

STATEMENT

BY

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AT

**THE 25TH ORDINARY MEETING OF THE EAC HEADS
OF STATE ON 7TH MARCH, 2026**

ARUSHA, TANZANIA

OKUKONESA (KUFUBYA) THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION — MIS-COOKING THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION.

Your Excellencies, the EAC Heads of State,

The delegation Leaders,

The Secretary General,

Members of the Diplomatic Corp,

Ladies and Gentlemen.

Greetings from the People of Uganda. Thanks for electing me to chair the EAC Authority for the next one year. At this point in history and given my 65 years of either watching closely or being right in the centre of events on our much troubled Continent, I feel compelled to use this occasion to bring up the issue of Okukonesa (Kufubya — mis-cooking the African Revolution). Kukonesa (Kufubya), is a process where the food is not properly or consistently cooked by not applying the necessary heat for the necessary duration and it ends up being undercooked (Kukona — Kufuba). The food does not

kusya (Kuwiva). It becomes emikone. It, then, becomes difficult to cook properly because the insufficient heat initially applied has cooked the food in the wrong direction. The option, then, is to throw away that food and cook another quantity of food. I have attached a note to this speech from our Scientists describing this process which we the Wanainchi simply call okukonesa (kufubya), but is actual Science.

By 1900, the whole of the African Continent had been colonized except for Ethiopia which had defeated the Italian Imperialists in 1896 at Adoa. This was squarely the fault of the African Chiefs and Kings who had watched the slow encroachment of these European invaders right from the time when the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, closing the overland route to Asia for Europe pioneered by Marco Polo around the years 1271- 1295. While the Europeans were rightly looking for an alternative route to the East by going around our massive Continent, they became slave traders and colonialists when they discovered the weaknesses created by our Kings — oppressing the People, fighting one another instead of co-operating, failing to adopt the new Scientific knowledge (e.g gun- powder), etc. Many of them participated in the

slave–trade, selling our People. “The wages of sin is death”, it says in the Book of the *Romans* 6:23 and “whatever a man sows, that is what he reaps”, it says in the Book of the *Galatians* 6:7-8. By 1900, all those African Kings were either dead or captured or had capitulated into subservience. They had squandered the time when they could have done the necessary changes to immunize us against domination. Eversince 1498, when Vasco Da Gama passed by the East African Coast, attacked Mombasa and continued to India, it was a whole 402 years wasted — no Scientific innovation, no unity among themselves, etc. They paid for their mistakes — Kabalega, Mwanga, Cetshwayo, Mkwawa, etc, were either dead or captured. Unfortunately, the whole of Africa also paid by having slaves torn away from their Country, freedom hijacked, resources stolen, etc.

Africa, by 1900, was facing a catastrophe. Some of the People that were colonized in Latin America, North America, Australia, were exterminated or only very few of them are still surviving and their lands were taken over by other People.

However, while the leadership of Africa has been problematic for centuries, the populations are tough,

hard-working and wealth creators for millennia. Unlike the American Indians or Aboriginal Australians, we died during the colonial aggression, but did not perish. Our cattle, goats, sheep, chicken, etc, that stay with us in our huts, had long vaccinated us against the deadly zoonotic diseases (diseases between man and animals) that had exterminated the other indigenous Peoples.

That gave opportunity for new and more potent forces to emerge and become the vanguard of the African Resistance. Who were these? They were two clusters, initially: the African–American Pan–Africanists in the persons of WB Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Padmore, etc and the African National Congress of South Africa, that was founded in 1912.

The historical mission now for the Black race and the other colonized Peoples was liberation against the imperialists through the World-wide anti-colonial movement. In the case of Africa, the historical missions were: liberation; modernization; creation of prosperity; and provision of strategic security against all threats. How were we to achieve this? Uhuru na Umoja — Freedom and Unity. Uhuru (freedom) would enable us to control our destiny

again. Umoja (unity) would enable us to address the issue of prosperity and strategic security.

