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**PARLIAMENT OF UGANDA**

**Tuesday, 7 June 2022**

*Parliament met at 2.18 p.m. at the Kololo Independence Grounds, Kampala.*

*National Anthem*

 *East African Community Anthem*

PRAYERS

*(The Speaker, Ms Anita Among, in the Chair.)*

*The House was called to order*

Proclamation

**THE SPEAKER:** *“Whereas Article 101(1) of the Constitution mandates His Excellency the President, at the beginning of each session of Parliament, to deliver to Parliament an address on the state of the nation;*

*Aware that the First Session of the 11th Parliament commenced on the 24th day of May 2021;*

*Noting that it is expedient that the Parliament of Uganda receives the address of the President on the state of the nation;*

*Now, therefore, in exercise of powers conferred upon the Speaker by the Constitution under Article 95(2) and Rule 17(1) of the Parliamentary Rules of Procedure, I hereby proclaim that the Parliament shall sit at Kololo Independence Grounds today Tuesday, 7th Day of June 2022 at 14.00 to receive the address of His Excellency the President on the state of the nation;*

*And Further, in exercise of powers conferred upon the Speaker by the Constitution, the Parliament Powers and Privileges Act Cap. 258 and the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of Uganda, it is hereby proclaimed and declared that the said Kololo Independence Grounds are to be the precincts of Parliament of Uganda for the aforesaid purpose.*

*Given under my hand at Parliament House Kampala, this 7th day of June 2022. Anita Annet Among, Speaker of Parliament.”*

ADMINISTRATION OF OATHS

*1. The Oath were administered to Mr Andrew Ojok Oulanyah*

**THE SPEAKER:** Hon. Andrew Ojok Oulanyah, I would like to congratulate you and welcome you to the 11th Parliament of Uganda. *(Applause)* As you are aware, you came into this Parliament to replace your late father, Rt Hon. Jacob Oulanyah, who was a great leader; a very good legislator and mentor. The people of Omoro have elected you and you need to represent them effectively.

I would like to thank you and your family and the President for delivering the success of Andrew Ojok Oulanyah. I would like to thank the Chief Justice, who is here seated next to me, and is now a parent to Hon. Ojok. You are most welcome. We are glad to have you in the 11th Parliament. Congratulations once again! *(Applause)*

I am now giving you the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure, which will help you in your legislative role. Congratulations!

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

**THE SPEAKER:** Your Excellency, the President of the Republic of Uganda, Your Excellency, the Vice President, Your Lordship the Chief Justice, who is also here as a parent to Hon. Andrew Ojok Oulanyah, the Rt Hon. Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Your Lordship the Deputy Chief Justice, the National Vice Chairman of the NRM, the Rt Hon. Prime Minister and Leader of Government Business, the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Cabinet ministers and ministers of state, honourable members of Parliament; Your Excellences the Ambassadors and High Commissioners, the Dean and the Chancellor of the Diplomatic Corps, fellow speakers and presiding officers from neighbouring countries: South Sudan and Rwanda; distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is my distinct honour and privilege to welcome you to this sitting of Parliament.

As you may recall, we prorogued the House on 20 May 2022 in accordance with Article 95(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. The prorogation marked the end of the First Session of the 11th Parliament of Uganda, as stipulated under Article 95(4) of the Constitution of Uganda, which provides that:

*“A session of Parliament shall be held at least once a year, but the period between one session and the next following session shall be less than twelve months.”*

Today’s sitting marks the opening of the Second Session of the 11th Parliament. Pursuant to Article 101 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, His Excellency will deliver his address to the nation on matters regarding the country. This address on the state of the nation will be the second in the 11th Parliament. Besides being a constitutional obligation, the State of the Nation Address is an integral part of the parliamentary tradition. It is an avenue for the President, as the Fountain of Honour, to enumerate Government’s scorecard against the targeted laid down goals of the previous state of the nation and communicate Government’s legislative agenda for the following session of Parliament.

As representatives of the people, it is in our best interest to listen and take cognisance of Government’s milestones. At an appropriate time, the House will exhaustively debate the President’s address on the State of the Nation.

The First Session of Parliament has been particularly a difficult one. While we began in earnest on 24 May 2021, with the election of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, tragedy befell us on 20 March 2022, when we lost our beloved Rt Hon. Jacob Oulanyah L’Okori. This was a very difficult time and a painful occurrence that we continue feeling even now.

Even as we continue to recollect ourselves to recover from the grief and pursue the big aspirations that our departed former Speaker had for this House, I would like the nation to know that Rt Hon. Jacob Oulanyah will never be forgotten. We thank God that his legacy will survive in this House through his son, Hon. Andrew Ojok Oulanyah, who joined us this afternoon after taking his oath as a Member of Parliament. Hon. Ojok, you are most welcome.

I take this singular opportunity to ask that we rise and observe a moment of silence in honour of the late Rt Hon. Jacob Oulanyah.

*(Members stood and observed a moment of silence.)*

Honourable members, while we warm up to the commencement of the Second Session of the 11th Parliament, I implore you to reflect on the performance of the First Session both at an institutional and personal level, as people’s representatives.

At the institutional level in pursuit of its legislative role during the First Session this House, Your Excellency, successfully passed 26 Bills; which are indicated in the booklet that you have. However, the most important Bill is the East African Crude Oil Pipeline, Bill 2021, which is helping this country so much.

By the end of the First Session, this House passed 23 out of the 28 Bills tabled, while two Bills were withdrawn. Only three Bills are still pending at committee level. These are: The Kampala Capital City Authority (Amendment) Bill, 2022, The Public Health (Amendment) Bill, 2021, and The Local Content Bill, 2022.

I implore the committees to ensure that at the end of this session, whose commencement we mark today, we register 100 per cent performance in legislation.

A total of 31 reports from committees were adopted by the House. Details of the business transacted can be found in the booklet that you have – that is from page 26 to 41 of this State-of-the-Nation Address Handbook given to you this afternoon.

As far as representation is concerned, Members continue to freely, efficiently and effectively exercise their respective roles in the committees, the House and various parliamentary and inter-parliamentary arenas. I am optimistic that the 11th Parliament will do better than any other Parliament.

In furtherance of Article 94(4)(b) of the Constitution of Republic of Uganda and Rule 121 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament, the right of Members to introduce Private Member’s Bills reigned throughout the First Session of the 11th Parliament. The House granted 12 Members of Parliament leave to introduce Private Members’ Bills. These Bills are also listed in that handbook.

In pursuit of its oversight mandate, the 11th Parliament has utilised the avenues provided for in the Rules of Procedure of Parliament to hold the Executive accountable, notably through questions and motions. During the First Session, 112 questions were put forth by Members and responded to by the Prime Minister. Out of these, three were oral questions.

In addition, the House passed 71 resolutions from the various motions. These resolutions await issuance of the Treasury Memorandum and the Action Taken Report by the Executive. This will help us in effective running of the House. This is in line with Rule 220 of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament

I would like to commend the Members of Parliament and the staff of Parliament for their dedication to service and I pledge, on behalf of the Parliamentary Commission, to offer you all the support that you will need in this session that we are going into.

Honourable members, as we embark on the Second Session of the 11th Parliament, society continues to grapple with numerous challenges, notably the increased cost of living and its attendant difficulties.

I challenge all of us to work together and overcome these challenges so as to improve the lives of our people. Let us rise above lamentations and tirelessly work towards devising and supporting pragmatic solutions – leadership should be tailored towards solutions and not mere rhetorics and lamentations.

Honourable members, pursuant to Rule 187(1) of the Rules of Procedure that requires the designation of members to sectoral committees at the beginning of every session, I urge the whips to expedite the designation of Members in various committees so that we can kick-start the session as soon as possible.

As presiding officers, we expect a much better performance of the House and its committees during this session. This will require dedication of both Members and staff. We expect –

1. more public consultation by committees in the execution of their business;

2. evaluation of evidence in both committees and the House – that is evidence-based legislation;

3. regular reporting by committees on their undertakings;

4. regular attendance and participation of Members in committees and the House;

5. continued familiarisation with the Rules of Procedure and the legislative tools available for greater efficiency and effectiveness of Members.

As the Chairperson of the Business Committee, I undertake to keenly follow the progression of the business referred to the committees. Our collective success will depend on our individual commitments, determination and consistency in executing our mandate.

Honourable members, in furtherance of Rule 10 of Rules of Procedure of Parliament of Uganda, specifically sub-rule (4)(a) which stipulates that while making a statement in this House, the President “*shall be heard in silence*” and his address shall not be followed by any comment or question, I will allow adequate time in the future for us to exhaustively debate the President’s address on the state of the nation, including a right of reply by the Leader of the Opposition in the House, as per Rule 53(1) of the Rules of Procedure.

