



National Resistance Movement

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MEMBERS OF CEC, MEMBERS OF NEC, MEMBERS OF THE NRM NATIONAL CONFERENCE, ALL THE NRM MEMBERS AND ALL UGANDANS

Greetings from the CEC Members that I have been meeting quite often, the Cabinet, the NRM Caucus in Parliament and the NRM Secretariat. Sorry about the corona pandemic and congratulations on, heroically, fighting this enemy in spite of all the hardships it has caused us. Since March, 18th 2020, I, myself, am like a prisoner in Nakasero and Entebbe. I have managed to sneak out a few times to Karamoja for the Marbles factory, to Jinja for the rising waters of the Lakes and Rivers, Nakasongola for the fire-fighting vehicle manufactured by the Luwero Industries, the factories in Namanve, to Kasese for the landslides and, recently, to Kasubi and Lubigi for the new market and the new anti-flooding channel respectively. Only half of the Ministers meet every Monday in order to keep the numbers small and spread out in your big Entebbe State House Hall that normally seats 600 people. The Members of Parliament had to move out of the building to a big tent outside and have small numbers at a time.

We have to wear masks all the time and they are quite uncomfortable. However, health is wealth, the English say. *Amagara gakira amagana* (life is more important than wealth), the Banyankore say. *Asiika obulamu, tassa mukono*; here, the Luganda proverb uses the imagery of food (*okusiika*). It says that when you are frying life, you never relax the arm, different from food frying where you can relax your arm. You see how rich the African languages are. You can say something so powerful and useful in just a few words. I am, therefore, very proud that for four months of this battle, we never lost any Ugandan or non-Ugandan resident in Uganda until the 21st of July, 2020, when we had the first death from corona in the person of Chamadala Eunice of Namisindwa, aged 34 years and very healthy (without any other diseases – known as co-morbidities). Up to today, the 9th of August, we have lost another 6. These are:

1. A Ugandan-Rwandese female, a resident of Mengo, Kisenyi III, aged 80 years old, who died on the 25th of July, 2020, at Mengo Hospital. She was first admitted in a private facility and later transferred to Mengo with fever, cough, chest pain and difficulty in breathing.
2. A Nigerian Male, resident of Kisenyi, Kampala, aged 67 years old; who was a store manager in Kisenyi and died in Kiruddu hospital on the 29th of July, 2020. He was admitted with Fever,

cough and difficulty in breathing in a private clinic before going to Kiruddu.

3. A Ugandan female, a resident of Kiyimbi, Nakulabye, aged 61 years old, who was referred from Mengo Hospital to Mulago with symptoms consistent with COVID-19 and died a day later on 31/7/2020
4. An Indian female, a resident of Kibuli, aged 46 years old who was admitted in Kibuli hospital and referred to Mulago but died on the way. She was diabetic but off medication. She also had a history of Asthma for 10 years.
5. A diabetic Ugandan male, resident of Nateete Kampala, aged 70 years old who was admitted at Rubaga Hospital on 24/7/2020; and referred to Mulago hospital on the 28/7/2020 and died in the Intensive Care Unit on the 6/8/2020. He presented with mild fever, cough and difficulty in breathing.
6. A Ugandan female, a resident of Wakiso, aged 47 years old, who had a number of ailments, including a history of TB and Asthma and died on the 9th of August, 2020.

It is, therefore, incorrect for some people to say that young people cannot be killed by the corona-virus.

Out of the 7 dead people in Uganda, so far, 3 were in their 40s and 30s.

However, what seems to be material, could be that all of them delayed in going to the designated Government treatment centers and went to private clinics or other Government Health Centres. Yet, the guidelines from the Ministry of Health, were that when you feel as if you have a cold, call the nearest health centre on phone, who will, then, inform the corona-monitoring centre nearby, known as hub. They will come, take samples from you, send them to the nearest laboratory and, within 24-48 hours, they will know whether you have corona or not. If you have, they will pick you and take you to the corona treatment centre that is nearest. If you do not have, you will now go to the nearest treatment centre for the normal diseases – HCIII, HCIV, etc.

While corona is a vicious disease that has killed 730,371 worldwide and 7 people in Uganda, I am convinced that soon we shall overcome it and go back to our rapid development trajectory. Why am I so convinced? It is because so many people have survived the disease and even turned negative. The 730,371 people that have died worldwide are out of the total number of 19,831,918million people that have been infected and recorded. Hence, 12,739,407 people have overcome the disease and others are still being treated. Although, I hear, that they may remain with life-long complications in some cases.

That means that we may get an anti-covid-19 vaccine. Many groups in the World, are working on this and, even, here our scientists are working on it. Our scientists are also working on anti-viral drugs and, from what they are telling me, there are some promising prospects.

In the meantime, remember how to survive for now and tell everybody else to do the same. Wear a mask every time you are outside your house and in public; avoid people with flu-like symptoms; wash your hands regularly with water and soap or use sanitizers; sanitize surfaces in offices in the form of tables and door-handles; never touch the soft parts of your body with unwashed hands in the form of mouth, nose and eyes; and all work places and transport means, should follow their respective SOPs to the letter.

We shall, then, be safe until we get a vaccine or a cure. In the meantime, I thank our doctors at Entebbe – Grade B Hospital, Mulago and all the Regional Referral Hospitals across the country (Gulu, Arua, Lira, Masaka, Mbale, Jinja, Mbarara, Adjumani, Kabale, Mubende, Fort Portal, Soroti, Naguru, Hoima, Moroto) and Bombo Military Hospital, that have used the available body support systems to enable the bodies of the infected people to defeat the disease. That is how 1,115 people have recovered from the disease.

