

# BLACK MONDAY

*Enough is Enough! Action against theft of public money.*

## Editorial

As I gathered material on corruption for this publication, I kept notes and summaries and sent some of them to media houses for publication. One editor looked me in the face and said, "My friend, I don't want to lie to you. My job is at stake if I publish more of your corruption issues". That is how horrible it has come to in Uganda. This Mr. Editor has very quickly forgotten or probably doesn't know that as long as we accept corruption and theft of public funds, then it will thrive. We need to note that accepting is not just taking a bribe or abusing our offices. It includes not reporting, not investigating corruption cases and not understanding the consequences of corruption.

In his words, the Former UN secretary General, Kofi Annan expounds that: Theft of public funds hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for development, undermining government ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice and discouraging foreign investment and aid.

This has entirely unfolded in Uganda. In this maiden editorial of the black Monday newsletter, we bring you stories and images from the mourning week called by the Civil society, several of whom closed offices to mourn the increasing theft of public money. We aim to publish this every first Monday of the month. "Enough is Enough. We want action against Thieves in government." Join us in fighting against impunity in our country. Wear black to work on every first Monday of the Month.

*Samanya.*

### Inside this issue

- 3 | *No Mountain is too High*
- 4 | *The Black Monday Pictorial*
- 6 | *Uganda's hopes to become a Middle Income Country Pictorial*
- 8 | *The Scandals*

## The FIRST BLACK MONDAY

| By ActionAid staff

*Everyday Ugandan lives are lost because of corruption. That's why we were mourning in November.*



*Bidding farewell to corruption and theft in our country.*

Civil society organisations introduced the first Black Monday November 12<sup>th</sup> 2012, followed by a week of mourning. It began as an act of patriotism and true grief over the thousands of lives that are lost to corruption in Uganda. This is neither exaggerated nor pretentious; just think of it: every day 16 women in Uganda die in labour. Why? And why have we come to think of phenomena like that as that's just how it is? The truth is that corruption kills, that these lives are lost because somebody is stealing the monies that were meant for maternal health care. The examples of corruption are endless but it does not have to be that way!

Following what seems to be an endless wave of corruption scandals, even in the highest government offices, the Uganda civil society agreed to take action. Led by Uganda National NGO Forum, under which umbrella you will find more than hundred NGO's, ActionAid, DENIVA (Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations) and UYONET (Uganda Youth Network) under the Uganda National NGO Forum we said

"Enough is Enough" and started planning for a variety of activities.

Most importantly we wished to express our sympathy for the victims of corruption, thus dedicating a whole week of mourning and wearing black. Also, we closed business for one day, Monday 12<sup>th</sup>, as a sign a grief, a day of citizen action, and to mark that civil society and development organisations have, and are insisting on, a part to play in Uganda.

Organisations organised events across Uganda, and in Kampala a mourning ceremony was planned at the grounds of Uganda Manufacturers Association (UMA) on Jinja Road on Monday 12<sup>th</sup>.

A successful press conference was put together, and the simple messages "Enough is Enough" and rebranding corruption as theft together with the idea of a "Citizen's prison" for the thieves were easy to understand and very appealing. In addition there were radio talk shows in many up county locations. The day after, on Black Monday 12<sup>th</sup> the press corps

was on the spot from 8am.

The organisations behind the Black Monday Mourning prepared for the actions, produced drawings, placards and banners. An online strategy was laid out and obviously included Facebook and Twitter updates. Most importantly, an alternative venue was found and the decision of not in any way being confrontational with the police was agreed on.

### Lock-outed but carrying on

On the morning of Monday 12<sup>th</sup>, the main gate at the UMA Conference Hall on Jinja Road was locked and blocked by a trailer truck Plain cloth security personnel told the first members of the group that the protested would not be allowed and that if they insisted to use the place, they would be arrested. The driver of the truck was informed that citizens would mobilize the businesses community in Uganda not to use their company, the Danish haulage and transport company Maersk, and expose the Danish tax record. The driver immediately removed his truck.

