

Yoweri K. Museveni

WHAT IS AFRICA'S PROBLEM?

Foreword by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

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Yoweri K. Museveni

Edited by Elizabeth Kanyogonya

Foreword by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere



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Foreword

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

Uganda became politically independent in October 1962; Yoweri K. Museveni was sworn in as president of the country at the end of January 1986, after his National Resistance Army occupied Kampala. In the intervening period, six different men (Milton Obote on two separate occasions) had been sworn in as president. They included the infamous General Idi Amin, whose eight-year regime of mass murder, cruel and ruthless torture, economic destruction, and deliberately imposed misery still leaves its shadow over the people of Uganda, years after he was overthrown.

The politics, and the political turmoil, of any country are the exclusive business of the people of that nation unless and until they impinge directly on the territorial integrity of another country. Such an instance arose when Idi Amin's army invaded the undefended northwest border of Tanzania in October 1978, and he boasted about the occupation and speed of advance to the Kagera River.

There can be—and indeed are—arguments about whether the United Nations or regional political associations should really allow dictators (however they may have obtained their power) to pursue with impunity policies of crass inhumanity as long as they confine their activities to the helpless victims in their own state. But until now that has been the internationally accepted interpretation of "non-interference in the internal affairs of another sovereign state." It has allowed the Hitlers, the Salazars, the Francos, the Pol Pots, the Bokassas, and the Amins of this century to continue their murderous policies for years—sometimes

even with self-serving external support using the pretext of "normal trading practices."

Yet the legitimacy of external intervention, and if so under what circumstances and who makes a judgment, is a genuine and difficult problem for honest and thoughtful men and women. The world has nearly two hundred sovereign states and each is unique in its history, geographical conditions, culture — or mix of cultures — and its level of economic, social, and political development. What right has the leadership or the people of one nation to judge the political structures or the policies of another — and by what yardstick? And where is the strong nation — or organization — that could be guaranteed never to justify interference in the affairs of others in the light of its own interests, legitimate or otherwise?

Slavery and colonialism have both, in their time, been justified on the grounds of "civilizing the natives." In the last twenty-five years, the world's two superpowers have both claimed to justify self-interested military action against other peoples on grounds of high moral principle. The six former dictators named above were selected from numerous candidates as being unanimously recognized as evil, although during their respective periods of power, such universal condemnation was not achieved. On the contrary, each of them was at least assisted in holding power by the actions of more powerful governments elsewhere, albeit sometimes with distaste, on grounds of necessity or "pragmatism."

The world community will have to face up to this question of "drawing a line" between what is tolerable and what is absolutely unacceptable. It has approached it in its universal verbal condemnation of apartheid, but even there it did not achieve unanimity on effective action to bring apartheid to an end. On the contrary, in order to excuse inaction, undeniable facts were denied by big powers as the regime invaded Angola and tried to destabilize its independent neighbors, contrary to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter. Disinterested international action against murderous and oppressive dictators will only come — perhaps can only come — when there is a world body where all nation-states are really equal and the principles of international responsibility for the future of our planet and all the people in it have become the prevailing sentiments of politics. Efforts have to be made to create such a world.

In the meantime, the avoidance of widespread international conflict, and any kind of progress in a national development effort, both require that governments at least coexist with their current opposite numbers in neighboring states. Yet it is obvious that political and civil instability — as well as oppression — in a neighboring country inhibits normal bilateral relations and makes much-needed subregional economic and social cooperation very difficult, if not impossible. Instability also leads to refugee problems or border area insecurities for neighbors as groups contending for power overflow national boundaries.

Therefore, it is without question in the interests of a nation to have neighbors where internal peace prevails — or is at least being built up through political action. It is also in the interests of all peace-loving nations to have neighbors where development is taking place, and where the economy is being built up on a basis acceptable to the mass of the people because all expect to benefit from it. Neither political stability, freedom, or economic growth can continue in one country unaffected by what happens elsewhere. These things are especially true for the poor and underdeveloped countries of Africa where the borders have no logic, and which need to build cooperation among themselves as part of their struggle to develop.

