



# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(HANSARD)

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OFFICIAL REPORT

FIRST SESSION - FIRST MEETING

THURSDAY, 4 JUNE 2026



## IN THE PARLIAMENT OF UGANDA

### Official Report of the Proceedings of Parliament

#### FIRST SESSION - 3RD SITTING - FIRST MEETING

**Thursday, 4 June 2026**

*Parliament met at 2.12 p.m. in Kololo Ceremonial Grounds, Kampala.*

*The Uganda National Anthem*

*The East African Community Anthem*

#### PRAYERS

*(The Speaker, Mr Jacob Oboth, in the Chair.)*

*The House was called to order.*

#### PROCLAMATION

**THE SPEAKER:** “*WHEREAS under Article 101(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Uganda, is mandated at the beginning of each session of Parliament to deliver to Parliament an address on the State of the Nation;*

*AWARE that His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Uganda, has, in accordance with Article 101(1), indicated to the Speaker of Parliament his intention to address Parliament on the State of the Nation on Thursday, 4 June 2026;*

*NOW, THEREFORE, in accordance with Rule 18(1) of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament, I hereby proclaim that:*

- 1. Parliament shall sit at Kololo Ceremonial Grounds on Thursday, 4 June 2026, at 1400 hours to receive the address of His*

*Excellency the President on the State of the Nation; and*

- 2. The Kololo Ceremonial Grounds to be the precincts of Parliament for the above-mentioned purpose.*

*Given under my hand at Parliament House, Kampala, this 1<sup>st</sup> day of June 2026.”*

#### COMMUNICATION FROM THE CHAIR

**THE SPEAKER:** Your Excellency, the President of the Republic of Uganda, Gen. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni; Her Excellency, the Vice-President, Major (Rtd) Jessica Alupo Epel; His Lordship, the honourable Chief Justice, Dr Flavian Zeija; the Rt Hon. Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Thomas Tayebwa; the Rt Hon. Prime Minister and Leader of Government Business in Parliament, Robinah Nabbanja; the Rt Hon. Leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Joel Ssenyonyi; cabinet ministers and ministers of state, honourable Members of Parliament of Uganda; ladies and gentlemen.

I welcome you all to this official State opening of the First Session of the 12<sup>th</sup> Parliament of Uganda, during which we will receive the President’s address on the State of the Nation.

Honourable members, the State-of-the-Nation Address is a key constitutional address, pursuant to Article 101(1) of the 1995 Constitution, delivered by His Excellency, the President, to Parliament to outline the Government’s achievements over the past financial year, address pressing national challenges, and lay

out the Government's legislative agenda for the upcoming session of Parliament.

I take this momentous occasion to formally congratulate His Excellency, the President of Uganda, Gen. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, upon retaining yet another mandate of the people of Uganda. In the same vein, I congratulate all of you, Members of the 12<sup>th</sup> Parliament, upon your election. I implore you to bear in mind that an election victory is only the foundation of leadership. What follows is the hefty responsibility of governance, fulfilling campaign promises, and ensuring social cohesion.

Your Excellency, on behalf of the 12<sup>th</sup> Parliament, and on my behalf, we affirm our solid commitment to the realisation of the Government's ten-fold growth strategy, our national economic blueprint designed to expand the country's GDP from roughly \$50 billion to \$500 billion by 2040.

Honourable members, the State-of-the-Nation Address, which we eagerly await this afternoon, is particularly historic. It will be the first of five annual addresses of its kind by His Excellency, the President. That will mark the start of each of the five sessions of the tenure of this Parliament.

Your Excellency and honourable members, you will note that the physical attendance of this annual occasion has been restricted to only Members of Parliament as a precautionary measure in response to the prevailing threat of the Ebola disease. Parliament recognises and appreciates the Government's swift response in ensuring public health and safety whenever such a situation arises. I thank you for your kind attention.

INVITATION BY THE RT HON. SPEAKER  
TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT  
TO DELIVER TO PARLIAMENT AN  
ADDRESS ON THE STATE OF THE  
NATION

**THE SPEAKER:** Your Excellency, the President, Article 101(1) of the 1995 Constitution grants you the mandate to deliver

to Parliament and to the nation at the beginning of each session of Parliament, your address on the State of the Nation. The House is greatly honoured by your presence this afternoon.

Honourable members, as we welcome His Excellency the President, I draw your attention to and urge you to abide by Rule 10(4)(a) of the Rules of Procedure, which provides that, *"The President, while occupying the Chair of State, may make a presidential statement, which shall be heard in silence and not followed by any comment or question"*.

I now take my maiden and singular honour, and privilege to invite you, Your Excellency, to address the nation.

Your Excellency, you are most welcome.

2.24

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA (Gen. (Rtd) Yoweri Kaguta Museveni):** Her Excellency the Vice-President of Uganda, the Rt Hon. Speaker of Parliament, all other leaders, and fellow Ugandans. I am, again, happy to address you on this occasion of the State-of-the-Nation address for the year 2026.

First of all, I thank and congratulate all Ugandans for having participated in the series of elections since 15 January 2026, and for massively supporting the NRM. Thank you very much, Ugandans. Above all, I thank God for all these victories and for the peace in the country in spite of so many evil people who have been plotting to disturb the peace.

During the presidential inauguration, I put forward a call of, "No more sleep". Some people are already distorting it as just, "No sleep". It is not just "No sleep". It is, "No more sleep".

To clarify the message, I should add: "No more corruption"; (*obusikuzi*); no more *Kukongola* (leaning on your hoe when others are digging). No more *kugumaaza, kuhuzya* (diverting somebody's attention from the real target to a wrong target). No more *Kutuhenda* (over-burden us when we work and you are just sitting down) and no

more politeness to non-performers who want leadership for their own ego and personal interests. This is the “*Kisanja No More Sleep*”.

The story of the NRM and Uganda starts in the early 1960s. Personally, I started waking up our people in 1959 when I visited Mbarara Stock Farm as a junior secondary one pupil at Mbarara High School. Having come from Ntungamo area, which was democratically outside the money economy, and everybody was on *okukolera ekida kyonka* (working only for the stomach; subsistence) - combined with the school education, when we came to know about the enclosure movement in the UK (*Kusiba Sengenge*), for agriculture, the industrial revolution in Europe, etc.

By 1965, the sectarian politics of the political groups notwithstanding, our ideas about the socioeconomic transformation had coalesced. It was clear that the small enclave economy of the British, of the 3 Cs and 3 Ts, was a disaster for the majority of the people.

You want proof? Just look at the infant mortality and the average life expectancy in 1962. There were 128 per 1,000 live births, and life expectancy was 46.8 for everybody – on the average. We soon grasped the importance of having vertically and horizontally integrated national economies.

In the 20 years of chaos between 1966 and 1986, our views were eventually crystallised into the 10-point programme of Kanyaara, where we wrote this document in 1984. Point No.5 of those 10 points runs as follows: “*Building an independent, integrated, self-sustaining national economy*”. However, for the people to participate in the vertical and horizontal integration of the economy of the country, they had to join the money economy first and move out of the traditional pre-capitalist economy of working for *ekida kyonka*; working only for the stomach.

Since my nomadic family had migrated from Ntungamo to Nyabushozi, it was good luck that we started our activities there.

These involved sensitising the population of the cattle corridor to stop nomadism, make enclosures around their land using *sengenge*, engage in commercial agriculture with *ekibaro*, *cura*, and *aimar* (calculation for profit and maximum returns).

As you can see in the videos, let them show us some of the families we started with, if they are featured in the videos, and their testimonies.

(A video presentation was made.)

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** There you have the testimony of some of the families we started with, in 1966 – end of the year. That old lady was speaking in Runyankole, and she said that when we came to teach them in 1966, we were students having finished A-level, and we taught them to stop – she was saying that they were like the Karamojong – *ati tukabaturi nka abakaramoja* - nomadic.

If you read our booklets – if you are polite; *singa mwetowazaako*, if you can make yourself a bit humble to learn from smaller people like us, then you will see how we argued with those traditional people to stop nomadism, and have settled agriculture; grow crops, and so on.

She was saying that because of the insecurity, we had to go away to fight, but when we came back in 1986, we added the issue of not only just being settled, but also doing commercial agriculture with *ekibaro*. That is why we advised them to go into dairy farming. Dairy farming was more, for smallholders and medium-sized people, better than beef ranching, which needs more land.

That model, which started in the Nyabushozi area, has spread to the whole cattle corridor south of the Nile. There is a man called Matongo in the Ngoma area. Let us see what he says.

(A video presentation was made.)

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** This is now another side of the cattle corridor, Ngoma, Nakaseke District, but the cattle corridor is continuous from the border with Tanzania in

Isingiro all the way up to Northern Uganda. Much of the work we have done so far was in the South of the Nile, from River Kagera up to Kiryandongo. They have all changed. That man is in the Ngoma area. The infrastructure is not so good, but you can see they are having a lot of money. That particular one is selling 900 litres of milk per day. The price is low, it is not high, but they still get Shs 21 million a month.

You can see that girl there; she is educated because of the money which the parents have used to pay for her in the schools and they have moved from the other smaller houses, which the old lady was showing you, to now permanent buildings to live a better life. That is the testimony from the cattle corridor. That is why this time really, I am no longer interested in non-performers.

Between 1986 and 1989, we campaigned for prioritising the enterprise of dairy farming for the small and medium farmers, while the big players would continue with their ranching for beef.

By 1995, the cattle corridor had started changing. People were getting income per month from the sale of milk, building better houses, paying school fees for children in schools. Indeed, our late Magaga – Magaga is a husband to the other lady whom you saw, and father of Lt Gen. Kavuma – Is Kavuma here? He is a big general now. (*Hon. Kavuma rose*) You can see how big he is; there he is.

Their family – the wife (the one you saw) and the husband who died – indeed our late comrade Magaga, the father of Lt Gen. Kavuma, came to me and told me that he did not know what to do with the money. When they started getting money from the milk, he could not believe it. He said, “*Hate essente z’inshobeire okundazigire.*”

Once you say you are a leader, you are putting a problem on yourself. If you do not become a real leader, God will not like you; I can assure you of this. Either you lead or you stay in your home: Do not try to be a leader when you do not care about the people.

Magaga came and said, “*Essente z’inshobeire nzigyire’nta?*” This is because the milk people are paid every 15 days. This had never happened in Magaga’s life. He had never seen it that a villager is paid money every 15 days. “*Nka ow’omushahara.*” That is what he told me. It is as if he was working in a government office and being paid a salary.

That was the tragedy of Uganda at that time. Only the civil colonial servants would get regular income. This change in the cattle corridor by the traditional families of *abatasoma* – because these people had never gone to school. Magaga had never gone to school. His wife had never gone to school – was engineered by us, and it was against the advice of the professionals.

The professionals did not believe we could change these people. They would tell me; you are wasting your time, those Banyankole cannot change. They were all saying to a man that the Banyankole could not change from their pre-capitalist lifestyle to a money economy. Moreover, when we were doing this, nobody among the colonial elite would agree to support us. It is only *Mzee* Byanyima who gave us Shs 20, with my colleague Mwesigwa Black, who died in 1972 in our wars. The only person who helped us gave us Shs 20. That was just short of \$3 at the time. A dollar at that time was Shs 7, so \$3 would be Shs 21. When we said we were going to mobilise the Banyankole to stop nomadism, other people refused to help us.

