

# **PRESIDENTIAL MANIFESTO**

## **KABULETA KIIZA JOSEPH**

### **Reclaiming Our Country and Kin (ROCK)**

Uganda is a country endowed with vast resources. It boasts of a friendly climate, numerous minerals in commercially viable quantities, half of East Africa's arable land, billions of barrels of oil and hundreds of tourist attractions.

I believe that Uganda's rich endowment of natural resources when fully harnessed should produce wealth that is equitably shared. However, the persistence of widespread corruption inhibits the translation of economic growth numbers into dividends for all citizens of this nation.

I am determined to break the ceiling that separates the privileged few at the apex of the income pyramid from everyone else.

#### **Uganda's People**

Chief among Uganda's resources are her people. According to the 2016/17 Uganda National Household Survey, Uganda's population stood at 37.7 million. Close to 7 out of every 10 of these are of working age, energetic and vibrant young people. Very few nations on the globe are in such a privileged position as Uganda finds itself in.

There is a total of 19 million Ugandans who form part of this working age population but only 4 million are in gainful employment where one earns an income.

The average monthly income of those in paid employment is a paltry Shs 168,000 per month which translates into a total of Shs 2,016,000 per annum. This is less than the minimum income tax threshold of Shs 2,820,000. This means that almost all able working Ugandans cannot even sustain the economy.

At the household level, the average nominal monthly cash income derived from all sources is a paltry Shs 416,000 which translates into a total of Shs 4,992,000 per annum. With the average household size of 5 people, this means that just under Shs 1,000,000 is allocated per household member per annum, which is just under Shs 3,000 per day.

#### **Why is this the case?**

There are two major explanations for the current state of financial livelihoods of Ugandans. First, a majority of Ugandans are subsistence farmers with little or no focus at all on commercialisation. They only produce to meet their basic needs and only sell what is left over after consumption. This in most cases is not much, of poor quality and as such cannot earn much income.

Furthermore, the subsistence nature of agriculture makes it nearly impossible to scale production to be able to earn more income. That is why despite having some of the best soils and climate, Uganda has limited capacity to tap into the lucrative agricultural export markets, even for coffee which is our leading export earner.

Secondly, Ugandans who engage in non-agricultural activity, majorly start businesses to meet their basic needs and not for commercial purposes. This is not any different from the case of subsistence agriculture. Such businesses have limited or no capacity to scale into bigger enterprises that can tap into more rewarding business opportunities.

### **The Target**

My target is to double the average monthly household income to Shs 1,000,000 over a 5-year period. This would translate into a total of Shs 12,000,000 per annum. With the average household size of 5 people, this means that Shs 2,400,000 would be allocated per household member per annum which would translate into Shs 6,575 per day.

**My government will achieve this through:**

## **AGRICULTURE**

Agriculture holds the key to increasing the tax base. Including the 17 million Ugandans excluded from the tax bracket. Of every 10 Ugandans, 8 are employed in the agricultural sector. Uganda's comparative and competitive advantages are in agriculture. 50% of East Africa's arable land is in Uganda and Uganda has more planting seasons than her neighbours. Uganda is considered the food basket of East and Central Africa. Uganda not only has the potential of becoming the garden of East Africa but also the regional hub for the food processing industry. Despite all these potential benefits from agriculture, it only contributes 20% to Uganda's GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and just 1% to government revenue.

To achieve this target, focus needs to be placed on commercializing agriculture and business. The majority of Ugandans who are currently subsistence farmers and "petty" entrepreneurs will need to be equipped and supported to become commercial farmers and entrepreneurs. Commercialization will not only increase the levels of household incomes, but it will also position a majority of Ugandans to grow their capacity to tap into the more lucrative, larger domestic and export markets.

My government is going to pursue a four-pronged strategic approach to commercializing agriculture and business.

### **Stratify the Country into Economic Regions**

Each of these economic regions will specialize in agricultural crops and businesses/economic activity where they have comparative advantage. This is to ensure that we are able to optimize the resources in each region so that the residents of each region get maximum returns on their investments. For example, the South Western region is known for dairy farming. Therefore, instead of just growing anything in that region, focus will be placed on developing that region into a hub for the dairy industry. Support will be provided right from the dairy farmer to the producer of dairy-related products in what we call an ecosystem/value chain

approach to economic development. Focus will be placed on addressing problems in the system to ensure that the system works for everyone at their specific level of development.

### **Re-prioritization of Land Use (Operation Mayumba Kumi)**

According to the most recent agricultural census, the average size of land holding per household is between 2-4 acres. This varies from region to region, with larger parcels of land in rural areas than in urban areas. By Ugandan standards this is quite a lot of land to just be used for subsistence activities. Each household will be encouraged and incentivized to set aside at least 1 to 2 acres for commercial purposes depending on their total land holding. Government will then support each of the farmers to transform those acres into viable commercial enterprises in line with the economic zoning strategy.

This will be done at village level where each of the Local Council 1 Chairmen will be required to mobilize their members to participate in this programme. This is why this programme has been dubbed “operation mayumba kumi” which means “Ten Households”. Each LC1 will be given a target of mobilizing at least 10 households to participate in this program. This is to ensure that no Ugandan is left behind.

### **Revival of Co-operatives**

For the areas with more complex land tenure systems, presenting difficulty in developing large commercial farms; my government will focus on reviving cooperatives. These will be able to mobilize the many small-holder farmers and small businesses into more integrated commercial enterprises. Co-operatives are able to empower their members to improve on both their productivity and earnings. They also have the capacity to scale and tap into the larger and lucrative markets in both the domestic and export markets.

The re-establishment of co-operatives will also lead to the elimination of middlemen. Many farmers are forced to sell their produce to manipulative middlemen at very diminished prices because it is those middlemen who have licenses to purchase produce like sugarcane, milk, coffee and vanilla. This leaves farmers at the bottom of the food-chain, earning little to nothing for their efforts.

In neighboring Kenya, co-operatives have to-date mobilized an estimated value of US\$ 6 Billion in savings deposits and generated assets valued at around US\$ 5 Billion. This accounts for about 50% of Kenya’s GDP. Furthermore 9 in 10 of housing units in Kenya are financed through co-operatives. The transformation of Uganda’s agriculture from predominantly subsistence to commercial will transform the fortunes of many Ugandans and ultimately expand the tax revenue base of the country.

### **Food Security And Feeding The Nations**

Given the soil and climate that Uganda has, it is unbelievable that any region in the country should ever suffer hunger and starvation. But because food production is the preserve of smallholder farmers, price volatility, limited access to markets, lack of training in post-harvest handling and poverty, means that the farming communities are not able to maximize the potential of Uganda being the region’s food basket.

My agenda is to invest in food drying and storage technologies and facilities which can extend the shelf life of agricultural commodities for even up to 20 years. In eliminating post-harvest losses, we will support

smallholder farmers in providing food security to the nation and Africa as a whole. In turn, farmers will be able to scale their businesses to cater for the demand, improving their livelihoods.

## **THE FISCAL POLICY RESET: INCREASING EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTIVITY OF GOVERNMENT**

The widening government budget deficit and an increasing national debt burden require a serious rethink of Uganda's tax and government expenditure policy. A year ago, Uganda's government was spending 5% more than the revenue it collected. With the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, this is projected to double to 10% by the end of next year.

### **Public Debt and Interest Payments**

Whereas at 40% Public Debt to GDP ratio, Uganda is still within acceptable levels, the rate at which public debt has increased in the last 24 months is worrying. From UGX 42.4 Trillion in 2017/2018, public debt is currently at UGX 53 Trillion (June 2020). With debt payment expected to take up 65% of national revenue (2019/2020), it is clear that funds going into service delivery are significantly limited. Worse still, a large portion of this debt is foreign and we are increasingly borrowing on a non-concessional basis which makes it more expensive, and leaves our nation increasingly vulnerable to external interests.