Further, political stability, freedom, and economic growth are all inextricably linked together in developing countries — the countries of the South. No one of them outlasts the others for long. When poor people are getting even poorer, they will accept any ruler, or support any demagogue who promises them relief from their destitution. When they can keep body and soul together, however, but are denied freedom, they tend to rebel even against the hands of those who feed them. And freedom is, in any case, an essential component of development — part of its meaning when human beings are regarded as the purpose, as well as the means, of development.

The *South Commission Report* states that "true development has to be people-centered." It defines development as

> a process which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfillment. It is a process which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression. Through de-

> velopment, political independence acquires its true significance. And it is a process of growth, a movement essentially springing from within the society that is developing.

Freedom and development are interdependent. If development is about people, who are both individuals and members of a society, there is consequently an organic link between genuine development and democracy. In the longer run neither is sustainable without the other.

> The interests and desires of the South could not be expressed—or known—until the former colonial territories attained independence. Similarly, the people's interests and desires can only be known when they are free—and have the channels—to express them.

Relevant Democracy for America

Freedom and democracy, however, are not commodities that can be just lifted from a shelf and given life. Nor do acts of parliament, or decrees by a benevolent autocrat, bring them into being. Every individual, in all circumstances, desires freedom as well as food and shelter even while he desires and needs to be a member of a community. But when the social fabric of a nation has been fundamentally disrupted by war or civil conflict, by a period of vicious oppression, or by economic disaster, new forms of democratic structure or social cooperation cannot be expected to spring up and be ready for action. In any nation, the forms of democracy—the mechanisms through which political freedom is made effective—must be given time to grow out of the circumstances and cultures of the country concerned.

A nation can draw ideas and learn from experience elsewhere, but only the very foolish (or the very arrogant) believe that there exists a template for a perfect prototype of democracy, which has only to be accurately reproduced in order for democracy to flourish. Forms of truly democratic organization will differ from one country to another.

The mechanisms of democracy are not the meaning of democracy: they are only a means to an end. Democracy means that the people must be able to choose freely those who govern them, and in broad terms determine what the government does in their name. It means that a government must be accountable to the people; it must also be responsive to views expressed freely through a political machinery that the people

can understand and use. They will only understand and use it if that machinery makes sense in terms of their own culture, and is accessible within the framework of their own income and educational levels.

The people of the United States spend many billions of dollars every four years in the process of choosing their president. The supreme courts of the states and the federation are available as a last resort to determine issues of justice, provided that hundreds of thousands of dollars can be raised by the appellants to pursue their case through the judicial systems. Such democratic machinery is of no use in countries where, for example, the per capita GDP is less than five hundred U.S. dollars a year, and the total national income is less than ten billion dollars!

If you desire to transport a heavy load across a quagmire, or up a mountain, you do not use the same vehicle as you would to carry it along a railway or a motorway. It is the same with democracy. Its mechanisms must be designed in accordance with the nature of the country in which it is to operate.

The forms of democracy, and the machinery of democracy, now operative in the countries of Europe and North America have evolved and been developed over many centuries, and it is these powerful and developed countries that now presume to judge the democracy and human rights records of young states in Africa and on the other continents of the South. Yet, as they established and maintained their power in their colonies, they destroyed the indigenous political systems they found, regardless of whether these were good or bad at providing freedom, dignity, and decent living conditions to the people concerned. In the continents of the South, the colonialists created states regardless of geography, history, or indigenous cultures; they governed those states from thousands of miles away until the day of independence. There was, and is, nothing democratic about colonialism: that is a fact.

The newly independent states were poor, linked to an international trading and financial system in which they were more victims than participants, and underdeveloped economically as well as in terms of modern education and skills. For the most part, the new countries were also left with weak and inexperienced administrative systems, and with political institutions that had been put into operation a year or so earlier, modeled on those of Europe. In those conditions, they inherited the

task of building democracy (and often of creating nations) and organizing economic growth.

The surprising thing is not that there has been so much political instability in Africa, but that there has been so much stability, although this fact is less publicized internationally.

Yet the fact remains that development in freedom is now our responsibility—ours in Africa and elsewhere in the South. Where there has been instability and oppression, it is our responsibility to overcome them and to build political systems and democratic mechanisms that can serve our needs because they accord with our circumstances and our cultures. Our inheritance and our difficult economic conditions must not blind us to the need to build democracy as an integral part of our development struggle. Freedom, democracy, and the economic well-being of the people are inextricably linked.

