



Museveni's First 100 Days

*Kisanja
Hakuna
Mchezo*

Or more of
the same?

Report Card

UGMP, August 2016

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FOREWORD

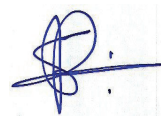
The 2016 elections presented yet another opportunity for Ugandans to listen to promises and commitments from political aspirants as contained in their respective manifestos. However, at the same time, citizens presented their own Manifesto with key development priorities. In total, eight presidential candidates presented their manifestos for consideration by voters. A Political Party Manifesto Analysis commissioned by the Uganda Governance Monitoring Platform (UGMP) found that all aspirants scored above the 50 percent mark in understanding Uganda's problems, while the NRM Party, among a few others performed marginally well in responding to the issues highlighted in the Citizens' Manifesto. The outcome of the 2016 election gave victory to H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, the NRM candidate, which garnered the majority vote and the required over-50% of the total votes cast.

Following the declaration by the Electoral Commission to the effect that Mr. Museveni had won the 2016 elections, he assumed office on 12th May 2016, Mr. Museveni issued fifteen directives to his newly appointed cabinet, while his government started on a process to design new policies to implement its manifesto. One hundred days down the road, we ask the question: Is Mr. Museveni and his NRM government on track towards fulfilling their commitments to Ugandan Citizens?" Does he diagnose Uganda's problem properly? How much ground has he laid in as far as building a foundation to support his cabinet to deliver on the NRM party Manifesto, and strategic guidelines and directives that he issued to his party?

This report contains assorted analyses that interrogate the said Manifesto, Directives and projected delivery by the Museveni Administration.. The report has been generated as part of UGMP's Governance Tracker that periodically documents governance trends in Uganda. It is developed as a bottom-up tool for accountability by ordinary citizens with regard to how they relate to their Government. It is intended for use by mainly the ordinary citizen to reflect on the extent to which the NRM Government is delivering on its commitments, as well as trigger public debate on the broader questions of service delivery, citizen wellbeing and dignity.

It is also intended for use by many other actors -- including researchers, policy makers, non government organisations, development partners, and the media -- to celebrate the gains made by President Museveni and the NRM Government and mount pressure on the same government to deliver better. We also hope that the NRM Government will receive this report in good spirit and use it for internal reflection on how it is performing, and ultimately step up efforts to fulfil the social contract it has with the citizens of Uganda.

We are confident that you will enjoy reading this publication and further use it to inform your own work and programming.



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Focal Point



Museveni's First 100 Days Report Card

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or more of the same?

1.0 Introduction

On February 20, 2016, Uganda's Electoral Commission Chairman Badru Kigundu declared Mr. Museveni, the flag bearer of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and incumbent president the winner of the February 2016 elections. Most independent observers had declared the elections neither free nor fair on account of non-compliance with electoral laws and failure by the EC to ensure timely delivery of electoral materials in the well-known opposition strongholds of Kampala and Wakiso. Olesegun Obasanjo, former president of Nigeria and head of the Commonwealth Observer Mission declared the failure inexcusable. Independent presidential candidate John Patrick Amama Mbabazi contested the results and filed a petition before the Supreme Court, which on March 31, 2016 confirmed the declared outcome.

Incarcerated at his residence at Kasangati near Uganda's capital Kampala, Col. (Rtd) Dr. Kizza Besigye, the declared runners up in the presidential elections and his party, the Forum for Democratic Change rejected the outcome and doubled down on his defiance campaign. Kampala and major urban centres were put under security lock down, Kizza Besigye remained confined in his house and the headquarters of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) were cordoned off by a myriad security forces.

On May 12, 2016, Mr. Museveni was sworn in at Kololo Ceremonial Grounds for a five-year term of office. Having been Uganda's President for 30 years, Mr. Museveni will extend his leadership to 35 years - the longest period any single person has been president of Uganda. At his swearing in ceremony,

What this report card is about

This report card analyzes the range of actions taken by the president as he set the pace and tone of his presidency for the next five years. For a president who has been in power for three decades, the report card seeks to identify those actions that point to the possibilities that this, indeed, is "*Kisanja* Hakuna Mchezo" or simply more of the same. The report card has three purposes:

- i. To restate in more precise terms Mr. Museveni's priorities for the next five years as reflected in his actions and statements over the first 100 days. This can give citizens the basis for tracking the extent to which the president remains focused on those priorities, what changes or adjustments he makes during the course of the five-year term of office, and what accomplishments he will have made by the time the term expires.
- ii. To relate the stated priorities to the overall national priorities of the country as articulated in Uganda Vision 2040 and the second National Development Plan (NDP II).
- iii. Finally, the report card examines the relationship between the declared priorities and actions of the president in the first 100 days with the commitments contained in the manifesto of the National Resistance Movement for the February 2016 elections.

At a general level, this report card is designed as a potential baseline for future annual and other assessments of President's Museveni's performance over this five year term of office.

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Numbers

54

The number of years
Uganda has been
independent since
October 9, 1962.

30

The number of years
Yoweri Museveni
has been president
translating into 55.55
percent of the entire
post-independence
period.

Mr. Museveni declared his new five year term as one where there will be no playing games by declaring thus: “coming back to the economy, we must expunge two weaknesses - corruption by public officials and delay of decision-making. These two mistakes irritate the public and frustrate the investors. It is betraying the country. In this ‘*kisanja*’ (term), I will directly deal with the weaknesses”. On subsequent occasions, he declared his new five-year term as *Kisanja Hakuna Mchezo* (literally interpreted as the term for no games). Loosely translated as a term during which no games shall be tolerated.

Why the first 100 days?

The assessment of a president’s accomplishments in the first 100 days is a long established tradition of the United States of America. This tradition dates back to 1933 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) used his first three months in office to lay the foundations of the “New Deal.” Upon taking the oath of office on March 4, 1933, President Roosevelt set his four priorities for getting the U.S. out of recession: get Americans back to work; protect their savings and create prosperity; provide relief for the sick and elderly, and get industry and agriculture back on their feet. Since then, the first hundred days in the U.S. is seen as a unique opportunity for a newly elected president to reshape the development trajectory of the country according to his or her own agenda and vision.

It may be tenable to argue that the first 100 days assessment may not be applicable to Uganda because of a number of reasons.

Uganda is in a unique position since, unlike President Roosevelt who was a first term president; President Museveni is only extending his presidency of 30 years. On this account, his is a continuation of an agenda, which in effect requires no fresh start. Indeed, this issue presented the most significant methodological difficulty in preparing this report card. The bulk of Museveni’s proposals are a repetition/reiteration of the same ideas, programmes and declarations. It is therefore challenging to draw defining lines between old and new ideas. However, Mr. Museveni articulated his new term as being different from the past by declaring it a term of “serious business”. Consequently, the first 100 days report card becomes an

important assessment to determine how he intends to do business differently or if the evidence suggests a business as usual approach.

Secondly, it could be argued that the conditions that obtained in the U.S at the time President Roosevelt assumed the presidency are different from those obtaining in Uganda. In 1933, the U.S was emerging out of the Great Depression. A quarter of America's work force was jobless. A quarter of a million families had defaulted on their mortgages during 1932. An estimated 1.2 million Americans were homeless for most of the winter of 1932 and 1933. By 1933, an estimated 9000 banks holding savings of 27 million families had failed and farm closures were averaging 20,000 a month.¹

While President Roosevelt was confronted with challenges of a monumental proportion as he assumed office, similar parallels can be drawn with the conditions confronting Museveni in his new term of office. Uganda has been experiencing a downward spiral in the economy. There is no single year in the last five years where the country was able to hit the projected growth target of 7.2 percent as forecast in the National Development Plan (2015-2020). There is general consensus that the public service delivery systems are dysfunctional, especially in health and education. The country is sinking deeper in debt and corruption has reached frightening levels. After more than two decades of sustained GDP growth, 69 percent of Uganda's households are still engaged in subsistence agriculture. While the number of people living on less than \$1.25/day has declined to 30 percent, an estimated 43 percent of Uganda's 34.9 million people live in conditions of perpetual vulnerability.

To his credit, President Museveni acknowledged this state of affairs in the government review meetings prior to the 2016 elections and throughout the campaigns. *Kisanja Hakuna Mchezo* meant that he was making a new commitment to confront these challenges. The assumption is that his actions can give us a glimpse into how the five-year term will look like with regard to

1 For a detailed account of the Great Depression, see Thilo Albers and Uebele, M., (2015). The Global Impact of the Great Depression. London School of Economics, Economic History Working Papers, No: 218/2015

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What this report card is not about

This report card is not about the performance of government in its totality. Undertaking a comprehensive of actions by the broad range of government agencies would require more time, more resources and perhaps a more elaborate methodology. In conducting this assessment, the study team was conscious that numerous government agencies may have undertaken many other actions in pursuance of the President's directives. This is what is expected of such agencies. However, this scorecard focuses exclusively on how the President spent his first 100 days.

the bold actions needed to confronting the challenges that faced the country at the time of his being sworn-in.

Research Methodology

The research for this report card commenced 10 days after the swearing in the President Museveni on May 12, 2016. Three main approaches were used in conducting research for this report card: daily tracking of presidential actions; a review of Parliament's order papers and discussions captured by the Hansard as well as a review of print and electronic media articles.

The research team started observing and documenting Mr. Museveni's daily actions from May 13, 2016, the day after he was sworn in as president. The president issued a series of directives on day 43.² In his State of the Nation Address of May 31, 2016, the president further reiterated his commitment during this term by highlighting 29 specific bills that the Government would present to Parliament for consideration³.

The assumption is that the directives represented the priorities of the president for the five-year term. The directives were organized into broad themes and specific sub-themes shown in the table below. The directives are grouped into five themes: economy, service delivery, defense and national security, governance and government coordination and policy implementation. The research team developed a matrix to record the daily actions of the president.

Theme	Sub-theme	Directives
Economy	Energy	i) Lower the cost of electricity from the current USD 11 cents to approximately USD 6 cents for domestic users. ii) Introduce subsidy to lower cost of electricity to USD 5 cents for industrial users.

² See YKM, Strategic guidelines and directives for the term 2016-2021 at the inaugural cabinet meeting on June 23, 2016 at State House, Entebbe.