How was prosperity to be achieved and how is it achieved in other Countries? With modern economics, prosperity is achieved through the production and sale of the goods or services that one is capable of producing. To sell, however, you need markets. Producers need buyers, to succeed. The more buyers you have, the more prosperous you become. This is where economic integration of East Africa and the whole of Africa, comes in. If we do not work on this seriously and without wasting time, we betray our People. We kukonesa the African Revolution. The next question is the issue of strategic security against all possible threats. If we do not understand that, we, again, betray Africa. Strategic security can only come, in my view, from political integration. Why? Political integration through the creation of Regional Federations where possible, rationalizes the geography of the defended zone so that we are able to be present in the four spheres of the universe — land defences; air defences; defences at sea — navy; and defences in space. Apart from rationalizing the geography of the defended area, you need the necessary muscle — size of land, natural resources and the population.

As we speak today, only four Countries have been to the moon. These are: the USA, China, Russia and India. There are a number of highly developed Countries; but they have not been able to land on the moon. Is there something to size? In any case, there is no harm, in having a big political unit through the political integration where possible.

To conclude this short statement, we need to answer the following questions. These are: “If we do not create a big market, how do we intend to encourage and support the wealth creators in the respective Countries?” “If we do not create a big and reliable market for our wealth creators, how do the businesses expand to produce more products, create more jobs and pay more taxes?”.

The other question is: “If we are not able to operate in the four spheres — land, air, sea and space — how do we hope to guarantee our strategic security?”

This ancient area of Africa — East Africa — given the potential to unite all our People around the Swahili language — has the capacity to create prosperity and also ensure the strategic security of the Black race.

Historically speaking, if we use the dedication to the 4 historical missions, we discover that the patriots that fulfilled their mandate were: Mwalimu Nyerere, Abeid Karume, Sékou Touré, Nkurumah and Modibo Keita. Of these efforts, it is only Tanzania that has sustained the success of economic and political integration.

Even the struggle for Uhuru (liberation) was not easy because we had collaborators. However, mainly because of the combination of the African Resistance (ANC, Mau Mau, etc), the global anti-colonial movement in Asia and Latin America, the emergence of the socialist camp following the victories of the communists in Russia and China and the Imperialists weakening themselves with their inter-Imperialist wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45, by 1963, a total of 36 Countries had got Independence in Africa.

There was, however, another 20 or so where the Imperialists were determined not to surrender. These were: Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, etc. Some of them were on the road to Independence, e.g. Kenya and Zambia; but not the others. Little Portugal, was saying that Mozambique, Angola, Guinea- Bissau, etc, were not colonies but “Overseas

Provinces of Portugal” and that the Black Africans can become Black Portuguese (assimilados) by forgetting their culture. While at the OAU conference of 1963 in Addis Ababa, Africa had declared that the whole of Africa must be free either by peace or by war, it was only a few Countries led by Tanzania, under the leadership of Mwalimu, that really stood by the freedom fighters. Others were Zambia, Botswana, Guinea-Conakry, Algeria, Ghana under Nkrumah and Egypt under Nasser. On account of the Resistance Movements, support of these Pan-Africanists, the socialist Countries and some democratic groups in the West, by 1994, the whole of Africa was free, with majority rule in South Africa. I am glad to say that, although the revolutionaries in Uganda arrived on the scene late, from 1989, we were able to give serious support to the ANC and the PAC in the form of military training, logistics, educational opportunities, etc.

Africa had, therefore, as the Century of shame for the African Continent where the whole of it had been colonized and a half — millennium of plunder by the Europeans and Arabs with the slave trade, come to an end, — become free. Uhuru (Freedom, Independence) had come. The question, then, was: “Where is Umoja?” Umoja for economic prosperity

through economic integration in order to create big markets to support the efforts of the African Wealth Creators and Umoja for political integration, where possible, to create strategic security for the Black race on land, in the air, at sea and in space.