We used Shs 7 per person to use Mungonya’s bus from Mbarara to Rushere through Ruhumba. That was Shs 14. Out of our Shs 20, we used Shs 14 to come from Mbarara to Rushere. Mwesigwa was a smoker, so he took away Shs 1.20 to buy a packet of *Sportsman* cigarettes. That left us with Shs 1.80.

After holding public meetings at Rushere, we used the *Bazalwana* bus to a place called Katongole, each using Shs 1.20; that is Shs 2.40. In the Katongole area, we started moving on foot up to Naama, where we spent the night leaning against the harvested millet of one of

the peasants, called Kyankuru. Millet is very comfortable when it is not threshed – when it is in the sheaves.

After addressing a public meeting at Naama, the group gave us bicycle rides to *Mzee* Bitasaine's place near Rwamasha Dam. Moving on foot, we addressed meetings, including a mega one where there is Karo Secondary School now. You should have seen the grandfathers and other adults listening to these young people. I was just 22 years old at that time, and Mwesigwa was slightly older than me.

Thereafter, we moved on foot out of *Mzee* Bitanyoka's home, where we had made our camp, and spent the night at Rushere with *Mzee* Mihinga. Thereafter, our remaining Shs 2.40 could only take us up to Bunyakasharara. From there, we walked on foot all the way to Mbarara, spending a night at my kraal in Akairungu near Biharwe, Mbarara area. It was now January 1967, and it was time to take up our temporary teaching jobs and get our own money to easily support our voluntary struggle for our people.

Therefore, when I hear leaders talking of allowances to reach their people and get them out of poverty, I almost get nausea – I feel like vomiting, if you do not know. When I look at you, the way you do things, I really feel very – not pleased, but out of politeness, I have been keeping quiet: Now I am telling you. Even those who get government allowances do not go to the field. I hear that many just stay in Kampala.

Another mistake is for leaders to give personal money to constituents. As you can see here, we had no money to give to anybody. The only money we had, even when we started getting our own salaries, was for bus transport. Most of the time, I would ride a bicycle from Kazo to Burunga, from Burunga to Rwakitura, and back. The only fuel I needed was no fat on my body. Now you hear a problem; a *Muluka* chief needs a motorcycle. A motorcycle for what? Let the *Muluka* chief ride a bicycle. I am really sick and tired of that parasitism. That is why I told you that this is "*Kisanja* No More Sleep",

because I have been polite, talking, thinking that people will learn by example. No. This is the time to talk straight to everybody. Why should the *Muluka* chief have a motorcycle, fuel, and money? Let him use a bicycle. It is better for him. He will live longer if he rides a bicycle.

Even a *Gombolola* chief, the *Gombolola* is not so big. Why should we have fuel and all of that? Work cannot be done because there is no money for fuel. The only fuel I needed was no fat on my body. We would share food and accommodation with our hosts, the population.

God has kept me here, and I am now 82 years old – almost, not exactly, but almost.

In spite of the efforts we expended in the resistance, the most important contribution to the people of the cattle corridor was the diagnosis of their problems and the prescription we offered, because we had no money to give these people. The only things we gave them were a correct analysis, a diagnosis, and a prescription.

They were enough to arouse their enthusiasm and expectations. That was why they joined the young political party we formed in 1980, known as the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), after political parties were again allowed to exist.

No money was given to them, but accurate analysis and prescriptions that were projected solutions, and also reaching out to them. You can imagine a 22-year-old child calling adults and grandfathers, and they came to those meetings.

By 1986, the production of milk in Uganda was 200 million litres per annum. It is now 5.4 billion litres saving Uganda \$1.56 billion of imports and earning \$285 million in exports.

Therefore, the work we did not only help cattle raising families but also saved Uganda the import bill of \$1.56 billion if we were importing all this milk. Uganda would be spending \$1.56 billion.

Additionally, Uganda is now earning \$285 million in export earnings. Uganda used to import canned condensed milk from as far away as New Zealand, packed paper milk from Kenya, butter, cheese, yoghurt, powdered milk from Denmark, etc.

Uganda is now a big exporter of all those products. That is our work. The people in the cattle corridor need to deepen their work by moving away from *okusetura* and free-range grazing toward growing pastures and indoor feeding of cattle, goats, and sheep.

The only people who indirectly helped us in this were the late King Gasyonga and some community leaders like Eriazari Biteembe, who had mobilised the Banyankore to come back from where they had been dispersed by the spread of the tsetse flies following the invasion of tsetse flies from Karagwe (Tanzania) in 1918 and after.

To be saluted in particular is President Dwight Eisenhower of the United States, who deployed USAID to spray against the tsetse flies in 1958 using a chemical known as dieldrin.

When President Clinton visited us in March 1998, I wanted him to visit the cattle corridor and see the outcome of the good the USAID had done.

However, his people preferred to take him to Mukono to see pancakes. I wanted him to go and see this work, but his people said, “No, you go to Mukono and see pancakes”. I also went with them.

Ever since the coming into power of the National Resistance Movement, we have eradicated the tsetse flies in Kiboga, Ngoma, Busoga, and Lango.

With the shift from the *kusetura* (free-range) system to indoor feeding of the dairy and beef cattle, and stopping the primitive practice of property fragmentation after the death of the head of the family, Uganda will overtake countries like the Netherlands, Australia, and Argentina in production levels of dairy products, beef, leather, etc.

After this success, I started inviting delegations of leaders from other parts of Uganda to visit and learn.

This is where the question of no more sleep, no more *kukongola*, no more *kugumaaza*, no more *kuhenda*, no more politeness to non-performers comes in.