³ See Museveni Y.K, State of the Nation Address, May 31, 2016

	Investment	Uganda Investment Authority to issue all the necessary licenses in two days
	Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Converting 68 percent of the homesteads currently engaged in subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture ii) Popularization of improved seeds and breeding stock iii) Increased use of fertilizers and end land fragmentation iv) Value addition v) Increased mechanization in agriculture vi) Encourage use of pesticides
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> vii) Encourage known agro-practices that stop soil erosion viii) Support Makerere University to develop solar powered water pump for irrigation
	Industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Build 22 industrial parks to attract investors ii) Expedite the granting of production licenses for petroleum exploration and production <p>On Minerals and Petroleum:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> iii) Expedite the granting of production licenses so that the actual production of petroleum and gas starts iv) Equip the minerals department with modern equipment capable of determining the quantity and quality of minerals in a particular area v) Regularise in the mining sector and eliminate illegal mining activities vi) Register all artisanal miners and sensitize those involved in mining on the importance of incorporation of their entities

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Economy		Stop artisanal miners from stifling mineral exploration
	Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Conclude the negotiations for the construction of the Standard Gauge Railway ii) Procure 1151 pieces of road equipment iii) Provide each district with an additional grader, a wheel loader, a road compactor, a water browser and two tipper trucks. At the zonal level, provide one earth mover and its low loader.
	Access to finance	Recapitalization of the Uganda Development Bank Limited (UDBL) to support manufacturing and agriculture
	National Airline	Ministry of Works and Transport to conclude discussions with investors who can help start up a national airline
Land	Acquiring land for investment	
	Addressing historical land injustices	
Environment	Forest cover	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Stop all forms of destruction of the environment, including encroachment on forests, wetlands, river banks, lake shores, etc ii) Purchase more land from private owners to increase forest cover
	Riverbanks, lake shores, and wetlands	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Develop a standard formula for assessing what needs to be done to protect rivers and wetlands ii) Eliminating over fishing in natural water bodies

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Kampala Capital City Authority to quickly licence investors seeking to recycle garbage, polythene bags, plastics, and E-waste
Service delivery	Education	Complete country wide infrastructure for education (one primary school per parish, one secondary school per sub-county, and one technical school per constituency)
	Health	Complete the country wide infrastructure for health facilities (one hospital per district, a Health Centre IV per constituency, and a Health Centre per sub-county)
	Water and sanitation	
Defense and National Security	Veterans welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Eliminate indebtedness to the veterans of the army ii) Institute 'kasimo' of the civilian veterans iii) Compensation for loss of cattle in the areas of Lango, Acholi, Teso, West Nile, some parts of Karamoja and Sebei
	Welfare of active service men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) At least a two bedroom bungalow or flat for the ordinary soldier ii) Build primary schools in all barracks where children of service men will study free iii) A secondary school per army division with boarding facilities iv) Conclude discussions of funding university education for deserving soldier's children v) Engage soldier's spouses in economic activities for additional income

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Governance	Political and constitutional reforms	
	Electoral reforms	
	Control of corruption	
	Public administration and public expenditure governance	
	Decentralization and effectiveness of local governments.	
Government coordination and policy implementation	Improving decision making by curbing red-tape	
	Streamlining the public and political service	
	Actions to improve coordination	

At the end of the first 100 days on August 22, 2016, a team of research assistants was assigned to review the three major English newspapers: The Daily Monitor; The New Vision and The Observer⁴ and identify all the president's actions as reported in the print media. The print media analysis was complemented by a review of online video clips from TV and other video coverage of the President's programmes over the period. The information collected was used to validate or invalidate the information that we had captured in the daily tracking matrix.

The research was also able to review Parliament's order papers and the Hansard to ascertain if, over the first 100 days, there was any legislative action that had been taken on the president's directives, including the bills he had outlined in his State of the Nation Address as the priority legislative agenda of Government. Additional information was also obtained from the website of State House which contains fairly detailed posts of President Museveni's speeches and other public events.⁵

Upon the validation of the information available, the president's directives were linked backwards to the Uganda Vision 2040 and the National Development Plan (NDPII). The assumption is that once elected, the overall task of the president is to identify and set priorities that are consistent with the overall development priorities and targets of the country. The directives were also then reviewed for their consistency with the manifesto of the National Resistance Movement. The campaign manifesto is the political programme of a political party.

Quality Control

The draft reports were subjected to a multidisciplinary panel of professionals comprised of independent policy analysts, media experts and civil society practitioners. The panel met twice to review and advise on research design and subsequently to review the complete draft report card.

4 The New Vision and The Daily Monitor are Uganda's leading English dailies while The Observer is a bi-weekly English newspaper.

5 <http://www.statehouse.go.ug/>

The study team did not set out to adopt scientifically rigorous criteria to determine what constitutes actions to be included in the report card. However, a checklist of applicable tests was developed to guide the assessment. Consequently, an action was selected to be included on the timeline it had any or all of the following elements:

- i) Represented a new idea as opposed to previous actions
- ii) Has clearly identifiable implementation timelines, quantifiable targets and is amenable to measurement
- iii) Considered to have a transformative effect on the country or the target beneficiary.
- iv) Consistent with the articulated strategic vision of the country and the themes from the president's directives.
- v) An event that is not considered an ordinary social or religious function

2.0 Assessment and report

2.1 The economy

President Museveni has been in power for the last three decades and can be credited for a number of accomplishments as far as Uganda's economy is concerned. In general terms, the country has built the basic foundations for take-off. There has been a long period of uninterrupted economic growth averaging between five and seven percent⁶. Macro economic stability meant that inflation has been restricted within single digits for most of the last decade,⁷ the exchange rate has remained stable with the Central Bank acting with judicious discipline to stem volatility in the currency market.

In 2007, Uganda's cabinet adopted and published the Comprehensive National Development Policy Framework (CNDP). The CNDP is a synchronized and holistic approach to development planning intended to deliver long-term development aspirations of the country.

In this context, Vision 2040 was adopted and published in 2013 representing Uganda's development aspirations over the next 30 years. The aspiration of the people of Uganda is stated in Vision 2040 as "A transformed Ugandan society from a peasant to a modern and prosperous country within 30 years." The target is "to change the country from a predominantly low income to a competitive upper middle income country within 30 years with a per capita income of USD 9,500."

The second National Development Plan (NDP II) was approved and published in 2015 setting ambitious medium term targets to be achieved by 2020. The overall goal, which has become the rallying call of President Museveni is attaining middle-income status by 2020. Achieving

6 According to the Uganda Vision 2040, Uganda's economy grew at an average of 6.4 percent over the period 2002-2010.

7 the spike of 2011 was the exception/CITE

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Uganda's Public Debt Per Capita

With Uganda's current public debt stock including commitments in nominal values at **UGX 46.1 trillion**, the public debt per capita is at **UGX 1,332,369**.

At current prices, this is equivalent to **USD 395**.

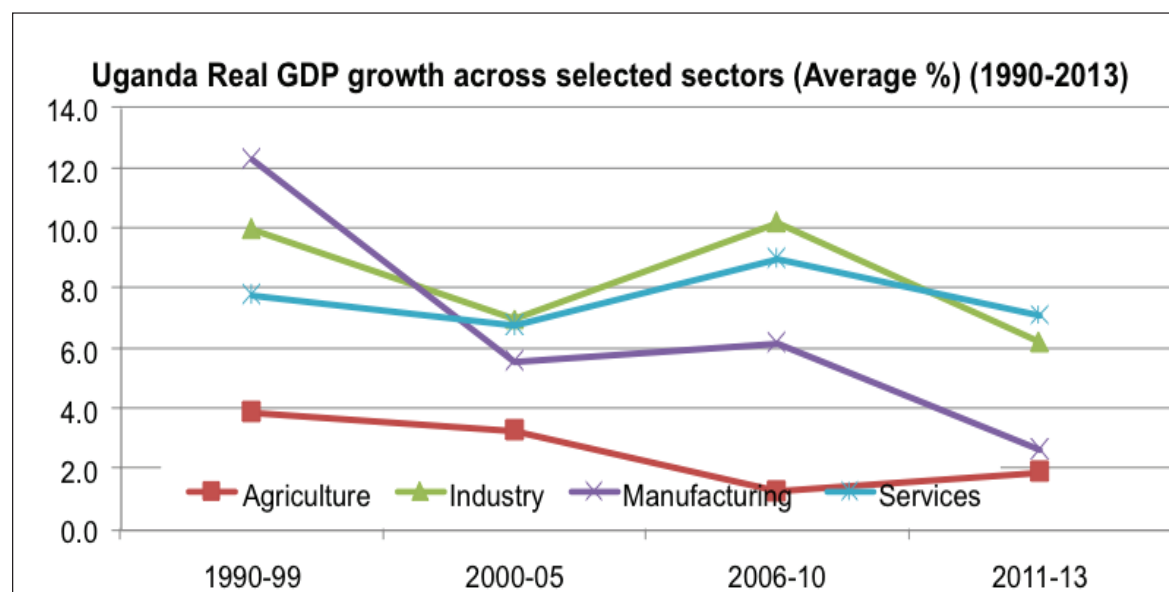
Per capita debt stock (of disbursed debt) is currently at **UGX 812,139** equivalent to **USD 241**.

Between April 2015 and June 2016, the per capita debt stock (of disbursed debt) increased by **UGX 161,850** equivalent to **USD 48**.

With Uganda's current per capita income estimated at **USD 673.21** according to Trading Economics statistics, 58.6 percent of estimated per capita income is debt stock.

middle-income status by 2020 implies that by the end of the current NDP phase in four years' time, Uganda will have a GDP per capita of not less than US\$1,033. This goal is to be achieved by, among other things: strengthening Uganda's competitiveness for sustainable wealth creation, employment and inclusive growth. This growth trajectory requires sustaining income per capita growth rates between 5.2% (2012/13) and 6.3 percent (2019/2020).⁸

Upon swearing in on May 12, 2016 and looking at the road to 2020 and beyond, the President would be looking at the bottlenecks and challenges would hamper Uganda's progress towards these ambitious targets. The most significant of these challenges include:



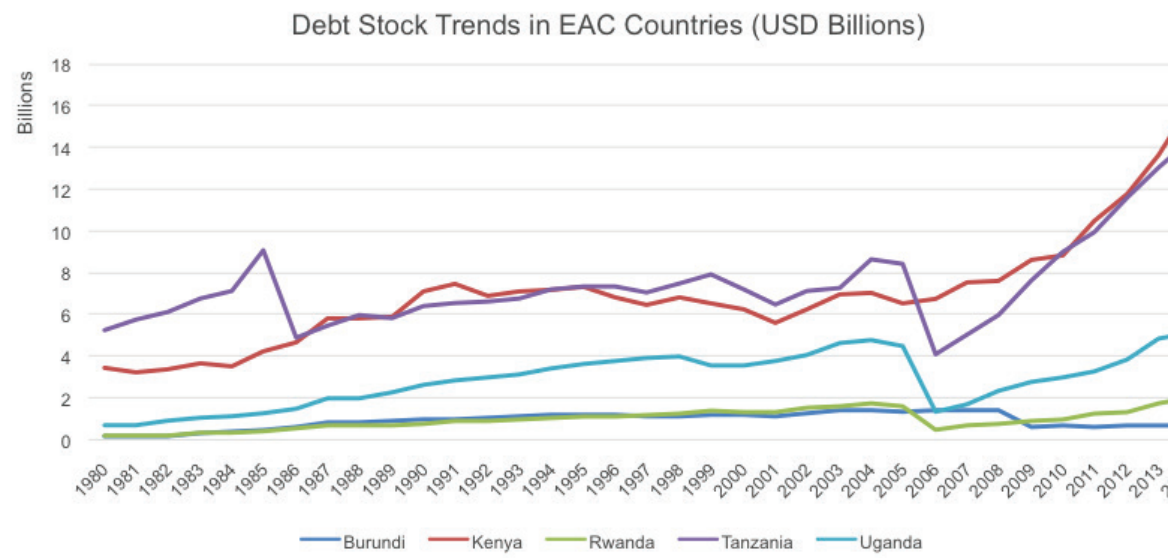
- i) GDP growth has slowed down over the last five years. In 2015/16, GDP growth was 4.6 below the target of 5.0 percent⁹. This slowdown is partly attributed to slow execution of public investments; the uncertainty that the peak of the electoral cycle causes related to

⁸ See the Second National Development Plan 2015/16-2019/20, chapter four.

⁹ See the 2016/17 National Budget Speech.

tight monetary policy; macroeconomic instability; and international commodity prices¹⁰.

- ii) As of April 2016, the provisional total public debt stock, including commitments in nominal values stood at Uganda Shillings 46.1 trillion (approximately 52 percent of GDP). This implies that as the president swore in on May 12, 2016, each of Uganda's 34.9 million people including children was indebted to the tune of UGX1,332,369 or the equivalent of USD395 at current prices. The disbursed debt currently stands at Uganda Shillings 28.1 trillion (approximately 31 percent of GDP), an increase of Uganda Shillings 5.6 trillion (24.8 percent increase) from April 2015¹¹. As can be seen on the graph below, Uganda's debt stock has steadily increased since 2006.



¹⁰ Bank of Uganda. Monetary Policy Report, June 2016 available at https://www.bou.or.ug/bou/bou-downloads/publications/Monetary_Policy_Reports/2016/Jun/Monetary-Policy-Report-June-2016.pdf accessed August 29, 2016

¹¹ Bank of Uganda. Monetary Policy Report, June 2016 available at https://www.bou.or.ug/bou/bou-downloads/publications/Monetary_Policy_Reports/2016/Jun/Monetary-Policy-Report-June-2016.pdf accessed August 29, 2016

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The numbers

14%

The estimated percentage of the population that has access to electricity as of 2015.

7%

The estimated percentage of Uganda's rural population with access to electricity.

26%

The target percentage of the population with access to electricity by 2022 (Rural Electrification Strategy and Plan 2013)

- iii) Additionally, the value of merchandise exports declined in 2015/16 to USD 2,241.8 million and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) net inflows declined by 4.5 percent to USD 867.9 million. Core inflation increased to seven percent from 6.4 percent from May 2015 to June 2016¹².
- iv) Consistently high interest rates imply that both small and big businesses are under severe distress. In July 2016, the media reported list of 65 companies that were seeking a taxpayer bailout to the tune of UGX1 trillion.¹³
- v) An estimated 19 percent of 34.9 million Ugandans live in abject poverty while another 43 percent live in conditions of perpetual vulnerability.
- vi) Out of approximately 400,000 young people that graduate from tertiary education institutions every year, only approximately 8,000 are likely to access to formal employment. Whether this formal employment is gainful or not is entirely a different discussion

Although Uganda is projected to grow at approximately 5.3 percent during 2016/17¹⁴, the estimation contrasts with the current situation. In fact, the projections on the economy for the second half of 2016 are grim. The Bank of Uganda projects worsening food crop prices inflation, combined with faster weakening of the shilling make near term trajectory of inflation uncertain. The main uncertainties relate to the likely evolution of the exchange rate, which is currently higher than appropriate given Uganda's worsening of current account and declining financial account balances¹⁵.

¹² Ibid

¹³ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/Business/65-loan-stressed-firms-line-up-for-Shs1-trillion-tax/688322-3305166-d6h193/index.html>

¹⁴ See the Background to the Budget FY 2016/17

¹⁵ Bank of Uganda. Monetary Policy Report, June 2016; page 30 available at https://www.bou.ug/bou/bou-downloads/publications/Monetary_Policy_Reports/2016/Jun/Monetary-Policy-Report-June-2016.pdf accessed August 29, 2016

For a first term president, the population would be looking at the bold ideas and actions he/she is able to pursue over the first hundred days in office to set the tempo for the five-year term. For President Museveni as an incumbent, the expectation is to present old ideas in a new way, blend them with newer, bolder and time bound actions, while at the same time setting new standards for performance and accountability. Consequently, even if the evidence were to show that the economy is on a sustained growth trajectory, the actions should focus on clearing any apparent obstacles in order to achieve accelerated movement towards the set growth and development targets.

Energy

Uganda has registered some progress with regard to investments in the energy sector, especially the electricity sub-sector. Comprehensive policy, legal and institutional reforms have created considerable level of dynamism triggering considerable investment flows in electricity generation and transmission. There are several public and private programmes focusing on promoting renewable energy such as solar and biogas.

However, in 2016, Uganda is confronted a vast array of challenges with regard to the performance of the energy sector. Approximately over 90 percent of Uganda's population is dependent on biomass for their energy needs. Access to electricity currently stands at 14 percent nationally¹⁶. The Uganda Bureau of Statistics¹⁷ estimates that the number of UMEME customers currently stands at a only 650,573. Uganda has one of the highest electricity prices on the continent currently at US\$11 cents. At installed electricity generation capacity of 862 MW, demand at 509 MW, the country has over 200 MW in excess. Yet, it is clear that the rules of the market regarding excess supply and demand do not apply to the electricity subsector. It would therefore appear that increasing generation and transmission capacity is not the solution to high electricity prices.

¹⁶ See the Second National Development Plan 2015/16-2019/20, chapter eleven

¹⁷ Uganda Bureau of Statistics Statistical Abstract, 2015

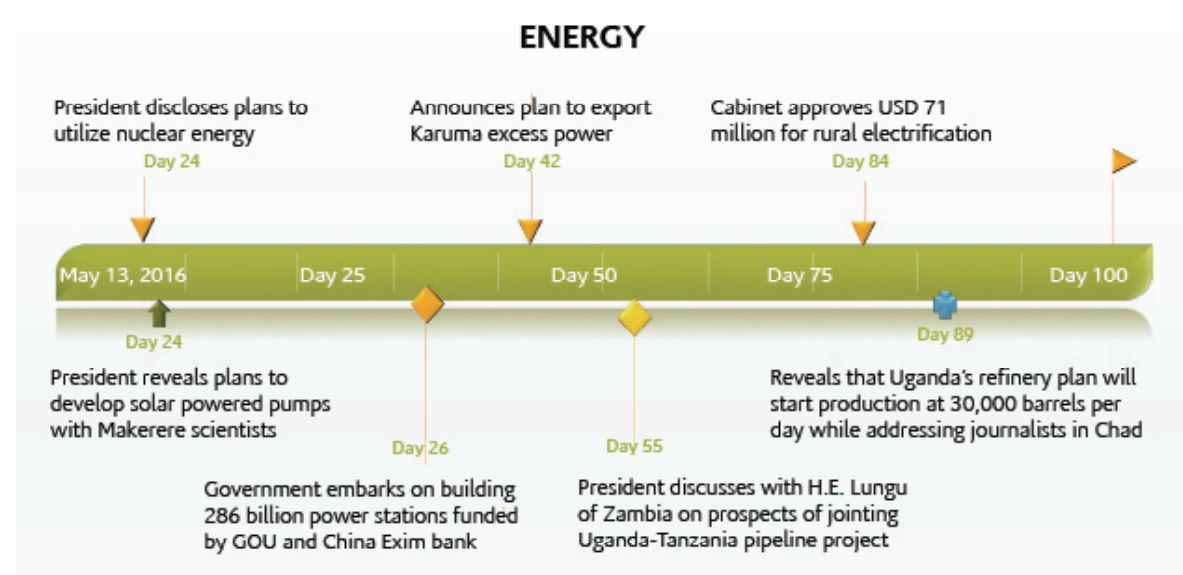
100 kwh

Uganda's estimated electricity consumption per capita compared to the African average of 578 kwh per capita and the world average of 2,752 kwh per capita.

80%

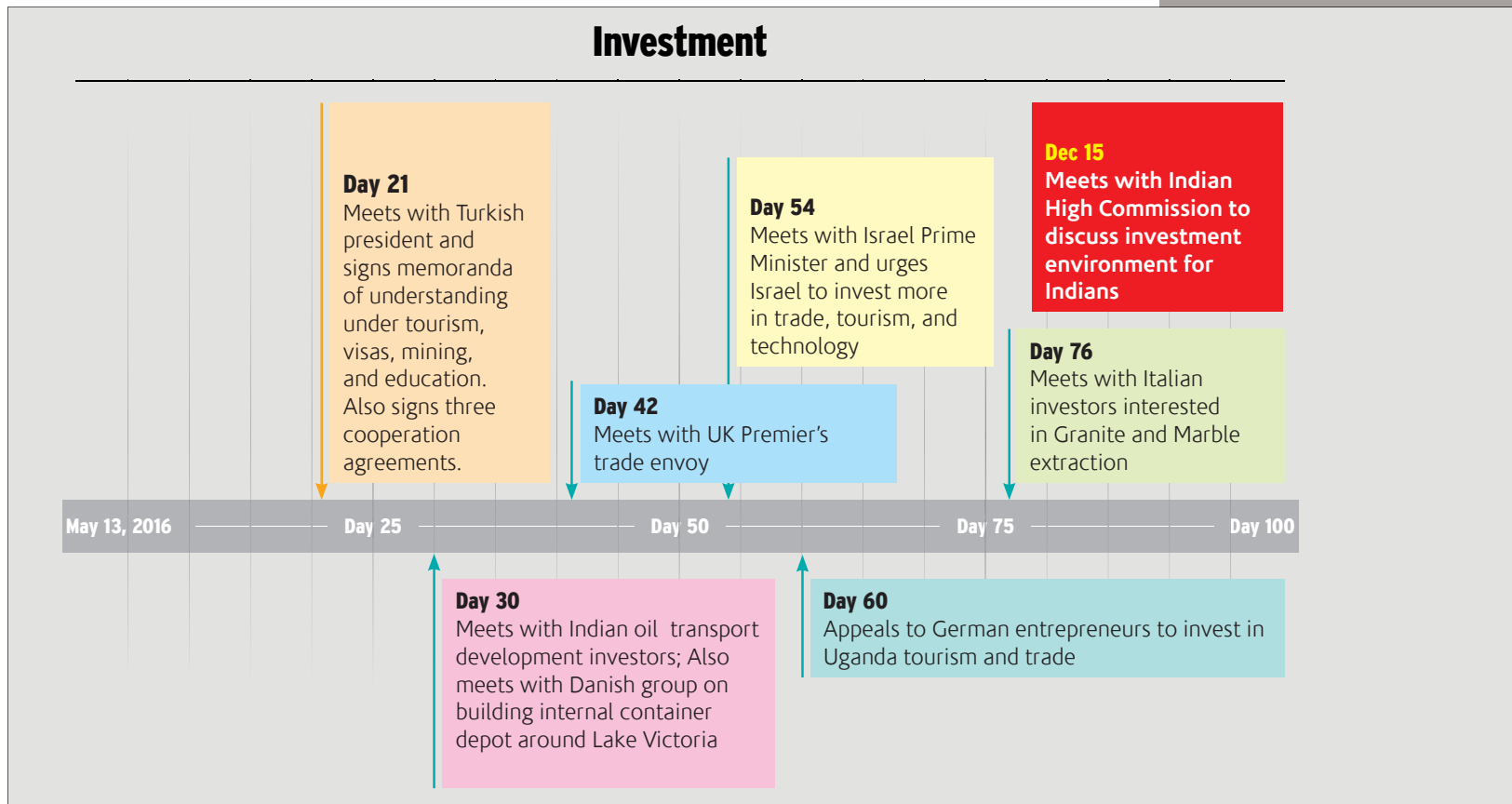
Target population with access to electricity by 2040 (Uganda Vision 2040)

In his directives to Cabinet, President Museveni directed that the prices of electricity must come down to approximately US\$6 cents and US\$5 cents for manufacturers. Achieving these targets seems to be pegged to increased generation and transition capabilities. Yet, the current excess capacity has not had any effect of electricity prices currently. The President did not offer any new solutions to this continuing challenge.



Promoting investments

President Museveni has a long- track record as Uganda's "chief" investment promoter, largely using every opportunity to talk about the range of investment opportunities. Throughout his last five-year term of office, he has not hidden his frustration with his government for failing to remove the key impediments to investors. While delivering the State of the Nation Address on day 19 of his new term of office, the President again expressed frustration with regard to delays in making investment related decisions. He suggested that the decision should not take more than two days. This was restated in his directives to cabinet issued on day 42.

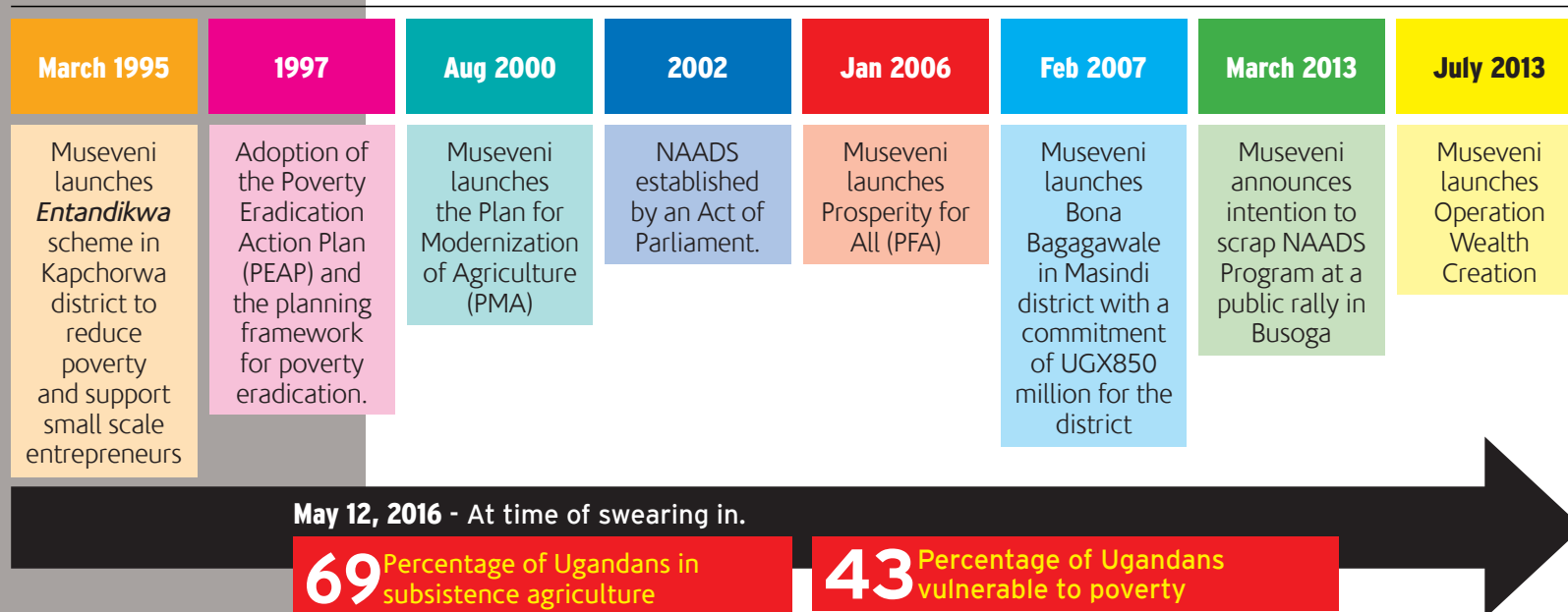


Over the first 100 days, president Museveni dedicated considerable time in meeting foreign delegations. He met with President Erdogan of Turkey on day 21, followed by a host of other high level meetings (Erdogan was awarded an honorary doctorate of Law by Makerere University). There was no evidence of any specific actions related to addressing the delays in decision-making. More importantly, there are several perennial barriers to doing business in Uganda such as the cost and access to credit, high-energy costs and corruption. Mr. Museveni's first 100 days report card does not provide any glimpse into how his government will do business differently to systematically diminish and eliminate these obstacles.

Agriculture

Over the last two decades, the contribution of agriculture to Uganda's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has declined considerably. It is currently estimated at 23 percent of GDP. However, its importance to the economy remains unchallenged. The agricultural sector employs more than 70 percent of the population. Indeed, Government has made several attempts at expanding and growing the sector by introducing wide ranging policy and institutional reforms, as well as a host of programmatic interventions shown in the figure below. Agriculture is well recognized as a sector with great potential to transform the economy and put Uganda on a progressive path to middle income status.

Agriculture: Two Decades of Sloganeering



In its 2014 report, the Budget Monitoring and Accountability Unit (BMAU) reported that the agricultural sector is underperforming in terms of meeting service delivery targets, especially for GoU funded projects. According to the BMAU, an assessment of eight MAAIF programmes

implemented during the financial year 2009/10 to March 2014 showed that these programmes met only 52 percent of the set performance targets for service delivery over the period.¹⁸

This is in spite of Mr. Museveni's continued harping about the transformation of agriculture. This started with the launching of the *Entandikwa* microcredit scheme in March 1995 towards the general elections in 1996. Since then, every election has been besiged by a new slogan mainly targeted at Uganda's farming households. The failure of these slogan driven interventions was highlighted by the report in the 2014 Population and Housing Census which indicated that household reliance on subsistence farming rose from 68 percent in 2002 to 69 percent in 2014. Two decades after the launching the *Entandikwa* scheme, commercialization of agriculture remains low, with only about 119,000 (2.3 percent) of Uganda's 5.2 million farming households being engaged in commercial farming.¹⁹

In 2016, Uganda's single most important challenge is how to adopt strategies and actions that turn around the fortunes of the agricultural sector, move as many households as possible from "hands to mouth" or what is popularly referred to as subsistence agriculture, and generally improve agricultural productivity and output.²⁰

The presidential directives with regards to agriculture are on improving seeds; fertilizer production; ending land fragmentation; value addition; financing agriculture; mechanization of agriculture; producing vaccines; and promoting modern farming methods. These directives are well aligned with the national development priorities on agriculture as one of the key priority areas over the NDP II period²¹. Most importantly, there is hardly anything new in these ideas and so the president may only have provided them for emphasis.

18 GoU 2014. Improving service delivery in Uganda. BMAU Discussion Paper 1/14. Budget Monitoring and Accountability Unit, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, Kampala.