At 7 am, Volunteers at Clock Tower reported that the Police was not allowing them to display their placards because Police was not aware of the activity. However, they hardened and weathered on.

In order to raise the profile of the MOURNING of THEFT of PUBLIC MONEY, the civil society staff dressed in black made a 100 meters long line at the gate to UMA Conference Hall holding placards, banners and flags with powerful but simple messages. They also wailed while the journalist took photos and communicated to their media houses the unfolding event at Nakawa.

The peaceful demonstration estimated by the Daily Monitor to have been staged by about 400 citizens was very influential. Many ordinary people genuinely and willingly joined. They helped to hold up placards. A touching moment was an old woman who pleaded in Luganda not to be left behind in case we were moving to an alternative location. Other heroes and heroines included bare-footed youth, Nuns holding banners in addition to the placard carrying citizens.

The UMA grounds remained blocked and a decision was made to relocate to Human Rights Network's (HURINET) premises in Ntinda. This resulted in a need for a powerful press statement by a group of leaders. Hon. Irene Ovonji responded to this plea by driving from HURINET to UMA and together with the CSO leaders, Ms. Ovonji provided a press statement to the local, regional and international media.

**The Police Disarmed by our conduct:**

While the press statement was being made, Affande Andrew Kaweesi arrived in a Police Pickup Truck. Several attempts were made that he too presented a statement, to which he declined. He however noted that the statements and messages we presented were genuine and meaningful but also highlighted that the civil society organisations had not coordinated well with the Police. Hon. Irene Ovonji then responded to whatever he said that was not true about CSOs' approach to arriving at the venue. We did not allow verbal attacks or any procession that would have turned rowdy.

**The Press, revelation of impact**

A number of journalists including some from Voice of America, Radio France, Bukedde TV and Nile FM challenged if this was not just an event without any impact that CSOs were

staging. ActionAid's Nickson Ogwal I responded that if there was a "feel-o-meter", for measuring the kind and level of feeling in the Thieves of Public Funds, the journalists would find that the level of fear and fright is very high in them arising from the Sunday news conference and subsequent activities in the fight against theft of public resources. With this, a Bukedde journalist revealed how the Anti-Riot police was immediately despatched to the gate of UMA as below:

*"It is really true that there is quite a high level of fear about the level of mobilisation by CSOs and the power of their message. For any meaningful change to be there, some people have to develop constant courage and keep their action to the end at whatever cost".*

**Relocating to HURINET**

The civil society members decided to go to HURINET's office. However, a decision was made not to march through town, thus avoiding any provocative actions from the police. Instead a number of taxis and private vehicles drove the participants from Jinja Road to Ntinda.

Upon arrival at HURINET a peaceful and dignified meeting took place, and the 400 assembled mourners symbolically "buried" impunity, intimidation, theft etc. and lit candles for hope.

Representatives from women, elders, youth and leaders civil society organisations ActionAid, DENIVA and Uganda National NGO Forum gave inspiring speeches. A moment of truth transpired when Justus Rugambwa, Executive Director of DENIVA, spoke about how Uganda would leap-frog overnight into a middle income country if theft was extinguished. A contrast to all the richness that the thieves are not sharing.

- The events of the Mourning Monday resulted into several resolutions of how to take the Black Monday Movement forward: Increase the involvement of the youth, who have demonstrated their capacity in a number of ways;
- Use our capacity (networks, coalitions, partnership and coverage) to mobilise citizens for action;
- Build the campaign into our ongoing work as the best means for sustaining the engagement;
- Increase the commitments internally in civil society organisations. Use of local languages and use of TV and social media increased as the areas of media growth;
- Writing and updating citizens – we must increase the power of

our writing for newspapers, our own publications (blogs and others);

- Organisations and their staff to increase their online presence and activities in support of the campaign;

**Aftermath**

By the evening of Monday, there were increased media demand for CSO leaders to take up spaces on radio and television. The Uganda Police Force was not dormant either, quickly posting on their Facebook their own version of the events; that the civil society organisations were denied access to UMA by the management. This was of course rightfully explained on civil society's different Facebook pages.

On a more serious note there are increased threats to CSO staff especially at the district level. The Black Monday movement will properly document these and engage with the security agencies in Kampala to demand for explanations. Internal communication between CSO members must be increased in order to mitigate risks and harassment. Externally, the movement will keep on communicating to media and the people of Uganda to sustain and increase credibility



# No Mountain Is Too High!

## Citizens' Statement From The 1<sup>st</sup> National Mourning

Monday, November 12, 2012

### INTRODUCTION

We the citizens of this country, mindful of our civic duty conferred by posterity and the Constitution, determined to restore sanity within the stewardship of this nation, and committed to the realisation of a nation at peace with itself, have assembled in this gathering, inspired by the following set of beliefs:

### WE BELIEVE

- That as citizens, we must shed off fear and embrace courage;
- That it is incumbent upon us to be interested and actively participate in the governance of our country;
- That our leaders hold power on our behalf and as such must be accountable to us through the existent institutional and policy frameworks;
- That as tax payers, we have an undeniable right to know and ensure that national revenue is used to fund national priorities as opposed to wasteful, unproductive ventures;
- That the future of Uganda is dependent on and pivots upon our collective actions and omissions as a polity today;
- That we need not redden our soils anymore with the blood of dissidents, martyrs and defenders of the truth, nor return to the ugly specter of war that has perennially ravaged this pearl of the African Crown;
- That the shameless attempts by the Police Force to stifle our lawful and pacifist approach to the theft of public funds by the Police Force does not augur well for the fight against graft in Uganda; we would like to underscore the fact that in spite of such machinations, our resolve remains unfazed!

### AND TOWARDS THE ABOVE ENDS, IT IS HEREBY RESOLVED AS FOLLOWS

- We have established a Citizens' Prison today in which all the thieves of public funds will be jailed by acts of isolation including but not limited to shunning them in public places such as

supermarkets, houses of worship, lifts and parking lots; that we shall further not invite them to social gatherings like weddings, funerals and village meetings;

- That the decision to send someone to the Citizens' Prison will be informed by the outcomes of investigations undertaken by citizens on suspected cases of theft of public funds; a telephone contact number, e-mail address and face book page will be provided by the 15th of November, 2012 for the public to volunteer information for purposes of aiding investigations into the source of the wealth of our leaders;
- That as a further consequence of the establishment of a Citizens Prison, we shall blacklist and boycott all commercial entities (businesses) that have been the product of stolen public funds, as well as those corporations that have abated oppressive and sometimes criminal actions such as the rigging of votes, which in itself is a form of theft;
- A trans-regime audit will be carried out to establish the actual figures and extent of the theft since the inception of the NRM regime; the findings thereof will be handed over to the print and broadcast media by the end of this year;
- Letters have been written and will be handed to the Head of the Executive arm (the President); the Head of the Parliament (the Speaker) and the Head of the Judiciary (the Chief Justice) by 18th November, 2012 underpinning specific action points from each arm of government and seeking commitments towards the fight against the theft of public funds at policy, legal and practical levels;
- There must be a reframing of the entire anti-theft legal regime (right from the Constitution to the subsidiary legislations thereunder) so that existing loopholes that are being exploited by the thieves are plugged;
- A citizens' song against theft of our money will be composed and launched by the end of the year 2012;

# First National Mourning of the theft of Public Funds

## Statement From The Youth

### 12 November, 2012

We the youth form the bulk of the Ugandan populace. At over 70% of the national population, we bear the brunt of the actions and omissions of the leadership of this country.

No nation can develop without socio-economic support structures for its youth! And yet as things stand today, the vast majority of us have known ignorance, poverty and disease!

This scourge hasn't spared the country's education sector. Institutions of learning that ought to train us are now shadows of their former selves; unemployment and the resulting poverty have reduced us to sports betting, prostitution, gambling and petty crime; when we fall sick, hospitals are death traps, condemning us to ignoble and preventable deaths! Our initiatives at entrepreneurship suffer under the weight of systemic corruption that pervades the government bureaucracy.

As a generation, we have not had the benefit of a moral compass and a set of values by which to live—our leaders have set a horrible example, and like rudderless ships, we sail in an ocean of oblivion... unable to compete against our peers from the rest of the East African region, South Africa, Ghana, Tunisia, Europe and the rest of the world; the future of Uganda hangs in balance.

Based on the above, we take exception to the sickening, disgusting, nauseating, disheartening and incessant theft of public funds... enough is enough!

- And finally, short of any concrete actions with regard to the above, we the citizens will reconvene these gatherings at various locations across the country and with increased intensity until something happens.
- We will continue to display banners, posters and placards in our offices and express our dissat-

isfaction with the gross levels of impunity that only serve to embolden the thieves!

It is absurd that the Fountain of Honour, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the First Citizen; the Judiciary and the Parliament, alongside the other symbols of state authority are impotent in the face of this mind-boggling thuggery in just about every department, ministry, statutory corporation and state enterprise.

We implore the aforementioned persons and institutions to take decisive action against those implicated in theft! And particularly to the President, he ought to allow institutions to perform their roles and desist from unduly interfering with and stifling efforts against corruption. The doctrine of separation of powers is enshrined in the Constitution and as such, must be respected if anti-theft institutions are to function as mandated.

As the future of this country, we have a vested interest in the stability and progress of Uganda and cannot idly look on as this country descends into an abyss of annihilation!

We refuse to prevaricate on a matter that adversely affects the socio-economic and political status of this country. Enough is enough; the thieves must go, and our money must be returned... we will not rest until the above is realized.

It's our money, it's our responsibility, it is our country!

**KARAMAGI ANDREW**

**FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE YOUTH OF UGANDA**

isfaction with the gross levels of impunity that only serve to embolden the thieves!

**WE HEREBY ADOPT AND PLEDGE OUR SUPPORT TO THE FOREGOING RESOLUTIONS TOWARDS THE FIGHT AGAINST THEFT OF OUR MONEY, THIS 12<sup>TH</sup> DAY OF NOVEMBER 2012.**

# The Black Monday Pictorial



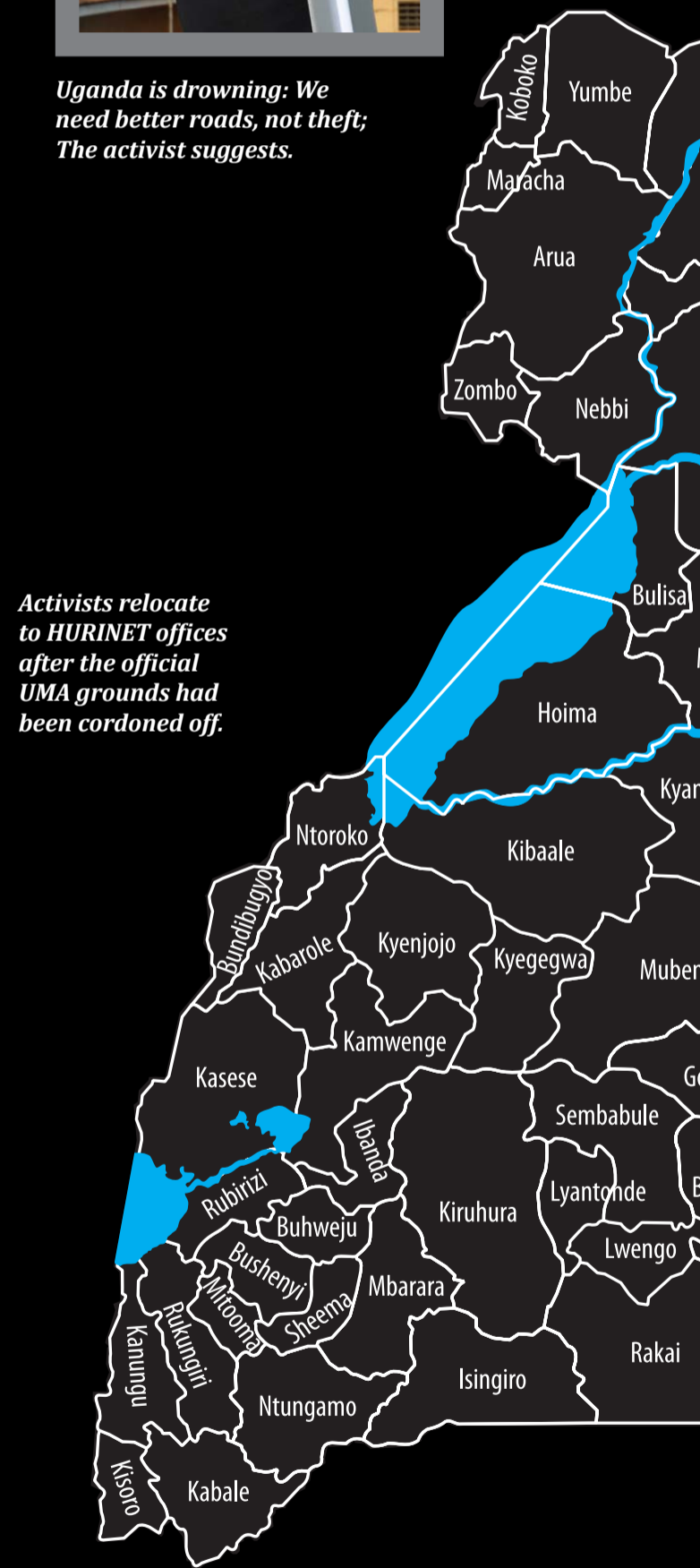
*Uganda is drowning: We need better roads, not theft; The activist suggests.*



*Anti-corruption outside the gate*



*'Laid to rest' A wrath laid on the burned and buried corruption and theft scandals in our country.*



*Activists relocate to HURINET offices after the official UMA grounds had been cordoned off.*



Activists line up, holding placards and banners of the sealed off UMA conference grounds



Without fear or favor-Women saying No to corruption: Hon. Irene Ovingi, the AAI Board chair delivering a key note mourning message.



Return our Money and resign-well said.



Though locked out of their official venue, the activists went ahead to stage a demonstration at the main road.

# Civil Society-Led Anti-Corruption campaign: Government Response

## Introduction

In the wake of increasing reports of theft of government funds, civil society organizations launched a campaign against corruption intended to mobilize citizens to rise up against the vice. The campaign started with an intensive plan of action including one week of mourning beginning with a congregation at Uganda Manufacturers Associations parking wearing black throughout the week and massive sensitization of Ugandans. In response to the planned actions in different parts of the country the government was both interfered with by the police and in other places security intimidation in the aftermath of the campaign.

## Government Response at National Level

The National event gathering on Monday 12<sup>th</sup> November in Kampala at Uganda Manufacturers Association was blocked by the police. The venue for the gathering was blocked by mainly plain clothed policemen. The Kampala Metropolitan Commander Andrew Kawesi is reported to have said "We cannot allow it to go on be-

cause they did not notify us. This is a national cause which all of us should support but they need to re-organize it and work with the police." Other contradictory statements by the police were that it was *UMA* that begged them to close it because they feared a 'political rally' would jeopardize their business. Later Kaweesi was saying they did not close the place.

Although there is no requirement for seeking permission from Police by people seeking to assemble, the Police require a notification from the organizers of public demonstrations in order for it to manage the assemblies and ensure that the demonstrations are orderly and peaceful. This requirement was fulfilled by the organized as a letter was sent to the Inspectorate of Government and copied to the Kampala Metropolitan Commander for his attention. In addition a judgment (Kivumbi v. Attorney General 2008) of the constitutional court said the Police Act section requiring citizens to get police permission for assemblies etc is unconstitutional and therefore null and void. That means it is not law. This is because it contravenes the constitution which

is supposed to be the highest law of Uganda. The court said the only duty citizens have is to inform or notify the police but do not need permission. The police has conveniently ignored that judgment for four years.