This is because I would invite leaders to come and see. This area was like this, and it is now moving like this, and they would visit. I expected that they would go and try to do the same in all our areas in Uganda.

The County of Nyabushozi, each day, delivers to the factories and milk coolers 1.15 million litres per day; that is the county alone.

There are 115 milk coolers in Nyabushozi alone, which are mainly private, and there are now 160 milk and milk products factories in the whole of Uganda.

Having succeeded in the Nyabushozi Kazo area, I have been inviting delegations after delegations. In 1995, I made a country-wide tour on exactly this point. I studied the whole country, and I recommended the two modes of agriculture: Intensive agriculture for people with small pieces of land and extensive agriculture for people with big pieces of land.

In the 1996 manifesto, we reduced it into the Four Acre Module with seven activities for intensive farming, and for other products for the plantation big farmers with bigger pieces of land.

With four acres or less, you could engage in zero grazing for one acre of pasture with eight Friesian cattle, one acre of coffee, one acre of fruits, one acre of food for the family, poultry for eggs, and piggery in the backyard and fish farming near the wetlands.

With large farming, there was more flexibility. You could undertake any or all of these seven that were high-income earners, even when you do them on a small scale, and you could also take on the low-return activities, but on a large scale because the country also needs

them. These are products like tea, cotton, sugarcane, cattle ranching, etc.

The logical question was: How do we, the cashless people of *Abakolera ekida kyonka*, start? That was the question. I started talking about this after the 1996 elections. The question was, where is the capital to start? Immediately, in 1997, the Entandikwa money at the subcounty was used as a revolving fund.

I remember checking in Rubaga Division, here in Kampala, there was a Democratic Party Chairperson known as Sendikaddiwa at that time in that area, and that money was already there, and I challenged Sendikaddiwa on how to use that money by giving low-interest capital to our people.

Since that time, we have never relented: National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) 2001; Operation Wealth Creation 2013; Parish Development Module (PDM), started in the year 2022; *Emyooga* 2020, etc.

Many families have listened and benefited.

During my country tours, I met a man named Mudebo in Sironko District. Let us see Mudebo.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** Now, what Mudebo is saying in Lumasaba, which you people do not understand, is that he was living in the town, in Namakwekwe Trading Centre, in the suburb of Mbale.

I think this was one of the first NAADS programmes. He got a cow from NAADS and was keeping it in Namakwekwe. Eventually, he got money and bought, I think, two acres in Sironko. He moved from Namakwekwe, went back to Sironko, and bought land.

*Tsekaafu, tsekaafu*, as he was saying, meaning the cattle, I think, are now giving like 60 litres. Is my Lugisu correct? Was it 60 litres or something like that? *Enkaaga!*

Now, with the milk and the cow dung, he went into coffee growing. We do not have time to listen to the whole story to do the *kibalo*, but he is doing very well. This is Mudebo, who started with NAADS long ago. Then, you go to somebody called Chelimo of Bukwo.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** That is the testimony of Chelimo. I did not get time to calculate the whole *kibalo*; the milk, Shs 900,000 per month - That would be like Shs 10 million in a year.

Then you have the bananas, 200,000 per - - you have the coffee - but he started benefiting from Operation Wealth Creation. Let us now see Kazibwe of Jinja.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** Kazibwe, who lives near Jinja, has cows and sells 80 litres of milk a day. He has coffee, cocoa and bananas, as you can see. I think he even had pigs, but we do not have time to see all that. He got some of them from Operation Wealth Creation when it was giving out some of the seedlings. There are others, including my favourite from Abim, Karamoja. Let us see that one.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** So, you have another Magaga in Karamoja. If you remember Magaga, the father of Gen. Kavuma, he told me that he did not know what to do with the money. *Essente nzigir'enta? Essente zinshobeire.* Every 15 days, I get money. Now, you have got here this man from Abim saying that "I am not going to suffer; my family will not suffer. Bye to poverty". He is here speaking in very clear English. That is why I like that video.

With the big farmers and manufacturers, the Government has put a total of Shs 1,600 billion in Uganda Development Bank (UDB). The question was: once we started preaching, stop working for the stomach only; work for the stomach and the pocket.

Some of the communities in the cattle corridor did not ask for capital. They moved without capital and used their own money. The only thing we gave them was advice. In other areas, because they had indigenous cows, many of them converted them and got capital but in other areas, it was not so easy. That is why we started with the *Entandikwa*, the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), Operation Wealth Creation and now the Parish Development Model. This is for the small people.

The question now is: how about the big farmers and manufacturers? We have not forgotten those. With the big farmers and manufacturers, the Government has put a total of Shs 1,600 billion in UDB. The interest rate for that money is 12 per cent per annum. The interest rate for PDM is 6 per cent per annum and payable after two years. Hence, for Shs 1 million, the borrower will return Shs 1.2 million for PDM. We are always creating other funds for the ghettos, musicians, etc., so capital is not a problem.

Unlike the colonial agents who never wanted to plan for Africa, we have told Ugandans that our economy has potential in four sectors: services, commercial agriculture, manufacturing and ICT. The President is here. Parliament is here. Once people have woken up from sleep and want low-cost capital, if the Shs 100 million per parish per annum or any other funds are not enough, we can increase the money by adjusting in other areas.

With the cattle corridor, we did not wait for low-interest capital. As already said, our only contribution to them was the “word”. In the cattle corridor, the work there was *ekigambo*, like that of the Bible. “In the beginning, there was the word. The word was God”. We just used the word there.

In the other areas, we use the “word” and the capital is there. Small capital for small things; big capital for big things. The advice was to go from nomadism to sedentary agriculture, from *okukolera ekida kyonka* to working for the stomach and for the pocket, and do so with *ekibaro*.

Additionally, in the cattle corridor, I gave 20 milk coolers that had been brought by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). That was all. They converted their indigenous Ankole cattle into half-breeds, *ebiihwa* with Friesians and their businesses took off.

However, wealth creation cannot take place if there is no peace, no law and order, and supportive infrastructure in the country. The UPDF always guarantees peace in the country. The police and Judiciary must ensure law and order. The NRM has struggled to tarmac - so with infrastructure, our scorecard is clear and must not be allowed to be spoiled.

The NRM has struggled to tarmac the core national roads from the north at Oraba, Aruu, Nimule, and Musingo, which are all linked by tarmac roads. They are continuous from the north through the Kampala area to Kagitumba, Katuna, Kyanika, and Bunagana in the south.

The mistake by the Ministry of Works and Transport is allowing these roads to deteriorate and then starting heavy work afterwards. The new ministers must ensure - I do not want to see what happened to some of the roads, like the Fort Portal Road, but there is a story of corruption in that road. I hope the new team will deal with that issue.

We have tarmacked the road from east to west, from Busia, Lwakhakha, Suam, Amudat, all the way to Mpondwe, Busunga, and Ishasha in the west. This does not include the tarmac roads linking to the water bodies that are also transport connections, such as Jinja, because when you have the tarmac road up to Jinja, you go into the water and cross by ferry to Mwanza, to Kisumu, to wherever you want to go.

Majanji, Port Bell, Butiaba, Kaiso - Tonya, Bukakata. There are tarmac roads going up to these water bodies. We are revamping the meter-gauge railway and building the standard-gauge one. We are working with Kenya and Tanzania on pipelines for crude and refined petroleum products. This will move heavy cargo away from the roads to the railway, and petroleum

products from the roads to the pipeline. In the coming years, we will no longer see petrol tankers on the road. Petrol should go by pipe; it should not compete with cars. That leaves the roads for only passengers and light cargo.

The marram roads must always be maintained. Where is the Shs 3 billion per district, which we send? *Cham cham* - they just eat it. If it is not enough, why not bring up the matter?

Members of Parliament, if you think that Shs 3 billion per district is not enough, bring it up; we can cut money from somewhere and make sure the roads are worked on. Instead of just keeping quiet, you find that the marram road from Lira to my village in Baralegi was terrible and has not been maintained for a long time.

Therefore, the NRM has identified all the requirements for building a prosperous Uganda. The NRM has also provided the means for individuals, families, or companies that want to be part of the socioeconomic transformation story. As I have said before, our mission has been to ensure that individuals, families, and companies who listen to our message are assisted in becoming wealthy and job creators. Right from the beginning, we realised that the internal factors are crucial but not enough to ensure the socioeconomic transformation of Uganda.

We need to answer the question, in quotes, “If the individuals, families, or companies create wealth and produce products and services in four sectors of commercial agriculture, manufacturing, services, and ICT, is the internal market enough?” Is the internal market of these African countries enough? Our answer was: “No. The internal market cannot be enough.”

Indeed, if internal markets were sufficient, why would a country like China, with 1.3 billion people, or India, with 1.4 billion people, look to external markets? Hence, ever since the 1960s, we have had a Pan-Africanist agenda alongside the patriotic agenda in Uganda.

The Pan-African agenda was aimed at the economic integration of the whole of Africa

in a continental market and for the political integration within East Africa, leading to the political federation of East Africa.

The economic integration would deal with the prosperity of the African people, while the political integration of parts of Africa that are compatible would deal with the strategic security of Africa, especially defence on land, air, at sea, and in space.

Therefore, for the wealth creators of Uganda, most of the factors are in place now. That is why we are saying: no more sleep, *kukongola*, (leaning on your hoe while others are working), *kugumaaza*, (diverting people’s attention), no more corruption, and no more politeness to non-performers who want leadership for ego and personal interests.

We must ensure that *enju ku nju*, (house to house), *ot pi ot* in Luo language for the families with land, they get into the money economy with the *ekibaro*. The ones without land, their solution is *Emyooga* (skills specialisation).

Indeed, we also need to recognise that, with an increasing population, it will be neither possible nor necessary for everyone to have land. That is why there are other sectors: manufacturing and artisanship; services (e.g., trading, transport, entertainment); and ICT (BPOs, etc.). In the developed countries, very few people own land.

I saw in the negative Monitor newspaper an article by an individual known as Gawayia Tegulle, who is always writing mendaciously and maliciously, saying that Uganda has been “wandering in the desert for 40 years” like the children of Israel. Those who are wandering in the desert are partly those who listen to those liars. If you listen to the liars, you will wander in the desert. Indeed, many of the leaders do not amplify this message of how people can get out of poverty. However, those who do change their lives.

I understand Gawayia comes from the Bugwere area. Let him visit Maama Nabutono and her husband of Bukodi Cell, Kasasira Ward,

Kasasira Town Council. Let us see Mama Nabutono if you have her.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** When they are speaking Rugwere, they speak Runyankore in their own way, but I can follow everything. They had some local pigs before, but when the Parish Development Model (PDM) funds came in, they bought modern ones. The Bagwere speak Runyankore and mix it with Runyarwanda. Is *Kubyara* Runyarwanda? - No, Runyarwanda is a bit different.

They now have pigs and *Ssekkokko*. I did not know anything about *Ssekkokko* myself. They are the ones who exposed me to it. Once people get capital, they will do their own things, like Ms Nabutono there.

Uganda has gone through five phases of positive development. These are the recovery phases for bringing back some of the three Cs and Ts of the colonial enclave economy and ending the informalisation of the economy through magendo (smuggling), Kibaanda (forex black market), and *okusamula* (speculation), following the destruction of the economy by Idi Amin.

Expanding the enclave economy and diversifying it - that is how the dairy sector changed the cattle corridor. The cassava is changing many parts of Uganda. These are totally new cash products - Value addition to some of the raw materials, for example, gold, and the knowledge economy of the automobiles, vaccines, computers et cetera.

What is “high-sounding sloganeering” there? The other gentleman was saying that it is just slogans. These are achievements on the ground. Let Mr Gawaya go near the Mbale Industrial Park. Show it to us – *(A video presentation was made)* - how can you call that a slogan? I think they were saying that there were more than 80 factories and 12,000 workers in that area.

These are achievements on the ground. How can such a park be a desert with no water,

peace, or production? Yes, there are problems with issues like drugs in health centres. Another time, I will discuss the issue of service delivery in more detail. That is why the National Resistance Movement (NRM) introduced democracy from the very beginning by getting people to elect the committees of the Resistance Councils. Especially in the Bukedi area, Force Obote Back Army (FOBA) - the group that was saying they were following Obote - started killing those elected leaders until we crushed it.

Elect people who help in exposing those mistakes. You have the power. Another time, I will speak about that because the parishes are in Uganda. Everywhere, there is local leadership, especially at the sub-county level, and there are councillors. Why should things go wrong when all those leaders are there? Of course, even the Government is also responsible because there are the Gombolola Internal Security Officers (GISOs) in every sub-county. Why would things go wrong, and the GISOs or the District Internal Security Officer (DISOs) do not know?

The facts of the matter are that with the limited waking up, where 67 per cent of the homesteads, as compared to 9 per cent - in 1962, only 9 per cent of the people were in the money economy. When I checked in 2013, only 32 per cent were. However, right now, it is 67 per cent of the homesteads. Uganda has graduated from the least developed countries to a lower-middle-income country. Our Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rose from Shs 3.9 billion in 1986 to Shs 69.3 billion by the forex exchange method and Shs 197.1 billion by the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) method.

The GDP per capita has risen to \$1,278, while the threshold for lower-middle-income status is \$1,136. Household poverty has declined from 56 per cent in 1992 to 16.1 per cent now.

Life expectancy was 43 years in 1986. It was 46 in 1982, but had come down to 43 by 1986 because of the chaos, which Amin created. It is now 68 years old. The infant mortality rate was 122 for every 1,000 children born alive. It is now 36.

In other words, our economy has expanded more than 17 times in the last 40 years of recovery, expansion, diversification, value addition, entry into the knowledge economy, and transformation. This year, the economy is projected to grow at 6.4 per cent. Next year, the GDP will grow by 10 per cent, pushing the size of the economy to \$80 billion. All this is before the start of the flow of our commercial oil.

In the last 15 years alone, the country has added 31 new products to the export basket. Uganda now exports manufactured goods including: pharmaceuticals, refined gold, steel, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) products, ceramics, plastics, and the dairy products already talked about. Uganda's exports have reached \$18 billion in the 12 months ending in March 2026.

Sixty-seven per cent of the people who have listened to our messages and friends from outside who have invested here have turned our economy into a country of surpluses; milk, 5.4 billion litres from 200 million litres in 1986; fish, 727,000; coffee, 9.3 million sixty-kilogramme bags from two million bags in 1986; 76,000 metric tonnes of cocoa; cement, from about 5,000 tonnes to seven million metric tonnes of cement; maize, from 200,000 to five million metric tonnes; bananas, from 6.6 million to 11 million metric tonnes; cassava, from 3.5 million to 4.5 million metric tonnes and; sugar from 150,000 to 700,000 metric tonnes.

We are now set for further and faster growth, and transformation. With electricity, we have moved from 60 megawatts, in 1986 to now 2,098 megawatts. We are, however, aiming at 50,000 megawatts from hydro, solar, gas, wind, nuclear, and geothermal energy.

Therefore, all the leaders must ensure that those programmes are downloaded in their respective areas. In the next five years, all the households with land must get the low-interest capital in the form of Parish Development Model (PDM). You, the leaders must ensure this. You must go up to the parish level. You

may not visit every parish, but you can call the parish chiefs at the constituency level and make sure they do their work. If they do not do their work, we shall sack all of them.

There is already Shs 557 million in the parish. I was saying Shs 800 million in the other address but when the PDM started, initially they sent less than Shs 100 million per year. They are now saying that the money, which is in the parish, including the one of payback, is Shs 557 million in the parish, and it has reached 3.7 million households.

We are going to put Shs 100 million plus Shs 15 million for the leaders per annum per parish in the rural areas, and Shs 300 million plus Shs 15 million for the leaders per ward in the towns.

Shs 760 billion has gone to the *Emyooga* operating from the constituency level. Where is that money? How many and which *Emyooga* associations have benefited from this money?

There is one of the young person who was involved with the *Emyooga* money. Fortunately, he was elected as Member of Parliament for Kassanda area – Bisaso. Is Bisaso here? Where is Bisaso? I am not allowed to speak, or to say anything, and the other people are not supposed to stand up or walk or what. That is how Bisaso looks like. He knows about *Emyooga*, that man. Thank you.

On account of peace, some traders have generated a lot of capital through imports. These are the ones that built arcades and real estate. There is a young lady called Nanteza, who is always showcasing on UBC Television the different real estate developers. Can we see Nanteza? If you have captured her. She is always showing how rich people are. Let her also speak. Where is she? You have suppressed her. That is all the real estate built by your people. Where is Nanteza? You suppressed her. *Munoonye Nanteza olunaddako*. I have been watching her show every Sunday. There is poverty in Uganda, but there is also wealth, because those are Ugandans.

A Ugandan returnee from abroad was recently trying to buy a flat in the Kampala area, and they were selling it at \$1.2 million. When people are outside, they think that Uganda is in poverty. As she was trying to mobilise the money, the resident Ugandans had bought all the flats. When she came back, they said, "Sorry, all the flats are sold." She was amazed that her family in the diaspora did not have money. These Ugandans, the "stayees", have a lot of money. She was amazed at how rich some of the Ugandans are.