Coming back to our real work, I want to remind the NEC members and the members of the National Conference of what I told CEC at Igongo on the 23rd of December, 2018 and Chobe Lodge on 19th February, 2019. I reminded CEC of the nature of the Ugandan economy in 1900, 1962, 1971 and 1986. In 1900, the Ugandan tribes were still in the pre-capitalist mode of production comprised of crops for home consumption and barter trade (*kuchurika*); livestock (cattle, goats, sheep, chicken) for the same; fisheries for the same; and artisanship and professional skills (*emyooga*) in the form of blacksmiths (*Abaheesi*), carpenters or wood-workers (*Ababaizi*), clay workers (*Abanogoozi*), bow and arrow makers (*Abatanagyi*), bark-cloth makers (*Abakomagyi*), bone-setters (*Ababuungyi*), medical people (*Abafumu, abashaakiizi*), fore-tellers (*Abaraguzi*), water transporters (*Abariimbi*) and, even, some form of funeral services, at least for the kings, known as *Abahitsi*. There was some limited use of cowrie-shells (*ensiimbi*) as currency and trade with the East African Coast for guns, textiles (*emyeenda*) and *enkwaanzi* (glass beads).

With the conquest of Africa, this system was violently overthrown by colonialism and Africans were now commanded to subordinate their economic activities to the needs of colonialism. How? Produce what the colonialists wanted and buy what they produced. Hence, by 1962, the economy of Uganda was being described as an economy of the 3Cs and 3Ts which were: Coffee, Copper (Kilembe) and Cotton

and 3Ts (Tobacco, Tea and Tourism). It was only these 6 that were being described as cash-crops or cash activities. All the other activities were being described as subsistence farming or subsistence activities (*Okukolera Ekidda kyoonka; tic me cam keken; erikolera erirya riisa; okukolera olubuto lwokka; okukorera enda yoonka; mi amvu 'nya aleni; aisoamakin akoik*).

As you can see, all these activities were not integrated with the Ugandan economy. The cotton Uganda was producing was for the British textile industry in Manchester and the blister copper at Kilembe could not be used by Mehta for cables because it was not fully processed (only 94% pure instead of the 99% pure that is known as cathode copper that can straight away be used by the transformer manufacturers, the makers of cables, etc., etc).

A progressive Governor, however, by the names of Andrew Cohen, had, since 1952, started the production of cement, some small quantities of fertilizer and the Nyanza textiles for converting our cotton into clothes for the first time in the 50 years of colonial control. By 1962, the production capacity for cement was estimated to be 100,000tonnes per year, fertilizers was 24.6 tonnes per year and textile was 8million linear metres per year. Governor Cohen, therefore, after 50 years of exploitation by colonialism without regard to our serious interests,

had started some efforts of building an integrated Ugandan economy, using our natural resources: cotton, phosphates, limestone for cement, etc.

However, he was quickly removed in 1956, I suspect, partly, on account of his disagreements with Mengo because he had deported HH Mutesa in 1953 for opposing the formation of the East African Federation proposal.

Hence, by 1962, you had what the University Scholars in the 1960s and 1970s were calling “enclave” economies – islands of pseudo-modernity – shops, nightclubs, vehicles, etc., not linked with the rest of the economy in a healthy sustainable way and surrounded by a sea of backwardness. The sea of backwardness was comprised of a population of 6½ million people, where only 20% were literate, there were only 548,634 pupils in the primary schools, 21,891 in the Junior Secondary Schools (equivalent of P7-P9 – Junior Secondary 1 to JS- 3), only 6,500 in the Senior Secondary Schools and 1,094 students at Makerere University in 1970-71, after becoming independent.

Between 1962 and 1971, this small island of pseudo-modernity was quantitatively expanded, abt more cotton, tea, etc. There were also attempts at qualitative deepening of what Governor Cohen had started by, for instance, starting another factory to add value to cotton in the form of a joint venture

between the Uganda Government and the Japanese Kashiwada in the form of UGIL that was beginning to produce the famous Yamato shirts. The production of cotton in 1962, had been 150,000 bales. By 1969, the production was 480,000 bales.

However, at this point, the wrong politics of Uganda came in, in the form of Idi Amin, an illiterate colonial sergeant, now General, staging a coup-d'état against the UPC that had made their own mistakes of playing opportunistic politics with the Mengo group that was, itself, making their own mistakes of forever promoting sectarian interests and anti-democracy (not allowing the people of Buganda to vote for Members of Parliament, etc). Idi Amin, uprooted the very active Indian business community who fled to UK and Canada and enriched those countries with their entrepreneurial-ship. The Indian properties were handed free to Ugandans that knew nothing about business, full of free stock and the Indians went empty-handed. The ones who went empty-handed are now billionaires and millionaires and the ones who got their business free, are nowhere to be heard of as business people. Anyway, the sum total of all this and the extra-judicial killings by Idi Amin (Ben Kiwanuka, Balunywa, Walugembe, Bataringaya, Kalimuzo, Bataringaya's wife, Bananuka, etc., etc), was total collapse. This meant that the African Middle class that were not killed, fled the country. With a host of other mistakes, the economy's pseudo-modern enclave (island),

collapsed. By 1986 when the NRM came to power, the small pseudo-modern enclave of the 3Cs and the 3Ts as well as Governor Cohen's attempts at value addition, had almost disappeared completely. Of the 3Cs, only coffee was still limping on with the production of 3million bags per year. Cotton had collapsed and so had copper at Kilembe. Of the 3Ts, only tobacco was limping on at 400 metric tonnes per year. Tea had declined from 23million kgs per year in 1970 to 3million kgs per year. Tourism had frozen to zero on account of insecurity of person and property. Governor Cohen's infant efforts of value addition in the form of cement, fertilizers, fabrics, etc., had all collapsed.

There were acute shortages of soap, paraffin, beers, sodas, sugar, etc., etc. The common words in the vocabulary of Ugandans that time were: *magendo* (smuggling); *kusamula* (speculation); and *kibanda* (forex black-market). Goods were coming in by smuggling. The whole economy had been completely informalized (as opposed to formal – importing goods through the border points, etc).