Uganda Now Has a Chance

Since 1986, President Yoweri Museveni has been at the head of a country faced with the task of ending years of conflict and instability and replacing them with peace, freedom, and development. He became president because he was the leader of a victorious guerrilla army, having had but a short experience in ministerial office after the fall of Idi Amin. What he has been trying to achieve must be judged by what he says—in the speeches of this book and elsewhere. What he has already achieved can be seen by any honest person who knew Uganda in 1985 and who knows it now. The only thing I have the right to say is that Tanzania now has greater opportunities to develop itself, and much less excuse than formerly for any failure to exploit to the full the possibilities of bilateral cooperation across the Ugandan-Tanzanian border.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with any particular measures taken by the Uganda government under his leadership, no one can deny that Yoweri Museveni is a serious person, dealing seriously with very difficult problems. From the President's Office, it is not easy to keep close to the people so that mutual understanding and support can be created and maintained. The most humble, democratically elected leader, just like the most power-hungry dictator and anyone else holding the top position of power in his country, has to depend on others for much of

the information required for intelligent decision making: not all informants always tell the truth, or indeed understand it themselves. But President Museveni is one of the leaders who tries to keep in direct touch with the people — to listen, to explain, and to teach. An attempt to build appropriate political institutions through which the people can exert power has begun.

On a visit to Kampala in 1987, I was very much impressed when I saw a television program in which President Museveni was standing, chalk in hand before a blackboard, explaining the ABCs of economics to members of the National Resistance Council (the country's new legislature). It was being watched with close attention by the workers in the hotel — it was they who drew my attention to it. I was impressed because the reality of Africa requires a teaching head of state much more than populist rhetoric or displays of pomp and ceremony. Teaching involves speaking in a language that can be understood without falsifying the facts underlying the message you have to transmit. It also involves listening and answering questions, as well as speaking. President Museveni seemed to me, then, to accept and meet these basics of being a good teacher.

President Museveni remains unimpressed by those who blame tribalism or religious bigotry for the sins of bankrupt politicians. I believe, and I said so publicly in Uganda, that under his leadership Uganda had a better chance for national development than she has ever had since independence. (One day someone will write a book on Uganda's lost decades.) He is also a committed pan-Africanist, and it is my hope that our leaders in East Africa will want to take another look at regional cooperation. Uganda was not responsible for the collapse of the East African Community, but had there been a normal government in Uganda at that critical moment in history, I believe it would have been possible to save it from collapse. It is not possible to put the Community back as it was, but East African cooperation is imperative. Our leaders can and should try again.

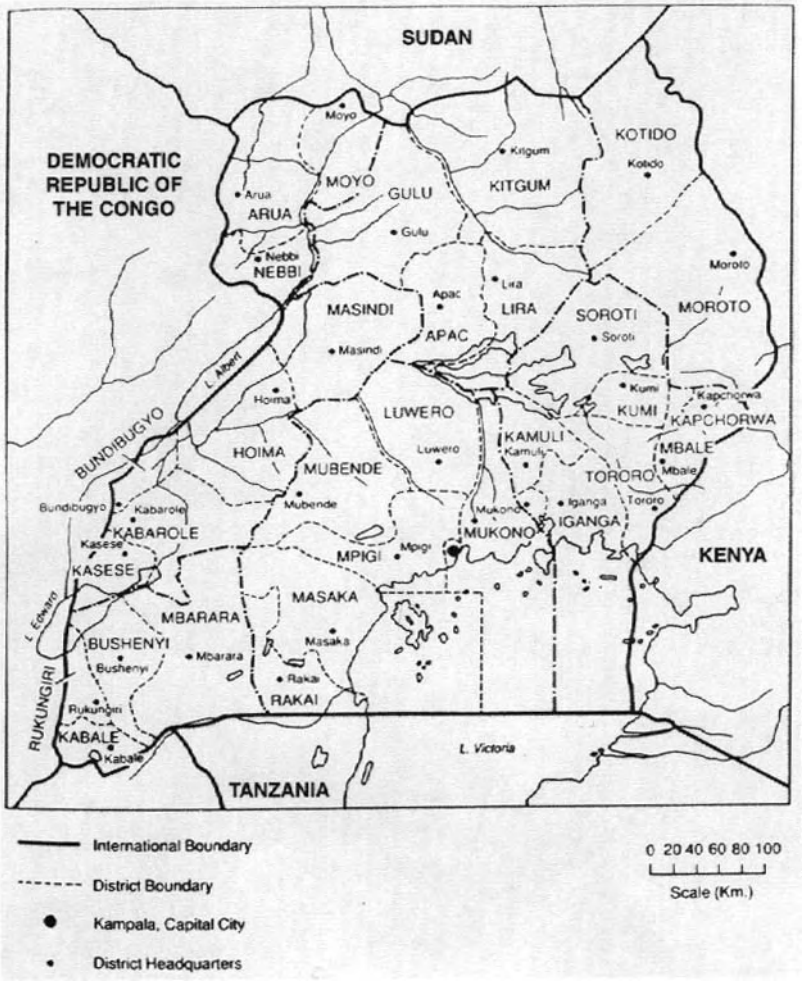
Some of the speeches in this book were very topical when they were made: their interest now lies in the manner in which he approached his task in the early days of power. But other speeches indicate the principles that he was at the time trying to apply to the circumstances and condi-