The middle class is coming up. The question is what sort of middle class are we witnessing coming up? Are they the *comprador bourgeoisie* that are agents of foreign interests, or importers, commission agents, and others? Or are they the national bourgeoisie that build the capacity of the country through being big or small farmers, manufacturers, service providers, and ICT operators?

Let us, therefore, move. No more sleep, no more *kukongola*, no more corruption, no more *kugumaaza*, no more politeness towards non-performers - this one, I have been polite enough. I do not *kuwemula* people, but all the non-performers must leave leadership. Leadership is not for ego, but for people and the country.

In agriculture, it is possible to have a Pan-Ugandan rural transformation. In the Kisozi area, I have nine villages with 2,048 homesteads now. As of today, all the 2,048 homesteads have joined the money economy with coffee, bananas, dairy farming, goat rearing, and poultry. Let me see my people from the Kisozi area if you have got some.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** When I first went to Kisozi in 1990, they were all democratically poor. They had no idea of money. I would go very early in the morning to see my cows and by nine they would be sitting in the trading centres on the verandas.

*Mulimutya banange, tulibulungi. Mukolaki? "Tuli awo."*

That they are just there. They are doing what? *Tuli awo. Essente muzijja wa? "Ate munange tuzilaba?"* Money is not seen. *"Mpozzi otuwaayo ku ssente."* That is what they would do. They would ask me for money.

Therefore, I really started fighting with those people. So, please generate your own money. Now I am very glad that all the - initially the homesteads were 1,300, I think. Now they are 2,448. They all are in the money economy. I do not want to be in a parish where people are in poverty and they are contented.

I visited a parish in Rubirizi District, many years ago, called Ndangaaro. They had 2,500 homesteads, and they were all poor, with no money. Very rich area, it is a volcanic area with very fertile soil, but the advice on what to do. And they said, "We are all poor here except one man called Kateba, who had seven pigs." This is the rich one.

*"Shana Kateba we nomugaiga." Nte aineki? "Aine empunu mushanju. Kandi na ishewe akaba ari omugaiga, na aishewe akaba ari omugaiga, nowe akaba aine empunu mushanju."*

This is terrible. And you find the political leaders and the church leaders - I started quarreling with the church leaders.

Then, I went to *Kikoni* in Ntungamo. There is what they call *Amajesha* or *Amakungula* or bringing tithe to God. I saw one woman bringing one egg that she brought the one egg to God after one year, walking very humbly as if she was going to heaven that time. This is terrible. You cannot have people like this.

Please, honourable members, allow me to show you a video of that woman of Rubirizi again. That girl called Tusiime from Rubirizi.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** Now that is the statement I want you to capture; that she was 64 years that time, but she had never owned anything in her life. You imagine that. What sort of society is this, and she has got children?

Then how will the family be?

The other time I showed you a video in which Apio featured. Let us watch that video in which Apio of Lira District features again.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** To cut the story of Apio short - she had been married for 20 years, and she has got adult children, like 18 and so on, teenagers, but she had never handled Shs 1 million in her life. She did not have land. When she got the land, when she got the Shs 1 million, she did not have her own land. She had to go and hire three acres from somebody else, grow maize, sell the maize, put some of the money back into agriculture, and then buy those sheep the ones you saw. When I was there during campaigns, she told me she had now 60 sheep. For me I did not know about sheep. Who buys sheep?

She is the one who told me that, “No, South Sudanese like sheep, they buy.”

Therefore, our people are clever when supported. They even know things we do not know. I did not know anything about sheep. Even in my dreams, I cannot dream about sheep, but she knew that sheep have a market in South Sudan.

Nabutono, I do not know who buys *Ssekkokko*. I have no idea. But they know. So what they lack is support.

Therefore, I want the Kisozi model. I do not want to live in a parish with poor people. That is what I told them. *N’abe Kikisozi nabagamba nti sagaala kulirana baavu. Njagala kugenda mu ggulu* (I want to go to heaven.)

I do not want the angels to block me, saying, “You were in Kisozi, you had neighboring poor people, and you kept quiet.” I must tell you - I told them. Now, you saw the

house of Lule - let us watch that video with that man - show it to us again, his house and the coffee plantation. *(A video presentation was made.)* -The man of Kisozi - see the house, car, coffee - that is how they are now.

Therefore, leadership is not for ego, but for the people and the country. In agriculture, it is possible to have a Pan-Ugandan rural transformation.

In the Kisozi area, I have nine villages with 2,048 homesteads now. As of today, all 2,048 homesteads have joined the money economy with coffee, bananas, dairy farming, goat rearing, and poultry.

You did not show us the video with my manager at Kisozi, Nalwanga. Don’t you have her video? I have got a girl whom I have educated from P2. She went to Ndejje, and she is the one managing - Nalwanga - these people do not like my useful people. Nalwanga *tebamwagala wano*.

In the cattle corridor, most of the original families have joined the money economy through dairy farming. In order to stabilise agriculture, we are addressing the issue of irrigation. Apart from the big irrigation schemes such as Mobuku, Doho, etc., we are developing many micro solar-powered irrigation schemes, working with a British group known as Nexus Green.

As we speak, they have worked with the Government to put solar-powered irrigation schemes in Ngora, Serere, Bukedea, Amolatar, Kwanja, Apac, Kassanda, Masaka, Mukono. Those are some of the irrigation schemes.

In conclusion, however, the two residual problems with the peasantry are, as I pointed out above, some of them still rely on *okusetura*, free range, which underutilises the land.

