

# BLACK MONDAY

*Citizen Action Against theft of our money without SHAME!*

## Editorial

That Uganda's largely youthful and child population will stir the country to the future, be it one of gloom or bloom is a closed debate. It is only when we interrogate the ability of our youngsters to take the Nation into a future filled with more promise for all Ugandans that we shudder.

In 2009, the African Development indicators report released by the World Bank showed that youth comprise 83 per cent of the unemployed in Uganda. Uganda is one of the world's highest consumers of alcohol, the gambling or sports betting industry is one of the the fastest growing industry today, the HIV infection rate is now 400 new infections a day and the rate of drug abuse in the country has also shot up. Many of the country's most brilliant young minds now wake up drunk to get drunk - and lay waste in a pool of apathy and despair. Our Youth population has now become a development burden and a security threat to the country.

This 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the Black Monday newsletter is about theft of taxes and the impact it has on the lives of young people. Theft of our money is really theft of **opportunity**. To steal money for schools, roads, hospitals, agricultural equipment and pension is to steal the opportunity for education, economic growth, access to affordable health, livelihood and dignified retirement of Ugandan Citizens.

To stay silent in the midst of this wild theft is to mock history. To condone this loot is to forsake our children. It is indeed, an act of betrayal to God and Country!

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## UNANIMOUS! Youth Reject CORRUPTION, demand ACTION!

| By Black Correspondent



**Stolen money can be invested in critical sectors to offer job opportunities for our youth rather than keep them gambling in Sports Betting**

Anyone who follows the news in Uganda lately would be forgiven for referring to the hourly and daily broadcasts as theft updates! But the news rarely go beyond the polemics of citing a few convictions of sacrificial lambs.

There is a nexus between the theft of public funds, economic development and an opportunity base for the ordinary Ugandan.

"The rising number of unemployed people in Uganda is not a coincidence; many young people graduate from university but are unable to secure jobs due to lack of skills tailored to today's labor market," according to Edna Akullo, a Gender Economist and member of the Young Leaders' Think Tank for Policy Alternatives. Referring to available data, Akullo holds that "youth unemployment has a direct link to the rampant corruption... the loss of over three trillion shillings in corruption in a period of twelve years (2000-2012) is the equivalent of over fifty major industries and thousands of employment opportunities lost to individual pleasures."

She concludes thus: "fifty industries is a lot of entrepreneurial ventures and job opportunities; these would have gone a long way in boosting

economic growth from increased taxes and development of our human resource, particularly Uganda's predominantly young populace. We are losing money that would have otherwise financed our entire budget without borrowing from outside."

When a person is not engaged in production for economic purposes, they become entirely dependent on the state for survival. This is manifested in a plethora of ways including patronage networks, tokenism, tribal and religious enclaves seeking the state's attention and a huge public administration wage bill—all the foregoing three are present in Uganda.

No other venture in Uganda exemplifies this situation as accurately as the Youth Venture Capital Fund which has stoked the fires of disillusionment because it is almost impossible for the youth to access this fund because of the conditions set.

Helena Okiring the Programmes Manager at the Uganda Youth Network (UYONET) decries the fact that "the Fund has so far been a false-dawn. Wherever we have had meetings with the youth across the country that subject has generated rage and confusion."

BLACK MONDAY SPOKE TO A NUMBER OF YOUNG PEOPLE ON THE IMPACT OF THEFT; IT WAS INTERESTING WHAT THEY HAD TO SAY, INCLUDING A CALL FOR THE CASTRATION OF ONE OF UGANDA'S LEADERS... READ ON FOR DETAILS:

\*All interviews were carried out in local dialects and then transcribed in English.

### NAMUWONGO MARKET

The beehive of activity that punctuates any Ugandan market was no less evident from the food market in Namuwongo. The food vendors' laborious day often starts at 1.00 am with offloading food from delivery trucks; the vendors then plough through to dawn, endure the scorching sun and can only retire after dusk.

The fact that this food trade employs hundreds of women means that illnesses and dangers like pneumonia, assault and rape are always lurking in the night. Regardless, Uganda's women and men endure all these hardships and brave these risks in their daily quest to make ends meet.