The NRM put forward the 10 Points Programme to address this tragedy which were:

POINT NO. 1

Restoration of Democracy;

POINT NO. 2

Restoration of Security;

The NRM pledged to restore security of person and property to all Ugandans;

POINT NO. 3

Consolidation of National Unity and Elimination of all forms of Sectarianism – Patriotism – Loving Uganda;

POINT NO.4

Defending and consolidating national independence;

POINT NO. 5

Building an independent, integrated and self-sustaining national economy;

POINT NO.6

Restoration and improvement of social services and rehabilitation of war-ravaged areas;

POINT NO. 7

Elimination of corruption and the misuse of power;

POINT NO. 8

Redressing errors that had resulted in the dislocation of some sections of the population;

POINT NO. 9

Co-operation with other African countries – Pan Africanism – Loving East Africa, Loving Africa;

POINT NO. 10

Following an Economic Strategy of a mixed Economy – Private Sector – led growth with some parastatals where necessary.

Hence, in the 10 points programme, we emphasized the security of life and property. Both had to be secure. In so doing, we were answering a point of philosophy. What motivates the human beings to work hard – altruism or self-interest? What both the Bible found out and the more recent philosophy, was that while there are people that will work for altruism, the majority of people, at least for wealth creation, will work for self-interest. The story of the hired shepherd in the Book of John Chapter 10 Verse 11-13: It says: *“I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down His life for the sheep. The hired hand is not the shepherd and the sheep are not his own. When he sees the wolf coming, he abandons the sheep and runs away. Then the wolf pounces on them and scatters the flock. The man runs away because he is a hired servant and is unconcerned for the sheep”*. Jesus talks of the hired hands. The hired hand would run away and leave the sheep to be eaten by the wolves. The owner of the sheep would, to the contrary, defend the sheep even at the expense of his own life.

This helped the NRM to answer the question of “who” is to be emphasized in wealth creation. The answer was: “the private sector”. Apart from encouraging the African business people such as Mulwana, we returned the property of the Asians and attracted new investors from, especially, China. In addition to these, we started harvesting from our scientists. This will, however, come later. Apart from the security of ownership of property, the NRM

also ensured the physical security of people – no extra-judicial killings.

While the NRM philosophically and ideologically answered the question as to who is to be relied on to create wealth, where we said that it had to be the private sector to take the lead, there was also the question of what was needed to be done. We answered this by identifying the strategic bottlenecks – 10 of them – that had to be overcome in order to enable the private sector to grow the economy. Here below are the 10 strategic bottlenecks:

1. Banishing the ideological disorientation by rejecting sectarianism of religion and tribe that stops people knowing that Uganda will support their prosperity better than the tribal units or religious segments – this was the point no. 3 of the NRM 10 points programme – anti-sectarianism;
2. Making sure that we build a capable State with a strong Army, Police, etc. that are able to guard peace;
3. Developing the under-developed human resource through education for all and improved health;

4. Developing the infrastructure in the form of electricity, the roads, the railway, so as to lower the costs of doing business in our economy;
5. Ending the export of unprocessed raw materials such as coffee and cotton where we only get 10% of the value of our resources and the rest goes to others, by industrialization – value addition;
6. A modern economy cannot sustainably develop, if enough buyers do not buy what that economy is producing; we, therefore, identified the fragmented African markets by colonialism as a bottleneck that could not allow the African economies to grow and pointed out the need for economic integration in Africa and, where possible, also political integration;
7. Our huge potential in services – e.g. tourism, financial services, performing artists, etc., was still undeveloped and should be developed;
8. Our huge potential in agriculture was undeveloped with 68% of our homesteads still being *abakolera ekidda kyoonka, tic me cam keken, mi amvu 'nya aleni, aisoamakin akoik* (working only for the stomach) and the few raw-materials commercially produced, not being processed into finished goods;

9. Interfering with the Private Sector like Idi Amin had done in 1971 by uprooting the private sector through the expulsion of the Asians and yet the private sector is the most reliable agent of growth; and,
10. Finally, the denial of democracy as in no. 1 of the NRM 10 points programme.

All these are amplifications and implementing tools of our four ideological principles. These are:

- (i) Patriotism — loving Uganda because we need it for our prosperity in the form of a bigger market than our tribal units or religious groups and the complementarities she offers the wealth creators within her borders;
- (ii) Pan-Africanism — loving Africa because that bigger market can support our prosperity better than the individual countries such as Uganda, not to mention our tribal units or religious groups;
- (iii) Social-economic transformation so that we end the life of the peasantry of our society and become a middle-class, skilled working

class society – a modern society based on a fully monetized economy by eliminating the phenomenon of the *bakolera kidda kyoonka, tic me cam keken, erikolera erirya riisa, okukolera olubuto lwokka, okukorera enda yoonka, mi amvu 'nya aleni, aisoamakin akoik* – working only for the stomach or subsistence farming in particular; all this, in addition to mass education to create a modern man;

- (iv) Finally, always using the system of democracy as a cleanser of the system, to hold leaders accountable.

With these stimuli being applied to the economy and society, eversince 1986, the economy has grown at the rate of 6.3% per annum for the last 34 years. The GDP, using the exchange rate method was US\$1.55billion in 1986; it is now US\$.37.3 billion. However, using the PPP method, the GPD is now US\$106billion. The GDP per capita is now US\$908 compared to US\$264 in 1986. The GDP per capita using the PPP method is US\$2580 today.

Uganda is now poised to take off. Unlike in 1986, when we had a problem of shortages, one of our problems is now the unsold surpluses of sugar and sugar-cane; milk and milk products; surplus bananas; surplus maize; soon surplus cassava and cassava products; surplus industrial products – cement, steel products, blankets, tyres for piki pikis,

ceramic tiles, etc., etc. This is a good problem and there are 4 solutions to it. One, is to lower the costs of our production. A tonne of sugar in Brazil is produced at US\$280, in Swaziland at US\$500 and in Uganda at US\$630. This is why Tanzania and other countries cannot buy our sugar. It is more expensive. Does Brazil or Swaziland subsidize their sugar?

If that was the case, we would be with a stronger argument. Therefore, our producers, apart from ensuring good quality, we must ensure low costs of production to be competitive. The assignment of the Government in this matter, is to ensure the low cost of electricity; low cost of transport; and low cost of borrowed money through UDB for agriculture and industry, especially. With electricity, we already have enough electricity generated. The only problem is that the electricity is still at US\$8.3cents per unit because of the expensive money borrowed by the developers of Bujagaali and the inefficiencies of Umeme and their desire for high profits of 20% on investment. This we shall solve by realizing the following factors:

First of all, the electricity of Nalubaale and Kiira costs 2 American cents, the one of Karuma will cost 4.97, the one of Isimba costs 4.16 cents per unit. The distortion is caused by the power of Bujagaali that costs UScents13.38 per unit!!

Secondly, this is on account of the high cost of money the developers used to build that dam agreed to by some of our officials without consulting me. Thirdly, the other distortion in the electricity cost is by Umeme that contributes 21.9% to the high cost of electricity. Bujagaali contributes 45% to the high price (tariff) of electricity.

Electricity is part of the base of the economy. It is not an area for the profit seekers that want high profits – 20%, etc. This was the mistake that we have been trying to solve and it will be solved, in a good spirit, with the stakeholders. No friend of Uganda should suggest that Uganda's rapid development should be sabotaged for some groups to make 20% profits. If you want to make high profits, you go to night-clubs, casinos, etc., not to electricity, the bone-marrow (*omushokooro*) of the economy. When all the electricity produced is used (consumed), the price will also be cheaper by 2cts. As of now, out of the 1,252megawatts generated, only 650-700megawatts are being used (consumed as they call it). When all the megawatts will be bought, the price of electricity will be cheaper by 2 American cents. Therefore, Uganda will end up with cheap electricity for our rapid development. The problems with the price of electricity, to summarize, are: the expensive electricity of Bujagaali; the bad agreement with Umeme; and not selling all the electricity produced. They are all solvable.

With transport, we are already rehabilitating the old railway line to Gulu-Pakwach from Tororo as we plan to build the new Standard Gauge Railway. In the meantime, the Private Sector, with our encouragement, has already invested in the water transport across Lake Victoria, to Kisumu and Mwanza. Meanwhile, both Kenya and Tanzania have been building the Standard Gauge Railway in their respective countries. In order to lower the costs of transport, the answer is, therefore, rail and water transport for cargo. A tonne of goods to Mombasa from Kampala by road is US\$137.5. On the rail, all the way to Mombasa would be US\$43.75 per tonne and on water and rail, it will be US\$35.23, four times cheaper than the road.

With the cost of money, we have already put Ug. Shs. 1 trillion in UDB (2020) so that that bank is able to give loans for agriculture and industry at not more than 12% interest rate. This money will be used to lend to actors that are engaged in commercial agriculture, industries for import-substitution and industries for export promotion. On account of past successes, we now have 7 million bags of coffee, 5 million tonnes of maize, 10 million tonnes of bananas, 2.6billion litres of milk, alot of cassava, alot of fruits, alot of animal skins and hides, alot of planted forest, alot of sugar-cane, etc., etc.

Once the question of the cost of our products is addressed, then we also address the issue of broadening our value addition efforts in the areas of primary industrial products by, for instance, not only producing maize flour (*kaunga*) but also producing all the animal feeds we need and also deepening the industrialization effort in that area by going for the secondary industrial products such as starch, gas, etc., from maize as we shall see later. Out of the milk, apart from pasteurized milk, UHT, butter, ghee, yogurt and powdered milk, we are already cracking milk into the sub-contents of protein casein. These two, lower costs of our products and the broader spectrum of our primary and deepening to secondary industrial products, will make it easier to market our products globally and regionally.

In addition, we should continue to negotiate patiently with our EAC, COMESA and CFTA brothers for market access.

Fourthly, one of our ultimate solutions on the issue of market is the solution of the East African Federation. When East Africa becomes a Federation, then the barrier of borders to trade will be superseded.

This is now the time for all the categories of the national bourgeoisie, the middle class that are beneficial to the country, to move and process all

these raw-materials into finished or inter-mediate goods for import substitution and export promotion. The different categories of the national middle-class are: our Asians who repossessed their properties, the African middle-class like the Mulwanas and the new investors from outside (FDI), especially those from China, India, EU, the USA and the Middle East. These will be helped by the low costs of electricity, transport and the low cost of money. Labour in Uganda is still low. In addition to these, there is a large number of our youth from families that are not yet economically, or knowledge-wise, empowered, that are being organized in emyooga (specialized activities such as black-smithing, carpentry, etc.) and also in manufacturing associations to use the Government provided revolving funds (the Innovation Fund, the State House Innovation Fund, etc.), to join the manufacturing sector, especially. The emyooga groups are being organized at the level of each constituency but with branches at the parishes. The State House Innovation Fund operates at the zonal level (e.g. Teso, Lango, Bukedi, etc). Here, I refer all of you to the booklet I gave you when I made the zonal tours last year starting with the 4th of May, until the 4th of August, 2019. That Booklet is entitled: “The Four Sectors and the Seven Activities”.

The four sectors, again, to remind you are: commercial agriculture; industries (big and small); services (transport, hotels, salons, micro-finance,

professional services such as midwifery or lawyers performing artists, etc.); and ICT (such as Business Processes Out-sourcing – BPO – where, based here in Kampala our young people can do book-keeping for companies in the USA or Canada and be paid after sending what they have done over the internet). Again, like I did during the zonal meetings, I urge everybody, especially the youth, to join one or more of these sectors for livelihood. The fifth sector that is, in any case, part of the services sector, that I never emphasize, is the Public Service – the Government jobs. These are limited in number. The total number of Government jobs, including those in the Para-statals, are 470,000; compare these with the number of 700,000 people in factories, 1,300,000 in services, the fact that the potential of those sectors is not even half exhausted, notwithstanding. The total of the 4,920 factories operating in Uganda today, are employing a total of 700,000 people, just for emphasis. What if this figure reached 10,000? With the abundance of our electricity, all these factories will not be short of power.