## Government Response at sub-national Level

According to the reports that have been received so far from across the regions, in the aftermath of the first day of mourning Actionaid staffs from Pader and Kumi were either summoned to the police for questioning or asked to clarify their activities in the districts.

## Pader Incident

In Pader the coordinator of the Actionaid office said she was pressured and was pressed to make a statement. AAU has been in Pader many months and many of AAUs programs there involve local government officials who have never before asked why they are providing those services. The DPC in Pader claimed that he received a call from his RPS Mr Nkore based in Gulu and asked him to check whether all that was happening in the District was being done legally and whether

they had informed the police about the demonstration. After the event the DPC visited the ActionAid office and asked the staff to clarify Actionaid activities in the districts.

## Kumi Incident

On Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> November 2012 after the closing offices the previous day, one of the staff of Actionaid Kumi was summoned to the police station by CID of Kumi for interrogation. While the staff was not detained she went ahead to go to Malera where there was a public performance by community performers in dance and music, as part of ActionAid 30 years Anniversary Celebration. The police from Malera surrounded them and ordered the musical system to be switched off. The Police at Malera "escorted" staff of ActionAid to Bukedea Police Station. They were then briefed by DPC who accused ActionAid of holding meeting without getting police permission; and harbouring hidden motive – to mobilise people against government. The DPC then declared that Police will not allow ActionAid to hold any public event without police clearance.

## Are NGOs as corrupt as Government?

By Arthur LAROK, Country Director - ActionAid Uganda

There is no doubt that corruption in Uganda has become so entrenched today that any success in rooting it, may contribute to the overthrow of an unjust, patronage based status-quo. Many have argued that corruption is not just a political institution, but a social one as well. In short everyone is either corrupt or at least benefits from it. No one, according to this narrative, is clean enough to lead the fight against corruption.

Following their frontline role in re-defining the discourse on corruption and 'rebranding' the campaign 'theft', NGOs have been variously accused: we have been accused of being as corrupt as government, labelled agents of imperialism, funding the opposition and plotting to overthrow the government and President Museveni.

In this article, I respond largely to the question 'whether civil society is as corrupt as government' and thus lacking the credibility to fight corruption. The other questions about our

attentions are as diversionary as they may be sensible to some sections of the public, but that's for another time.

To start with, we must accept that the NGO sector is an offshoot from the same society that the thieves in government come; a society facing many moral crises! Admittedly misappropriation of resources by NGOs may be a reality in some NGOs. And therefore the more important secondary question to ask is 'what is it that we are doing about it'?

Many NGOs have internal governance systems and policies to check on misappropriation of public resources and abuse of office. Despite a slow start, many more NGOs have subscribed to the Quality Assurance Certification Mechanism (QuAM) which helps them grow in governance and strengthen internal control systems. Several NGOs conduct external audits and are required to submit, by law, audit reports, financial statements, plans and budgets to the NGO Board in Government!

For an organisation like ActionAid Uganda, we are not just subscribed to the QuAM, but fully compliant with the NGO Law! Our pride is in having a transparent financial system that is enforced without segregation. Our past annual audit reports conducted by reputable audit firms have consistently given us a clean bill of health. We have a 'whistle-blowing' policy that we enforce and have a functioning Management System and Board that decisively acts should any irregularities be detected. Some staff have over the years lost their jobs because of fraud. In short our systems are allowed to work! This is what sets us apart from the impunity that we see in government where nothing meaningful is done to rid the system of fraud, instead what we see are waves of actions to protect the corrupt and use the proceeds from theft to fund an ever increasing patronage system!

It is our commitment and ability to act against corruption when detected that gives us the moral high ground

to question government and take the actions we take with confidence. Further, we who work for NGOs like thousands of Ugandans pay taxes, direct and indirect to government and therefore have every right to demand accountability from it.

