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**REPORT OF H.E. YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI, PRESIDENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA AND LEADER ON POLITICAL
INTEGRATION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT**

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SUMMARY PAPER ON AFRICAN INTEGRATION

1. Africa is the origin of man, four and a half million years ago. All human beings only lived in Africa until about 100,000 years ago. The last ice-age ended 11,700 years ago. Before that People could not live in many parts of the North of our Globe. Therefore, the European Stock (Europeans, Americans, Canadians, Australians), the Asians, the Arabs etc. are all former Africans.

2. They lost the melanin (the black pigmentation in the skin) in their skins on account of their living in the cold climates, with little sunshine, where melanin is not required.

3. Africa is the pioneer of civilization. The Egyptian civilization which started around 5200 years ago, around 3000 BC, is one of the earliest civilizations of the human race.

4. The three great religions of the modern world were succoured by Africa in one way or another. These are Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Baby Jesus was hidden in Egypt when King Herod started killing all the infants. This is found in the Book of Matthew 2:13-18 in the Bible. Before that, in the year 1567 BC, the Jews had been saved from starvation when one of the children of Jacob, Joseph, who had been sold into slavery by his brothers, took them into Egypt where there was plenty. This is found in the Book of Genesis Chapter 42 verses 1-28, in the Bible.

5. Yet, this Africa of many firsts in the history of the human race, has faced calamity after calamity in the last 500 years. These calamities have included: the slave trade, colonialism, genocide in some cases, neo-colonialism and marginalization. Why has this been so?

6. Africa, which had achieved many firsts for the human race, had some internal weaknesses which made it difficult for its people to respond to the threats that emerged after 1453 AD. This was the year the Ottoman Turks, people coming out of Central Asia, captured Constantinople, the Capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. By so doing, they blocked the over land silk route which had been pioneered by Marco Polo in the years 1245 to 1324. Since Marco Polo, silk and spices were coming through this route. Now, that route was closed and Western Europe was cut off from the products of the East that they had come to treasure.

7. A frantic search for a sea route to the East started led by Portugal. Better ships were, eventually, built and the Portuguese got to Sierra Leone in the year 1460. By 1498, Vasco Da Gama went around the Southern tip of Africa and, on Christmas day, landed at Natal, hence the name of that place up to now, coming from the Latin word, *natalis*. A few years earlier, in 1492, Christopher Columbus, working for the newly United Kingdom of Spain (Castile and Aragon United in the year 1479), had reached a whole new

continent, America, whose off-shore Islands, the Caribbean, he mistook to be the Islands of the East, hence the eventual name of the West Indies.

8. Therefore, on account of the pressure created by the Turks on the Europeans, the Europeans had burst out of their homelands and started accessing the lands of Africa, America and Asia through the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

9. This is when the weaknesses of Africa and the Americas came to the fore. The indigenous populations of the Americas could not withstand the afflictions of the European invasion and many of them perished; were exterminated and their lands were taken over by the Immigrants from Europe. Hence, the Europeans became the Americans. Those who did not perish, were marginalized.

10. Since the Africans do not die easily, they survived the 500 years of foreign invasions but having gone through many privations: (slave trade, colonialism, in some cases genocide, etc.).