I, therefore, urge you to listen to the President in silence as we internalise his exposition on the state of the nation and at an appropriate time, the detailed text of the President’s address will be availed to all Members through the designated channels.

I thank you all for your kind attention. May God bless our country Uganda and preserve and protect it.

I would like to most sincerely thank our friends: the Speaker of Parliament of South Sudan, Rt Hon. Jemma Nunu, where are you? Can you stand up and just wave? You are most welcome. The Deputy Speaker of the Republic of Rwanda, Rt Hon. Edda Mukabagwiza, you are most welcome. Thank you for coming, and honouring our invitation and gracing this occasion. *(Applause)*

With these few words, I would like to remind the Members that the alert from the health authorities in the country, have raised a serious warning on COVID-19. A number of people have tested positive. Therefore, I would like to caution all of us being the leaders that we are, to take the responsibility to take necessary precautions and avoid infection.

As we go to our constituencies, I request that we educate our constituents on COVID-19. I say all these for God and My Country.

INVITATION BY THE RT HON. SPEAKER TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT TO DELIVER TO PARLIAMENT AN ADDRESS ON THE STATE OF THE NATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 101(1) OF THE CONSTITUTION

**THE SPEAKER:** Your Excellency, the President, it is your mandate under Article 101(1) of the Constitution of Uganda to deliver to the country the address on the state of the nation.

The purpose, for which this House has convened here today, is basically that. It is, therefore, my singular honour, Your Excellency, to invite you to deliver the address to the nation.

2.51

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA (Gen. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni Tibuhaburwa):** Her Excellency the Vice President of Uganda, Rt Hon. Speaker of Parliament, Your Lordship the Chief Justice, Rt Hon. Deputy Speaker, Rt Hon. Prime Minister, Secretary General of the NRM, Vice Chairman of the NRM, honourable members of Parliament and ministers, members of the diplomatic corps, ladies and gentlemen.

In fulfilment of the constitutional requirement under Article 101(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, I am here to deliver the Address on the State of the Nation, 2022. Greetings to all Ugandans and to the honourable members *–(Applause)-* *ninasalimiya nyinyi yote*.

On an occasion like this one, I am reminded of the parable in the Book of Mathew 7:24-27. This is the parable of two men: the foolish one and the wise one. The foolish man built his house on sandy ground and when the storm came, the house collapsed.

The wise man built his house on hard ground and even when the storm came, the house withstood the force. The exact quotation goes as follows: *“Therefore, everyone who hears these words of mine and puts them in practice, is like a wise man who built his house on the rock. The rain came down, the streams rose and the winds blew and beat against the house; yet it did not fall because it had its foundation on the rock. But everyone who hears these words of mine and does not put them into practice is like a foolish man who built his house on sand. The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell with a great crash.”*

Similarly, when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) was fighting and when we took power in 1986, we put out the 10 points programme that were later summarised into the four principles of the NRM.

Point No.5 of the NRM 10 points programme set out to build “an independent self-sustaining national economy” by creating backward and forward linkages in our economy.

Later, we summarised the 10 points programme into the four NRM principles of patriotism, pan-Africanism, social-economic transformation and democracy. Some myopic people thought that this was sandy ground, where the NRM had constructed the house of Uganda. However, the onslaughts to which Uganda has been subjected in the last two or three years, have proven that the Uganda house, that the NRM has constructed in the last 60 years, including the preparatory years before 1986, has been built on hard ground, indeed. *(Applause)*

Remember the locusts, the rising waters of the lakes, the floating islands, the landslides, the terrorist bombs, the COVID-19 and now the rising commodity prices artificially caused by the Ukraine war. In spite of all these the Ugandan economy, by the budget time in the next few days, will be standing at US$ 45.7 billion by the exchange rate method and at $131.6 billion by the PPP method. This means that the GDP per capita is now $1,046.

You remember the entrance point for the lower middle-income status is $1,036; we have now passed that figure; congratulations. *(Applause)*

However, to be declared a middle-income country, you need to sustain this for two to three consecutive years. I am confident that we shall over perform in achieving that. Remember that our economy expanded in spite of the lockdowns caused by COVID-19 and in spite of the ever increasing population.

You can see that the size of the economy when compared to the population that is always growing fast has continued to grow and we have arrived at the boundary point as far as the middle-income status is concerned.

Before the global destabilisation by COVID-19 and the Ukrainian crisis, Uganda was a country of surpluses that we were crying out for markets in the form of sugar, maize, milk, chicken, eggs, bananas, cement, steel bars, soap, beer and so on.

This global crisis actually presents Uganda with plenty of opportunities. I saw on the news that Malaysia had banned the export of chicken; we have been having issues with our brothers in Kenya. Sometimes they take our chicken and eggs and other times they stop; but now, the whole world is crying for chicken and eggs.

Malaysia has banned the export of chicken and India has banned the export of sugar. President Biden of the United States was “crying” for baby formula etc. Many of these products have been in surplus in Uganda; we just need to deal with a few quality and bio-hazard issues.

The issue of aflatoxins will be dealt with by proper harvest and drying methods as well as the method of embracing biotechnology.

The door to our dairy exports will be opened when we, the cattle owners, vaccinate our cattle twice a year. If Government does not have the money to pay for the vaccines, we the farmers can do it. I am one of the farmers, as you know.

With 1,000 cattle, I will need Shs 15 million in a year for Foot and Mouth Disease. I can pay this so that even if Government does not have money, cattle keepers, let us vaccinate our cattle. *“Kama watu wa serikali hawana pesa, wacha sisi tufanye (kazi) wenyewe”*

Given the lucrative export markets that will become available like the one of Algeria of $1.124 billion, this cost on the farmers will make sense.

The Algerians have the demand for milk, but they say, “We hear you have got Foot and Mouth Disease.” They would buy all this milk we are talking about, but they fear these recurrent episodes of Foot and Mouth Disease.

The other crucial vaccine will be the one of CBPP which the Banyankore call “*Kihaha*”. With 1,000 cattle, we need Shs 850,000 in a year.

Therefore, I call upon the farmers to vaccinate at our cost for these two vaccines especially the Foot and Mouth Disease and the CBPP so that this issue, which stops our exports of milk and milk products, is dealt with.

All this capacity that has enabled the house of the wise man to withstand the force of the storm, is long before the implementation of our parish development model whose end result is to tap the production capacity of all the seven million households in agriculture; relying on seven high-value commodities of: coffee, fruits, dairy products, poultry, pigs, fish farming and food growing for those of four acres and less.

Honourable members, I have been working on these issues for the last 60 years. I am normally polite; I do to want to appear as if I am teaching old people what to do; but this time, I must be very frank and when I go upcountry, I will no longer be polite.

 I have researched on these seven activities and I know that they can give you good money if you have got a small piece of land of four acres or less, and they have got a big global demand; this is why I am insisting on them: coffee, fruits, dairy products, poultry, pigs - I do not eat pork, but I have no problem if you do – fish-farming and food for the homestead.

This is the medicine for the four acres and less, if you cannot do all of them, do some. The ones with land bigger than four acres can in addition grow sugarcane, cotton, maize, tobacco, tea, cassava, and bananas and do ranching because the country needs these products for industry, food or as inputs to the intensive agriculture as mentioned earlier - the agriculture of the seven high-value activities.

The agriculture of the commodities of the latter category is described as extensive agriculture. We must stop confusing ourselves. There is a difference between intensive agriculture, where you have a small piece of land and you do enterprises, which give good income even when they are done on a small piece of land as opposed to extensive agriculture where you need a big piece of land. You can make money, although getting a small amount in one acre, you can however, get good money when have done many acres.

Look at cotton. When I went to Adjumani, I found people talking about cotton. But how much do you get from one acre of cotton in a year? Gen. (Rtd) Moses Ali told me they were getting Shs 1 million. Now, if you have two acres, like some of the people in West Nile have, how will you get out of poverty with one acre for cotton, and the other acre for cassava, which is a food crop? How will you get out of poverty?

That is why we say no, and that do not put that acre for cotton. Put it under coffee or fruits because, with those, you can get much more than Shs 1 million. The country needs cotton, but it should be grown by somebody who has more land. Although you are getting Shs 1 million from one acre of cotton, if you have got 10 acres, that is Shs 10 million. If you have got 100 acres, that is Shs 100 million. If you have got 1,000 acres, that is Shs 1 billion. So, cotton can make money, provided you do it on a large scale. It is the same with *ebikadho*, sugarcane, like our people in Busoga call it; the same with *duma* – maize, *kasooli* and other crops like tobacco.