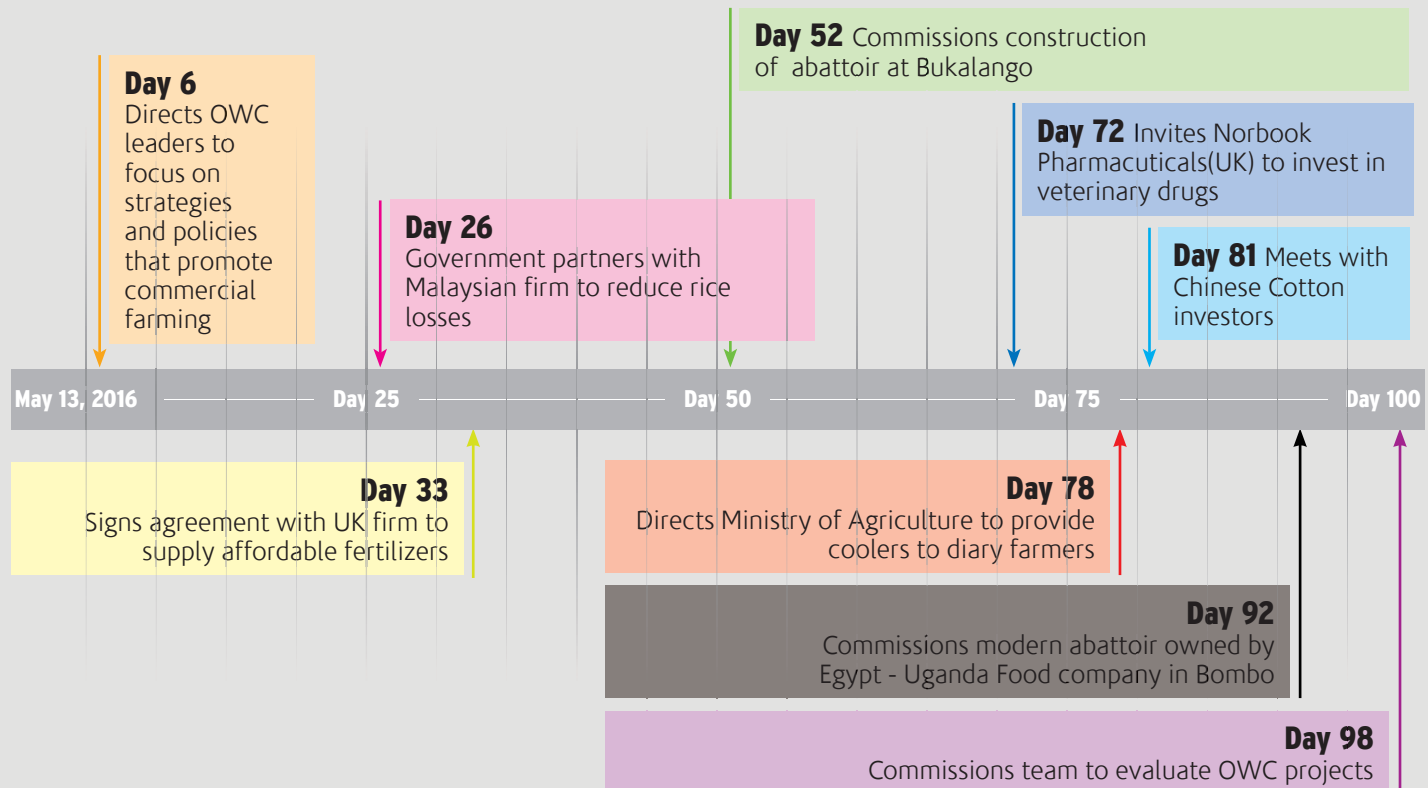
19 2014 Population and Housing Census

20 UBOS 2014

21

In his first 100 days, Mr. Museveni dedicated a considerable amount of his time towards agriculture related activities. However, most of the actions appearing on his agriculture timeline are routine actions: directing OWC on commercialization of agriculture on day six, meeting prospective investors on day 26, 57 and 67, and commissioning a food facility on day 92. On day 98, Mr. Museveni commissioned a team to evaluate OWC programmes, an early indication that this programme may have been launched without adequate planning implying that it could suffer like its predecessor programmes.

Agriculture



Industry

Industrialization and the role of industrialization in the transformation of Uganda's society is one of President's Museveni's sacred cows. Indeed, consistent with Uganda Vision 2040 and the NDP II, his 2016 election manifesto outlines a checklist of accomplished and planned investments in accelerating the growth of Uganda's industrial sector.

However, recent performance of the industry sector suggests that a president commencing a new term of office would need to approach the sector with a greater sense of urgency and nuance. For example, the industry sector output in 2015/16 grew at 3.0 percent, registering a contraction from a growth rate of 7.8 percent in 2014/15. The mining, quarrying, and manufacturing severely shrank to 1.4 percent growth in 2015/16 from 19.5 percent in 2014/15²². These grim figures may have been at the back of President Museveni's mind as he swore in at Kololo on May 12, 2016.

In his directives to Cabinet, Mr. Museveni outlined the following priority actions to spur growth of the industrial sector.

- i) Expedite the granting of production licenses for petroleum exploration and production
- ii) Equip the minerals department with modern equipment capable of determining the quantity and quality of minerals in a particular area
- iii) Regularise in the mining sector and eliminate illegal mining activities
- iv) Register all artisan miners and sensitize those involved in mining on the importance of incorporation of their entities
- v) Stop artisanal miners from stifling mineral exploration

22 See Background to the Budget

Indeed, President Museveni places a high premium on industrialization as a pathway to achieving middle-income status by 2020 and generally transforming Ugandan economy and society. The elevated sense of urgency characterizes his speech to cabinet issuing new directives on the running of government. Indeed, the fast movement on the issuance of the oil production licenses could have been triggered by the president's sense of urgency.

Industry



Although access to domestic credit has continued to increase, the financial market is encumbered by short term facilities and high interest rates

However, Mr. Museveni's overall record of the first 100 days doesn't provide clear directions on how he intends to get government to deliver on its commitment to industrialization. As shown on the timeline, no major policy, programmatic and financing pronouncements were made. The reference to industrial parks is an old commitment, which the president admitted had not been pursued with the sense of urgency it deserves. Indeed, in his address to Cabinet, he remarked with a clear sense of frustration thus "... we must build the 22 industrial parks we have talked about for so long!"

Infrastructure

Over the last five years, Mr. Museveni's government embarked on major infrastructure projects including roads, hydro-power stations and the standard gauge railway connecting Uganda to the Kenyan port of Mombasa. An oil pipeline and oil refinery is expected to be major infrastructure investments to move Uganda towards petro-state status. Infrastructure development under the Works and Transport has taken greater priority in Uganda, taking the lion's share of the 2016/17. More important to note is that infrastructure development is one of the fundamental priorities of the NDP II aimed at strengthening Uganda's competitiveness in the region. The focus under infrastructure development under the NDP II covers four sectors: works and transport; energy; water for production; and information and communication technology.

It should be noted that under infrastructure development, the Presidential directives focus on road construction and the standard gauge railway (SGR). The SGR is one of the projects being implemented as a regional project under the Northern Corridor Integration Project (NCIP) with partners Rwanda, Kenya, and South Sudan. The SGR is billed as a modern high capacity railway system that is efficient, reliable, safe, and affordable for both freight and passenger transport. The SGR is expected to stimulate industrialization, reduce the cost of freight for Uganda-bound goods from Mombasa, reduce transportation time, reduce transport emissions from road vehicles, lower road maintenance costs, and enhance integration in the region. The Government of Uganda signed a contract with China Harbour Engineering Company Limited on March 30, 2015 to develop the eastern and northern routes of the SGR²³.

The government allocated 118 billion Shillings for acquisition of land for the construction of the Malaba – Kampala eastern SGR²⁴. As of August 24, 2016 Chinese engineers started work on the SGR²⁵ and land acquisition, compensation, and sensitization meetings have happened in Wakiso, Kampala, Iganga, Jinja and Mukono

23 See more about the SGR at http://www.sgr.go.ug/?page_id=5

24 See the 2016/17 National Budget Speech

25 The New Vision August 24, 2016

Kisanja Hakuna Mchezo or more of the same?

The numbers

Basic facts and
figures:

80%

: Estimated proportion of Uganda's land that is undocumented or administered informally compared to percent that is formally registered (Uganda Vision 2040).

UGX31B

the amount of money allocated to the Land Fund, which was used to acquire 62,279.74 ha of land with bonafide occupants from landlords in Kibale district alone. Government has not taken any action on this land as of 2015 (World Bank 2015).

Although infrastructure development is a welcome idea and touted as a key to unlocking the country's competitiveness, it is worth noting that competitiveness extends beyond mere infrastructure. The Global Competitiveness Report defines competitiveness as a set of institutions, policies, and factors that determine the level of productivity of a country. The pillars of competitiveness include: institutions; macro-economic environment; health and primary education; financial market development; technological readiness; infrastructure; goods market efficiency; labour market efficiency; financial market development; and innovation among others.

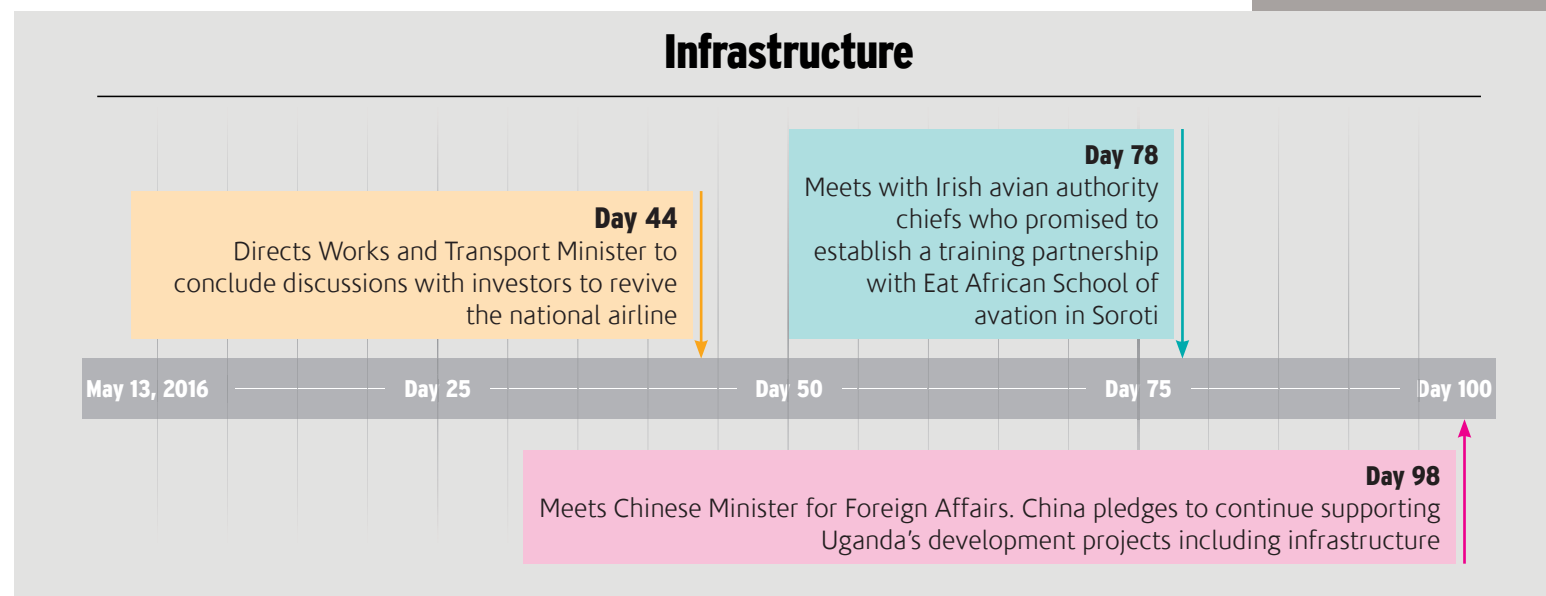
A major challenge that Uganda face is that a number of infrastructure projects are mired up in corruption scandals, delayed procurement processes and poor quality construction. In December 2015, the World Bank withdrew UGX364 billion for the construction of the 100km Kyenjojo-Kabwoya road under the Albertine Region Sustainable Development Project (ARSDP). This followed the withdrawal of another UGX874 billion (\$265m) for road construction under the Uganda Transport Sector Development Project (TSDP). For the last two decades, President Museveni has not provided any clear strategy or commitment to deliver on his zero-tolerance to corruption rhetoric. Corruption in infrastructure projects has become so endemic to the extent that political and administrative measures, beyond the traditional mechanisms, must be applied to curb the vice.

The presidential directives on infrastructure are:

- i) Conclude the negotiations for the construction of the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR)
- ii) Procure 1151 pieces of road equipment
- iii) Provide each district with an additional grader, a wheel loader, a road compactor, a water bowser and two tippers
- iv) Provide zones (Teso, Busoga, etc) with one earthmover and a low loader

Other than the SGR, these directives do not project a strategic outlook on how major infrastructure projects will be accelerated to achieve faster results. The first 100 days timeline does not reveal significant shifts that may be expected with regard to expediting procurement

processes, making them more transparent and ensuring cost-effective and timely completion of these projects.



Finance

Although access to domestic credit has continued to increase, the financial market is encumbered by high interest rates and commercial banks' reluctance to provide long term credit to the private sector without collateral. For example lending rates on shilling loans averaged about 24.7 percent in three months to April 2016²⁶. The private sector credit as an indicator of the financial sector's contribution to economic activity has also slowed down from 24.4 percent in

26 Bank of Uganda. Monetary Policy Report, June 2016 available at https://www.bou.or.ug/bou/bou-downloads/publications/Monetary_Policy_Reports/2016/Jun/Monetary-Policy-Report-June-2016.pdf accessed August 29, 2016

"Over the last 11 years of Universal Primary Education, an estimated 19 million children are unaccounted for between primary one and primary seven."

Since the launch of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997, enrolment numbers of school going children in primary schools have continued to rise

the first three months of FY 2015/16 to 9.8 percent in the three months to April 2016 owing to a tight monetary policy and weakening domestic demand.²⁷

The Uganda Development Bank Limited (UDBL) has positioned itself as a partner to government in delivering the NDP through financing development projects at attractive terms.²⁸ As of July 2015, UDB had been recapitalized up to a tune of five billion shillings. There are efforts to fully recapitalize UDB with a 500 billion shilling injection.²⁹

The Presidential directives under financing development are:

- i) Reducing the cost of finance
- ii) Capitalizing Uganda Development Bank (UDB) to fund manufacturing and agriculture

2.2 Land

For more than a decade, President Museveni and his government sought to address Uganda's long-standing land questions through a series of policy, legislative and administrative measures. The landmark legislative accomplishment was the enactment of the Land Act in 1998. After more than a decade, a national land policy was adopted by Cabinet in 2013 with a commitment to address the historical injustices rooted in Uganda's colonial history, ensure security of tenure, accelerate the process of land titling and improve the system of land administration.

In 2016 as the president took oath of office, he was confronted with glaring failures and challenges in the land sector. First, the land policy-making and decision-making processes are slow. A policy process taking more than a decade is quite unprecedented, especially given the fact that policy drivers are not static.

²⁷ Ibid

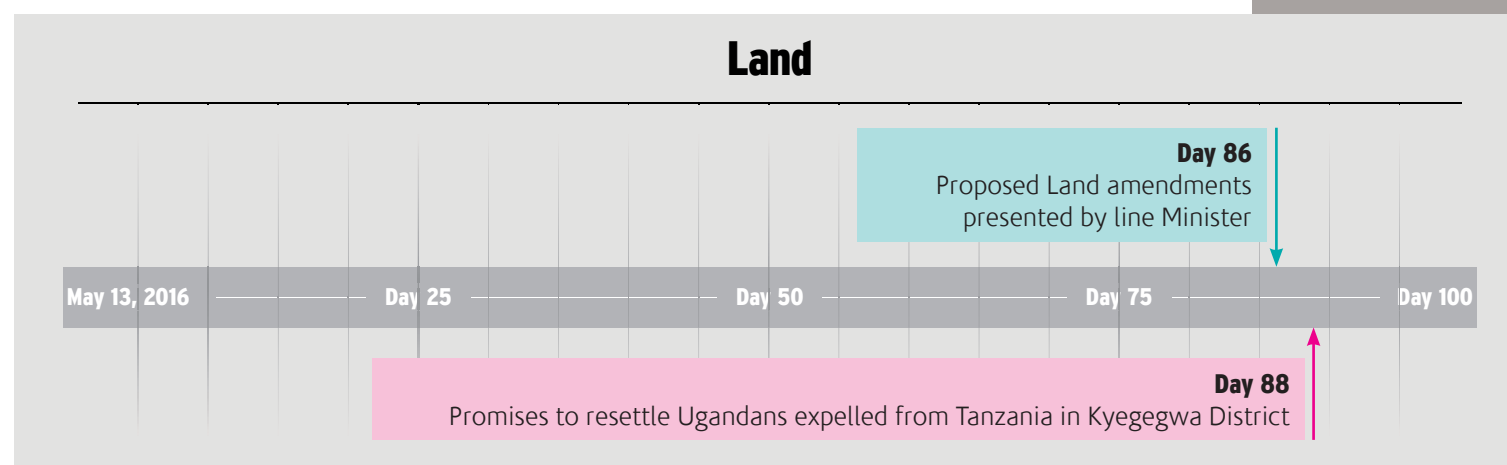
²⁸ <http://www.udbl.co.ug/about-us/overview>

²⁹ Background to the Budget Speech, FY 2016/17

Secondly, in spite of the numerous efforts by government, tenure insecurity remains one of the major challenges facing citizens in many parts of the country. Individuals and households are continuously subjected to inhuman and degrading eviction processes.

Thirdly, the historical injustices remain in spite of the constitutional consensus enshrined in the 1995 constitution.³⁰ President Museveni therefore, would be staring at a failure of three decades since addressing this question is one of the promises contained in the Ten Point Programme of the National Resistance Movement.

Fourth, the failure to address the land questions stands in the way of developing public infrastructure projects and promoting private investments. The cost of compensation often driven even higher by the syndicate within the public service procurement system that inflate all figures - is considered a major obstacle to the pursuit of government's economic and social development agenda.



³⁰ see article 237

Health services delivery goes beyond tangible deliverables such as buildings. It must be built around a robust physical infrastructure, the quality of the medical and support personnel, availability of drugs and other essential medical supplies,

2.3 Service delivery

Education

Since the launch of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997, enrolment numbers of school going children in primary schools have continued to rise. Primary school enrolment stood at 8,773,0000 children as of 2014³¹. The numbers in enrolment significantly drop at P5. Survival rate from P1 to P5 stands at 59.9 percent while survival rate from P5 to P7 stood at 30 percent between 2014 and 2015³². What these survival rates translate to in real terms is that for every 100 pupils who enter primary one, approximately 60 pupils make it to primary five. Of those 60 who make it to primary five, only 18 pupils stay in school up to primary seven. In other words, survival rate to primary seven is 18 percent. Numeracy at primary level declined from 45.2 percent to 40.8 percent between 2012 and 2013. Literacy proficiency declined from 39.4 percent to 38 percent.

Additionally, over the last 11 years of Universal Primary Education, an estimated 19 million children are unaccounted for between primary one and primary seven.

The presidential directive on education is to complete country-wide infrastructure for education: one primary school per parish; one secondary school per sub-county; and one technical school per constituency. However, this priority focus does not address some of the core challenges facing Uganda's education system today: completion rate, teacher absenteeism and the quality of education. The focus on expansion of physical learning infrastructure seems to address only part of the problem.

31 Uganda Bureau of Statistics. Statistical Abstract 2015

32 Uganda Bureau of Statistics. National Housing and Population Census 2014

Education



Health

A functional health services delivery system is one of the most critical deliverables for governments around the world. An effective health services delivery system is essential for ensuring the survival of mothers at birth, the health and survival rates of children and ultimately the productivity of a country's labour force. Health services delivery goes beyond tangible deliverables such as buildings. It must be built around a robust physical infrastructure, the quality of the medical and support personnel, availability of drugs and other essential medical supplies, and an inspectorate system that has inherent capability to detect and correct failures within the system.

Over the last two decades, Government of Uganda and development partners have made substantial investments in the health sector. One of the major achievements to-date is the establishment of a nation-wide network of health services infrastructure. For many communities, the distance to the nearest health centre has significantly been shortened. In 2014, 72 percent of the population lived within a distance of five kilometers to a health centre.³³ Government has

also been able to significantly increase immunization coverage and established an early warning system and emergence response capabilities for control of health emergencies.

However, the newly elected president in 2016 would need to have a full understanding of the challenges confronting Uganda's health sector in order to prescribe appropriate interventions. Recent government reviews have confirmed the level of brokenness of Uganda's health services delivery systems. The health services infrastructure is derelict. The vivid images of Abim and Kitagata hospital splashed on TV screens during the campaigns epitomize the depth of this crisis. The problem of drug stock-outs has continued unabated, there is acute shortage of health services staff while those who in place have low morale due to dismal remuneration and working conditions.

Consequently, in 2016, Uganda's system is not so much how many hospitals or health centres need to be built. On the contrary, the important thing is how to develop capabilities to maintain the existing physical infrastructure and ensure that existing health facilities have adequate drugs, essential medicines and relevant equipment. Additionally, it is crucial to mobilize and motivate the health services staff to rededicate themselves to public service. The problem is therefore less about building hospitals and health centres, but more about establishing a functional health services system.

The presidential directive on health is to complete the countrywide infrastructure for health facilities: one hospital per district; a health centre IV per constituency; and a health centre III per sub-county. This is just one of the priorities outlined under the NDP II and President Museveni's 2016 campaign manifesto. This directive could easily have a distorting effect on priority setting by shifting the health sector budget from more critical areas such as reforming the health sector governance architecture and making the health services delivery system work. Indeed, the publicly available record of Mr. Museveni's actions over the first 100 days does not demonstrate any sense of urgency with regard to addressing the governance challenges exist in the health sector.

2.4 Environment

The environment and natural resources sector in Uganda continues to grapple with issues such as; the effects of climate change, increasing forest cover loss, air and water pollution, loss of wetlands, and waste management, to mention a few. The NDP II under the sector has prioritized the following objectives: restoring and maintaining the integrity and functionality of degraded fragile ecosystems; increasing the sustainable use of environment and natural resources; increasing wetland coverage and reducing wetland degradation; increasing the functionality and usage of meteorological information systems; increasing the country's resilience to the impacts of climate change; increasing afforestation, reforestation, adaptation, and mitigate deforestation for sustainable forestry; and improve climate change legal and institutional framework.

In his 2016 campaign manifesto, Mr. Museveni committed that once elected, his government would increase Uganda's forest cover from the current 10 percent to 15 percent by 2021.³⁴ In his directives to cabinet, he restated a number of priority actions that have remained part of his agenda over the last decade.

The Presidential directives on environment are:

- i) Develop a standard formula for assessing what needs to be done to protect rivers and wetlands
- ii) Elimination of over fishing in natural water bodies
- iii) Stop all forms of destruction of the environment, including encroachment on forests, wetlands, river banks, lake shores, etc
- iv) Purchase more land from private owners to increase forest cover
- v) Protect lake shores
- vi) KCCA to quickly license investors that have been seeking to recycle garbage, recycle polythene bags, plastics, and e-waste
- vii) Restoring wetlands and river banks

The numbers

UGX 218,722

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

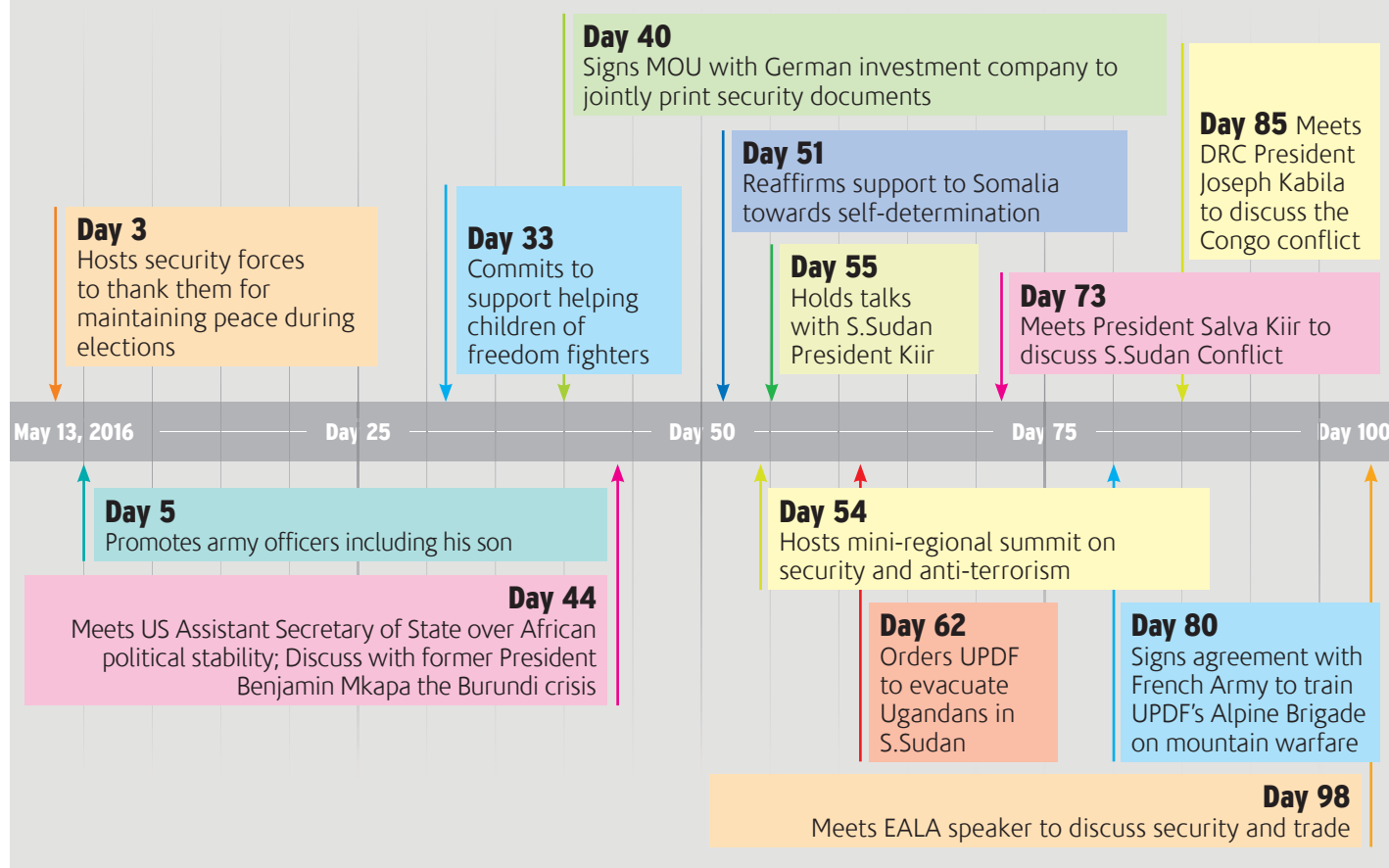
It is important to observe that these are not entirely new ideas. They are either already articulated in the variety of policy and planning documents of Government or have been restated by President on numerous occasions. Most studies in the environment and natural resources sector point the problem of institutional leadership and coordination as the single most important challenge facing the sector. Consequently, rather than restate what is generally known and acceptable as the relevant actions, in this new term of office, Mr. Museveni would need to look more towards “reengineering” the institutions in the ENR sector, establishing an institutional architecture that emphasizes leadership, vertical and horizontal accountability among ENR sector agencies, and clearly defining a more functional and performance driven relationship between central government institutions and local governments.

2.5 Defense and security

As President Museveni swore in on May 12, 2016, Uganda was still a country at war. Our military is still deployed in Somalia, South Sudan and Central African Republic. Although previous public statements by the president and army leadership had intimated potential redeployments from foreign missions, the situation remained unpredictable. In all major national addresses such as the inaugural in speech and the State of the Nation Address, he offered no accountability to Ugandans regarding the status of our missions abroad. All his actions point to the fact that there is no anticipated shift in Uganda’s regional security engagement, which are clearly dependent on him.

Matters of welfare of the security forces, which were contained in his directives to cabinet hardly, featured in his actions over the first 100 days.

Defense and Security



2.6 Good governance and democracy

The commitment to build an enduring democratic dispensation in Uganda is captured in the preamble to the 1995 constitution in the following terms: “COMMITTED to build a better future by establishing a socio-economic and political order through a popular and durable national Constitution based on the principles of unity, peace, equality, democracy, freedom,

social justice and progress.” The Constitution was promulgated on October 8th, 1995 under the stewardship of President Museveni. Two decades later, and in the spirit of the preambular paragraphs of the Constitution, a person taking oath of office to “defend and protect” should consider a range of challenges that have merged over the years.

The second National Development Plan (NDPII), Government clearly recognizes that “economic development and transformation cannot thrive if citizens and investors have no confidence in the rule of law and the justice system.”³⁵ The NDP further states that the key development results cannot be achieved without adherence to good governance principles, including: constitutional democracy; protection of human rights; rule of law; free and fair political and electoral processes; transparency and accountability; government effectiveness and regulatory quality; effective citizen participation in development processes; and peace, defense and security.

The National Development Plan provides the most contemporary and policy oriented thinking on Uganda’s governance challenges to date. Uganda’s governance and democracy deficit is evidenced by a number of glaring factors.

First, the February 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections produced a highly contested outcome. At the time of announcement of the election results, Col (Rtd) Dr. Kizza Besigye, the presidential flag bearer of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) was under house arrest and was subsequently arraigned in court on treason charges.

Second, the outcomes of the presidential elections were contested by independent candidate John Patrick Amama Mbabzi until the Supreme Court delivered its ruling confirming the declared victory by Mr. Museveni.

Thirdly, the immediate post-voting period was characterized by heavy deployment of security forces and military hardware making Uganda’s capital look like a garrison town. While the deployment was necessary to control potential post-election violence, it hardly represents a

country that is at peace with itself. High levels of security deployments have a chilling effect on important sub-sectors such as business, tourism and investment.

Fourth, the majority of Ugandans, with the exception of the ruling National Resistance Movement members and the President who is the appointing authority heavily contests the legitimacy of the Electoral Commission. Over the last five years, Ugandans through multiple platforms such as the Free and Fair Elections (FFE) Campaign, the Inter-Party Organizations for Dialogue (IPOD), the National Consultative Forum (NCF)³⁶ and the Citizens Coalition on Electoral Democracy (CCEDU) made proposals for the reform of the Commission. All these proposals were largely ignored.

Consequently, a newly elected president with a vision to lead a country towards achieving middle-income status by 2020 and a mission for long-term transformation would reflect on these challenges and provide a pathway to deepening good governance and strengthen the foundations for democracy. In his State of the National Address on day 19, Mr. Museveni declared that Uganda has carried out the “most advanced reforms” (quotation ad verbatim) and suggested that representation of special interest groups, including minority groups such as the Ike tribe, represented a high level of democracy. Yet, judging democracy by his own standard may be Mr. Museveni's major challenge in achieving his targets over the next five years.

The narrow understanding of the democracy deficit that Uganda faces today is likely to be a major obstacle to more inclusive governance and development envisaged under the NDP II and the Uganda Vision 2040.

