there is. It is a little bit difficult. At times when you come in, they say there is a list which is going around. It does not come, it does not arrive, it does not cover everybody and some of us might suffer because it is said that if you are absent for two days or something then your name will be announced. It might be announced really by mistake because the list has not come to you; but if there is a book at the entrance, the first thing you do is to sign and then you come in, then you can avoid this kind of embarrassment, Mr. Chairman, it is very important really that every delegate should get a chance to discharge or to present the message which its constituent sent him to do. This is really very important because each one of us has a package he has brought to the rest of the Ugandans to put forward. So, I would say - okay this registration is very good but I think we should not rely very much on catching the eye of the Chairman. At times when you are too short like me, the eye of the Chairman might miss you. So I would rather say there should be an in-built mechanism that whether the eye of the chairman has been caught or not, you as a delegate, at least during these initial months you

will have a chance to present the package that you were sent to bring. Mr. chairman, I thank you very much with those few words.

DR. MIYINGO-KEZIMBIRA .L (Bukoto Mid-west County): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I wish to congratulate you like everybody else has done upon the election to the post of Chairman to this Assembly. I also wish to congratulate your deputy and the Commission which has been in charge of preparing for what we are handling now. Mr. Chairman, I would like to begin by making a little comment over His Excellency's address to us. It was a very good address and I picked one point which I thought all of us could reflect on. This is the point where he said that we have watched before in this country and in Africa, leaders and distinguished citizens creating chaos for other nationals and having set the house ablaze, they take the fastest means out of the country and go and live elsewhere, leaving problems behind. Our duty here Mr. Chairman, as delegates of Ugandans who have not had a very pleasant history, is to try and bring and maintain the tranquillity, stability and peace that was established. I do not think we fall in the group of those who can set fire on this country and run away. The people are looking at us and we should also endeavour during our time here to make sure that the document that we will eventually produce will ensure that we do not undermine the effort of the gallant soldiers who brought peace here and the efforts of the NRM government which has enabled us to sit here and determine the future of this country.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, I would like also to give support to the Members of NRA who are here, who laboured so much yesterday to try and justify their being here and also showed to us that they are not our enemies and we should not fear them. Indeed we should not fear these people because we are here because of what they did before (*Applause*). So I really want to assure the members of NRA who are only ten compared to 276 that we are with them and we appreciate what they did. I would also like to touch on the point made before by someone that we should not look into our past. We should just proceed and look into the present and the future. I think it would be very wrong if we would not review our past. The very reason why we have the 1962 and 1967 Constitution is for us to look back. How can we forget the events that have taken place before and we just proceed? Mistakes that have been made before Mr. Chairman, need to be corrected and we must lay

a foundation that will not lead us back to the past which was not very good for this nation.

I would also like to voice my concern over statements that I have heard continually from hon. Members, sometimes to the effect that the NRM government has no agenda or programme. This disturbs me a great deal because we have watched this country progress over the last eight years with definite programmes being set in place and one will be very ungrateful if he said that NRM government or NRM did not have a programme. We have the Ten Point Programme which I think is being fulfilled point by point and we have reached a point now where we are deliberating on the Constitution for this nation and not honestly if we are here to do that, I would really want to take the view that the NRM or NRM government has no agenda. I think this is misleading. Mr. Chairman, I would like to just touch on a few other small things. One is the point that was raised by hon. Kavuma that we should have at least a place to retire to after business so that we meet socially with each other. I noted after His Excellency's address here when we met at the Nile Gardens; we had a very intimate time with each other and it will simply do us good if we had a place where we can all converge and probably discuss further whatever we may have deliberated on in the House. I would also like to touch a little on the arrangement of sitting here. I feel this arrangement alphabetically is quite good and it will allow us an opportunity not to group ourselves according to the people we like to sit with. The English saying is that birds of the same feather flock together. If we were given a opportunity to just sit the way we wanted, you would find that friends would find their own friends and ministers would find ministers - (*Applause*) - and eventually Mr. Chairman, you would be attracted to one point of the House and maybe forget the small ones like us. So let us mix up the way we are. None of us planned for him to be M or A or O. Thank you for the opportunity you have accorded me and I hope that we shall continue to get an opportunity to address issues.

DR. MUGYENYI POSIANO (C.A. Delegate, Isingiro North County): Thank you Mr. Chairman, I will not divert from the rest of the Members to congratulating you and your vice and the CA Commission. In addition, I would also take some bit of time to congratulate the NRM government for two main issues. One, for having been the first government to recognise what other governments have not recognised - that is the potential of

Women. *(Applause)* Mr. Chairman, the difference between men and women is just physiological, it is just a hormonal difference. There is no difference in performance output. *(Applause)* So, Mr. chairman, I do congratulate the NRM government for having realised that the past governments have been utilising only half of the human resource of the Ugandan human race and neglecting the other half, and now that the other half is being tapped, I hope the output and the development in the country will be doubled. On the second point, I would also like to congratulate the NRM government for living a long vision - what they envisaged in 1981 is just coming true in 1994. Having a vision is not simple for everybody. It just comes for those who have it. I would like to congratulate the NRM government for that and the NRA gallant soldiers who envisaged something in 1981 and it is coming true now. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to comment on what a Distinguished Delegate said yesterday on the inclusion of soldiers. I think we are being very unfair and we are being like a certain wise man who climbed a tree, he sat on a branch, then he was very happy to see himself cutting the beginning of the branch. I think we are being very unfair and unwise. NRA are gallant Ugandans, they prepared what we are doing now and then after sitting here we say why are you here? Why do we not ask ourselves why are we here? I think as my colleague said yesterday, even other Ugandans would have been here but because the hall is very small, not all of us could be here. So 10 NRA soldiers are very justified and in my view are very few for the work they did. Mr. Chairman, I would have wanted former Heads of State even to be around like Lt. Gen. Tito Okello, I would have wished him to participate in the shaping of the future of this country. I would also like to comment on formation of blocks. Mr. Chairman, I noted something very nasty when we were electing the Chairman and the vice: where people were putting themselves in regional blocks. In my view, it is not very healthy because it has got a problem of sacrificing objectivity to block interests and therefore I think this House is like a stock exchange, where you come with a package from your Constituency and you just throw it on the table for other Ugandans from other parts of the country to buy, I would also add on the voice of other Colleagues who called upon Distinguished Delegates to come with open minds and see that what is being produced can be sold in other parts of the country. I would like to call upon our veteran politicians whom we usually read in the papers as political heavyweights. I would like to call upon

them to help us in this constitutional making exercise, to guide us rather than misguide us. I think it is opportune time for us to forget our past differences; because the rules we are putting forward are the rules of the game. So we should all imagine that next time, we shall be leaders in this country and therefore, we set very good and fair rules for us to play the game of administering and governing this country.

There was an issue of whether we are equal or not. It is good that you clarified it that we are all equal in this House. To me it is not an issue whether we are equal or not but we are in this room. The Bible says that it is not what enters your body that matters but what comes out of your body. So whether you are equal or not, the work we do to shape the future of this country is the one that matters. Lastly, Mr. Chairman, I have some few administrative points to make. One, I support the idea of having a formalised way of picking on Delegates to speak rather than struggling to put up our hands.

Secondly, I would like to point out what Delegate Francis Babu had pointed out yesterday; we had rough time to pick our cards just before the inauguration ceremony, So if next time these could be circulated better, we would like that one.

Lastly, Mr. Chairman, we would want whatever way we are arranged to remain like that. The other day we were sitting, when we came back we found ourselves changed. The other day I think we shall find ourselves in the gallery. So, if there can be a constant sitting arrangement, we would like that one. Mr. Chairman, I would end by again congratulating and thanking you for giving me the opportunity to speak.

MR. MBURA-MUHINDO J. (C.A Delegate, Busongora South County): Thank you Mr. Chairman. Allow to join the rest of the Distinguished Colleagues in congratulating you upon the landslide victory and the mandate you got from this House and your deputy and I would also like to thank the Distinguished Delegates for having put that confidence into you. Mr. Chairman, I congratulate all the Distinguished delegates for this unique opportunity in the history of Uganda to be here at this material time of our lives to discuss and build a new Uganda through producing a Constitution that should be acceptable to all shades of opinion; and mainly here I want to point out that this constitution must be acceptable first and foremost to those who are ruled

and also to the rulers. Because those two play a very big role in making the Constitution acceptable to the population. Looking back to our history, this is a very big step in moving forward and in positive gear and indeed the elections which we went through are an experience which I am sure every Distinguished Delegate Still remembers. It demystified the allegations that elections in this country cannot be manageable and that they could not be free; because that was the order of the day in the past but this attitude has been demystified by the elections which we all went through - despite a few problems here and there. But I think this was a very big step for this country. Now, Mr. Chairman, the aspirations of a few Ugandans who went through the struggle that has brought us to this stage should be highly commended. As the last speaker has just said, after climbing a tree, then you think you should cut or uproot the roots. That is a step towards just destroying yourself and so I would like to commend those who went through the struggle and through that struggle we are here and those of us who are here, this is our turn to keep the fire of the revolution burning because those others did their part and our role here is to keep the fire of the revolution burning. It goes without saying Mr. Chairman, that the NRM government has done all that is humanly possible to bring the Ugandans to sanity and what is left for us who are gathered in this House is to consolidate the peace, the stability and to create development in this country which all the Ugandans are looking towards. Now, the results of the constitution making will be a final audit for judging the performance of this government. This point must be taken very seriously. Now, let us join those who are here and those who have departed in the yearn to build a new democratic Uganda through the various activities that have now culminated into the making of the country's Constitution which will be the pillar for a future Uganda.

Mr. Chairman, I am most grateful that I have joined the rest of the Ugandans to be here and to be part of this Assembly that is making this very important document and all members who are here, I think this is your pride - not every Ugandan will ever have this chance; but you have had the chance and I feel we must be very grateful and proud. But being grateful and being proud should not betray those who sent us here because those who sent us here and those who are yet to be born will be controlled by the document that we are going to produce. We should also bear in mind whom do we represent? We are representing the majority of Ugandans who are rural and are

peasants and in our deliberations this point must be borne in mind that many of us we are representing peasants and whose aspirations must appear in the document that we are going to produce. So, Mr. Chairman, I have no doubts in my mind that the Distinguished Delegates will not let Uganda down - a misfortune that has happened in the past stating an example like in 1979, Uganda got an opportunity just like this one which we are having to be set on opportunity was wasted and out of that waste we have paid so heavily. That is part of the reason why we are here to correct the mistakes of the past.

I would like to comment on the issue of committees. Mr. Chairman, I also support that we should have a committee on rules as an immediate priority. And when the rules are made then we can make many other committees; because I realise that through committees, a lot of work can be done very fast and that one will make us move bearing in mind the short time which we have.

I also want to comment on the sitting hours. Mr. Chairman, although we are saying that this is a full time activity but we must bear in mind other factors. Sitting from 9.30 a.m. up to about 1.00 p.m. and then from 2.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m.; I can see that sometimes the brains may get tired and we begin to produce diminishing returns. So I would like to request that these hours should not be for too long because it is not the question of sitting that matters most - it is the output which matters.

Then Mr. Chairman, I have read through the draft procedures and we are supposed to be here from Monday up to Friday but I would like to propose Mr. Chairman, that you are aware we are delegates and many of us are always in constant touch with our people and it is by that reason that we happen to be here. Many of us at the weekend travel home, we go and consult and also are able to come back. Coming back on a Sunday is really difficult because that is the day when we do most of our consultations; because on Sundays is when there is not much formal work and that is when we consult our people. I would beg that the day of a Monday be set free so that we come and begin our business on Tuesday at 9.30 a.m.; because I would not like us to believe that we can be here on Monday and only to find that there is no quorum. I do not think that one will do us any good. So, with those comments Mr. Chairman, I once again thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak and that the people of Busongora South,

Kasese are sending you greetings and please stay in the chair, you have our support.

THE CHAIRMAN: Distinguished Delegates, I am not making any specific reference but I would like to remind you of our decision to utilise five minutes per delegate because there are many of us. I am a bit flexible but I think let us try to finish within five minutes.

MR. MAZIMA E. (C.A. Delegate for National Union of Disabled persons in Uganda): Mr. Chairman, allow me Mr. Chairman, to join fellow delegates who have already congratulated you and your deputy for having been elevated to your respective positions. Mr. Chairman, allow me also to move a vote thanks to the NRM government for one major point which took us time to realise. When NRM government took over power in 1986, among other things it talked about was a fundamental change. It took me time to understand that word but later I did realise what it means through the fruits of our own efforts that were created because of a conducive atmosphere created by NRM government. We are very grateful. We are also grateful that we are offered one seat - that is why I am here to represent the views of the disabled people. We are very grateful and it should be on record.

However, Mr. Chairman, one seat is a drop in the ocean because according to statistics, estimates being made by the World Health Organisation, it is estimated that in every developing country, 10 percent of its population is disabled; but I am told somebody has done research in Luwero district and found out that disabled people constitute 14 percent of the District population. I am not sure but that was what I have been told. Mr. Chairman, I am a delegate representing about two million people while some of the fellow delegates are representing 70,000 - 140,000. Mr. Chairman, we are not ungrateful but we are saying that one seat is not adequate and we say it because it is our right to say so. We are not being ungrateful, we are already grateful.

Let me make some other observations as well. One is on the sitting arrangement. I agree with the current arrangement according to alphabetical order but I think there should be some modifications because we are being shifted from one place to the other and it is an inconvenience. If you are looking for your seat, it takes you 30 minutes and this is an inconvenience. So, I would like to appeal to the Committee which

is going to be put in place to give this a priority; that it works out something which is agreeable to all of us.

On Rules of Procedure, I would like to mention three points there. Yesterday, Delegate Doctor Chebrot talked about people who come in with sticks. Mr. Chairman, I would like to seek clarification on what those sticks mean because he talked of dangerous sticks. Mine is a stick. I would like to know whether it is a dangerous one. It is a point which I have to emphasise Mr. Chairman. If it is classified among the dangerous weapons, then I would say it is a violation of our rights as disabled people. Even those people putting on glasses - one would say they are dangerous weapons and if assuming there was a deaf person here who cannot hear what you are saying and through the interpreter - maybe the interpreter would also be regarded as a stranger. If there was a blind person here who cannot read all these documents that have been circulated to us, a blind person can get this information through a reader. If he comes here Mr. Chairman, will this person be regarded as a stranger? I would like the Committee put in place for the Rules of Procedure to look into this Mr. Chairman. As a Delegate representing the whole country, I am supposed to be consulting all the disabled people in the country. I do not even have a bicycle; even if I had one, I could not ride it all over Uganda. I would like your office Mr. Chairman, to look into this issue and see how I could be facilitated to consult my People. We are making a Constitution. We are building a nation and there are people who are willing to facilitate me but one cannot be sure of their motives to influence me. Why should I be facilitated by people maybe with hidden agendas when my government is here? Why can it not facilitate me, Mr. Chairman? I think this issue should be looked into by your office Mr. Chairman.

Let me correct one impression - I am referring to one Delegate Tibererwa Atwom. Because yesterday, I assumed it was an attack to specified groups being associated with this government and during the campaigns this is what was being said in certain districts. I am saying this because I travelled to almost three quarters of the districts; that NRM has allowed in women, disabled people because they want to be associated with them. Mr. Chairman, let me clarify this and give information. I will give three examples. One is Kabale Municipality, one is Lira Municipality, another one is Gulu Municipality. I was told by disabled people in those areas that we know as disabled people that you might be affiliated

to a certain political party or a movement but what we want, if that issue is to be discussed, to discuss it through our respective delegates. It will be a violation of their right Mr. Chairman to work contrary to their wishes. As an individual, maybe I will also deal with the situation. But when it comes to that, my recommendation is that people should be consulted.

My other worry, Mr. Chairman, when you talk of consulting people, some of our Politicians get scared. It is my worry when we are making the Constitution. Let me talk about the seats that were offered to UPC and UPM. Maybe they did not see the value of being here and since Mr. Chairman, I have already stated that disabled people are inadequately represented, I would like to make a humble request that those seats be offered to disabled people. We have people who belong to UPC as individuals. We have people who would like to come to this House and debate as individuals and take up those seats.

One more point before I wind up is about the youth. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful that government recognised the youth; but I am not happy with some of the methods being used by the youth to promote their cause. I am giving a specific example of the students in higher institutions of learning. I got surprised - maybe their cause is justifiable - but they have representatives in NRC, they have representatives here but why do they demonstrate? Why did they not talk through these representatives? Do they value them? It is an issue which we need to look at and we maybe we should blame the tradition. Students are used to demonstrations but should they demonstrate when they have already sent in their representatives in Organs that make the law? Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for listening to me.

LT. MAYOMBO N. (C.A. Delegate for the Army): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I bring you revolutionary salutations from officers and men of the National Resistance Army. The officers and the men of the NRA are pleased with your election. They are pleased with the work that has been done by the Justice Odoki Commission, they are pleased with the work done by the Constituent Assembly Commission and they are very happy Mr. Chairman.

Yesterday Mr. Chairman, my constituency was on trial. The Distinguished Delegate who drew up the incitement was nobody other than Delegate Tiberio Okeny. There is no reason to believe that he had any

ill-will, all we can say is that he may have had misgivings but to the hon. Delegate, the officers and men you see here and very many outside there did not join this army because they wanted. They were compelled to do so. The very reason which exclude them from political participation, the conditions which wanted to disfranchise them are the very conditions which forced them to wear uniform, put in place a process of democratisation and fight exclusionism and fight a situation which would make them political refugees in their own countries. So, Mr. Chairman, it is this that we salute the NRC for having realised the importance of their involvement in process of consummating this constitution making exercise.

One of the advantages of the involvement of the army is that if any force would want tomorrow to use extra constitutional or extra legal measures to challenge this process, we have the right to say no you were ther. If you wanted to bring any idea, you would have put it there but if we had been excluded Mr. Chairman, from this participation, we would have the reason to stand up and claim legitimacy to challenge this authority Mr. Chairman. We do not have that legitimacy now that we have Participated in its consummation.

I also wish to take this opportunity to request my colleagues of Uganda People's Congress to occupy their seats because the Constitution we are going to put in place will have both flexible and rigid principles. I know they like their party but I am sure they love the country more. So, they should take advantage of their seats and make their contribution. If the Constitution does not satisfy all that they want, it will still have room for amendment to reflect the changing conditions in the country.

All can say, is that there are two types of constitutions. A constitution can either be fictitious or genuine one. A fictitious constitution is one which you simply photo copy from other societies. A genuine constitution is one which emerges from the experiences, from the values, from the aspirations of the people of Uganda. I am confident Mr. Chairman, that this House under your guidance will put in place a genuine constitution that reflects the will, the aspirations of the 17 million people and those yet to be born.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, to show you the new character of the army, I am proud to announce that in this Assembly we have a serving Senior Officer - it does

not happen in most countries of the world for Intelligence Officers to stand for elections. Mr. Chairman, the Director General of the External Security Organisation and a serving Army Officer in the NRA got one of the highest polls in this country. That shows you the new character of the NRA. Mr. Chairman, we shall honour and respect this Constitution as the new era has dawned on the history of Uganda.

MR. SEKITOLEKO SEBASTIAN (C.A. Delegate, Bugangaizi County) Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to add my voice on all those who have wished you well and your deputy. I wish also to thank the Commissioner and all people including the security that took part in organising these elections. Mr. Chairman, I wish further to associate myself with all of those who have said the words of praise to the NRM government for the wonderful job that they did in organising these elections and also of making it easy to meet and discuss the affairs concerning our country. Fellow delegates, this is an opportune time for us in the history of this country. It has been difficult for us for a very long time to meet to discuss, to find solutions to our problems. I see now at this moment there is that atmosphere. There is an atmosphere of people meeting, people talking. Only last week Mr. chairman, there was a meeting in my Constituency between the DPs and the UPCs but I am told also there were such meetings between DPs and UpCs here at the national level. Such meetings would have been impossible in the past but today we can organise such meetings; we meet, we discuss affairs. A meeting like this one for instance, an Assembly like this one is a good example of that. Being able to meet and discuss affairs that affect us is a great thing. I thank all those who have assisted us, who have been in that struggle to make this country reach where it is.

I want to say something about our Rules of Procedure; but I think the only easiest method we should take is to identify the different Committees we may require. For instance we have already identified that we require a drafting committee; we also require the privileges committee. Certainly we cannot do without the Finance Committee. Now, after we have identified those committees, let us request delegates to join at their choice any committee that they so wish, then any matter that comes could be pushed to these committees. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. SAKWA D. (C.A. Delegate, Bungokho South County): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to contribute to this general discussion. Mr. Chairman, permit me to congratulate you and your deputy for having risen to your respective high offices. Fellow Delegates, let me congratulate you for your wisdom in balancing the gender scale by electing an able lady deputy. *(Applause)* I wish to comment on three or four issues depending on the time,

The first one is constitutionalism and sensitisation of the masses. Mr. Chairman, I am glad that every delegate who has come to speak has emphasised the need to make a good constitution; a constitution for the people but my worry is that we may make a good document which will be read and understood by very few. Up to very recently Mr. Chairman, many of us seated in this august House had never seen a constitution document until we ventured into the business of campaigning for C.A elections and I do understand and recognise that many of us are well educated people. What about the masses who have no chance, who have never been to school? The reason why most constitutions get overthrown Mr. Chairman, is that the people do not know even what a constitution is let alone knowing why there should be a constitution. So, my message to the fellow delegates here, is that we should try our best to make a short but concise constitution which can be taught to people even at primary school level and to adults using adult education seminars. Let us not write the penal code; let us write a Constitution which every Ugandan should be able to virtually recite. So that he will be able to defend it. In this respect, I wish to appeal to the Constitution Commission to facilitate delegates to be in constant touch with the electorate and continuously explain to them the process we are going through in making a Constitution. Because Mr. Chairman, many of us will recall that when we were campaigning for the C.A, the peasants in village were of the impression that we campaigning to become Members of Parliament. We were going to be given pajeros, pick-ups and hence they made uncompromising and usually impossible demands saying that you give us to eat since you are also going to eat. If they had known that we were going to make a constitution, the campaigns would have been different Mr. Chairman.