You should, therefore, be clear. Do not confuse our people in the villages anymore. *(Applause)* There is a difference between intensive agriculture for small pieces of land and extensive agriculture for big pieces of land.

The agriculture of the commodities in the latter category, we describe as extensive agriculture - where you get less money per acre per annum, but because of doing what you are engaged in on a large scale, you get good money. The activities of intensive agriculture such as poultry, piggery, fish farming and dairy farming of the zero-grazing type need animal feeds, fish-meals, etc., that are from maize and other products of the extensive agriculture type.

So, you cannot easily have intensive agriculture without extensive agriculture because intensive agriculture needs inputs from extensive agriculture. That is why Uganda is unbeatable in terms of chicken and eggs. Nobody can compete with us in the world because we have both. We have cheap maize so we can make cheap animal feed and, therefore, support chicken, pigs and fish farming. This is also why normally, our brothers in Kenya get problems because we are able to give them very good chicken, eggs and very good milk, but at a low cost because we have got cheaper animal feeds.

Moreover, the wise man’s house is currently full of surpluses, without too much use of irrigation or fertilisers. The surpluses we have include five million tonnes of maize, 2.8 billion litres of milk. For maize, Uganda consumes only one million tonnes, but we produce five million tonnes. For milk, we consume only 800 million litres, but we produce 2.8 billion litres. Sugar is 700,000 tonnes, but we consume only 380,000 tonnes and all that. The other day, I opened a new factory in Kiryandongo.

All this is before the Parish Development Model, which we are about to launch; before the use of fertilisers because we do not use many fertilisers and before irrigation. Huge surpluses even before everybody is involved, which we are going to do under the Parish Development Model; before we use irrigation and fertilisers seriously.

In the coming financial years, we are going to intensify the modest efforts we have already started on, in connection with irrigation. With irrigation, we have worked with the private sector to produce solar-powered water pumps that the rich farmers can buy and engage in mini-irrigation, farm by farm. I will buy a solar-powered water pump myself so that I can do my micro-irrigation. I do not have to get it from Government.

Once the solar-powered irrigation pumps are on the market, Government will buy them for some of the co-operatives or farming villages, where one pump can be shared by a number of small farmers.

I worked on this project on the solar-powered water pumps because I know something about farming. When you have got water pumps, which need petrol or diesel, they disturb. Solar-powered water pumps are better because when there is sun, they pump water to the tank on raised ground and that water can go by gravity and you irrigate. Even when there is no sun at night, the water is already in the tank.

We shall continue also developing the mega-irrigation schemes of the Mobuku type. Currently, 150 solar-powered water pumps have already been imported. By the end of next year, 687 solar-powered water pumps will have been imported.

Meanwhile, our private sector is building a factory for producing solar-powered water pumps and panels. The factory will be ready by the end of the year and it will produce 160,000 pumps per year. At the same time, we are continuing to repair and expand the old irrigation schemes and also to build the new ones. As of now, the following irrigation schemes are ready: Wadelai in Pakwach, Mobuku in Kasese, Ngenge in Kween, Doho in Butaleja, Rwengaaju in Kabarole, Agoro in Kitgum, Olweny in Lira and Tochi in Oyam. Acomoi in Bukedea and Ataari in Bulambuli District and Lopei in Moroto District are being worked on.

We intend to use the waters of the Kagyera River to support irrigation in Isingiro, the waters of Lake Kyoga to support irrigation in the Nakasongola District, the waters of the Nile to support irrigation in Pakwach, Nebbi, Madi-Okolo and Obongi districts.

The areas of Busoga, Teso, Bukedi and Lango have got a lot of wetlands that are now being misused or underused for rice growing, but will be used as reservoirs for irrigation projects.

Irrigation, mega and micro, is in order to enhance and also stabilize agricultural production by immunising agriculture from the negative effects of erratic rainfall. Like in this season, rain was so unreliable; it was coming and stopping. We do not want that.

Actually, that is the only problem that would worry me. You know, I am used to problems. When people are panicking, I am never bothered because I have handled bigger problems; fighting a war without ammunition is more serious than running around with a few of these what you call problems.

However, the one I do not want is the problem of lack of food. To me, that is the most serious problem. That is why rain becomes very crucial. However, sometimes because the rain is unreliable, we must stabilise our country with irrigation so that we do not have to go on *kubahatisha* (chance), no.

On the side of fertilisers, Usukuru hills project has stagnated; our fertiliser factory in Tororo stagnated. So many took bribes from our Chinese friend, but I couldn’t arrest them because I didn’t have enough facts. However, I know them; I know who took which bribe and how they really messed up that poor Chinese man. *Naye Katonda Gyali*. Therefore, the man lost so much money yet he was a very good man. However, he didn’t know how dangerous these Ugandans were.

We are, however, looking for a solution to that problem. I have written to the President of China to get another investor for me if the other one has problems. *(Laughter)* Or if not, I would use another solution.

There are a number of offers. Tororo will give us phosphorus from the phosphates, associated gas that is found in our petroleum in Lake Albert will give us the nitrogen and Lake Katwe will give us the potassium. Therefore, the three elements: Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potassium (NPK), are all here with us. It is a question of coordinating their extraction.

With these efforts and because we already have surpluses, without irrigation, use of fertilisers and full involvement of all the families - you can imagine what would happen when we solve the three. Full mobilisation of the family so that they are all involved - we no longer have *abakolerera kida kyonka*; do you know that group from Pallisa, *abakolerera kida kyonka*, Butaleja, Kibuku and those areas, *tichime ichi kekeni*, the ones who only work for the stomach - and then irrigation and fertilisers.

With these efforts, you can visualise the magnitude of the agricultural production in Uganda. It will be massive. I can give one example in the villages; production of bananas per hectare is 5.3 tonnes. However, Dr Muranga, at Nyaruziinga in Bushenyi, with government support, produces 53 metric tonnes per hectare. You can imagine, from 5.3 tonnes to 53 metric tonnes. Why, because she is using irrigation and fertilisers.

This is where our industrial linkage with agriculture comes in. Our strategy is that anything agricultural, that is not consumed fresh, should be processed industrially so that it is preserved to be able to reach distant markets and also add value to the raw materials.

We have done this for milk and cotton. The shirt I am wearing is a Ugandan shirt. I no longer agree to put on foreign shirts. It is part of the NRM; you must have heard a rumour that I am a member of the National Resistance Movement. I resist my body being a market for foreign products. I am one of the original members of the National Resistance Movement.

Therefore, this shirt I am putting on is a Ugandan cotton shirt though they are still importing polyester to mix with the cotton. However, with our oil, we can also produce the polyester here.

Therefore, we have done some work in terms of value-addition for the milk - there was no commercial production of milk here until we insisted. See what is happening now. We produce all types of milk: the liquid one, the ultra-heated one, which can last many months, the powdered one, butter and ghee. Now, I will see how to help His Excellency Biden with his baby formulae.

In Lyantonde, there is a factory producing what they call “Casein” – a protein for foods. That is on the side of the milk.

For cotton, I have given you an example. For some fruits – for example, in Soroti, sugarcane (*ebikadho/sukaali*), there we have got many factories producing sugar for tea and ethanol. We are now producing industrial sugar – the one for putting in Coca-Cola and pharmaceuticals. For some plantation products, for some bananas (the wines, flour and sanitisers). These sanitisers, which are fighting coronavirus, are from bananas. When coronavirus started, people were crying. We were the only ones with a small factory of sanitisers, but now, there are very many of them. The *waragi*, which was killing our people, has been turned into a sanitiser for killing germs. For some of the maize (we have maize flour, animal feeds and later ethanol, industrial alcohol) etc.

This now brings me to the massive theft that has been going on with coffee. Right from 1986, I started the struggle to add value to our coffee because our cadres who were deployed there told me the value differentials between our coffee sold as beans and what it would get when processed as soluble coffee or any other type of final coffee to be consumed.

At that time, 1986, a kilogramme of coffee beans would give Uganda $1 while the same coffee processed would give the seller in UK $14. Many times, in meetings, I would point out that those who say that they are donors are actually ‘donees’ because in every kilogramme of coffee, Uganda was giving them $13 and also donating jobs.

Whose children roast the green beans and have them ground into powder in Europe? Are they our children? Whose electricity do they use? I have checked the latest figure. There is a type of Robusta coffee that is known as “Screen 18”. It is sold as green coffee (bean after removing the skin). Apparently, our people are being paid $3.34 per kilogramme. This is for the good one. For the other grades, they get much less; I think the lowest grade gets $1.7 per kilogramme.

When this same kilogramme is roasted in London and ground, it shrinks to 70 grams and is packed into packets of 300 grams each. Each packet is sold at $12, which means that 700 grams may fetch about $30. Therefore, for what Uganda gets $3.34, the smart people of UK get $30.