11. Why couldn't Africa defeat these invasions? Indeed, by 1900, the whole of Africa had been defeated except for Ethiopia which defeated the Italian invaders in the battle of Aduwa in 1896. According to our analysis, it was not because of lack of courage or the will to resist. It was, mainly, on account of political balkanization. The African population is only divided into four linguistic groups. These are: Niger-Congo (Bantu and Kwa); the Nile-Saharan (Hamitic, Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic); the Afro-Asiatic (Arabic, Tigrinya and Amharic); and Khoisan (so called bushmen in Southern Africa). Therefore, the entirety of the African Peoples are either similar or linked. I can pick words that are similar to the ones in my dialect Runyankore, in the Bantu dialects all the way from Cameroon to South Africa. 2000 miles away in South Africa, for instance, the Zulus and Xhosas greet: Saubhona, which, I suspect, means: "I have seen you". This must be from the verb: "*Kubona*" – meaning "to see". In my dialect, Runyankore, the verb "*kubona*" means to find something that has been lost. In Swahili, however, the verb: "*kuwona*" means exactly what it means in the South African dialects. That is within the Bantu cluster of dialects. Even between clusters - e.g. Niger-Congo versus Nilo-Saharan - you find similarities. The Nubians of Southern Egypt and North Sudan, apparently, use the word: *Nina* to mean "Mother". In many of the dialects of the Bantus of the Great lakes, the word for Mother is: "*nyina*". Amazing. The Somali word for cow is *Saa*. In the Bantu dialects of the Great Lakes, the word *Saa* is specifically and exclusively used for cow dung (*obusa, amasha, amasa, etc.*). Therefore, these African Peoples are either similar or linked. Indeed, if you use the word "nation" to mean a people from a common ancestry or a common heritage, you can say that the entire African population of 1.3 billion people today is comprised of four nations: the Niger-Congo; the Nilo-Saharan; the Afro-Asiatic; and the Khoisan.

12. What, then, was the problem? Why couldn't Africa defend itself against the invaders? Why is Africa still weak today? According to our study, the answer lies in political balkanization. By the 1400s, Africa was governed by small Kingdoms, Chiefdoms or, sometimes, by segmentary arrangements (the rule of age-groups).

13. The Europeans tried to swallow China; but it was too big to swallow. They tried to swallow Japan; it was too big to swallow. They tried to swallow Ethiopia; but it was too big to swallow. The African Kingdoms were swallowable when confronted by more organized groups from outside. The gradual defeat of Africa from 1400-1900 caused serious distortions which are captured in a number of studies we have made. Apart from slave trade and other haemorrhages inflicted on the African Societies, there was also the gradual destruction of the artisan classes (the black smiths, the carpenters, the copper-smiths, the medicine men, etc.) and replacing their products with the imported ones. Even primitive societies, they always produced their own food, their own clothes, their own weapons (spears, bows and arrows, etc.) and means for their own shelter (housing materials). It may be the Africans of the colonial and neo-colonial era that depend on the food, clothes, weapons and building materials of others. All this was a consequence of the distortions emanating from colonialism.

14. Nevertheless, by a combination of factors, the African countries regained their independence, starting with Egypt in 1922, Sudan in 1956 and Ghana in 1957. What were these factors? These were: Africans refusing to be exterminated like the American Indians and the Australian Aborigines; the resistance by the African freedom fighters; the support of the socialist countries such as USSR and China; and the happy wars among the imperialists – the so called 1st and 2nd World Wars which weakened them so to our advantage. By 1994, the last part of Africa under foreign control, South Africa, regained their political freedom.

15. What, however, is amazing is that many of the African political elite, the intellectuals, the other social leaders etc. have not bothered to investigate the cause of our near extinction in the last 500 years and to look for ways of how we can immunize ourselves against any and all threats against our survival, our sovereignty, our security and our prosperity in our land. That is how we come to the two issues that we regard as crucial for our future. These are: political and economic integration of Africa. Our view is that African integration means three things: prosperity, security and fraternity. We cannot guarantee our prosperity if we do not solve the issue of market. When companies or families produce products (goods) or services, how many consumers will buy those products? If a product does not have enough buyers, the business will fail. In Uganda, recently we had a big crop of maize. We produced 5 million tonnes but Uganda consumes only 1 million tonnes. The prices collapsed. Many farmers will move away from maize in the coming seasons. This is just one example. Many can be quoted across Africa. We, therefore, need economic integration to provide market for our producing families and companies to be assured of a market on principles of competitiveness. The integrated African market will not only stimulate production in Africa, it will also enable us to negotiate credibly with the other big markets such as the USA, China, India, Russia, European Union, etc. It is good that, recently, we agreed on Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA). Let us implement its provisions. It is the way to prosperity and part of the answer for under-development, poverty and joblessness.