Yes, some of the efforts for economic integration have moved. I worked with Mzee Moi, Mzee Mwinyi and Mzee Mkapa, to revive the East African Community. I salute Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, for joining the East African Community. Let us fully implement the charter of the East African Community and the roadmap. How about COMESA and the CFTA (the Continental Free Trade Area)? Some actors seem to treat this integration as optional. In my view, I have always held that it is mandatory to unite or risk perpetual marginalization. How about political integration? In the case of East Africa, we the Pan-Africanists, have never relented. Eversince the student days in the 1960s, we have been struggling for that integration supporting our elder Pan-Africanists _ Mwalimu Nyerere, Abeid Karume, Kenneth Kaunda, Arap Moi, etc. With Mzee Kibaki, Mzee Mkapa, President Kagame, President Nkurunziza, we called for the fast-tracking of the Federation in the year 2014.

However, on account of the kukonesa the African Revolution, seeing what is happening in much of Africa, instead of Uhuru and Umoja, we have Uhuru na Uhasama (Freedom and Discord). In Uganda, we have a luganda proverb. It goes like this: “Ekitatta Muhima, tekimumalako ente.” In english it means that if a Muhima (one of the tribes in Uganda) does not die, even if he loses cattle, on account of his dedication to cattle keeping, he will do everything possible to get new cattle.

Africa is still there. We have lost opportunities, but we can catch up. What is the consequence of Uhuru na Uhasama? Economic stagnation and the suffering of the populations. What is generating the migration of the African youth that are dying in the Mediterranean Sea going to Europe? It is the narrowness of the money economy of Africa that does not create the necessary jobs _ one of the consequences of not fully integrating our markets. Investors get frustrated when they cannot export within even the East African community.

The GDP of Africa is USD 3.6 trillion; that of the USA is USD 31.82 trillion; China is now USD 20.65 trillion; India is USD 4.18 trillion. Even little South Korea has a GDP of USD 1.86 trillion. One may ask:

“Why does the little South Korea have that GDP size? One factor is that South Korea, because of the cold war politics, benefited a lot from the USA market. However, in our Luganda language we say: “omugo oguli kumulilaano, tegugoba ngo” — the stick in the neighbor’s house, will not help you to scare the leopard away. You need your own stick. You have seen Mr. Trump recently threatening Tariffs on South Korea and others. The question we need to ask is: “Does the size of the domestic market matter in terms of attracting investments — domestic and foreign?” I think the size of the market matters. Why? China opened up its economy in 1978, when the many African Countries under the pastorism of the World Bank and the IMF, were already implementing “structural adjustments,” etc. The Chinese are still communists. Yet, their economy has attracted USD 2.7 trillion from outside since 1978, while the whole of Africa has attracted USD 1.8 trillion. The GDP of China in 1978 was USD 149 billion. It is now USD 20.65 trillion. India opened up in the year 1991. Since that time, it has attracted USD 1.2 trillion in foreign investments. By that time, the GDP of India was USD 270 billion. India’s GDP is now USD 4.18 trillion. The three richest Countries in the World today are all big

Countries — big land mass and big population. While we look for foreign markets, the reliable core market is the internal one. It is guaranteed. The richest Countries are: the USA, China and India.

I appeal to the Youth of East Africa, of Africa, to go back to Uhuru na Umoja. I had the last supper with Mwalimu in a house near here. Mr. Butiku and Mr. Marwa Adam, were present. When I arrived for the dinner, I saw a Tanzanian girl who spoke Kihaya whom I knew, standing on the veranda waiting for me. She was one of Mwalimu's aides. I greeted her in Kihaya which is close to the dialects of Uganda. "Wabonaki?" I said. She answered: "tinkabwaine kantu, shana nabona iwe". The greeting is in the form of a question. "What have you seen?" "I have seen nothing special yet, except you now". Then I asked: "nokora n'omugurusi?" "You work for Mzee these days?" Her answer was yes. Mwalimu overheard us. He asked: "munasema Luga gani?" "What language are you speaking?" I explained to Mwalimu that all the dialects up to Mwanza are close to Runyankore, my dialect. I was surprised Mwalimu did not know that. Even the Kisukuma—Kinyamwezi and other dialects in Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, DRC, are close to the dialects of Uganda. Swahili contains alot of words from the

dialects of Bara (inland Africa). What God has put together, man shall not put asunder — it says in the book of Mark Chapter 10, verse 9.

During that last supper with Mwalimu here in Arusha, I was discussing with him the very issues I am telling you now.

God Bless Africa.

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA.