

# **EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND SHARED PROSPERITY**

THE CHANGE WE DESERVE



**FDC Manifesto 2016-2021**

MY OPPORTUNITY  
TO VOTE FOR A FUTURE  
THAT IS BETTER THAN THE  
PRESENT

## Message from the Party President



The coming elections scheduled for February 18, 2016 are our opportunity to reset the button and put our country back on the path to democracy, inclusive development and shared prosperity. This is our moment to vote for real change in the governance and development trajectory of our country. This is the moment to choose hope over fear, shared prosperity over patronage, and public service over self.

In March 2015, the FDC unveiled a four-point action plan to achieve a reset:

- investing in our people and expanding opportunity for every Ugandan;
- re-engineering new sources of growth and creating well-paying and decent jobs for our people;
- strengthening our national security, creating a new leadership and strengthening our public service; and
- building people-centered regional integration and global partnerships.

Based on that action plan - Uganda's Leap Forward - we are offering Ugandans a fill after the final year bold, comprehensive and achievable plan to build a future of our country and our people that is better than the past and the present. A future defined by an enduring democracy in which the dignity of every Ugandan is paramount. A future where Uganda's economic landscape is transformed to ensure equal opportunity for every citizen. A future that guarantees our national defense and security. A future of promise, peace and prosperity for every citizen.

Most of all, we are presenting Ugandans with a candidate who represents what real change means. The FDC presidential candidate Col. (Rtd.) Dr. Kizza Besigye is a People's President. He represents the aspirations of our Nation's desire for change. A change from dictatorship to freedom. A change from patronage to equal opportunity. A change from economic deprivation to shared economic prosperity.

In the candidature of Dr. Besigye, the FDC is presenting a real choice to the people of Uganda. Dr. Besigye represents our promise and commitment to offer Ugandans a brand of political and public service leadership that is transformative, selfless and patriotic.

On behalf of the Forum for Democratic Change, I can pledge to you, fellow Ugandans that Dr. Besigye is a President who will wake up everyday thinking of how best our government can make our lives better and our country safer, how our children can get a better education that enables them to compete here at home and abroad, and the quality of health care our mothers get when they get to our hospitals and health centres. Most of all, Dr. Besigye is the President who will not rest until every Ugandan youth has a rewarding economic opportunity.

Give Dr. Besigye and all the FDC candidates your vote. You will have voted for the change that we deserve as a country. You will have voted for a future that is full of promise for our young people and the generations to come.

**Major Gen. (Rtd.) Mugisha Muntu**  
Party President



## Message from the Party Chairman

Its three decades since president Museveni swore to the people of Uganda that he was bringing fundamental change; a new governance willed by democratic principles where Ugandans will enjoy liberty and participate fully in the rebuilding of a broken nation. He also swore that power would be returned to the people. However the most telling was his statement that the problem of African leaders was overstaying in power. And that he was to rule for only one term. He has obviously outdone all his predecessors by imposing himself on the people of Uganda for 30 years. Worse still, the power he promised has never been returned to the people. The men in military uniform we saw on that day in 1986 simply change whenever it suits them. For some of us who have traversed and worked in different parts of the world, we see Uganda living in a broken country and broken dreams. Institutions that make a nation strong such as the judiciary and legislature have

morphed into a one-man show. Buying off MPs to pass controversial laws is the order of the day. The police who were once looked at as protectors have now turned into tormentors. North Korea, one of the most oppressive regimes in the world is our police instructor.

Fortunately we have a chance to change the course of this great nation. A chance to make Uganda a democratic nation; a chance to make Uganda an economic powerhouse within east Africa and beyond; a chance to empower our people. That chance is the forthcoming election. This manifesto spells out elaborately how Dr Besigye Kizza Kifefe and FDC would deliver that change. A change we all deserve.

Amb **Wasswa** Birigwa  
Chairman

## Message from the Secretary General



My fellow Ugandan Citizens, once again, the Forum For Democratic Change (FDC) presents to you very critical, well thought and noble ideas on how we can change this country into a better place for all of us to live.

Where- as the ruling party is proud of increased GDP and revenue collection, the qualitative increase in the lives of citizens is not comparable to the much touted exponential growth in the economy. All the wealth generated in the country is inappropriately being shared by 1% of the population while 99% continue to wallow in abject poverty! While Universal Primary Education increased enrolment, only 23% of the children enrolled in primary one make it to primary seven and amongst these, only three children out of every ten can comprehend a primary two passage. Youth unemployment stands at 82%; as 19 mothers continue to die due to child birth related ailments despite the existence of HC IIIIs at every sub county. Ugandans have been conditioned to believe that it is a natural phenomenon to live under hard conditions and indignity!

In this manifesto, the FDC party presents to Ugandans

views about the different sectors; we outline the realities in figures and give our proposals. As FDC Party, we promise to eliminate corruption, wastage, bureaucracy and incompetence. Once these are dealt with, the resources shall be directed in productive sectors of Agriculture, industry and tourism in addition to creating a healthy and competent human resource through quality education and health. As FDC, we uphold the principles of democracy and social justice as the true engines of sustainable peace.

These Ideas can only be realized if all Ugandan come out in big numbers and vote for change in the forthcoming 2016 elections. It is therefore my appeal to Ugandans to vote Col (Rtd) Dr. Kiiza Besigye as President and all other FDC Flag bearers in the forthcoming 2016 election. That vote is an opportunity to restore hope and dignity to the life of Ugandans; it is an opportunity to secure the future of our children and grandchildren.

One Uganda One People!

**Nathan Nandala- Mafabi**  
FDC Secretary General, MP Budadiri West



# Foreward

I am honoured to present the FDC Manifesto 2016-2021, seeking the mandate of Ugandans to lead our country to a future of equal opportunity and shared prosperity. Our mission is to work for a socially, economically, politically, morally and ethically transformed Uganda where all Ugandan citizens: men, women, youth and children live a life of dignity, have access to equal opportunity and become masters of their own destiny.

Our manifesto is therefore built on three pillars: liberation; restructuring of state institutions; and transformation.

Economic growth must create opportunity and shared prosperity for all citizens. Our economic plan focuses on investing in our people to ensure that the population is educated, healthy and wealthy.

The institutions of state must respect their mandates, operate efficiently and be accountable to the citizens. Our plan focuses on rebuilding the institutions of state to ensure their autonomy, improve efficiency, while at the same time cutting down the cost of public administration.

Citizens must reclaim their power to hold all leaders accountable. Our government will implement measures to ensure citizens understand their constitutional and civic rights and duties. Citizens will know that government must work for them.

Citizens must gain high levels of civic consciousness to defy unlawful actions and continuously resist the emergence of dictatorship and the usurping of their power. Government under FDC will partner with religious institutions and other civic organizations to implement continuous civic education programmes to raise levels of civic consciousness and civic competence as our defense against dictatorship and patronage.

We also know that the challenges of our moment are real. We are confronted with predatory dictatorship that undermines the institutions of state, robs the opportunities of our young people and steals from the

future generations. We are confronted with a receding democracy, two decades of jobless growth, an economy that is growing slower than its real potential and a citizenry that is increasingly being reduced to beggars.

FDC is the only party that has the discipline, resilience and resolve to confront these challenges. We know that we have to overcome the smallness of the ideas of the incumbent leadership and accelerate the pace of development to benefit our people. We must move away from celebrating marginal achievements and pursue development programmes that are bold, time bound and measurable. We must stop measuring progress by looking at where we have come from but to where we want to be and the progress we can make if we have a disciplined leadership.

On February 18, 2016, each one of us will walk into that voting booth, well aware of these challenges facing our country, our generation and our children. We will be making a choice between a future that looks like the present and a future that promises equal opportunity and shared prosperity for every Ugandan citizen.

Our vote will determine whether we remain in the present state of powerlessness or whether we will be part of those millions of Ugandans seeking to create a future where we have a government that listens to us, respects our dignity and honors those that offer public service.

Most importantly, our vote will determine whether our mothers get the health care they deserve, our children get the quality education that enables them to compete, and our young people to have an opportunity to get a job that enables them to live a dignified life.

That future is in our hands. Now let's go and create it!

For God and my Country!

**Dr. Col. (Rtd.) Kizza Besigye**  
**Presidential Candidate**







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1

A Plan to trigger  
Our Economy to  
Leap Forward



## 1.1 Accelerating the pace of development to create equal opportunity and shared prosperity



### Our Message

The FDC led government will get our economy growing faster, in a more inclusive way and in a manner that creates new and well paying jobs. We are offering Ugandans an alternative economic growth path that is focused on accelerating inclusive development, creating employment and fostering equity. We know that a nation is only truly prosperous if it is built on the strength of a society that believes and invests in its people, especially its young people.

In pursuing this alternative economic path, we are guided by the fundamental belief that development is more than just the production of goods and services, or the building of roads, dams or bridges, or even the mere rise in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Development is about people. It is about creating an environment in which citizens can develop their full potential and, lead

productive and creative lives in line with their needs. Our economic policies will focus on lifting the over 22 million of our people that live in conditions of perpetual vulnerability.