16. However, economic integration, even if it creates prosperity for our individual countries, it will not answer the issue of strategic security against global threats. The

Americans are taking four dimensional superiority: superiority on land, in the air, at sea and in space. Recently, President Donald Trump was talking of creating a Space Army. Many African countries do not yet have even a capable Army on land, let alone air, navy or space. What is the future? Even when our individual countries become first World or Middle Income countries, they cannot, individually, have the strategic capacity to defend themselves against the global super-powers. In the Second World War, the first victims of aggression were the developed but small countries of Europe: Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Poland, etc.

17. Israel, technologically, is a super-power. However, strategically Israel would be hard-pressed to survive the Middle East without partnership of the United States. Therefore, in the end, size also matters. That is why, therefore, we say that, in addition to economic integration, where feasible, political integration is very crucial. The present 54 States of Africa, even when they are developed may not be able to guarantee our future against greedy global powers. The attack by the Western countries against Libya was a shame to Africa. That is why, therefore, for the 55 years, I have been in the footsteps of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere on the issue of the East African Federation (the political integration of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda). The EAC has since expanded to include: Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. These people are specific grouping of the African Peoples comprised of the Interlacustrine Bantus (the Bantus of the Lakes) and the Interlacustrine Nilotics, Interlacustrine Nilo-Hamitic and Interlacustrine Cushitic. These groups have great similarities in dialects and also linkages among different clusters. Above all, they have the good fortune of having the de-tribalized dialect of Swahili. The six countries are working upon issue of Confederation and, ultimately, Federation. The politically united states of East Africa, with the present population of 170 million, which will be 878 million by 2050, with 1 million square miles of land territory, would be equal to India in land area. Such a unity would be cohesive, around Swahili, as well as a centre of gravity for African security. It would be capable of any tasks – to defend Africa, if necessary, on land, at sea or in space since that is what others want.

18. We should, then, look across Africa. Which other areas have such similarities and linkages? How about Southern Africa? How about Central Africa? How about West Africa with its cross-border Peoples of the Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Akan, Mandigos etc.? How about North Africa with its people that are Arabic speaking and, mainly, Moslem? How about the Horn of Africa with its confluence of the Cushitic and the Semitic Peoples of this area? I would not die from blood pressure if the present 54 states of Africa, the former colonies, were replaced by 10 or so states, each about (size of India). When the British forced the independent tribes of our area into a Uganda, they, definitely, did a good thing. If Uganda is a better product than the “Republic” of Ankole, my tribal area, why shouldn't the Union of East Africa be better?

19. Finally, the main point is that the People we are trying to bring together, as pointed out earlier, are either similar to one another or linked. They all belong to the four clusters according to language: Niger-Congo; Nilo-Saharan; Afro-Asiatic; and Khoisan. They are fraternal groups. When Muammar Gaddafi was alive, I did not agree with him on the issue of a continental Government now. With trading, I can trade with everybody.

However, political integration needs more intimacy. The Peoples should either be similar or compatible. That is why I prefer MwalimuNyerere's strategy of Regional Federations where feasible. MzeeKwame Nkrumah preferred a continental Government, like Muammar Gaddafi.

20. Therefore, integration of Africa means 3 issues: prosperity; strategic security; and fraternity. There are longer and more illustrated documents dealing with this issue.

21. The African leaders since independence, need to be careful not to share the historical condemnation like the one we heap on the pre-colonial chiefs who, for almost 400 years, certainly in the case of the Great Lakes, concentrated on rivalries among themselves, even after Vasco Da Gama had passed by the East African Coast. Instead of uniting our people, they were busy fighting one another with their obsequious subjects heaping pseudo-praises on them. When the Europeans were ready, after the Berlin Congress, they penetrated the continent and picked many chiefs like grasshoppers. Europe, America and Asia are now going towards the 4th Industrial Revolution – the use of intelligent machines. In Africa, we have not even gone through the first and second industrial Revolutions – the use of steam engines and electricity. Yet, the economic and political integrations are crucial stimuli for these changes. The African leaders, therefore, need to work hard so as not to share the fate of the pre-colonial tribal chiefs that let down their peoples.

22. I thank you.

PROSPERITY, SECURITY AND FRATERNITY

23. We the Pan-Africanists, support African Unity because of three reasons: Prosperity, Fraternity and Security.

24. Even before the modern capitalist – socialist systems evolved, people's prosperity was greatly influenced by trade. In Africa, although we were living under tyrannical chiefs, trade was taking place nevertheless. In fact, the five regions of our part of Africa were, indeed, linked by trade. The five were: the Coast and Zanzibar (Pwani); the Miyombo Savannah land of Central Tanzania (Dodoma, Tabora); the Great Lakes region of Mwanza, Musoma, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, etc.; the forest region of Western Uganda and Congo; and the down-stream region of the Nile in South Sudan. Textiles, glass beads, guns were coming from abroad, through the Coast, to the inland regions; while Ivory, gold and, regrettably, slaves were coming from inland, via the coast, proceeding all the way to lands beyond the Oceans (*buseeri – bwa'mayaanja*). This was during the times of feudalism in the World when capital was not as active as it was later to become. With the rise of capitalism and market- oriented socialism, the relevance of prosperity through trade has become very clear.

25. When we buy what country X produces, we are supporting the prosperity of that country. They are able to create jobs for their people, generate money for the companies involved and create tax revenues for the Government of country X. The producers in

country X, besides, continue to advance their technology supported, in part, by our purchasing power. The reverse is the case when the outsiders buy our goods or consume our services (e.g. tourism). They help us to create jobs for our people, create revenue flows for our companies, help to expand the tax base of our countries and help us to advance our technology. Uganda is recovering from the twenty years of turmoil and collapse (1966-1986). During that time, the economy of Uganda shrank by 48%. Since our recovery, the importance of regional and international trade for our prosperity has become very clear. In 1986, Uganda was producing only 200million litres of milk per year. We are now producing 2.5 billion litres of milk per year. However, Ugandans are only consuming 800 million litres of milk. Where does the rest of the milk go? The answer: to the regional and the international markets. Without the regional market and the international market, that dairy industry would have already collapsed and our prosperity would have been adversely affected. What is true of milk is also true of maize. Our production of maize in 1986 was only 200,000 metric tonnes of maize.

26. It is now more than 5 million tonnes of maize per year. Ugandans only consume 1 million tonnes per year. Hence, there is a surplus of 4 million tonnes per year. Who buys this surplus? The region. Coffee, tea, etc. etc., are bought by the international market. Some years ago, the price of tea sank from US\$1.79.per kg to US\$1.31 per kg in 2013. Why? On account of the political upheavals in the Arab world, especially Egypt. Apparently, Egypt was a big buyer of our tea. Their upheavals affected our prosperity.

27. The total purchasing power of Africa, as represented by the Gross Domestic Product, was US\$6.757 trillion in 2016. A portion of this purchasing power benefits foreigners. Africa's import bill is US\$ 524 billion. Therefore, each year, Africa is using 9% of its purchasing power to support the prosperity of others. Africa's exports to the outside World are a total of US\$ 387 billion. 57% of it is accounted for by oil, gas and 29.4% minerals. What creates more jobs — oil and minerals or manufacturing, agriculture and services?

28. Anyway, the point is that many of the imports Africa pays for can be made on the continent. Moreover, Africa can export much more than we are doing now if we create the right base in terms of infrastructure and policies.

29. The main point I am emphasizing, is that trade in goods and services has been the main instrument of creating prosperity for societies — both in the past and the present. Therefore, the 54 African countries, trading among themselves, is a *sine qua non* of beginning to build our people's prosperity. In order to do this, market integration in Africa must be regarded as a matter of life and death for our people. Much of that import bill of US\$ 524 billion should be spent in Africa. Besides, African economies are growing, certain bottlenecks notwithstanding. As these economies grow, our purchasing power will also continue to grow.

30. This purchasing power should not continue to be donated to outsiders unconditionally. That deliberate use of our purchasing power to advance our prosperity

and also use it as a bargaining power to access the market of others cannot happen if we do not consummate our own market integration. All tariff barriers must be removed.

31. All non-tariff barriers must also be removed. Intra-Africa infrastructure, especially the railways and electricity, must be worked on expeditiously in order to lower the cost of doing business in Africa so as to become more competitive. Economic integration will enable us to enhance our prosperity and also to bargain with others for access to their markets. We have been enriching others unconditionally and to our detriment for too long. This must end.