tions of his country, and give some indication of what these were. To a large extent the same circumstances still exist: it takes more than five years to transform any country — still more a country that was coming out of years of internal conflict. Some of the speeches are as relevant now — and will be next decade — as when they were delivered: they deal with serious and continuing issues about relationships between nations and peoples.

Taken together, the speeches deal at greater or lesser length with some of the major issues of development and the major tasks facing Uganda and Africa. They do not claim to be philosophical treatises, although philosophy is there too. They are clearly expressed and it is easy to understand what Yoweri Museveni is saying.

These speeches are worth reading and studying. I am happy that they are being collected together and made more widely available.

Uganda


SUDAN
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
KENYA
TANZANIA
L. Albert
L. Victoria
L. Edward
Moyo
Kitgum
Kotido
Arua
Gulu
Nebbi
Moroto
Apac
Lira
Masindi
Hoima
Luwero
Kumi
Kapchorwa
Mbale
Soroti
Mubende
Kamuli
Mukono
Iganga
Tororo
Bundibugyo
Kabarole
Kasese
Mpigi
Masaka
Mbarara
Bushenyi
Rakai
Rukungiri
Kabale
MOYO
ARUA
GULU
KITGUM
KOTIDO
NEBBI
MASINDI
APAC
LIRA
SOROTI
MOROTO
BUNDIBUGYO
HOIMA
LUWERO
KAMULI
KUMI
KAPCHORWA
MBALE
MUBENDE
TORORO
KABAROLE
IGANGA
MUKONO
KASESE
MPIGI
MASAKA
MBARARA
BUSHENYI
RAKAI
RUKUNGIRI
KABALE
International Boundary
District Boundary
Kampala, Capital City
District Headquarters
0 20 40 60 80 100
Scale (Km.)

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Abbreviations

ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific nations
AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
APC	armored personnel carrier
BN	battalion
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party)
CO	commanding officer
CP	Conservative Party
DP	Democratic Party
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
Frelimo	Front for National Liberation of Mozambique
Fronasa	Front for National Salvation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	gross domestic product
GNP	gross national product
GPMG	general purpose machine gun
KY	Kabaka Yekka (King Only Party)
MUASA	Makerere University Academic Staff Association
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OAU	Organization of African Unity

PAC	Pan-African Congress
PC	political commissar
PTA	Preferential Trade Area (of Eastern and Southern African States)
RC	Resistance Council/Committee/Councillor
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
STD	sexually transmitted disease
TANU	Tanzania African National Union
TASO	The AIDS Support Organization
TPDF	Tanzanian People's Defense Force
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPM	Uganda Patriotic Movement
WHO	World Health Organization

Glossary

gombolola	subcountry
magendo	parallel market
muluka	parish
mwananchi	citizen
recce	reconnaissance
saza	county
wananchi	citizens