I would also like to comment on the sitting arrangement here. Much as I respect the natural sequence of sitting in alphabetical order. there are many

problems associated with this arrangement Mr. Chairman. The first one is that now I am in position to consult with only people whose names start with 'S' because they sit next to me. Secondly, that some of us whose names are at the tail of the alphabet, are permanently backbenchers and we do not even have facilities to write on. So, I would like us to encourage time keeping by having a free sitting method so that first come, first seated and then people who come late should be punished by sitting behind. The sitting arrangement also raises a question on the issue of compromise. If I have come from Bunghoko South with ideas of the people of Bunghoko South and I need to exchange my views with people from different locations, I should be able to sit at random with different people so that we can exchange views Mr. Chairman.

Let me comment on the hours of business. Much as I understand and recognise that we have limited time in which to produce the final constitution, I think it is being over ambitious to expect people to sit in this hall for eight hours in a day whereby probably half will be sitting listening and probably another half contributing. We must recognise that there are elderly people here who may not be in a position to sit that long attentively. At the end of the day we shall begin to degenerate and you will see that the degree of absence will be extremely high. So, I pray that we should sit only during morning hours Mr. Chairman.

With those few comments, I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to talk and also again to congratulate you for having attained that high office. Thank you.

MR SEBI DATA HAROUN (Koboko County) Thank you, Mr Chairman and your Deputy for the election to the highest office of this Assembly. One point on the role of the mass media in the Constitution making, I would like to thank them for the tremendous effort they put in, in providing civic education to the Ugandan population free of charge right from the beginning of the Constitution-making exercise and I am happy to note that most Ugandans have appreciated this role.

For example, Uganda Constitutional Commission report on page 35 states and I quote:

'On methodology and sources of news, on methodology and sources, the article on newspapers says, from the very start of the Constitution-making process, the dx media, the mass media, was very

much involved in. It enlightened people on Constitutional issues, it gave substantive coverage to Constitutional seminars and views expressed and entertained articles from the general public on Constitutional issues. Numerous letters to the Editors discussed Constitutional subjects and from time to time, particular newspapers stimulated debates on some of the controversial matters. This highly relevant material was kept and organised as an important source of views on the new Constitution; which the Commissioners could not overlook'. End of quote.

I would like to add that the papers also provided entertainment. I remember to have seen a cartoon which depicted one of the voters carrying a whole lot of presents: shirts, 3 videos and T.Vs from John and so on and so forth, not to mention an aspiring candidate who allegedly booked a whole pot of local brew, but later on sneaked out without paying the owner. So, there was a lot of entertainment. The press therefore, played a very big role, Mr. Chairman, in educating us and as a result, for the first time, the Ugandan peasant recognised that he had a value; that his vote was very important. You note a newspaper headline on the eve of March 28th, which read, *it is a divided country, come March 28th*; and indeed, Mr. Chairman, I think every body will agree with me that on the eve of the election day, Uganda was a politically a highly charged society; people were divided from the household right up to the streets. The impact of that election, Mr. Chairman, has not been taken easily by some people. My appeal is that maybe, the Constituent Assembly Commission should have continued along with the mass media to appeal to our people that losing in an election is normal and winning in an election is normal; that would have consoled some of the people. But as I speak now, I am sure some people are still not happy with us for losing; and for us who have won, we find it a problem to try to talk to them and console them; because they say you are the winners, you are saying this because you have won. But I think that maybe somebody, some third party, should have come in to console them; they would have felt a little better maybe.

Mr. Chairman, my second point concerns our unity as Ugandans. Uganda as a geographical territory, is not in itself enough to unite us. So I would appeal to this august Assembly that while we discuss issues of unity, we should critically analyse genuinely those elements that bind us together as Ugandans - that

define our Ugandanship; isolate them from those elements that have a tendency of dividing us. In the jargon of socio-scientists, we should isolate the centripetal forces from the centrifugal forces; we should come up with a question like, what are the cohesive forces that will bring us together and what are the dividing or divisive forces that will keep us apart?

There are some cases where we have backslid, Mr. Chairman. At one time, the education system was such that the selection to Senior one or Senior Five, was irrespective of the regional origin of a student. A student from the North would find himself in Kigezi College, Butobere or in Bweranyangi or in Sebei College, Samuel Baker, St. Charles Lwanga-Koboko, etc, etc and that one gave us a sense of direction and belonging. We knew that at least being a Ugandan meant one thing; that you could go any where. A civil servant could go anywhere.

Mr. Chairman, I am not trying to preempt the real issues that we shall discuss in the draft Constitution, but I am just trying to sound and tip the House before we come to those issues. Thank you very much.

DR. MUSAANA SOPHY (Buikwe County North): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am told you have been congratulated enough, so I will start with the points.

First of all, I have been studying the way we have been proceeding something came to my mind that if we start off our business, we should remember one statement; that good managers are usually good managers of time. Once we start repeating ourselves and meandering with the same issues, I think we might end up being bad managers of the business we are set out to tackle.

Secondly, I would like to request my fellow delegates that much as a lot has been said about us being ready to listen to the different views of our friends, I would add on to that. Apart from listening, we should come here with an open mind which includes being able to walk some way towards whoever is presenting a different view; this will enable us not to take certain stands and say I have stood and I am not ready to move. Be able to move half way and be able to have an open mind which will either get defeated or convinced and when someone has convinced you, do not take on the repulsive side of the views and say, I

Another issue which has been talked about is the blockanisation system that this area has formed a block. The block formation would be good when it comes lobbying for issues which we think are not retrogressive. But when we look at the other side of the coin, we might find that block formation without looking into our history might be detrimental to our progress. In addition to that, may be I could mention one point which was submitted by one of the delegates but it was not good for some people to go back to the past. I think in this august House, we have got people who have been in the political systems since the early 60s. If these people do not reflect on what happened since the early 60s and note what went wrong, and we come to this House with a blind eye to what has been happening, I think we will have no progress at all.

What we need to do is to reflect on our past and future and with these people, they know what went wrong, what they did wrong and should be the very people to guide us not to repeat the past Mistakes. As for the talking maybe when we come to doing serious business in the plenary all the people will be able to talk, but a suggestion box where some people could have written submissions would be an additional instrument to be used to get all the peoples' views.

Lastly, in logistics I think the Welfare Committee is a much welcome committee, because presently, we are living in a situation where we do not know what is paid for what; especially when it comes to some cheques being paid, we do not know for how many days and for what. Maybe if a committee was there, it would look into the details of these payments and see if whatever we were getting was enough or not enough. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

MR. BAGENA ANTHONY (Bufumbira County East): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. On behalf of the people of Bufumbira County East Mr. Chairman, who sent me here and the people of Kisoro district at large, allow me to join my Colleagues in congratulating you and your deputy upon winning and sustaining the confidence of this august Assembly. I would also like to congratulate all the distinguished delegates upon their success in the struggle. Mr. Chairman, you will appreciate that each of us 283 distinguished delegates representing the entire 17 million people of Uganda, will now and in due course, strive to speak and be heard. It is good that you have ably demonstrated you are willing to give

everyone a chance to speak. In view of the fact, however, that within the four to seven months period that we have here, all useful ideas must be brought forward so that they be reflected in the Constitution. It will be absolutely imperative that we listen carefully to one another and avoid repeating what others have said, however inarticulately. Our people are anxiously waiting to hear work has seriously started on the making of that long-awaited supreme law of our land - a truly Ugandan Constitution.

We are all agreed on a Constitution that will ensure there is unity, peace, equality and good and democratic governance of our people. The people I represent would like to add that this Constitution must emphasise that all Ugandans are equal with regard to the opportunities and prosperity. No loopholes must be left for some people to be marginalised, no matter whether they belong to the border areas of our country.

The NRM leadership has started and done well so far. It is the hope and the wish of the Bafumbira people that the Constitution will give the necessary backing for this monumental work to continue; a Government of national unity for now and the future; a system that is responsible for and responsive to the needs of its people now and for ages to come, is what our people are looking forward to. Mr. Chairman, our people are anxious to see work started and I will be brief and stop here.

MR. ATAMVAKU ZUBAIRI NASSEM (Arua Municipality): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will begin by saying that it is almost a tradition that we accept compromise as a self proven axiom for Constitution making. We often agree that a Constitution comes out after some reasonable discussion, after some reasonable debate and therefore, we reach a compromise. However, what is often taken for granted and therefore at times overlooked is that, only persons and groups of persons who enjoy some relation of parity can reach a compromise and therefore, in this country Uganda, if we are going to make a Constitution that operates fairly for all, our own compromise is a major asset. We must realise each and every delegate is elected from a Constituency and that delegate elected is a free citizen. For that matter, there should be neither the victor and the vanquished nor the imagination of the conquer and the conquered. There should be no imagination of the conqueror and the conquered. Mr. Chairman, I would therefore go ahead to say that bearing that in mind, we should also note that, however much we are

convinced of the sovereignty and independence of this august gathering, we should not forget the fact that this Assembly enjoys both physical and institutional proximity to the centres of power, hence, whatever occurs here, whatever we discuss here, may be conditioned in reality or in secondary interpretation by certain utterances outside this House. For that matter, Mr. Chairman, it is in this context that I will like to place some of the misgivings of my fellow delegates regarding the categories of representatives in this Assembly. It is not out of undue fear, it is not our undue suspicion; but I think if we went to the Constituent Assembly elections as free, independent citizens, as citizens at par, not as citizens at war, not as potential conquerors and the conquered, then we would continue with our deliberations without any little suspicion. But as I said earlier, that proximity of this Assembly to centres of power outside make whatever is uttered outside this House, relevant to consideration of many issues here. Now, to be specific Mr. Chairman, I believe that the language of constitution making should among others be most probably political and legal. But to turn a Constitutional language into a language of belligerence, then it makes others to doubt whether they are free or they are conquered.

I take exception of such idioms, like the Zulu horn. In the use of such idioms like the Zulu horn, you cannot talk of making a genuine Constitution of compromise if you talk of having conquered others. This point I take an exceptional view of it, because it is not enough first to emphasise compromise, it is not enough for us to emphasise tolerance; but we must also make sure that in our language, what it reflects, is the innermost heart for peace, freedom and tolerance. What in our language is reflected should not be the unfortunate thinking of a military conqueror talking to vassal states. Mr. Chairman, I therefore proceed to say that, whenever we talk of making a Constitution, we must know that much as we love, much as we appreciate the need for integration, we do not integrate unfree people, we integrate free people. In fact, unfree cannot unite; they will only be forced to stand together or to sit together. It is only free men or free women who unite, hence while I appreciate that our Constitution should be geared towards integrating the population, and the groups in this country, I also say that, that integration must first of all, start from the point of freedom. We have come here as individuals, free individual human persons and therefore, that freedom of human person must be recognised and must be actualised; then, and

only then can we freely go ahead to unite and form an integrated Constitution. I believe that the NRM Government together with NRA have recognised some semblance of the need for freedom. I believe they have recognised that. This is epitomised by recognition or the re-institution of certain cultural institutions ahead of Constituent Assembly elections. If therefore, the Movement and all of us recognise that, cultural heterogeneity is a reality and it demands that we allow others to retain or resurrect their cultural institutions it follows that, that cultural freedom must logically be pushed to the place of political freedom. Individual human persons must have the disposition of free, political thinking. Individual human persons have free political expression, free political association. Hence, without pushing the fact of cultural heterogeneity to the logical conclusion of political thinking, I am afraid the Constitution will not resist the test of time. In conclusion. I am proceeding to say that, whenever we emphasise the fact of unity, we must know that unity comes out of the individual person's volition; in that individual personal volition has always been a guiding force in history, hence what has happened now, was not born in 1981, it was not born in 1986, human history is continuous. To be so extravagant as to apportion blame on one group on one hand and praise on the other, I think it defeats the purpose of history. Therefore, let us come down to reality, let us discuss the Constitution in political and legal terms and not in military terms; that is the crux of the fear of some delegates of certain categories. Thank you.

MR. APUUN LONGOLI PATRICK (Bokora County): Thank you Mr. Chairman. I will not be exceptional, Mr. Chairman, in joining others in congratulating you and your Deputy. I do this on behalf of the people of Bokora County and in my own behalf. Good luck, Mr. Chairman. I would like to continue in guiding us in this task. In my submission, Mr. Chairman, I will not at this juncture forget the 17 millions of Ugandans who elected us, all able men and women of wisdom in this august Assembly. What I know Mr. Chairman, and what we stand here for, in that corner of Uganda, is to argue my case and tell my fellow delegates that the people of Uganda would want freedom and we can all bear witness in this august House because we were told freedom was robbed away from the people of Uganda and we were all there to see what was happening during those days, the days of 1962, the days of 1967, 1979, 1980. We all know what happened in Uganda and that is why the people of Uganda reacted that which

Constitution was due to be followed by any institution or any political institution in this country, would come to offer them a programme: like the UPC, they brought a Manifesto, now we are following a Ten-Point Programme. So, we have seen how these programmes have been destroyed, how these programmes have never benefited the people of Uganda, we have seen how many laws have been made, how many degrees have been got. I think that was the reaction of the people of Uganda and that prompted this august House to come into existence - that is why the Constitution was given in the hands of the Odoki and his Commission that they consult the people of Uganda irrespective of where they come from, so that their views are brought here for us now to deliberate and look through.

Mr. Chairman, we would want to protect the people of Uganda through this Constitution, we would want no exploitation to come from amongst us; because we need a stable Uganda. We need unity, we need tranquillity. Mr. Chairman, with those few remarks I would say, we should tolerate each other, we should respect the views of one another in this task.

I would maybe say something concerning the previous election. The election was conducted and it was free and fair, but in certain quarters as His Excellency the President, said, something featured because of the DES, it also featured in certain offices especially in the DSO Offices; we experienced it in Moroto district and we were not happy at all because they wanted to install some people into this position and that was actually a very bad issue and I would have liked the Brigadier to take a note of that because such an office could not be so open and to create a situation of that nature.

Another observation was that, some of our vehicles were used in spite of the law which said all the candidates should not use their vehicles during those days when people were casting their votes, but again my vehicle was used, and up to now, they have not paid for my vehicle although they damaged it.

I have no objection, Mr. Chairman of what the rest of the Members have talked about formation of committees. In other words, the Privileges Committee although as we had in the NRC could not perform well and I did not see exactly why what it means by talking of privileges.

Another issue was recreation. Sincerely speaking, we are 284 Ugandans who are here - delegates and

we cannot know each other within a short time. I would join up in support of a creation where we can all maybe meet and chat among ourselves in consultation; as we may consult our people in the countryside, we should also be consulting ourselves here. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

MR. RWOMUSHANA CHARLES (RUJUMBURA COUNTY): Thank you Mr. Chairman. I congratulate you upon your successful ascendancy to this Chairmanship and mainly so because, Mr. Chairman, you are among the few candidates in Uganda who have won the elections without necessarily bribing the voters.

I was inspired by the speech of the President when he showed me the Vision. We should learn judging leaders not by what they have done but by their vision. But in 1981, when they were in the bush under heavy fire, facing forces which were numerically preponderant before them, they could still think of making a Constitution ten years to come. In other words, probably they would be thinking of what booty they would take afterwards, of how many wives they would have and what property they would have after winning the war. But for them, when they were still few in numbers, they still thought of making a Constitution for us, They had a great vision and today it has been realised.

We should be reminded today that the wind of change has blown throughout the whole of Africa and the entire world. It is no ordinary wind, it is a raging hurricane against which the old order cannot stand. Nevertheless, when you hear the communications in this House, you find the old wrappings are still standing, they are gaping not withstanding the stormy onslaught against them. Mr. Chairman, we are here to fight for freedom, equality and liberty, but freedom is not a commodity to be given on demand; it is a precious and borrowed trophy that must be toiled for and we must guard it jealously.

Mr. Chairman, we the youths, we have been tempered by hard experience of war and proud of this peace, we are ready to support any friend and oppose any foe to do anything possible to ensure the survival and support of liberty and freedom.

Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, we must learn to accommodate one another. For any qualitative different contradictions, qualitative different methods must be sought to resolve the said contradictions. For some scientists say, that war is the highest form of struggle to resolve contradictions if they cannot be

resolved by any usual means. We must strive by all means to stop chaos and this is through dialogue and discussion, because wherever there is chaos, devils run from hell and join that chaos. For instance in Rwanda, because of this chaos which is there, all devils have run from hell and have joined it and people are dying in vast numbers. Why can Africans not learn to accommodate one another? And even in our views, for instance, as they were celebrating in South Africa pushing fish down their throats using wine, the fish of Lake Victoria were busy celebrating on the dead bodies of Rwandese but pushing it down using water. It is very true and very sad, The rights of man come not from the generosity of the State, but from the hand of God.

Someone said, that if you want to improve prison services, you imprison all top politicians when they go there and sleep on the Floor, they will think of buying beds. But we the youths, up to now are still suffering and suffering with unemployment, to mention but a few. But if the bureaucrats were to walk on the streets for two years, then they would not be asking us for 10 years experience to mention but a few; because they usually say, you do not have the experience, you have not worked, as if it is an instruction from God; and when they come here, they do not even fully participate up to the end of the day to the conclusion of the job. You could look at that thing, the books are still there, the books they gave us yesterday, because the member who occupies the seat, yesterday and today he is not there and he is the one telling the population, *I have the experience in debating*. We pray that the youths should not be excluded, we have a right, we have a stake in the future of this Uganda.

Why was there a reign of terror in 1789 French Revolution? It was there simply because the French revolution promised more than it could give; it took people to the highest point of Mt. Everest, showed them the promised land but could not allow them to reach it. We are saying, let this Constitution not promise more than it can deliver to the population; but if it does so, then there will be chaos and a reign of terror.

There has been this talk of give and take. Give and take what? If you want to give and take, go to Give and Take Forex Bureau, because Mr. Chairman, we cannot afford to compromise on this, we have packages which we have got from home, and we need to deliver them. A certain man called Williams

Worth said, that to negotiate, I quote: *‘To negotiate with forces that are hostile on matters of principle, means to sacrifice principle itself. Principle is indivisible it is either wholly kept or wholly sacrificed. The slightest concession on matters of principle infers the abandonment of principle’*. So, there is no way Mr. Chairman, you expect us to begin giving and taking on matters of principle, if it is a principle, it must be up-held. You either reject it wholly or accept it wholly. So, for us we still stand on the views, the views they gave us, those who expect to give and take, please, you go to the Forex Bureau.

Nevertheless, we shall not fear to negotiate, but we shall not negotiate out of fear. Mr. Chairman, some have begun apportioning blame as being the conquered and having been conquered, but Mr. Chairman, we should stop now apportioning blame, but we should begin sharing the responsibility of repairing and building our motherland.

All these cannot be done in a day, they cannot be done in a month, in a year, in a decade, even during our life time. But they can be done in a hurry, for a journey of 1000 miles begins with a step and I pray that we who are assembled, take the first step.

Let me comment on one issue which was raised by my neighbour seated here. I can read there zubairi from Arua Municipality, he was referring to some terms like the Zulu style. Some of us support these terms, because the whole of this move is against anti-people forces. Most of these campaigns were marred by slogans which divide the masses. There was over sentimentalism and there was - for instance I was reading in the Press and I have found it to be true that some people were lying in the South that this Constitution was all about to take peoples' land in the North by the Banyarwanda. Lakwena used religion to mobilise people to fight and destabilise Uganda. I am informed Kony is also using religion to mobilise and destabilise Uganda. Now where all those forces are, I think the 'Ngoni-horn style' is necessary and I support it.

Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, as I reach the dying minutes of my contribution, I cannot go without commenting on our welfare, Mr. Chairman; that our welfare ought to be thought about, because you need to go and mobilise and even involve the population in the process of making a Constitution and therefore we need to be facilitated. You know, historically, we

are 'needy' and this is an important project; it is an important process; it is an important activity. You go in the streets, Mr. Chairman you will find there some Pajeros written on 'Rabbit Multiplication Project' - a Pajero belongs to a Project called Rabbit Multiplication Project. Why can we not have the same facilities? If you can have facilities to multiply rabbits, why can the Constitution making process not take precedence? Sir, I am not saying that we go in for Pajeros, but let us have the facilities to go and mobilise the population and even educate them and as I wind up Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much for having given me this opportunity and before I take off, I would also wish to protect my students, that people have got the right to demonstrate their happiness, to demonstrate their joy and even to demonstrate their hunger and even their anger. Thank you very much.

MR. KARUHANGA ELLY (Nyabushozi County) Mr. Chairman, when you die, eventually you will be buried and at your funeral we shall remember you not so much as James Wapakhabulo, but as the man who has been given the honour to be the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, which Assembly will never be there again in our life time. Therefore it is very important, that you remember this very important duty during your term of office; so that at the end, you can have this respectable send-off from all of us Ugandans as we shall know as the Chairman of the founding fathers of the nation called Uganda.