Going forward, there is a dual challenge; first, for all those accusing NGOs of being equally corrupt is for them to adduce evidence of misuse of resources held in trust of the public. Many NGOs would be willing to cooperate in this venture. The second challenge is to those working with NGOs to ensure that they work towards becoming the change and corrupt free agency they desire to see!

And for all those who have described our resurgent struggle against corruption as gimmicks and that the effort will come to nothing, my response is; at least we are doing something and while we may 'never know the results that come of our actions, if we don't act, there will be no result'!

# BEYOND 'MOURNING': The Dawn of a Black Monday Movement in Uganda

By the Black Monday Movement Core Group

There are many days and moments in Uganda's history where one could point to as that of a significant discovery, resolution or revolution. Friday 16<sup>th</sup> November 2012, we hope will be one such day when a Citizen Movement was conceived as flagship in a campaign dubbed *Citizens Action against Theft of Taxes and Aid. WITH IMPUNITY!*

After a week of mourning against the 'theft of taxpayer's money and donor aid', on this 16<sup>th</sup> day of November 2012, a dawn of the Black Monday Movement was set. The Black Monday Movement epitomizes the shift of citizen action from the rather stale anti-corruption fight to one that we hope will present the true essence of this struggle - a struggle against wanton theft of tax payer's money and foreign aid by selfish officials in government who steal from all sections of our population:- Senior Citizens who have worked for 40+ years and are entitled to pension, stolen by shameless officials in the Ministry of Public Service, our young mothers, 16 of whom die every single day trying to give life to Ugandans because corruption has denied them a decent health service, to our children denied quality education because money meant to deliver quality UPE is stolen.

The fight against corruption has thus far and to a large extent been a sham because the concept of corruption is a proxy to what we know as blatant theft. This has led to proxy responses! And thus a proxy target. At the dawn of the Black Monday Movement, several fresh ideas were agreed to mobilize more citizens to join the struggle and mount pressure in the fight against theft of public money, with impunity. Five actions are highlighted below:

**1. Declare Every Monday a Black Monday against Theft!** Every Ugandan and sympathizer with all those who suffer the pain caused by theft of public resources should wear black every Monday until we see sustained decisive action taken against this cancer. In addition, every 1<sup>st</sup> Monday of the month, visible action will be taken by Black Monday Movement Members across the country, all wearing black. We shall go and speak one-to-one with market vendors and traders, taxi operators and boda boda riders, in churches and mosques, in pubs,

in Universities and demand that every student wears black every Monday, and in all other public spaces to intensify public knowledge of the threat to national development that wanton theft of public has become. This non violent civic action, we believe can build up to millions and be triggered as and when appropriate to take more industrial action.

**2. Do a trans-regime analysis of corruption trends and opportunity cost:** As part of the public education agenda, the Black Monday Movement will undertake an analysis of the cost that theft of tax payer's money and aid has been to Uganda. We want to quantify this loss and juxtapose it against what it could have done. Preliminary analysis of 50 years of theft of public resources since 1962, suggests that we could have in addition to maintaining the entire referral hospitals across Uganda, built up at least 15 more Hospitals of Mulago's stature in the 15 original districts of Uganda. We could have put up at least 4 Power Dams of the size and power of Owen-Falls in the regions of Uganda and supplied electricity to millions in darkness. We could have maintained, improved and expanded the railway network across the country and eased transport of goods and services in Uganda and significantly reduced the cost of doing business in Uganda and made it a more attractive investment destination. We could have upgraded our national park infrastructure to boost tourism at least 10-fold in terms of revenue. In short, theft is costing Uganda big and we must stop it forthwith! Everyone must play their part!

**3. Economic Boycott:** We have decided to blacklist all businesses owned by thieves or accomplices and boycott them forthwith. We have started by listing hotels and all NGOs will be called upon never to hold workshops in such facilities. We shall blacklist petrol stations and chains, pubs and restaurants, supermarkets and shopping malls and telecommunication companies owned by thieves in government or those in which they have shares and urge all Ugandans and well-wishers to spend their money elsewhere. This list will continue grow-

ing and we shall do the same at district level. Every month, we shall update the list of businesses and companies that we need to boycott and in so doing weaken the economic backbone of the oppressors and accomplices.