In the booklet that I gave you, apart from the 4 sectors mentioned above, I recommended the 7 activities for somebody of four acres or less. These were:

- (1) Coffee;
- (2) Fruits (oranges, mangoes, pineapples, grapes, apples, straw-berries);
- (3) Food-crops;
- (4) Pasture for dairy and dairy cattle;
- (5) Poultry farming for eggs in the backyard;
- (6) Piggery in the backyard; and
- (7) Fish-farming in the periphery of the wetlands (*emiiga*), but not in the centre of the wetlands.

That leaves a few issues to emphasize or re-emphasize. These are, one, again the issue of *abakolera ekidda kyoonka, tic me cam keken, erikolera erirya riisa, okukolera olubuto lwokka, okukorera enda yoonka, mi amvu 'nya aleni, aisoamakin akoik*, that they translate into English as “subsistence farming” or other activities (e.g. fishing, hunting, etc). This is one of the main sources of poverty in the country. According to the census of 2014, we still had 68% of the households in subsistence farming. Moreover, some of the homesteads that were classified as being in commercial activities, were doing so without *ekibaro, cura, otita, aimar* (without proper economics — engaging in low-value activities on a small scale). I have been de-campaigning this eversince 1995 when I made the countrywide tour on the theme of *Bonna-bagagawale* (Prosperity for All).

Where people have responded, their lives have changed for the better. Areas like Masaka, Kalangala (around coffee and the palm oil); Bundibugyo with

Palm oil, coffee and cocoa; Kanungu with tea; the cattle corridor with the dairy products; Kabarole with tea and bananas; Ankole with bananas; Nwoya with large-scale commercial farming; Busoga for sugar-cane growers; etc. In some of the districts like Mityana the percentage of *bakolera kidda kyoonka* (working only for the stomach), has reduced to 50% of the households, I was told. The other districts that have moved are: Kiruhuura, Ntoroko - 58.5%, Mukono - 60%, Jinja - 42%, Kalangala - 26%, etc. The campaign against these two problems of *okukolera ekidda kyoonka* and trying to be commercial without *ekibaro*, will continue to be my focus. The answer is commercial agriculture and other economic activities with *otita, cura, aimar (ekibaro)*.

The other remaining issues are the problem of land fragmentation on inheritance and illegal evictions from land affecting occupants of bibanja on Mailo land and Public land. On the issue of land-fragmentation, we shall continue to use sensitization. In the USA, they used legislation to stop land fragmentation. Should we do the same here? As of now, I think the easier way is the one of sensitization. I welcome your views on this. However, on the illegal land evictions, we shall use administrative (e.g. cancellation of illegally acquired land titles), legislation to resolve the issue between the mailo owners and the bibanja owners as well as using the economic therapy of using the expanded

Land Fund to compensate the mailo owners and liberate the bibanja owners. It is illegal for the corrupt Land Boards to allocate public land to individuals or companies without checking whether there are occupants on it. The titles acquired on such land, are not only illegal, but the whole transaction is a nullity. We shall cancel them.

The other emerging issue, is the phenomenon of big volumes of production that cannot be absorbed by the internal market already referred above. By 1959, when I started being conscious of the unsatisfactory situation of almost the entire population of the Ntungamo sub-county and Kajara county that I knew well, after my visit to the Mbarara Government Stock Farm (Kitaka Farm according to the Banyankore), I noticed that the main problem was *kulambaala, nino, kulala* (sleeping). The population in that part of Uganda (apart from a few families in the sub-counties of Bwongyera and Ndejja that were said to be growing coffee), was asleep, the fact that the land was so fertile and rich, with good pasture (*bracharia-ejubwe, obuterante-panicum, omukaambadesmodium, emburara-hyperanhia ruffa*, etc.), alot of water (a stream in every valley), very nice temperatures (on the 9th of August, 2020, the temperatures in London and Paris were 33°C and 37°C respectively, while in Kampala, they were 26°C), plenty of cattle, sheep , etc. and the ancient culture of pastoralism and crop growing, notwithstanding. Yet, the example of how to use agriculture and live a

modern life with education for everybody, good houses, good money, etc., was there in Mbarara Government Stock Farm. Yet, my father, Amosi Kaguta, who was 43 years old that time, had never visited that farm; nor had any of the neighbours that I knew. Since that time, I realized that the main problem was *kulambaala, nino* (sleeping). Between 1959 and 1966, I would interact with the villagers whenever I went for holidays – but I was doing more and more observation. It was in December, 1966, at the end of my A-levels, that I launched a sustained campaign, along with our comrade Mwesigwa Black, against this *kulambaala*. Walking on foot, mainly, we visited kraal after kraal, de-campaigning this *kulambaala, nino* (sleeping).

This is what I have been doing eversince I came into Government, in 1986. As a consequence, there is now some waking up (*kusimuka, akwenyun*). Operation Wealth Creation, has played a role in implementing our campaign against *kulambaala*. This limited waking up, has already generated huge volumes of production.

The problem now is marketing. These big volumes of coffee (7million bags), maize (5 million tonnes), milk (2.6billion litres), bananas (10million tonnes), cassava (4.1metric tonnes), sugar-cane (6million metric tonnes) yielding 500,000 tonnes for now and soon to expand to 685,000tonnes with Atiak, Amuru being commissioned, etc., etc., are a good basis for further growth. With these bigger volumes, the

internal demand and even the regional demand are not enough. Coffee, fortunately, is bought internationally.