Let me also thank the people of Nyabushozi who elected me, and bring their greetings to you and through you distinguished delegates here assembled, and also thank particularly, and I think I should be allowed to do so, one of the electorate members of that county, a son of Uganda, who was humble enough to come and participate in the elections and line up with the rest of the *wanainchi* and who happens to be His Excellency.

I think it is my duty to thank that son of Uganda for the vision and the able leadership and the dignity that he has brought on our country and also to congratulate him and the Members of the NRA and NRM who have now finished phase one of this exercise, and have lodged us successfully into phase two of the democratic development of our country. That day, when he passed on the documents to you, to me I thought it was a very significant historical moment for Ugandans to note that hearing, the promise that

they just walked away. Some were disappointed that the item was not enough. There is a public need for people who voted for us to know what is taking place inside these Chambers. There should be some arrangement on radio and television to put these programmes on, in any case Uganda Television does not even broadcast anything during the day or they close too early during the night, same as Radio Uganda. There could be late programmes which indicate what is taking place in these Chambers. Of course I call on Members not to play to the gallery not to play to the television and things like that. We should concentrate on making a better Uganda but not just being television performers, but I think this facility is required.

The other thing which I would like to ask, is a timetable of our activities from now until the end; a tentative programme which shows the day of promulgation of the Constitution to be drawn; so that at least even if there are changes, they are changes within a set programme. It is very important that I know there will be a business committee when finally we elect one, which probably will do that, but it is important that we do have a Project Profile so that the people know when we are finishing our business or when we tend to finish our business.

The last point, Mr. Chairman, are the Rules of Procedure. If not properly done, the Rules of Procedure can be a source of great uneasiness and unfairness. It will be a very difficult job for you if you are left with Rules of Procedure that are left with too many lacunas, with gaps that can be interpreted left, right and centre and that will bog us down in our proceedings. I therefore, support the Committee to be formed immediately today to get into this work and such a Committee should be of people who really are knowledgeable and who could be of benefit to this job.

Let me say this, without any fear of contradiction, that you will find that procedure is more important at the initial stage to be sorted out than the substance of the debate. If we take a wrong step on the Procedure now, the rest of the substance of the debate will be affected. With those few words, Mr. Chairman, I thank you.

MRS. MAVENJINA AKUMU CATHERINE (Women, Nebbi): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Your election and that of your Deputy to guide this Assembly, was greeted with cheers and applause by

the people of Nebbi and they asked me to give you a congratulatory message contained in Psalms 23. I am sure Mr. Chairman you have a Bible at home and your Deputy, so you will refer to it during your leisure time.

Considering the first history of Uganda and what we have all undergone, we are all here to make a lasting Constitution for peace, unity, security, democracy and development on behalf of the people of Uganda who have sent us here. Mr. Chairman, we all know that peace begins in our hearts and spreads to other parts of the body and everywhere. The people of Nebbi whom I represent, are best known for being peace-loving at all times and Nebbi district is the entry and exit to West Nile region; for those of you who may not have reached the Northern part. Mr. Chairman, and all the distinguished delegates, I would like to raise my concern about the sitting arrangements. This should be done in such a way that, unity begins with the delegates here in this Assembly; because we are representing different peoples from the whole of the country. So, the sitting arrangement should be in such a way that, we are able to know one another and we unite with one another right from here. Mr. chairman, today we are likely to break and go away on recess, yet within the two weeks we have been here, we do not know one another. May I therefore appeal to the distinguished delegates to unite with the people who contested with them and lost, especially when they go back for consultation with the electorates.

Yesterday a delegate from Kakuto county hon. Pinto, invited all the delegates to attend a mass prayer for the Rwandese who lost their lives during the war. I wish to request the organising committee to organise another prayer here in kampala. For example on the City Square, to enable other delegates and Members of the public who may not be able to go to Rakai tomorrow.

My final appeal to the delegates, is to be serious with time, by being brief and to the point. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

DR. ANIKU JACOB R.F. (Madi-Okollo County): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. First of all, let me join all my Colleagues in congratulating you, Mr. Chairman and your Deputy Chairman on having been elected to this high office.

we made to the people of Uganda is now accomplished; we hand over this promise to James Wapakhabulo, Chairman of the CA and the distinguished delegates, to continue the struggle to launch us into phase three. I think you need our prayers, Mr. Chairman.

Now a small point, which somebody has not yet brought out, is the question of protocol. Now, I do not know, I think we need, through our Privileges Committee when it is formed, to establish exactly your position in the protocol arrangement so that after we have His Excellency, the President, we would like to know where our Chairman will be featuring in the line of protocol.

Let me now Mr. Chairman, also congratulate my Colleagues individually whom I have already congratulated, that we too, are founding fathers and mothers of our country; it is a unique opportunity for us, and for me as an individual, I feel this important and enormous aura of a cross around me, as I take on this responsibility. I ask my Colleagues, not to hide any idea which comes to their minds; because you may find that, that idea which has come to you, you are the only one with it and I urge Members to always try and bring such an idea because it might be the one that can save our country in future.

The question now is, how do we proceed to do a good job? Of course, many distinguished delegates have said their bit and it is very difficult to find anything that has not been touched on, but one thing I would like to ask my Colleagues, is a very simple request; let us read a lot, let us concern ourselves with the empowerment of knowledge. If it is possible and there are seminars that are concerned to discussing the intellectual ideas of a new Constitution, let us attend those seminars. I shudder at the lobbyists who push private interests or private-vested interests through our throats, that I think public seminars which are geared to empowering us with knowledge and information, should be used during the time when we are here on top of reading a lot; and I think we should really read viciously and ferociously in order to empower ourselves to be able to handle the job and the task before us.

The next thing I think somebody touched on, is let us interact - we do not have to interact through the alphabet for sitting methods or not, when you are seated you are not supposed to be interacting, you are supposed to be listening to each other. But let us find ways of interacting a lot. Let us visit each other's

constituencies. I know that there are many people from Buganda here who have never been to the North. I know there so many people from the North, who have never been to the West, I know there are so many people from the West, who have never been to the east and vice versa.

This opportunity should be used for us to discover our country. How can we be called founding fathers and mothers of a nation which we do not? If the Secretariat can also facilitate us in this type of organised movement, I would welcome it a lot and if it needs that we have a Committee which can even usher this type of possibility, even at our own expense, but invited to certain areas., I think we should ourselves try to go. After all, it is to our own advantage because if in my constituency, I can turn up with somebody from Ajuman, another person from Kotido, another person from Kitgum, another person from Kaberamaido, another person from Kyadondo, and we arrive in Nyabushozi, this will be a great historical moment for my people and then they would trust me that you are going to write a Constitution for all the people of Uganda, because they know that we have interacted and everything we are going to write is concerning everybody's interest.

Now, let me turn to administration. Most of the points have been raised Mr. Chairman, but one point I have not heard being mentioned is the provisions for our meals. We are going to have a short break during lunch and during tea. Now, I know Mr. Chairman, you are about or you said yesterday that you are considering terminating your Ministerial duties at some stage but after necessary consultations, but while you are not yet in that position to do as you are still the Minister of facilities of the Nile Hotel and the Conference Centre. Why do we not use your good offices to negotiate for a good deal for the Members, or the meals in the cafeteria so that - because we are a good enough market, we can provide a strong purchasing power and I think we can organise a menu at a reasonable price with the Conference Centre, to their advantage.

The second point which was raided initially by Dr. Kiyonga, was the one of radio and television programmes. Last night, I watched the television, at a popular spot and so many people who were doing something else and not listening to the news, when it came to the news item on the CA of what had happened yesterday, they all came and crowded on television and started listening to what was going on here and when the news item ended kind of abruptly,

Secondly, I would also like to congratulate all my Colleagues, the hon. CA delegates. I would like to call them honourables, because I think they fought harder than the other honourables. I would like to thank the Government for creating an enabling environment that has helped Ugandans to exercise their democratic rights and that has also initiated and set the democratic process rolling and we hope it will continue to roll in the right direction. Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to thank His Excellency the President, for having nominated three dons from Makerere University and I am one of those dons from Makerere University. Professor Nsibambi, Prof. Mwaka and Dr. Nyeko are all lecturers in Makerere University. For some time we had always thought we had been left behind in national issues, but I think the sharp eye of the Government is catching up, and seeing who are and who can help in the nation building of this country. Also permit me, Mr. Chairman, to commend the Commissioner of the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Stephen Akabway and his staff for having done an excellent job in organising an election and executing it successfully in so short a time. I would like to say that the civic education in my constituency was very poorly done and that next time we have an election, ample time should be given to civic education so that the voters know exactly what they are voting for and how they are voting.

In the series of things, I would like to thank you Mr. Chairman, for giving us two weeks to go and consult our people. A delegate like me travels 600 kilometres one way, another 600 kilometres to return; that takes me two days to reach my home and two days to come back.

If you were given just a week, I would not have ample time to consult my people. So, thank you very much for being foresighted and taking in consideration those who come from the far corners of Uganda.

Now, the real point I would like to make, Mr. Chairman, is what other people have said and I would like to emphasize it. That is the listening to other delegates when they speak. Somebody referred to it as the Culture of Listening. One writer wrote, and I quote, "*We communicate not by what we intend to say but by what listeners see, hear and are willing to accept.*" In other words, communication includes both the speaker and the listener; and when we speak here, I would like to ask that we only listen, analyze what others say before interrupting or before we give a feed-back to who ever is speaking. I am

saying this because I have had, two experiences: One was a short while, I think on 17th when we were debating the procedures for electing the Chairman. Debates to me, as a first new comer in a House like this, it was lousy. People were interrupted, muzzled and I thought it was not very orderly.

The second, experience, Mr. Chairman, happened in N.R.C. House and it regarded the White rhino game-reserve and that one falls directly under your Ministry, Mr. Chairman. That game-reserve was created in 1964 presumably as a development project for the people. They were told roads would be tarmacked, schools would be built, hotels would be built and it would bring a lot of money. And as you know the fate of the White Rhino, all were killed. We no longer have a White Rhino. Like closing the stable after the horse has been stolen. Your Ministry has gone in now, and started enforcing the game acts that no dogs, no firewood harvested, no building materials, no fish industries, you name it; all inconveniencing our people. Now our people sent two N.R.C. Members - we are unique that we have two N.R.C. Members in our county, to represent their views on the issue of game-reserve. And one of them who presented it was muzzled in a lousy way, and news men reported it in one of Papers about two years ago. They reported the he was muzzled rather than the point that he reported people's concern. And the people who sent me now are saying we are handing you now, do not let other delegates muzzle you as they did or else you will be fired. But Mr. Chairman we are sent here by our people to present their views. Some views may vary from other people's. Let us only listen and attentively and if the views do not tally with ours, let us persuade the others, let us try to persuade the opposed to see our own views through persuasion.

Now on unity of our country, Mr. Chairmman, permit me to say that this august House reminds, me of my high school days in 1960s. The time when one would go to Ntare, Nyakasura, Budo, Nabumaii, Teso college Aloit and there you would meet all Nationalities of Uganda including some outsiders like Kenyans, Europeans, Indians and so on; and that was the time you would dispel some of the rumours you heard about other nationalities. So, let us all learn from each other so that after the four months when you come out with a beautiful constitution for this country; we shall also have learnt a lot from each other; we shall have dispelled the rumours and fears we have about the other nationalities.

Mr. Chairman, before I wind up, I would like to point out that, we have just got a Form, and I think this Form assumes that we own our own cars and we should fill some spaces in order to claim some money. Some of us do not have cars but we can rent any vehicle from somebody to go home and to come back. During my campaign I did it 900 miles on a bicycle and I would not like to repeat that experience; I would probably like to hire a vehicle so that I can reach all my people. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

MR. KASAJJA GEORGE PATRICK (Bulamogi County): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would like, like others also to take this opportunity to thank you and to congratulate you on having been elected to that high office of the Chairman.

A lot has been said and I think our talk seems to be that we are trying to repeat most of the points that have been raised and in that way I do agree with somebody who says that it is not a good way of managing our time; which is a scarce resource. So, I would like during my submission, to bring recommendations and if possible make suggestions. But before I suggest anything, I want to touch on one or two points which in my own feeling have not been touched on by my fellow colleagues. The first stems from a statement which was given to us by the Chief Justice of Uganda. He said that misfortunes come in multitudes but opportunities come in singles. I think this is a good summary of our history in Uganda. We have had so many misfortunes that people of our age have not actually seen at least something which we can be proud of. Maybe we have started realising the importance of Governments within the time when N.R.M. ascended to power; and when they give us this opportunity of coming here and exchanging views and finding ways of paving a good Uganda, I think this is an opportunity which we should not lose sight of or play with. I would like to tie together this statement with my point number one which I want to make and also which is an appeal that let us work within the principal of collective responsibility.

There are many views and ideas that are going to come up here. We shall discuss a number of provisions in the Draft Constitution, but I think I may be right if I say that we might not come to where we 100 per cent agree. But where at least we get the two thirds majority, as required by the Law, I wish to appeal to the Members that the remaining third should not take acrimony or should not take it bad that those who have at least taken the majority view

have deprived us of what we would have liked to tell our people.

I know that during time when we were campaigning to come here in this august House many of us promised many things which I know some are not going to pass here. But I think let us act as agents of change and development that if an issue is raised here and differs from what you promised your people, do not lose heart; just take courage, go and educate them about how at least the majority of the Ugandans have seen it fit to be taken the way it has been taken.

My point of collective responsibility is just to appeal to the Members that when we go out of this House - when we have decided on something, where the majority have found it necessary to decide the way they have decided, that let nobody go and say, "I was not part and parcel of that decision. For me I had taken this road, therefore I am not part of that decision" So, collective responsibility, I think should be emphasized among all of us here.

The second point, Mr. Chairman, I want to raise is and which I hope any delegate has not touched, is to do with empowering us to get proper knowledge, concrete knowledge on which we can base our decision to come up with a good constitution. I want to suggest here that we should get at least research assistants. I am not saying that everybody has to get a research assistant because I know economically that is not viable with the way our economy stands. But I do know that developed countries like the U.S.A. Britain and others do have these facilities. But if we can request for a minimum of getting a few research assistants whom Members can utilise for getting information to enrich them at least to deliberate more and fruitfully, it will be I think a good thing other than somebody coming and starting contributing from the dark. Because me I know arguing on a point of principal and which has been researched is one way in which we can come up with a credible and everlasting constitution.

Mr. Chairman, research assistants need not be individuals. We can also use Research Organisations. Like yesterday I think when I was watching T.V the Permanent Secretary of Planning was inaugurating one Research Centre with quite a number of eminent Ugandans who have qualified in a number of areas of Research of different disciplines. We could utilise such a Centre or even as Organisations to do research for us so that when we come here, we can use the information as a basis for making our decisions.

Mr. Chairman, I think the others which I think are emerging as Points of consensus, sitting arrangements, I think that one I do agree with the Members that the arrangement can remain the way it is as we are sitting here.

But on consultations that one I agree with my neighbour, Mr. Elly Karuhanga, that that one can be done outside even through our own constituents. I would like to end, Mr. Chairman, by appealing to the Commissioner of the Constituent Assembly, at least I think to put more emphasis on the facility of the Members who are here to enable them to get the necessary materials as they started yesterday. They have started on a good footing and at least some of us who are in the N.R.C. we say this is a good beginning and if you keep it up, I think we shall be appreciative. With that, Mr. Chairman, I want to appeal to the Government to resource the Secretariat of the Commission to make sure that we deliberate without interruption because if there any interruptions, as a result of say lack of money or other necessary materials our people who are waiting eagerly to know what is going to come out of the Constitution here might be disappointed. So, I think the Government should assist the Commission to work on a continuous basis so that we can do our work within the limits set by the statute. I thank you very, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to deliberate on this.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you too.

MR. M KARUSOKE CONSTANTINE: (Ntoroke County, Bundibugyo): I thank you Mr. Chairman, and like Colleagues we have talked before, I would like to congratulate and your Deputy upon your election as Chairman and Deputy Chairman respectively. I assure you of my continued support and that of the people I represent. Mr. Chairman, after my election my constituents told me that when I come here, I must consult and where necessary lobby and I was told that I should do this avoiding what might appear to be cliques or blocks. So, I will uphold the principal of consultation and lobbying where necessary, resisting power blocks or cliques. Mr. Chairman, I know of very many situations not only in this country but elsewhere where people will oppose a very good idea just because of who is saying it. Some people merely oppose others because those saying a good thing are opposed to them. I think this is a very dangerous situation. If someone can oppose another, even

when he is talking something very good, but just because that person is opposed to him, it is very, very dangerous. I would like Mr. Chairman, all of us to know right from the beginning that we are here on behalf of all the people of Uganda to do a very good job for those people. And in order to do that job and do it very well, we must put collective interest of Ugandans above our own individual interests. We must allow the interest of Uganda collectively to suppress and subdue our own interests so that in the end we do a job that will benefit all Ugandans instead of benefitting individuals.

The people of Uganda including ourselves have a job to raise a good Constitution for Uganda. And must do that. We are clearly exposed to Ugandans now as their Leaders and we shall be exposed to their judgement in future if we do not make a good constitution for them. The history of this country is going to hold us responsible for whatever happens in this country as a result of a bad or good constitution that we are going to write; and Mr. Chairman, I must also emphasize that area that as a team we must either swim across the river or sink together. There are not going to be individuals who are going swim across while others drop and die. We are all going to either die or swim across together. So we must have no room to divide ourselves up. We must at every opportunity keep together so that we can do a good job for Ugandans.

I would like to say that looking at how we are discussing things and the size of our Assembly, it is more likely that we are going to spend a lot of time discussing each Chapter or each item in the constitution. Because most of the items in the constitution are very important. Almost everyone of us would like to talk about them. I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that while we are thinking about formation of Committees, we do think about forming sectoral committees to discuss various Chapters of the Constitution and report to us and leave general discussions. This is going to save us a lot of time and we are going to speed up work. Because we have to remember that we have been given time within which to do the job and we must do that job within the prescribed time,

I would like to say something in passing about the Press. The Press no doubt plays a very leading role in educating the public and informing them. However, there are at times cases of negative reporting and negative press work. That notwithstanding,,

I would like to uphold that we leave the press to continue doing the job it is supposed to do. We leave the Press to live amongst us and to report our deliberations. But where an individual or groups of individuals are injured by the Press, I would like to advise that they challenge the press or take it to court rather than condemning them out of this room. We leave them to continue here, we leave them to operate, we leave them to report but where they go wrong we put them to task while we give the Press all the freedom, the Press also must use their intellect to know what to report and what not to. I was alarmed last week when we got our little payment here, in fact before we got the payments one of the Papers had reported that we were going to get a payment of 600,000/ a that day and indeed that is what we got and who knows some bad elements would may way-lay us?

There is no need why the public should be told that Members of the Assembly are being paid so much money today. That is negative reporting, it is useless. So I want to advise the Press also to be as intelligent as it is necessary and report what is really necessary to consume not just to give them garbage and unnecessary information. At the same time I want them to report being conscious of other factors - the security and so on so that they do not cause security on the distinguished delegates because people will know that they have got money that day.

There is also the question of confidentiality. The Commission must be a body that will keep confidentiality of our business because I am not sure that it is a delegate who passed on such information to the Press that we were going to get paid that day. After all I do not think the delegates had known that we were going to get paid. It was a surprise to all of us that we got money that day. So it must have been some one from the secretariat who must have leaked information to the Press.

Similarly before we even got names officially here of nominees for election for the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, the Press had already listed the names of the Presidential nominees. I do not know how they got these names from State House but I am sure they must have got these names from the Secretariat. I think it is important not to reveal secrets to the press. There are things they must release and those they must keep to themselves.

Confidentiality creates dignity and respect. If you

are going to leak out every information then you look hollow, cheap and lose respect. Mr. Ghairman, I want to end by advising that we must be very disciplined as far as time is concerned.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you better be winding up.

MR. KARUSOKE: I will also observe time and I want to advise that we observe time so that we can move according to schedule. I thank you, Mr. Chairman

MRS. MIRIA MATEMBE (Women Representative, Nbarara) I thank I certainly feel greatly honoured and privileged and also proud and excited to be in this extremely important Assembly which Assembly is entrusted with a responsibility of building and consolidating Uganda. This is a great Assembly and certainly if I did not come here, I would have felt so bad and I would have been hurt because I have a purpose in coming here - I have a goal which I want to realise. I am so glad and I certainly thank the people Of Mbarara for the confidence they entrusted in me and all those well wishers because certainly we are many who wanted to be in this Assembly. I would like therefore not to look ashamed, and condemned at a future date for having been part of this historical body. I would like to maintain that pride for many years to come but this can only be so, if we people gathered here in the name of the people of Uganda, come out with a constitution that will establish unity peace, democracy and prosperity for the people of Uganda. I look forward to realise that achievement. I wish, Mr Chairman, to congratulate you and your Deputy for the assumption of those honourable seats of heavy burden. I only trust and pray that my Colleagues and I will certainly amicably share the burden with you and release you from its weight by giving you all the support and cooperation that your office deserves.

Mr. Chairman, I wish in the same place to congratulate my Colleagues the delegates for having gone through that tight race. I can assure you it was very hot. Even for us whom they call Women District Delegates. Some People tend to think that ours was a simple task. I also stood on my feet and tussled with so many women and I came out the best. Therefore, it was no joke. I congratulate everybody and I wish to thank the distinguished delegates for the good choice of putting you there and we are certainly happy. My particular thanks go to my Colleagues,

the men who have really recognised and respected the gender question. It should not be taken for granted. I can assure you seven years ago, we would not be seeing a distinguished lady delegate besides a distinguished man. Now that we have achieved that I am sure things will work well.

Dear delegates your support to the principle that the Assembly gets a Lady Vice is a clear manifestation of your intentions to continuously support the woman's cause and so support development in general. It is my sincere hope and trust that you will continue to cooperate on the woman question when it comes to real issues in that document, I certainly will rely on you to realise the ambitions and goals of the people of Mbarara.

A DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of Information. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inform the hon Delegate from Mbarara District that Prof. Mwaka was elected in her own right as an individual not as a woman.

MRS MATEMBE: Thank you hon. Delegate. I think some of the hon Distinguished Delegates will have to be educated on these issues. Because everybody who was proposed was certainly meritable. But when it came to gender balance we certainly agreed with each other that the principle of gender should be taken and therefore, I am grateful for that. If that was an accident, then I am happy about the accident and I would like to invite the hon Delegates to start looking at the Gender Issue and promote those accidents because they are certainly welcome.

I want to say, Mr Chairman, that although Uganda one of the backward and poor countries, on the woman question it is one of the few forward looking and therefore I have no doubts in my mind that a country which recognises the tremendous potential wisdom and talents of women and Youth will certainly be rewarded with development. Mr. Chairman, I like the combination of this Assembly. The old or aged who have been blamed for causing all the problems are here. The young who have been complaining of having suffered and gained nothing are here. The workers who have been complaining of exploitation without pay are here. The women who have been the victims of all the chaos are here. The army which has come to our rescue is here, therefore Mr, Chairman, I would invite all the Delegates not to miss this unique opportunity of harnessing each others knowledge and experience to make a better Uganda.

I associate myself with those women who are concerned about the sincerity and openness with which we discuss this constitution. It is in this regard therefore that I beg your indulgence and the indulgence of the Delegates in the statement and appeal I am about to make.

I happen together with some of the Colleagues in this House to have had an advantage of being the authors of the documents that will form the basis of this Debate. The fact that some of us have been elected here like the army shows that there is confidence in us. I have been attending a seminar since my election to this position and I have listened to fellow Delegates some of them having a view and expressing it that this Constitution was an N.R.M. Government constitution after all. To them we have been bribed or bought to Produce this document. I wish to appeal, Mr. Chairman, to those distinguished Delegates who share or have such views that this Draft Constitution is a genuine honest Document produced by the Commission based on people's views and independent of any influence; internal, external or otherwise. I would therefore like to invite all you distinguished Delegates to look at this Draft with an open mind and take it as a genuine Document reflective of the aspirations, desires and expectations of the people of Uganda, But of course a Document that is subjected to constructive criticism, amendment and alterations now that it is subjected to the sovereignty of all Ugandans.

The 20 people were few, now that we are so many let us look at it and improve on it and make it better for the future of Uganda.

I would like to thank the secretariat for giving the Materials and let me appeal to the Distinguished Delegates to read these Documents especially the report. It is so huge and enormous but without reading it and understanding it, would be difficult to get the meaning of the constitution itself.

In conclusion Mr, Chairman, I say that I look forward for a day when my name will go down in history as having produced a constitution that will stand a test of time and lead Uganda properly and with tranquility. I support the idea of the Committees and especially the urgent one - the rules committee and I recommend seven Members and of course the gender balance. I thank you.

DR MATOVU BYATIKE DAVID (Entebbe Municipality): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Madam Vice Chairman, fellow Delegates. I congratulate you all upon the election to whatever position we are in right now. Mr Chairman the spirit of open hearts and open minds when we come here to sit down cannot be over-emphasized. This is something that we have to carry with us when coming to this kind of Assembly.

My second point is of tolerance. Mr, Chairman probably we may have to borrow a leaf from the NRC where things have been happening. But I will tell the Delegates that there, exchange of bitter differences and divergent views have been delivered but we have been taking them with a smile. This is what I am appealing to all Members here who are at this conference to take that kind of spirit that exchange of bitter and divergent remarks should be taken with smiles. And if we take them sitting down, at least take them with a smile. If you do not have a smile on, paint one on your face or on a piece of paper, and then crown it off with a hand-shake. But for goodness sake not with bleeding noses after we have had exchanges here.

My third point, Mr Chairman, is the sitting arrangement we have right now. This seems to be working out well for at least one good point in that we are getting our messages much faster than we would have had. I suggest that in the absence of pigeon holes somewhere, we could retain this kind of sitting arrangement out where we are sitting and then we can get our messages much faster. I would personally recommend that small exercise to Members who are sitting at the back. Take that small exercise to walk down to the microphone - it will do you a lot of good.

My fourth point, Mr Chairman is that we should be prepared to work long hours. This is something we have to do. If we are going to get this job done within the period specified of four to seven months, I think we should be prepared to work for long hours. I feel personally that it would be a shame if we work for less than eight hours and yet our small kids in primary are working eight hours a day or even more - they start 7.00 or 8.00 up to 5.00 or 6.00. They work long hours, These are kids in primary schools. This is daily, Mr. Chairman. And they do that for nine to ten months a year. I do not see why some of us should be worried to be tired at the end of that and yet we expect or we bundle off the kids School and

not for nine but for ten hours a day. So, I suppose Mr Chairman, all of us should be prepared to sit here for quite a reasonable time and eight hours minimum is not too long.

My fifth and last point Mr. Chairman, is that, I think My colleague mentioned somewhere that we have to listen to each other. This is very important. I think it is impolite, if a Colleague is speaking and somebody else is reading a newspaper, I think it is impolite and apart from that particular person reading a newspaper, he might miss a point that will probably decide a vote here and there. I think this is very important indeed to listen to each other. And similarly, Mr. Chairman, walking out soon after you have delivered your speech. Some of us may have a tendency of walking out as soon as you deliver your speech. Now that again is just as bad. I think this can also be avoided. We can gain quite a lot if we sit down and listen to each other and then probably gain much more than we would have expected.

MR. KANYIKE ANTHONY WILLIAM HENRY (Buikwe county West) I thank you very much, Mr. Ghairman. I would like to add my voice to those who have congratulated you before and your Deputy and I would like to wish you well while guiding us in this enormous task. Mr. Chairman, the people of Buikwe West would like to first of all thank the twenty seven courageous young men who went to the Bush in 1981 to look for the peace we are enjoying now. We would also like to thank the N.R.M./N.R.A to maintain that peace and for enabling what is taking place in Uganda today. The people of Buikwe West would also like to thank the N.R.C. Nobody has thanked the NRC before. But we would like to thank the NRC for passing that famous Constitutional Amendment which facilitated the return of *Ebyaffe (Applause)*- and coronation of *sabasajja Kabaka* of Baganda. The coronation of *Sabasajja Kabaka* of Buganda was a major aspiration for the people of west County just like other *Bwakabaka bwa Buganda* is.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to remind and emphasize to all Delegates here that if the Constitution we are making is going to stand a test of time, it must be designed to secure the blessing and liberty for Ugandans. The people of Uganda must be convinced so that they accept that the Document we shall present to them after our deliberations here shall have been as an outcome of their views and aspirations as presented to the Odoki Commission.

The Ugandan people must be guaranteed that in future the power will be in their hands and that they shall exercise it to put governments in place but not Governments coming into power by use of a gun.

Through this Constitution, Ugandans must achieve true national unity and this national unity must be based on mutual respect and understanding and respect of cultural differences in our society. Mr. Chairman, unity must be given an opportunity to evolve; it must not be forced; and therefore if that is going to be the case, it is very very important that we all begin in this House to understand and accept each other and recognise and respect each others differences.

I agree that we should set up Committees especially the most urgent one on the Rules and procedures to examine the Draft.

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of inquiry. Mr. Chairman, the current Speaker raised the issue of thanking NRC for the return of *Ebyaffé*. But in Buganda there is a place called "Najjanankumbi." and the Baganda never came with *enkumbi*, it was the Bakiga. Why could they not return that place to Bakiga Thank you?

THE CHAIRMAN: That was neither a point of information nor a point Of Order. Go ahead,

MR KANYIKE: Mr. chairman, I would like to ask the Secretariat to use the weeks that we are going for Recess to make our lives comfortable here. The Committee on welfare has been suggested and me being an HRD man - Human Resources Development - I think it is extremely important that if we are going to do a good job here, our welfare must be well looked after. I would like to support Delegate for Nyabushozi who brought up the idea that we should know the Uganda we are talking about if we are going to write a Constitution for it.

We must visit all over Uganda and get to know people's problems. That is the only way w* are going to be able to write a constitution for Uganda. With these few comments, I would like to thank you for the opportunity you have given me to address this august House.

MRS MASIKO WINFRED (Women Representative Rukungiri) Thank you Mr, Chairman. I would like to congratulate you and Lady Deputy Chairman, for being elected to such a high office. Let

me hereby wish you a great time as you lead, guide and direct this august House.

Let me take this opportunity to thank the National Resistance Council which after tough debate, eventually came out with a decision of letting every district send a woman delegate to this House. This is commendable because a person like me would never be here if that provision was not given. Let me call upon you follow women in this House to contribute effectively so that the nation at large can prove that women after all are very useful in spheres of life.

I have got a few remarks I would like to make about the rules of procedure. I am a bit concerned with the method of registering our names before the Debate commences. It is a good idea and it is very useful for a Debate like this. But I would suggest that since according to my observation, it comes out that many people tend to repeat what has already been said. So could you please, make sure that at least, you allow people to withdraw their names in case they have been pre-empted; and I would suggest that may be since that can happen, since some people can develop ideas in the course of debates, if you can allow two or three people to give in their ideas as the Debate is going on so that at least chance is given to those who might develop ideas as the Debate takes place.

It seems that according to the way we have started, there is a way we are not careful with time keeping. I would suggest that if the Chairman takes the seat, we do not allow any Delegate to come in. Because that would be really to discipline ourselves; and if we do we could say may be after 30 minute" then the door is closed. Because we need to discipline ourselves. I mean it is very sad, we know we are Distinguished Delegates but we need to really - *(interruption)*-

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of Order, Mr, Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: She is on the floor, give her the chance to make her points.

MRS MASIKO: Thank you very such, Mr, Chairman for protecting me., Really that might sound harsh but unless we discipline ourselves we are not going to complete the Draft Constitution in the time that has been given to us. So, if you feel that is too harsh, then you can suggest some other means But we really need to discipline ourselves and I am sure we should take this as the first priority. I can recall

some of us when we were campaigning, we told people that we are going to give this the first priority and I am sure that most of us were asked, "How can you be so and so and at the same time be a C.A." And we would tell them we have time for this. So, since we have already said it and we have committed ourselves. I think we should really set a target and discipline ourselves. And if we do not discipline ourselves, then we cannot really represent our people in the right way. Let me suggest this. In case we are to pick messages especially outside around the table, it is unbecoming for some of us to crowd around the Table. I find it very unbecoming. So I would suggest that even ourselves, We discipline ourselves. May be we use the lining up method so that we do not behave like young children.

Concerning the formation of committee. I would suggest that maybe a paper is passed around so that each one of us gets an opportunity to choose which Committee he/she can serve best rather than getting a few people to choose because some of us might be known while we know we can contribute effectively on some points that have been raised. So my idea is that let us have the freedom to put our names where we think we can serve best. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. The question of documentation has been raised a number of times; and I do not know what the Secretariat has done by way of arrangement. But my understanding is that there in a documentation room somewhere on the other side where in fact Members could have pigeon-holes. I think the Secretariat will check with management of this place to see how we could put in place more appropriate methods of sorting messages and documents which are not necessarily urgent so that we do not crowd like the Delegate has just pointed out, It is coming to 1.00 o'clock. We still have people on the list. But I think we have one or two.

MR. ALI MOSES (East Moyo): Thank you Mr. Chairman. Like everybody else, I want to thank you and your DePuty for being elected in that high position.

Secondly Mr. Chairman, I want us all here to recognise the indisputable contribution of the N.R.A. as it has already been said and indeed other fighting groups (*Applause*) who also contributed in the smaller way elsewhere that has brought about this sitting here. Particularly, Mr, Ghairman, I want us

here to remember those who fell during the struggle in all the fighting groups because they cannot come here to say they had contributed. Indeed theirs was a very expensive way of contribution because they did it with their lives. So, we should not forget them and therefore i ask that at an appropriate time we should pass a resolution to recognize their contribution so that it is on record since we are making history because they were also there.

The next point is mutual respect. We must especially at our age now respect each other. We must tolerate our differences. Naturally we cannot be the same. And nobody has ever asked to be the same anyway. But they say if we are civilised one of the facts of civilisation is to respect and tolerate your fellow human being. So the success of this Assembly will definitely among other things be based on mutual respect. Forget about our different backgrounds; forget about our different cultures; forget about our different professions; forget about even our wealth. Our common target here is to enact the Constitution for people of Uganda. And that can only be done through mutual respect because we were also sent here by the people of Uganda. Even those who are specially elected - these are also legal. So that is why I asked that we should respect each other; and even if what i was saying does not please you or you do not like it, you just tolerate it because you cannot tell me to get out of this House since you are not the one who brought me here.

Mr. Chairman, my third point with your permission I want to connect it with His excellency the President's Speech. I want to quote a paragraph or a sentence on page 12 for those who have the Speech. *We must design a Constitution that puts in place maximum freedom for the direct producers of the wealth* (The Farmers, the Industry of Workers and the Industrialists) the Artisans and the people working in the services sectors. On page 13, it says that sharing of power will be meaningful if it puts itself on the process of creating the power for production of wealth through integration and modernisation. Without that, mere sharing of powers will degenerate into endless disaster. It will end in a perpetual battle for the power to Control poverty. That is where Mr chairman, I want to comment that if national wealth as of now in not distributed fairly in the country we shall have control over poverty and there will be endless disaster. Because if in a room one person is satisfied and the other one in hungry, they cannot joke. There is not going to be a joke

because they will be thinking of different things altogether. The other one will be thinking

of how to get the food the other one will dreaming of how delicious the food was. There will in fact be confrontation and within a short time they will be fighting each other. So, those managers now, who are managing our wealth, I want to agree to what the hon from Nyabushozi that we go round the country so that you know which part of the country is less developed than the other. How can you bring it up since you are in charge? At the same time if you go perhaps to some other parts of the country you may be envious that some places are highly developed, why? When we only produce without distributing it evenly or fairly evenly, it cannot be evenly because some people have gone far ahead now. But fairly so that at least if I am half satisfied may be I will afford your joke one or two times. But if you keep me completely hungry in terms of development, no roads or no ferry or no power, no buses, text books; this is serious. I do not see how you can stop insurgency when you are denying other people their wealth. So those managers who are sitting there please watch out (*Applause*)

The next point, Mr. Chairman, in on the Newspapers. I would like to support those people who had already mentioned of the view that we should be giving these NewsPapers briefs every end of the working day so that they have the same information. Otherwise we shall be derailed. They are looking for sensational reporting - they are going to knock our heads. Now they say the army people had gone on attack. What are these for? We are looking for unity. We could explain why they are here and it would be understood. If we leave the Papers to do it themselves, then I am sorry Mr chairman we are going to be derailed. This Paper should just wait and be handed over what to report. Because after all we are not here to make them sell their Papers. The Nation must know what is happening. The good points must be put out on Radio Uganda. It can be read every day, every evening or whatever rather than bringing these people to come here and go with whatever they want to go and report.

The sitting arrangement is normal, i think because this House was built in 1975 and the architect who put this system here was not aware of the CA Delegates. They were not aware that the CA Delegates are going to come to sit here; short of

pulling this house down, I think we should tolerate some of the insufficient facilities. I am sure if you are O, remain where you are. If you are Z, you remain where you are. Unless you change your name to A - (*Laughter*) and we are going to change our names. We are not going to change our list. So, I do not think these people should complain. We did not ask their parents to give them names starting with K or whatever.

Finally I want to talk on behalf of us who come from upcountry and if we are fixing now the time-table for working day for a week, I would advise that we keep Friday and Monday out. That will be for us to travel. Then Saturday, Sunday, we consult. But then to compensate, we should work longer hours because I do not think you can tell me 5.00 o'clock. That is not being very serious. We must work even up to 10 o'clock in the evening. Yes, it is doing business and I mean it. You cannot say just 5.00 o'clock and you go. What are you going to do? This is a business you are being called for here. So Mr. Chairman, Mondays and Fridays are out of programme. We are left with Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays with long hours. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

MR. AKURE (Jie County, Kotido): Thank you Mr. Chairman. Having known you, we worked together, I do believe you will conduct the business of this House very well. Mr. Chairman, I must thank my Colleagues, fellow Delegates for the honour they gave you to be elected as the Chairman of this august House. It is not an easy job. It is a tiresome job and we believe you will conduct the business of this House according to the ability you and your deputy have and the trust the Delegates have given you.

I would like to tackle the issue and only to allay fears of some of the Colleagues here being scared of the men and officers of NRA who are here with us. Mr. Chairman, to me, it is an indication that these are the people who should be witnessing what is being discussed here. During other regimes also, let us say 1981 up to 1985, a hard memory of the UNLA in the names of the late Oyite Ojok and our *muzi* Tito Okello and others. They were in Parliament. That was of course to show them that this country must be run along with the ideas which the people say are not in their own interest; and this is why the NRA are here. They have got to witness what we are going to write and of course, we should not forget the role they played. What they did is why we are here. They are fulfilling some of their missions when they were in

the bush giving us democracy and I believe Mr. Chairman, the officers we have here are the officers who laid their lives to bring us the democracy we are talking about now. If they did not do that, we would not be here. Apparently each one of us would be doing his own business or her own business and therefore, it is very important to have this institution discussing the constitution with the rest of Ugandans.

Going back to consultations with the people, some of us find it a bit difficult especially a CA Delegate who comes from Karamoja region. I come from Kotido District and I cover 792 kilometres; that is one single journey. Then coming back, the same distance; now multiply that one, that is about 1500 kilometres. So we find this is one day, two days may not be enough. Perhaps at a certain stage Mr. Chairman, we may request special permission because each one of us here is entitled to consult his people. Mr. Chairman, we find we are really too far and even if you give us a Monday free, Friday, we may not really perform very well. The roads in Karamoja are very bad although I am told some people were saying Karamoja has been transformed. I am very sorry Gentlemen, my fellow Colleagues that it is not true that Karamoja has been transformed. Some people come and deceive government that Karamoja has been transformed. It is a very unfortunate statement some people make. That is just misleading the government. Mr. Chairman, what they say Karamoja has been transformed is just cutting trees by the side of the road; that is what is happening Mr. Chairman and if you went to Karamoja you would find trees cut on the side of the road and then somebody says Karamoja is transformed. I think let us not deceive government. We must understand what the problem is and we must go together to try to develop each part of this country because whatever we have here must be shared by everybody but not a certain class of people who enjoy privileges and others do not. I do not agree with that Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, this constitution we are writing must be respected by all institutions concerned; and even we here, we must respect this constitution we are writing. It is an expensive exercise that we are going to spend a lot of time and we must be very careful when writing this constitution. We must have that mandate the people of Uganda have given us. We must respect everybody and especially we Members who are the people of Uganda have given confidence that you go and represent us. I believe we shall work day and night to produce that constitution and we shall

A DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of information. Mr. Chairman, I want to inform the current speaker that people must stop the dependence syndrome. If your revenue is three million shillings, where do you think money will come from to develop that part of the world? You as a leadership must mobilise these people. They stop rustling, they start working. We cannot go on begging. Our Ministers are begging, our peasants are begging, now you come here, you also want to beg. We must work for whatever we want to get. Thank you.

MR. AKURE: Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the information. I would like to inform my fellow Colleague that we are not begging. It is the condition which is making that part of the country to be like that. I am sorry we are not begging but we are trying as much as possible to pull up and work together as other Ugandans do. Mr. Chairman, I would like to touch something to do with civic education. Mr. Chairman, I must first of all thank the Commission for the work done. Sir, during the preparation for elections, I realised one great mistake. I found that the civic education did not reach the people. We took charge to explain the nature of election we held. People were paid a lot of money for no work done. The fellows get the money, they go and drink, they do not go and educate the people; they did not teach them how to vote. The money was just spent for no reason. So, Mr. Chairman, I think next time when we are conducting the elections, this civic education must be give first priority. We must get people who are ready to go and educate our people. First of all, even to identify candidates, it was difficult and of course you find some people of self interest. When they say they want so and so, you choose another one.

THE CHAIRMAN: Hon. Member, you should cut short your remarks. You have gone much far beyond the time allowed.

MR. AKURE: Okay, further Mr. Chairman, I do not know why the Co remission denied the RCs in the exercise of registration of voters! Either they belong to this country, whether they were a particular group of people who should have run this job because I believe the RCs were the right people to identify the voters. The Commission denied the RCs and I would like to advise Mr. Chairman, that next time when we are having this sort of elections, we must involve RCs because RCs know their people from point A to B; and then also Mr. Chairman, the Commission announced on the 27th that you go to

where you have been and yet before they did not give people a go ahead. Along that process, some people never voted. Some people were told, you go and vote where you registered. Then what was the point of announcing a t that at the last moment? Some people remained just like that especially in Karamoja. Some of the people did not vote; I wish the information was given earlier they would have even voted there. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Before we go for lunch, there are two announcements to make. One is from hon. Pinto, the Delegate for Kakuuto County in Rakai District reminding Delegates of the transport arrangements tomorrow for those who do wish to go to the mass prayer for the Rwandese bodies recovered from Kagera river and buried in Kyebe sub-county in Kakuuto at a place called Kisozi. The transport leaves tomorrow at City Square at 8.00 am. Those who would like to travel are urged to be there on time. I have also received sad news that our Colleague hon. Bidandi-Ssali announces with sorrow the death of his mother this morning. The burial will be tomorrow at 3.00 p.m. at Kyabadaza 35 miles on Kampala-Masaka Road. We express our sadness at this loss and we wish him the best in this difficult time and has our prayers. Otherwise we still have people to speak, we would like to finish. We are allowing repetition because really we are not doing the serious business of discussing a disciplined document. If we were discussing in accordance with the rules and discussing say particular provisions of our draft constitution, the Chair would have been more stricter. But at the moment, I thought it is useful that we discover each other's views on various subjects whether they are repetitions or not, that we should learn to tolerate each other on the Floor and know how to talk to each other so that when we come back in two weeks' time, we go to serious business knowing how each one of us reacts either in public discussion or how patient or impatient we are; so that we know how to handle each other and assist the Chair to make the business move smoothly. I would like to adjourn for one hour so that we finish early. If we go for Lunch and come back at 2.30 p.m and we start on time, we should be able to complete early so that we can have an early weekend and we see you in two weeks' time. I notice one Member would like to say something.

MR. BABU: Mr. Chairman, my request is that we might have to have an election of a committee this afternoon like some people had suggested. I would

like therefore, to request Sir, that a reasonable request Sir, that is given with any form of election that might be requested for by the Delegates. The Rules Committee which we are going to leave the work with must be elected before we go on this recess of two weeks.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, that will be the procedure. The only thing is that we shall have to process the other speakers quickly so that we finish early. You have heard of course, various views concerning our time ranging from finishing at 5.00 p.m. to finishing at mid-night and I think we shall not adjourn until we have finished today's business. The earlier we come back and we process the other speakers, the better.

MR. BABU: Mr. Chairman, some people had suggested that you give us the names and we see if we can approve them. I was wondering if Members are of that view and if that is so, we could give you this lunch time to come back with the names and we approve them.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will try to suggest some ideas. We stand adjourned until 2.30 p.m. Thank you.

The Assembly adjourned to 2.30 in the afternoon

*The Assembly met at 2.30 in the International
Conference Centre*

The Chairman, Mr. J. Wapakhabulo, in the Chair

THE CHAIRMAN: We will continue with remarks from Delegates. The next person to speak is Delegate Akello Grace.

MR. WANENDEYA: There seems to be no quorum and therefore, maybe we can adjourn for a few minutes *-(interruptions)-* Mr. Chairman, well, if it is general remarks, we can go ahead if the others agree because this is democracy and it has got to work. But one other appeal Mr. Chairman is for us who did not register in the morning but only this, are we going to have an opportunity also to contribute because I pray that you grant some of us an opportunity to contribute also Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point is taken.

MR. WANENDEYA: Special request from the mountains Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman is Chairman of many mountains this time. Of course it is better if we are all here in time but these are general remarks. I think we can go ahead and people will come as we go.

MR. KANDOLE (Kyaka county, Kabarole): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I congratulate you and your Deputy for election to the high office. I would like also to express my thanks to the Constitutional Commission for the job which I think was well done. May I also express my thanks to the Constituent Assembly Commissioner and his deputies and staff also who have done a good job so far, and also I would like to welcome my fellow Delegates to this House. My first remarks Mr. Chairman is a small appeal to the secretariat. There is already a lot which has been said about the secretariat but I would like also to point out that the Constituent Commissioner needs also, now turned into a secretariat, needs also to be a bit more orderly. There is still room for improvement. We had problems in Kyaka Mr. Chairman. Day after day for over two weeks, people who worked as polling assistants and registration officers had to walk for over two weeks to get their allowances and I am not @very sure if they have been paid now. A lot of work was wasted and time. Mr. Chairman, also, may I

briefly say something about our sitting arrangements. I do not think Mr. Chairman, we can have a better sitting arrangement than this one because of the number of reasons. Already some have been advanced but one of them is that actually we have always talked of levelling ground. I find that this kind of arrangement has actually done that for us. It has levelled us everybody is here as a Delegate and I think it has helped to bring those who would be on the front bench, the Ministers and top go@ government officials that they found themselves where they are by their own names, according to the alphabet. I think that one is good. Secondly, it is also good for identification and convenience for the passing :E of papers and I think also it is more or less a better approach to some kind of consensus because Mr. Chairman, I am highly impressed when I see some consultations for instance, going on between Delegate Nekyon and Adyebo because they happen to be very close. I have seen a number of times Delegate Cecilia and Babu consulting here and there, I have seen Delegate Matembe and Mateke - you know it is not true that there is a fact that people come from the same area, that they have the same ideologies. It is not correct. So, I think this, in my opinion, is the best arrangement except what we need to do is that there should be improvement on the communication and the facilities provided for our back benchers; I mean those people who seem now to be in the back bench by their names.

Mr. Chairman, I want also to use this little opportunity to correct some impression which is being created in this House or which was created yesterday by one Delegate who I think tried to confuse the two things; the Constituent Assembly and the NRC. Mr. Chairman, it is not correct that there are two legislative bodies in this country. It is not correct at all. There is the NRC which is entrusted with making laws for this country. We have the Constituent Assembly which is given a specific duty, specific responsibility of making the supreme law of this country and that is all. It has not turned itself into a legislature. There is one legislature and I think that one should be made quite clear. It is true that the Constitution that will be produced by this House is the supreme law of the country and once it is promulgated and there are laws which are made by the NRC which seem to contradict what the CA will have passed, then the constitution supersedes. And I think that one should not disturb us so much because the NRC is there to make laws for the day to day running of government business and they make

laws as need arises. So, it would be out of order to suggest that whatever is being discussed here - because I know we are going to discuss everything concerning this country that should not be handled even by NRC. Those can continue to make their day to day laws of running the government as we concentrate on making the supreme law.

I want also briefly to comment on what some Members have talked as being compromised. Others have talked of lobbying groups. Mr. Chairman, we have already got documents to guide us in our discussions here and I understand also there are some other draft constitutions, there are some other manifestos, we have a number of workshops and seminars. I think we are entitled to get all this and listen to them and attend these seminars. All we need to do Mr. Chairman, is that we must have a high degree of maturity and independence so that we are able to listen, analyze and then formulate what is good for us and for our nation.

Some Members look worried about some comments which are being made outside this House. I think Mr. Chairman, we should note that as long as we are here, as long and we are in leadership, they are going definitely to talk about us and I think what really matters is not what they say outside but what we agree on in this House. Let us concentrate on our business, let people talk what they want. I think what matters actually is how we handle our business to arrive at a consensus. Mr. Chairman, I want also to say something about our responsibility here. It is our responsibility that we write a constitution by putting our national interests and the interests of the people who brought us here first before anything else. It has happened in our history Mr. Chairman although some people may not want to refer so much to the history. But in my understanding is that the future is definitely built on the present and the present always depends on the past. So there is no way we can talk of our future, the future of Uganda. We can talk about the present unless we well understand the past. So history Mr. Chairman, has shown us that a lot of us, once i elected in at certain offices have forgotten the people who have helped us to get to where we are. That is why I am emphasizing Mr. Chairman, that when we are debating this important issue, the national constitution, we must put the national interest and the interest of the people who sent us here first because it has happened and to the disappointment of many Ugandans, that in the past there were so many crossings from one floor to the other; that in 1979 as

Members have expressed, during the e UNLF, we lost an opportunity of bringing together the Ugandans. So we would not want to see a repeat of this. That is why Mr. Chairman, I want to wind up with these words of wisdom from the Chief Justice in his speech when he was handing over and I want to quote, Mr. Chairman. *That we must ensure the at never again will our country be plunged into the types of turmoil we have been through.* Thank you.

MR. MASIKA GEORGE (Mbale Municipality)

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Permit me first of all, to express my warm congratulations on my own behalf and on behalf of the people of Mbale Municipality on your having been elected to the high office of this Assembly. And may I also in the same breath, congratulate your deputy for her also being elected to the high office. Much of what we do here will ultimately depend on what you the Chairman and your Deputy do in piloting the e process of the constitution making. The success will depend on how the Chair performs in this regard and I have every hope and wish that you two will find the exercise a very rewarding lifetime experience and I wish both of you a success in that job. Mr. Chairman, constitution making is a very serious job. I know there have been criticisms made by those who came a little later in life in this country about those who made the first independence constitution. The experience we have gone through since 1962, has opened up the floors and the gaps in that constitution and other interim constitutions that were made between 1962 and now. It is our privilege now joining in the constitution making process at this stage to look at the past and find out why the previous constitutions failed and try as much as we can to correct the mistakes that were made then. It will require a lot of patience amongst ourselves, a lot of tolerance and courtesy amongst ourselves. The little I have listened to so far has brought robust speeches and some low key speeches. Ultimately Mr. Chairman, it is the substance that really counts; not how much one talks how very timidly one makes the point. It is the substance and I hope and appeal to the Delegates to bear i n mind that we are embarking on an exercise intended to correct the past mistakes and set the time-table for the future and in this, the whole country will be looking to us to do that exercise. When it is done and completed, may I add Mr. Chairman, that constitution as the others before it will not defend itself. You are no doubt aware that since 1986, the NRM government has been operating on an imperfect constitution. But see what has

been achieved? It is not the constitution alone that will bring peace to this country. It is the behaviour of the people of Uganda and the desire to make a lifetime contribution to their own nation that will make the constitution successful. I have heard it said that constitutions after all are paper documents. Yes, it is; I do not the ink we can write on the steel wall. It has to be written on paper. But when we say defend the constitution, we are not simply talking about sitting Him the box or the curtain where the constitution is kept. We are asking you and everyone to guard against the breaches of the constitution wherever they occur in the country. If you walk down to the car park, you will see some breaches of the constitution being carried out. If you turn your eye away from it, you are contributing to the breaking of the constitution. I am not urging Members or the public to be full hard and rush to where robbers are robbing a bank. But I think there are lesser occasions where every citizen can ensure that the constitution is actually kept. Think of those people who are arrested and beaten when you are watching. Think of those people who are locked up in unscheduled places or even in prisons for long periods of time; think of them. That is actually the area in which you can defend the constitution and I hope Members will not go away with their idea after we have done it; that we have done a good job and find the constitution is in place, find Uganda is free. That will not be the case. The work is yet to be done by everyone else to ensure that small breaches which start the bigger ones later are not permitted. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to take too much time but let me just comment on the hard beaten topic of lobbies. It is a way of communicating ideas and seeking support and if you have succeeded in expressing your point of view to another, and that other accepts your view, you should thank yourself for the job you have done. If however, you have failed, I urge you not to look at it and regard the other person as an enemy but please, do accept him as one who has his own opinion to advance and the fact that you have talked together, you have come nearer each other than you were before and you should regard yourselves as actually closer friends than before. The tendency of regarding different opinions and the holders of those opinions as persons to be rejected should be discarded otherwise our process here will find and will be a very heavy job indeed to do. Now I also hasten to add as a Member did, that lobbying is a double sold age; there is a tendency of some Members who are over zealous to use every means to convince or influence. Now I think personally that once the point has been

made and rejected, there should be no more undue influence brought on that particular person to change his mind. I think we should respect then the view of the other person and let him advance it as he sees it fit. There is a lot said about the Press. My advice is to leave the Press alone. The Press has a role to play in a democratic society and if it transgresses, there are some provisions to go against it but do not try to muzzle the Press. I read of a journalist who was mishandled or his papers torn as he was coming to this Assembly. I do not know the truth of that; it was in the newspaper. But if it was, it is a kind of breach that should be condemned.

Finally Mr. Chairman, the sitting arrangements. I know some of us who are sitting comfortably on these two rows here and the third where I am behind, with all the facilities available, want it permanent that way. If you are, on the other hand, sitting where we are popularly referring to as back bench, you have no desk to write on, you find it very inconvenient. I am not an architect but I see plenty of room in front of us here and I am just wondering whether the Commission can find extra chairs and extra tables to make another row inside this empty space so that all our friends behind there can also move forward and have suitable material to write on. If there should be any excess left, I suggest, you remove some of the chairs behind the second row and put also some tables there. It will be very attractive for all the Delegates to sit that way but I do not agree myself that it should remain as it is without any change. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

MRS AKECH OKULLU (Women Representative Gulu): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I believe you are completely tired Mr. Chairman, of receiving congratulatory messages from various people and Delegates of this House. However, I feel that it will be very remiss of me not to join my Colleagues in congratulating you and your Deputy on your attainment to the high office of the Chair and Deputy Chair respectively. I hope and pray Mr. Chairman, that you will stick to the pledge that you made here two days ago; that of impartiality and fairness. I also hope that you will be impersonal and fearless when debates become a little too hot. Mr. Chairman, I say this because I know you will be subjected to a lot of pressures from various interest groups and sometimes even from authorities which are higher than you. For the sake of acceptability and credibility of this constitution which we are about to make Mr. Chairman, I would not like it to be said in

future that the Chair bowed to certain pressures. I also would like to take this opportunity Mr. Chairman, to thank the Commissioner for the Constituent Assembly for the able work that he has done with his team. I know given the opportunity or the same task, a number of us probably would have bungled this job and not made the task you did. Thank you very much Mr. Commissioner. I also would like to thank the people of Uganda who have contributed their diverse views which have been distilled to form the draft constitution that we are about to discuss now. If they had not contributed, we would not be having a draft and we would not be having a Constituent Assembly neither would we be having a debate. Therefore, they deserve our thanks. I also thank them for having put their trust in us and I do believe that all of us who are here will not destroy the trust that the people have given us.

Mr. Chairman, I then look at the sitting arrangements. I think I am satisfied. However, not because I am sitting at the front desk but because I think that this place possibly is a temporary arrangement and that within a short time, we might be moving somewhere. But I concur with my friend behind that way who says that there is need to improve on the communication system. Here I would like to suggest Mr. Chairman, that possibly you approach the people who are concerned here; those of the Nile Mansion or Nile Hotel, to provide us with more microphones with longer cables which actually can be moved round and that you get some people who actually will be moving these cables around so that the Delegates do not have to move up and down to come and look for where to sit and talk.

I do concur with hon. Moses Ali that there is a wide gap between the rich and the poor and a certain class of people in Uganda and this has been brought about by the inequitable sharing of national cake and power and also the national resources. Certain areas in Uganda have been neglected for too long. When you tell me that people should work and people should organise their fellow people to work so that they develop, I think that is not very true. If an area does not have a television station for that matter, what will happen? Is it the people who are going to put it or is it the government? So I feel that somewhere along the line, certain areas have been neglected and I feel that it is the duty of we people who are here, the constitutional framers to ensure that this equality is instituted in the constitution that we are about to make. Failure to do this, we will still be having a lot of problems because once - as the

brigadier said - if you are unhappy, you will definitely continue to look for happiness and this way, certain people are unhappy because of this inequality in treatment and looking at us.

Mr. Chairman, lastly, speaking as a woman Delegate who had to face a lot of problems during the campaign, that is of wide coverage of the district. I would like to make a request Mr. Chairman, that the people who are concerned with our welfare actually take this into consideration when they facilitate our movement. Some of us might be thrown overboard because we will be accused of refusing to go back to the people, county by county or division by division. We have 22 divisions some of us but we have to move to these divisions. How do we move if we are not facilitated? Mr. Chairman, it is my humble request that the welfare office takes this into consideration. Thank you very much. *(Applause)*

MS GRACE AKELLO (Presidential Nominee):

It is very gracious of you Mr. Chairman, to allow me time to speak even though I came late. I was performing other duties. Allow me to congratulate you Sir, on your appointment as Chairman and along with you Sir, to congratulate Prof. Mwaka on her appointment as Vice Chairman.

Much as I respect the feeling that Prof. Mwaka is a qualified person in her own right and therefore deserves to be the Vice Chairman of this august House, I still feel that the women in this august House did want its deputy to be a woman and we did lobby for her to take the seat. So, I just want the men to be aware that when we are sharing positions of leadership, women should be considered alongside men. I also want to thank Mr. Akabway the Constituent Assembly Commissioner for a job well done to prepare the ground work for this.

Now, I would like to talk as a Presidential nominee and some of the Hon. Members of this House yesterday, already said or started to talk things about Presidential nominees being the same people as NRM. Well, without wanting to provoke that kind of debate at this point, I just want to point out that it is very, very important for us to avoid labelling people because this can be very, very divisive in the House. What I see myself as - Presidential nominee - but I see myself as having been appointed or nominated by the President to provide the people of Uganda an alternative avenue to air their views. So, we are privileged therefore, that the President of this

country thinks that he can appoint other people other than those who the people themselves have elected to talk across the spectrum of Uganda; not just to the counties. My Colleagues and I are prepared to travel all over Uganda and talk to the people of Uganda and get their views just as you are doing in your own counties. So please, let us utilise the opportunity of these ten nominees. Tell your constituents about us and do not brand us as special people who have been sent by the President to investigate on his behalf.

Now, the issue of branding us really goes along with very narrow partisan views that some of us tend to have. We could also turn round and say, for example, I fought an election and lost in my home county. I could also turn round and accuse the people who are here of being partisan and say these are X, Y, Z men. Do not listen to what they have to say. I think that point is made.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak as a woman and to point out to you Sir, that I am very, very honoured to be here because after all, I am just 20 per cent of the Women of this House. That is to say, the women constitute 20 per cent of the Members of this House. So, out of 283 Members, they are less than 50 women and this is in a country where women account for over 60 per cent of our population; so therefore I am honoured. I am extra honoured because the President nominated me along with Mrs. Joan Rwabyomere. I know that there are a lot of Ugandan women who decided that they were going to stand for the election and fight on their home ground but there are still a lot of reactionary forces in a lot of our societies and women are not seen as people who can actually provide leadership; especially if they stand shoulder to shoulder with men. But I am very sure that in this august House, I have already seen indication that the men who are here are gender sensitive and recognise the role that Ugandan women have played; not only in the liberation of this country but in the economic production of this country. So, therefore, I am looking forward very much to contributing ideas and so on and to you men allowing us to contribute to the reconstruction of our country.

Just one little thing then I will have to shut up. I was listening to my Colleague from Karamoja and my sister here who talked about marginalised communities or those societies which did not feel that they had got a enough of the national cake. Well, Mr. Chairman, I am very glad that the whole of Ugandan societies have now come to a point where they realise that we have a common interest

We have fought so many wars which have thrown us apart, we have killed each other, we have really made our country sometimes a place of sorrow and now we have finished with war. We are coming back to build Uganda and I am very, very glad that we are at the point where we are making a constitution which will be for development. But while we are doing this, I would like us please, to pay special attention to other parts of our country which really feel that they have been neglected.

This morning just before we broke off, I listened to a Gentleman, Delegate talking about Karimajong stopping cattle rustling and organising themselves to productive activity. Yes, on the one hand, it is very important for communities to organise themselves but it is equally important for us all Ugandans to help, to realise the reconstruction of other places. *(Applause)* The Karamojong have had real problems of organising society, of starting economic activities and we should not just blame them. We should actually do something to help them.

Now, the last I point Sir, is the issue of facilitating debate. I would support the idea that we have an information and publicity committee whose role will be to make sure that what we discuss here really goes to the public and the public has a way of feeding back to us. I think that perhaps we should have more time for consultation. I was not elected at county level but we should have more time for consultation with our constituents and therefore we meet maybe on Tuesdays to Thursdays and have Fridays and so on for their -

A DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of order. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. Is it in order Mr. Chairman, for some distinguished Delegates to concentrate on reading newspapers and other booklets whereby some Delegates are making serious contributions? Is it in order?

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be improper if the Members were doing that. It is also discourteous to the person on the Floor. My attention has not been drawn to any particular Member. So we shall make it as a general statement that we should not read papers. Please go ahead.

MS AKELLO: Thank you Mr. Chairman. I will conclude in less than one minute Sir. I was just saying that *(Interruption)*

THE CHAIRMAN: Information is only taken if accepted

MISS AKELLO: No, I do not think I need information Mr. Chairman at this point.

THE CHAIRMAN: Information has been rejected, so you cannot impose it on her.

MISS AKELLO: Yes, so, Mr. Chairman, I was just talking about administrative arrangements to facilitate debate. I am suggesting like other people that we should have an information and publicity committee, we should have time for consultation with our constituents and perhaps we could have a small resource room where we could carry out our research and study when we are preparing for sessions. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and distinguished Delegates.

MR. KAMURON PETER (Kongasis County): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I would also like to congratulate you and your Deputy for having been successfully been elected to that highest position.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it seems most of the observations have been mentioned by Members. I would like therefore to restrict myself to a few of these observations and remarks.

Mr. Chairman, the question of equitable distribution of resources nationally, is a very critical issue in this country. Now, why is it critical? It is because it creates political upheavals. I would not like to go back to the history of Uganda from 1966, 1971 and so on. Some of the distinguished Delegates who were very mature that time know very well what took place. Normally when there is no equitable distribution of resources, national resources, there are political upheavals and these are always manifested in the super structure; that is the fight for power in order to control resources. That is what has been the problem since probably independence of this country; and probably it has contributed to all these quarrels: military coups, political military coups and so on. And I am very happy Mr. Chairman, that today, we have representatives of various political interest groups. If I can mention a few of them who are represented here, we have got the Commercial, Industrial and bureaucratic interests represented here. We have got now as distinguished Delegate Akello has said, interests of the Presidency, the ten distinguished Delegates represent the interests of the Presidency here. Then we have got peasant interests. I am one of those who represents peasant interests.

There are also interests of the intelligentsia; these people who have read too many books. They are here; Prof. Nsibambi, these others. They are too many. We have interests of rustlers and they are here; cattle rustlers. They are people who can never be elected unless they bow to cattle rustlers; their interests are represented here. There are political interests, they are represented here.

MR LOROT: Point of order. Mr. Chairman Sir, the hon. Member holding the Floor has made a sweeping statement to say that in this House, there are rustlers. Mr. Chairman, is it in order for this Member to make this unfortunate and improper allegation?

THE CHAIRMAN: I listened to the Member and the impression I got was that he was saying that there were various interests like footballers, rustlers and others, who are represented here. *(Laughter)* But it would not be in order if he was referring to any distinguished Delegate as a rustler; and if he did, he should withdraw. But if he was saying there are various interests in the country, he should not withdraw.

MR. APUUN: Is it in order Mr. Chairman, having been elected by the people of my county to come here and represent a group of rustlers, I represent Bokora county, is it in order Mr. Chairman? He should withdraw that point.

THE CHAIRMAN: I had already made a ruling on a similar matter. The point is that if he was referring to people representing various interests even within their counties, that is a different matter. But if he was referring to distinguished Delegates as rustlers, that is not in order. And he should withdraw if he did it.

MR. KAMURON: Mr. Chairman, I was not referring to any individual distinguished Member from places where rustling takes place. But already I think the message has been received. *(Laughter)*

THE CHAIRMAN: No, no, hold on. I think you should withdraw your remarks because that is leaving it in a vague way.

MR. KAMURON: Mr. Chairman Sir, I beg to withdraw that statement.

THE CHAIRMAN: Okay, now make your remarks without imputing any ill motives to other Members of the House.

MR. KAMURON: Mr. Chairman, having withdrawn those remarks, I would like to continue by saying that there also interests of some disadvantaged groups like squatters in some regions. For example, in Buganda here, there are people who are squatters in their own region.

THE CHAIRMAN: Distinguished Delegate, I would like to caution you about the language you are using. I think you should confine your remarks to other matters rather than going into other people's places, and suggesting things which may necessarily offend others.

MR. KAMURON: Okay, thank you very much Mr. Chairman. I will now continue saying there is youth representation, workers, army and women, they are all represented here.

I would like to address myself to partisan interests. Sir, having listened to Members who have contributed here, I have discovered that there are members who think they are being pursued, they are being subdued and that they are feeling very unsafe. One Member this morning articulated this very sentiment.

I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that while we continue deliberating on this Assembly, we need to cultivate a very high sense of national reconciliation and tolerance. With that in mind, Mr. Chairman, if there is any way we can organise or make some special arrangements for people who are still in exile to come back and join us again here in Uganda it would be very good. I have in mind, Mr. Chairman, the leaders of certain political groups. I have seen the other day I saw we were very much impressed by the entrance of former Head of State General Okello Lutwa here, we were very impressed and we stood. I would like to see Dr. Milton Obote also receiving the same ovations in the near future; at least for national reconciliation. I would like his followers who are in exile also to join him when he comes back here. I would like Field Marshal Idi Amin to come back and be received in the same manner and if they so wish, they can even run for Presidential elections, next January. I am saying this Mr. Chairman, because the absence of these Ugandans outside creates a political uncertainty here in Uganda. So if we could arrange - *(interruption)*

DR CHEBROT: Point of information. I wish to thank the distinguished delegate for his very stimulating statements. On top of that, I would like to inform the people of Uganda that preparations are at

an advanced stage to sign a tripartite agreement to bring back all Ugandans who are in zaire and any other Ugandans who may be living outside this country to come back here and there should not be a problem at all. Any other Ugandan who is living anywhere is free to come back to Uganda without any preconditions. Thank you very much.

MR. KAMURON: I thank the distinguished delegate very much Mr. Chairman, for giving encouraging information. Finally, I would like to talk about the lobby groups. There is what is called positive and negative lobbying. For example, because of positive lobbying, we managed to elect you, Mr. Chairman and your Deputy, to that highest chair, because of positive lobbying. So, I would like to encourage positive lobbying and Members should try to improve on that and the last observation, Mr. Chairman, this worry about the presence of National Resistance Army. Some people made certain observations. For example, they are saying, why not include a woman or women Army Representatives in this august House. Why not? Then there are some crude submissions, that it seems the Army Representation here, it is not Regional representative, that is crude, I am sorry, but that is what people say. So, Mr. Chairman, with those observations, I would like to thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you - Order. I would like to request delegates not to be detracted by other factors other than the business before us. I now call upon delegate Maliro Gaston.

MAJ GEN TINYEFUZA: Point of clarification. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to comment rather to clarify on the issue of the gender in the Army election and I would also like to clarify on what the Member from Kapchorwa commented on the balance of the representation from the Armed Forces. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inform the House and clarify that, representation of the National Resistance Army, was democratically determined in the Army Council. The Army Council which represents all the units and interests of the National Resistance Army sat and democratically elected all the candidates who came forward. Therefore it is not right for any Member to impute any inappropriate influences on the manner that women were neglected in the Army. Any girl, any woman, like any man or any boy, in the National Resistance Army is eligible to being elected and his name could have been sec-

ended. It so happened that the girls did not get the number of votes required to bring them here; if I ever they come, they will be welcome. The Army, unlike other instruments of State, other than if you are talking about Trade Unions and all that, depends on difficult aspects which include things like contribution, which include specialisation, which include the experience in combat, these are matters which you cannot spread regionally, uniformly. You cannot require uniform combat at this stage on a district level. Therefore, I think it is an erroneous ground to say that you must get a very able Mukiga who can fight like a Munyoro. I think if you are talking about the Army, that is a wrong concept.

However, I am pleased, Mr. Chairman to inform the House that, we have people from the North representing the National Resistance Army in this House, we have people from the East representing National Resistance Army in this House, we have people from Buganda representing the Army in this House, we have people from the West representing the Army in this House, J.J Odong is not from the West, he is from the East, Amaza Ondoga, is from the Central, he is from the North, West Nile, Gyagenda Kibiringo is from Buganda, Sserwanga Lwanga, is not an acholi, Tinyefuza is a Munyankore. I think there is a balance, Mr. Chairman, Thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you for that clarification. Delegate, Maliro, please proceed.

MR. MALIRO GASTON (Mwenge County North): Thank you Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are going to be delayed. Okay.

MR. MOSES ALI: Point of information. Mr. Chairman, I want to inform the Assembly that it should not worry about the representation of the Army, because the other part of it which have not reached, is during the casualty aspect of it. When the time comes to count the casualties, and you are more there, therefore, your casualty also goes up and that is a time when you would like to be equal. *(Applause)*. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MALIRO: Thank you Mr. Chairman. Allow me also to congratulate you upon your election to that high Chair and also your Deputy. Mr. Chairman, I have two issues and mainly these are comments, one administrative issue, another one, is on

the Committees.

I want to comment on the adjournment of the Assembly to recess, this morning you told us we shall be away for two weeks, to return around 6th or 7th of June. That is very nice, it gives time for consultation with our constituencies, but Mr. Chairman, I have a word of caution to make. I only hope that this adjournment does not become a sort of a habit, because, I have heard a rumour, this may not be founded, that we may have another recess soon to allow for the NRC to debate the National Budget. Nov, and that one, it will be around a month or two. One problem I am trying to advance is, that some of us here, are Civil Servants and before we came to CA, we had to lobby, we had to agree with our employers, that we shall be away for the period between four and seven months and that we shall be back for work. Now, there was the first unfortunate adjournment or postponement when elections did not take place in December as had been proposed and had to be extended to March - at the end of March. Now, the period, when we are expecting to go to our jobs, is the time now we are about to start. But then if you are going to have these adjournments from time and time again and long ones, it means we shall more than a year before we go back to our former jobs and I think we it may have some adverse effects on some of us. Secondly, we have a time limit in which to complete this work and if the time limit is to be between four and seven months, then if we have long recess adjournments, then, there is a possibility that we shall fail to complete within limited time. I hope, Mr. Chairman, you take some note of that. Secondly, on the committees, I support the formation of these committees and if there were sufficient time, it would have been my wish that we elect the Members to these committees today; so that when we come back, early June, then we can start on actual business of the discussing the matters in the Draft Constitution, so as to be on schedule. However, Mr. Chairman, I have one fear about the Business Committee, that is paragraph (D), of subRule 3 of Rule 5, which among other functions of the Business Committee, there is to consider Amendments that are proposed during debates. It makes me fear that perhaps this particular paragraph is giving a lot of powers to this Committee it would appear to me, that considering the Amendments which have been proposed during the debates, that then this committee has the right either to accept or refuse some of the Amendments which will have been proposed during the debate. To me, that is detrimental because

according to the Statute governing this Assembly, resolutions or decisions are to be taken by the majority of the Assembly but not by a definite committee or group of people. So, Mr. Chairman, I would wish that when the Rules Committee is deliberating on this particular Rule, Rule No.5, perhaps they reconsider this section (D) and perhaps remove it; so that they can deal with preparation of the agenda and the rest, but then things which have got to do with resolutions are left entirely to the Council as the Statute does here state.

Also Mr. Chairman, the Privileges Committee, if it is formed, I would like to remind it to Section 29 of the same Statute, which says that the privileges of the to be accorded to this Assembly are derived from Chapter 249 of the National Assembly powers and Privileges Act so that they do not have to take too long to find out what they are supposed to avail to us. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. I guess the comment you have made will be taken into account by the Committee we shall appoint, but as I said yesterday, we cannot proceed with Committee appointments, because really, the committees of the House will be named and determined by the Rules. So, until we have the Rules in place, it will be difficult to proceed with the appointments. What I thought we agreed, is that we are to have a temporary committee on the drafting of the Rules and that Committee will report when we resume and then we take the other matters from there. The question of adjournment, I have just heard it from the delegate for the first time, I have never been told that we are going to adjourn to first debate the Budget. Our programmes do not have to run together, because it would be helpful if we can synchronise them, but we have a limited time from the day we sat, our time begun running, from the day this Assembly met for the first time, the time begun running. So, we shall have to do our business during the time allocated and other demands on ourselves, will have to be considered very seriously before any further adjournment can be granted. This one we are taking it as an important adjournment to enable Members to prepare themselves to consult and also to enable the Secretariat to be ready so that when we come back, we proceed without hinderance.

MR. MALINGA IGNATIUS (Usuk County): Thank you chairman. Mr. Chairman, let me join all my Colleagues who have spoken before me, who

have congratulated you upon your election. I think it is not just fitting that I should also add my voice, but I also want to convey to you the feelings of my constituency who have welcomed your election to that high office as a neighbour. You are a good neighbour, I do not like to say what my Colleague from Kapchorwa has said because sometimes when I look at my other neighbours, I do not look with as much pleasure as I look at you.

I would also like to congratulate the Commissioner for the Constituent Assembly for the job that he has done and also to conduct the elections and also for what - *(Interruption)*

MR. APUUN: Point of order. Again, the speaker has encroached on an area which I have called for order. Is it in order, Mr. Chairman, for a neighbour to look at another neighbour as an enemy? in this House, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: We have no enemies in this House, we have only distinguished delegates.

MR. APUUN: Mr. Chairman, he looks at you and me differently. One is a friend and one is the foe.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will urge this delegate not to do that. Please proceed.

MR. MALINGA: Thank you Mr. Chairman, I take the point. I think let me move to an area which has not been touched. Mr. Chairman, I would like us to consider the role of the Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs, whom we have been informed that he has been involved in the process of Constitution making right from 1986 up to now. But, Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether now that he is also a delegate, in this august Assembly, whether he can continue properly to discharge the functions of his office. Under the Statute, for example, he has under Section 8, sub-section 3, the power to extend the lifetime of this Assembly from four months to seven months, then secondly, under Section 16, sub-section 1, he may with the approval of this Assembly, amend the Rules of Procedure of this Assembly. Again, under Section 18, sub-section 1, he may, the Minister may refer any matter which has been considered to be contentious for presentation to the nation for resolution by way of Referendum.

Fourthly, under Section 26, he approves in conjunction with the Minister responsible for Finance, the allowances payable to the Members of this Assem-

bly. Another function he has to do is to issue lists for election of a delegate when a delegate has been disqualified from sitting in this House, because he has been absent for say, seven consecutive meetings; and many other functions he has given under Section 30. My feeling is that these functions or some of them at least can best be performed by a person who is not a member of this House. For example, to sit

determines all allowances, to me. - *(Interruption)*
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of information. I want to refer him to the same Statute and I want to refer him to Section 6, Clause 2.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it is possible, he had seen it but he skipped it. But if it is additional, if it helps him, okay.

MR. MALINGA: Well, I do not know what make of that information, but any how the point I was making is, - *(Interruption)*

CAPT. BABU: Point of information. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inform the hon. Delegate who is on the Floor that if he goes to Section 6, Clause 2, it reads very clearly '*for the avoidance of doubt, it is hereby declared that the Member of the National Resistance Council and any person who holds a public office, shall not be disqualified from being elected or appointed as a delegate by reasons only of a membership of the National Resistance Council or holding a public office.*'

MR. MALINGA: Thank you for the information. The point is this, to sit in judgement of how much we should be paid I do not think looks right, if it can be avoided. If you are a Managing Director of your own Company, well you can decide how much to pay yourself, but in public office, I do not think if it can be helped, that one should be able to sit and determine how much one is paid. Now, Mr. Chairman, I would also like to add my voice to these Members who have said, serious consideration to be given by your office and that of the Commissioner to finding a place of rest where Members may retire in the evenings and exchange views over a bottle of Soda. Mr. Chairman, concerning the Press, I would appeal to my fellow delegates that let us leave the fourth estate that is the Press alone. Let them do their job in the way they can best do it. I do not think we can make the Press do a better job by issuing hand-outs to the Press. These are people who know what they are doing, if we think that they have overstepped anywhere, we shall soon or later have a Privileges Committee which can call them in, and caution them where they have gone wrong. For example, Mr Chairman, I was not amused to see the issue of the

Monitor this morning, where they had a cartoon showing a table on which were listed to be, Mr. Chairman, your packages. These are the sort of things which I do not welcome, but otherwise, the members of the Press can best write without being helped; they can come here and capture as best as they can what goes on in here.

Turning to our proposed regulations, looking through these regulations, I am not preempting the work of the committee to be elected but it seems we are creating another office that is the office of the Clerk to the Assembly. The Statute made no reference at all to a Clerk of the Assembly, it may well have been provided for, but my understanding of the Statute is this, that the responsibility of maintaining the record of the proceedings of this Assembly, is the job of the Commissioner. Now, if I am rightly thinking so, then it is not correct for us to create another office that of the Clerk and give him the responsibility of keeping a record of this Assembly; because this Statute clearly says, it is the duty of the Commissioner to issue out statements or bulletins of the proceedings of the Assembly. Now, if you again give somebody else the responsibility of keeping the record, that becomes a conflict of offices. Let us leave it to the Commissioner to do the job and then he appoints any person to help him discharge other duties, not for us to write in our Rules things which seem to run against the Statute which brought about this Assembly.

About the resource room, Mr. Chairman, we have been informed that we have a Resource Room on the 11th Floor of the Posta building on Kitante Road. I think a resource room should be as far as possible as close to where we are working from 9 for it to be of any use. It is of no use if it is so far away and Members cannot have easy access to it, wherever we are operating from the Resource Room should be where we are, otherwise it will not be useful. As for the lobbies, I do not think he can do anything about lobbying. It is inevitable, if you go to United National General Assembly, you will find it there if you go UN Security Council, you will find it there. Anywhere else in the civilised world, lobbies are there. In fact, in America, there are professional lobbyists. You have a cause, you go to explain to them what is your cause, and they will lobby for you and they will tell you in advance what are your chances of getting accepted by the other members. Mr. Chairman, I could make a lot of remarks, but I am conscious of the time. I would like to end here. Once again, I would like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

DR. KAMANDA BATARINGAYA (Bwamba County): Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, to have given me this opportunity also to air up my views. As a formality, actually, because most of the people have been congratulating you since yesterday and even today, and I do not differ from them, I want to extend my sincere congratulations to you and your Deputy, for having been elected to that office.

Because of the time, I am not going to paddle about, I am just going to tell you, what my contributions are on general remarks and observations. The first one, is on administrative, the way I see it, because once you are appointed in office, there is always terms and conditions of service, but we have been here for a week, we have got pamphlets, we have got A, B, C, D, we have got the necessary materials and the like, we have allowances, but now, we are about to adjourn as you said I have not seen any document or anything regarding terms and conditions of service. So in this case, Mr. Chairman, this is my request, that before we adjourn, today at 5.00 O'clock I do not know what the Secretariat will do, I think Mr. Akabway will take note of this, that it is actually better for us, the honourable delegates, to know clearly the terms and conditions of service.

The second point, is we have been talking - people talked of we shall be coming at 9.00 up to 5.00, other talked of prolonging the time up to 10.00 p.m. Okay,

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of information. I would like to inform the hon. delegate that if he reads the Statute No. 26, Clause 26, he will know that delegates including the Commissioner and his staff, shall be paid such allowances and enjoy such benefits, as a Minister may in consultation with the Minister responsible for Finance. So, in this case, I do not think there is any correspondence that he could expect. The statute has outlined this.

DR. KAMANDA BATARINGAYA: It seems the hon. delegate did not understand my point. Terms and conditions of service and the Statute he is referring me to, are not compatible. What I am saying, if I am a worker, I am just a cleaner of a household of someone he says if you are going to sweep this room of mine at Shs. 20/= per hour, some of us we say okay. 24,000/= we say this and that, the conditions of services should be clearly stated. Okay, the Statute is there, we agree, but in written form we

should be able to know how much and the like. Now, going back to my point, this was the question of time.

PROF. KABWEGYERE: Point of Order. Thank you Mr. Chairman, Is the hon. Delegate on the Floor in order to assume that this Assembly are employees of the Commission? The Commission is only meant to facilitate our work, we are employees of the people who elected us, is he in order to imply that we should be picking terms of appointment from the Commissioner?

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not understand the delegate to be saying that. I understood him to say that in terms of Section 26, some Circular should be given evidencing the determination made by the minister in terms of that Section.

PROF. KABWEGYERE: You are right, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: If that is the case, then he is in order. *(Laughter)*.

DR. KAMANDA BATARINGAYA: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, you have cleared the point. The second thing was, what is the time factor? Now we shall be debating long hours and there is where we say okay, our hon. Members of NRC who sit say from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m., then we are going to sit from 9.00 to 5.00 and input and output in this case, I do not know. My fear is, if we have two meetings sitting at the same time, I would like to request that a timetable be set for us CA, so that it does not coincide with NRC, because it is also a very important body as far as our Uganda is concerned.

This is a request now which also goes with Ms. Akello, saying that consultations with our respective area should be facilitated by the Secretariat. I also concur here as a request to the Secretariat.

Then finally, I wanted to talk about the presence of the Army, because actually yesterday some delegates had a fear of the Army, but me when I looked at it, when I was campaigning the Chapter 1, Article 4, Section (A), which says that, all citizens of Uganda, shall have the right and duty at all times to defend this Constitution - the Constitution we are going to make. How, this Army here, they are Ugandans, they are citizens of Uganda by virtue of their profession, so I am a medical doctor, I am a Ugandan

too. I am coming to debate the Constitution. I do not see why the Statute says, delegates to be elected by specified bodies, that is on page 22, also it indicates that 10 members of the Armed Forces shall also be in this House. I agree and even my people of Bundibugyo said, in order to have a better Constitution, because the Constitution we made in 1962, 1966, 1967, the Army was always excluded and they gave their views that may be, this had been the cause of these over-throws, because you cannot go and defend something without knowing what you are defending! So, having the presence of the Army in this House, is very, very important because they have to know what we are discussing and they have to know what they are defending. So, I also support the inclusion of the Army in such a House.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that, since here we are going to discuss national issues, I would say that we should forget our personal differences on tribal, religious and where we come from, but we should discuss things as Ugandans and that is when we shall come out with a good Constitution. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

MR. CHANGO MACHO (Samia Bugwe South): Mr. Chairman, since you have heard so many congratulations, I do not think should make you bored with congratulations. The only thing I want to tell you and your Vice is that the people of Samia Bugwe South support your election as Chairman and her election as Vice Chairman, because they are very proud of this draft Constitution as the Chairman of the Constitutional commission was their son. So, they have called it their Constitution. I can hear the reaction. Now Mr. Chairman, I want to make just a few points.

Point number one, is I think we should stop using the word tribe. The word tribe was meant by the white colonial masters, to discredit Africans as a people who are not worth to be considered civilised. Mr. Chairman, I want to inform you that most of us who have tried to read the true African history, by the 15th Century, Africans were much more advanced than the Europeans. The problems which are being complained about here, even were not there at the time of colonisation. The gender issue in Africa was not like today. Women were not despised by our ancestors, the degrading of women, is a colonial product, it is not because of African culture. First Africa, is the one which produced the first Queens,

Queen Kandesi of the ancient civilisation of Meroe in today's Sudan, was a queen in her own right as a woman. So, the word tribe was meant to despise us. We are not tribes, we are nationalities. The Baganda are a nationality, just as the Basamia are a nationality. So, I think we should forget the bad name the imperialists gave us and use our proper names. We Africans in Uganda, are nationalities.

Now with that in mind, we should regard each other as equals and we should treat each other not as dominant and dominated nationalities or subordinate and supordinate nationalities. Nationalities in Uganda should be seen as equal in their own right. We should therefore, work with one another on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual trust.