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Key Political Events in Uganda

October 1962	Independence from British rule with Apolo Milton Obote as prime minister and the King of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, as president.
August 1964	Termination of alliance between KY and UPC independence coalition.
February 1966	Suspension by Obote of 1962 constitution.
April 1966	Obote declares himself executive president.
May 1966	Colonel Idi Amin leads army to overrun the palace of Kabaka, who flees to London.
September 1970	Obote strips Major General Amin of most of his powers.
January 1971	Idi Amin overthrows Obote.
July 1971	Amin visits Israel and Britain.
August 1972	Amin expels Asians.
September 1972	Unsuccessful invasion from Tanzania by Ugandan exile groups.
July 1975	Amin hosts OAU Summit in Kampala and is elected chairman for one year.
July 1976	Entebbe Airport raid by Israeli commandos to rescue hostages taken by Palestinians.
February 1977	Archbishop Janani Luwum murdered along with two cabinet ministers.
October 1978	TPDF spearheads counteroffensive to retaliate against Amin's annexation of Kagera Salient in northern Tanzania.

April 1979	Amin overthrown by a combination of TPDF and UNLF. Yusuf Lule becomes president of UNLF coalition.
June 1979	Godfrey Binaisa appointed by UNLF to replace Lule.
May 1980	Binaisa overthrown and replaced by military commission headed by Paulo Muwanga. Yoweri Museveni vice-chairman of commission.
December 1980	General election results rigged and Obote returns to power.
February 1981	Museveni starts war of resistance against Obote regime with twenty-six men.
July 1985	Obote overthrown by forces led by Brigadier Bazilio Olara Okello. General Tito Okello becomes head of ruling Military Council.
August 1985	Peace talks in Nairobi, Kenya, between Military Council and NRM. Peace accord signed in December.
January 1986	Military Council overthrown by NRA. NRM sets itself four-year term of rule.
February 1989	Elections to the National Resistance Council (parliament).
January 1990	Beginning of five-year extension of NRM government.
February 1991	ACP/EEC Joint Assembly held in Kampala.
March 1992	National elections from village to district Resistance Councils.
Late 1992	Constituent Assembly debates new constitution based on proposals collected by Constitutional Commission.

Profile of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

Elizabeth Kanyogonya

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni became President of the Republic of Uganda on January 26, 1986, after leading a successful five-year guerrilla struggle against the regimes of Milton Obote and Tito Okello. He formed a broad-based government in which formerly hostile factions were brought under the unifying influence of the National Resistance Movement (NRM).

Museveni, who has been politically active since his student days at Ntare School, Mbarara, in southwest Uganda, studied political science at the University of Dar es Salaam, graduating in 1970 with a bachelor of arts degree. After Idi Amin's coup in 1971, Museveni was instrumental in forming Fronasa (the Front for National Salvation). Fronasa made up the core of one of the Ugandan fighting groups that, together with the Tanzanian People's Defense Forces, ousted Amin's regime in April 1979.

The NRA Was Unique in Africa

In the governments that succeeded Amin, Museveni served briefly as minister of defense, minister of regional cooperation, and vice-chairman of the Military Commission. In December 1980, the country's first general elections in twenty years were held and they were rigged by Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress Party. During the election campaign, Museveni had warned that if the elections were rigged, he would fight Obote's regime and on February 6, 1981, he launched the guerrilla struggle. He started with only twenty-seven guns and organized the National Resistance Army (NRA) to oppose the tyranny that Obote's regime had unleashed upon the population.

The NRA (now renamed the Uganda People's Defense Forces) is unique in Africa for being the only guerrilla force to take over power without external support. Its main camps were based only twenty miles from the capital, Kampala. This demonstrated how the NRA leadership was, in extremely difficult circumstances, capable of achieving sophisticated levels of organizational discipline and techniques for managing both soldiers and civilians.