There are 7 factors, to this issue of demand that translates into market. Number one, is that Ugandans are under-consuming. When we say there is surplus milk with only a production of 2.6 billion litres, this is not true, ultimately. It is only true to the extent that the Ugandans are under-consuming the vital food of milk, vital for calcium and phosphorus for (bones, teeth), vitamin A for vision, vitamin B12 for nerves and the immune system, etc. The per capita consumption is only 62 litres per annum. Yet, the WHO recommends 210 litres per capita. With a population of 45 million people now, the consumption would be 9.5 billion litres. Hence, Uganda would have to produce about 12 billion litres of milk to feed her population and remain with some for export. If each cow was producing 20 litres per day, you would need 1.3 million milking cattle at any one time. Since 1/3 of the cattle should be milking at any one time, it means a national herd of 3.9 million dairy cattle, would be enough to produce the 12 billion litres. Since we need, with intensive farming, one acre to feed 8 dairy cattle in a year, the 3.9 million dairy cattle, would need 490,000 acres out of our 40 million acres of our arable land.

What is true of milk is also true of beef, textiles, etc., etc. Although the per capita consumption of sugar is

9kgs that coincides with the WHO recommendation, the distribution may not be equitable. It could be that the rich are taking too much sugar, while the poor ones are taking less. You, therefore, have the phenomenon of over consumption of sugar by the rich, leading to obesity and under-consumption of sugar by the poor. The same with the healthy use of textiles which should be 6-7metres of cloth per person per annum. This would mean that the population of Uganda would need 280million metres of textiles per annum. The current consumption is 2-3metres per person. This under-consumption is partly due to low incomes but also due to lack of information. Why spend on alcohol, cigarettes and night clubs, but not spend on sugar, eggs, meat or milk? Incomes, with some *akwenyun* (waking up) and joining one or more of the 4 sectors: commercial agriculture, industries, services and ICT, will address this. The people of Rwengaaju in Kabarole went from *okukolera ekidda kyoonka* in 2006, to now a parish of 3,146 homesteads, all earning incomes. The Chairman of those Rwengaaju farmers, Mr. Nyakana, was previously earning no income. He was engaged in *okukolera ekidda kyoonka*. However, now Mr. Nyakana, from the chicken, he earns Shs. 24million a year and employs 6 (six) people. Of course, he pays them and remains with a profit. In this single homestead, by listening to our message of abandoning *okukolera ekidda kyoonka* and start working for money with *cura (ekibaro)*, has converted 7 family heads, Nyakaana plus another 6, into

employed people and with increased Purchasing Power. OWC should research into how many kgs of sugar they are buying. How about milk? How about textiles? Therefore, by de- campaigning *okukolera ekidda kyoonka*, you are increasing the purchasing power of Ugandans and you are solving the as yet artificial problem of too much glut when, in fact, the potential need is greater.

Another way of dealing with the “over-supply” of these products, is to go beyond the primary industrial products to the secondary ones. We say that we have too much sugar for chai. However, we in 2019, imported 83,564 tonnes of industrial sugar for use in coca cola, valued at US\$37.1millions. In order to get 70 tonnes of industrial sugar, you need to refine 100 tonnes of brown sugar.

When the artificial glut of milk was detected, we had, fortunately, attracted a processor that was interested in the secondary industrial products of milk. These included a protein known as casein which is used in food supplements, medicines for making capsules that are digestible by the human alimentary canal, industrial applications (mostly as a bonding agent). This factory at Rwebiteete on Lyantonde-Mbarara road, is now on average using 350,000 litres of milk per day to get their casein. They went beyond the primary industrial products of liquid pasteurized milk, UHT milk, skimmed milk, yogurt, butter, ghee, etc., to now cracking the milk and getting the sub-contents of it. You widen the

market of milk and you create more jobs for the people.

You go to maize or cassava, apart from the cooked or fried products of that food, you also get maize flour, animal feeds, etc. These are, however, still the primary industrial products. We are aiming at also getting tertiary products like starch that is needed for pharmaceutical industry, industrial alcohol, gas for cooking, etc.

The 3rd factor of widening the market for our products is to, working with other like-minded East Africans, work for the political unification of this Region to create the East African Federation. The surplus sugar of Uganda is today 120,000 tonnes. The other East African countries have a deficit of 610,000 metric tonnes. However, on account of remaining separate entities, even when we have the treaty for East African Cooperation which was a step forward, you always have endless stoppages on account of the different perceptions of the respective authorities in charge of these partner States. The late Mwalimu Nyerere was our leader in this vision and we were his enthusiastic and loyal followers. He noticed this. That is why he also supported us in our struggles. The limited awakening of our people in terms of generating these surpluses, illuminates the correctness of this vision. Where will you sell all the products of a population that has awakened towards modernization? The answers are seven.

No.1, enhance the purchasing power of the Ugandans by making sure that everybody engages in wealth creation for money if he or she wants. No.2, deepening the industrialization to tertiary products but also exhaust the primary ones like animal feeds, leather tanning, etc. No.3, patiently, negotiate for the implementation of the existing economic treaties of the East African Community, of COMESA and of the Free Continental Trade Area for Africa.

No. 4, where possible, work for the political integration of those African States whose populations and leaders like the idea. No. 5, use the stronger weight of the East African Federation, when it is realized, as well as that of the FCTA to negotiate for bigger markets overseas, with the USA, EU, China, Russia, India, etc.

It is not good that 63 years after Ghana's Independence, in 1957, most of the post-independence African leaders have created a Latin America in Africa instead of creating a United States of Africa in Africa, which was the vision of Osagyefo Nkrumah (for the whole of Africa) and for Mwalimu Nyerere (for the East African Federation). When the 13 British colonies in North America rebelled against Britain in 1776, they formed the United States of America which became the most powerful country in

the history of Man. The Spanish colonies in South America, to the contrary, balkanized themselves and became the zone of perpetual misery ever since. The latest about this sad story were the tens of thousands of South Americans, walking on foot, trying to enter the United States to escape the misery and insecurity of Latin America, all those immense natural resources notwithstanding. Salutations must go to Mwalimu Nyerere and Sheikh Amani Karume that united to form the United Republic of Tanzania, the only example of successful political integration after Independence. I salute the East African leaders for being committed to the East African Confederation. The Africans, including Ugandans, that care about the prosperity and security of Africa, should study this point very carefully. That is why I am putting it in our manifesto. Have the post-Independence African leaders, except for Mwalimu and Karume, created a Latin America in Africa instead of a United States of Africa in Africa? The answer is a clear: Yes. Witness what is happening in Mali, Somalia, Northern Nigeria, the Sahel, Eastern Congo, the attack on Libya by foreign forces against the resolutions of the African Union and the subsequent chaos in the Sahel, etc. The African race has no centre of gravity that can guarantee the future of the African race. East Africa can create one of these centres of gravity – given its uniqueness.

No. 6, produce products that are equal or lower in prices than those of other producers, of good quality and have no hazards for the consumers. With agricultural products, this involves serious efforts of disease control for crops and livestock. No crop diseases, no foot and mouth, no avian flu, etc. Any Ugandan that does not see this, is an enemy of our prosperity. Do not cry for markets when you are not caring about the aflatoxins in the goods (from *oruhumbo* – mold).

Aflatoxins cause cancers in human beings. Neither Ugandans nor our partners should or will buy such products. If you do not control the parasites that move around sick cattle and spread FMD (*ejwa*), know that you are sabotaging our chances of selling our huge quantities of powdered milk to many African countries and, possibly, others in the World.

The Government will assist in the trade drive by bringing down the cost of electricity, the cost of transport, in addition to the cost of money that we have already addressed in the UDB.

No. 7 is the fight against corruption. The corrupt officials, delay Government and private sector projects and inflate costs of doing business because the private sector are forced to add costs for the thieves. These are already being fought. Report them, do not fear them. The fight will continue and will be intensified.

Most of the points I have made above, are based on growing the economy using the sectors of agriculture, minerals, forests, fisheries, tourism and other services. Most of these are based on natural resources. However, embedded in the body of this document, is the onset of a new sector or sub-sector on the Ugandan economic scene. This is the sub-sector of knowledge based economy.

Among the strategic bottlenecks that we have been dismantling, has been bottleneck no 3, the under-development of the human resource – education and health. At the beginning of this document, I cited for you the number of children in the Primary Schools, Junior Secondary Schools, Senior Secondary Schools, Universities, in 1959-1962.

Those figures for pupils and students are now as follows:

1. Pre-Primary Primary	-	2,029,441
2. Primary	-	10,766,994
2. Secondary School	-	1,991,915
3. Tertiary Colleges	-	140,243
4. Universities are 49 with	-	119,963

This massive force, is now beginning to bear fruits. It actually started some time ago with Dr. Muranga with bananas and Kyamuhangire with the *Eshaande* (banana juice), Musasizi and Tokodri with electric car, etc. Our people are now going into the vaccines for all types of diseases, anti-viral, anti-vectors,

diagnostics, etc. We are supporting these efforts with the Innovation Fund; but they can also use the money in the UDB. A country like Japan, the third richest country in the World, after the USA and China, has no minerals, no oil and even no agriculture.

The Emperor of Japan told me that they had to keep 70% of their land under forest in order to survive the strong winds from the Ocean. Nevertheless, it is one of the richest countries in the World on account of depending on this knowledge economy – the scientists, the designers and the skilled labour-force. Uganda, fortunately, has everything – agriculture, minerals, forests, fisheries, tourism and, therefore, industries based on those natural resources.

In addition, we have created the significant human resource with the ability to create the knowledge economy. In the next Kisanja, if you support me, I will ensure that all Government scientists are well paid – my long-held wish. The NRM MPs should also support my proposals to massively fund the inventions of our scientists. A vaccine against covid-19 or an anti-viral drug, apart from saving life, will earn much more than coffee.

Therefore, in conclusion, Honourable Members of NEC and the National Conference, if you, again, support my candidature, I will be able to carry our NRM flag to the electorate and mobilize them as follows:

1. Uganda, under the NRM, has halted and reversed the decline of the economy that started in 1971 by achieving the minimum recovery that eliminated *magendo* (smuggling), *kibanda* (forex black market) and *kusamula* (speculation), by eliminating the shortages of 1986 and replacing them with the plentiful supply of all consumer and capital goods and also services.
2. Secondly, the economy has not only recovered but it has also expanded from US\$1.55billion in 1986 to US\$37.3billion if you use the foreign exchange method. That is expanding 23 times in size in 34 years. If you use the PPP method, the GDP is 106billion. The per capita GDP is now US\$908 compared to US\$264 when the population was only 14million people. The population is now 45million people. These figures do not include our oil wealth that is ready to go if it was not for this covid-19.
3. On account of the relentless efforts of the NRM, the historical *kulambaala, nino* (sleeping) of Ugandans, plus doing things without *cura (ekibaro)*, there is limited *akwenyun* (waking up). This limited *akwenyun*, apart from always ensuring that we always have enough in the country, has now generated big quantities and

surpluses of coffee (7million bags), maize (5million tonnes), milk (2.6billion litres), bananas (10million tonnes), cassava (4.1million tonnes), sugar (500,000 tonnes), cement, pikipiki tyres, blankets, other industrial products, etc., etc. These increased quantities, have given an impression of “no market” for these products. However, the markets are there and they are:

- (i) Increase the purchasing power of the Ugandans because they are under-consuming;
- (ii) Patiently, negotiate with East Africa and Africa at large to fully implement the common market protocols (agreements) of the market integration efforts for EAC, COMESA and CFTA.
- (iii) Work for the Political Federation of East Africa because it is the ultimate answer to the issue of really integrating the markets of this part of Africa, given the fact that we are even lucky to have Swahili, a dialect that can unite us;

- (iv) Working with Africa, negotiate for bigger external markets with the USA, China, India, Russia, EU, etc.
- (v) Broaden the market for our products by deepening industrialization beyond the production of the primary industrial products of brown sugar, liquid milk, etc., to tertiary products like industrial sugar, casein, industrial starch, etc.
- (vi) Lower costs of our products through the Government lowering the inputs such as electricity, transport and the cost of money so that we can be competitive with other producers in the World; it is not logical to think that people will agree to buy something more expensive or inferior in quality than what they would buy from somewhere else;
- (vii) All Ugandans to understand that in order for us to sell our products in foreign markets, we must control and not tolerate anybody spreading crops and livestock diseases; those are our enemies; and
- (viii) We must observe the phyto – sanitary requirements (safety of our products),

no aflatoxins from *oruhumbo* (mold) which cause cancer in human beings. With these, markets are there. The USA alone, gave us 6,000 products under AGOA, tariff-free, quota-free to their market. Let us wake up and be modern.