Now, from there, let me also mention this question of marginalised communities. Again, we talk as if it is we Africans who sat together and decided that some communities should be this, and others should be that. These are products of foreign rule. If you talk in terms, for example, the economic development of Uganda, the British colonial masters divided the country into two zones. The productive zone, which was South and the less productive zone which was the North. It is not we who sat down, and said let the Baganda grow coffee and let the Acholis be in the Army. It is not we, who sat down and said, let the sugar workers come from Arua and so on. It is not we who decided where the High Schools - where the so-called leading schools should be, it was the colonial masters. The highest school Northwards was Ngora in Teso and that was because Teso became a leading cotton grower. Otherwise, the whole of North had hardly any school; they used to come from North to come to South for schooling and they had to be sons and daughters of chiefs. That was not our work. Let us not take the problems which were created for us by imperialists as our problems. Our aim should be to try and solve these problems; to end the effects of colonial rule. *(Applause)*.

After that Mr. Chairman, me I am in favour of the sitting arrangement. The only thing I can agree with it what delegate George Masika has proposed, if it is possible to provide some tables for the delegates to write on, but otherwise, I agree with those who say, we do not consult each other while we are seated here, the consultation is made outside; but here, although I am seated next to - the other time I was seated next to a Muganda, then on my right there was a Musoga, and then there was a Muteso, but I do not know when we had even time to whisper to each

other. It is very difficult. So, the idea which they used to arrange the sitting, I think it is the best the Commissioner could do. So, let us see if it can be modified, but this business of saying, first come, first served, I think creates a lot of confusion.

The Title. Me, I was sent here as a delegate. I am not an hon. Member, I am not a representative. I was sent 'you go and say this'; and in my language we say, '*Omutumwa syahuywa olukuma*', that is, a messenger cannot be beaten on the head. I can come here and say anything as long as I am saying what I was sent to say. So, I am a delegate and Mr. Chairman, our proper title, for those who are fond of titles, is delegates, not honourables.

I support the idea of reporting back, because the experience in this country, is that once people are elected, when they want to be elected, they will go to where people are drinking *malwa* they go where people are drinking *changa*, they will do anything to get elected. The moment they are elected, that is the end the friendship. It ends there and then and that is why, our people get disappointed.

So, in this Assembly, we should be facilitated to be able to go back as often as possible, to tell our people what is happening this way and what other ideas they can give us.

The question of NRA. The way I look at it, Mr. Chairman, we have had three different Armies in Uganda. We had the colonial Army King's African Rifles, that was not our Army, its enemy was the African people. They were put there to suppress any up-rising against colonial rule; this is what produced the Amins and all that. Now, when the Army was taken over, in Samia we say, the dog which you never trained, do not put your finger in its mouth, because it will bite. The Army had no respect for Africans, just as the police had no respect for Africans, just as the prisons had no respect for the Africans, because they were there to suppress, and humiliate Africans. Then we had UNLF. UNLF was slightly ahead but it was still having that mentality of anti-people. Now, NRA comes from people who were not actually soldiers, it comes from peasants who became soldiers and I think NRA is a development towards the peoples' Army, the mere fact that it may be dominated by certain regional imbalances, that is in the process of development.

Mr. Chairman, remember that in pre-colonial Africa, every male was a fighter, every male had to have a spear, a shield, and a stick. It was a matter of

blowing the horn or beating the drum, they would all assemble and go to fight. They participated fully in the community debates. So I look at NRA, as a peoples' Army and should have every right to participate in the democratic process. In fact, their participation, for me, is a liberating effect, because instead of looking at politicians with suspicion, instead of thinking that politicians are enjoying, they can also experience and then begin thinking properly; so that when they take their AK 47, to point it at people, they know the harm they are creating. I would also like to suggest that delegates write their statements because I think we are following the British system where I delegates have got to speak from notes, but I think if delegates were to write their statements, as someone was suggesting, even if they do not read them, but submit, it would create less distortions in the press. You may find tomorrow someone distorting what I said and I may not be in a position to say but this is exactly what I said, but if we write our statements and give them in, that would be enough evidence that this is what I said.

Then the Constitution, really I am amused when people put so much confidence in the Constitution as being able to solve our problem of unity, and peace. I think I agree with the delegate Ali, that it is not the Constitution which determines whether we will be united or not, it is the economic system. an undemocratic economic system will produce undemocratic politics. So, as long as there is economic imbalance within the district and outside it, between regions and so forth, these frictions are based on economic inequalities. Now, on that point, I want to tell Mr. Chairman, the delegates, that some of us from outside Buganda have got a completely wrong misconception of the realities in Buganda. I quite support delegate Elly Karuhanga who said that the delegates should be facilitated to actually go around. If I have got the opportunity, I used my opportunity as the Minister for Water and Mineral Development to go around the whole country from Kisoro to Moyo, from Kabong to Bwera. I have been able to go around the whole of Buganda. The other time we had a conference here. I told delegates that my friends, some of you who think that Buganda is all right, Baganda peasants are even worse off than an ordinary Muteso peasant. Now, they could not agree with, but I challenge you, just to go outside Kampala, beyond what is glittering, you will see an appalling state of life for the peasants, there is no question about that. So the problem of poverty is all over Uganda actually. The few are alright, but the

Lastly, Mr. Chairman, I would like to appeal to us to be objective, because some of us, very often keep on being tempted to think that the problem of Uganda are the returnees. Those of us who have been here, throughout these turmoil, we know what it means to be in a country which is unstable; and the people in the country side are fed up, they want peace. So, we here, must also have the responsibility of creating harmony, of creating respect for one another, of respecting one another's opinion.

Thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I believe it is not too late or late at all, to congratulate you and your Deputy, Mr. Chairman, for having been elected to a very important post. Mr. Chairman, before elections, I looked carefully at Section 10 of the CA Statute, and noted the qualifications of Chairmanship. After your election, I did certainly appreciate and even during the elections, that we were electing an impartial person with a lot of integrity and so far, from what you have stated during your opening remarks, after elections, shows that we must have confidence in you, it can only be the devil's work which can deviate you, but devils having lesser powers I am told, than other spiritual powers. I am sure, devil's work cannot deviate you from these important policies of impartiality, integrity and the moral culture which you hold so high and the objectivity which is very necessary when you are chairing these meetings.

Having said that, I would now like to express satisfaction about so far what has been stated by a number of distinguished delegates particularly with regard to unity and the delegates have also appreciated that this unity is unity in diversity by appreciating the different maybe cultural norms and even ideologies that could assist in enriching what we are going to come out as a final document. Mr. Chairman, during the campaigns, people in my area feared that what we are coming to do here, was ratify what was contained in the Draft but we kept on assuring them that our debates would be free to alter, to add, and subtract from the Draft Constitution and that is precisely what they now believe and of course, it is obvious that delegates here will take care of that: so that we do not have very rigid positions when we submit the various proposals and underline what our electorates have sent us here to convey.

Now I turn to Rules Committee and some other administrative arrangements I support the idea that the Rules, and Orders Committee be elected appointed today as the delegates will so decide, it is very, very important following Delegate Karuhanga's statement this morning, that without Rules being put in order and that being known by the Delegates, the start will be bound to be disorderly and I believe that these Committees will be formed today. When I was looking at the Draft Rules, comparing them with another Statute that applies as far as the conduct of this Assembly is concerned, I find that it is very important when the Rules Committee is appointed or elected for them to study this text - the Draft Rules, sides by side with the Rules of Procedure which govern the NRC, which at the same time, also under Section 16 of the CA Statute are applicable here. It is very important that this comparison is made. I also call upon delegates whenever we are debating getting a leaf of what happens in Parliament particularly when we had just been elected that quite often, at the beginning, there is a lot of loss of time. When one stands up he gives a point of information and he insists that the information must be carried. Mr. Chairman, you have guided us today, we have also had instances today, but if somebody on the Floor or Delegate on the Floor does not want to be given information, he can politely say, either that, or advise the person raising the point of information to it or not to give it at all. These are Procedures which are very known and our own ground in different quorums of this kind. Likewise, raising a point of order, this point should be appropriately raised so that matters are not confused. So, I appeal to my fellow Delegates to do the obvious and study the Rules very carefully, the two texts so that when we start, work, we are not derailed from what should be otherwise nice meetings.

Mr. Chairman, I want to talk about the programme of this Assembly vis-a-vis the programme for NRC. Members here, distinguished delegates are already informed probably that NRC normally meets on Tuesdays, Wednesday\$ and Thursdays in the afternoon starting at 2.30 p.m., so about three to four hours. During the debate when we were passing the CA Bill Statute, it was agreed from the Floor and evidence is there in the *Hansard*, that all can be done to ensure that the NRC Programmes that is tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays afternoons do not run concurrently with CA and recently in my other portfolios, I was talking to the Clerk to the National

Assembly, we thought that this was very desirable and I am glad, that even from the Chair we have heard that we should avoid as much as possible to have the programmes for NRC to coincide with programmes for CA as much as possible. Well, the afternoons which are taken off by NRC, that is not a lot of time considering that all the mornings in the week are available to the CA, therefore, I would specifically propose that the committee which is going to programme this CA, or to come up with a programme for the CA to take note of this as an important matter. Now, I come to materials, we received a lot of reading materials yesterday. There are still more materials which we still have to receive. One Member here, suggested yesterday that there was room. For instance when you look at section 29 of the CA Statute. I find that this talks or mentions the National Assembly, Powers and the privileges Act up to 149. This Act will also be availed to the Members here and may be particularly the privileges committees appointed to this may have some guide lines for Members here to find out what their privileges are. And this extensively covers quite a lot, that we should require.

Now finally, on the proceedings and the publications of the proceedings from this House. Mr. Chairman, I would propose by way of supporting the previous speakers on the Floor here that as much as possible, radio and TV coverage have programmes which are specially organised for monitor and the report on the proceedings in this House, rather than having this in pieces in different programmes, already set. This is a very, very important work we are doing, and in order to have the population to participate side by side with us when deliberate issues are going on, when proceedings are taking place, it is very important that the radio, TV and any mass media steps aside some, may be one hour or specified period of time to have these proceedings either commented on or reported.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I thank you once again and I hope that we shall have very good work to be done here, we shall have a last thing - a document.

MRS. KALEMA (Kiboga County East): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My first remark is to express my regret that we did not open the Assembly when the President inaugurated it with a prayer. I know there are three prayers in the Constituent Assembly draft rules of procedure and one of them should have been good to use. So, I just hope that one prayer

should be adopted in the rules of procedure of the Constituent Assembly. This will be done from then onwards. We shall be able to start the constitution assembly meetings with a prayer. Mr. Chairman, one wise man said: *Man proposes, but God disposes*. If we consider the work we are doing here as important, and most of us vowed to deliberate by the Almighty God, except perhaps two of our hon. Delegates; but we all believe that we need God to guide us, so that we make a really lasting constitution.

Having said that, I also want to associate myself with the previous speakers of course to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, on the election which you deserve of being Chairman of this most important assembly. I extend special congratulations to prof. Victoria Miria Mwaka, the deputy chairman of the Assembly. Both of you, Mr. Chairman and Deputy Chairman, deserved it because as one previous speaker just said, you did qualify very well. In this Statute you met the qualifications of integrity, and education and did not lack anything required. In case of the Deputy Chairman, I am more pleased because she has shown, that she was not elected simply because she was considered on gender basis, but more on merit. Professor Mwaka could have competed even if she had not been wearing dress, because of her wide knowledge, education, experience and long service. And in addition, being a married woman, whom we believe is bound to bring out a real balance when we are making this constitution. Because, Mr. Chairman, as we all know, our society is very much distorted because of the lack of family values and family law. So, for that I think it kept a lot to know that we have a married woman and this please a lot of people outside this House. So, we have much confidence and we know we are in good hand.

My point number two, Mr. Chairman, is about the Speech of His Excellency the President, when he inaugurated this Assembly on Wednesday. His speech was a most fundamental one as most of us observed. It was fundamental because amazingly the President did not touch much on political issues which people normally understand. He touched on where I want to put my strong emphasis on; on the social structure of our population; he has these figures as we know he is always very good with figures, our peasant population being 94 percent. This is actually a shocking figure, the peasant population of 94 percent with all that which go with it, they lack all the necessities of life, including all the infrastructure, they are the people who when they

grow their food or rear their cattle, they want to have communication to get their food and milk out of there to sell them and they fail to do so. So they are all the time perpetually poor and he was warning us. That in politics of the Constitution which we are trying to make, we should be concerned about the people.

During our campaign Mr. Chairman, at candidates meeting, I was very conscious of this and I used to inform the people about what the Constitution was about; that it was not mainly on this sharing of power, the sharing of the executive, legislature, the judiciary or the land; a lot of my fellow candidates emphasised the land. But I used to tell them that what people need most was their welfare. What concerned their welfare and this was to be discussed and put an emphasis on. Fortunately, it is good that in the Constituent Commission Report, which bears 20 pages, there is a chapter on social services, I think it is chapter 24; and this chapter does say a lot on what people really need. And this is where I thought I was most inspired when the President told us that we must consider building the nation, consider the constitution to be that of nation building and not nation running. Because I think most of the majority of our people are suffering in this manner. So, we cannot say, we have come very far in running the country, we need to build it and this is the chance we have.

One of our Delegate said yesterday, about the chance we had got in 1979. Mr. Chairman, I had the privilege of being in the National Consultative Council then, in 1979 and 1980; I had very much hope that we had a good chance, because we knew our liberators had brought hope once more. But the chance went. So this is the time for us to build a country and save the majority of our people from poverty and misery.

The constitution, is not mainly based on sharing of power.

It is not. And it is not only on fundamental human rights, important as these may be, once the majority of our people who do not understand what the sharing of power means to them. Although eventually it does affect them, if things do not go well at the top, but they must consider this as very important.

My point number three, Mr. Chairman, is to thank the NRM Government who have right from 1986 recognised the contribution, that women can make with development and building of this nation. I say this, Mr. Chairman, although it has been said before.

Because I have been involved in the mobilisation of women for the last 30 years or so. I remember going to meet the late Prime Minister Ben Kiwanuka, in his offices in Entebbe with other women leaders. Trying to see that women status and women place will be recognised in society. I remember going to see the Minister of Justice, by then he was Mr. Grace Ibingira, to ask him to work on the marriage laws, after we had organised a conference where we got views of all women in the country. And slowly, women are where they are now.

However, in spite of all those early efforts, nothing had been done until the NRM Government came to power and tried to recognise the ability and contribution of women in the bush and immediately, nominated women in government. Soon after that, the NRC passed a resolution to bring many women per each district. This gave the women the lost chance to be able to participate in the affairs that lead their country. What we have seen in the NRC I would like to assure you Members, you are going to see it here even more. We have left more women Members in the NRC - some are here and we have got new ones. But you have already seen the ability of women here although they came by a special arrangement. Mr. Chairman, I advocate for this special arrangement. Because it has made it possible for this Assembly to bring here up to 50 women. Because if this special arrangement had not been here, I believe there would be only 9 women. Although I have always been standing on a direct ticket, I know we need women; many of them need this support so that they may be able to participate in the building of the nation in the top area, here in the NRC and here in the CA.

Naturally, it was not heard of when the first constitution was made in 1962. We had no woman in London and now 50 are going to deliberate on the constitution of this country.

Mr. Chairman, I therefore, would like to appeal to all my fellow delegates, the women to do your very best and let us prove ourselves. And see that we make a balanced constitution. And let us see to it that we really make a lasting constitution, which will make our children and grand children and grand, grand children to know that the constitution was made mainly because there were also a number of women in the constitution when it was being made.

THE CHAIRMAN: Wind up please.

MRS. KALEMA: I am winding up, Mr. Chairman. My last point is to appeal to the fellow

delegates here; I would like to ask the fellow delegates, because a lot has been mentioned and I want to repeat. And I do agree with a lot of what has been said before. I would appeal to you that we commit ourselves totally when making this constitution to a way that is going to create peace, our traditional values, democracy and prosperity for our country; for all Ugandans; whatever side they come from, East, West, North, Central incidentally Uganda does not have South. Let us realise that what is not good for one hand one, is not good for the whole body. When this hand is painful; the whole body is painful. Let us work together in harmony, and let us not let down our people, and make a lasting constitution for our children so that we shall be proud of ourselves at Christmas time.

And finally, Mr. Chairman, I also recommend that we elect a rules committee today so that work can proceed when we resume in time. Thank you, Mr. chairman.

MISS KALIKWANI (Women Delegate, Kamuli): Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to add the flavours of Kamuli to the congratulations and appreciation which has been coming to you, your Deputy, the two Commissioners that is of Justice Odoki and Mr. Akabway and the Chief Justice, for the appointment and the job so far well done. The people of Kamuli are very happy and ready to participate in the formation of a new constitution. A constitution which is not only new, but a people's own constitution. For the first time Sir, they feel they are really part of the National Politic. Because this exercise we have gone through, has involved almost everybody right from the grassroots, the old mamas and papas and the babies. And the people of Kamuli are really grateful. Probably I would join hon. Elly Karuhanga from Nyabushozi, and encourage the spirit of visiting one another in this country so that the people feel encouraged that actually everywhere in Uganda we are feeling part and parcel of one another. And I propose that the people of Kamuli should make a programme with the people of Nyabushozi for the first time and visit each other. Mr. Chairman, the women of Kamuli particularly, are very grateful for what we have been hearing, and what has been done to promote Women Participation. But they are making one request, because when I went back with the list of delegates, the women delegates are being called - for example me I am kalikwani Irene Women Kamuli; so they said now what are you? Why is it women Kamuli? I said okay, I do not know because

- for them they see us, at least when they were electing me, they were electing me as a woman but representing the district. So, they would rather - we were called woman Kamuli or Woman Kiboga. Because this is a woman from Kiboga representing the whole district. So, we would request that this correction be officially made, so that we are refereed to as a woman delegate from whatever district we are from.

Now, the matter that has brought us here is everybody's concern. We are all well intentioned Ugandans with the objective of achieving unity and with unity we always want to combine it with equality. We have talked about equality in gender terms, we have talked about equality in regional terms, this is what the people of Kamuli also want. We also want peace and stability, and then we know we shall be guaranteed of development. Therefore, Sir, one request that the people of Kamuli have made, some of them were here yesterday and they have a request to UPC Members to make at least a public statement or give an official reason as to why they did not have their two representatives sent. Because when we were making consultations, before the candidate meetings - because there were some back door consultations - this is where we really had heart to heart talk with some of these people. And in our areas, there are people who genuinely believe in the principles of UPC. Now, we were encouraging them because they knew some of us are not members of UPC - So, they said "now, how do we give you our votes?" then we said "do not worry, your interests will be represented". Only to hear that UPC is not sending delegates. Sir, this is undermining us. Because we thought now we are here together, the UPC is there, we shall be sharing views, then they say no, UPC is not going to be part of that constitution as a party. Now, we do not know what that means, and we are requesting that UPC makes an official public statement as to why that development is so. Secondly Sir, we also feel that the press - okay much has been said about the press, some have suggested that they keep out and we have a closed kind of session and they are given briefs. I think that is an extreme kind of outlook, I would like the press to be part and parcel of the task, because the press like any other Ugandan have a national duty to perform indeed. And they should also know that if there is instability there will be no papers to sell as much as they want to capitalise on profit. So they should be encouraged to participate in this and know what is good to publish and which makes their papers more meaningful to us.

Then I also want to say something about the army. There are few points. The historical role of the army has been thoroughly explained, I know everybody is satisfied with that. But one point I want to make is that, please let us think of the soldiers as first and foremost Ugandans. Born sons of our country and when we say, all Ugandans are entitled to participate in whatever activities are here, let them also come, let us forget about their uniform, the professions we have, or the jobs we have chosen to do.

I want to say that if we know we appreciate, we acknowledge historical role the army has played in our politics and we have accepted that it is a good role, then we should not cut them out this time. But also, I want to point out that when the army came in, I think somebody here was trying to tell us something very interesting and very serious, Mr. chairman. When the army came, they said you see the army has been playing some queer role in our midst. They came there but I believe they are the terror. But the NRA came and said, everybody now, the army is open, we are going to demystify the gun, we are going to demystify the army. And some of us have participated in basic military courses. But Mr. Chairman, you may recall there is a time some distinguished citizens of this country were required to go for some of these courses, and they utterly rejected to go. They gave a thousand and one reasons why they should not go. Now, I think that was unfortunate, because if they had opened up the army for everybody, why do we not open up the politics for everybody including the army?

THE CHAIRMAN: Point of information?

MISS. KALIKWANI: I am not taking it. There is just one more point about lobbying. As a Principal, me I do not see anything wrong with lobbying, because Sir, this is from experiences. Some of us have a different way of looking at things. Or we are given glasses to look at things and you get different colours from them. But this lobbying will give us a chance to see to things straight and in fact we shall be exposed to the correct kind of issues.

Mr. Chairman, I want to draw the attention of hon. Delegates to the exercise carried out on Tuesday. I think it helped us a lot so that we did not have to waste valuable time in this House debating on things which we had already internalised. So we made the best choices we could make for chairman and deputy. Lastly Sir, I would like to make a few comments on

Administration. Personally, I do not have a lot of complaints, but just one request. One is that the means of communication seem to be lacking somehow. Because sometimes we are getting information through rumours. Right now, there is talk of a seminar that is going to take place in Mbarara with some delegates. I do not know whether it is for all of us, or for some, but we just need some clarifications. So, I would just add my voice to those who were requesting for better systems of communication. All of us to get in the know about the right things at the right time.