Black Monday spoke to three young women; one was Madinah, friendly and upbeat; the other was Mama Junior, feisty and reserved; and her twenty one year old sister Stella.

**NOT FOR SALE**

# UNANIMOUS! Youth Reject CORRUPTION, demand ACTION!

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**Q: Are you affected by corruption?**

The response was unanimous; their immediate concern was the daily market dues (*empooza*) which is levied on every vendor by the market's administration ostensibly to improve the market's infrastructure.

At the national level, they expressed their disappointment with what Stella referred to as "lies".

Mama Junior specifically asked me to tell Mzee (President Museveni) to reduce taxes because she does not see the benefits of the taxes she pays. She argued that it would be better if taxes are reduced so that she can remain with money to take her son to school, open another business and meet her basic needs without scraping the bottom of the barrel.

**Q: Who is responsible for the fight against corruption?**

Madinah answered that in the market, it is the Chairman of the market but at the national level, it is the President (whom they kept referring to as Mzee); they wished the President would punish those who steal public funds.

**Q: What would you like to be done?**

Madinah proposed Sharia Law as a good deterrent against theft, citing the Islamic custom of amputation of the hands if one is caught stealing.

Stella wondered why the 'big fish' are never prosecuted to logical conclusion and the funds recovered; she expressed her wish to see all implicated persons punished.

**Q: Would you be a part of the Black Monday Movement?**

Fearful at first, the trio's fears were assuaged when they were told that there was nothing illegal about wearing black on Monday and taking the actions listed in this Bulletin.

## BODA BODA STAGE

The second focus group was a motor cyclists' stage in Wabigalo, a huge slum in Makindye. Although semi-illiterate, this was a very vibrant group of young men with impressing

willingness to understand and act against the vice even though they were initially skeptical about how wearing black was going to fight corruption.

**Q: What should be done to curb the theft of public funds?**

Ssozi's proposed: "Mw'banyankole mulekelaawo okubba!" Loosely translated, it means "you Banyankole should stop stealing public funds." His colleague, a one Muwanguzi countered, asking him whether all the thieves in the OPM scam were Banyankole.

They argued for five minutes before agreeing that a thief is a thief no matter their tribe or religion... and that the law must be applied equally against all thieves.

**Q: Who is responsible?**

The President and the Judges!

**Q: Are you affected by corruption?**

Yes - the route we ply has a very bad road... we often have to repair our motorbikes yet we pay taxes in license fees! Why do we pay taxes if there is no benefit to us?

**Q: Would you join Black Monday?**

Yes! We would gladly join...bring us more flyers and get us shirts if you have any!

## NAMUWONGO CAR GARAGE

The cacophony of sounds from electric drills, hammers, spray painters, spanners among other mechanical contraptions and the distinct smell of grease and fresh car-paint were my first impressions of the garage in Kisugu.

**Q: Do you pay taxes?**

**David:** I do not pay tax;  
**Kyeswa:** "What is wrong with you, David?! Of course you pay tax. There is a tax on everything we buy." He admonished David for thinking that he does not pay tax yet he spends money on food, air-time and other basic necessities.

**Q: What do you know about the theft of public funds?**

**Kyeswa:** "When people are given government cars, they regularly come to the garage to siphon fuel out of the tanks so that they can resell it and then requisition for more."

He expressed his disdain for the theft of money meant for hospitals and said he was very happy when he heard the news of a Minister and MP's conviction and incarceration.

**Q: Who is responsible and what should be done?**

President Yoweri Museveni vowed to fight the scourge; we want our money recovered! There should

be a law which provides for the castration of thieves! This would effectively exterminate the genes of theft from Uganda.

**Q: Would you join the Black Monday Movement?**

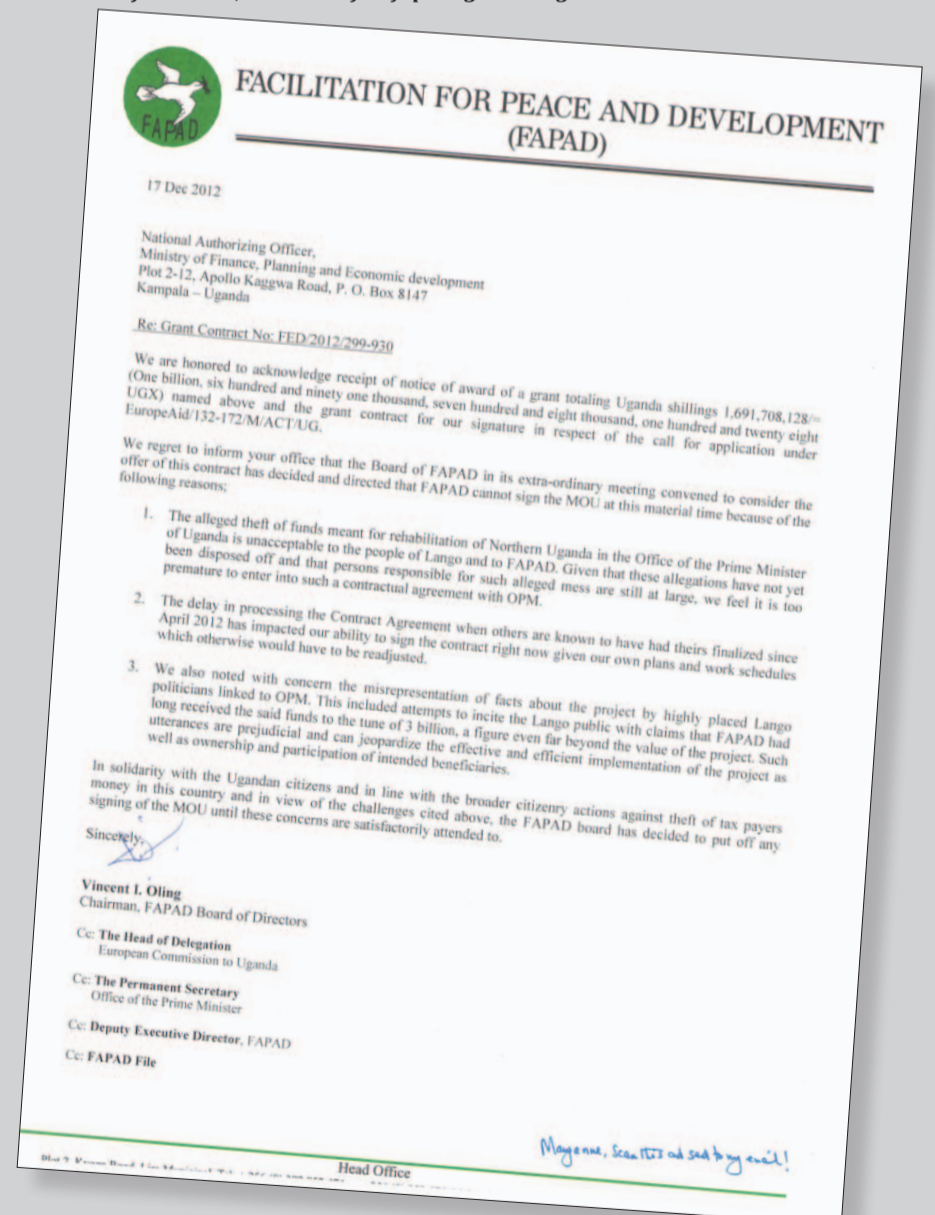
Yes! Give us more flyers for our friends. We shall wear black every Monday; the problem is that our overall jackets are blue in color!

## NGO Rejects OPM Money because of Corruption

In a rare but true demonstration of patriotism and national pride, a small NGO in Northern Uganda called the Facilitation for Peace and Development (FAPAD) has rejected 1.6 Billion Uganda shillings of an EU Grant from the Office of the Prime Minister. In their letter FAPAD, operating in Northern Uganda suggested that they felt constrained to get any money from OPM at this moment because of the scandals about corruption in that public office.

The letter is below:

For more information, contact: [info@fapaduganda.org](mailto:info@fapaduganda.org)



# The BIG Challenge for Students in Uganda

History is rich with innumerable counts of young people and in particular students, who took a bold stand to redirect the course of their world. The world over including Uganda, there have been protests, demonstrations, and marches - not all of them peaceful, that saw university students take leadership roles in the antiwar and civil rights movements.

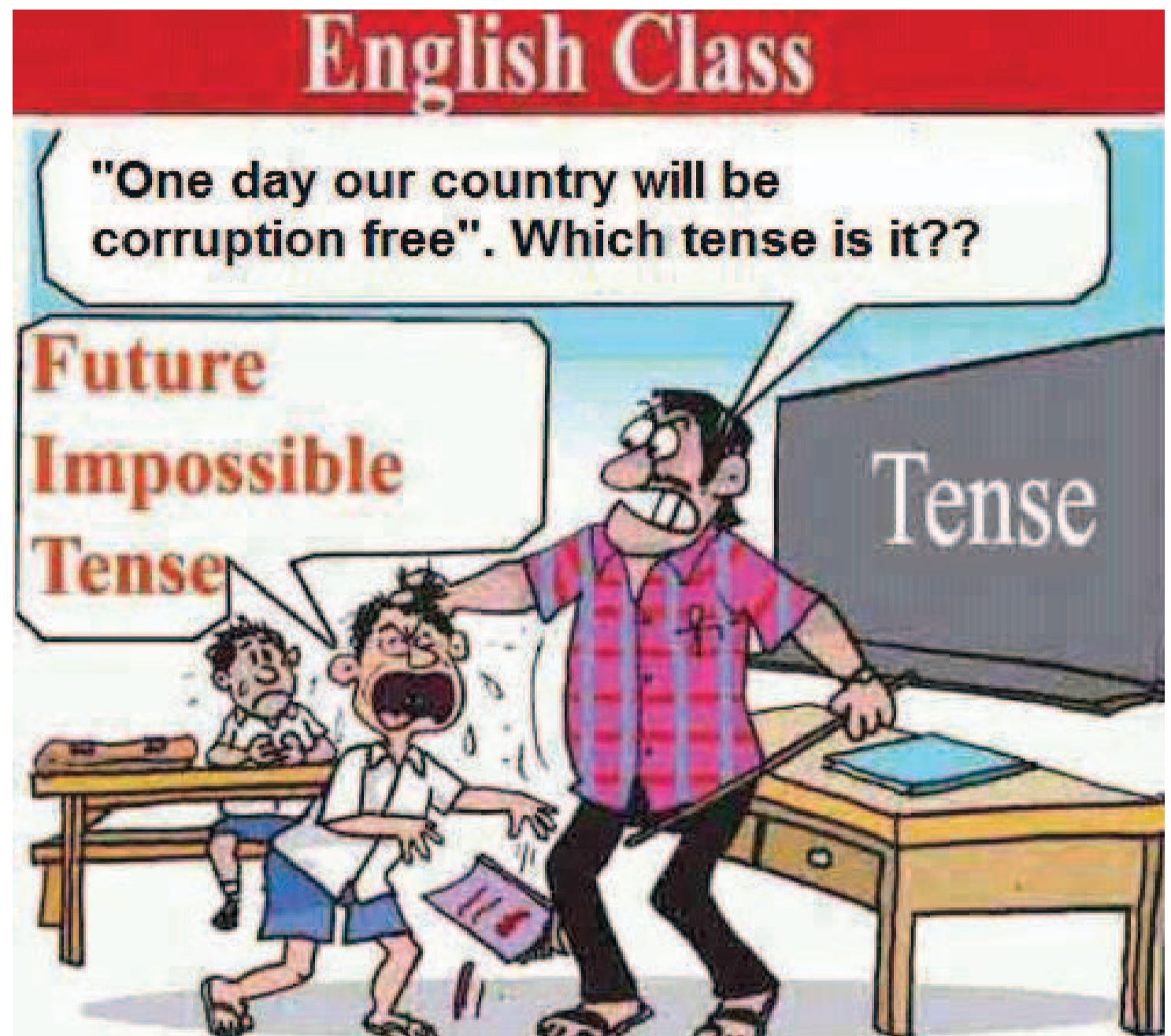
It was actions by students organized in different debate clubs and bodies such as National Union of Students in Uganda that challenged the acts of the Idi Amin regime and contributed to the greater, ongoing struggle to transform our Nation.

Moreover, it is from these actions that student leaders emerged, many of whom are National leaders today, such as Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda, Major General Kahinda Otafiire, Prof. Emmanuel Tumusiime Mutebile and Bishop David Zac Niringiye among others.

In Uganda's later day, student action is seen mainly through demonstrations that end up - violent, leading to brutal arrests, suspension of students and more regret than good - an indicator of the fact that perhaps, students have not yet learned-or been taught to voice their concerns in an intellectually sound manner, or the culture of violence still holds root in our society; that we prefer to amplify our concerns by violence.

Perhaps this disempowering precedence also explains why we hardly see students speak out on topical issues, let alone debate the issues of the day and provide leadership as opinion leaders for this country at all levels. As such, this silence has seen a steady rise in the levels of theft, not so much because students were unaware, but because silence or passiveness when theft of public resources occurs legitimizes theft and fuels it more.

Today, a new generation of knowledge armed, peaceful student activists must emerge to help address some of the most pressing social-economic and political issues of our era: Theft of Public resources and all the effects of this problem like poverty and disease, failed service delivery, increased foreign debt and crisis management of the country as every time it is theft that we are forced to spend our energies responding to, we waste valuable time and resources that would otherwise have been spend on more futuristic endeavors,



like making massive investments in science and technology to improve the lives of our people. The internet revolution and increasing digital literacy, arguably, the hallmark of our time and relatively increased levels of constitutionalism (even though this hangs in a delicate balance now) makes violent action unnecessary, but also rids young people of excuse to remain complacent and apathetic.

To that, it is extremely vital and important that students speak out collectively on national concerns because we have a greater stake than any other group of Ugandans. It is in our interest that our financial institutions are credible, that our resources are efficiently managed, that our education institutions are trusted worldwide, as opposed to being seen as factories that churn out white 'collar thieves', seeing as all named in theft scandals are highly educated Ugandans and that our voices serve to check actions that may yield the contrary. The sooner we deal with

this thieving, the better for us all.

Students, already organized in tribal associations, interact clubs, religious and other social fellowships, coursework and discussion groups, markets vendor networks, SACCOS and on social media groups, name it must speak out against the plague of theft that has diseased our beloved country. Peaceful student action always delivers results because students are hard to ignore if armed with knowledge. The numbers, passion and energy that is at the disposal of young people is very costly to suppress but also, it is simply the duty of a responsible citizen to speak out when they see the nation facing extinction.

Simple actions, be they great or simple, sustained and inspired, are never small-and have never failed! From wearing black to lectures every Monday to simply voicing your thoughts for transformation on your face book wall, writing a poem, articles, calling into radio talk shows, students can

become a voice for reason in our time and surely stamp out this pest called theft!

This peaceful, quiet activism if pursued by today's students may not generate as many headlines as the actions their well-known predecessors did, but it will ultimately have greater impact as they mobilize the edge to transform the core. It is certainly more sustainable too for our future as opposed to violence because we can't keep going back to the bush every time someone says that the emperor is naked.

Students have what it takes to transform this Country and our history confirms this. The question is will the students of our day betray the legacy of students' movements worldwide to effect transformation by remaining passive and apathetic, or true to our legacy: Shall we stand and speak for the Nation in her hour of distress; shall we stand For God and Our Country?

# THE IMPACT OF CORRUPTION



Embezzled Money can give hope to Uganda's youth who have worked hard to attain educational achievements



Stolen money can be invested in critical sectors to offer job opportunities for our youth rather than keep them gambling in Sports Betting



A better future is possible for our youth if government officials

## ENOUGH IS

### Stolen Money can make a difference

# PTION ON THE YOUTH!



*Short lived Excitement! Soon after our graduation, our youth are joining the jobless on the street. Stolen money by government officials can create opportunity for graduates*



*Money is not stolen by*



*Stolen money can get our youth off the streets!*

# S ENOUGH

rence in the lives of our youth!

# “SELLING” LIKE HOT CAKES: Demand for Black Monday Newspaper outstrips supply!

The fight against the theft of public funds undertook an unprecedented strategy on 7th January, 2013. Over twenty leaders of Civil Society Organizations dressed in black, as is the norm every Monday, took to the streets to ‘vend’ copies of the second edition of the Black Monday newspaper. This exercise was carried out across selected high-density traffic points in Kampala, including Acacia Avenue, Jinja road, Nakawa, Kintintale, Ntinda, Kamwokya, Mawanda road, Wandegaya and Clock Tower roundabouts. The vending of Black Monday newspapers which took place between 7:30 am and 8:30 am is but one facet of the multi-pronged effort against this cancerous scourge that has debilitated the Ugandan body politic in more ways than one.

Central to this effort is the need to enlist the participation of all Ugandans. Theft of public funds is rife in just about every government department and is done with impunity. Lives are lost daily to this scourge

and national progress is retarded in every sense of the word yet Ugandans painstakingly meet their daily and monthly tax obligations!

This strategy is informed by the fact that theft of public funds is a cancerous tumour that festers in the dark. It is there important to shine the spotlight on the thieves by quantifying the grand thefts which of recent have graduated from millions to billions. Considering the oil cash flow is about to begin, theft is probably going to hit the trillion shilling mark! This new strategy is therefore intended to increase the information and understanding among citizens by, among other things, plotting the relationship between theft of public funds and poor service delivery, unemployment, inflation and all the other ills that the scourge spawns.

We were heavily encouraged by the public’s response and demand for more information and action. With the exception of a few individuals, partic-

ularly Asians and presumed Ugandans who were driving luxury vehicles, the response to the newspaper was very promising. It is indicative of the general population’s dissatisfaction with government’s lacklustre response towards curbing the vice. Indeed, this was a new frontline against corruption beyond the conventional workshops and hotel seminars!

Regrettably, two CSO leaders and a recipient of the Black Monday Newspaper were apprehended by Police after the distribution. Police attributed the arrest to a tip-off from a caller who allegedly alerted them about subversive materials which upon their own inspection were found to be without such ulterior motive.

After the 7<sup>th</sup> of Jan Black Monday Newspaper distribution, the dissemination was also done in places of worship in and around Kampala. This was completed successfully in many areas such as All saints Cathedral, Victory Church, Christ the

King, Mbuya Catholic Church, except for Rubaga Catholic Church, Rubaga Miracle Centre and Watoto Church in Busega, where seven of the activists were arrested, charged with inciting violence and released on police bond.

For the upcountry distribution, this was done on Monday 14<sup>th</sup> January in the following districts including Bushenyi, Mbarara, Ntungamo, Luweero, Masaka, Kiboga, Mukono, Mpigi, Mbale, Soronko, Hoima, Masindi, Kibaale, Pallisa, Busia, Jinja, Kamuli, Iganga, Kabale, Rukungiri, Kisoro Kanungu, fortportal, Kasese, Kyenyonjo, Karamoja, Mororot, kotido, lira, Apach, Dokolo, Gulu, Kitgum, Pader, Arua, Nebi, Moyo, and Kapchorwa.

The distribution was widely covered by both electronic and print media as well as social media. Feedback from all three mediums of communication was positive and applauded the CSO leadership for invigorating the fight and condemned Police in equal measure..

## Double Theft - Uganda Tax-payers stolen from to pay donors!!

In the wake of the scandalous and infuriating revelations surrounding the theft of OPM monies under the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) by a syndicate of government officials, Development Partners contributing to the programme including Denmark, Ireland, Britain, and Sweden suspended aid and demanded for a refund of the stolen monies from the government of Uganda. Not long the Prime Minister Amama Mbabazi confirmed the demands and affirmed government’s plan to refund the said monies to the respective partners from the consolidated fund.

A refund to Ireland has so far been effected with indications that government is in the process of refunding the other donors. What is clear is government doesn’t own any resources in totality but instead is a custodian on behalf of the citizens that mandate the leadership. Using tax payers’ money to refund stolen monies is the utmost

injustice that a state can vent out on its own citizens.

As Citizens of Uganda, we believe that this fuels impunity and a deliberate move by government to continuously abuse public resources by aiding thieves in retaining the stolen money despite evidence backed by government’s own institutional and legal machinery. Rightly so, the Government of Uganda should be tasked to pay back the stolen money. However shifting this burden to the innocent tax payers to pay for Government’s outright failure to protect funds under its stewardship is ridiculous.

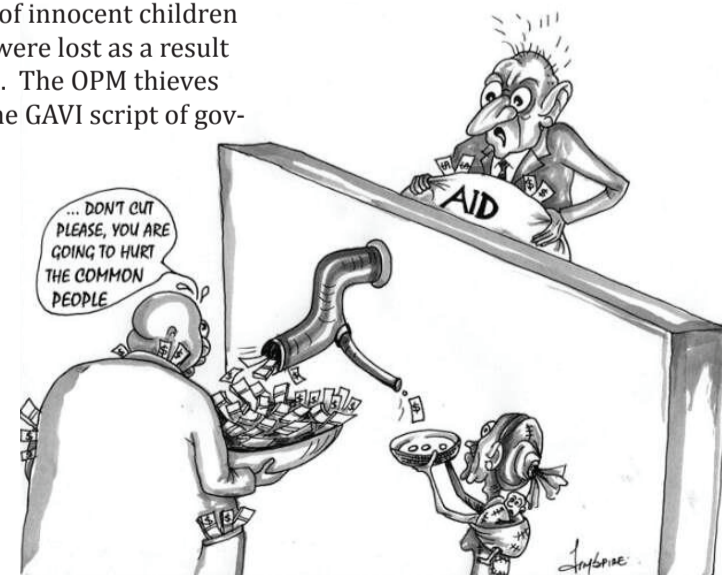
In the same breath the theft should not come as a surprise to donors especially if they have been privy to information relating to rampant corruption scandals involving their monies as well. Therefore the donor’s acceptance of the refund from the Ugandan taxpayers tends to portray double standards,

but also worsens the plight of the impoverished Ugandans and creates a cycle of “Robbing Paul to Pay Peter”

Government already set a bad precedent in 2010 when it cut the health budget to refund Shs.1, 890,000,000 to GAVI in respect to funds that were misappropriated by ministry of health officials. Needless to say, one can only imagine the lives of innocent children and women that were lost as a result of the said refund. The OPM thieves must have read the GAVI script of gov-

ernment reimbursing, to pull of their scam and indeed, government has just done exactly that to reimburse donors using tax payers’ money again!

Ugandans must insist that any money used to refund donors must be recovered from those who have stolen or must be held political responsible for the loss.



## OPINION

## Our Country is being run by thugs!

I would rather starve and rot and keep the privilege of speaking the truth as I see it, than of holding all the offices that government has to give from the presidency down, we all ought to note that the jaws of power are always open to devour, and her arm is always stretched out, if possible, to destroy the freedom of thinking, speaking, and writing, we have witnessed several deaths, several scandals going free while many Ugandans are dying in not only poverty but also being buried alive.

Today in Uganda we have witnessed, deficit spending, Deficit spending is simply a scheme for the hidden confiscation of wealth, and we have seen single individuals being given billions and billions of money more than some ministries can afford. The biggest threat to the Ugandan people today lies with the Ugandan government. The long-term solution is to dismantle, not reform, the iron fist of the welfare state and the controlled economy.

Monetary policy today is guided by little more than government, by the calculations, often mistaken economic theories, and whims of central bankers or, even worse, politicians. Under such a regime, inflation of three or four percent annually has come to be viewed as a stellar monetary performance.

When a legislature decides to steal some of our rights and plans to use police force to accomplish it, what's the real difference between them and the thief? Darn little! They hide behind the excuse that they're legislating democratically. The fact they do it by a majority vote has no moral significance whatsoever. Numerical might does

not constitute right, no more than a lynch mob can justify its act because a majority participated. It is the highest impertinence and presumption, therefore, in kings and ministers to pretend to watch over the economy of private people, and to restrain their expense. They are themselves always, and without exception, the greatest spend-thrifts in the society. Let them look well after their own expense, and they may safely trust private people with theirs.

When men get in the habit of helping themselves to the property of others, they cannot be easily cured of it, and this is what we are seeing with the present government, we ought to keep our heads high and love our country, these men running the country like they won't live tomorrow must be stopped either by reforms or by the power and the will of the people.

Be not intimidated, nor suffer yourselves to be wheedled out of your liberties by any pretense of politeness, delicacy, or decency. These, as they are often used, are but three different names for hypocrisy, chicanery and cowardice, Fear is the foundation of most governments; but it is so sordid and brutal a passion, and renders men in whose breasts it predominates so stupid and miserable, that Ugandans will not be likely to approve of any political institution which is founded on it.

We stand today at a crossroads: One path leads to despair and utter hopelessness. The other leads to total extinction. Let us hope we have the wisdom to make the right choice.

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**We shall not rest  
until this pest  
Called theft  
Has LEFT Our land!  
ENOUGH IS ENOUGH**

## POEM

## IT IS EASY TO FORGET ...

When you are alive,  
It is easy to forget that you will die,  
You believe such things to be reserved for 'others' ...  
The unwanted step-children of gods who did not exist anyway ...

When you are young ...  
It is easy to forget that you will grow old,  
That you will lose the smooth texture of skin,  
Or the milky white of eye ...  
That your beautiful, black flocks of hair will grey one day,  
and your heart will grow weary with lack of ambition ...

You forget that one day,  
You will lose the spring of step ...  
And the innocence of youth ...

You will lose the liberty to dream dreams,  
and a lifetime to chase them ...  
You forget that you will be bald, bent and bitter ...

When you are healthy,  
Well, sane and strong ...  
It is easy to forget the pain of illness ..  
The physical pain ... and the mental pain,  
The anguish of immobility ...  
The dread of impending death...  
And the insane lusting-after life itself..

When you are perpetually conflicted between beef and chicken for dinner,  
It is easy to forget that thousands of fellow citizens have been constantly unsure of their next meal from the day they left the womb ...  
It is easy to forget that 70% of the nation's children will never have the chance of knowing the meaning of the boring word 'black-board' ...

It is easy to forget that the masses of Ugandans 'out-there'  
can only manage half the night's sleep owing to incessant battles with mosquitoes, bed-bugs ... and stomachs grumbling from emptiness ...

When you have gained admission to Makerere ...  
It is easy to forget that you were once 'mortal' ...  
That the blood in your veins isn't of a blue hue ...  
And that your arteries are not pipes of gold-plated steel ...

When you are young,  
And all you think of is girls and boys and toys,  
A good job, money to spend and a life to live ...  
It is easy to forget that your country needs you ...

That by sitting all day and wishing of good times ...  
By refusing to involve yourself in efforts to right the wrongs of society,  
You are effectively betraying your country ...

When you are young,  
It is easy to forget that by not speaking for justice, and writing for justice,  
and walking and marching for justice  
You are effectively as guilty as the corrupt of robbing public funds ...  
As guilty as those parasitic politicians,  
Of killing pregnant mothers due to absence of medicines in our hospitals  
...  
As guilty as the reactionaries,  
Of selling the soul of Uganda to foes yonder ...  
As guilty as they, who when trusted to lead,  
Betray God and Our Country!

Solomon Manzi, *The Lantern Meet of Poets*

**AMOUNT LOST IN OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER**



**22 BILLION**

**(60,000,000 UGX eaten every day for 1 year nonstop)**

**THE IMPACT OF THIS 22B THEFT ON OUR YOUTH**



Unemployable and Unskilled Youth because of poor public education infrastructure in schools as construction money gets eaten.

High crime rates e.g metal bar welders, car vandalism and drug addiction due to idleness caused from no jobs as money that can provide business start up loans and SME financing is eaten

Inter-generational transfer of poverty and inequality

**IF OUR MONEY IS RETURNED, WHAT CAN IT DO FOR OUR YOUTH?**



**Education**

1,222 schools @ at Ugx. 18 m

**Health**

314,285,714,285 doses of Malaria treatment provided @ Ushs.7, 000

**Agriculture**

206 tractors provided @ Ushs.107m hence supporting agribusiness enterprise and creating jobs

## What must we do to get our money back?

Wear only Black clothes every Monday to show you are tired of theft.

until all the thieves have returned our money.

Do not buy goods or services from businesses owned by thieves. Support Ugandans working honestly to make a living.

Isolate every thief implicated in a theft scandal. Don't invite thieves to your burials, events, weddings.

# ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

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