Early Political Awareness

Yoweri Museveni was born in 1944, during the Second World War. His name was taken from the Abaseveni, who were Ugandan servicemen in the Seventh Battalion of the King's African Rifles, into which many East Africans had been drafted. He was born in a peasant pastoralist background in Ankole, western Uganda. Because the peasants in his home area were nomads, their children did not go to school and modern ideas about animal husbandry, hygiene, and health care did not percolate through to them. In addition, they were exploited and oppressed by land policies, such as ranching schemes, which displaced them from their traditional lands. Such policies were instituted by the British colonialists and supported first by local collaborator chiefs and later by neocolonialist independence politicians.

Because of his background and his early determination to fight against political and social injustices, Museveni decided in 1966 to lead a campaign telling the peasants in northern Ankole to fence their land and refuse to vacate it. The campaign was largely successful and his political awareness and activity became more focused during the three years, 1967 to 1970, that he spent at the University of Dar es Salaam. His wide reading, which covered Fanon, Lenin, Marx, Rodney, and Mao, as well as liberal Western thinkers such as Galbraith, shaped his intellectual and political outlook.

Compared to other universities in the region, Dar es Salaam had a very good, progressive atmosphere that gave the students a chance to become familiar with Pan-Africanist and anticolonialist ideas. In 1967, students from Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Uganda formed the University Students African Revolutionary Front (USARF) and Museveni was elected its chairman for the whole time he

was at the university. USARF identified closely with African liberation movements, especially Frelimo in Mozambique.

Pragmatic Nationalist Politician

Although President Museveni is a man with very strong views and a keen sense of right and wrong, his political vision of how to lay a foundation for reconciliation and national harmony enabled him to accommodate people with views and attitudes that sometimes ran directly counter to his own. He formed a broad-based government in an attempt to demonstrate to Ugandans that although they had different political, social, and religious backgrounds, they had a lot in common. This was contrary to the divide-and-rule tactics previous politicians had used to fragment society.

He took pains to explain that the typical Third World problems of poverty, illiteracy, disease, and general backwardness had nothing to do with one's religion or ethnic origin. The NRM's guiding Ten-Point Program, which was debated and agreed upon under his chairmanship in 1982 during the bush war, set out to redress the political and social wrongs that had been inflicted on the Ugandan people for two and a half decades. He says: "The National Resistance Movement has an unwavering commitment to respect of human rights and the sanctity of life. We waged a protracted war against tyranny on a platform of restoring personal freedoms and the amelioration of the socioeconomic conditions and our people: that is the cornerstone of our program."

International Statesman

President Museveni is a fervent believer in regional cooperation and he has worked hard toward reviving East African cooperation. He believes that African countries, many of which have very small populations, are not viable economic or political entities in a world where more powerful states, like those in Western Europe, are forming ever more powerful blocs. The three East African nations of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania launched the East African Cooperation secretariat in 1996 in Arusha, Tanzania, to spearhead the political, economic, and social integration of East Africa. Museveni played a big role in this initiative.

He has traveled widely throughout Africa and the Eastern and Western worlds—from North Korea and China to the United States, and from the former Yugoslavia to the United Kingdom—establishing relations and contacts with governments of all persuasions. He typically takes a very independent political stand and says: "We take from every system what is best for us and we reject what is bad for us. We do not judge the economic programs of other nations because we believe each nation knows best how to address the needs of its people. The NRM is neither pro-West nor pro-East: it is pro-Uganda."

In July 1990, President Museveni was elected the chairman of the Organization of African Unity for the year 1990–91. As he said in his acceptance speech, this was a vote of confidence in the efforts of the National Resistance Movement to build a just society with a democratic and economically viable future for the nation. The general consensus both at home and abroad, however, was that his election was a vote of confidence in the man himself. It showed that after only four and a half years in office, he was already an international statesman of considerable standing.

A New Constitution for Uganda

When the National Resistance Movement came to power in 1986, it started working methodically toward taking Uganda back to the constitutional work it had been diverted from by the past regimes. A Constitutional Commission was instituted to gather views from Ugandans throughout the whole country. After two years' work gathering the people's views, the commission produced a report from which a draft constitution was extracted, and a Constituent Assembly was elected and charged with debating and enacting a new constitution.