MR. AMANDRUA: (NOTU): NOTU is National Organisation of Trade Union. This is an organisation which embraces all the registered trade unions in Uganda. We are not traders or cooperative movement as some people may think we are. We are the workers who are organised; especially workers from industries, farmers and ordinary workers in towns. All these are the workers who have organised themselves, in labour movement. Teachers are one of them. And tomorrow we are asking Policemen, Army, and the Prison Warders to join Labour Movement.

Mr. Chairman, before I say a word, about workers aspirations in this constitution making process, I should say, we are very, very happy for the chance that has been accorded to workers in Uganda, to join this august Assembly. I know we have been forgotten for a long time. I can remember in 1960/61, all the politicians were the friends of workers. We worked for independence. Soon after we got independence, we were also forgotten. The politicians did not want us to be near them. I think we can say, a special tribute to the NRM Government for bringing us here and saying that we should also participate in the affairs of this country. I should say, disabled people, the youth, also the women, should join us and congratulate the government. Because these are the people who have been left behind. I am sure it is up to today, workers, and women, and the Youth and the disabled people are despised. Even after here, someone can say, this is just a woman. Without knowing what is in the brain and what they do is equally important as women and the same as those men can do. I should say, today, as far as workers are concerned, we need a good constitution, a good government, whoever may be there is not our issue, the issue is the government should be a good one. Because for us if there is a problem, me the ordinary worker with my people, I do not have where to run, other than to take my luggage and I lock it there. And

I hide myself even near the home, when the politician who brought the problem, has already flown off. He might be in America. He might be in Britain. And yet, I do not have friends there. So, I would say, presently workers have no political intentions. As individuals in the NOTU we do have political intentions. Amandrua can be a politician, he can join a political party; but as far as we are concerned as workers, our party is workers party. Our political intention is working. So, for that purpose, my appeal to the delegates is that when the time comes to talk about how the Constitution should be made, let us know that we are all workers; so long as you get wages from somebody, and your salary from somebody, you have not made a job for somebody, then you are a worker.

Because a worker is a worker wherever he goes. Whether he is in Uganda or elsewhere he is a worker. Therefore, wherever you are going in Uganda mind you are a worker. If you are earning wages, salaries from somebody and your terms of employment are stipulated, then you must know that you are a worker and you must make sure that the constitution which we are going to make, is the one which is going to be good for us all. It is only this which is actually as far as I do understand *-(Interruption)*

THE CHAIRMAN: Hon. delegate you should be winding up.

MR. AMANDRUA: I have gone very far, Mr. Chairman. I only wanted to introduce myself, thank you very much.

MR. ABALIWANO: (Bugabula South): I bring you greetings from Bugabula south Constituency. And I am surprised as if it is by accident being the current chairman of the employers, I am speaking after the workers. I would like on behalf of my Constituency to congratulate the Chairman and deputy chairman on their elections. I would also in the same place like to congratulate the commissioner for the elections which were such a marvellous job. And as somebody put it, there could have been quite a few mistakes here and there, but above that, the job was well done. The only point which the various returning officers have asked us in our rural areas is to let you know that some of the payments have so far not been made. And looking at what was reported from South Africa last night, we do not want these people again to go on other things and develop the habit of looting certain things from the commission just as South African returning officers have done.

Mr. Chairman, our responsibility and our accountability is with the electorate, these are the people who have to interfere - it is good some of us have said, you paid to come here. But above all, whatever was done was done in good spirit and I take it that every distinguished delegate, did think that it is his or her duty to come not only to play the part of making of a constitution of Uganda, but you considered this as a very important part. And we thought that our brains, our participation is the best wherever we came from. So, because of this importance, I would like also to add my voice to those who have said that, time must be given for time to go and see our constituents.

Parts of this constitution is addressing the people and needs being able to gather as much information as possible. The advantage I see from this point of view is that it will continue to sensitize our people and as we continue discussing this constitution, we shall be discussing it country wide rather than simply in the constituent assembly alone. Because even these two weeks which are being left out, it is very difficult to know what we are going to discuss with them now, until the real discussion starts. I think by the time we adopt the Constitution, as a body, they would be fully sensitized and they will be able to know that, they played a role in the formulation of this constitution.

The other point which I would like to raise is on the system of committees. I think probably we need a committee. Although looking at the draft, regulations which have been circulated, one would have thought perhaps they could even have been discussed in the Plenary rather than have a special committee to look at that. Because I think most of the work has been done. What is necessary now is to look at the details and see how far we can go.

Lobbying I think is good. It is part of the political system, any political system. We need to get used to the idea that, if somebody feels very strongly about a point, he should be able to make it. And should be given the opportunity to see whoever he wants to see, and talk to whoever he wants to talk to. Rather than when you are completely closed to any new ideas. Even when for instance, this has been quoted here several times - Jik. I think what we need to do - sometimes you find that our friends from elsewhere are saying one thing, and you may be saying another. Why do we not get together and say, are we right or are they right? Can we look at this differently? This does not mean to say that they are not necessarily

taking Uganda at heart. They are more or less saying, since we have certain commonalities, we need to sit together and see. Because the people who are here appear to be thinking in different ways. And therefore, what do we tell them? Because you cannot say I came from Iganga and somebody came from Kamuli, and our people's wishes are the same. We need to go and explain together why we are thinking in a certain way. So, I think this kind of lobbying - getting together is not a very bad thing at all. I think it is something which one can encourage provided it does not end up in sectarianism.

Another point which I would like to add on; and here I just continue with what my friend from the workers group said. I think for the workers, the kind of constitution they will need is like what most of us as employers will need. Workers need to have a constitution that will allow them freedom of association. When he talked about people coming from various areas of employment, to join in trade unionism, all these could not have been possible, if one did not have a liberalised system of government. Because in the past, civil servants could not be given the freedom of association, or trade union. And I think for workers and for many of us as employers, what we wanted to be given was the opportunity to have a constitution that will allow freedom of association. Whether they are trade association, whether they are an association of workers, any type of association. So that we are able to discuss our issues freely without everybody thinking that whenever you get together, you are talking about getting government out of office. Workers also need a constitution that will provide employment to them. Because it is useless to have words, words, and then at the end of it you can not get employment for our people. I think, if I may say, the distinguished delegates may be asked at the end of the day, okay, you have passed the constitution, what is there in for us in that constitution? And I think it will be a good thing for him to say, yes, within the constitution we have provided the situation that would be able to enable every Ugandan to have something to do. And you as workers, this constitution will enable you to associate freely and to be able to move freely, and to be able to get employment. Because whatever we have passed will be able to create the right environment for that. And I think that is what everybody in Uganda is crying for.

Let me end up in this way. It is not the worth that comes out of this constitution, but the political commitment. We should all display maturity. I think

we need to have a political commitment and say we are committed to this issue of making Uganda a better place.

How do you develop a culture that respects law and order and as far as community, and the spirit of compromise through dialogue? I think we need to look at this question very seriously. In this we use various cards, religion, let us use them to act as anchor to a greater unity. Because frankly, one cannot forget that he comes from Kitgum, not because he has come here, that he is going to forget that he comes from Kitgum. Or that I come from Kamuli, I cannot forget that.

But I should use that as my root to enable me to greater unity. Because alone in Kitgum, alone in Kamuli we cannot survive; neither can we stand.

Let me turn to some groups. UPC, you are a Peoples Congress, let us work together and create a constitution for the people. DP you are democratic, let us create a democratic constitution. CP you are conservative party, please conserve, but be progressive for heavens sake. NRM, please, let us move the constitution movement, keep moving. So that those who conserve, get them to the progress. I am rather intrigued by this word CAD - (*Interruption*) - I think in my explanation I should think of it as the need to centre our ability on development. I think this should be our meeting and if you are called CAD, I think that is where and that is the direction which you should go. We put a kind of constitution that would be able to create development. And through development, that means equitable distribution of resources, that means peace, that means everybody involving himself being in a country that works together as a nation. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

MRS. SEBAGEREKA Women delegates, Mukono) Thank you, Mr. Chairman, being the last speaker, most of my points have been taken. But I would like to make one appeal Mr. Chairman, through you to all the delegates, and I would like to say that we have to divorce ourselves to the kind of lives we have been living for the next seven month we will be in this House. Mr. Chairman, we have a task to accomplish. We are here to make a covenant. We are not a legislative body. We are here to make a constitution for posterity, and if we have to do it, we have to forget our political, ethnical, religions or otherwise. We have to be here as united Ugandans who have do something that we have found that we are going to do within a given time. We should transform ourselves into delegates and dleave behind

our pre conceived ideologies.. Here I have to say, Mr. Chairman, the time factor is going to be very, very strictly observed. We have to work as expected, if expected to be given Mondays and Fridays off, we must remember to put in the extra time, even if it means working from 8.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m., we have to take that into account.

Mr. Chairman as I said, most of my points have been discussed. I want to say the importance of civic education. We are answerable to the public, to those who voted us in here, we are their servants and we have a duty of popularising the ethics of constitutionalism. I concur with hon. Kiyonga who suggested that the press and the media should be always in touch with the populace. Mr. Chairman, the mass media must play a role to keep this House in touch with the population. Therefore I suggest that the Ministry of Information should have a daily coverage of the proceedings of this House, and the press should be let free to inform the media correctly; not in a biased manner.

I support the views of the distinguished delegates that we should be given time for consultation.

On the army, Mr. Chairman, I also concur with those people who said that the army is right to be here, you cannot fight for something and let everybody else accomplish it for you. So, the army has to be here. What I want to say is that worldwide, the army must be gender sensitized. I do not see why there are no women delegates here although distinguished delegate Tinyefuza, tried to tell us that women were not elected.

Mr. Chairman, the next point is going to be administrative; it is the sitting arrangement. I agree that we should remain in our alphabetical arrangement. But I feel that we should be blocked like - you know down wards, instead of going round. Because, that will ensure that every letter at least will have a front row with a microphone.

And on lobbying, Mr. Chairman, I do not see anything wrong with lobbying, actually I feel it should be encouraged. And in encouraging the lobby, it is something that we cannot do in this hall - I suggest that there be availed a place where we can buy sodas or juice at a subsidized price, so that we can have time to interact and lobby in a comfortable atmosphere.

On prayers, I would like to stress the importance of prayers and I call the attention of the committee of procedure on page 45, where there are three different prayers that could be said before we start the deliberations. I would also like to suggest Mr. Chairman, that if the hall is very wide, we should have Members of the Secretariat at least to attend to the needs of the delegates. You know, when you want to send a note across or something like that, or a delegate wants a glass of water. Members of the Secretariat should check on the delegates.

Lastly, but not least, Mr. Chairman, I would also like to add my voice on to those people who congratulated you and your very able deputy who I had the pleasure to work with during the forming of the Faculty of Women Studies. She is a very able and capable woman, and she is there because of learning and not because of gender. I also, would like to - *(Interruption)*

THE CHAIRMAN: Order.

MRS. SEBAGEREKA: In fact there were so many people lobbying for her to be your Vice. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to add my voice to one of the distinguished delegates who suggested that women delegates who are representing a district should be referred to as a woman delegate for such and such a district or woman district delegate. That we should not be said woman Mukono, woman kapchorwa, woman this. Because our views here are going to be the national views used up to my views. Mr. chairman, with those few words, I would like to wish everybody here well. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you delegate Sebageka. Now, distinguished delegates, during the course of deliberations, I refused a number of requests for the Floor, particularly from the delegates here, as they were not present yesterday. The total number is actually 11. The 12th is *mzee* Teberia Okeny who thinks that his remarks regarding the army was misunderstood and would like to clarify. I think in short I would like to give him the Floor for two minutes to clarify his contribution. So, you have the Floor.

MR TIBERIA OKENY: Mr. Chairman, I am most grateful indeed for your permission to allow me to clarify certain points that have been deliberately misinterpreted by NRM/NRA apologists. It was not

my intention, Mr, Chairman that I was going to create such animosity that I have had. I was merely trying to re-enforce as I did say the importance of this Constitution making.

DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of Order. Is it in order for the Distinguished Member holding the floor to impute that the contributions made by Members of this august House are by and large apologists of the NRM/NRA is it order, Mr, Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not see anything wrong with anyone being an apologist of the army. He is the supporter of the army. Is there anything wrong with that?

MR TIBERIA OKENY: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman for your ruling because those are the sentiments which we have. I was merely trying to support if possible the statement made by His Excellency here on Wednesday and I read *'When people talk of writing the Constitution, in more advanced countries they are talking of Constitution to run their countries. When people are talking of constitution-making in Africa we are talking of creating, building or consolidating countries. Therefore Constitution-makers in back-ward countries and advanced ones are faced with different tasks. Nation-building and nation-ruining respectively'*. So, Mr. Chairman. I was trying to put the importance of constitution-making here in Uganda. We are trying to build the country; and in building the country, we all know that a House without a firm foundation will never stand. And this firm foundation is what for the country? It is constitutions and that is what I was trying to call in the minds and the attention of this august House. That when we are making this constitution we should try all rudiments of short-comings if there are many we should reduce them to the minimum. And I put as an instance of the methods of our elections that have taken place. I have said there are in this Hall, people who have been directly elected and people who have been nominated by the President, and people who have come here through indirect election. That is the interest groups. This, Mr Chairman is a statement of fact. I know sometimes truth is painful but we have got to bear with it. This, I am not stating anything that has come out of any malice as sometimes people would like people to accept. I am merely stating the history. The history once made, it is made and it has got to be stated exactly as it was made. So we cannot now alter the trend of the distinguished gentlemen - they are fellow

delegates; and I was surprised to see that I am being misinterpreted purposely that I was probably meaning that I am not appreciative of what the NRA has done for this country. No, Mr Chairman that is a misconsumption of what I have said. NRA has done enormous work for us - I know from the very beginning. *(Applause)* They have gone to the bush to fight for what? For liberating us from political oppression, social injustices and economic problems, I think this is what they have gone into the bush to fight for. And now that they are back here it has not given them the licence to say that we have fought for this - and When we are trying to point to them that this is the right line we should work jointly together. What is wrong with that? But they say because we have fought and when we are doing certain things, we must to do it without question put. If we have this attitude, Mr Chairman, I think we are running into danger.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think you have made your point. Could you wind up.

MR OKENY: Mr chairman. This was a long sort of correction that i was requesting to make. But let me end on this note that when that young man over there *-(Interruption)* because i am comparing his age and mine, that is why i have said that.

THE CHAIRMAN: We do not have any young men here. We have only Delegates.

MR OKENY: Mr Chairman, here is a Delegate who has come here advocating to stand for Uganda as a whole; and he was here now talking of this horn formation. I think the horn. formation gentlemen, is of a very serious repercussion and when we talk of it lightly, and we think that we are going to use it as a matter of intimidating others, then I think we are on a very wrong path *-(interruption)*

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a point of order, but before it is raised, I think you have gone beyond the point you wanted to make., Your point was to clarify your remarks regarding the amy. I think you have adequately done that. I would suggest that you refrain from opening up debate on other issues which were made and points made by other Members. If we did that we would have a debate that would not end. I would rather you restrict yourself now and I think wind up; and in winding up I do not think it is necessary to point out the Point of Order.

MR OKENY: Thank you Mr. Chairman. I will abide by your order and I will end on this note that here we are elected to feel free to express our views. If there are people here who have their minds set on certain delegates to suffocate and muzzle them so that they cannot make their points that they want. Mr. Chairman here I stand very firm that I am not the type that will welcome those kind of intimidations. Thank you very much.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now Distinguished Delegates, we have, as I said, here a list but I do not think that it would really given the time we have and in fact that we have to elect the Committee that we should continue with the speeches on the floor. If the rules or procedures are adopted in the way they are, there is provision for general Debate on the Constitution and during that Debate I am sure the Members who have not had the Floor today will be free and able to express themselves in the same manner as they would have done if they spoke today and even more because I think the rules suggest even longer time than we have now. So, I ask the Members to bear with us and we continue.

Now, we had a proposal made early yesterday concerning the need to set up a Committee to look over the Draft Rules so that we come up with the Report when we resume. From the notes I have made here, a consensus has obviously emerged that the Committee is a right way to go. Numbers have been suggested, some suggested 15, others 10, others 7 and also it has been suggested that in absence of procedure on how we should elect this Committee, the Chairman should make some propositions with Delegates as to the composition and number and see whether the composition does meet the expectations and approval of the Delegates. I have been going through the list and also seeing the task at hand and also taking into account the need not to be too technical. I would like to suggest the following and see how you react to these propositions. I am suggesting Delegates Stephen Kavuma of Kyadondo South for Chairmanship; He is a Lawyer and he is an experienced Member of Parliament. I am suggesting Mr Nathan Okwakol, delegate for Pallisa - a Lawyer I understand and an experienced Member, having been a member of Parliament and a Deputy Minister. I am suggesting Chrispus Kiyonga Bukonzo West. He is an experienced Parliamentarian and former Minister for Finance. I am suggesting Winfred Adio, Woman Delegate from Soroti District. Her name was suggested to me by some Delegates. I do

not know her personally. But I was made to understand that she is one of our able ladies here. I am suggesting Daniel Omara Atubo, Delegate for Otuke Country - By the way let me say I was going to suggest the number of nine so that we have a cross section of ideas and gender sensitivity. I was also suggesting Joan Rwalyomere, a presidential nominee, a lady lawyer to be on the Committee. I was suggesting Catherine Mabengina, Nebbi Representative. She is a Lady who is a Magistrate and I thought she could serve with us.

I am suggesting Elly Karuhanga, an experienced Parliamentarian. He has been one of the leading experts on Rules and Regulations in the NRC so that we can tap his knowledge and experience; Finally but not least I am suggesting Damiano Lubega similarly an experienced person. Those are the nine people I thought we could entrust with this responsibility if the House approves. Hon Babu would you like to be on the Committee?

CAPT BABU: I would not like to be on the Committee. But these are all Lawyers and I think it is fair that we should have an equal number of non-lawyers in there. We only have Kiyonga here, the rest are all Lawyers. I would like to request Sir that five can be Lawyers and four can be non-Lawyers; and then we would like one from some other source - a non elected member.

A DISTINGUISHED DELEGATE: Point of Information, from that List of nine you have just read out, to the best of my knowledge, five are Lawyers, three are not. Mrs. Mabengina from Nebbi is a teacher; I think the Lady from Soroti is not a Lawyer by training.

MR PINTO: I would like to speak in support of the names you proposed and look for compromise that we go ahead and adopt this, the task at hand is marrying the existing Rules of Procedures of the NRC and those that have been proposed for this Assembly and have a working procedure. I believe all the Distinguished Delegates will have an opportunity to contribute to this Committee such that their views may be heard and incorporated I therefore propose.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Proposal SI seconded - shall I say we take it?

DELEGATES: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Of course as Delegate Pinto pointed out Delegates are encouraged to interact with Members so that they can make propositions arising from the study they will have made of the Rules. The Commissioner together with first Parliamentary Council will provide the Secretariat for the Committee. The Committee should be free and I expect them to do so to meet during recess and the Commissioner should facilitate that, so that when we come their report is available and we can proceed with adoption of the rules at our first business.

Distinguished Delegates with that out of the way of course the Chairman could convene the Committee as soon as possible. With that out of the way I have a few remarks to make before we adjourn. But I see a hand raised over there. On what point?

MR. STEVEN KAVUNA: I thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I only want to thank the Delegates through you on behalf of the members to this Committee, although I have not had the time to consult with them and to request them to immediately come here for some short consultation immediately.

THE CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Chairman of our Rules Drafting Committee. There are a few things I want to say. First, on behalf and also of my Colleague, the Deputy Chairman, I would like to say how touched and honoured we are to have received or have been showered with so much praise and congratulations. We again promise that we shall do our best to serve you and work together. If we work like we have been working up to now, I do not see any serious hitches in our work. But of course any time you feel there is something going wrong, only feel free to let us know. Matters which were raised during the general remarks fall into various categories. I cannot answer them one by one but what I can say is that on matters of welfare first and transport allowances and all, the Chairman and the Commissioner will be interacting not only between themselves but also with those who hold the Government pass to see how we can make arrangements for some of these things like facilitation and improved welfare.

Again the role of the Media, it is a rather mixed situation. We shall be thinking about it. I have been approached by Members of the media that they are being unfairly restricted in their access to us; but again this is a matter which during recess we shall handle and report back to you.

Similarly, a place of contact for interaction, secretarial services, library services and so on and so forth, the question of the meeting Hall, these are all going to be handled by us during recess and we shall let you know.

The question of the seminar which was mentioned actually this is the seminar to be held in Mbarara by the Commissioner and his people. I think going to self-criticism as to how or where they went wrong if at all in their work during the elections. It is only a few Delegates who maybe are relevant to the exercise who will be invited.

As far as section 26 about benefits is concerned, by the time we come back here again, we shall have worked out some arrangements with the Minister so that Members are fully informed. I am advised by the Commissioner that he had hoped to pay transport allowances but not all forms have come back. The Treasury will not let him pay cash. He has to go through the Computer process and print cheques. So we are Sorry you will not be able to get your transport allowances this time. Delegates are urged who have not done so to fill in their forms and return them so that this can be coded and payments made through the process as directed by the Treasury.

This is just the press release by the Commissioner informing the public about the seminar of theirs in Mbarara, Otherwise I have already mentioned that or touched upon it.

For the reasons given by Delegate Omara Atubo and reiterated by Delegate Peter Akure of Kotido, it is apparent that it may be rather difficult for us to have Delegates from some of the distant areas with us if we were to resume on Monday the 6th. I have considered those proposals and in all fairness to Members, I am agreeable that we adjourn today and resume at 9.30 a.m. on the 7th of June.

The Assembly rose and adjourned until 14th of June 1994