Each coffee bean that is sold in supermarkets abroad takes away our phosphorus, nitrogen, potassium and other nutrients for 10 per cent of the value at which the final consumer buys the product. 90 per cent of the value of that product from our soils and 100 per cent of the accompanying jobs that go with the roasting, grinding and packaging of the product at that stage, are all donated to the outsiders.

The total value of coffee in the world – hear these figures, my comrades – is $460 billion. However, of this figure, the coffee growing countries of the whole world only get $25 billion. Can you imagine? I am really embarrassed. This is for all coffee growing countries – Brazil, Colombia, Vietnam and us. Out of the $460 billion, our share is $25 billion. I am really embarrassed.

The African coffee growing countries’ share is only $2.4 billion from the total value of $460 billion business of coffee in the whole world. Wonderful African republics with presidents, honourable ministers and honourable members of Parliament, Rt Hon. Speakers, our share is $2.4 billion!

The African growing countries only get $2.4 billion! Exporters of unprocessed raw materials, where it is economic to add value, are exploiters. When we de-husk, roast, grind and pack here, Uganda will get more dollars and we shall also pay higher prices to our farmers.

The farmers are now cheated because the biggest beneficiaries from our coffee are the external roasters, grinders and packers of coffee. The story about blending, etc. is nonsense. That can be done here. We have both Robusta and Arabica coffee.

In any case, I hear that our good Robusta is used to blend inferior coffees from other areas, but in Europe. It is this century’s old haemorrhage that I saw my old friend, Hon. Abed Bwanika, passionately supporting here some weeks ago. I said, “But I still have my mouth. I will go with my mouth. I do not leave it at home. When I go to Parliament, I will speak” and I have come. *(Laughter)*

It is this haemorrhage that the NRM opposed in the beginning in point number five of the NRM 10-point programme already referred to. This haemorrhage is not only in coffee; it is in cotton - If you sell a kilo of cotton after you have removed the seeds, in what they call “ginned cotton”, you again get one dollar. However, when you make shirts – I think they make four shirts out of one kilo – the one who makes shirts gets $14 from the same kilo of what we got $1. The one who uses your kilo to make the shirt will get $14 or more while you got only $1 for a kilo.

It is this haemorrhage that the NRM opposed from the very beginning in point number five of the NRM 10-point programme already referred to. We opposed this haemorrhage in all the raw materials: milk, cotton, skins and hides, timber and iron ore - I banned the export of iron ore. We have got very good iron ore, what we call *“obutare”* in our language; it is in Kabale and Kanungu and it is the best in the world. It is almost 70 per cent pure. The Indians had got in touch with some Bakiga in the district council and they were exporting unprocessed iron ore to India. Imagine! To take soil from here - when it is not processed, it is like soil; it is black – they wanted to take it to India to process it from there.

How much were they paying us? It was only $47 per tonne, but when you process it – because our iron ore is almost pure – it is 70 per cent pure ore. At one time, for what we would get $47, somebody would get $900. These days the price has come down. It had gone to about $500. I hear it has gone back to about $700.

Then the jobs; how can we accept this? I said, “No.” I will never allow it. As long as I am in charge of the country, there will never be export of unprocessed iron ore. If you want to process it, come to Kabale and build the factory there.

We also need the steel here; you can imagine, all these dams we are building; we are using steel – yes, we have factories which recycle scrap, but the scrap steel cannot be used in very strong structures like dams, railways and high-rise buildings. We use imported steel from China for those ones. We have our own here which we are going to develop. We are getting investors because I resisted. People are giving up and they are now coming. I have asked the Bakiga to give me 200 acres. Hon. Rugunda got me some acres from Rubanda to build a huge steel factory for Central Africa, for Uganda and also the neighbouring countries.

Therefore, it is not the struggle for coffee only. All these raw materials – you will see how it is very dangerous. We oppose this haemorrhage in all raw materials: milk, cotton, skins and hides, timber – you can imagine that Uganda was importing furniture from India and Dubai. Dubai was selling furniture to Uganda; a desert was selling furniture to a forest! However, because of the resistance, there is now a lot of furniture making here. I have supported some groups like the one that used to be in Nsambya, the ones of the prisons. We refused to buy for the Ministry of Education – *Mama* here had to fight with the thieves in the Ministry of Education who were importing furniture from India. Can you imagine that? If you do not produce cars or aircrafts or computers, but you also do not produce furniture, what will you produce? What are you for?

So, timber, iron ore (*obutare)*, copper *(ekikomo)*, gold, tin, lithium, wolfram, petroleum etc. all these will be processed here. *(Applause)* *Nagenda munsiko okulwana, kanwane* (I went to the bush to wage war, I am ready to fight).

It is this haemorrhage that is responsible for the stagnation of Africa. You hear the statistics, my comrades. The total GDP of the whole of Africa, forget about Uganda, is $2.7 trillion. *Africa yaffe yonna*! It is smaller than or equal to individual economies of other countries. Japan has $5 trillion and the whole of Africa has only $2.7 trillion. This is recent. With this $2.7 trillion, *tutambuddeko* (we have progressed) because it used to be half a trillion - The whole of Africa was half a trillion economy, but Japan is five trillion. India has $2.6 trillion, almost the same as the whole of Africa, UK – $2.6 trillion, France – $2.6 trillion, Germany – $3.85 trillion, small South Korea – $1.6 trillion, almost like Africa. South Korea is half the size of Uganda in land area. When you combine North Korea and South Korea, it is about the size of Uganda. The USA $20.89 trillion and China $14.7 trillion. Yet, Africa is 12 times the size of India, with a population of 1.4 billion, and four times the size of the USA.

The continued export of raw materials by Africa is the new form of slavery. *(Applause*)Export of value in exchange for no value. This is what was happening with the slaves; with our ignorant chiefs. They would sell their people and they would be given a mirror to look at themselves. *(Laughter)* The idiot would look at himself in the mirror and say “that is wonderful.” Then they would put on monkey skins and ostrich feathers and think they are handsome. They would give them combs for hair in exchange for human beings. All this was given for little value like now - ten per cent value of the final product.

The export of raw materials and slaves for the last 600 years is the cause of this stunting of the African economies. Stunting is called *okuningama* in Runyankore.

Since 1986, I have been trying to get value adders to all our raw materials. Sometimes I succeed. Like with milk, I got a company called Sameer that came and helped me. Brookside, the one of Kenya, Pearl, the one of Mbarara, Akageti another factory in Mbarara. For cotton, I have Nytil and Fine spinners. For wood, we have plywood in Katuugo and for palm oil, we have like Bidco. There is a man who has come to Maruzi; a group that is growing palm trees in Maruzi. Did you people get that picture? Show it to the Members because I was very happy to see - that is now Maruzi.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**MR MUSEVENI:** Do you see how Maruzi is now looking? That is palm oil trees. *Mwebale!*  My people have now done something; they never do much. *(Laughter)* Put the picture back. All these people know Museveni; they have seen him for a long time. Let them see the palm oil trees. The group that is doing sugar in Kiryandongo and Kinyara are the ones who asked me for land and I gave them Maruzi - please display the picture again. Why are you rushing? *Ogenda wa?* *Teekako*. (Where are you going? Put it on.) I have not been there – put it back, you man. *(Laughter)*

In Maruzi, they are using irrigation water from the Nile to grow those palm oil trees. So this crying, for *sabuni* from Malaysia - very soon, we shall be the ones selling to the whole world. Thank you, Omona. He has now done something. *(Laughter)* The Banyankore say – okay, thank you very much. You know, when you thank them then they make things worse*. (Laughter)*

The Banyankore say, “*kitaita aita omushure.”* There is a very slow flying bird, very lazy. The bird that eats ripe bananas. So, the one who does not know how to aim properly, if they kill *omushure*, then they become very proud yet they have killed a lazy bird.

So, Bidco is for palm oil - wood in Katuugo, sugar has many companies, petroleum has a refinery. I had a battle on the refinery. In fact, the oil companies did not want a refinery in Uganda. They said, “No” I said, “Why are you taking all the oil? I heard a rumour that there were human beings here who needed petrol, so why are you taking all the oil?” They said that is because of economics. Now, why do those who build refineries, build them, if it is not economic?

When I insisted, it turned out that Uganda’s refinery would be one of the most profitable with an internal rate of return of more than 20 per cent. That was another war we had to fight. They did not want an oil refinery here.