4. In the growth of the economy mentioned in no.2 above, we have created a base for a modern economy in the form of tarmac roads, electricity, telephones and the internet backbone and we are repairing the old railway as we plan to build a new one – the Standard Gauge Railway. With electricity, we are only remaining with the lowering of the cost by ending the distortions caused by Bujagaali and the Umeme contract. With these, plus the low cost of money in UDB, Uganda will take off.
5. We are, additionally, going to take advantage of the human resource of scientists we have created to be a knowledge-based economy of motor-vehicles, fire-fighting vehicles, computers and computer solutions, agro-industrial products, vaccines, medicines, etc. In order to grow this industry based on knowledge, Government scientists must be well paid and they will be well paid. We have wasted alot of time on this with myopic selfish interests.

6. Our performing artists had become a big industry before this covid-19 pandemic. The weakness was absence of regulations where people would steal the songs of others. This will stop. The copy-right laws will be strengthened. The Hon. Peace Mutuuzo and the Attorney-General have been following this matter keenly.
7. My 61 years battle with the *bakolera kidda kyoonka*, *tic me ic keken*, *mia amvu 'nya aleni* (subsistence activities – only for eating), is continuing. It seems there is some progress. I hear that in some districts, the *bakolera ekidda kyoonka* have reduced in percentage terms.
8. The unemployed youth and the school leavers will be organized either in their *myooga* (areas of specialization) or in manufacturing associations to do value addition, using the revolving funds the Government has put in place at constituency levels. The youth associations, should do bull fattening for the abattoirs that have come up, maize milling and making livestock feeds, vegetable oil extraction, shoe making, knitting, weaving, etc., etc.
9. On social issues, I intend to conclude the issue of the theft of drugs in health centres by computerizing the whole process. One of our scientists has created a computer based method of recording everybody that is given drugs in any

health centre anywhere in Uganda and it traces the journey of the medicine right from the medical stores in Kampala so that our medicine stops going to Congo, taken by our thieves. The other issue, that the villages have not advised me on, is the charging of schools on the children of the poor. I left this matter with you, the NRM members. What have you found? Can all the families afford to pay school fees or not? Some people were saying that all the families can (*nibabaasa*) but *nibegiza* (to pretend that you cannot do something when in fact you can). These two, on the social side, free education and adequate medicine in health centres, are on the top of my list of social issues. Immunization succeeded, that is why the population jumped from 14million to 45 million people. The curative side (using medicines), will also succeed.

10. On the issue of legal rights, it is the issue of land evictions. The Lady Justice Bamugemereire Commission, appointed by us a few years ago, have produced a good report that will help us to end this injustice. In this document, I have pointed out the administrative and legislative actions we will take after thorough discussions to end this criminality.
11. Fighting corruption has already started with the IGG, the Nakalema group, etc. It will be intensified. The other day, I advised the Lt. Col.

Nakalema group not to be passive, waiting for people to complain. They should be active – just check with the people quietly. The people who are the victims of corruption, the business people who are the victims of the thieves, will tell you. The Heads of the Agencies – IGG, Nakalema, IGP, should, in person, themselves, drop in an area and ask the people how the Government is working. They will get the stories.

12. Finally, stability and anti-crime. The country is stable; no wars and it will remain so because we are building big capacity. Crime both in Kampala and Karamoja has been and will be handled by the LDUs and the Police. The LDUs that made mistakes were arrested and will be punished. It seems, however, overall, the LDUs had done a good job. The other day when I visited the Kasubi area, the LC leaders there, told me that the withdrawal of “*Egye kuuma byaalo*” – “the army that guards the villages” – was not a good idea because “*obubbī*” (stealing) has come back. The LDUs are being re-trained. They will come back, if necessary.

The funding of the NRM activities has been discussed in CEC, where the Rt. Hon. Speaker is a Member and also the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister is a Member. Since the 17th March, 2010, we legislated for the Government to also fund political Parties. However, all these years, on account of many demands, the budget has been putting Shs. 10billion only, which does not always come. All CEC

members have now agreed that putting aside 30billion or so to fund political Parties, is also a priority. Moreover, it is much smaller than activities like foreign travel by Government officials which takes Ugs. 162billion (FY 2019/20). Since we have avoided membership subscriptions, the only sources of Party money, eversince 2005 when we went multi-Party, have been my fundraisings and the little Government contribution to all the Political Parties and the contributions by the NRM MPs and, possibly, other leaders. Using my fund-raisings, we have been able to pay for Kyadondo, the NRM Secretariat, by paying off the US\$1.9million to the previous Indian owner, from whom we were renting. It is now ours 100%. I have also been able to get a donation of yellow bicycles from our supporters that we shall distribute to the villages by the Secretariat, to the NRM village leaders (Chairmen).

I am also likely to get the pikipiki for the sub-county NRM Chairmen. With the improved budget, we shall be able to handle the issue of the vehicles for the NRM district chairmen.

We are working on the issue of the NRM houses, one at plots no. 28, 30, 32, 34, at Nile Avenue in Kampala, near the Crested Crane Towers and also on another site I got from well-wishers. The improved budget, will pay the arrears of Party workers and pay reliably the rent for the district

offices. The most important thing, however, is for the NRM members to be role-models for all the other Ugandans in wealth creation. Which sector (*akaboondo*) have you entered to create wealth for your family? Remember the sectors are four: commercial agriculture, industry, services and ICT. With income, you, then, will be able to contribute to the NRM, to the church, to the mosque, etc.

Thank you. The future of Uganda is bright.

H.E. Yoweri K. Museveni
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

9th August, 2020

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Entebbe