A square mile of a well-cleared farm, no bushes, no *muteete*, no shrubs, no acacia, will cater for 300 long-horn cattle, including the calves. With pasture growing and zero grazing, a square mile will cater for 6,000 cattle.

Six thousand cattle can be fed by a square mile of land, where you grow the pasture. With free range, you need three acres for one cow. With zero grazing, one acre can support eight Friesian and 12 Ankole cattle. We are aggressively sensitising them on this.

The other residual issue is the permissibility of poverty fragmentation in the form of inheritance after the head of the family has died. These recent arrivals from poverty need to be sensitised about family companies instead of individual inheritance.

With these measures and those earlier mentioned, we shall have massive production, and create jobs for hundreds of millions of Ugandans and the Africans from the neighbouring countries. All this is before you add manufacturing services and ICT.

In this speech, I have spent more time on agriculture. It is not because I am not aware of the other sectors, but this is where many of our people can all move more easily. This is why I am emphasising it, especially for you, the new Members of Parliament.

Now, in conclusion, the main problem I have seen in all these 65 years, when I have been active, has been, *obutamanya*, ignorance, and *okwenyooma*. Africans underrate themselves. They like what other people do, but they do not know how useful what they do is. Show them again a video in which our friend Basangwa features.

*(A video presentation was made.)*

**GEN. (RTD) MUSEVENI:** Now, that is the story of Basangwa, how he listened to my message in 2007 and started with a small plot for poultry and eggs. He is now selling 2,000 trays per day, earning Shs 20 million a day.

Now, I think during the campaigns or one of those times, I was showing these videos. Even Ugandans in the UK or in the diaspora, were watching. They watched - even the ones who are in the diaspora.

When they saw me showcasing Basangwa earnings of Shs 20 million a day, they said, "Museveni *alimba*," meaning Museveni is telling lies. How can anybody in Uganda earn Shs 20 million a day? Let us go and see. People came from the UK to see for themselves.

They said, "This picture, which Museveni showed, was taken from somewhere else, not in Uganda." So they came. Ugandans from the UK came to check the lies of Museveni. The wondered: "How can Ugandans earn Shs 20 million a day? *Ffe banna Uganda twamanyiira obwavu*."

How can somebody earn Shs 20 million a day?" They came and visited Basangwa. They were shocked to know that what I was saying was actually true. Now, they have actually invited Basangwa to go and visit them and become a lecturer in the diaspora. He came and told me that those in the diaspora had invited him. They did not believe. This is where the problem is.

When we were talking about these things in school in Ntare in the 1960s, they said that Museveni is a communist. They did not believe. They did not believe that Ankole cattle were useful. They were teaching in the school that Ankole cows are neither good for meat nor for milk. Really? But I grew up with the cows. I said, "Go to hell. I will never leave the Ankole cows."

You want to see them, show them my cows. *(A video presentation was made.) -Mwazireeba?* How can people – these are now the most precious cows. The other day, President Ramaphosa sold one of our cows for Shs 187 million.

This is what I have seen. I think the main problem is ignorance and *okwenyooma* - not having confidence in oneself. You find people going to work in Dubai. What are you going to do in Dubai, which is a desert? Dubai, Dubai, Dubai! When I go there, I pray that I come back quickly because of the temperatures, the climate and the water.

You leave paradise here to go to work in those places. It is inferiority complex, ignorance and poor leadership, which have been uprooted. People have no roots; my roots are here. There is nothing I do not know. I grew up with our culture. I am able to know what should be forgotten because it was not scientific enough, but much of it is correct and can be updated.

With these few words, I present the Government's Legislative Programme to Parliament. It is in Annex 2. There are many Bills, which the Prime Minister will present to Parliament. The ministers will present:

1. The Bill for Building Substances;
2. The Small Arms and Light Weapons Control Bill; and
3. Amendment of the Universities and other Tertiary Institutions Act.

There are many of them here: 38 Bills, which my ministers will present in Parliament. Mr Speaker, I present. *(Applause)*

**THE SPEAKER:** Thank you very much, Your Excellency. Please accept our appreciation for your clear and concise exposition of Government policy in your address on the State of the Nation.

The Government's Legislative Agenda, as contained in your address, will be prioritised, pursuant to Rule 26(1) of the Rules of Procedure of Parliament, as and when the Front Bench introduces them. The Rt Hon. Prime Minister, in our first Business Committee meeting, will ably do that.

Honourable members, today's address by His Excellency will not elicit any comment or question, as per Rule 10(4)(a) of the Rules of Procedure. However, at a later date during the Session, in consultation with the Business Committee, debate on the President's address on the State of the Nation will be scheduled, in line with Rule 26(1) of the Rules of Procedure.

Honourable members, as you may already be aware, on Thursday, 11 June 2026, His

Excellency, the President, will deliver the Budget Speech, pursuant to Article 155(1) of the Constitution. I, therefore, urge you all to accordingly take note; it will take place right here in Kololo Ceremonial Grounds at 2.00 p.m.

I, once again, would like to thank you, Your Excellency, all dignitaries and invited guests for gracing this function. My appeal to you all, honourable members of the 12<sup>th</sup> Parliament, is: let us stand to be counted as Members of Parliament who will sleep no more, and be remembered for waking up ourselves and our people towards the money economy. We should resolve today to be the generational leaders who do not only listen, but also act on the guidance of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

May God bless you all.

Thank you for your kind attention. *(Applause)*

*(The East African Community Anthem.)*

*(The Uganda National Anthem.)*

**THE SPEAKER:** Honourable members, the House is adjourned to Thursday, 11 June 2026, at 2.00 p.m. here in Kololo Ceremonial Grounds, when we will receive the Budget Speech.

*(The House rose at 4.18 p.m. and adjourned until Thursday, 11 June 2026.)*