Our statutory debt stands at US\$9.37 billion as of March 2015. Yet we know that we cannot borrow ourselves out of poverty. Our action to reduce our foreign debt will be bold and time bound, combining frugality in spending, eliminating corruption and theft, while improving efficiency.

Our vision of a successful economic policy is one that moves our people from a culture of patronage and dependency to a state of economic freedom and empowerment. Our policies will end the culture of handouts that has been perpetuated by the incumbent government. Our programmes will give every Ugandan a hand up the ladder of economic success.

### The Numbers

# 86,000,000

The amount of indebtedness of each of Uganda's estimated 37 million PEOPLE including infants.

# 22,000,000

Number of Ugandans (63 percent of the population) that remains economically vulnerable surviving on less than US\$2 per day, according to the Uganda Poverty Status Report 2013.

# 32,000,000,000,000

Our current national debt in Uganda Shillings (Equivalent to US\$9.37 billion at an exchange rate of \$1:3,400) as at March 2015.

# THE PROMISE

## Our economic plan is to:

- Adopt policies and pursue programmes that accelerate the rate of accumulation of skilled human capital in the areas of science, technology, engineering and vocationalisation.
- Ensure high levels of public investment in five key sectors of the economy: education, agriculture, energy, transport, industry and urbanization.
- Make job creation and economic transformation the overriding rationale for economic policy and a target of creating atleast 5 million new jobs over the next five years.
- Fundamentally change procurement policies, laws and regulations to facilitate the turning of infrastructure programmes into triggers for building local supplier industry capacity for manufacturing, services and other industry operations. It is simply irresponsible of any government to pride itself in building roads, bridges, dams and other infrastructure when they are being built with foreign labor, foreign materials, foreign technology and in the majority of cases with foreign money.
- Ensure a stable macro and fiscal policy environment by taking prudent actions to manage public expenditure and simultaneously increase revenues.
- Restructure and capitalize Uganda Development Bank to ensure that it facilitates Ugandan companies that develop strategies to establish in regional and foreign markets.



## 1.2 Quality Education and Accumulation of Skilled Human Capital

*"Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that a child of a farm worker can become the president of a great nation. It is what we have, not what we are given, that separates one person from another." – Nelson Mandela*

### Our Message

Our Nation's children shall be at the centre of our social, political and economic policy. Our education policy and programming will conform to three important principles: every Ugandan child must have an opportunity to acquire a quality and rewarding education; education must enhance togetherness and should not be an instrument for social separation; education must be based on broad and creative curricula.

Our children, both in rural areas and unplanned urban neighborhoods (slums), are taught by poorly motivated, ill-trained and inadequately supervised teachers, in crowded classroom at best and under trees and other open places at worst. The most brilliant and resilient of them who manage to succeed through tremendous effort and sacrifice are then excluded by a distorted

scholarship system that mainly benefits children from privileged families.

In sharp contrast to the failed policies of the incumbent government, the FDC led government will emphasize the shared responsibility of parents and the state in delivering universal access, quality and skills-focused education to our Nation's children. We are committed to implement policies and measures that give honor to our Nation's teachers who do the heroic job operating at the frontline of our education system. We are therefore committed to establish teacher remuneration and compensation programmes that give back honor to our teachers, build their pride and confidence, and reward them for the sacrifices they make in and out the classroom every day.

## The Numbers

# 17,000,000

The number of children unaccounted for during the 11 years (1997-2008) of Universal Primary Education (UPE) according to Uganda Bureau of Statistics reports.

# 9,000,000

Number of children enrolled in primary school in 2013 according to the Education & Sport Sector Annual Performance Report, 2014/2015.

# 660,000

The number of school age children that are estimated to be out of school as at 2013

# 200,000

Number of classrooms needed to achieve a ration of 40:1 pupil classroom ratio.

# 150,000

Number of primary school classrooms in 2013

# 63,000

The size of the primary school classroom deficit as at 2013

## THE PROMISE

- Introduce compulsory universal primary education for all school going primary school children. This measure will enable the estimated 660,049 children (275,866 females and 384,183 males) that are out of school as at 2013 to enroll in primary school.
- Increase remuneration for primary school teachers to UGX650,000 and UGX1,000,000 for secondary school teachers. Our goal is to invest in building a teacher work force of men and women that has confidence, pride and motivation as the frontline actors in the delivery of quality education to our Nation's children.
- Design and implement a publicly funded school feeding programme for primary and secondary school children. This measure will be implemented in a manner that supports local production, thereby using our financial and other resources to feed our children while increasing agricultural production and creating new jobs.
- Implement a time bound programme to fast track the construction of separate latrines for female and male students and other sanitary facilities for primary schools to improve the sanitary conditions in our public schools.
- Every Ugandan student who gets admission into a tertiary institution shall be eligible for a government scholarship to cover part or full tuition as the public resources envelope expands. Any deficit in financing for tertiary or university education shall be covered through a universally accessible students loan scheme.
- Fast tracking the construction of modern classrooms by allocating funds to build 3,500 classrooms per year, which will reduce the current classroom deficit by 17,500 within 5 years.

**To accelerate the accumulation of vocational training and skills training, the FDC led government will:**

- Establish and equip 5 regional centres of excellence for Business, Technical and Vocational Training (BTNET), each with a capacity of 1,000 students per year.
- Provide every child enrolled in secondary school and BTNET training institution with a laptop computer as a strategy to enhance learning and trigger a digital revolution.
- Offer dedicated competitive financial support to private BTNET institutions to scale up enrollment and completion in areas of priority skills training. Our target is to ensure that atleast 100,000 students enroll into private BTNET facilities every year.
- Adopt measures, including financing arrangements, to increase the number of students enrolled in science, technology and engineering courses from the 2011 level of 26% (35,847) to atleast 40 percent within 5 years.
- Our skills development programme will be buttressed by a dedicated skills development fund accessible by both the public and private sector to address the problem of demand and affordability for skills training.



## 1.3 Boosting the Economy and Rural Incomes through the Transformation of Agriculture

"We are a nation of farmers, cattle keepers and fishers"

### Our Message

We cannot lift the majority of our population out of poverty and perpetual vulnerability without massive and strategic investments in agriculture. Agriculture employs over 75 percent of our labor force. It is the biggest employer of Uganda's women in rural areas.

We have an opportunity to move away from the failed policies of the incumbent regime, which have remained "laboratory experiments." For a decade, the incumbent government has pursued a "firefighting" policy approach to managing one of our most strategic economic and livelihood sectors. The policy and political rhetoric regarding agriculture policy has not been matched by the required level of political leadership

or financing. On the contrary, the numerous initiatives such as the "Entandikwa", "Bona bagagawale", "prosperity for all", and now the so-called "operation wealth creation" have all been vehicles for dispensing patronage rather than expanding equal opportunity for all Ugandans.

FDC is committed to implement a comprehensive policy package that will accelerate the transformation of the agricultural sector, enhance agricultural productivity, increase agricultural output, and create new and well paying jobs. Our plan is to make Ugandan farming, cattle keeping and fishing communities, drive the transformation of the sector.

### The Numbers

# 3%

The average percentage of the national budget allocated to the agricultural sector over the last 2 decades.

# 27,000,000

The number of Ugandans directly dependent on the agriculture sector. Their contribution to the wealth of our country has declined in comparative terms with other sectors to less than 20 percent even though it employs over 75% of our people

# 15%

Average interest rates (percent) charged by commercial banks on agricultural loans supported by public funds through Uganda Development Bank.

# 2%

The annual growth of the agricultural sector over the last 10 years. For transformation and agricultural driven industrialization to take place, Uganda's agricultural sector must grow at more than 6% annually.

# THE PROMISE

FDC led government promises to take the following bold actions to boost agricultural productivity and transformation:

- Increase the budget allocation to the agricultural sector from the current 3 percent to 10 percent within the first three years of the FDC led government.
- Dedicate atleast 2 percent of the agricultural budget towards funding agricultural Research and Development (R & D) as the engine that drives agricultural productivity. Modern regional agricultural farm institutes will be established as a backbone for regional agricultural Research and Development.
- Give priority to reviving and strengthening agricultural co-operatives as fully owned citizens' organizations.
- Establish and fully capitalize a National Bank for Agricultural (NBA) as the epicenter for agricultural finance delivery. Through this facility, agricultural financing will be made affordable and widely accessible through appropriate outreach programmes. To ensure efficiency, the NBA will be managed through a public-private partnership arrangement.
- Establish a tractor and animal traction hire scheme in partnership with the private sector with the commitment to provide access to agricultural mechanization services. Funding for research will also target the development of technologies targeted at modernizing and commercializing agriculture in parts of the country with challenging terrain.
- Establish, through the NBA, a special financing facility to boost the growth of agro-processing industries and to implement a food security programme for the country.
- Establish a National Land Development Agency (NLDA) to champion strategic utilization of land resources in agricultural development, including through public-private partnerships.







# A Partnership with Religious Institutions to establish model Agricultural Mechanisation and Commercialisation Growth Centres.

Since the pre-independence era, Uganda's religious institutions have provided leadership in critical areas of economic and social development, and particularly in providing education and health services. A partnership with religious institutions could harness their organizational and professional capabilities to lead the transformation process in the agricultural sector.

Today, there are approximately over 50 catholic and Anglican dioceses, 52 Moslem districts, and 10 Adventist Fields. Most of them possess land in the excess of 2000 acres. The FDC believes that agriculture modernization and commercialization can start from here.

The FDC led government will initiate and fast track partnership negotiations with religious institutions, and bring atleast 40,000 acres of their land under modern commercial agriculture. We will facilitate

partnership between interested religious institutions, and the private sector, provide financing and other guarantees to enable each participating religious institution to put atleast 1,000 acres of commercial land to agriculture. For each participating Diocese, District or Field, government will provide the required funding, a minimum of 3 tractors and other appropriate modern labor saving technologies needed to support agricultural modernization and commercialization in the area.

These model growth centres will be the epi-center for providing tractor hire services and other inputs to the neighborhood. This measure is projected to increase the availability of tractors and other appropriate farming technologies across the country and create approximately 8,000 jobs per year. The participating religious institutions will benefit from increased, stable and sustainable incomes to enhance their community development and spiritual work.



## 1.4 Land and Natural Resources are part of Our Heritage

### Our Message

The land and natural resources of our Nation must work for every Ugandan citizen, no matter their social or economic status. Securing citizens' land rights and ensuring the sustainable use of natural resources such as forests, wetlands, wildlife, climate, oil and minerals are inseparable. More so, responsible stewardship of our land and natural resources and building an economy that ensures equal opportunity and shared prosperity are also inseparable.

The fundamental challenge of our country today is to reverse a predatory culture where the powerful or those with powerful connections continuously sponsor or acquiesce in all forms of land grabbing and encroachment on critical life-support ecosystems ranging from forest reserves to wetlands, community lands and land belonging to schools, hospitals and local administrations.

Women are particularly disproportionately affected by the current distortions and inefficiencies in the environment and natural resources sector. At the heart of the FDC policy agenda is a commitment to ensure that the rights of women are secured and promoted.

### The Numbers

**6,500,000,000**

The amount of oil (in billion barrels) discovered in the Albertine Graben. Exploitation is still held up by lack of transparency and unpredictable decision making on account of poor accountability and corruption.

**80%**

The estimated proportion of Uganda's land that is undocumented or administered informally compared to only 20 percent that is formally registered.

**31,000,000,000**

The amount of money in Uganda Shillings allocated to the Land Fund, which was used to acquire 62,279.74 hectares of land with bona fide occupants in Kibale district alone, and hence buying out the interests of landlords. According to the World Bank (2015), neither the Fund nor Government has taken any further action on the land.

**UShs 218,722**

The average value of a bribe (approximately US\$90) paid by households for land administration services according to the East African Bribery Index 2013.

# THE PROMISE

The FDC led government will systematically address the current problems in the land and natural resources sector by taking the following actions:

- Undertake a public lands audit by establishing a formal judicial inquiry to ensure that all public or government land grabbed through illegitimate ways is fully recovered and its public trust uses restored for the benefit of all citizens.
- Institute punitive measures against any public sector officials or private people engaged in land grabbing activities in different areas across the country, especially Buganda, Bunyoro and Northern Uganda where this practice has become rampant.
- Impose a moratorium on land transaction in areas affected by land grabbing until the inquiry is complete
- Review all land laws with a view to increasing protection of the land rights of vulnerable sections of our society
- Design, finance and deliver a comprehensive land rights civic education programme.
- Improve land tenure security by accelerating titling and registration of land with a target of registering atleast 3 million parcels over the next 5 years.
- Make the land registry work for the citizens by putting a time limit on the time to issue land titles or other registration instruments and make the land registration process more transparent and accountable.
- Ensure that women professionals occupy atleast 40 percent of leadership positions in the Environment and Natural Resources Sector.
- Dedicate atleast 1 percent of the budget of all climate relevant sectors towards direct funding for climate mitigation and adaptation activities.
- Develop a mechanism providing for a Direct Dividend Payments system as a measure to eradicate household poverty using revenues from oil and other mineral resources.

Our investments in making the land sector work and make its full contribution to the economic transformation of our country is estimated to create atleast 600,000 public and private sector jobs over 5 years.



## 1.5 Urbanization with a Human face: Urbanization is Irreversible and an Opportunity

**"The FDC led government will turn our municipalities and cities into centers of human and socio-economic development"**

### Our Message

Urbanization is an irreversible phenomenon that represents a tremendous opportunity to transform the economic geography of our country. With purposeful planning and investment, urbanization can release pressure on rural land and make it available for agricultural commercialization.

Currently, an estimated 60 percent of our urban population lives in unplanned settlements or slums. Dirty, potholed and impassable roads make up a large percentage of the road network in these settlements. The current situation and trends is untenable and unacceptable. This situation must be addressed with utmost urgency to avoid the social time-bomb associated with unplanned urban development.

Our urbanization policy will therefore create a foundation for boosting mass consumption and unleash the power of markets as a stimulator for social, economic and political transformation. It will be driven by the commitment to accelerate economic growth, create new jobs, especially for the urban youth, and triggering mass consumption to stimulate productivity.

The 2016 general elections is therefore a choice between rhetoric and action. Our opponents believe that you can create 21st century cities by making political declarations to create new cities and urban centres. We believe that purposeful planning and investment are needed to create urbanization with a human face.

### The Numbers

**4.5%**

The rate of growth of our urban population according to the World Bank (2012)

**35%**

The percentage of our total urban population living in our Nation's capital, Kampala as at 2012.

**5,000,000**

The estimated number of housing units required to be built in the country over the next 20 years out of which 1.02 million would be required in Kampala alone.

**8,000,000**

The number of people projected to be living in our urban centres in the next 5 years compared to the current urban population estimated at 6.1 million (15.1% of the current total population).

# THE PROMISE

- Fast track the design and launch of the Present and Future Cities Programme as the cornerstone of planned urban development in the country. The Present and Future Cities Programme will focus on increasing equitable access to basic services such as health, education and sanitation, reform of the urban land policy and urban governance institutions with a goal of attaining efficiency and, increasing connectivity and mobility intra and inter-cities.
- Design and implement a package of rewards in the form of social market-based incentives and disincentives to stimulate a race-to-city-status by urban centres that opt to participate in the Present and Future Cities Programme.
- Establish a rewards programme for cities that are most innovative in making citizens the central focus of urban development rather than current approaches that consider citizens as obstacles to the transformation of our urban centres.

The outcomes of these actions will include: equitable access to basic services, with particular attention to women and the youth; improved connectivity and mobility within the cities; and affordable housing and upgrading of unplanned settlements.

Our present and future cities (race-to-city-status) programme is estimated to create 200,000 public and private sector jobs per annum translating into at least 1,000,000 jobs in five years.



## 1.6 Our Investments to Support and Promote the Growth of Local Businesses will be Deliberate

### Our Message

The Ugandan business community is at peril. Our local businesses are subjected to a hostile policy environment and all forms of exposure. The high levels of interest rates have suffocated the credit market. High taxes and an unpredictable tax regime is creating roadblocks to growing local businesses. Small-scale businesses and petty trade that support women and the youth are subjected to unfair competition by foreigners who enter the country as prospective investors. The crisis facing Ugandan-owned businesses is compounded by high costs of rent, utility costs and corruption charges of different forms.

The “you are on your own” policy approach pursued by the incumbent government over the last decades has only held back the potential of local firms and a highly enterprising population. Ugandan businesses

have the capacity to grow and compete regionally and internationally. The FDC led government is committed to put the growth of local businesses at the heart of our country's economic policy and job creation effort. The FDC led Government will pursue policies that protect Ugandan-owned businesses while creating an enabling policy environment in which they can grow and create jobs, and contribute to national development through the payment of taxes.

To Ugandan businessmen and business women, you can count on us to ensure that government will not abandon you and leave you to “to whom it may concern” as is the firefighting policy approaches of the incumbent government. The FDC led government will always stand by Ugandan businessmen and women all the way to growth and success.



## THE PROMISE

To the Ugandan business men and women, you can count on our government to take the following actions to ensure the growth and expansion of your businesses:

- There will be no new tax increases during the first 2-years of government. The bulk of public spending shall be financed through efficiency gains in tax collection and public spending, stamping out corruption and elimination of waste. Introduction of any new tax increases after the two-year moratorium will be based on a consultative and scientific assessment of the implications on local businesses and a clear demonstration that similar gains in revenue collection cannot be achieved through expansion of the tax base.
- Take specific measures to reduce the tax burden on local businesses and enterprises
- Design and deliver an economic stimulus package to address the high interest rates as a short to medium term measure while prudent monetary and fiscal policy will be pursued to bring down interest rates in the long term.
- Design lending facilities that ensure and improve access to affordable long-term credit for Ugandan businesses, with a special window to guarantee access to credit for women and youth owned enterprises.
- Put in place special incentive measures to promote the effective participation of local businessmen and women in the business sector.
- Adopt specific measures, including immigration reform and tightening of border controls to protect small-scale businesses from unfair competition.
- The requirement for businesses to make rent and utility payments based on foreign currency denomination rates will be terminated immediately.



## 1.7 Expanding and Growing the Private Sector: The National Venture and Innovation Fund



### Our Message

Our economy needs a new momentum to grow, expand and create new and well paying jobs for our young people. The FDC led government will be proactive in nurturing and growing new business ventures and stimulating innovation. Consequently, government will design a comprehensive economic stimulus programme to trigger new forms of growth in the economy, stimulate the growth of new enterprises and, create decent well paying jobs.

We will therefore support a ring-fenced National Venture and Innovation Fund (NAVIF), which shall be managed by an independent National Venture and Innovation Fund Commission (NAVIFUC). The proposed Commission will be managed by the best talented Ugandans and shall be operated under appropriate legislation. An oversight committee comprised of eminent Ugandans with requisite professional expertise from the private sector and civil society will be constituted to ensure that Ugandans who present their enterprise or innovation big ideas are not discriminated on account of their political or other affiliations.

### The Numbers

# 150,000,000,000

The initial capitalization of the National Venture and Innovation Fund. The funds to capitalize the NAVIF will be derived from cutting the current expenditure on state house currently estimated at US\$277 billion.

# 240,000

The estimated number of jobs to be created over 5 years by the new ventures supported by the NAVIF. It is projected that the estimated 6,000 new ventures will employ an average of 40 persons.

# 6,000

The minimum number of new ventures and innovation projects to be supported out of the NAVIF over five years with capitalization of between US\$100m – US\$1 billion and with capacity to employ at least a minimum of 20 people per enterprise.



## THE PROMISE

**The National Venture and Innovation Fund will be established and operationalized as a priority by:**

- Fast tracking the enactment of appropriate legislation to provide for the establishment of the Fund within the first year of government.
- Allocating at least US\$1.5 billion per year from savings by reducing the expenditure on State House to not more than its 2010 approved budget of 63.67 billion.
- Ensuring that appointments to the NAVIF Oversight Committee, the Commission and

staff are done through a competitive and transparent process, including the conduct of public hearings for the members of the oversight committee and the commission.

- Streamlining and rationalizing all existing funds with a view to create more efficiency and equity in access.
- Dedicating at least 30 percent of the NAVIF fund to enterprises owned, managed or offering advantage in employment to women and the youth.





# A Plan to Accelerate Development of Infrastructure

“Ugandans will walk, cycle, drive, sail and fly with honor and dignity”

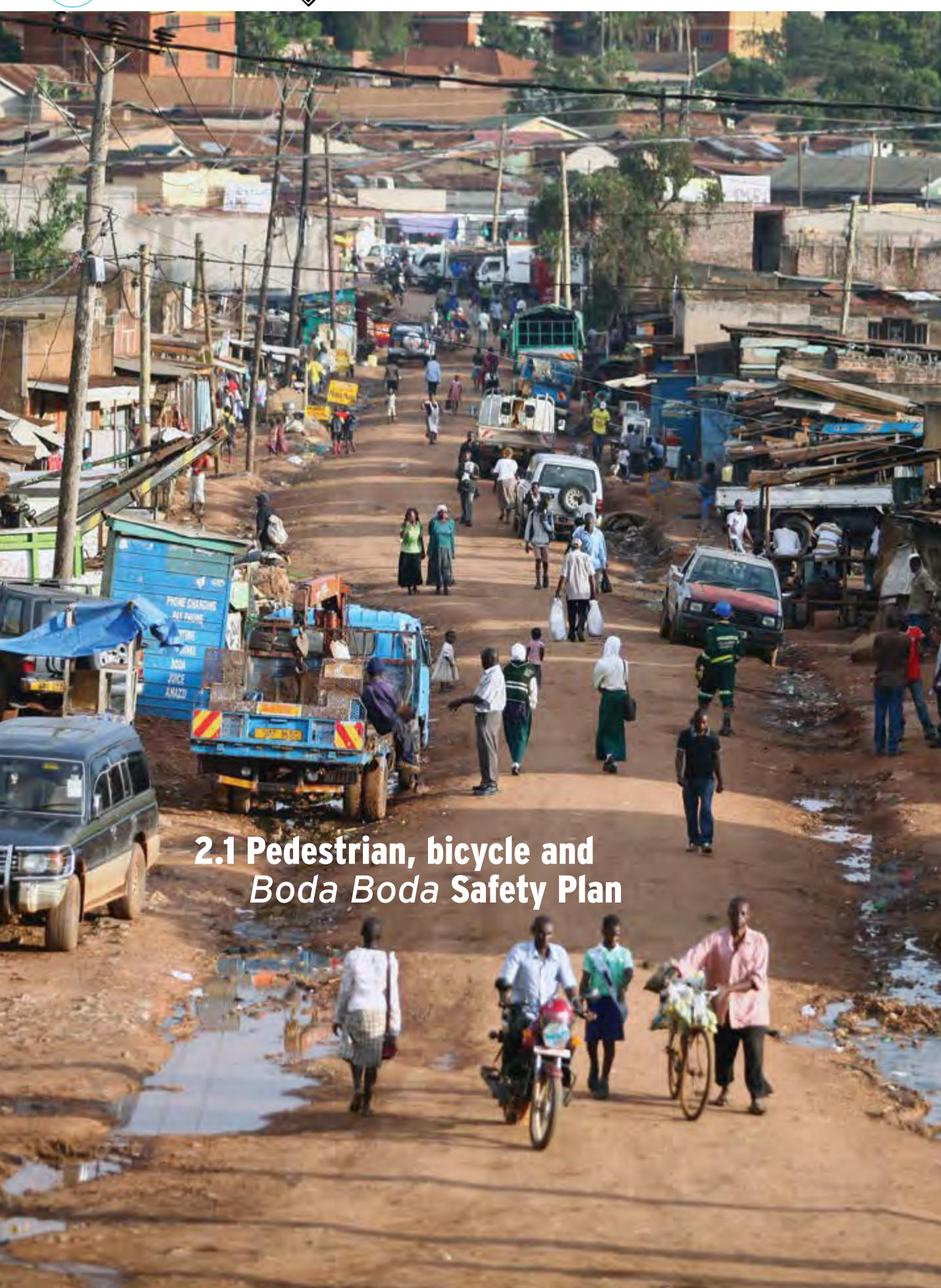
## Our Message

The FDC infrastructure plan for Uganda will be comprehensive and time sensitive. At the core of this plan is the commitment to transform Uganda’s economic landscape while simultaneously creating significant numbers of new and well-paying jobs, strengthening the delivery of public services, enhancing connectivity among our people and, promoting regional integration, international trade and travel. FDC is committed to develop, adopt and systematically implement an integrated infrastructure plan with 5 core objectives: promote balanced economic development; unlock the economic potential of all regions of the country; address the socio-economic needs of the citizens; promote job creation and, stimulate integration of human settlement and economic development.

Uganda’s current infrastructure challenges are not because the incumbent regime has not done anything. The problem is that there is no proper planning and timely execution of infrastructure, project. Failure of policy and leadership are blamed on procurement policies. Progress is measured by looking to the past and not the future of where we want to be. Infrastructure projects have become the safe heaven for grand corruption.

Our plan to accelerate the development of our economic infrastructure will be guided by three core principles: There will be a single common National Infrastructure Plan that will be monitored and centrally driven, taking into account regional and local development priorities and interests. There will be a clear indication of responsible institutions and public officials that will be held accountable for the accelerated implementation of the Plan. The plan will receive high-level authorization of the agreed priorities and rollout plan to avoid politicization of infrastructure projects and the stop-start pattern inherent in such practices. Blame games and excuses will not be tolerated.

We will take a regional approach to regional road development. For example, in Busoga, the regional roads infrastructure plan will include the following roads: The Majanji-Bugiri-Namutumba-Ivukura-Karilo-kamuli road will be paved to act as the economic artery of the Busoga region.



## 2.1 Pedestrian, bicycle and Boda Boda Safety Plan



## Our Message

Our Nations roads are becoming a major death trap for pedestrians, cyclists and motor vehicles passengers alike. According to the Uganda Police Force Crime Reports in 2013, there were 22,272 road traffic accidents with 3,343 fatalities. Pedestrians accounted for 39.2% of these fatalities. The road carnage is not only leading to loss of life, it is also overstressing our

medical facilities and our national budget. Making our roads safe for pedestrians, cyclists and other road users will be a priority of the FDC led government. We can end the carnage on our roads and save lives of our young people. Eliminating or significantly reducing boda boda accidents alone would free up over US\$2.2 billion annually and save thousands of lives.

## The Numbers

**20** ▶ The daily average number of persons received at Mulago National Referral Hospital due to boda boda accidents.

**1,500,000,000**

The estimated annual expenditure on boda boda related accidents at Mulago National Referral Hospital alone.

**1,181** ▶ The number of pedestrian fatalities out of a total of 2,937 fatalities by road users in 2013.

**641** ▶ The number of boda boda fatalities out of a total 2,937 fatalities by road users in 2013

**1,62.5%** ▶ The percentage of the budget allocation for the directorate of surgery at Mulago Hospital spent on boda boda related surgeries.

## THE PROMISE

- A National Pedestrian, Cyclist and **Boda Boda** Safety Plan developed during the first year and its implementation commenced during the second year of government.
- A dedicated publicly funded training programme for **boda boda** cyclists will be designed and implemented to promote safety and encourage certification.



## 2.2 Accelerating the pace of expansion of our paved road network

### Our Message

The current pace of development of our road network is unacceptable. In 1986, Uganda's paved road network was estimated at 1,900 kms. As at 2015, the network is estimated at 4,000 kms. Even if the 1,900 kms had to be rebuilt as most of it was in a poor motorable state, expanding the network to 4,000 kms implies that on average, we have been adding only 133 km annually for the last 30 years. Over the last 5 years, the incumbent government added an average of only 147 km annually to the network.

Expanding the coverage and quality of the paved and other road networks in the country is a mission that must be pursued with a fierce sense of urgency. This mission must be target driven rather than history driven. It is inexcusable to refer back to the past to explain our dismal performance in opening up our country for production, markets, trade and investments.

### The Numbers

**1,200km**

The length of tarmac roads by the time of the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979.

**2,700 km**

The paved road network as at 2006

**112.8km**

The number of kilometers added to our Nation's paved road network per year for the period 2006-2011 (564km over 5 years) to bring the coverage to 3,264km in 2010



**147.2kms**

The number of kms added to our Nation's paved road network per year for the period 2011-2015

**119,840km**

The projected target of the paved road network by 2040 (Vision 2040)

**772**

The number of years needed to reach the Uganda Vision 2040 target of 200,000km of paved roads network at the current estimated rate of 150kms per year.

## THE PROMISE

The FDC led government will:

- Increase the pace of construction of the paved road network to atleast 1,000 kms per annum thereby adding atleast 4,000 kms to the current network by 2021. Under our plan, priority focus will not only be given to the economically productive areas or those areas that have demonstrable economic potential, but also those areas lagging behind in development such as Busoga, Karamoja, Bunyoro and many others.
- Reform the procurement laws to eliminate red tape, increase transparency and accountability, and shorten the period for project approvals to not more than 6 months.
- Put in place measures to increase the participation of local construction firms in road construction projects up to a value of 30 percent by 2021. Such measures will include: promotion and application of best practice standards on productivity, quality management and, establishment of a special financing facility for the construction sector enterprises to access working capital in terms of credit, bonds, guarantees, and capital for tools and equipment.
- Partnership with local construction firms will be a standard requirement for all publicly funded public works. This policy is intended to increase the rate of local participation measured by the value of business arising from such partnership.

**The measures under this sector will support an estimated 250 local construction firms and generate approximately 100,000 jobs for both skilled professionals and unskilled workers annually.**



## 2.3 FDC will make our Nation fly again

The story of Uganda Airlines established in 1976 and its eventual liquidation in 2001 remains a constant reminder of how the incumbent government's failed economic policy to stabilize, privatize, liberalize and eliminate strategic national infrastructure and assets has failed. For over the last two and half decades, since the airline was liquidated, the incumbent government has not demonstrated any competence to manage or revive the airline. In any case, its gross inefficiencies in managing national and strategic public assets are well established.

## THE PROMISE

The FDC is committed to make our country fly again with Uganda Airlines flying our national flag. We will fast track a plan and design appropriate and cost-efficient financing models to re-establish Uganda Airlines by the end of the 5 years of the transitional government. This plan will be integrated with an overall plan to establish airports in strategic economic regions of the country to ease the movement of people, goods and services.





## 2.4 ENERGY: Our plan to light up the country and power the economy



### Our Message

FDC's alternative energy plan will accelerate access to renewable energy driven by the goals of improving the health of the nation, significantly reducing the prevalence of energy poverty, creating jobs, reducing destruction of our environment, enhancing energy security, improving industrial and business competitiveness and reducing greenhouse gas emissions. After 53 years of independence and the so called 30 years of steady progress, only an estimated 14 percent of Ugandans (5,320,000 people) and only 7 percent in rural areas have access to electricity. The limited access to electricity coupled with high-energy costs are hampering economic development, entrenching inequality and escalating the cost of doing business.

Access to energy services will facilitate economic development that assist in eradicating poverty, empowering women and enhancing educational opportunities. Our commitment is to adopt policies that simultaneously achieve progress in the deployment of renewable energy sources while promoting energy efficiency.

The FDC plan for lighting up the country is to measure progress by way of connections to the grid and other off-grid connections rather than the current practice of counting the length of transmission lines. If it were not for the wastage inherent in the way the incumbent government operates, the energy sector is allocated a substantial percentage of the budget to achieve more dramatic increases in connectivity to the power grid.

## The Numbers

# 5,000,000

The estimated number of Ugandans (14%) connected to the National electricity grid as at 2014.

# 2,660,000

Number of Ugandans (7%) out of a total population of estimated 37 million people connected to the electricity grid in rural areas as at 2014

# 69.5KWH

Estimated electricity consumption per capita compared to the Africa average of 578 kWh per capita and the world average of 2,752 kWh per capita.

# 822MW

Uganda's current installed hydro-generation capacity (World Bank, 2014)

# 4,500MW

Uganda's estimated hydropower generation capacity

# 115%

Needed projected growth in power generation to meet projected demand by 2020

# 4,400,000,000

The amount of money (US\$121m) in the form of a loan (US\$100m) and a grant (Euros10.205) approved by the AfDB on September 16, 2015 to connect to the national grid about 58,206 rural households, 5320 rural business centres, and 1,474 rural public institutions.

## THE PROMISE

The FDC promise is to simultaneously fast track generation, transmission and connectivity.

- Generation capacity will be fast tracked to reach 4,000MW by 2021. As part of this plan, the FDC led government will create incentives and develop appropriate partnerships to fast track the design and implementation of other renewal energy sources with particular emphasis on solar energy, wind energy, biomass energy, and geothermal.
- Double connectivity currently estimated at 14% in order to reach 28 percent national connection by 2021. We must move away from the incumbent regime's practice of measuring progress by looking at the coverage of transmission lines and focus on how many of our people are connected to the grid or can access clean energy.
- Provide funding and establish modalities for setting up a renewable energy research and training institute.
- Provide financial and other incentives to Ugandan firms that develop ideas and business plans to invest in the generation of renewable and energy research.

**This will be achieved by adopting measures that improve efficiency and eliminate any impediments to project implementation. Measures under this intervention are estimated to create some 600,000 jobs over 5 years.**



A background image showing two young boys playing soccer on a dry, dusty field. The boy in the foreground is wearing a light green t-shirt and dark shorts, with red sneakers. The boy behind him is wearing a blue button-down shirt and dark shorts, with grey sneakers. A small, worn soccer ball is on the ground between them. In the background, there is a building with a corrugated metal roof and white walls. The overall scene is bright and sunny.

# 3

## A Plan to make Access to Quality Social Services a Reality

Our economic and infrastructural plan will create a foundation for ensuring the delivery of public services in health, education, water and sanitation, and access to financial and other services becomes a reality. The government under FDC will not give excuses for failure to deliver basic, essential services to our population.



## 3.1 Access to Quality Health services

### Our Message

We are a rich nation that can afford dignifying health care for all her citizens. We must be resolved in creating a “smart” national health services delivery system that encompass a robust health services infrastructure, quality and motivated medical and support personnel, adequate supply of diagnostic equipment and drugs, and an inspectorate system that is capable of detecting and correcting failures within the system. The current mind-set, which believes in buildings that have neither health workers nor drugs, must be reversed and the wastage associated with it will be stopped under a government led by FDC.

The health policies of the FDC are based on our fundamental belief that Government has the primary responsibility for promulgating public policies that stimulate the emergence of a health services delivery system that is fair, accessible, effective and efficient. The health services system under the FDC led Government must consider the citizen as the central focus and include a complete package: prevention; diagnosis; treatment; education; research and outreach. It shall take into account the unique roles of women and the burden they shoulder in caring for the sick in our households and community.

Our promise to the people of Uganda and the health care community is that our actions will transform the healthcare system of our country and make it work for every Uganda.

### The Numbers

# 1,885,000,000,000

The amount of money IN UGANDA SHILLINGS spent on treatment of “Very Important Persons (VIPs) abroad over a five-year term of government (UGX377,000,000,000). This money is enough to build several modern hospitals and pay our health workers rewarding and dignifying compensation.

# 15,000

The number of patients served by one doctor as compared to 10,000 recommended by the World Health Organization (WHO).

# 17,000

The number of patients served by one nurse as compared to the 4,000 recommended by the World Health Organization (WHO).



## THE PROMISE

The FDC led government will focus on the following actions to transform the health services delivery system and make health services accessible to all citizens.

