

**TIME FOR THE QUALITATIVE LEAP FORWARD**

**BY**

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PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA**

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Her Excellency the Vice President,

Rt. Hon. Speaker of Parliament,

Vice-Chairpersons of the NRM,

Rt. Hon. Prime Minister,

Secretary-General,

Members of CEC, NEC and Members of the National Conference.

We have always recapitulated the history of Uganda's economy and society according to the phases they have gone through. On this occasion, I will only start with 1962, the year of Uganda's independence from the British after their control of 68 years — starting with 1894 when they imposed a "Protectorate" on our ancestors. By that time, as I have told you many times, Uganda had been partially annexed to the British capitalist system through the creation of the small enclave economy of the 3Cs and 3Ts; the 3Cs being Coffee, Cotton and Copper and the 3Ts being Tea, Tourism and Tobacco. This small money economy was covering only 9% of the homesteads; this meant that 91% of the homesteads were still outside the money economy — living by the distorted pre-capitalist mode of production of okukolera ekidda kyonka

(working only for the stomach) mainly and some limited barter trade (Okuchurika).

In 1971, the ignorant Idi Amin comes in and by the time we remove him in 1979, cotton and copper production had collapsed and so had tea and tourism. Only coffee and tobacco were still limping on. The whole economy had been informalized and People were only getting products and foreign currency through Magendo (smuggling), Kibaanda (forex black market) and Kusamula (speculation, where you buy something scarce and sell it more expensively). It has, therefore, been the task and pleasure of the NRM to take the collapsed money economy of Uganda and the desperate society, through the following five phases: the minimum economic recovery that involved bringing back some of the Cs and Ts and reformalizing the money economy, thereby uprooting Magendo, Kusamula and Kibaanda (smuggling, speculation and forex black market respectively), thereby restoring the small enclave (island) economy; expanding the small island economy by growing more coffee, more tea, bringing more tourists, etc; diversifying the economy by commercializing the thitherto subsistence products such as milk, beef, bananas, maize,

cassava, sugar-cane, fruits, etc; adding value to some of the products such as maize, sugar-cane, milk, cotton, timber, etc; and commencing entrance into the knowledge economy of auto-mobiles, pharmaceuticals, vaccines, ICT, etc.

This is how this economy has grown from USD 3.9 billion in 1986 to USD 66.1 billion by the end of the financial year 2025-2026 by the forex method and USD 188 billion by the PPP method. In other words, the economy of Uganda has expanded 17 times ever since 1986, in spite of the corruption and disorientation of some of the actors. This recovery, expansion, diversification, value addition to some extent and now entering the knowledge economy, has been enabled by peace and security, correct macro and micro-economic policies and good infrastructure. With respect to infrastructure, we shall continue to expand, improve and rationalize all the elements involved. Hitherto, some good effort has been done on some of the roads from North to South and from East to West although some of the already tarmacked roads need reconstruction. The under-budgeting that had crept back and the suspected inflation of costs, will be firmly dealt with so that the tarmac roads are continuously smooth

and the murram roads are well maintained. Besides, it is time to rationalize the whole transport system by making it multi-modal, instead of the present Uni-Modal — mainly only the roads. With the Standard gauge and the repaired metre gauge railways and in liaison with Kenya and Tanzania, we shall be able to remove cargo from the roads to the railway and also remove petrol tankers from the roads to the pipeline, so that the roads remain for the passengers and light cargos.

Given where we are, my proposal is that we now clearly understand the seven words that represent the different aspects of our recovery, expansion, diversification, value addition and the beginnings of the new knowledge economy. These are: peace (obusiingye); development (entunguuka — meaning infrastructure both social and economic); wealth (obugaiga); jobs (emirimo); services (obuwereza); markets; and Political Federation.

We have achieved alot. However, we could have achieved much more if, especially the leaders (political, religious, cultural and social), had properly grasped our message on those aspects. Our message since the 1960s has never changed. However, many

leaders keep missing the core issues and going for the peripheral. Let us amplify abit, each of the seven words.

(1) **Peace.** Without peace, you cannot create prosperity, which is number one of our historical missions. Prosperity how? Through the production of goods and services and selling them, sustainably. We shall encounter this later when we are talking about wealth. The NRM has been able to preserve peace for 40 years which no previous Governments over this area have ever achieved except, probably, the Bachweezi (900 AD to 1400 AD). How did we manage? Through correct politics emphasizing interests (business, markets, services, etc) instead of identity (tribes, religious sectarianism, gender chauvinism). This has enabled us to unite our People politically and create strong National Institutions such as the Army, Political Parties, Police, etc. That is how Uganda has become a Country that does not generate refugees but, instead, absorbs refugees. Today, we have 1.8 million refugees in Uganda.

(2) **Development** (Entunguuka, Enkulakulana, Dongo lobo) is comprised of foundational assets and

services that the economy and society need. These are: the roads, the railways, the pipelines, the electricity, the piped water, the telephones, the schools, the health centres, etc etc. It is these assets — collectively termed as infrastructure — that support the economy (economic infrastructure) and the society (social infrastructure). Without them, the economy cannot grow. Moreover, these assets must enable us to have low costs of doing business (transport, electricity, etc). These competitively lower business costs that will enable our business People to succeed. How will they make profits, if the input costs are high? How will our products be competitive if they are very expensive? This is how European products - e.g cars, textiles, etc, lost the global markets to Japanese, Chinese, etc, products. Above, I have briefly told you how we are moving on infrastructure. The detailed plans for the roads, the railway, the ICT backbone, the electricity, etc, etc, will be in the manifesto. The confusing thing about infrastructure, is that many leaders that have not understood the anatomy of economies, spend all the time talking about precisely this — development which, as stated above, is comprised mainly of economic and social infrastructure. What they miss is the fact that, at the end of the day, you do not

spend your night in a hospital or school or on the road. You must go to your home. That is where you confront your personal and family problems — poverty, joblessness, etc.

(3) **Wealth.** This is where wealth comes in. Wealth (obugaiga, obugaga), belongs to the individual, the family, a company, etc. Wealth creation is assisted by development (e.g infrastructure); but development does not Ipso facto cause wealth creation. Especially in the pre-capitalist traditional societies of Africa, that huge Continent with alot of natural resources but with, hitherto, a small population, People may not have pressure to create modern wealth characterized by money economies. They may content themselves with okukolera ekidda kyonka (working only for the stomach). In the case of Uganda, this has been one of the causes of poverty. The other cause has been getting involved in the money economy (such as producing colonial cash - crops), without ekibaro. We have been telling Ugandans that you can actually create wealth even when the development (e.g infrastructure) is primordial. That is how you get families in the cattle corridor, in distant Bundibugyo or in the isolated Kalangala, creating more wealth and prosperity,



than the people living in Kampala. Moreover, as you create wealth, you can instal your own solar system for lighting, you can jolopii, aiga akipi, etc, water from the roof and have safe water by your own efforts, even as you await the arrival of the National efforts in development. With good family incomes, you can send your children to private schools and go to private and money paying health centres if the Government ones have issues. Therefore, with income, a family can handle the issue of poverty, some aspects of development and some aspects of service delivery. When I am talking about wealth, I always remember the guidance of Jesus in the Book of Matthew Chapter 6 Verse 33; ***It says: “Seek Ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you”.*** When it comes to society, we advise as follows: “Seek ye first the home-stead income and the rest shall be added unto you”.