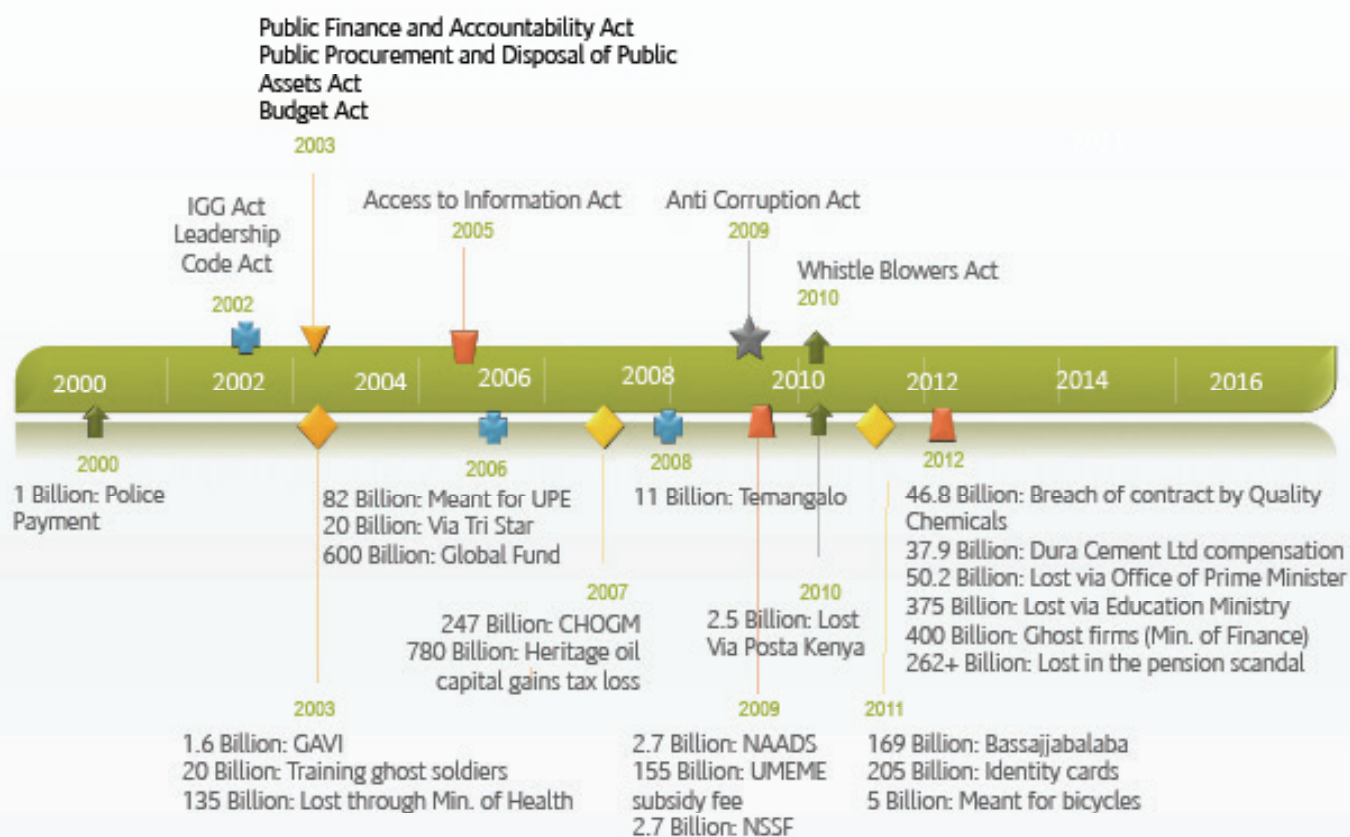
2.7 Corruption

It is generally now accepted that petty and grand corruption have reached frightening levels. The embezzlement of over UGX60 Billion Shillings meant for the rehabilitation of Northern Uganda, the over 262 Billion for pensioners, five Billion for bicycles for LCs to name a few and inconclusive prosecution of the culprits all point to systemic failures in tackling the cancer of

36 Political Parties and Organizations Act, 2005

corruption. In 2015, Afro-barometer reported that more than 69 percent of Uganda's population surveyed said that corruption had increased during the 12 months preceding the survey http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6_dispatchno77_uganda_corruption.pdf.

Anti-corruption Measures and Corruption Scandals 2000-2012



Source of scandals' information: Black Monday Newsletter

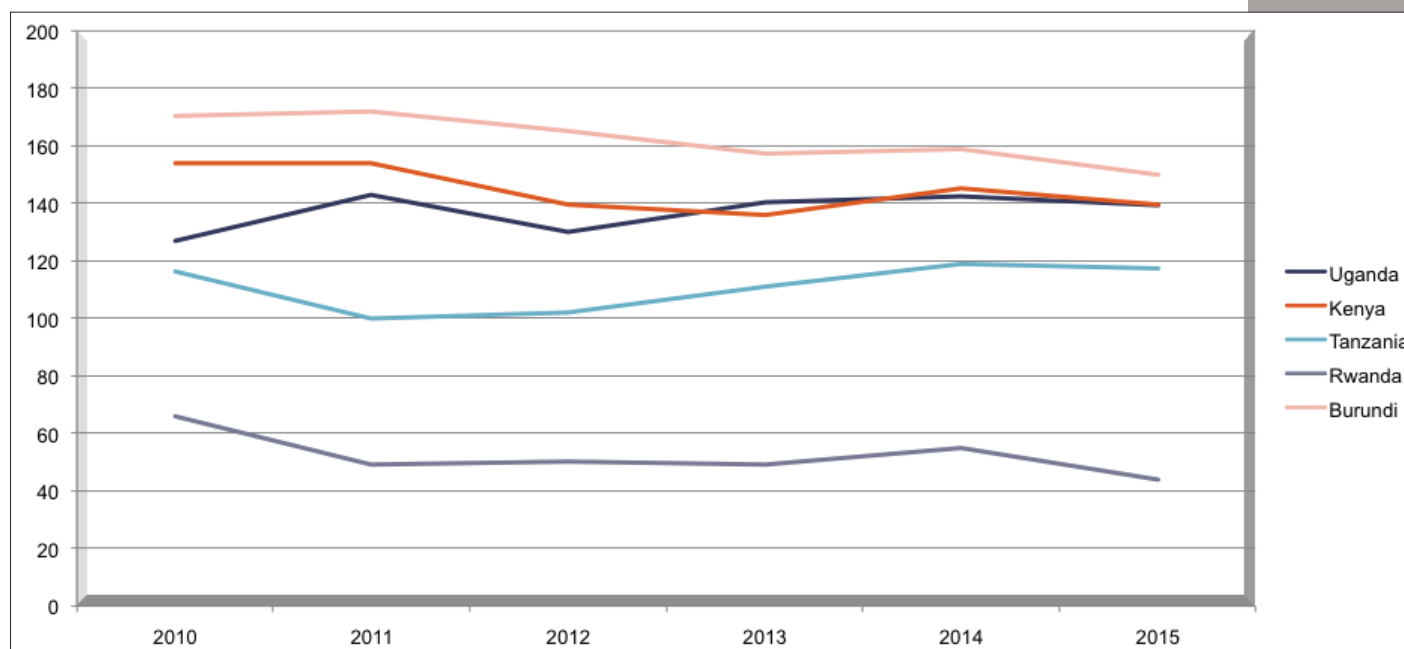


Figure: Comparative ranking of EAC Partner States on the CPI (2010-2015)

On May 26, 2016, Mr. Museveni received a report of the Commission of Inquiry into the operations of the Uganda National Roads Authority (UNRA). Among other things, the report found that up to four Trillion Shillings had been misappropriated. The report further recommended for prosecution of up to 90 top UNRA officials. While receiving the report, Mr. Museveni ordered the Criminal Investigations Directorate (CID), Office of the Auditor General (OAG), and the Inspector General of Government (IGG) to act on the recommendations of the report.

3.0 Conclusion

President Museveni's report card for the first 100 days of his five-year term reveals consistent trend in his priorities, a measure of frustration with his own government and an elevated sense of urgency with regard to government performance. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of his actions during this period.


Unchanged priorities

Mr. Museveni's priorities will most likely remain unchanged over the next five years. His first 100 days timeline reveal three important priorities: national security, economy and regional engagement. The assessment shows the highest concentration of actions focusing on engagements with the security forces. However, there are clearly no specific proposals on how to achieve the specific important commitments to housing and education for children of service men and women.

President Museveni also invested a considerable amount of his time during this period on actions related to the economy. Without delving into the benefits of his engagements, Mr. Museveni met and hosted foreign delegations and traveled to a number of countries within and outside the region on investment and security missions. It is important to note however that Mr. Museveni term was secured through a highly contested election. Consequently, besides these engagements that are consistent with his traditional priorities, the level of engagement was part of his strategy to increase the legitimacy of his government.

Public service delivery could remain a talking point

As already alluded to, there is general consensus that Uganda's public service delivery systems are in a state of disrepair. Over the years, President Museveni's government has put more emphasis on investing in physical infrastructure than building service delivery systems that are



transparent, accountable and efficient. In both the health and education sectors, Mr. Museveni emphasized more construction of physical infrastructure including health facilities. There were no major pronouncements in terms of refocusing public investments or re-organizing service delivery institutions to make them more accountable and efficient. Consequently, it is more likely that the service delivery situation, especially in health, education and agriculture will remain unchanged hence continuing to become a major talking point for the next five years.

A sense of urgency lacking in novelty

One of the positive things from President Museveni's actions over the first 100 days is his expressions of urgency in the way government undertakes its programmes, makes decisions and executes development projects. However, there is limited novelty in both the content and process of government programmes. It is evident that over the last decade that Mr. Museveni has been president, Government has developed the required capacity to take on major projects that, if well implemented could have a transformative effect on Uganda's socio-economic transformation agenda. These include high cost projects in the transport and energy sector, especially oil, gas and electricity sub-sector.

Implementation gaps not addressed

Over the last decade, Government has responded to major challenges by promulgating a new policy, enacting a new law, establishing new institutions or prescribing new programmes. However, there is increasing recognition that the single most development challenge is the failure to address the gap between programme design and programme implementation. The assessment has not found any evidence that the gaps will be bridged. Government may need to pay particular attention to this problem which is at the heart of the failure of many government programmes.

Focusing on government coordination and policy implementation

Over the first 100 days, President Museveni invested considerable effort in enhancing government coordination. The series of high-level policy meetings involving cabinet ministers, top leadership of his ruling party and top civil servants demonstrate the commitment to do business differently. From his actions and speeches, the objective is to streamline implementation of government programmes and create more efficiency. However, similar meetings have previously been organized at the National Leadership Institute, Kyankwanzi, without any meaningful outcome with regard to government coordination and efficiency.

Governance is the elephant in the room: President Museveni thinks differently

President Museveni stated in his State of the Nation address that Uganda has undertaken the most advanced political reforms. His lack of interest in addressing the governance issues confronting the country is clearly evidenced in his record on this issue during the first 100 days. Yet, the near dysfunctionality of most public institutions and the escalating levels of corruption are symptoms of the distortions in governance. Mr. Museveni's disinterest on confronting Uganda's governance deficit may be the major factor that determines the overall trajectory of government performance over the next five years.



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