For bananas, we have Dr Muranga and Kyamuhangyire. For Skins and Hides, we have Nakyobe. Can you imagine, that you people have not been having a factory for making leather for shoes, until I had to build it with Nakyobe, one of your people? We have built it in Kawumu, near my farm, using the money you gave me. You remember you gave me money. I do not eat your money. I just use it. You gave me about Shs 100 billion for the Innovation Fund. I have used it to build for you a leather-tanning factory in Kawumu so that our children – you remember I was training young people to make shoes, but then the problem was leather. It had to be bought from Nairobi and China. Imagine Chinese were the ones selling to us leather! What happened to Africans? We are buying leather, yet the Banyankore have been keeping cows for the last 7,000 years, yet we are buying leather from the Chinese? Why don’t we make it ourselves here? So, we built a factory and it will soon be commissioned.

With Gold, we have got six gold refineries. With coffee, I tried so many groups - Nescafe, Nestle, Tata. There is a Ugandan called Banya. I helped him to do Bancafe. We also have Star Coffee. I tried to work with the Tanzanians in Bukoba, Tanzania, but to no avail. I have been trying all these.

When I met Madam Pinetti, the one you are busy attacking, I realised she had no idea about coffee; it is not her. She had no idea about coffee. I, however, could see that she had a wide network of contacts. I asked her to look into the coffee. After some time, she came back with a positive report that it was doable. I am the one who told her; she was in the hospital business.

Therefore, those attacking that project are supporters of *okukenenula* of Africa *–* perpetual bleeding! If they were not, they would have responded to our call of 1986 and after, to come forward and add value to coffee and seek Government assistance.

So, I am ready to sit down with all these coffee people. *(Applause)* If you want to add value, I will support you. *(Applause)*  However, if you want to be a slave, I will not support you. *Nze siwagirangako abawagira okubeera abaddu mu* Africa.

So, instead of attacking the saviour – *oyo anataasa –* if you are genuine, join the liberation effort. We are here! I will meet all those who are in the coffee industry. I am going upcountry for few days, but when I come back, I will call all of you and say – because you have seen the *kibalo* now: there is a total of $460 billion, but the coffee producing countries in the whole world share $25 billion only. How can this be? How can we accept this? And I call myself President, moving with a flag? *(Laughter)* I am not a clown.

It is criminal for anybody to continue arguing for the continued export of raw materials from Africa when there is 90 per cent more value in the product that you are giving to the outsiders.

Apart from the huge expansion of the agricultural sector and the concomitant expansion of the agro-industrial sector, there are industries that we are promoting, based on our minerals: oil and gas (refinery, petro-chemicals, fertilisers); iron-ore (steel – Kabale); copper (the electrical industries – cables, transformers, electrical appliances); lithium (electrical car batteries); niobium (ingots, bars, billets, rods); tin (tin plates, buckets, cooking utensils); coltan (laptops, medical equipment, smart phones); wolfram (electric filaments, ammunition), etc. We are going to add value to all these.

I can tell Parliament that recently in the Cabinet, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development brought information that we have got a lot of Gold: 320 million tonnes of Gold – confirmed – worth more than $12 trillion.

I said okay, “*mwebale,* butwhat next?”

They said that, however, while all this will be taken by foreigners, we are very happy because we shall get $680 billion. Imagine, the total value of Gold is almost $13 trillion, but my wonderful ministry people were content with $680 billion, which is like $0.7 trillion of $13 trillion. They thought it was a good business. I said: “No, out of the $12 trillion, maybe we shall keep $10 trillion and our partners can take $2 trillion.”

So, this madness in Africa must stop. These are educated people – but how could they accept this? For us, we are just looking at what they call royalty. Royalty? The resource is yours! How can you accept royalty and give away your wealth? This is your wealth!

So, I asked them – because in petroleum, the Arabs resisted and then a concept called Production Sharing Agreement (PSA) was introduced, whereby we say: “Okay, you are an investor and you have put in your money looking for the petroleum. If you find it, you will recover the money you put in and you get some profits, but the resource belongs to the country.”

When I asked they were not using the same principle for minerals? They said, “No.”

This gold will not be taken. *Mugende mutwaale ebyabalala*. When I am in charge here – God brought me here and Ugandans keep supporting me -*(Applause)-* and I cannot agree to the selling of the resources of Uganda. *(Applause)*

Like lithium, we are making electric cars using it. We have lithium and when you sell it, other people go and make electric batteries out of it and they sell them to you. Why don’t you make the batteries yourself? What is the problem? You have the raw materials, which others do not have. Why don’t you use your raw material to make the lithium batteries yourself? You can share with and sell to others, but also use it.

The work in the service sector is familiar to honourable members in the form of tourism and transport – like airlines, railway and entertainment.

With the masses, apart from the Parish Development Model, there is a programme of *Emyooga* – the 18 of them as listed here:

1. *Boda Boda* SACCO;

2. Women Entrepreneurs’ SACCO;

3. Carpenters’ SACCO;

4. Salon Operators’ SACCO;

5. Taxi Operators’ SACCO;

6. Restaurateurs SACCO;

7. Welders’ SACCO;

8. Market Vendors’ SACCO;

9. Youth Leaders’ SACCO;

10. PWDs’ SACCO;

11. Produce Dealers’ SACCO;

12. Mechanics’ SACCO;

13. Tailors’ SACCO;

14. Local Elected Leaders SACCO;

15. The Veterans SACCO;

16. Journalists SACCO;

17. Performing Artists SACCO; and

18. Fishermen’s SACCO.

The contact point for this effort is at the constituency. As you can see, the spectrum covers most of the modest artisanal skills that produce products for ordinary use.

The four sectors: commercial agriculture – big or small, intensive or extensive; industries – big or small, including SMEs and artisanship; services such as transport, tourism, hotels, entertainment, professional services, doctors and ICT; if aggressively pushed, will cause massive socio-economic transformation.

I estimate that commercial agriculture alone can create 50 million jobs, if you assume five million households engaged in small scale agriculture of the Rwengaaju type and each household employed 10 people.

This would be a transitional situation because the developed economies have small numbers of employees in agriculture, but with more numbers in services and industry, while underdeveloped economies have many numbers unemployed or in disguised unemployment presented as agriculture with only a few numbers employed in the four sectors of commercial agriculture, industries, services and ICT.

For those people who do not know our language, in Luganda we say, *akatali kabbe,* *amagumba olya osuula mumulyango*. This is to say, “For something you have not stolen, there is no need to hide it.” I have no need to hide my coffee because it is mine. *Kaawa wange, munange! (Laughter)*

Apart from universal commercial agriculture, industries based on agro-processing, forex products, services and ICT, there are industries that are based on the intellect of the human brain; the industries of electric and conventional automobiles such as buses, minibuses, trucks and motorbikes, the pathogenic economy like vaccines, pharmaceuticals for humans and livestock, space science, energy, including nuclear energy, etc., each have at least a nucleus already laid down here in Uganda, as I speak. We have already trained our young people and we are supporting them in modest ways. For space science and nuclear energy, we have got units and we are moving towards establishing a nuclear plant for electricity and agriculture; we need all this capacity.

Therefore, we talk about the four sectors - commercial agriculture for everybody who has got land, industry services, ICT - and within industry we have got the old industries of agro-processing and minerals, but we also have got new ones of the intellect.

In the Book of Galatians 6:7 the Bible tells us that whatever a man sows, that is what he reaps. How has the NRM brought Uganda to the doorstep – in Runyankore we call it *ekisasi* - of the middle-income status from such a low base and in spite of so many challenges? The following are the reasons:

(i) The correct ideology of the NRM of rejecting the sectarian ideas of the past actors, insisting on patriotism, pan-Africanism, socio-economic transformation and democracy.

This removed *oburyaane*, which is Runyankore word for disharmony and tension in the villages, from the community and country. You saw these people walking from all over to Namugongo. Then you have these negative fellows like Dr Besigye walking to work. If you are walking peacefully, who will mind about you?

The people who were in Namugongo were in millions. Weren’t they? They walked peacefully and with good intentions. Who would bother with them? But if you are walking to cause trouble, we cause trouble for you. *Karashangabo emurasha!*

That is why Uganda has no refugees living outside Uganda. Even when we had Kony and ADF terrorism, we had internally displaced persons within the country; they never ran outside Uganda.

Since the time NRM came to power, we have never had refugees running from Uganda to other countries because they have nothing to run away from. Even when there was Kony, everybody knew that it was not Government; it was others who were disturbing them and they would never go outside the country. So, the NRM ideology of unity is priority one.

(ii) A strong army that has ensured peace within Uganda, all the challenges notwithstanding.

(iii) A strong private sector encouraged by the correct pro-private sector policies of the NRM. Most of the surpluses referred to above have been generated by the private sector - farmers, manufacturers, etc.

(iv) The correct pan African ideology of the NRM that saw the revival of the East African Community, the creation of COMESA and the Abuja Treaty of 1991, which eventually saw the birth of the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA).