**4. Social Out casting of Thieves and creation of a Virtual Citizen Prison for the Corrupt:** With the evidence generated in (3) above and a listing of individual politicians, companies and businesses implicated in grand theft of public resources, we shall proceed to exorcise them from our 'public and social functions' and put them in a virtual citizen prison. And once they are in this prison, we cannot invite them to open our meetings and conferences, we shall ban them from social functions like weddings & introductions, we shall not give them respect in public and remind them about where they belong, whenever we see them in Supermarkets, workshops and other public spaces. Thieves must be in prison until they return stolen money and wealth.

In this social exorcism action, we make a special appeal to leaders of Churches, Mosques and other places of worship to do 4 simple things: a) develop special prayers for theft and say this every time they conduct prayers and sermons; b) never accord special seats for corrupt public officials in our places of worship; c) do special cleansing prayers of all monies received in offertories and tithe; d) reject and move away from the 'brown envelops' that politicians and business people advance them for it is 'blood money'. If our places of worship do not institute such measures, we the folk will 'vote' with our feet to other places of worship that are compliant.

**5. Produce a Punitive Bill for Theft of Public Resources:** One of the reasons corruption thrives in Uganda is that it is not a risky venture because existing laws while acclaimed to be some of the best in the region, unfortunately still do not go far enough. To make corruption a risky business, we need a law that turns the burden of proof on the accused. We need a law that allows, in cases where

evidence has been adduced by a respectable institution like the Auditor General and corroborated by Parliament, property to be confiscated of all those implicated in corruption and auctioned. We need a law that can pronounce that for aggravated cases of corruption and collusion as we see in the Pensions Scandal, the OPM Scandal, UPE Scandal and many more, the penalty is life imprisonment.

Most importantly for all the above punitive measures to work, we need a leadership that has a track record and demonstrates commitment to this cause because one of the major reasons corruptions thrives in Uganda today is that our ruling elite are indecisive and in fact accomplices to the theft and wastage of tax payer's money and donor aid. Finally, we need a leadership and government that will implement the law justly and not one that will abuse the law and use it to persecute political nemesis for we shall end up with political prisoners confined to life imprisonment rather than the real thieves.

So for all those that expressed cynicism about the action preferred by civil society that begun by closing off our offices on Monday 12<sup>th</sup> November and the mourning that followed in the course of the week, they had better hold fire. In fact, all Ugandans are asked to join this movement and take action from their different spaces.

A revolution has begun that will build up and free Uganda from grand theft of tax payer's money and foreign aid extended to our people.

Stand and be counted!

# The Scandals

Total loss to theft

**2,500,425,000 Trillions**

2003  
GAVVI

1.6  
Billions

2000

Police payment

1  
Billion

2009  
NAADS

2.7  
Billions

2003

Lost through  
Min of Health

135  
Millions

2009  
NSSF

2.7  
Billions

2011  
Meant for  
Bicycles

5  
Billions

2010  
Lost via  
Posta-Kenya

2  
Billions

2010  
Lost via  
Posta-Kenya

2.5  
Billions

2010  
Lost via IGG's  
Office

9  
Billions

2006  
KCC

2.79  
Billions

2006  
School Facility  
Grand

15  
Billions

2008  
Temangalo

11  
Billions

2012  
Via Office Of  
Prime Minister

22  
Billions

2006  
Via Tri-star  
(cloth making)

20  
Billions

2006  
Meant for UPE

82  
Billions

2003  
Training Ghost  
soldiers

20  
Billions

2011  
Basajja Balaba

169  
Billions

2007  
CHOGM

247  
Billions

2012  
Lost via Educ  
Ministry

375  
Billions

2011  
Identity Cards

205  
Billions

2012  
Pension

150  
Billions

2009  
UMEME  
subsidie fee

155  
Billions

2006  
Global Fund

600  
Billions

2012  
Ghost Firms  
(Min of Finance)

400  
Billions