Currently government tax revenue is just 12.5% of GDP.

To expand domestic revenue my government shall move away from the reliance on annual haphazard changes in tax policy and instead focus on creating an environment that promotes business and investment.

### **Uganda compared to Similar Countries in Africa**

Tunisia is an African country that holds many similar economic aspects to Uganda but with a far much better fiscal position. Uganda sits on just over 200,000 square kilometers compared to 155,000 of Tunisia. Uganda has a GDP of US\$ 35 Billion compared to US\$ 39 Billion of Tunisia. That is where the comparison stops. Tunisia has a higher Tax to GDP ratio of 38% compared to Uganda's 12%. For every US\$100 produced in Tunisia, US\$38 is collected in taxes. At US\$ 3,318 Tunisia's income per capita is more than thrice that of Uganda, which is an indication of a bigger tax base. If Tunisia, which is in many ways comparable to Uganda can have such high tax revenue performance, with the right leadership, right systems and a performance culture, Uganda can have the same story.

The current state of affairs is a result of unnecessary and unproductive government expenditure which manifests in a large number of public administration units (districts), redundant and unproductive public officers (i.e. presidential advisors, Resident District Officers, District Intelligence Officers etc...) and an inefficient public service system that encourages corruption. Many Ugandans pay bribes not because they are wrongdoers, but because they are looking for an efficient service in a corrupt system.

Government realizes low revenues because the majority of Ugandans fall outside the tax bracket as their incomes are below the minimum tax threshold. Nine out every ten Ugandans of working age earn less than

Shs 235,000 per month, the amount below which one is exempt from income tax. In absolute terms this number is estimated at 17 million Ugandans. That leaves 2 million who are eligible to pay tax, but even among these just over one million are registered taxpayers. The same story applies to businesses. Nine out every 10 businesses in Uganda earn less than the minimum tax threshold.

In addition to the inability of Ugandans to pay tax, the current tax system is complex and burdensome to the few who are eligible to pay tax. The same income is taxed in multiple forms by the Central and Local Governments and if one were to comply and pay all taxes, they would become forever indebted to the government. This is why some businesses have collapsed under the burden of taxation.

The solution to Uganda's increasing government budget deficits, debt burden and perennial low tax base lies in prudent government expenditure: getting rid of the "dead wood" in government i.e. the bloated cabinet, redundant government departments/authorities, excess local government units (districts), redundant and unproductive public officers (i.e. presidential advisors, Resident District Officers, District Intelligence Officers etc...).

### **Public Service Reform**

The Public Service plays a pivotal role in delivering services such as security, property rights, economic management, education, health, disaster relief, environmental, and aiding the private sector to do business. Our Public Service is in need of urgent, bold reforms that will meet the expectations of the people. At the moment, the public service is dangerously clogged and is a huge burden on the taxpayer who is spending on staff salaries, fleets of vehicles and allowances for 80 ministers and state ministers, 527 members of parliament, and 147 district heads. According to a 2019 report by the Ministry of Public Service, the taxpayer shoulders over 10.2 trillion shillings in wage bill. The same report indicates that over a trillion shillings is spent on wages of duplicate MDAs and staff. On the other hand, inefficiency in public service delivery, coupled with corruption and incompetence have hampered service delivery to the public and stifled the private sector's ability to do business.

I pledge to build a lean and efficient Public Service with focus placed on a professional, and accountable public sector that can leverage modern technology to drive efficiency and high-level performance. This will plug the gaps that cause corruption as there will no longer be an incentive for bribes. The public will be able to access public services on time without any delays requiring no extra payment to hasten the service.

I will restructure the public service by merging Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) that offer similar services. Unnecessary MDAs will be disbanded and others downsized. By this, we will eliminate duplication and waste of taxpayer's money.

My government will divest power from the presidency and strengthen the Central Government and Local Government institutions to be able to make decisions and deliver services.

The Public Service will be rid of unnecessary red-tape through empowering institutions' capacity to make decisions and deliver services

My government will harmonize the remuneration structure across the MDAs and eliminate the artificial wage differentials that have for long divided the service. A decent wage structure will be instituted for civil

servants, that not only meets their basic needs but guarantees them a better life while in service and after retirement. All civil servants will be well motivated to deliver the best services.

With a well-motivated and competent staffing in the public sector, my government will ensure that corruption is a risky affair in public service. By leveraging modern ICT e-Governance will be rolled out to interconnect government MDAs. Every Ugandan will know where and how to access services with much ease.

Within the first three (3) years, I will reform our public service to reflect the following characteristics:

Merit-based and politically neutral;

Well-structured, right-sized, and well-paid;

Accountable, professional, and free of corruption;

Relatively autonomous, responsive, and representative; and

Well-trained, performance-oriented, and relatively open.

### **3. TAXATION**

Using a well planned and trusted tax administration in our government, I intend to have the budget financed through taxation. Currently, nearly 80% of would be taxable Ugandans are not on the grid and the entire burden is met by 20%.

An integration of the would be taxable Ugandans, most of whom are in agriculture, which is at the heart of what we intend to do to improve the financial status of every Ugandan, is a major tool in the way we plan to widen the tax base.

To achieve this target, focus will be placed on an expanded tax base, collection and efficient utilization. Uganda currently has low ratings in terms of collections at 13% of our GDP - this is the lowest in the region. What this means in simple language is our collections, being low compared to what we produce as a country, makes us fund only 40% of our budget.

I intend to increase our tax collection to 20% and above of our GDP which will translate into funding our budget by 80% and above, by changing the collection and administration, using the following approaches tailored to the financial liberation of Ugandans as well as increased tax efficiency.

#### **Taxation Related to Foreign Direct Investment**

I appreciate that most Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) decisions are affected by tax considerations and efforts are made to make Uganda an attractive destination for FDI. However, billions of shillings are lost every year as the country deals with Multinational Companies (MNCs) repatriating profits out of the country in an uncontrolled system. This money denies the country useful capital that would be invested in the country to trigger growth and job opportunities for Uganda's (mainly youthful) population.

I seek to amend the income tax exemption regimes to close the loopholes that allow MNCs to repatriate 100% of their profits. I will, in addition, call for a comprehensive review into the period of time that a company can be allowed to take advantage of the Free Zones Authority exemptions before its impact is evaluated.

### **Widening the Tax Base**

The current government has resorted to solutions such as the introduction of the social media OTT tax in order to further milk an already overtaxed narrow tax base. The solution to collecting more tax revenue is to widen the tax base.

I recognize that the informal sector is untaxed and yet it makes up a large part of the economy. An understandable reason for this is that many business people may not realize the benefit of registering their businesses. When tax expenditure by the government is demonstrated to be beneficial to the business community, there is bound to be more compliance.

With more than 70% of the Ugandan population engaging in agriculture, we consider it the government's responsibility to provide support in sourcing markets for agricultural produce. Many informal farmers, traders and other players in this sector would be incentivized to formalize their enterprises if they are able to access markets when they do. This would in turn widen the tax base.

### **Trade Policy with Neighbors and Beyond: Fair EAC Tariffs**

I will push for the lowering of the Common External Tariff (CET) rate on goods destined for the landlocked countries of the East African Community (EAC). The higher rate is unfair to countries that must bear the costs of transporting goods from the ports. This is especially compounded by the fact that some of the items attracting a 25% duty may be considered finished goods but are used as raw materials in our industries.

### **Tax Incentives For Foreign investors**

Every year, the Ugandan taxpayer loses out on about one trillion shillings in incentives going to foreign investors. My proposal is straightforward; instead of offering these incentives that the country cannot afford to give, money raised from tax revenues earned from foreign investments should be put towards improving the business environment so that all can benefit. Uganda is ranked 116th out of 190 economies in the World Bank Ease of Doing Business Report 2020. Compare this to Rwanda at 38 and Kenya at 56.

### **Rate reduction on some components of income tax**

My tax plan involves reviewing some immediate and most important elements of income tax that directly affect the pockets of Ugandans such as Pay As You Earn (PAYE).

At 30%, this income tax currently sustains loopholes for tax avoidance cases such as commission based payments to those on consultancy arrangements who are taxed at between 6% to 15% as withholding tax per month, and some retain the status for a long time.

My plan of reducing PAYE rate will encourage the majority of Ugandans who are paid using other means to avoid tax, to look at the benefits that will come with the change. Ugandans will look at the tax paid at a lower rate in relation to the benefits of National Social Security Fund (NSSF) where the employer will add 10% of their pay towards their pension.

The shortfall in the revenue due to reduction in the rate will be reconciled by the increased number of payroll members, duly registered businesses and an increase in disposable incomes in the pockets of Ugandans.

### **Non-Compliance**

Eradicating gaps in the existing collection tools by creating more awareness programs as well as easing the tax compliance rewards system for the diligent taxpayers through recognition programs and other incentives tailored to their business sphere of operation.

### **Immigration Tax Gaps**

Our immigration system currently is not synchronized with Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) to track all foreigners who obtain work permits for tax purposes. My administration will increase revenue by creating a link between URA and immigration as an effort to expand the tax base and ensure the foreigners who get work permits and are in Uganda for more than 180 days pay the taxes on incomes earned in Uganda as required by the existing laws. This will help address the issue of expatriates whose money is remitted back home without meeting tax obligations even when they carry work permits.

### **VAT Collection Gaps**

Introduction and implementation of system-based tax monitoring and collection of VAT (Value Added Tax) using item scans introduced at production with hard to duplicate features like digital stamps signatures on all taxable items to reduce on suppression of sales by companies and output tax manipulations at points of sale.

### **E-Commerce Taxing**

Uganda currently has many foreign based internet businesses which make a lot of money by charging Ugandans for the use of their platforms and go untaxed at the end of the day taking advantage of the loopholes in our tax law for e.g. AirBnB, Facebook, Amazon, TikTok and YouTube make a lot of money from Uganda and yet do not make any tax contribution. AirBnB made in excess of \$120m last financial year untaxed. Through amendment of the law, my administration will formulate a platform to allow for monitoring, ensuring equitable taxation of the money generated by these establishments within Uganda Revenue Authority jurisdiction. The platform can be aided by institutions like NITA and UCC.

The implementation the e-commerce will greatly expand the tax base for the country and improve our budget performance ratings in the region

### **Fraud In Transfer Pricings**

Multinational corporations with the help of politicians have taken advantage of the weakness in the system to unethically manipulate and dodge their tax obligations to this country; Say, related companies buy things from home countries where the tax rate could be low and over price them to a Ugandan company. In my administration, URA will be empowered in the area of information exchange relationship between different tax jurisdictions. This exchange of information will help to identify individuals with business interests abroad for income tax valuation on an individual basis and related party transactions will be harmonized with URA assessment.

### **Minimum Wage And Threshold**

Currently Uganda does not have a minimum wage for its citizens, which has created a lot of abuse in the labour market by employers. My administration will create a minimum wage and increase the threshold of PAYE so that a large number of people can be on the payroll register. This will widen the tax base and the disposable income of Ugandans.

### **A Simplified and Fair Tax Code**

A tax code that is easily understood by all members of society and is perceived as less burdensome will encourage more Ugandans to pay rather than evade tax. If I know, calculate my tax obligations and find them to be fair relative to what I receive from the government, it will be much easier for me to pay what is due to me.

## **4. EDUCATION**

Uganda has one of the youngest populations in the world which provides us with a unique opportunity to shape and mould our young people to the quality of human capital that will champion and progress the Uganda we aspire to create. Left to the course of prevailing inefficiencies in the sector, this opportunity will be lost and we will continue to lose competitiveness of jobs and the opportunity to entrench our cultures and values to future generations through the vital tool of education.

Despite a steady increase in primary school enrolments, the passing rate for the Primary Leaving Examinations (PLE), the high stakes end of school exam for Primary Education in Uganda, have declined in recent years. A UNICEF report on out of school children in Uganda reports that “Uganda has a very low primary survival rate of 33%, survival rate being the number of children starting together in primary 1, progressing through the cycle with their peers and still being together when finishing the primary cycle in primary 7.

Several damaging issues have been identified by researchers like UWEZO in our basic education: Firstly, there is insufficient knowledge on the part of teachers, particularly in the areas of pedagogy and curriculum content. The second damaging problem is the very high rate of teacher absenteeism. During unannounced visits to the schools surveyed, 24% were absent from the school entirely, and 53% were not present in the classroom. Lastly, pupil textbooks were lacking in 90% of the Primary 4 classes observed. Only 21.8% of newly trained teachers were proficient in numeracy at a Primary 6 level. And only 38.8% of the newly trained teachers reached the desired minimum proficiency level in literacy (also at a Primary 6 level). Primary 6 is the second to last year of Primary in Uganda and meant for pupils aged 11 years old.

Our vocational training has become almost obsolete with minimal relevant training in employable skills like carpentry, joinery, welding, crafts and mechanics. The Directorate of Industrial Training is greatly underfunded and its role and certification process not universally appreciated.

Education is extremely commercialised without a clear transition to gainful employment for many fresh graduates. Apprenticeships, pupilage and internships are not meaningfully embedded in our education system to contribute to the learning and employability of students.

My pledge is for a basic, secondary and tertiary education system that addresses our unique needs as a country with one of the youngest populations in the world and one of the most robust entrepreneurial cultures. My government will ensure that our education addresses the skilling needs of our economy while improving the learning environment for learners, parents and teachers:

### **My proposition**

The spending on Education will be increased. Currently, education spending is 2.5% of Uganda's GDP. I propose an increase to 4%. My agenda is to increase focus on training in areas of the country's priorities including tourism and agribusiness, especially in the country's Post Primary Education and Training strategy.

### **Improving Learning Outcomes**

My government will take deliberate measures to address the overwhelming dropout rate from schools by tailoring the curriculum and learning process to the unique needs and challenges of Ugandans especially those in rural settings

My government will take deliberate measures to change the appalling literacy (reading) and numeracy (counting) gaps to make sure that our basic education does not just teach for the purposes of passing exams but provides competitive and age appropriate learning outcomes for Ugandan children.

Improve quality of teacher training by benchmarking best practices for teacher training, making the teaching profession competitive to attract top performing candidates. My government will also improve the consistent up-skilling programs by offering scholarships and making it more flexible and accessible to all teachers through more instruction centers.

My government will ensure equitable distribution of learning material to all institutions in the country to give all students a fair playing ground.

Through increased government spending and more meaningful collaboration with development partners and the private sector, my government will allocate resources to build, rehabilitate and equip derelict institutions of learning

### **Revamp Vocational Training And Apprenticeship**

My government will revamp vocational training to cater to the diversity in abilities and interests of learners to provide employable skills in areas such as welding, applied mechanics, tailoring, carpentry and crafts.

My government will introduce apprenticeship programs in key fields to offer progressive skilling and reduce the emphasis on work experience which eliminates fresh graduates from gainful employment.

### **Affordability of Quality Education**

My government will reduce the overall commercialization of education by engaging all stakeholders to standardize education service rates to be accessible to all Ugandans, and give them variable options whether public or private. My government will support private educators with input grants, free learning materials and technology as well as tax review for educators.

### **Teacher Motivation and Benefits**

Through the Education Service Commission, embark on reviewing and benchmarking the remuneration of teaching and non-teaching staff in the education sector. This will ensure that both unionized and non-unionized staff wages are improved and the provision of a minimum pay commensurate to hours of work and living needs.

My government will improve government respect for teachers' rights, discourage exploitation and work with unions and other teacher representatives to improve their overall working conditions and bargaining power.

## **5. HEALTH**

Healthcare is my priority. My priority is to bring Uganda's health care spending to 15% of our GDP which is the level that the country committed to in the African Union summit in Abuja, 2001. I believe that this is achievable especially as our GDP rises and as we embark on an anti-corruption agenda that focuses on improving health outcomes. The anti-corruption strategy shall be embedded in the design of national health plans.

### **Financial Liberation as a Precursor to Better Access of Quality Health Care.**

A healthy population is key to the development of any nation. It is also factual that poverty and poor health are inextricably linked. I believe that financial liberation is key in raising many from the doldrums of poverty to the freedom of making good choices for their health. Financial liberation is the prerequisite to economic stability, quality education and healthcare, better living neighborhood, strong social and community contexts for individuals. These factors are a guarantee to reducing exposure to health risks hence better health outcomes for the population.

Uganda urgently needs a healthcare system that is holistic, universally accessible, affordable and reduces out-of-pocket spending. Currently, over 50% of the health expenditure is in a system that is supposedly free of charge. Poor families spend 80% of their income on health care, which further propels the vicious cycle of poverty.

Therefore, I propose to improve access to healthcare for all by making strategic policy shifts:

## **Human Resources for Health**

Human resource is a critical pillar to quality health service delivery. Uganda's Health system has failed to attract, motivate and retain a skilled workforce even with the 500 doctors, 128 specialists and 15,000 nurses and midwives exiting training institutions every year. 56% of district health leadership positions are substantively filled, 80% of doctors are attending to 20% of the population in urban centers. For the last 10 years staffing levels in the healthcare system have only increased by 23% (to the current 76%). Remuneration of Uganda's Health workforce is the worst in the region.

### **Staffing Levels**

Raise the staffing levels of the health workforce to 95% in the next five years by the following interventions;

Working with the Medical Associations, my government will roll out remuneration packages (including 20% salary raise in year one, hard-to-reach top up allowances, provision of housing, access to financing, among others), opportunities for capacity-building and career progression. In my government, it will be difficult for health workers to shun upcountry/rural postings or migrate to other countries.

Establishing an electronic/digital Human Resource Management System to facilitate optimal outputs by reduction of absenteeism and ghost workers as well as improve performance. This will improve effectiveness and efficiency in the management of the human resource.

### **Health Financing**

My government will champion the policy shift that creates a hybrid of Government funding coupled with National Health insurance. The health insurance scheme will be for those who are economically productive and then my government will make a contribution to cover the deficit to care for the poor. This hybrid is expected to reduce the out of pocket expenditure that adversely affects the poor and vulnerable.

Financially liberated communities in my government will be able to afford Community Based Health Insurance Schemes (CBHIS) within one year (happening at low scale in Kisiizi and Nyakibale) for both formal and informal sectors. Social health insurance will be easily acceptable and affordable when more people have decent incomes. While the previous regime has spent over 6 years failing to roll this out, Rwanda increased coverage of health insurance from 3% to 96% within the same period.

This is expected to reduce the catastrophic out-of-pocket expenditure on health care.

Secondly, I propose to increase health expenditure that has stagnated at 7.5% to at least 12% of the total annual budget with-in the two year.

I will also shift to Results Based Financing (RBF) as a new modality of purchase of health services. This modality is expected to improve efficiency in service delivery and also reduce on wastage and pilferage of precious resources.

### **Leadership and Governance**

Governance in Health involves giving strategic direction as well as making policies and regulations. I will work towards re-establishing Government Responsibility to steer the designing and implementation of policies and coordinating the implementation of the latter.

I will provide the following options to improve health governance;

Appoint and empower technocrats in key health leadership positions, quickly fill all substantive positions of district health officers, and relegating more powers to local governments in decision making for improved health services.

Policy shift from disease/medical based to planning and budgeting for health to ensure Universal Health coverage (UHC). The new focus would reduce health risk by integrating health components in other sectors such as education, water and sanitation, agriculture and environmental sectors

Shift away from vertical programming for health interventions to more integrated Health systems strengthening. This support to the health will be through the central government system and not stand alone programs.

### **Commodity and supplies, technologies for Health**

I believe that commodities and supplies for health are critical in maintaining a high quality of service. Constant stock out of essential drugs in public facilities are largely due to monopolized politics of one supply chain entity located in Kampala. There is the potential of this gap being closed by local manufacturers of generic medical products but no support has been given to them.

To immediately eliminate delays in drugs reaching health centres, we shall contract out the functions of our national medical stores like warehousing and distribution of medical products at regional level to eliminate monopoly, structural delays and increase efficiency. We shall work swiftly to provide market incentives and facilities for supporting local manufacturers of medical products.

### **Infrastructure**

My government will continue with the modernization of existing public hospitals, upgrading infrastructure with the latest technologies. Several health facilities have been constructed but they remain unequipped let alone offer quality services. My government will work on 100% functionalization of health center level IVs and higher to offer all services for all levels including but not limited to Emergency Obstetric and Neonatal services, Surgical services, and Child health. These facilities will be able to offer all services required for the level of the health facility.

Uganda has one of the biggest burdens of Road Traffic Incidents (RTIs) at 28.9 per 100,000 populations. Additionally, there are high maternal and perinatal deaths at 336 per 100,000 live births and 27 deaths per 1,000 live births respectively. Many of these deaths and adverse outcomes are due to big delays in accessing quality care. My government will build a referral and ambulance infrastructure that will include regional hubs to cover the major highways for emergency response to Road Traffic Accidents (RTA). The hubs will also take care of the inter-health facility referrals including those related to maternal health. Quick referral system will contribute to the 50% reduction to be achieved in the next 5 years.

## 6. SPORTS AND ARTS

The importance of sports and arts in Uganda has not been sufficiently esteemed to be incorporated into countrywide development plans, thus leaving these sectors to stagger in the backbenches of other seemingly more essential segments. For a large part, sports and arts are merely looked at as recreational activities meant to quench the need for leisure activities. This is where we miss it as a nation as the sports and arts sectors are such big businesses globally and generate a lot of income, not only for the athletes and performers but also their nations.

### **Income from Sports and Entertainment**

According to Statista.com, the global entertainment and media market is projected to generate revenue worth USD 2 trillion in the year 2020 despite the global pandemic that has affected the massive part of the year. When Sports is filtered out, in the projections made before COVID 19, the revenue forecast stood at USD 153.3 billion and later post COVID adjusted to USD 73.7 billion largely due to lack of crowds gathering.

### **Sports Governance**

In Uganda, the sports sector is governed by the Ministry of Education, and sports government under the department of physical education and sports. This department oversees integration and establishment of plans for sports activities in the country. Inasmuch as there are some policies in place, the majority are disjointed and inept, leaving the sector in tatters, in addition to being crammed under the large umbrella that includes education. As such, there is little funding, to the extent that this has over the years made it very difficult to support significant activities and implement any policies conclusively.

### **Budgetary Allocation**

In the economic year 2020/21, the sports sector was allocated a budget of UGX 33.2 billion, which when converted is just a meager USD 8.8 million meant to run for the entire year. Just across the border, our neighbors in Kenya saw their budget for sports and arts increase from KSH 5.3 billion to 14.5 billion in the economic year 2020/21, that is USD 128.6 million, despite the COVID-19 outbreak. To break it down further, their budget for the Rugby Federation is KSH 500 million which when converted in dollars is USD 4.5 million which is half the entirety of Uganda's sports budget. In Rwanda, in the year 2020/21, there was incorporation in the budget of FRW 2 billion to renovate the Amahoro stadium by increasing its capacity and bringing it to elite level. That is USD 2 million for just one project. That is a quarter of our entire sports budget.

This is clear that Uganda is lagging in terms of investment for sports and arts. Most existing facilities in the country are in dire need of refurbishing and will need heavy investment to bring them to a respectable standard. In 2018, the former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Gender, Pius Bigirimana, revealed that UGX 3 billion had been spent in the renovation of Uganda National Cultural Centre. But how often do these entertainment centers garner attention? The Mandela national stadium has been in terrible shape for

upwards of a decade. It must be stated too that the planning of some of the towns in the nation does not permit or have adequate space for recreational facilities.

### **Misappropriation of meagre funds**

How about the funds that have been misappropriated or embezzled? In various sporting events, we have also suffered the embarrassment of having more officials representing the country than the athletes. For individual sports, the athletes themselves have had to sponsor themselves and with the help of their agents, seek to get decent enough facilities that have helped them compete at the very top. The government only shows up with congratulatory messages in case of any victories with promises of building castles in the air, in so doing trying to reap where they never sowed. The various national teams in various sports fields have had to not only fight for the tidbits that fall off the national budget cake. Sportsmen and women have had to wallow in the backbenches of society when their careers are done because they barely earned a decent living that would sustain them, and because they lacked any other skills, abject poverty has been the norm.

The current priorities of the government of Uganda have got it so wrong regarding the management of the sports sector and the arts. This industry is booming around the world and has the potential to generate a lot of revenue for the country as well as boost other sectors like global tourism. This comes with a lot of benefits like improved personal health, job creation, income generation to the promotion of culture and even patriotism by and large. According to UNCTAD creative economy outlook, from available data from 2013, Kenya exports creative goods to the value of USD 40 million and imports USD 195 million. It is no wonder that the Kenyan government during the COVID-19 released a stimulus package to the entertainers worth USD 1 million. Meanwhile, it is almost impossible to verify figures which come through sports and entertainment in Uganda and this is what we intend to change.

### **My Proposal**

#### **The amalgamation of Sports and Arts into one ministry like it is in Kenya and Tanzania.**

There is a strategy vacuum for guidance if such lucrative sectors are hidden under umbrellas of larger ministries. There is a lot of potential in these areas for growth and the right people must be put in place to manage them. For instance, globally, careers in sports or arts are seen as rewarding and also supportable yet in Uganda, we have career politicians being at the helm of the structuring and giving foresight thereby creating a large void and lack of direction since they are clueless about the industry. Since our core message is to liberate Ugandans financially, we must show the strength of the sports and entertainment economy and assign a team that is well conversant in this sector to garner strides which in five years will bring not only an upturn in revenue gains for the economy but also make Uganda an entertainment hub, not only in the region but also in Africa.

#### **Nurturing talent in Sports and Arts**

In the first five years, my government shall seek to nurture talent from elementary level not only as mere forms of recreation but as a potential career. This will be incorporated into the school curriculum at the grassroots level so that children are able to grow their talents together with their academics.

My government intends to provide scholarships at various levels for exceedingly talented children in the sports and the arts. But the honor will be for the students who have met certain levels of academic brilliance to push them to the next level rather than focusing on one up to a certain level of maturity when they are able to make a decision to either go professional or stick to their education. Sports and the arts are not very long careers, so the children must be protected. Inasmuch as they are talented, they can pursue their talent as well as an education. This would give them a bit of liberty post-retirement and create a career rather than yearning for payouts from government. For the great talents that are unearthed and barely have any education, they can also be incorporated into the fold by teaching them vocational skills.

## **Investment**

My government intends to invest in entertainment and sports facilities in various regions of the country. These facilities will help train the various talents in their various fields so that they can develop and reach their potential. Because this would require huge investment, it is something that is going to be organic in growth in the next five years. This will give an opportunity for all regions to grow and nurture their potential. With these facilities, it will be easier to have regional competitions and national competitions which will widen the talent pool and sieve the very best who can end up being international icons. This will go hand in hand with rewarding these regions and opening their eyes to the lucrative world of sports and entertainment.

The budget for the sports and arts sectors will be increased to give the federations and governing bodies a substantial lift. This industry has the capacity to self-finance if the government gives it the right platform. That will make it easier for them to get sponsors and qualify for tournaments, organize concerts and so forth. The government would then just play a supervisory role to make sure finances are adequately allocated and policies met. The revenue they get in the long run can sustain them for as long as they are well managed by the right people.

What my government plans to do is to jumpstart this sector until it blossoms to international status. This would make it even easier to get sponsors and endorsements which would boost the economy as well.

Other areas of intervention will include: -

Talent scouting; set up a system to scout every precocious talent the Creator has invested in this land, regardless of how far-flung they are, and give them necessary support, facilities and environment to shine. Every special talent that has been identified will become the (financial) responsibility of government until an age we believe they can earn from that talent.

Restore government-owned sports facilities across the country, in every community, where youth can go and express themselves at no cost. Invest heavily in training facilities.

With an initial boost, my government shall turn sports into an industry and make it a source of gainful employment for Ugandan youth.

Revise our school curriculum to foster holistic education that allows enough time for sport; which is not only good for the children's health but is also a catchment area for special talents. My government shall also require all High Schools and Universities to have an active involvement and investment in sport.

Increase funding to national sports associations. My government shall also offer massive financial incentives to those associations that deliver success in the form of medals and national victories.

Support different Associations to host Continental and World events in Uganda.

Remove taxation on sporting equipment and on prize money earned by sports stars.

Ensure that the sports ministry funds national teams headed for international competitions.

I believe that with these and other measures, we shall take sport from surviving to thriving. Our triumphs on the world stage will be a result of a deliberate effort to scout, nurture and support our talented athletes. Welcome to the golden era of sports.

## **7. TOURISM**

Uganda enjoys a natural comparative advantage in recreational tourism by virtue of its unique cultural and historical heritage, along with a rich endowment of biological diversity.

Uganda is also home to three world heritage sites. It is home to Africa's tallest mountain range (The Rwenzoris), the source of the Nile, The world's longest river and the continent's largest lake, Lake Victoria.

The Uganda Bureau of Statistics states that Uganda received 1.8 million tourists in 2018, up from 1.4 million in 2017. In 2017, the 1.4 million international arrivals injected about \$1.4 billion into the economy. This contributed to about 10 percent of the GDP. The tourism revenue increased to Ugx 5.8 trillion (\$1.6 billion) in the 2018/2019 financial year.

In comparison, in 2019, the number of international visitor arrivals in Kenya was around 2.04 million, a slight increase from 2.03 million in 2018. The tourism sector in 2019 earned Kenya Ksh163.6 billion (Ugx 5.6 Trillion/USD 1.5 Billion) which was a 3.9 per cent rise from 2018 where Ksh157.4 billion (Ugx 5.4 Trillion/ USD 1.4 Billion) came in. Travel and tourism supported 8.8 per cent of the nation's GDP in 2018.

International visitors to Rwanda were 1.7 million in 2018, according to the Rwanda Development Board. Revenue from Gorilla trekking in Volcanoes National Park grew by 25 per cent in 2018 to \$19.2M from the previous year, according to the latest data from the Rwanda Development Board.

The untapped potential of the Tourism Sector is massive.

My aim is to increase Uganda's tourist arrivals to 5 million in the short run, and increase income to \$10bn a year in the longer run. A World Bank Report from two years ago stated that with an investment of between \$30-50m, which is easily achievable. With the right focus on tourism, employment in the sector will increase and the incomes of the sector and of the people in the regions that host tourism stand to grow exponentially.

### **Potential**

Incredible potential for income from various kinds of tours, most of which are only partially explored. According to a survey carried out by VISA, weather and culture are one of the main attractions for tourism. Uganda has both good

Uganda has the lion's share of Lake Victoria, the world's largest freshwater lake. Currently, Uganda has;

Very low level marketing.

Shortage of rooms. Uganda has about 25,000 ratable rooms (Kenya has close to 100,000). Uganda has 22 National Parks and Game Reserves with a combined 2000 beds with them, while Kenya's Maasai Mara alone has 5000 beds.

There is only one International airport at Entebbe (with a second coming in the oil regions of Bunyoro). Tourists have to travel long distances by road to get to their destinations.

Under-utilization of our potential in culture, marine and several other areas of tourism

Encroachment on forests which are home to unique bird species

A political climate that can become volatile and affect the industry

## **My Proposal**

### **Joint Promotion**

Promoting Uganda as a tourism destination is best achieved as a collaborative effort between government and private sector players. My government shall therefore prioritize funding to tourism PR and marketing programs as well as providing support through schemes such as matching funding for promotional activities like trade shows.

Kenya, in comparison to Uganda, has hired 20 PR firms to market their country. Uganda has one PR firm currently. Heavy investment in marketing our country's tourism potential both within Africa and outside Africa shall be a high priority. This shall also include efforts in image management whenever unseemly events occur

### **Tourism Product Development**

A tourist arriving in Uganda willing and able to spend \$1,000 leaves the country with \$600. My government will seek to broaden the country's value offer. In working with the different stakeholders in the tourism sector, we shall invest in identifying, developing, and promoting more avenues for deepening tourist spending. Widening the product offer to expand away from nature tourism. This also includes developing opportunities for a diverse range of visitors. Accommodation facilities need to cater for several levels of affordability.

### **Diversification of the tourism destinations and activities**

Majority of the tourism in Uganda focuses on safaris to the 10 national parks. However, there are many other tourism attractions that should be marketed in tandem with the safaris. These include but are not limited to: sport fishing, mountain climbing, birding, cultural encounters and boating.

### **Competitiveness**

Our overarching goal is to prioritize tourism by channeling funds to development projects that are essential to the sector. The availability of efficient and accessible transportation to all major tourist attractions shall be of utmost importance. This includes improving air transport infrastructure so that access to national parks

and other attractions can be timely. For instance, building an International Airport in Kasese to cater for the great tourism potential of the Mountains of the Moon (which can recoup up to \$500m a year in a few years), as well as the Queen Elizabeth National Park, the crater lakes of the Kabarole region, Bwindi Impenetrable Forest and several other destinations in that region. It would also be valuable for the booming cross-border trade with Congo. Another International Airport in Gulu which would be for tourist arrivals for Kidepo, Murchison falls, marine tourism on the Nile, Karamoja mountaineering and several others. The cost of building these airports would be recouped in a few years through the trade and tourist activity they bring with them.

### **Collaboration**

Working together with private sector players, in supporting their access to financing, development of tourist service infrastructure like sufficient quality accommodation shall be achieved. Work with the private sector to improve the number of services on offer especially in marine and culture tourism, to ensure that each tourist is compelled to spend between \$1000 and \$2500 per visit.

Provide incentives for the private players to increase the number of ratable rooms across the country

### **Investment and capacity building**

My tourism agenda includes not only attracting more tourists coming into the country but also more local and foreign investment into the sector. My government intends to prioritize training in hospitality and customer care, in order to increase the number of hospitality training institutes and ensure that the curriculum offered is reviewed in order to ensure quality training which will result in world-class quality of services in the hospitality industry. This will also have the effect of increasing the number of Ugandans employed in the sector and deepening the talent pool that is available to an investor. This will be coupled with raising awareness of other careers within the sector. The ability to export well trained tourism sector labor would also increase the job opportunities for Uganda's population.

### **A Focus on Domestic Tourism**

I believe that the domestic tourism market presents an opportunity for tour operators to earn revenue all year long instead of depending on the seasonality of foreign tourists.

Marketing that specifically targets the domestic tourist will be emphasized including developing and promoting products and experiences that may appeal more to the locals than wildlife or nature holidays would.

### **Environmental Conservation**

Enhance protection of gazetted National Parks and Forests in order to conserve wildlife and bird species that are unique to Uganda.

## **8. FOREIGN POLICY, NATIONAL SECURITY AND REFUGEES**

Uganda has largely implemented an ambiguous foreign policy based on the instincts of those in power, without national interest in mind. We continue to pay a heavy price for the higgledy-piggledy policy of adventurism and reckless expansionism. This has impaired our image and ability to relate with neighbors and friends. My Government will urgently work to repair our credibility within the East African region, Africa and the global community. We will seek to peacefully coexist with all our neighbors and rebuild our image as a dependable partner for neighbors and friends. We will actively engage with other countries in the East African region, Africa and the world as we strengthen existing trade frontiers and open new ones for mutual benefit.

### **Foreign Policy and Sovereignty**

My government will take deliberate measures to shift our foreign policy focus from Political Diplomacy to Economic Diplomacy, with focus on opening new markets for our products, attracting foreign direct investment to create jobs, and marketing Uganda's tourism.

My government will prioritize the establishment of a Diplomatic Academy where our diplomats are trained in relevant skills before being posted to their respective duty stations. Our foreign service will cease to be a dumping ground for failed politicians but a profession of highly competent and skilled people who will serve the interest of all Ugandans.

My government will strengthen existing Missions and open new ones in capitals and other cities that are of strategic value for economic diplomacy and our diaspora. We will seek to expand Uganda's reach to larger markets in South America and Asia.

My government will boost Uganda's image abroad by developing existing properties that house our Missions in various capitals and acquire new properties in strategic locations and make credible symbols of Uganda's beauty.

My government will incrementally extend voting rights to our diaspora to enable them to have a say on the governance of Uganda as much as they contribute through their remittances, skills and technology transfer.

### **Uganda's Military Adventurism**

I shall put an end to the current government's tendency to engage Uganda's military in unnecessary regional interventions. We have had a combative presence in Rwanda, DRC, Central African Republic, Burundi, South Sudan and Somalia. The facade that the motive is regional stability has been shattered by the instances of cross border smuggling, and pillaging of natural resources in the DRC.

My government will implement a phased but steady withdrawal of our troops from foreign deployments where it is no longer necessary. Where troops have been deployed as mercenaries, they will be immediately recalled home for retraining and deployment in sectors like road and railway construction. The UPDF and other security forces will be trained in various skills to be more relevant to Uganda's development in addition to providing security of our borders.

### **National security**

I will roll back the infelicitous policy of reckless political adventurism and military interventionism. The UPDF will be professionalized as a People's Army rather than a personal force that has severally been used as a mercenary force.

My government will promote peaceful co-existence with all our neighbors based on mutual trust, cultural links and trade interests. Given that we are not at war and do not intend to start one, we will prioritize strengthening our borders as the first line of defense against any possibility of external aggression.

### **Human Rights Commitment**

I am committed to a more disciplined Police Force and the demilitarization of the Police Force.

I recognize that the current regime has made the harassment of members of the opposition an everyday occurrence. This has led to a culture of fear and intimidation that has stifled expectations of accountability from leaders and institutions. This will end. The nation's commitment to press freedom will also, once again be upheld.

### **Refugees**

For decades, Uganda has been home to millions of refugees mainly fleeing political unrest in their home countries. It is home to over 2.2 million refugees, with about 3,000 new arrivals per day. Uganda has had a hand, directly or indirectly, in causing and exacerbating these conflicts. Whereas Uganda will continue to be a good host of refugees from our sister countries, the open-door policy towards refugees will be reviewed by our government.

Uganda will cease to be a destabilizing factor for neighboring countries. All military operations across the borders that are not in national interest will cease. Where necessary, we will only work with governments of neighboring countries to promote peace and security in areas close to our borders. This peaceful environment will reduce the refugee crisis.

My government will develop a deliberate plan with governments of refugee's home countries and international organizations to enable the return and resettlement of refugees in their home countries.

My government will halt the expansion of refugee camps in Uganda at the expense of Ugandan nationals. All land seized/grabbed by the current government to give way for refugees will be returned to its rightful occupants.

## **9. ENERGY**

Uganda has a total primary energy consumption of less than 2 quadrillion Btu. Electricity is contributing only 1.4% to the national energy balance while oil products, which are mainly used for vehicles and thermal power plants, account for the remaining 9.7%.

In a bid to improve efficiency, Uganda politically and economically reformed its energy sector to create a framework in which the previously vertically integrated monopoly, Uganda Electricity Board, was unbundled leading to public-private partnerships. The energy sector is one of the key sectors of the Ugandan economy. The sector provides a major contribution to the treasury resources from fuel taxes, VAT on

electricity, levy on transmission bulk purchases of electricity, license fees and royalties and foreign exchange earnings from power exports. Significant public investment has been injected into the sector, particularly in the area of electricity supply. Following liberalisation, the power sub-sector is now attracting the largest private sector investments in the country.

Uganda currently has one of the lowest per capita electricity consumption in the world. Uganda electricity access in rural areas is still limited to 18% with the latest data projecting that national energy access is still below 30%. Biomass remains the most important source of energy for the majority of the Ugandan population. About 90% of the total primary energy consumption is generated through biomass, which can be separated in firewood (78.6%), charcoal (5.6%) and crop residues (4.7%). This remains a big challenge for our energy mix targets and remains a source of pollution and environmental degradation. Although electricity demand has been growing at an average of 10% per annum, this has led to load shedding since the supply did not increase proportionally. This is despite excess generation in some recently constructed dams which points to obvious gaps of linkage between generation, transmission and distribution functions.

### **Overall vision and plan**

We will create an environment for universal energy access to all Ugandans. Create an appropriate policy for energy mix to tap into the great solar, wind, hydro and fossil potential that Uganda is blessed with. Energy forms the core of any meaningful development to any country. Not just for lighting at night, but basic living functions like cooking, operating small machinery and mills all need energy in some form. Basic healthcare procedures would be greatly helped with access to consistent and affordable energy supply. Enabling education to children even at home, access to vital information through multimedia are all made possible with energy?

### **Affordability and Reliability**

My government will revise the tariff pricing to make sure that grid power is accessible and affordable to Ugandans. We will Address inefficiencies in power supply to reduce load shedding by creating and executing a government policy on power supply zoning, separating large power/ industrial from retail/consumption grids and properly planning maintenance functions.

We plan to open up the electric grid transmission function to allow more actors so that rural electrification becomes a rapid reality for all Ugandans. Allow more competition in supply of electricity to manage tariffs and stop putting the energy sector at the mercy of one company/provider.

### **Energy mix, access to clean energy and fast tracking energy transition**

My government will work to immediately reduce reliance on biomass as a primary source of energy by providing affordable options to rural homesteads for their energy needs. We will affirmatively subsidize solar for homes especially in rural areas to support immediate energy access alongside grid electricity. We will promote the use of clean cooking stoves with subsidies, subsidising the “gas for cooking” especially in urban areas to manage energy costs for average consumers.

My government will also review the status of our oil exploration arrangements to guarantee, for the longest time, that our oil will answer most of our energy needs either through the refinery for local

and regional consumption; use of our oil revenues to fast track rural electrification and access to clean energy.

## 10. JUSTICE

I put forward the case for an effective and efficient system of justice which is accessible to all. The justice system underpins the principles of liberty and democracy, the rule of law, our human rights and fundamental freedoms. Justice is not like any other public service. But it is tempting, especially in times of austerity, for governments to treat justice as a mere commodity. Justice is precious. The price we pay for it should reflect the value we place on living in a just and ordered society.

This is not to say that the resources allocated to the administration of justice should be limitless. But it does mean that the administration of justice must be properly resourced in order to avoid a denial of justice or an outcome which cannot be said to be just.

The justice system should therefore be a matter in which the government and citizens can take pride. It reflects our values as members of a civilised society.

In Uganda justice is promulgated by the Parliament and the Executive branches of Government. The 3rd arm of government, the Judiciary, is established with the sole aim of administering justice within the country's borders. The Judiciary is empowered by the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995, under the 8th Chapter. Article 126(1) provides that the judicial power is derived from the people and exercised by the different courts established by the Constitution and these include the Supreme Court, The Court of Appeal which doubles as the Constitutional Court, the High Court and such subordinate courts as established by Law e.g. the Magistrates Courts.

Article 126(2) of the Constitution lays out the key principles of an effective and efficient justice system to be factored in adjudicating cases of both a civil and criminal nature, and subject to the law which include the following;

Justice shall be done to all irrespective of their social or economic status;

Justice shall not be delayed;

Adequate compensation shall be awarded to victims of wrongs;

Reconciliation between parties shall be promoted; and

Substantive justice shall be administered without undue regard to technicalities

Another key principle meant to entrench justice in our society laid out in Article 128 that provides for the Judiciary to be independent and not subject to the control or direction of any person or authority. This independence is further stated to be in regards to finances of the judiciary, accountability in exercise of judicial power by its officers etc.

This has further been entrenched by the legislation of the Administration of Justice Act of 2020 and will hopefully give the Judiciary a measure of financial autonomy and independence. Another plus for Justice in Uganda is that the Judiciary is also in the final stages of developing the Electronic Court Case Management Information System (ECMIS) will ease filing of matters and all documents, reducing the need

for physical contact in the court registries and reducing corruption that was rampant in court registries. Several Innovations like the Small Claims procedure, Justice Centres Project, Plea Bargaining have to some extent brought some light into the justice sector.

“The Judiciary however has not lived up to its constitutional mandate as it has nearly irreparably been emasculated. From the literal dereliction of its structures, executive interference and decline in the rule of law, to outright financial starvation, the Judiciary has, for the short lifetime of the Ugandan state so far, been left holding the shorter end of the stick in the contestation for political space and power. It is necessary to observe that it has not all been doom and gloom; strides have been made in the right direction especially following the enactment of the 1995 Constitution. Staffing and the rate of case disposals, although not yet adequate, have improved, and corruption, in its various forms—especially in the courts of record—has significantly reduced. In addition, efforts have been made towards innovation and installing electronic and digital equipment to enable more efficient methods of work.” (Excerpt from IN DIRE STRAITS? THE STATE OF THE JUDICIARY REPORT 2016)

When the delegates of the 1994 Constituent Assembly framed Uganda’s 1995 Constitution, they painted for the Judiciary a picture of strength, ability and competence; an institution that was not only capable of delivering on its mandate but was also trusted by and accessible to members of the public. Today, the Judiciary is not only administratively and financially weak; it is regarded with suspicion, skepticism, unease or fear by substantial sections of the general public. Despite the ever present justice needs of our society, only a paltry number of its members are able to entrust the Judiciary or the formal justice system with their desperate search for resolution.

A 2016 survey carried out by HIIL (The Hague Institute for the Innovation of Law, ‘Justice Needs in Uganda; Legal Problems in Daily Life,’ 2016) has shown that in the last four years, nearly nine out of 10 Ugandans required access of some kind to the justice system, but their needs are not being met. The research further indicated that access to legal justice in Uganda is patchy and unfair, that the formal justice system is almost impenetrable for the most vulnerable people in Uganda and that solutions are urgently needed. It was also noted that the ratio of judicial officers to the general population was 9.25 judges per 100,000 people.

The key factors identified as affecting the Judiciary in its attempt to effectively administer justice are the following:

The general decline in constitutionalism and the rule of law in Uganda by citizens and the other arms of the Government i.e. Parliament and the Executive. (The World Justice Rule of Law Index, Uganda was rated 95th out of 102 countries assessed on their adherence to the rule of law)

A multitude of factors that contribute to flaws in the judicial appointment processes such as lack of transparency in the appointment process, executive interference in the appointments process e.g. Justice Benjamin Odoki’s reappointment, delay in appointment of Judicial Officers.

Financial and infrastructural constraints stemming from the fact that the judiciary often gets less than 1% of the national budgetary allocation.

Corruption which is often perceived across the board as a mirror of the general moral breakdown in our society.

The incapacitation of Local Council Courts.

Case backlog which is always an impediment to the right of a speedy trial and access to justice.

Lack of judicial accountability to the citizens on whose behalf it exercises its powers as enshrined in the nation's constitution.

Inequality and discrimination in the administration of justice which seems to suggest that justice is not always dispensed on a first-come first-serve basis.

Under-performance in strict relation to judicial officers not being able to dispense justice effectively due to incompetence, a lack of commitment and structural inadequacies regarding case management.

In light of the above findings plaguing the Judicial System I will ensure that the Judiciary is realigned to enable it effectively realize its constitutional mandate by doing the following:

Increasing the financial and operational support rendered to the Judiciary by the government.

Transparency of the judicial appointments processes and the Judicial Service Commission should only forward the names of successful candidates.

The Judicial Service Commission (JSC) thoroughly and effectively investigates complaints of judicial misconduct and involves the public in the disciplinary processes of judicial officers.

The Judicial appointment processes will be rationalized in such a way that serving and career judicial officers who are competent be given priority in order of seniority and experience. This way, the system would not only reward its long serving staff but also encourage a more organic process of individuals serving right from the grassroots and magisterial areas.

The Judicial Service Commission will be composed of at least 6 full time members to ensure that quorum is more easily met and the Commission performs its role more efficiently and expeditiously.

Parliament should increase funding to the Judicial Service Commission to enable them perform their functions.

The heads of the respective courts in particular Chief Justice, Deputy Chief Justice and Principal Judge be included as ex-officio members of the Judicial Service Commission.

The Judiciary will be accountable to the public by instituting mechanisms that increase access to information by the public.

The use of the judicial scorecard to monitor case disposal and the actual performance of judicial officers be encouraged.

The preparation, launching and operationalization of a performance tool to ensure the uniform and standard monitoring of performance across the Judiciary. All members of the Judiciary be formally sensitized and educated about the use, indicators and implications of said tool before its operationalization.

The enactment of the Legal Aid Bill to facilitate the right to access justice.

The Judiciary strengthens the capacity and effectiveness of the Judicial Studies Institute (JSI) as well as facilitates the growth of electronic library information systems.

The Judiciary embraces judicial activism and develops new principles in Ugandan jurisprudence that will align our legal system to the constitutional aspirations and globally established international legal standards.

The Judiciary provides due processes and equal protection of the law to all who have business before them. It ought to develop a clear and precise yardstick to schedule cases with the earlier filed matters given priority over the later filed matters.

All persons, departments and organs of state are called upon to respect and implement the decisions of the Judiciary and that the Judiciary uses the legal resources available within its disposal to clamp down on defaulting persons and entities.

Courthouse facility' guidelines be prepared and adopted to ensure that responsible entities design, build, maintain and rent courts facilities that are suitable, safe, secure and accessible.

## **11. NATURAL RESOURCES**

The key purpose is to ensure that wealth from extractives like oil and minerals benefits all Ugandans, starting with the communities from which these resources are harvested. My government will:

Ensure that communities around natural resource areas are the first line of beneficiaries through job allocation and amenities like roads, schools and hospitals. Since most of the country is endowed with one resource or another, this would benefit nearly 70 percent of Ugandans.

Ensure that fishing and commercial fish farming, currently a \$120m industry, should be an exclusive preserve for Ugandans. This applies to sand mining too.

Undertake a review of the legal and regulatory framework and the policies to manage the oil resource, to ensure that revenue from oil and minerals is declared and handled transparently.

Conserve natural resources like forests which have a great benefit for the environment and tourism. We shall also educate the population on alternative sources of energy at the household level which we shall make cheap and readily available.

Ensure that expropriation for the purposes of exploration or mining will be done fairly and affected families given reasonable compensation that will be done in a transparent manner.

Promote civic environmental education on the importance and care required for water catchment areas and riparian land.

Ensure proper wildlife management that protects Uganda's wildlife from poachers and addresses human-wildlife conflict.

## **12. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE**

The structure of government in Uganda is centralized with no systems of accountability. The power of the positions at the helm of this structure is fed and sustained by the officials appointed at the national and local levels of government and institutions through political patronage. My government will:

Undertake a comprehensive review of the Constitution of Uganda to correct areas that have been altered or watered down; like restoration of term limits, age limits and reduction of presidential powers as far as appointments are concerned.

Ensure that government functions and service delivery will be distributed between the central and local government to dilute the power vested in the Central Government.

Restore veritable democracy and adherence to the rule of law in the land.

Ensure the immediate cessation of the use of brute force by security agencies to control the population; and to protect and respect the dignity and human rights of every Ugandan.

With an estimated Ugx 2T lost to graft annually, we shall undertake to end corruption with a zero tolerance policy towards all manner of graft. The IGG and the Anti-Corruption Court will be given full powers to bite.

### **13. INDUSTRY**

My government will support the growth of local industries by ensuring that they have access to and are given priority in public procurement.

I will offer better tax incentives for local industries in order to promote and enable them to compete with foreign investors.

Restoration of government parastatals such as Uganda Commercial Bank and Cooperative Societies whose focus will be on buying local material but move to add value addition to local produce for export.

Provide incentives to financial institutions and banks to finance industrialisation with particular focus on those industries which undertake to locally manufacture what we have been importing.

Fast-track the production of alternative sources of energy for the country, besides hydropower, such as geothermal and nuclear energy, for the strengthening of industry and provision of cheaper power.

Revive some of the abandoned industries, some of which are still situated in resource-rich areas and can still be relevant.

### **14. JOBS**

Through growing the economy, my government will provide better-paying jobs for the working population. A commission to review the minimum wage and the remuneration of public servants will also be undertaken in order to ensure that every Ugandan's pay is fair. This will also reduce the growing brain drain statistics and high dependency burden.

Robust and growing SMEs and local industries will provide more opportunities for employment.

I will ensure that there is equitable distribution of entrepreneurs' financing from government sources such as the Youth Livelihood Programme (YLP), Uganda Women Entrepreneurship Programme (UWEP) and the Innovations Fund.

Promote an entrepreneurial culture by providing platforms and opportunities for young entrepreneurs to receive mentorship and training on building and maintaining businesses for the long haul

Establish a National Innovation Centre to incubate business ideas that will be funded either by financial institutions or government funds.

Encourage Foreign Direct Investors that focus on uplifting the livelihood of the population.

Ensure that only skilled labour, which cannot be supplied locally, is imported.