- Our health services work force will be given a rewarding and compensation package. The starting salary for nurse will be UGX650,000 while that of a doctor will be UGX3.5 million.
- Invest in our national referral hospital system by accelerating the renovation and expansion of Mulago hospital and other regional and district hospitals to form the nervous system of our national healthcare programme.
- Establish a nation-wide emergence ambulance and air rescue service that will be accessible to every citizen in need and offer specialized services for women and especially mothers.
- Establish a health insurance scheme to ensure coverage for all citizens who do not have insurance from private health service providers or work-based insurance schemes.
- Dedicate at least 2 percent of the health sector budget towards cutting-age applied health research in diagnostics and treatment, with particular focus on major illnesses including cancer, kidney and heart diseases.



## 3.2 Water and sanitation

### THE PROMISE

FDC Government will;

- Increase access to safe drinking water from the present National average of 70% to 100% by 2021
- Increase funding to the water sector and prioritise the provision of water and sanitation in rural and slum areas.
- Involve the private sector in extending water supply at subsidized rates to the poor and the majority of our people in slum areas.







# 4

## Making Marginalization history

Our commitment is to take bold actions and end the phenomenon of marginalization that has been perpetuated for the last 50 years of independence



## 4.1 A new deal for Ugandan women: From Emancipation to empowerment

The women of Uganda are the heartbeat and the pulse of the Nation. They constitute more than half of our Nation's population. They are the managers of the bulk of households. For the most part, they look after our nation's children and therefore, shape the character of the Nation. Ugandan women are the backbone of our economy. Out of a population of 17.3 million total women population, 83 percent are engaged in agriculture, literally producing all the food that feeds the country.

The constitutional and legislative gains made over the past 2 decades have not translated into effective political, economic and social empowerment. The progress that has been made to date has focused on emancipation. The approach of the current programming regarding women creates patronage and undermines the very character, integrity and honor that is inherent in the female gender. Progress is measured more in relation to where the women emancipation agenda has come from, not how

This is the "unfinished business" according to The Women's Manifesto 2016-2021. The FDC believes that this "unfinished business" cannot be finished by doing the same old things, the same old way and by applying the same failed policies by the same government, and the women expect a different result. This is why the FDC is offering the women of Uganda a new deal to walk with them away from patronage to real economic, political and social empowerment.

empowered women are or the level and contribution of women to our social, economic and political life as a country.

## The Numbers

### Business participation

**458,106**

The number of businesses with fixed business premises in Uganda according to the 2010/2011 Census of Business Establishments (COBE).

**44%**

The percentage of business establishments owned by women and yet 86.2 percent of these women are engaged in self-employment.

**13.8%**

The percentage of working women in formal employment, compared to 27.9 percent of workingmen as at 2013.

### Politics and political representation

**313**

The number of women nominated to contest for 9,433 directly elective political positions in 2011.

**137**

The number of women nominated to contest for 7,332 elective councilor positions at sub-county, town and divisions of municipalities in 2011.

**2**

Women LCV Chairpersons out of 112 district chairpersons for the period 2011-2016

**17**

Number of women Chief Administrative Officers (CAO) out of a national total of 112 as at June 30, 2015 (Unfinished Business: Women's Manifesto 2016-2021).

## THE PROMISE

To accelerate women's economic empowerment and social protection, the government will:

- Adopt and implement policies and actions to deliver gender-sensitive financial services, gender sensitive business development services, and increase the representation of women entrepreneurs in public policy-making.
- Ensure that 15 percent of all sectoral budgets and local government budgets are committed to development and spending programmes that address the specific needs of women.
- Dedicate 15 percent of all government supported loan programmes towards women and women owned enterprises, with a special funding window for women engaged in artisanal and value addition enterprises.
- Give priority to women under the land registration programme to increase the percentage of women controlling the land they cultivate from 25.5 percent to at least 35 percent and increase the percentage of registered land from the current 7 percent to at least 20 percent over the next 5 years.

To make political empowerment a reality, the FDC led government is committed to:

- Eliminate the requirement for nomination fees for women contesting for political office at local council level.
- Dedicate at least 15 percent of the national budget for civic education towards civil society organizations working with women to achieve women's political and civic empowerment.
- Increase the current funding allocation to political parties by a 10 percent allocation dedicated to the women leagues of all political parties eligible to receive public funding. This additional funding will be provided as a matching fund based on the recipient political party committing not less than 10 percent of their official allocation to the work of the party women leagues.



## 4.2 An agenda for our Nation's young people



The youth are energetic, innovative, spontaneous and creative. They don't see the same barriers for change to happen. They themselves are the change."

### Our Message

Today, the incumbent government considers youth as a project. Youth programmes are run as if the youth are not part of our society and national planning framework. By projectizing youth programmes and failing to integrate them into the national planning and development framework, the policies of the incumbent government are perpetuating youth exclusion rather than inclusion.

We must return honor to our young people, give them the opportunity to imagine and think big. Big ideas and innovations are ordinarily the handwork of young people. The FDC led government will put the youth at

the centre of Uganda's socio-economic and political transformation agenda.

The FDC's actions to put the youth at the centre of our economy and politics will be deliberate, comprehensive and measurable. These actions will be fully integrated in all spheres of government, the private sector and civil society. In contrast to the patronizing approaches pursued by the incumbent regime, the policies and actions of the FDC led government will seek to: promote a uniform approach to youth programming by all agencies of the state, the civil society and the private sector; support interventions aimed at creating new, decent and well-paying jobs; and promote economic freedom for the youth, as a foundation for innovation.



## THE PROMISE

### Economic participation

- Dedicate at least 30 percent of opportunities such as funding, jobs and procurement available under publicly funded programmes for the benefit of the youth.
- Facilitate smooth transitions of youth from school to the world of work by establishing 10 regional employment transition training centres, including training to increase occupational and geographical mobility of labor.
- Take deliberate actions to decentralize economic and industrial development activities to be pursued alongside the Present and Future Cities Programme, to stimulate local economic development and create jobs across the country.
- Create incentives for public- private partnerships to benefit the young unemployed people.
- Ensure a quality education that prepares our youth to compete regionally and internationally.
- Develop at least 15 modern regional sports facilities across the country.

### The Numbers

**64%** ▶ The percentage share of unemployed youth (18-30 years) as at 2013.

**313,000,000,000**

The amount of public funds dedicated to youth programming in the FY2011/12. There is no transparency regarding who is benefiting from these funds or a record of how many enterprises or jobs have been created by this investment.

**351,194**

The estimated number of jobs created by new licensed firms over a period of 10 years (2000-2009) according to the Uganda Investment Authority.

**95%**

The percentage of youth in non-farm enterprises who were in informal employment as at 2011. Informal jobs are generally low-quality, characterized by low and unstable earnings, and generally job insecurity.

**392,000**

Estimated number of people entering Uganda's labour market annually.



## 4.5 Promotion of sports

Uganda is a sports loving country with vast talent. However, it is underrepresented in all positions: referees, coaches and senior positions in Africa and global sports governance and management.

Sports bring us together as a country. It is where our young people learn about leadership, teamwork, the pursuit of excellence and strength of character. Sports is the bedrock for volunteers, coaches to grassroots network of every sport from what is known as the biggest sport like football, rugby, athletics, basketball, motorsport, boxing and netball to upcoming disciplines like woodball, tennis, martial arts, swimming, volleyball and beach football, among others.

FDC recognises the wider value of sports in our youthful society including improving health, tourism, employability and it's important role in boosting our economy. We will support the grassroots to make every sport valued. In schools and communities, we will invest in equipment, sports halls, modern pitches and provide incentives, scholarships for talented sportsmen and women to pursue higher education. Our government will thus deal with the necessary amendments of the existing sports laws to allow them accommodate modern sports needs and innovations in sports governance.

We shall reset the crude measurement for sports, from just aiming for only medals to participation and ability to influence the world of sport through governance. There will be a stable investment in sports and schools for academic and professional studies in sports.

Successfully delivering sporting events has a positive impact on Uganda's reputation. We shall build more sports infrastructure so that we put Uganda in a better position of competing for the hosting of regional and international sports events.

We shall use our power of government to support and promote our sport officials to improve governance. We shall ensure that through collaboration and sharing best practice, we all work towards upholding the integrity of sport and to ensure transparency and accountability in sports governance.







## 4.3 Ending exclusion of sections of our society

# THE PROMISE TO OUR ELDERLY, PENSIONERS, AND EX-SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN

The FDC led government will:

- Support communities to remain strong by ensuring that the aged and elderly live a dignified life.
- Provide a monthly grant of UShs. 60,000 to every elderly person who is 65 years and above who is not on pension or other publicly funded or supported programme.
- Design and adopt a payments scheme or other appropriate modalities to ensure that all outstanding pension obligations are fully paid or significantly reduced within the five years of the transitional government.
- Establish a modern Veterans Development, Research and Training Institute (VDRTI) as a special purpose vehicle to promote the reintegration of veterans into productive economic life. The Institute will be a multi-purpose facility supporting a wide range of development programmes, undertaking applied research into veterans' issues and public policy, undertaking targeted economic development activities such as farming and industrialization projects, as well as training.
- Ensure that the BTVET Centres of Excellence develop and deliver special skills training programmes for veterans, ex-service men and women as well as former combatants.

# THE PROMISE TO OUR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

The FDC government will:

- Establish an innovation fund for PWDS to improve their social economic livelihoods.
- Enable differently abled persons by protecting their political, economic and social rights and eliminate discrimination from the job market, in civil service and other economic activities.



**BESIGYE**  
**OF UGANDA**



The background image shows the Independence Monument in Guyana. It is a tall, grey stone sculpture of a person with arms raised, standing on a tiered base. The monument is flanked by two vertical poles with the Guyanese flag (green, white, red, and black stripes). The base of the monument is labeled "INDEPENDENCE MONUMENT". The monument is set against a backdrop of lush green trees and a clear sky. In the foreground, there are some green plants and a paved road.

5

Liberation:  
Restoring  
People's Power



## 5.1. Restoring the Power of Citizens

### Our Message

The FDC has mission to ensure that citizens reclaim their power. Over the last decades, we have witnessed the most comprehensive power grab by a ruling junta that invests in subverting citizenship and building patronage. The ruling junta has reduced political participation to elections that are neither free nor fair. It has grabbed economic power by colonizing parliament and diminishing its constitutional powers as an oversight and accountability institution. The constitutional concentration of power in president has made citizens and public sector agencies mere spectators than active participants in the social, economic and political transformation of our country.

That is why the 2016 election is like no other. In the coming elections, the FDC is committed to offer the leadership to enable citizens reclaim their power. We are engaged in a continuous defiance campaign against the emergence of a dictatorship in our country. It is a campaign against obnoxious and anti-civil liberties laws that the regime is throwing around the necks of citizens. It is a defiance campaign against blatant theft of public funds and, grand and institutionalized corruption. Ours is a defiance campaign against junta actions that illegally deprive people of their lands, grabs public land and undermines the independence and integrity of public institutions. It is a defiance campaign against the brutal actions of the police and other security forces, and an electoral commission that has been compromised.

## THE PROMISE

Our Pledge to all Ugandans is that we will focus on restoring power to the citizens of Uganda by promoting national reconciliation, strengthening our democracy and ensuring the full application of the rule. We will achieve this by undertaking the following actions:

### 1. National reconciliation and Truth Telling

- Establish a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help heal the deep rifts in the country, and to enable our people forge a common future of solidarity, respect of the dignity and shared prosperity for all citizens.
- Adopt a time-bound and fully costed plan to reconstruct all areas ravaged by wars, particularly Northern Uganda, including payment of reparations and compensation of victims of war.
- Develop and fast track the implementation of an economic recovery and infrastructure development plan for the Luwero triangle including the full compensation of Luwero war veterans.
- Establish active partnerships with religious institutions and civil society to rebuild the social fabric of society.

### 2. Deepening our Democracy [separate]

- Require that every agency of Government publish an annual report on the steps taken to implement the fundamental rights and freedoms enshrined in the constitution.
- restore presidential term limit in the constitution and entrenching the clause in the constitution.
- Expediently amend electoral laws to provide for the establishment of an independent and impartial electoral commission and eliminate bottlenecks to the effective representation of women and youth such as the demand for exorbitant nomination fees.
- Ensure the full implementation of the citizens proposals for electoral reforms as enshrined in the Citizens Compact on Free and Fair Elections.
- Eliminate all forms of policy, legal and administrative restrictions to the legitimate operations of the media and civil society.

### 3. Strengthening the rule of law

- Reduce the powers of the president regarding appointments and require that all public service appointments be effected through an open, transparent and competitive process.
- Adopt measures and reforms to ensure and guarantee the independence of judiciary and resourcing it to ensure effective delivery of judicial services to all citizens.

### 4. Making a peaceful transition possible

For 53 years of independence, Uganda has failed achieve a peaceful transition of leadership from one political party to another or from one president to another. After 30 years of the incumbent regime, we have an opportunity to make this change happen. There is nothing that you can fail to do in 30 years as a leader and then start making new promises. As a people, we have the responsibility to help the current president leave power peacefully by voting this agenda for equal opportunity and shared prosperity.

To facilitate this transition, the FDC led government commits to secure and guarantee peaceful retirement of the incumbent president and his family members and to ensure that they have every opportunity to continue contributing to the development of our country in a variety of ways.

## 5.2 Unity and Reconciliation: From Security and Stability to Peace and Prosperity

### Our Message

After 53 years of independence, we cannot just celebrate the attainment of security and stability. We should be able to translate these achievements into peace and prosperity for all citizens. The FDC led government will create conditions for peace and pursue policies and programmes that create prosperity for every citizen. Our peace, prosperity agenda will be based on addressing 8 pillars: a properly functioning government; (equitable distribution of social justice); free flow information; sound business environment; quality and productive human capital, strict enforcement of respect for human rights, elimination of corruption and maintaining good and productive relationships with all our neighbors and the international community.

## THE PROMISE

Over the next 5 years, we are making a promise to the people of Uganda to:

- Establish a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (NTRC) to help heal the deep rifts in the country, and to enable our people forge a common future of solidarity. Set up a national rehabilitation commission to implement NTRC findings and recommendation in order to reconcile, rehabilitate and cleanse the country from the emotional pain and trauma.
- Adopt a time-bound and a fully costed plan to reconstruct all areas ravaged by wars, particularly Northern Uganda, including payment of reparations and compensation to war victims.
- Develop and fast track the implementation of an economic recovery and infrastructure development plan for the Luwero triangle including the full compensation of Luwero war veterans.
- Implement focused investment in all areas of development, including infrastructure, access to water and sanitation, education, health, and agriculture.
- Use the prerogative of mercy and review all cases of political prisoners and prisoners of conscience who are persecuted for their political beliefs with a view to release them.



## 6

# A Plan to Restructure Government and Eliminate Wastage

## 6.1 Restructuring the Executive and Legislative Arms of Government

### The Message

The politics of patronage have increased the size of our government. Under the mantra of service delivery, administrative units have been created thereby increasing the size of public administration officials. Creation of multiple administration units distorts priorities and undermines public service delivery efforts. For example, where citizens need teachers, they instead get councilors. Instead of agricultural extension officers and school inspectors, taxpayers get RDCs, DISO's GISO's and all kinds of patronage positions. At the national level, a bloated cabinet and a host of presidential advisors and assistants have created multiple centres leading to a breakdown in the chain of authority and accountability of responsibilities. A Big government is standing in the way of opportunity for many Ugandans.

### The Numbers

187

The number of RDCs and Deputy RDCs as at February 2014

4,000,000,000

The estimated amount of money that Ugandan taxpayers spend on presidential advisors and assistants annually in the form of salaries and allowances.

## THE PROMISE

The FDC led government will:

- Undertake a comprehensive rationalization and restructuring of public sector institutions to remove mandate overlaps, create efficiency and cut down the cost of public administration.
- Reduce the size of cabinet to not more than 21 cabinet ministers. Strengthen offices of Permanent Secretaries, Directors and Commissioners.
- Undertake appropriate reforms to reduce the size of parliament from the projected 420 MPs to not more than 190 MPs.
- Reduce the number of presidential advisors to not more than 10 advisors and limit the number of presidential assistants. The bulk of the work that presidential advisors claim to do is the same work exactly done by mainstream ministry personnel.
- Merge the office of Resident District Commissioner and the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) to strengthen it to ensure effective coordination of central and local government development and service delivery programmes.
- Rationalize the use of government vehicles by cutting down on the vehicle fleet and restricting the level of officials that will be provided with official vehicles. This measure will contribute to saving the tax payers from inflated vehicle maintenance costs, fuel costs and other forms of wastage.

## 6.2 Federal and Local Governments will become Economic Power-houses Driving our Economic Transformation and Jobs Creation agenda

### The Message

The FDC believes in the power of citizens to make individual choices that shape their own destiny and the destiny of an entire nation. Our people are not just passive recipients of government programmes and handouts. The ability of citizens to hold government and leaders accountable is the core foundation of what it means to be a citizen. The FDC will pursue policies to establish strong federal and local governments supporting them to become strong political, administrative, and most important, economic development units at the heart of our Nation's socio-economic transformation and jobs creation agenda. Strong federal and local governments will become the foundations for building the local economic and social infrastructure, improving public service delivery, and building demand for accountability and good governance.

### The Numbers

# 8,000,000,000

The estimated amount of money (in billion shillings) belonging to Bunyoro Kingdom arising out of reparations from the British Government and royalty payments that the central government is stubbornly withholding from the Kingdom. This money can enable the Kingdom invest in education, health, agriculture and local infrastructure development. All our regions including Karamoja (minerals) and Kigezi (tourism) are held back by a regime that puts patronage politics above economic policy.

## THE PROMISE

- Pursue constitutional reforms to facilitate the adoption of a federal system of government that allows regions to exercise political, administrative and economic planning authority.
- Strengthening decentralization and local economic development by adopting policies to achieve administrative and fiscal decentralization, and supporting federal and local governments to become units of economic organization and transformation.
- Progressively increase the percentage of the annual national budget allocated to local government spending programmes from the current 14 percent to at least not less than 30 percent over the five years.
- Support the economic vitality of local governments through the Present and Future Cities Programme and other economic stimulus programmes.
- Establish a rewards programme to benefit regions and local governments that demonstrate the highest contribution to our Nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and innovation in accelerating job creation.