32. If one wants to know the importance of markets as stimuli to growth and transformation, one should look at China and India. Both China and India, individually, have a population of 1.3bn People. Each one of them, even today when Africa's population has grown tremendously from the low-level of 120million people of 1900, still has a population that is bigger than Africa's. Each one of them, therefore, has a huge, integrated internal market. Yet, the phenomenal growth of China that catapulted the growth of its economy from position 10th (1980) in global ranking to position no. 2 today, did not take place until China opened up to the global economy in 1978. India's accelerated growth did not take place until Prime Minister Narismha Rao opened that economy in 1991. Therefore, both China and India had two stimuli: a big internal market and access to even bigger external markets. It is good that Africa has, finally, agreed to the CTA, again, 28 years after the Abuja treaty that should have kicked off the journey to the African common market and 38 years after the Lagos Plan of Action.

33. Nevertheless, even where there are agreements for the free flow of goods and services, you get a lot of NTBs. This shows that many actors in Africa do not yet know where prosperity comes from. An economy cannot grow without a big market to absorb the goods and services of that economy. Besides, you need your own big market to negotiate with others for your access to their markets. We have seen how the small countries of Europe – 27 of them in a land area of 4 million square kms have overcome the problem of small markets by pulling those small markets into a big market of US\$ 18.8trillion and a population of 508million.

34. However, economic integration, even when it is very successful, cannot be enough. That is how we come to the second reason for integration – strategic security and insurance for our sovereignty. These days it is common for the elite in Africa to insure cars, buildings, businesses, etc. The question is: "Where is the insurance for Africa's Sovereignty?" Africa has been either in the doldrums or decline for the last 500 years. What was the cause of this? Foreign aggression. Why did foreign aggression succeed? On account of the myopic and ego-centric traditional chiefs who failed to unite us in spite of the clear signs of the threatened foreign invasion. I always blame the myopic and ego-centric traditional chiefs of Africa. Vasco Da Gama went around the Cape of Good Hope on his way to India in 1498. He, therefore, passed by the East African Coast and attacked Mombasa in the process. Thereafter, the Europeans were frequent visitors to the East African Coast although they were not yet strong enough to penetrate the African interior. They had a problem of malaria, tse-tse flies, thick forests, powerful tribes and their gun-

technology was still nascent (still using muzzle-loaders — they did not yet have breech loaders).

35. It was not until 1862, a whole 364 years after Vasco Da Gama's bursting on the East African scene, that the first White man, Hannington Speke, got to Uganda, 1000 miles from the Ocean on the Tanzanian side.

36. Why, on earth, couldn't these wonderful rulers of ours use all this time to organize us to defend ourselves? Instead, they were engaged in fratricidal wars and self-glorification. Unfortunately, for us, by this time, the Europeans had so advanced technologically that the only defences of Africa could no longer stop them. What were these defences? They were the forests and the deserts; and the mosquitoes and the tsetse flies. The Europeans had found the answer to the long distances of Africa by inventing the railway engines by Stevenson in the year 1829; and they had found the answer to the malaria in the form of quinine. The ferocious but poorly organized and poorly led African tribes, were now handled by the improved gun technology of breech-loaders (as opposed to muzzle-loaders), the rapid firing maxim gun (machine gun - automatic) and, later, by the mortars that had a parabolic trajectory. The improved technology notwithstanding, had the chiefs united us, we would have defeated the invaders like the Ethiopians, the Chinese and the Japanese did in spite of being technologically inferior.

37. How did we regain our independence? Three reasons: Resistance by the more modern freedom fighters as opposed to the parochial traditional chiefs that were universally defeated by colonialism; the self-destructive wars that took place among the imperialists (1st and 2nd World wars) on account of their greed and fights for the re-division of the world, thereby, mutually weakening themselves to our advantage; and the support of the Socialist Countries (the Soviet Union and China) as well as other progressive forces in the West.

38. What have we done since that time to consolidate our strength and insure our sovereignty? Very little. The proof of that is that we are still discussing the issue of economic integration, 60 years after Ghana's Independence. Intra-Africa physical infrastructure has been agreed upon but not implemented. As pointed out above, however, even if we had most scrupulously attended to the issue of economic integration so as to guarantee our prosperity, that would not have guaranteed our strategic security and insured the sovereignty of the African peoples and their future as a free people.

39. During the 2nd World War, the first victims of aggression were the advanced countries of Holland, Belgium, France, Denmark, Norway, Poland, etc.

40. It was the mighty and recently industrialized Soviet Union, that defeated Hitler with some late and last minute participation of the USA and Britain. After that victory, the Soviet Union made its own mistakes and tried to impose the minority Communist Parties on Eastern Europe (GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc.). The Soviet Union was making the mistake of becoming an oppressor and abandoning its erstwhile

and commendable role of the defender of the weak. I do not see why they had to cling to the countries of Eastern Europe after defeating Hitler. They squandered their prestige by clinging to those countries. The Labour Party in Britain defeated the war time leader, Winston Churchill, in the elections that were held on the 5th of July, 1945, soon after the War, I suspect, on account of the appeal of Socialism in the postwar period on account of the heroic role of the Soviet Union in the 2nd World War.

41. When the Soviet Union made their own mistake of metamorphosing from Liberator to oppressor, again, the small but advanced countries of Western Europe were at risk. Who defended them? The big and emerging USA. Through the Truman Doctrine of 1947, the United States vowed to “*support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures*”. Instead of going to open war, the two camps (NATO and the Warsaw Pact) engaged in the Cold War (confrontation without fighting) or, occasionally, fighting limited wars (Korea, Vietnam, the Arab-Israeli War of 1973, the Afghanistan war etc., or proxy wars such as in Yemen, Angola, Afghanistan etc.).

42. Therefore, being advanced economically and technologically does not automatically translate into immunity from aggression. Israel is today a developed and a technologically advanced country. How would it fare against its adversaries if it did not enjoy the backing of the USA? Therefore, in terms of strategic security, i.e. insurance against aggression and perpetually preserving our sovereignty, size of territory, population and economy matters alot. The current anchors of global security have or are about to have all the three. These are: the USA, Russia, China and India. Brazil and Indonesia will, eventually, join this league. Where does Africa stand in this matter? Who is the anchor of the strategic security of Africa? Where is the centre of gravity of African Strategic Security?

43. Yet, countries like the USA proclaim that their intention is to achieve a four dimensional superiority. These are: superiority on land, superiority at sea, superiority in the air and superiority in space. Where does this leave Africa? Economic integration alone cannot solve this. Yes, it can help us to transform our economies. However, it cannot deliver strategic security. It is only political integration that can achieve this. When, for instance, East Africa becomes a Federation or a Confederation, it will have the potential to become a global power. With a land area of 1million square miles (or more when Somalia joins) and a current population of 170 million (without including Somalia), with almost every natural resource needed on earth, East Africa would easily become a global power. With more advance in education, technology and industrialization, East Africa could be the anchor of Africa’s strategic security and the sovereignty of the African people. The population of East Africa will be 410,224,228 million by 2050 (*Worldometers*). How about the compatibility of these countries of East Africa?

44. This brings me to point no. 3 – the fraternity of the African peoples. First of all, the population of the whole continent is divided into only 4 linguistic groups: the Niger-Congo; the Nilo-Saharan; the Afro-Asiatic; and the Khoisan. When brother Thabo Mbeki came up with the term “Ubuntu”, it is exactly what it means in my dialect, Runyankore, 3,000

miles away. Even between the four language groups, you find similarities. The Somali word for cow is “Saa”.

45. In our Ugandan dialects, the word for cow-dung is exactly that: “Saa” — *obusa, amasha, amasa*, etc. The “*Obu*”, *ama*, etc., are Bantu prefixes to nouns. Otherwise, the core word is the same: “Saa”, or “Sa”. I am told that in the Nubian dialects of North Sudan and Egypt, the word for Mother is: “*Nina*”. How amazing? In many of the Bantu dialects of Uganda, the word for “Mother” is: “*Nyina*” — the mother of somebody. The word for water in Acholi is “*pii*”. The word for water in Somali is: “*bio*”, almost exactly the same sound.

46. Therefore, the entirety of the African peoples are connected by either a common origin or linkages among the four groups, a shared history, social, cultural ties and, because of their continued economic and political marginalization in the existing world order, they face a common destiny.

47. As the geography narrows, however, the similarities and linkages intensify. There is, for instance, a big group of people known as the “Interlacustrine Bantus and Nilotics”. These people are found in South Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo and you could even add Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Almost all the Bantu dialects of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Western Kenya (Luhya), North Western Tanzania (Lunyambo, Ruhaya, Ruzinza, Rukerewe, Kizanaki, Kuria, Kijita) and Eastern Congo (Kihema, Kinande, Kinyambooga, Kinyarwanda of Rutshuru, Kishi, etc.) are really one language with many dialects. You can understand, without translation, when somebody is making a speech in most of these dialects mentioned above. The same goes for the Luo dialects (Acholi, Alur, Japadhola, Kumam, Labwor and the Luo of Kenya and Tanzania). To these add the Nilo- Hamitic (Ateso, Akarimojong, Turkana, Topotha, Barri of South Sudan, the Kalenjin, Masai, etc.) and the Sudanic peoples (Lugbara, Madi, Lendu, Kebu, etc.) and the picture of the Great Lakes is complete. They are either mutually intelligible or share the same grammatical structures, vocabulary and other linguistic features. That, however, is not the end of the story for the Great Lakes.

48. Our ancestors, some millennia ago, developed for us a common dialect, out of the tribal dialects. This came to be known as Swahili. Swahili is, essentially, a Bantu dialect but with considerable borrowing from, especially Arabic, but also from Portuguese (e.g. *meeza*— table) and from Persian and Indian languages. This gives the East African Political unit (Federation or Confederation) and the entire Great Lakes area, a common language.

49. The question, then, is: “Why should people who need to work together economically for their prosperity, who have been and still are in common danger from global predators but who are also linked historically, culturally and linguistically and who, moreover, have a common language, Swahili, not unite politically to guarantee their future?”

50. What is true of East Africa and the Great Lakes, is true of the other regions of Africa: Southern Africa with the Ngoni-Sutho-Shona speaking peoples of South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique; West Africa with the Mandingo, Fulani and Hausa speakers, Yoruba and Ibo; Central Africa with the Fang, Teke and other peoples; North Africa with the Arabic and Barber speaking peoples; and the Horn of Africa with its Semitic and Cushitic groups. The Semitic and Cushitic groups of the Horn of Africa already have a lot of historical and trade linkages with East Africa. Can we use these similarities and linkages to rationalize the political map of Africa and optimize our power in the world and build Strategic Security? Or are the present leaders of Africa going to end up as the tribal chiefs of old who, intoxicated with greed, ego and myopia, failed to unite us to fight the invaders? What were the consequences? Five hundred years of haemorrhage: slave trade, colonialism, genocide, stagnation, marginalization etc. However, the African peoples have strong genes. Unlike the Indigenous peoples of North and South America (Incans, Aztecs, Carribes, Red Indians) or the Australian Aborigines, we did not perish. According to some studies (e.g. Professor Jared Mason Diamond – in “Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies 1997”), we survived because of our advanced agriculture. The cows, the goats, the sheep, the chicken that stayed with us in our huts had long ago inoculated us against the diseases that exterminated the indigenous peoples of the Americas and Australia. It is our Agriculture and our genes that eventually defeated the invaders, not the traditional leaders. Eventually, as pointed out above, there were other factors: the resistance of the freedom fighters, the catastrophic wars of greed among the Europeans that weakened them to our advantage; and the support of the Socialist countries (the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, etc.) that enabled us to regain our freedom. This freedom needs to be consolidated and insured. The present leaders will play a similar role to the pre-colonial traditional chiefs if we fail to do so. The factors that helped us to regain our freedom, e.g. the support of the socialist countries, cannot be there all the time. We should have used the retreat of imperialism to immunize ourselves against any future threats from any human and non-human threat. That we have not done so all this time means failure in our historical mission.

51. In terms of political integration, the countries in North Africa that are compatible can unite using Arabic (the classical Arabic). In East and Central Africa, we have the good fortune of having Swahili.

52. In Southern Africa, they can look at English and in West Africa, they can look at bi-lingualism (French and English) as official languages. I am hesitating to recommend either Zulu for Southern Africa or Hausa or Mandingo for Western Africa because I am not sure about the local sensitivities to these languages among the non-Hausa, non-Ngoni, non-Mandingo groups. At the same time, I cannot recommend either English or French alone. Hence, the recommendation for the bi-lingualism. Could the whole of Africa look at Swahili? I, personally, do not see any harm in that. People, however, have got different points of view.

Your Excellencies,

53. Remember that I did not agree with our late brother Muammar Gadaffi who wanted to form one Government for the whole of Africa, immediately. I did not support that idea mainly because of the lack of compatibility among some of the groups on account of language and cultures. To go to the high level of political integration, it is safer to have a high degree of either similarities or compatibilities. The whole of Africa does not have those potentialities unless we all decide to go for Swahili. The whole of Africa, however, should be part of the common market. You can trade with somebody that is not similar or linked historically to you but is geographically linked with you.

54. A number of Africans were quite aroused in terms of anger by what President Trump is alleged to have said recently that was thought to be offensive to our Motherland. I do not know exactly what President Trump said.

55. There is, however, value in some actors telling Africa that her voice does not count for much in the current power politics of the global system, partly due to endogenous factors of weakness that we are responsible for. Why do we not marshal Africa's great potential? Whatever President Trump said, he would not be the first to say so. In the Book: "Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington and Africa (1959-1976)" by "the author, Piero Gleijeses", quotes Henry Kissinger, the celebrated great USA diplomat of the 1960s and 1970s, as saying something similar.

56. In the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, Israel had bled badly for the first time in its confrontations with Arab countries. In the first days of the war, the Egyptian army had fought very well and caused a lot of losses to the Israeli army. The USA, a staunch ally of Israel, had, apparently, organized a massive air-lift to re-supply Israel. In order to do that, they needed a re-fuelling base somewhere in the Atlantic or Western Europe. Apparently, none of the European countries was willing to allow the USA such a facility except the discredited fascist regime of Portugal, under "Professorio" Marcello Caetano, which allowed them to use the Azores. Portugal had been fighting us in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Principe and Sao Tome for 13 years up to that point. Many Western Governments had made pretences about imposing sanctions on Portugal on account of its ridiculous policy of claiming that the African countries mentioned above, were not Portuguese colonies but "overseas provinces of Portugal: where the ancient Africans of those countries had the rare opportunity of evolving from their 'African-ness', a phenomenon that was treated as a great misfortune, into the more worthy status of "Portuguese "assimilados"— Black in colour but Portuguese by culture. The western so called "democratic" countries were, eventually, forced by Public opinion in their own countries to pretend to put sanctions on the fascists in Portugal. The sanctions included an arms embargo. Now, the bright and gifted, Dr. Henry Kissinger, in one of their meetings was proposing that they should reward Portugal for helping the USA in the issue of the emergency airlifts to re-supply the beleaguered Israel. Somebody in the meeting protested saying that such a move would enrage Africans. What was Kissinger's answer? "Those Africans do not matter. They have no means of translating their rage into effective actions."

57. Their rage is rage in futility. “Okugaywa” (to be looked down upon) is the problem of the one who looks down upon another; but is also the problem of the one who is looked down upon. Why does one allow oneself to be in the position of perpetually being looked down upon? It says in the Book of Galatians, Chapter 6 verse 7, “*do not be deceived: God cannot be mocked. Whatever a man sows, is what he reaps in return*” — “(*burimuntuweenaekyabiba, nikyogyesha*.)” Let us sow unity, we shall harvest strength. When we sow disunity, we harvest weakness and contempt of us by others.

58. We intend to deepen and give illustrations to support this concept note as we were mandated by our Chairman, Professor Alpha Konde.

59. I thank you.

2019-02-10

Report of H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda and leader on Political Integration of the African Continent

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