

STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS

BY

H.E. YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

KOLOLO CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

6TH JUNE, 2024

Her Excellency the Vice President;
Rt. Hon. Speaker of Parliament;
His Lordship the Chief Justice;
Rt. Hon. Deputy Speaker of Parliament;
His Lordship the Deputy Chief Justice;
Rt. Hon. Prime Minister;
Rt. Hon. Deputy Prime Ministers;
Hon. Ministers;
Hon. Members of Parliament;
Members of the Diplomatic Corps;
Cultural and Religious leaders;
The wana-inchi;
Distinguished Guests;
Ladies and Gentlemen.

In fulfillment of the Constitutional requirement under Article 101 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, I am here to deliver the State of the Nation Address, 2024.

On this occasion of the State of the Nation address, I would like to remind the Ugandans of the three historical missions, the 4 principles of the NRM and, therefore, determine, what distance has been covered and what remains to be done and what is the main obstacle on that transformational road.

Our Movement came on the scene, initially, as a Student Movement, getting elements from the old political parties of UPC, DP and Kabaka Yekka, that had sectarian platforms, misusing the politics of identity (religious, tribal and gender chauvinism). After careful analysis, we established that Africa needed us to pursue three historical missions, if it was to survive and thrive. The three historical missions are: prosperity for the African people including the people of Uganda; strategic security for the African people;

and taking advantage of the brotherhood of the African people, to achieve the first two missions.

How was the prosperity of the African people to be achieved? Could it be achieved through begging for foreign aid as some were emphasizing? The answer is: “NO”. Our conclusion was that, prosperity could only come from each adult person engaging in producing a good or a service, sustainably and selling it. If he or she does so with *ekibaro* (maximizing profits), he or she will be prosperous. Since individuals cannot effectively work alone, the different zones of the country are always encouraged to specialize in given clusters of products or services. It is this realization, that led us to distil our first NRM principle – Patriotism – love Uganda. Why love Uganda? It is because you need it for your prosperity in the form of the market. When you produce a good or service, the next question is: “Who will buy the good or service and in sufficient quantities to guarantee the prosperity of the wealth creator?” One of the factors we realized, was that, normally, people of the same tribe or same locality,

produce similar products. Hence, they do not easily buy from one another. It is the people from other parts of the country, that produce different products that buy the wealth creators' products. Therefore, the opportunists that promote sectarianism and parochialism, are enemies of the wealth creators, starting with their relatives. They are pseudo-prophets (*ba nabi b'ebishuba*).

The historical mission of prosperity, pushed us to discover the second NRM ideological principle – that of Pan-Africanism. Love East Africa, Love Africa. Why? It is because you need them for your prosperity, other issues aside. When wealth creators get serious with production, when they increase the production of goods and services, the internal market is no longer enough. We need the East African market, we need the African market and we need the global market. Since the recovery of the economy of Uganda, we have seen this. Our production of sugar is now 600,000 metric tonnes. However, the internal market is only 380,000 metric tonnes. Who is to buy the surplus sugar of

220,000 metric tonnes? The milk production is now 5.3 billion litres. Who is to buy the extra – 4.5 billion litres since the internal demand is only 800 million litres? The cement production is now 6.4 million metric tonnes and yet the internal demand is 2.4 million tonnes. Who is buying the surplus? How about the steel products? The internal demand is 1.5 million Metric tonnes, yet annual production of steel products (*mitayimbwa* etc.), although still at 610,000 metric tonnes, leaving a deficit of 890,000 metric tonnes, it will soon be about 3 million metric tonnes with the new vertically integrated steel industries, using the high-grade *obutare* (iron ore) of Muko in the Rubaanda area. Who will buy that surplus steel? The products of the new vertically integrated factories will completely wipe out the need for importing high quality steel for hydro-power dams, the railway, high rise buildings, etc., that need very strong steel different from the steel of the recycled steel products from scrap metal. Even now, we also import steel ingots and add value. Some of this steel is re-exported to the region. The answer for all these questions is that, it is, mainly, East and Central

Africa that are buying the surplus. The COMESA area is buying goods and services worth USD 2.157 billion from Uganda.

Therefore, the NRM was right to distil the principles of patriotism and Pan- Africanism and to oppose groups that were pushing for parochialism in Uganda and Euro- centrism globally. After the careful analysis, we realized that our prosperity, first and foremost, needed patriotism and Pan-Africanism. We access other markets in addition, but let us secure these two levels first. This is why we worked so hard to revive the EAC and consolidate COMESA. I salute the Wazee Daniel Arap Moi, Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Benjamin Mkapa, for helping us in this effort. On the COMESA battle, I remember leaders like H.E Jean Baptiste Bagaza, Dr. Peter Mutharika, Bax Nomvete and others.