# A Plan to Eliminate Corruption

Our actions to cure this cancer that is eating at the marrow of our society will be decisive, bold and immediate and will make corruption and stealing of public funds and assets.

## Our Message

Corruption is one of the major fault lines in our society today. Corruption and patronage undermine economic development and are one of the major obstacles standing in our way to progress. Those who steal public funds and public assets are stealing from Ugandan taxpayers who are struggling with a hostile economic environment and a distorted tax regime that work against them. More so, they are stealing the future from our children. Endemic corruption is a major fault line that threatens our democracy, undermines our effort to attain economic prosperity and is one of the greatest threats to the continued stability of our country.

For the last two decades, we have had all kinds of political rhetoric from the incumbent regime making

declarations about zero tolerance of corruption. But corruption cannot be fought by mere political declarations. It is fought by decisive actions and requires a political leadership that cannot be compromised. Our actions will be targeted at eliminating grand and petty corruption, embezzlement of public funds, stealing of public assets and ending political corruption.

The corrupt have enjoyed their honeymoon under the incumbent regime. Our country cannot afford another five years of the same rhetoric. Ugandans therefore have a choice to make between rhetoric of the incumbent regime and our bold plan to turn corruption into one of the most risky ventures.

## The Numbers

**24,000,000,000,000**

The amount of money stolen from Ugandan taxpayers over a 10-year period. According to the Black Monday Movement - a coalition of anti-corruption civil society organizations - this amount of money is enough to pay for the construction of 6 hydroelectric power dams to generate power that we need to power our industrial development.

**22,000,000,000**

The amount of money discovered in [year] to have been stolen through the office of the Prime Minister. This is equivalent to stealing US\$60 million every day for one year.

**500,000,000,000**

The amount of money that is stolen from Ugandan taxpayers money per year according to the World Bank.



## THE PROMISE

Our action to eliminate corruption and make it risky for anybody to steal from Ugandan taxpayers will be swift, bold and robust. The following actions will be pursued immediately:

- Rationalize and streamline the mandates of anti-corruption institutions, remove overlaps and improve efficiency in their operations.
- Strengthen anti-corruption institutions and mechanisms to detect and prevent corruption and stealing of public funds.
- Locate and recover all stolen public funds and public assets that have been stolen and expropriated through illegitimate means.
- Undertake legal and administrative reforms to

ensure expeditious prosecution of corrupt persons in both the public and private sector.

- Any public official against whom an official inquiry regarding the use of public funds and use of public office has been instituted will be required to resign immediately and may only be allowed to resume office based on the outcomes and recommendations of the inquiry..
- Establish a Corruption Truth Telling Commission – this Commission will give an opportunity to anybody who has stolen from Ugandan taxpayers or been involved in illegitimate acquisition, transfer or any form of conversion of public assets to confess to the Commission and agree on modalities to have such stolen funds or assets recovered as a basis for amnesty from prosecution.

The anti-corruption measures and reforms undertaken in pursuit of this action plan is projected to free up in the excess of US\$1,000,000,000,000 which will be channelled towards economic development activities.



## 8

# A Plan to Consolidate Our National Defense and Security

## Message

Military service is the highest form of sacrifice a person can offer for his or her country. Abusing the military to serving individual interests is the worst degradation that can be visited on the men and women in uniform.

The military needs to be honored and as such it is our intention to create an environment that honors and gives dignity to the men and women while in service and upon retirement.

Government under the FDC will never tolerate a situation where our retired service men and women have to trek distances to come to our parliament as the only means to secure their welfare and a dignified retirement.



## THE PROMISE

- Establish the Independent Security Services Commission vested with the mandate to determine discipline, promotions, and commissions; as well as handle complaints and all other matters related to the army, police, intelligence agencies and all other security agencies.
- Ensure the welfare of the men and women who serve in our military and provision of adequate equipment and materials when they are on mission.
- Build economic power to facilitate and compel cooperation while maintaining the ability to intervene in potentially destabilizing conflicts within the framework of the East African Community, African Union and the United Nations.
- Counter terrorism and extremism through effective intelligence, joint counter terrorism operations and expanding economic opportunities for the youth and marginalized groups.
- Investing in enhancing our Nation's cyber security capabilities.
- Strengthening our Nation's intelligence capabilities to detect, defeat or avoid threats.
- improve the welfare of the armed forces; police, military, prison and intelligence personnel, with special emphasis on salaries, housing, health care, dependents' education, and pensions. The minimum salary of the lowest paid officer shall be UShs.650,000.
- Prioritize the payment of retirement benefits and other emoluments that have been pending to date.



## 9

# Regional and Global Partnership

## Message

Government under the FDC will focus on reshaping our engagement in global politics and economy towards building partnerships that translate into tangible benefits for ordinary Ugandans. Our government is motivated with an effective policy agenda that: puts our national interest first in regional, continental and national affairs; promotes a functioning East African Community; ensures regional peace and development; promotes regional and international security, puts emphasis on combating terrorism and emerging common regional threats; and promotes regional economic partnerships.

The FDC believes in a strong citizenship and a re-awakened nationalism as the foundation for a sustainable regional integration and pan-African agenda. A strong East African Community and African Union can never be built on the basis of imperial presidencies and the magnanimity of strongmen but rather on the basis of strong states and nations where the citizen is central to that agenda.

## THE PROMISE

- Our pursuit of regional integration and pan-Africanism will be driven by the conscious desire to empower citizens as the frontline defenders of democracy and shared opportunity for national prosperity.
- Pursue regional economic integration through harmonization of tariffs and investment policy regimes that enable free flow of goods, services and labor, by actively participating in the EAC and other regional economic bodies
- Promote global political and economic partnerships, pursue an outward looking strategy, identifying and taking advantage of emerging economic and diplomatic opportunities. Our embassies will be fully facilitated by ensuring adequate funding, staffing and retooling to take on new missions abroad.
- Invest in building a meritocratic diplomatic service that is highly trained and motivated to take on new challenges extending to economic and commercial diplomacy. Sign treaties, common markets, faster movement of goods across borders

# 10 Financing the Plan

The policies and programmes outlined in this manifesto will be financed by resources mobilised through the following actions

- 1** Reducing the size of government and eliminating wastage.
- 2** Expanding the tax base through appropriate policies.
- 3** Streamlining the tax regime to make it fair, equitable and transparent.
- 4** Ensuring transparent, efficient and effective use of revenues from oil, minerals and other natural resources.
- 5** Effective and efficient utilisation of grants and prudent borrowing.



## Dr. Besigye the man: Profile of a Freedom Fighter and People's President

- Col (Rtd) Dr. Kizza Besigye was born on April 22, 1956 in Rukungiri District to Moses and Marion Kifeke of Rwakabengo, Rukungiri Town Council.
- Dr. Besigye is married to Engineer Winnie Byanyima and has two Children
- He obtained a degree in Human Medicine at Makerere University and then worked in Nairobi in Agakhan hospital as a Medical Doctor.
- In 1982, Dr. Besigye joined the NRA and provided medical services to the high command.
- In 1985, he was appointed Director of Medical Services of the National Resistance Army (NRA).
- In 1986, Dr. Besigye was appointed Minister of state for Internal Affairs and was one of the 38 Historical Members of the National Resistance Council (NRC).
- In 1988, he was appointed Minister of state in the office of president and the National Political Commissar.
- In 1991, he was appointed Commanding Officer of the NRA Mechanized Regiment in Masaka.
- From 1993-1998, he served as Chief of Logistics and Engineering in the NRA.
- In 1998, Col. Besigye was appointed Senior Military Advisor to the President. He retired from the Military in 2000.
- Dr. Besigye was the runner up in the 2001 under the Reform Agenda political pressure group, and under FDC 2006 and 2010.
- Dr. Besigye and other Ugandan compatriots, innocent citizen have suffered the wrath of a current dictatorial regime with political oppression, 45 political motivated arrests, intimidation with tear gas and prisons, fabricated criminal court cases flamed by the state with no grounds for conviction since 2000 up to today.
- He has pursued justice but in vain other than violent military means after stealing his presidential elections in all two consecutive elections, the Ugandan Supreme Court noted that they were full of electoral irregularities that rendered the elections as unfree and unfair.
- Dr. Besigye has been the chairman for Democratic Union of Africa and he is the Vice chairman of International Democratic Union organization since 2009 up to 2015.
- He was elected as the President General of the Forum for Democratic Change in 2005 and 2010 through a competitive free democratic election contests with his longtime comrade and party President General of the Forum for Democratic Change, (Rtd) Major General, Mugisha Muntu Gregory.
- Dr. Kizza Besigye the unwavering African revolutionary leader of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century appreciates all FDC leaders, national delegates, and supporters all over the Country for their continuous firm and passionate support as presidential candidate in this struggle for Uganda's liberation.









**Campaign Headquarters**

Plot 1164, Entebbe Road, Najjanankumbi, P. O. Box 26928, Kampala, Uganda

Tel: 0414 267 920, Email: [info@fdc.ug](mailto:info@fdc.ug)

[www.fdc.ug](http://www.fdc.ug)