Additionally, we have been informing Ugandans of the four sectors that contain wealth creation opportunities. These are: (i) Commercial agriculture (crops, livestock and fisheries), with ekibaro. Commercial agriculture, we have been informing our People, is of two types. These are: Intensive farming

where you use a limited area, by selecting high value enterprises, that can give the family good money even if the family has got only four acres or less and extensive agriculture, on the other hand, where families with big land can produce for us products that are low value per unit but by doing it on a big scale, you get good money. The high value enterprises we have, hitherto, recommended were initially seven. These being one acre for coffee; one acre for fruits; one acre for pastures, for feeding cattle; one acre for food crop (bananas, cassava, emoondi, etc); poultry and piggery in the backyard; and fish farming near the wetlands. Recently, some People have recommended cocoa, palm oil and avocados. I need to satisfy myself on the global demand for those products. The seven activities I recommended in 1996 had internal, regional and global demand that was big. The global demand for coffee is USD 460 billion, fruits USD 688 billion, dairy products USD 893 billion, poultry products USD 336 billion, piggery USD 397.5 billion and fish USD 671.45 billion. However, the Country also needs the low value products such as cotton, tobacco, tea, maize, sugar-cane, indigenous cattle, etc. If you do these on a big scale, you will get good money. Somebody in Adjumani told me that you get

Shs. 1 million from an acre of cotton. That is bad if you only have one acre for earning money. If, however, you have 10 acres, that is Shs. 10 million; 100 acres, Shs. 100 million; 1000 acres, Shs. 1 billion. You, therefore, get good money from these low value products provided you do them on a big scale. Indigenous cattle (The Ankole breed) were, initially, classified as low value. However, they have now become very high value, some selling as much as Shs. 6 million per cow. In order to maximize returns from agriculture, we need to grasp the importance of the environment and water usage. There is now the rampant misuse of the wetlands by growing rice there that is very low value per acre and under-utilizing the terrestrial parts of the Country (olukalu) by denying those parts water for irrigation because the water has been misused for rice growing. Dr. Muranga at Bushenyi has increased the yield of bananas 10 times from 5.3 tonnes per hectare the nearby Banyankore get, to 53 tonnes per hectare. This irrational use of Uganda's land needs to stop. Fish farming at the edges of the swamps (Emiiga, kulubalama) is much more profitable. My ponds in Lango, Kabaale, Kawumu, give me Shs. 70 million as net per pond per year (with only one pond each site). In Limoto, Pacwa, the rice growers were

getting Shs. 4.2 million per acre. We shall massively, using earth-moving equipment or paid human labour supported by Government, whichever is cheaper, develop fish ponds on the miiga of our swamps to liberate the nearby residents from poverty and, at the same time, water will come back in the centre of the swamp so that we use it for irrigation. Stop misusing the wetlands and under-utilizing the terrestrial parts (olukalu) of our Country. The example we have initiated at Limoto is the way to go. Regarding the whole issue of wealth creation, I am reminded of the parable of the sower in the Book of **Matthew, Chapter 13, verse 3-9 (GNT)**, *It says: “Jesus used parables to tell them many things. A man went out to sow grain. As he scattered in the field, some of it fell along the path and the birds came and ate it up. Some of it fell on rocky ground, where there was little soil. The seeds soon sprouted, because the soil wasn’t deep. But when the sun came up, it burned the young plants; and because the roots had not grown deep enough, the plants soon dried up. Some of the seeds fell among thorn bushes, which grew up and choked the plants. But some seeds fell into good ground and brought forth fruit, some hundredfold, some*

***sixtyfold, some thirtyfold. And Jesus concluded, “Listen, then, if you have ears!”.*** Some of the seeds that fell on fertile ground are People like Ijala of Serere using 2.5 acres and earning Shs. 1,450,000,000 gross and Shs. 608,940,000 net from eggs, milk, etc; Nyakaana of Rwengaaju near Fort Portal earning Shs. 1,069,200,000 gross and Shs. 183,600,000 net annually from eggs and milk, etc; Hon. Byamukama of Kikwaya, earning Shs. 1.3 billion gross and Shs. 660 million net; People like Kizito Lawrence of Masaka, growing coffee in 2 acres and earning Shs. 15 - 16 million per annum; Basaangwa of Kamuli, earning Shs. 20 million from 5 acres; then, Kacuro Benard of Bundibugyo earning Shs. 56.6 million annually from Cocoa and Shs. 7.2 million per year in Palm Oil; and, finally, Erick Mbarara of Katuna, Kabale, earning Shs. 35 million per annum from apples. These are the small-scale and, sometimes, medium-scale farmers. You also, of course, have the large-scale farmers and plantation owners such as Madhvani, Rai, and yours faithfully Yoweri Museveni and many others. Nyakaana has created 15 jobs in 1.3 acres. If farmers with a total of 7 million acres out of the 40 million acres that can support arable activities, were to use the Nyakaana example, we would create 105 million jobs. All the

Ugandans and all the refugees would get jobs and we would have to import other workers from the neighbouring Countries as happened in the colonial times. This is very easy. When I look at my small town of Rushere that only boasted of 3 shops in 1967 and find that there are now 619 permanent buildings in that unit, I confirm that our vision is not a mirage. What has stimulated the phenomenal growth of Rushere Town? One word: “milk”. It is the Dairy Industry that we started nursing in 1967 but finally launched in 1989, that has been the magnet that has pulled these Ugandans together. I doubt whether the majority are from the area. There are 22 milk coolers in Rushere Town today, each day handling 65,500 litres of milk. This quantity will increase, when the farmers listen to my message and use irrigation and also plough the farms and plant pastures instead of the cattle kukunuuza (trying to scrape something to eat) on the gwamera gwene or Isubi ryameraryene (the grass grew by itself).

(ii) The second sector of wealth is manufacturing and artisanship. Here, we are referring to factories and artisan working etc. Many of the factory owners are friends from outside Uganda \_ Chinese, Indians,

Arabs, etc. However, Ugandans are also coming up. Look at the Mulwanas, the Sudhirs, etc. The factories are for adding value to agricultural products, minerals, fresh water resources, forests, etc. Then, there is the knowledge economy of automobiles, electronics, vaccines, etc, where our People create the products of the brain.

### (iii) Services.

The third sector of wealth, are the services such as transport, medical, music, preaching, tourism, hospitality, etc. Many People make a good living through services. He or she is not producing a good (soap, salt, cloth, food, etc); but he or she is providing a service of boda boda by transporting me from point A to point B and I pay him or her. At the moment services constitute 41.9% of the economy of Uganda. Many of the services depend alot on peace and infrastructure. Industries like tourism, transport, entertainment, music, hospitality, etc, immediately collapse when there is no peace. I was recently in Egypt and some friends told me that their tourism business had collapsed during the time of political chaos in that Country. That is exactly what had happened to our tourism here after Idi Amin took power in 1971. Therefore, I advise all the

services sector entrepreneurs to kuckyeena (curse) those who promote chaos. They are enemies of our Country and also our livelihood. Good roads and airports also encourage some of the services, such as tourism, transport, etc.

(iv) ICT.

The fourth sector of wealth is ICT — using modern computer and internet-based capacity to provide certain services. It is also part of the services but I prefer to highlight it because of its potential. Take the service known as Business Processes Outsourcing (BPO). Here you get auditors, for instance, or accountants, People that specialize in skills of bookkeeping and auditing. Auditors and accountants that are based in Kampala, are able to work for Companies in the United States of America, Canada, Europe, etc, while they are physically here. How do they do it? Work from abroad is sent to them over the internet, they handle the work as required and send the work back over the internet and they are, then, paid over the International Payment System. A Country like India, earns USD 49.87 billion from BPOs. Uganda can do well there.



(4) The fourth word I have been emphasizing is **Jobs** (emirimo). People talk so much about jobs. The question is: “Where do jobs come from, mainly? The danger in Uganda is the colonial thinking on account of the distortions caused by that phenomenon of colonialism. When the colonialists grabbed Uganda from the incompetent and ego-centric chiefs, they completely distorted our economy that provided full employment in the form of emyooga. There was no phenomenon of the unemployed in the traditional society except for the vagabonds (ebirare). I even doubt whether the biraare would be permitted to survive in that no nonsense society. Everybody had omwooga which created a job to him and jobs for others. You had: Abaheesi (black smiths); Ababaizi (wood workers); Abakomagi (bark cloth workers); Abahazi (leather workers); Abariisa (livestock herders); Abahiingyi (cultivators); Abajubi (fishermen); Abariimbi (water transporters); Abagyengyi (surgeons); Abashakyiizi (medical workers); Abafumu (fore-tellers); Abahanuuzi (prophets); Abatanagi (bow and arrow makers); Abebuunzi (hawkers); Abarungaanwa (inter-zonal traders from the coast); Engabo (soldiers); Abanogoozi (clay workers); Abakama (rulers); etc, etc.

When the colonialists took over Uganda, they wanted to kill the indigenous providers of goods and services and annex Uganda's consumers to their colonial system. Instead of, for instance, modernizing those emyooga (blacksmithing, carpentry, etc), they killed almost all the myooga and their products and replaced them with imported products. Instead of endosho (wooden spoons), they brought metallic spoons that are not comparable in safety. Instead of entatika (wooden plates) and ebyaanzi that last for a very long time, they brought clay plates and cups that break so easily and many times are made from materials that turn out to be risky to health. Hoes, pangas, cloth, shoes, etc., were imported, so was even food (tinned milk and beef) from New Zealand at remote Ntungamo, maize flour from the White Farms in Kenya, butter and jam from the United Kingdom, etc. So ridiculous but true. Instead, the colonies were assigned the role of producing not food but beverages such as coffee, tea, cocoa and other stimulants such as tobacco. How can you survive on beverages and stimulants without food (carbohydrates, protein, fat, vitamins)? With these basics, you had to import but concentrate on the peripheral.

Once the emyooga products were suppressed and replaced by colonial imports, People massively lost jobs. The whole massive, elaborate and universal system within the region (from the coast to the interior), based on barter trade (kuchurika) and ensiimbi (cowrie shells currency), was destroyed and replaced with imports from Europe such as Manchester textiles, Marekaani (American textile), Japani (textiles from Japan). Therefore, the only category of jobs that remained or was created was to work as auxiliaries for the colonial system, as low-ranking soldiers, policemen, clerks, translators, etc. There were also a few chiefs. Ankole had 55 Gombolola Chiefs, 10 Saza Chiefs and a few Co-ordinators at the District Headquarters — Engaazi (Katikiro), Omuramuzi (Judge), Omubikyi (treasurer) and Kihimba (Head of the local civil service). This was a total of 70 colonial jobs that the Banyankore colonial agents were fighting over and dividing our People on a sectarian basis on account of these few jobs. With this disruption of the ancient and elaborate economy, came the distortion about jobs (emirimo) and business (money-making). Jobs (emirimo) became the colonial Clerical jobs (obwakaraani) — not the previous artisan jobs providing for the needs of society; and

money-making (business) was only confined to the colonially demanded beverages and stimulants (coffee, tea, cocoa, tobacco, etc). These were the cash crops, according to this distorted thinking. How about bananas, cassava, millet, milk, beef, fruits, etc? No. These are just subsistence products. Do not think about them, when it comes to money.

It is this colonial thinking about jobs and money-making (business), that is disorienting our People. You ask somebody: “What job are you doing?” “Nokora Kyi?” The answer: “I am not employed. I am just a farmer!!” Really; but being a farmer is one of the best jobs.

The NRM, therefore, from the beginning, saw through these colonial obscurantist schemes. We saw the limitations of the small colonial economy of 3Cs and 3Ts (coffee, cotton and copper and tea, tobacco and tourism), even when we restored some of them. Our 10 points programme, among other things, talked of building an independent, integrated and self-sustaining economy, where everything that is used Nationally, Regionally and Internationally, that we can produce profitably, can be a cash product (bananas, maize, cassava, milk, beef, fruits,

millet, sorghum, sweet potatoes, etc). We also rejected the status of being a mere supermarket for imported products. Hence, the four sectors where wealth is found. These are commercial Agriculture, manufacturing and artisanship, services and ICT. It is, therefore, the wealth of an individual, a family or a company that creates jobs for the owners and also for their employees. As we speak today, commercial Agriculture has already created 3,610,064 million jobs, manufacturing 1,416,548 million jobs, services 5,042,188 million jobs and ICT 46,172 million jobs. This is just the beginning. As I say elsewhere in this speech, the Nyakaana model where he has created 15 jobs in 1.3 acres, means that if we only use seven million acres of the arable land of Uganda, we shall create 105 million jobs. Therefore, the Bazukulu, do not kill yourselves over the office jobs. Use the Government programmes to go into commercial agriculture, artisanship that is integrated with industry, services and ICT. The skilling hubs and the technical schools, should ensure that the People they train have the capacity to work in the mushrooming factories. I am told that the electricians we need, the machine operators, etc, are not enough and many times we import from other Countries.

## **(5) Services.**

Here we need talking about services not as just businesses for the owners or the employees, but from the point of view of the consumer. I am a Citizen or a resident of Uganda. I need security from war. I need security from crime. I need medical care. I need veterinary and crops advice. I need education for my children. On account of our strong Army, Uganda is free from War. However, there is a bit of crime partly encouraged and covered up by elements in the Police and even some sections of the UPDF. We have already arrested some of the traitors and we know all those involved, but we need more evidence to conclusively act. They have been scaring away informers or even persecuting them. The Citizens be firm. Report the criminals. Action will be taken. The same applies to corruption. The corrupt try to infiltrate into the investigation agencies to blind them by blocking and confusing the investigations. On the theft of drugs in hospitals, we are working with our Scientists on tracing these drugs. They are confident that they have a solution. As we stop the theft of drugs, the next pressure on our families is the cost of education in Government schools. In the coming term (kisanja), we are determined to implement free education for our children in

Government schools (primary, secondary and tertiary). The good thing is that we have moved reasonably well on the expansion of the education network. We now have 12,550 Government or Government aided Primary Schools, 1,416 Government or Government aided Secondary Schools, 189 Tertiary Institutions and 10 Government Universities. It is through these that we shall provide free education. Our long time held wish that some local groups have been blocking. In the dialogue we had with them last, they promised to Co-operate. Apart from the Government education network, there are the privately run schools. There are 32,653 Private Primary Schools, 6,121 Private Secondary Schools, 115 Private Tertiary Institutions and 74 Private Universities. There are 9, 412,869 million children in the Government Primary Schools, 1,178,484 million in Government Secondary Schools, 30,171 students in Government Tertiary Institutions and 111,598 students in Government Universities. The total enrolment of learners in Uganda is currently 11,130,179 million in the Primary Schools, 1,709,267 million in the Secondary Schools, 63,055 students in Tertiary Institutions and 217,805 students in the Universities.

We have been emphasizing the study of Science and Technical studies, which is paying off. You see what our Scientists are doing in the areas of the electric automobiles, vaccines, pharmaceuticals, etc. With service provision, therefore, we are going to emphasize no stealing of Government drugs, free education for our young People in Government Schools, well-maintained tarmac roads, using the Shs. 1.3 billion per district to maintain well the murram roads, uproot the criminals within the security forces and continue to expand other services such as clean water, telephones, radio, services, etc. Before we conclude the point about services, it is important to, again, note that with wealth at the individual, family, or company level, you actually provide some of the services yourself. You can go to a private clinic, pay for your child in a private school, drive yourself in your own car, put solar power on your house, tap rainwater from the roof of your house. That is why wealth creation is so crucial in the whole spectrum of prosperity creation. Wealthy families even take away burdens of service provision from the Government.

## **(6) Market.**



It is amazing to see how many actors implement what is in the Church of Uganda Prayer book on page 4 that says: ***“They left undone what they ought to have done and did that they ought not to have done and there is no truth in them.”*** It is tragic to hear so called leaders — whether political, cultural, religious or whatever else they are called, talking of tribes, religious sects in politics. “If you really love your People, do you want them to be prosperous?” If they are to be prosperous through the sale of goods and services, who will buy those products? Is the tribal market enough for your People’s products? How useful is religious sectarianism when it comes to markets? Do you want buyers for your tribesmen or your religionmates? If whoever buys from you is good for you, why, then, do you foment sectarianism among your potential customers? It is, therefore, important that the NRM supporters understand and tell all and sundry that in order to ensure prosperity for our People, we need, not only a United Uganda to give market to our wealth creators, but also a United East Africa and Africa. Hence, our four principles of Patriotism (love Uganda), Pan-Africanism (love Africa), Social-Economic Transformation and Democracy. All Africans need to know the

importance of a United African market. Why is the USA prosperous and the nearby Latin America in misery yet Latin America has got more natural resources than the USA? My view is that the main cause may be the fragmented market in Latin America. How easily can a business person succeed in that fragmented market situation where the Continent is rich in the number of Presidents and natural resources but poor in everything else? What is our historical mission in Africa? Are we to build a United State of Africa in Africa or a Latin America in Africa?

(7) The final word is **Strategic Security**. How can Africa be secure from all threats? With economic integration, we unite the markets and create prosperity. However, prosperity alone does not guarantee strategic security. A developed Japan and a developed South Korea, still depend on others for strategic security. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the developed Countries of Holland, Denmark, Belgium, France, etc were, overrun by Germany. It was the mighty Soviet Union and, later on, the USA, that rescued those Countries and the World. There is now the phenomenon of some players seeking the 4-dimensional superiority — to be superior on land

(land forces), in the air (Air-force), at sea (the Navy) and in space. Only four Countries have been to the moon: the USA, China, Russia and India. Can Uganda, even when it becomes a developed Country, a task we are already achieving, be able to be present in these four dimensions? My answer is: “no”. In order to be present in the four dimensions, Africa needs to rationalize its political framework of excessive fragmentation. The CFTA (the Continental Free Trade Area) will help to address, if it is implemented 100%, the issue of prosperity. However, for strategic security, we need another medicine. This is the medicine of political integration in the form of the formation of the East African Federation, taking advantage of the similarities and linkages among the People of this area, including the use of Swahili to unite us. It is what gives us the seventh crucial word —the East African Federation, through political integration. These are the seven words that we need to put uppermost in our heads. These are: peace; development; wealth; jobs; service delivery; markets; and political federation. This is how we come to our present intention of executing a qualitative leap and transformation into a high middle-income status of USD 500 billion in the next few years. Why do we think that this is achievable?

It is because much of our USD 66 billion today by the exchange rate method, is comprised of raw-materials. These include unprocessed coffee, unprocessed fruits, beef with little transformation other than just kubaaga (slaughtering), grains such as maize, 10 million tonnes of unprocessed bananas, cassava, forest products, etc etc. By adding value to all these and also intensifying our involvement in the knowledge economy, we shall attain the size of an economy of USD 500 billion. The economy of the four sectors, will usher in social-economic transformation in society, leading to social metamorphosis. The old traditional society of peasants, feudalists and artisans, already distorted by colonialism in the form of killing the artisan class, will be replaced by a productive middle class and a skilled working class.

I wish to end this address by congratulating all of you that got elected as the new leaders of the NRM. I am very happy to see that most of you are young. In order to succeed, do two things. Do not try to carry the population under you on your head but simply lead them by showing them what to do and how, as you have been guided by the NRM, using Government money, not your personal money.

Secondly, concentrate on okukyenuura (removing the removable needs) the People by showing them how to get out of poverty using Government programmes such as PDM, Emyooga, etc; implementing universal free education in Government Schools in Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Institutions; stop the theft of Government drugs in health centres; ensuring that the Police deal with crime in your area; ensuring that the tarmac roads are always well maintained and so are the murram roads; and ensuring that you fight land grabbing in your area.

It is a pity that we lost quite a number of our members since we last met, including the late Jacob Oulanyah and others. May the Almighty God receive their souls in eternal peace.

I thank the masses of the NRM members across the Country, the CEC, the NEC and the National Conference for supporting my expression of interest to be the NRM National Chairman for 2026-2031 and as Presidential flag bearer for the same period. I will not let you down. We have got more capacity now than ever before.

Thanks to everybody.

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA AND  
CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE  
MOVEMENT.**