The third principle of the NRM ideology, is social-economic transformation through education for all (*bonna basome*) and wealth- creation for all (*bonna-bagaggawale*), by all the families joining the money

economy and getting out of the pre-capitalist subsistence economy (*okukolera ekidda kyoonka*).

The fourth NRM ideological principle, is democracy – real democracy for empowering the people to grow and not cheap popularity that the neo-colonial agents use to manipulate the people.

The correct philosophy, ideology and strategy of the NRM, have enabled the economy and society of Uganda to go through five phases since 1986. These phases are:

- (i) The minimum economic recovery phase of restoring aspects of the small, colonial enclave money economy of the 3Cs and 3Ts (cotton, coffee, copper, tea, tobacco and tourism);
- (ii) Expanding that enclave with the more production of coffee, tea, etc.
- (iii) The diversification of the enclave economy by commercializing the production of bananas, cassava, milk, fruits, palm oil, cocoa, fish, beef, etc.;

- (iv) Adding value to some of these raw-materials such as cotton, fruits, milk, tea, timber, sugar, etc.;
- (v) The knowledge economy, through the production of vaccines, the auto-mobile industry, etc.

These measures, have enabled the economy to grow from USD1.5bn in 1986 to now USD 55bn by the forex exchange method and USD 180.29 bn by the PPP method. With USD 1,182 per capita, Uganda has entered the lower middle income status.

There are, however, still some trade barriers in the EAC. These are really road blocks to our prosperity. All the East Africans, should work to remove these bottlenecks by implementing fully the common market protocols, the Customs Union protocols, so that the fragmented markets of Africa, become one market.

With a more united African market, we can, then, be able to negotiate with other countries for market access – European Union, United States of America - USA, China, Russia, the Gulf, - India, etc.

Internally, we have guided our people that the social-economic transformation can be realized through *bonna basome* (education of all) and *bonna bagaggawale* (prosperity for all) by joining the four money making sectors of: Commercial Agriculture; Manufacturing; Services; and ICT. The Government has provided grants or soft loans, for wealth creators to use in joining these sectors in case they do not have their own capital. These funds are: OWC, NAADS, PMA, Entandikwa, Parish Development Model, Emyooga, the Youth Fund, the Women Fund, GROW Money, etc. These funds are, mainly, for the low income people. The actors that are more empowered, should borrow from the UDB for agriculture, for manufacturing and some of the services, such as tourism.

All we have said above, is targeted to enable us to create prosperity for ourselves through wealth creation. The second historical mission, is strategic security for Africa. African countries or, indeed, other

countries in the World, may be prosperous economically. Strategically speaking, however, they may still be vulnerable vis a vis other global actors. In the 2nd World War, the first victims of German aggression, were the developed countries of Denmark, Holland, Belgium, etc. Therefore, there is something about size. Indeed, the small countries of Europe, were rescued by the mighty Soviet Union that defeated Hitler's Army at Moscow, Byelorussia, Stalingrad, Kursk, etc., and were, later on, in 1944, joined by the Americans and the British. As we speak today, only 4 Countries have been able to land on the moon. These are: the USA, China, India and Russia. Why? Size and development, matter. Uganda, even when it becomes a developed Country, cannot have an over ambitious space programme. We are working on implementing a limited space programme for over head observation and communication (broadcasting and telephone communication). We shall have an overhead imaging satellite at an altitude of 600-700Kms in space and another one for Communication and internet at

36,000 kms in space, that we shall share with the other East African Countries.

These are, however, not enough to defeat greedy and aggressive parasites who seek four dimensional superiority on land (land forces), superiority in the air (Air-force), superiority at sea (Navy) and superiority in space (space forces). It is partly for this reason, but also for the purpose of implementing the economic integration of the markets easier, that, we, the African revolutionaries, our departed elders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Mwalimu Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Mzee Kenneth Kaunda and we, their young followers, put forward the principle of political integration as another element of the Pan-Africanism Principle. While we always aim at creating a Continental Common Market for the whole of Africa, we also aim at creating regional political Federations where possible. While it is possible and desirable to create a Continental Common Market, a political Federation, which represents a maximum form of integration, should only be for peoples who are either similar or

compatible and, preferably, with a common language. This is how East Africa has always been the best candidate for political integration. The peoples of the area are: Bantus, Nilotics, Nilo-Hamitics and Cushitics, whose dialects are either similar or linked. However, on top of all that, we have the good fortune of having the neutral dialect of Swahili that will easily be the official language of the potentially very powerful Federation of East and Central Africa. This East African Federation, with one Army, a common citizenship, in addition to the wider common market already talked about in this speech, will provide perpetual insurance for the freedom of the Black race and other freedom loving people in the World. It will have a defence capacity to be present in the four dimensions: Land, Air, Sea and Space. How can you insure cars, houses, individual people's health, but forget to provide insurance for the African race? This was the mistake in the past. How can we repeat the same mistake?

In 1963, our leaders were about to achieve this goal. I give to the Rt. Hon speaker, a historical picture of the

pages of the Uganda Argus newspapers of the 6th of June, 1963, that captured that moment. You can see our elders: Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Mwalimu Nyerere, Mzee Milton Obote, with others, including a delegation from Somalia, declaring the intention to achieve the federation that year, 1963. All the subsequent calamities that befell this part of Africa, would never have happened, if we had achieved that goal that time. The calamities I am talking about were the seizing of power by Idi Amin in Uganda, the massacres in Burundi in 1972, the genocide in Rwanda, the collapse of the State authority in Somalia, the prolonged Civil war in Sudan or even the RENAMO war in Mozambique, etc.

A United East African State, with one Army, would never have allowed these tragedies to happen. Indeed, it is the East African Co-operation that, eventually, enables us to solve these problems. However, coordinating multiple Sovereign Units, is less efficient and less prompt in terms of action compared to a United East Africa.

The third historical mission is to simply recognize the brotherhood and linkages among the African people and use them to achieve historical missions number one, prosperity, as well as number two, strategic security. As we have pointed out a number of times, the African race is only comprised of 4 groups of linguistic classification. These are: the Niger-Congo; the Nilo-saharan; the Afro-Asiatic; and the Khoisan. These groups have linguistic similarities within each cluster and linkages between them. In other speeches, I have demonstrated this. You can check on those explanations. The NRM line, has been that the people we are trying to unite for the sake of their prosperity and strategic security, are either similar or linked.

It is, therefore, a betrayal for the African political classes, to fail to grasp this and, instead, preach sectarianism, parochialism, etc. I, therefore, call on the Ugandans, especially, the Bazukulu, to audit what has been achieved vis a vis the 3 historical tasks and the four ideological principles of the NRM, see what has been achieved and what remains to be done. Then,

you should do your own part to do what is not yet done.

With patriotism, we have been able to unite the majority of Ugandans. That is why the NRM always wins with a majority on the first round.

On the side of Pan-Africanism, we have revived the EAC, together with the Wazee Daniel Arap Moi, Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Benjamin Mkapa. Later, our brothers from Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, South Sudan and, recently, Somalia, joined the EAC. This has helped cross-border trade. Uganda exports goods and services worth USD 2.140 billion to EAC Countries and goods and services worth USD 2.157 billion to COMESA Countries.

There are, however, still non-tariff barriers. With H.E William Ruto, recently, we agreed to remove all these barriers against sugar, milk, eggs, fruit juices, etc. Saying that X country has got good rains this year and harvested a lot of maize and, therefore, X will either give quotas for maize from Y or will not allow any maize imports from Y this year, is wrong. What happens to the maize growers in Y that year? Since the maize in Y

will *kudiba* (have no buyers), the farmers will migrate to coffee, a product that depends on the global market and does not have those hurdles. Then next year, there is a shortage of rain in X and they want maize from Y. Sorry, the farmers were betrayed and they migrated to other products. The correct approach, should be that maize from Y should not be blocked even if there is a bumper crop in Country X. Let the market determine the maize that will be preferred by the consumers. If it is found that maize producers in Country Y are cheaper consistently, then let East Africa allow them to specialize and feed all of us. This is what I said about Tanzanian rice. If Tanzania produces rice more cheaply, let us all buy from them. Stopping Tanzanian rice makes us commit several sins. Sin number one, you sabotage the Tanzanian rice grower by denying him market. Sin number two, you rob the Ugandan consumer by forcing him to buy rice from the inefficient Ugandan rice grower at a higher price. Sin number three, you invite Tanzania to Counter- block our products. Sin number four, you *kulemaza* (cripple) our own rice growers to remain inefficient and,

therefore, not competitive. Therefore, let all the East Africans insist on full free trade in the EAC area and, eventually, in the whole Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA). This is the second task of the Ugandan wealth creators - struggle for the completely free trade in the common market of EAC and Africa.

The first task of the Ugandan wealth creators, is to ensure that all the adults engage in wealth creation in the four sectors of commercial agriculture with *ekibaro* (*cura, otita, aimar, profitability assessment*), manufacturing and artisanship, services and ICT, using the provided funds of PDM, Emyooga, GROW, UDB loans, etc.

The third task, after we have fully recovered from the adverse effects of Corona and other negative global phenomena, ensure that we provide completely free education for the Ugandan children in Government Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Institutions, so that we achieve our target of *bonna-basome* (education for all).

The fourth task, is for the Ugandans and other East Africans that have got the right spectacles, to see how

the Black race can survive as a free people or even survive at all, to struggle and bring about the creation of East African Federation. We have long proposed the movement of the willing. When Mwalimu Nyerere was let down by his contemporaries on this issue, he moved with Mzee Karume to unite Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form Tanzania. It has been a great success. If we all can move together, it would be good. If we cannot, let the willing move. The crucial point that needs to be done, is for the Pan-Africanists to be more active in pushing for the struggle for the Political Federation of East Africa and for the full economic integration of the common market of Africa. You should aggressively expose those who work for foreign interests and are always diverting our people through the media to the interests of foreign parasites. The African race will enjoy football and music better, if you also contribute to the creating of an African Centre of gravity in the form of the East African Federation.

Task five, eliminate corruption in the public service and from among the political leaders. I have been getting good information about corrupt actors among

the public servants but also among the political actors. With firm evidence, I will crush these traitors.

Public servants and political leaders that steal Government money are corrupt and will be crushed. There are, however, other actors, that get bribes from foreigners to work for foreign interests. These are both corrupt and traitors and we are monitoring their activities. If they do not stop; and with evidence, we shall deal with them. As part of fighting corruption, it is crucial to save the amateurish political actors who come into politics without knowing that leading people does not mean carrying them on your head. It means that you show them the way. The situation of the inexperienced, careerist minded leaders who do not listen to the advice of the NRM, is further complicated by the blood thirsty parasites in the form of the unregulated money lenders who charge extortionate interest rates from these desperate political actors when they come to borrow money for unuseful expenditures. I have already directed the Minister of Finance to cap the interest rates chargeable by money lenders. The inflation rate in Uganda is 3%. Why

should the commercial Banks charge 20% interest? How about the money lenders charging 36% or more? This is pure extortion. The PDM and Emyooga funds are going to become the poor people's banks, able to lend at 12% or less after 24 months. I have already directed the Attorney – General to guide the Minister of Finance as to how he can criminalize this extortion. The other source of corruption has been the fund raising that is born mainly by the opportunistic politicians, over anxious to please parts of their electorate, by pledging money for those fund-raisings that they do not have. We are due to meet to resolve this diversion. Uganda's economy and society, are moving forward, the mistakes by some actors notwithstanding. The foreigners interfering in our internal affairs, are not a threat at all. I have written a piece, I will share with the Ugandans on that. The real threat to Africa's progress, have been internal weaknesses, such as undermining the Private sector (Amin, expelling the Asians, Nakivubo announcements, etc.), wrong concept of Army building, sectarianism, corruption,

etc. Otherwise, Africa's ability to defeat the imperialists, had been demonstrated by Samora Machel defeating the entire Portuguese Army in Mozambique in 1974, Robert Mugabe and ZANU, defeating the Ian Smith regime in 1980 in Zimbabwe, the Cuban Army comprised mainly of Black soldiers, defeating the white Boer Army at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in 1988, etc. It is our internal weaknesses that have, since that time, given the impression that Africa is weak. NRM has correct philosophical (private-sector led efforts), Ideological (the politics of interests and not Identity – anti-sectarianism) and strategic (wealth creators and integration to create market for their products) positions. That is why the economy is growing in spite of the betrayal by the parasites. With the crushing of the corruption, Uganda, given our overall correct positions, is unstoppable. Everything else is in place.

Therefore, the Rt. Hon, Speaker, I thank the Parliament for the following laws you passed since my State of Nation Address of 2023. These were:

Attached as Annex I

In the coming year, the Executive will present the following bills to Parliament for enactment into law:

Attached as Annex II

Finally, I want to salute the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and the NRM MPs. In the past, there was a risky and shallow tendency by some actors that would try to use Parliament to undermine the Ugandan Revolution, which is part of the African Revolution. This, of course, was a miscalculation that was provocative but we managed to handle it peacefully.

Rt. Hon. Speaker and your team, I congratulate you for working harmoniously with the Executive. I also want to salute the Judiciary. In the recent budgeting process, you came together and you were able to synthesize a rational and transparent budget for the country. I want to end by congratulating the UPDF, the Uganda Police Force, the Intelligence Services and the Prison Services, for guarding the 3,061,110 million

Pilgrims that were at Namugongo recently. I salute all the Ugandans for the good work you are doing.

Madam Speaker, it is my pleasure to declare the 4th Session of the 11th Parliament open. I thank you very much and hope that the coming Session will be fruitful.

God bless Uganda, God Bless Africa.

Yoweri K. Museveni
P R E S I D E N T