Today Uganda exports goods and services worth $1.2 billion to the East African Community, $1.6 billion to COMESA and $2 billion to the rest of Africa.

Algeria has a market of $1.2 billion for dairy products that only awaits us to solve the problem of Foot and Mouth Diseases and CBPP.

Ethiopia has a dairy product market of $30 million that only awaits a reliable road from Kaabong/Kotido to the Southern Ethiopia.

(v) The correct NRM policy of emphasising science in education and prioritising the better payment of Government scientists if we do not yet have enough money to pay everybody.

Africa was colonised and enslaved and people were exterminated, dominated or marginalised not because they lacked story tellers, comedians, musicians, witch doctors, priests, kings and queens, soldiers, farmers, etc., but because they lagged behind in science and technology. That is why we were colonised. We were colonised not because we lacked all these fellows – musicians and storytellers - all those were there - clowns that made kings laugh. There were all there, but we were colonised because we lagged behind in science and technology.

Inability to see this is a threat to our survival as free people, if not, survival at all. Our lagging behind in the science and technology of gunpowder and guns, for instance, was one of the greatest handicaps. The private sector needs scientists, in addition to the managerial cadres.

The state, economic and social infrastructure needs scientists such as researchers, engineers for electricity, engineers for water, engineers for electronics, doctors, vets, etc. So, unity by ideology, the soldiers guarding the peace, the private sector building the economy, the scientists support both the private sector, but also build Government infrastructure.

The correct strategy of the NRM of developing the infrastructure: the roads, the railway, electricity, the piped water, the telephones, the internet, etc. The crucial roles of infrastructure are to enable, for example, electricity and connect, for example, roads to the producers of goods and services and their consumers and do so cheaply, so that the product is not overpriced and is therefore competitive in the market.

We could have achieved much more, if it were not for either the confused people or the enemies of Africa, many of them, many times, obstructing us. I, for instance, remember the sabotage of Uganda’s tempo of development by the Sixth Parliament of 1999 on the 8th of November when they blocked the agreement I had negotiated with the America Energy Service to produce power at 4.9 American cents at Bujagali. Mr Chat Chai of Malee Sampran Public Company of Thailand, was chased by Parliament yet I had mobilised with the late *Mzee* Mulwana to help us with milk processing.

Dr Muranga’s banana project has been maliciously obstructed many times. Recently, we witnessed the mishandling of the coffee value addition effort here in Parliament. *(Laughter)* Uganda has however, made these gigantic steps, such obstructions notwithstanding.

When it comes to the recent high commodity prices caused, initially, by the re-launch of the world economy after the two years of lockdown and additionally by the war in Ukraine, our decision after careful analysis is to avoid the traps of tax cuts and subsidies. Instead, we are doing two things: engaging the global actors that have caused these artificial shortages. I have contacted some of the actors; I am in touch with all these wonderful people.

I am glad His Excellency, Joe Biden is going to Saudi Arabia to meet the Crown Prince to get OPEC to pump more petroleum out of the ground. That will definitely help.

Also, the Chairperson of the African Union, His Excellency Mack Sall, met His Excellency Vladimir Putin in Sochi, Russia to ask him to assist in getting the wheat from Ukraine out of the port of Odessa. He has also talked to the Europeans to stop sanctions against wheat and fertilisers from Russia because Africa needs them. This is one of the correct ways. We shall use diplomacy to solve this problem created by these wonderful people who fight instead of talking.

The other is to get our own substitutes like you saw here with palm oil trees. Very soon, Uganda will be the biggest producer of palm oil in the world. We would have done it long ago, if it was not, again, for the obstruction in Sango Bay and Buvuma. There was a young Member of Parliament there, hon. Egunyu, wasting a lot of time. *(Laughter)*

The other is to get our own substitutes; cassava and banana flour for bread and our own sunflower, soya bean oil, as we wait for more quantities of palm oil from Sango Bay, Mayuge, Buvuma, Maruzi, Bundibugyo, etc. Cutting taxes or subsidies especially on imports is suicidal because our people may buy carelessly and we can end up draining our foreign exchange reserves.

Moreover, cutting taxes or subsidising means taking money away from the planned projects into consumption of fuel, bread, etc. That means we stop, for instance, the following roads: Kigumba-Bulima–Kabwoya-Kyenjojo – 235 kilometres. Those are ongoing. Rukungiri-Kihihi-Ishasha/Kanungu Road, Masindi-Para Road, Hoima-Butiaba-Wanseko Road - those are already ongoing, but there are new ones. Buhimba-Nalweyo-Bulamagi Road and Bulamagi-Igayaza-Kakumiro Road, Masindi-Biiso Road, Hohwa-Nyairongo-Kyarusheesha-Butoole Road, Kabaale-Kiziranfumbi Road, Kapchorwa-Suam Road, Atiak–Laropi Road, Busega-Mpigi Expressway, Muyembe–Nakapiripirit Road, Najjanankumbi–Busabala Road, Kira-Matugga Road, Rwenkunyu-Apac-Lira–Puranga Road, Moroto-Lokitanyala, rehabilitation of Mityana-Mubende Road, Alwii–Nebbi Road and so many of those.

We would have to stop these roads so that money is put in subsidising fuel and bread yet these projects help these areas. *(Applause)* If you go, for instance – the other day, I was in Katakwi in Olilim - I was passing out soldiers - the area has changed completely because of that tarmac road. Or stopping the secondary schools such as the Noble Mayombo Seed Secondary School in Kabarole, Awara Seed Secondary School in Arua, Nairambe Seed Secondary School in Buvuma or universities like Soroti University, Muni University or cutting some money from PDM or *Emyooga –* meaningthe money would be taken away from production to consumption, on account of a temporary problem. Let us maintain our momentum of development, the high commodity prices will be solved in other ways, some of them outlined above.

In foreign affairs, Uganda abstained in the votes in the UN on the issue of Ukraine. You must have heard the arguments of the two sides. We have communicated our views confidentially to the two sides, the Western bloc and Russia. At some stage, we shall give our views publicly; our views are very correct, but we are giving them quietly for now.

On the issue of security within the Great Lakes Region, in the regional conferences like the one we had in Nairobi some weeks ago, we shared our history with the African brothers and sisters. Some of the problems never get solved on account of mixing up three issues - armed conflicts for just causes; armed conflicts for reactionary aims and the use of terrorist methods whatever the nature of the conflict just or unjust.

The tendency, which is not correct, is to bunch all conflicting parties as negative forces. Uganda is a good laboratory for all types of conflicts. We have the just wars like the ones waged between 1971 and 1986 by the different fighting groups against the regimes of Amin, Obote II and Gen. Okello. Why do we call them just wars? It is because the fight was about the freedom of vote by secret ballot for all adults above the age of 18 at regular intervals.

The struggle against extrajudicial killings and the struggle against sectarianism that was enforced by arms, etc. The last elections had been in April, 1962 and we never had any other elections until after 18 years on 10 December 1980.. Even those elections were contested from the beginning of the process to the end.

We tried to talk to the groups that thought had the upper hand, but to no avail and worse still they would kill anybody with a different opinion – the late Ben Kiwanuka, Baziliyo Bataringaya, Alexandria Aitm, Oryema, Kasula, Ssebugwawo, Luttamaguzi, Nkanjurwa, e.t.c., people were being killed.

We, therefore, have no alternative, but to fight. That is why between 1966 and 1986, Uganda was among the top four refugees’ generated countries in the world. . At one time, Uganda had 500,000 refugees, almost the whole population of West Nile, in exile in Congo and South Sudan.

While I do not want to talk about other African countries, I am sure that I can safely cite at least two examples. The struggle by the SPLM of South Sudan against the Arab Islamic Chauvinist Regime of Khartoum, which was insisting that the very dark Dinkas, Shilluks and the Nuer, etc. of South Sudan, were Arabs and were to live under Sharia law.

If we had South Sudanese here and he stood up then you see him, but call him an Arab, you would be out of your mind. So, how do you resolve that madness? These were mad! You know we spent years talking to Bashir, “these people were not Arabs; why do you call Sudan an Arab country? And why do you want to make Sudan Islamic? These are not Muslims. Many of them are not even Christian they are our traditional religion. Why do you bother them?” However, madness is quite democratic in the world. How do you resolve that madness?

How about the whites in South Africa who said that the indigenous Africans could not have voting rights in the country of their ancestry? Imagine, we had to spend years with the whites in South Africa. The answer was a just war in each of the above situations.

You then have unjust wars, of either aggression or of a reactionary nature, non-progressive. Take the colonial wars of conquest. Why were the colonialists conquering other countries? What right did they have to do so? Then you come to ADF, Kony, Lakwena, etc.

ADF said that they wanted to make Uganda Islamic by force. Kony wanted to rule us by some commandments that were to be given to him by the Holy Spirit. Lakwena wanted a Government *Meegwa*, which in Acholi means “our government” by which she meant the Acholi tribal government, over the whole of Uganda.

These were aims alright, but were wrong, oppressive and negative progressive aims. They were, therefore, reactionary - *pinga maendeleo* aims - and hence the wars fought in the implementation were unjust wars, just like the wars of the colonial conquest.

Having talked about just and unjust wars, we also clarified the issue of terrorism. It is wrong to say that every armed group is a terrorist group, whether they are fighting a just or an unjust war. Take Lakwena for instance. Although she was fighting an unjust war of the Acholi sectarianism, she was definitely not a terrorist because she was not using terrorists’ methods.

Terrorist methods mean using violence indiscriminately, such as attacking non-combatants, killing prisoners of war or torturing them.

Lakwena was confused, using the witchcraft of smearing her fighters with the oil of Mooya and Shea butter trees and telling them that they were immune to bullets. But she was not a terrorist, because she was not targeting non-combatants; she was not killing prisoners of war. That is how Maj. Byensi, one of our army officers, survived.

When Maj. Byensi was captured, Lakwena said “No, you bring him here. I will make him a member of the Holy Spirit Movement of the Lakwena Movement.” Maj. Byensi was put there and he was smeared with Moya oil - then the man took his chance to escape again. Therefore, definitely, Lakwena was not a terrorist. She was just confused, but not a terrorist.

Joseph Kony and ADF were on the other hand fighting both an unjust war, but also a terrorist one. Why? It is because they were targeting non-combatants, killing prisoners of war, etc. - the Atyak Massacre, the Barlonyo Massacre and the Kichwamba burning of eight students in the dormitory, the Kiburara National Seminary massacre, the abductions of young people forcing them to fight for them and the abduction of sex slaves. It is those acts that make a fighter a terrorist.

Even if you are fighting for just cause, but you target non-combatants, use force recruitment other than conscription by the State, killing prisoners of war or take sex slaves, you become a terrorist.

Therefore, in the whole of the Great Lakes area, the concerned groups should be audited as to whether they are fighting for a just cause or not and as to whether they are using terrorist methods or not.

What is, then, the correct method of resolving such armed conflicts? What is our experience? Our experience, and even other good experiences, show that combining both political and military methods is the correct way, especially, for the non-terrorist armed groups. Even when they are fighting for an unjust cause, like sectarianism, priority should be given to dialogue leading to a political solution.

Even for the terrorist groups, if they accept dialogue, it should be tried. It is through dialogue combined with military efforts that we reached solutions with Angelo Okello, Bamuze, Musa Ecweru – Musa Ecweru is here. Where is he? That man was a rebel - Benz, UFM, FEDEMO, etc.

Using force is like using surgery in medicine. Surgery is used as a method of last resort, when less violent methods to the body can no longer work. Even then, it should be used in a very restricted way, affecting only the sick part, not the rest of the body.

The East Africa Community, under our Chairman, H.E, Uhuru Kenyatta, can resolve all these security challenges using appropriate actions - political methods where feasible and force where necessary. Uganda is ready and able to contribute to all these efforts.

The Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda, since 30 November 2021, flushed out the ADF in Eastern Congo. ADF cannot operate, in large groups any more in the three sectors of: Sector II – Ituri and Sector I and III in North Kivu. The ADF survivors have either gone into hiding or fled beyond what we call “the limit of exploitation” - the boundary where the Congo army allowed us to reach.

However, in small groups, I am told, the ADF are still sneaking back into some of the sectors and killing some unguarded villagers. There is a solution to such a problem that we used to deal with those small groups attacking the soft targets of the unguarded *wananchi.* We are discussing all these with the government of DRC.

Within Uganda, we have strengthened the security on the whole including Karamoja and the surrounding districts. We have trained tens of thousands of LDUs that I passed out at Kaweweta, Labwordwong, Olilimi, etc., recently and many of them have been absorbed into some of the army divisions to boost manpower.

As I have said repeatedly, the cattle rustlers will soon lose appetite for the gun. However, these and other terrorists should be condemned. They should also condemn themselves because of *kweteera endobo* - *bekuba endobo*! We, the football players - sometimes you can kick your own shin and it is very painful. It is called “*okweteera endobo*.” I think in Luganda it is called *okwekuba endobo* - hurting one’s shin as you play football.

In 1991 we reduced the army manpower from 100,000 to 40,000 to save money by having less infantry, so that we could buy better equipment, on account of the situation in the region at that time, that had the potential for possible inter-state conflicts. You could not fight such conflicts with just infantry - soldiers just walking on foot.

Even counter-insurgency needed some capacity of combined arms. That is how we were able to build the strategic elements of our defence forces such as air force, artillery, tanks, reconnaissance, etc. That is how we were able to achieve victories and cope with the dangerous security situations in the region.

Having smaller numbers of personnel and more equipment was a smart way of building a modern army, able to defend the borders of the country against external serial threats. The modern equipment alone, however, will not handle undisciplined elements walking on foot stealing cattle, killing people, raping women, etc.

On account of activities of those confused people, we are now forced to build up the manpower of the Armed Forces again, far above the figure of 1991. That means a bigger wage bill, feeding, health, education for the children of the soldiers, accommodation, etc. This is the money we should be spending in Karamoja - and other areas - on the roads, schools, health centres, the Parish Development Model and Emyooga. Indeed, the Karamajong have seen the tarmac road from Soroti to Moroto-Nakapiripirit, the electricity from Opuyo to Moroto-Kotido-Kaabong-Abim. They have also seen the schools and health centres. It is Government money that has been doing or that.

Nevertheless, we are now diverted by our indisciplined cattle rustlers to spend money on more soldiers – the infantry - to fight what war and against who? To fight the war of ignorance and fight against our expanded prosperity.

All understanding people should denounce this sabotage. You, the leaders should tell our people that they are undermining themselves. The money we are spending on soldiers is what they would be using to solve their problems.

With what I have said above, Uganda is on the right path and has been, for the last 36 years. We only need to be mindful of three points: the environment, corruption and chauvinism in the business. You have seen what can happen to countries when they cannot produce their own food. There is no problem Uganda cannot solve, as I have said above, as long as we are able to produce most or all of our food. To do this, however, we need soil and above all, freshwater. This means environmental protection - protecting all the wetlands, the river banks, the lake shores and the forests, and planting trees even in inhabited areas.

I have warned all sub county and parish chiefs as well as CAOs, not to forget the environmental officers, the GISOs and DISOs manning areas where I will discover encroachment on wetlands, that they will be sacked and if legally possible, will also be criminally prosecuted. This is for all areas of Uganda - except some areas of Busoga, Bukedi and Kigezi - where historically, government misguided and encouraged people to grow swamp rice and start dairy farms in wetlands.

Those areas of historical mistakes will also be recovered by working with the stakeholders to shift to fish farming in the periphery of those wetlands, which activity is much more profitable, so as to allow the wetlands to regenerate.

All the others must unconditionally leave the wetlands because nobody took them there. Many of these are recent, which means they are doing it in deliberate defiance of plans to save their country.

The swamp at Buseemba between Kirolo and Karasa had a river crossing where our machine-gunner, Mondo Tumuhairwe, used to do a lot of damage to the UNLA. There was no single encroacher at that time. It is now invaded and so is Mayanja-Wenkarwe, Wabikokoma and so on. When I go to those areas, I really want to get out of the car and start fighting. These are areas I know very well; those people must get out. There was nobody in those swamps.

When I flew to Kiwoko recently, I saw the swamps that feed into Mayanja, Makyebebe, Kizzikibi etc., being encroached on. This is my last warning to the local authorities all over Uganda. Damage to our local water bodies affects 40 per cent of our rainfall. How can we tolerate that? This is a danger to our very own existence. The global mistake makers are endangering the globe and humanity with the greenhouse gases. Humanity will struggle against them. Why should we reinforce their mistakes with ours?

Another danger to our rapid socio-economic transformation is the corruption of political actors and public servants who do not only steal Government money, thereby denying the population the services that money would have provided, but also parasite on our business people. Business people and investors, do not feel beholden – *temweguya* – to these parasites. Expose both their requests for bribes and their schemes for frustrating those that do not pay bribes. Action will be taken for the benefit of the business atmosphere in the country.

Finally, on strategic issues, I must point out the mistake of those who proclaim what they call “indigenous business people” as being more useful to the country than the foreigners. Some people even talk of *“factory ey’Omuyindi*” - an Indian’s factory. There are no Indian or Chinese factories in Uganda. Indian and Chinese factories are in India and China respectively.

Economics helped us to understand this problem long ago by providing us a measurement of the size of the economy with two measurements: GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and GNP (Gross National Product). GDP refers to the value of all production of goods and services on our territory, whether by our citizens or not. GNP is the measurement of the value of the production of goods and services by our citizens, whether on our territory or elsewhere.

Economies that do not discriminate among wealth creators, prosper. The German Jew called Robert Oppenheimer who was discriminated by the Nazi in Germany is the one who helped the USA to develop a nuclear bomb.

The people that should be discriminated against are the unrepentant comprador bourgeoisie (the commission agents, the importers of foreign consumer goods that could be made here, the exporters of our unprocessed raw materials at 10 per cent of their eventual value as the final products). These are the ones that we should talk about.

A foreign manufacturer of goods based in Uganda is more useful to the country than an importer (who is a citizen of Uganda) of foreign consumer goods that can be made here. However, patriotic importers do not import perennially or endlessly. I was told that Dangote used to import cement, but graduated and became a cement manufacturer, not only in Nigeria, but also in many parts of Africa.

I was also told that in 1931, Samsungwas importing textiles in South Korea. He graduated from that and became the big producer of electronic gadgets such as computers. So, let us stop “*okutaha amaizi n’ebyondo”* that is “mixing water with mud” by calling bad, “good” and good “bad.” Such countries stagnate.

China developed because of the clear vision of Mao Tse Tung and Deng Hsiao Ping. Mao Tse Tung helped China by pointing out the positive alliance of what he called the four classes: the national bourgeoisie, the peasants, the proletariat and the patriotic petty bourgeoisie against the parasitic comprador (agent) bourgeoisie that were working as foreign agents for other people’s interests.

There was a group called KACITA here. Their business was about importing; *okusaka*. At one time, they even organised a strike because we had put taxes on their carpets and women’s hair and all what they were importing from outside. They went on strike and we said “we shall fight you.” So, those who “*abatujjamu omusaayi nebagutwala”* are the problem. *Bulyomu atutekamu omusaayi tumwaniriza.*

Therefore, let all the NRM MPs and other positive elements rally around the patriotic programme of the NRM that has transformed Uganda from the failed state of 1986, with the economy expanding in size more than 30 times in 30 years in spite of the endless betrayals by certain elements.

Those who cause friction among the NRM fraternity should be carefully examined. Why can’t you discuss any matter in non-antagonistic ways? This is because I normally hear people fighting each other. Why do you fight somebody on your side? Why don’t you go and talk to him or her? What is this? Even if somebody is making a mistake, go and talk to him or her and then you go together and see the Speaker, the Prime Minister or the Vice President and solve it. But instead there is tension here and there with people accusing each other. That is not a good sign. Anybody who is causing unnecessary friction among us is not a good person. The problem is that of course, you are not a fighter; you have never fought. You are just there in air conditioned offices and eating *Mandaazi* and things like that. *(Laughter)*

However, for me, I appreciate this because at one time when we were attacking Idi Amin in 1972 I had one UPC neighbour, a young boy, who had been recruited by UPC, but who did not know how to fire a gun.

While we were firing at Amin’s soldiers at Makenke opposite the Mbarara Barracks, on the left as you face Masaka - I was on an anthill firing at Amin’s huge soldiers with big stomachs - I think I punctured a few of them, but this UPC boy was afraid, he did not even see where he was firing. He put a gun near my ear and fired and my eardrum almost burst. Therefore, when you have got a bad neighbour that is what happens.

However, for you people, God has given you all these friends - you can relate with them for a lifetime, but instead, you are fighting and accusing one another. Instead of using good methods of interacting so as to get a common solution - your thing is to undermine one another; that is not good - itis not a good sign. If you see such people, you should know that they are not good people.

For me, I need people - *Mbeguya, mbetaaga; sagala kunyiiza ono oba oli,* because I need them. A Munyankore would say - I think you do not even know our local languages, because a Munyankore would say, “*n’okwata abantu ijaga nk’obashagize*” meaning that you are mishandling people as if you have got excess people on your side. The Banyankore also say, “*Enyongyesereza teba nkye*” meaning that even if you have got several things, any addition to you is welcome. That is why sometimes I quarrel with my people.

You know, there was a bad girl called Beatrice Anywar. Do you know that girl? She was a confused type -*(Laughter)-* but whenever I met her, I used to talk to her well because my job is to win over people, even those who are against me.

So, one time, while we were in a place called Omia-Nyima and I do not know what God had visited Anywar, she came to my rally yet she had been like an enemy, all the time attacking me. However, I would talk to her very nicely.

However, when she came to my rally, my people refused to give her a chair; I was annoyed with my people. Why do you refuse to give Anywar a chair? She is on the other side, but she has come and so, she is adding to our strength. Why do you treat her as if she is a bad person? I was not happy with my group in Omia-Nyima. It is even blessed, biblically, for one to bring people together instead of causing conflicts.

The bulk of the 11th Parliament has been acting positively: *mwebale nyo! Apwoyo matek! Eyalama! Arakala noi! Awadifo*! I congratulate everybody.

I wanted to fight the girls who were shouting at me the other day. But when I went, they had run away; I was ready for them, but later on, I used my spy network to know who they were. I will follow them up and we sort it out. *(Laughter)*

I congratulate everybody, especially the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. *(Applause)* I also congratulate the Vice-President and the Prime Minister, the latter being the Leader of Government Business in Parliament.

On account of this positivity, Parliament has passed the following legislations in the last 12 months:

i. The Administration of Parliament (Amendment) Bill, 2021;

ii. The National Social Security Fund (Amendment) Bill – you know the laws you have passed; they are all here. I think I have a list here of 23 Bills. Thank you so much. *(Applause)*

Some of these are strategic for the further growth of the economy. These include the law on the East African Oil Pipeline known as the East African Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP), Special Provisions Bill, 2021 and the one that allows industrial parks to get power directly from the generation by bypassing Umeme. I thank and congratulate everybody that was involved.

In the coming year, Government will bring the following Bills - they are listed here. You will read them in the copy of the speech; they are so many. They are 62 and so, I do not have to read them. They are in the speech, which I will give you.

Uganda and Africa are unstoppable. Long live Uganda! Long live East Africa! Long live Africa!

I thank everybody. After overcoming the consequences of COVID-19 and the high commodity prices, we shall go back to our other manifesto issues for example, free education.

However, on COVID-19, the public needs to be careful again; why were people not putting on masks while at Namugongo? I was watching those Namugongo people, they were not putting on masks. They may think wrongly that when one is in a church, they do not get infected. *(Laughter)* Therefore, I am a bit worried about what I saw happening there.

We are now again getting two deaths per week from COVID-19. Please, again be alert. I thank you and I wish everybody good luck. Thank you so much. *(Applause)*

**THE SPEAKER:** Thank you, Your Excellency the President, for the good message. And thank you for honouring our invitation and fulfilling your constitutional obligation under Article 101(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

On a special note, we want to thank the First Lady, *Mama* Janet Kataha for creating time to be with us amidst her busy schedule. We will forever be grateful, *Mama*. Thank you for coming.

The address has set out Government’s agenda for the next one year. Honourable members of Parliament, take note of what we are expected to deliver. Thank you very much for highlighting the priorities of Government, which will guide us in executing our mandate as Parliament, which includes legislation, appropriation and the oversight role.

I also want to thank our colleagues: the presiding officers from the neighbouring countries in particular, and all the dignitaries and guests, for honouring our invitation to the First Sitting of today. And on a special note, thank you honourable members of Parliament, for being good Members of Parliament.

Furthermore, I would like to thank our friends in the Fourth Estate for the role they play in communicating very vital information to the public; you are good partners in development.

However, the problem with you is that you communicate falsehood faster than you communicate the truth. So, you need to watch out on that. We are introducing a Bill on Computer Misuse and hope that will sort out these problems.

Honourable members, His Excellency the President will be back here on 14 June 2022, to present the Budget Speech, pursuant to Article 155(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

Your Excellency, I would like to once again thank you for a very enriching speech on the State-of-the-Nation Address, which has been very concise and educative. It has clarified on a number of issues that have been in the social media and the public domain, like the issue of the coffee agreement. Parliament will continue to fulfil its mandate of representation, legislation, oversight and most importantly, appropriation.

Honourable members, as the President leaves, kindly stay behind. The House is adjourned to 14 June 2022 at 2.00 p.m. for the Budget Speech.

*The East African Community Anthem*

*The National Anthem*

*(The House rose at 5.09 p.m. and adjourned until Tuesday, 14 June 2022 at 2.00 p.m.)*