When the Constituent Assembly was opened on May 18, 1994, President Museveni challenged the delegates: "We must ensure that our political institutions spring from our social structure. If we are to develop, we must evolve institutional models which will liberate us from our backwardness. We must modernize our societies and lay the foundation for industrialization. We cannot modernize, industrialize, or develop without creating an appropriate institutional framework within which to

work. It is the historic responsibility of this Constituent Assembly to set our country on the path to development and prosperity."

Delegates arrived at decisions either by consensus or majority vote. The President advised delegates to combine flexibility on contentious issues with distinguishing between subjective demands and the objective realities that faced the country. The process culminated in the promulgation of a new constitution on October 8, 1995. Museveni says: "The NRM has been like a political doctor trying to solve the problems of Uganda. In order to treat a disease, however, you must first of all diagnose the illness." Most Ugandans agree that the new constitution went a long way toward healing the political and social afflictions that had plagued the country since independence.

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Part I

Ugandan Politics

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ONE

Ours Is a Fundamental Change

No one should think that what is happening today is a mere change of guard: it is a fundamental change in the politics of our country. In Africa, we have seen so many changes that change, as such, is nothing short of mere turmoil. We have had one group getting rid of another one, only for it to turn out to be worse than the group it displaced. Please do not count us in that group of people: the National Resistance Movement is a clearheaded movement with clear objectives and a good membership.

Of course, we may have some bad elements amongst us—this is because we are part and parcel of Ugandan society as it is, and we may, therefore, not be able completely to guard against infiltration by wrong elements. It is, however, our deliberate policy to ensure that we uplift the quality of politics in our country. We are quite different from the previous people in power, who encouraged evil instead of trying to fight it.

You may not be familiar with our program, since you did not have access to it while we were in the bush so I shall outline a few of its salient points (see appendix). The first point in our program is the restoration of democracy. The people of Africa—the people of Uganda—are entitled to democratic government. It is not a favor from any government: it is the right of the people of Africa to have democratic government. The sovereign power in the land must be the population, not the government. The government should not be the master, but the servant of the people.

President Museveni's swearing-in address, January 29, 1986.

In our liberated zones, the first thing we started with was the election of village Resistance Committees. My mother, for instance, cannot go to parliament; but she can, surely, become a member of a committee so that she, too, can make her views heard. We have, therefore, set up village, *muluka, gombolola,* and district committees. Later we shall set up a national parliament directly elected by the people. This way we shall have both committee and parliamentary democracy. We don't want to elect people who will change sides once they are in parliament. If you want to change sides, you must go back and seek the mandate of the people who elected you. Some of these points are for the future, but right now I want to emphasize that the first point in our political program is democracy for the people of Uganda. It is a birthright to which all the people of Uganda are entitled.

The committees we have set up in these zones have a lot of power. You cannot, for instance, join the army or the police without being cleared by the village committee. You must get a recommendation from the people in your village to say that you are not a rogue. Hence, the soldiers who are joining us from other armies will have to be referred back to their villages for recommendation. The same applies to the police.

Suppose, for instance, that we want to recruit some five hundred soldiers from the District of Rakai and say ten thousand youths in the area apply to join. If five thousand of those are cleared by their area committees as people of good character, the selecting military team will choose the most physically fit from among those, and we shall end up with an army that is both of good character and good physical condition. This is an example of some of the work to be done by the village committees.

Another important aspect of the committees is that they should serve as a citizens' intelligence system. If I go to address a rally in Semuto, Kapeka, or Nakaseke, I shall first meet the *muluka* and *gombolola* committees in the area. They will tell me whether the *muluka* chiefs are thieves, or whether the hospital personnel are selling drugs, or whether there are soldiers in the area who are misbehaving. They are thus able to act as watchdogs for the population and guard against the misuse of power.

Security of Person and Property

The second point in our program is the security of person and property. Every person in Uganda must be absolutely secure to live wherever he or she wishes. Any individual or any group of persons who threatens the security of our people must be smashed without mercy. The people of Uganda should only die from natural causes that are beyond our control, but not at the hands of fellow citizens who continue to walk the length and breadth of our land freely.

When we were in Nairobi during the peace talks, it was a very painful experience sitting in a room with criminals across the table. I was advised that being a leader, you have to be diplomatic. This prompted me to ask: "But does diplomacy apply to criminals as well?" to which the answer was, "Yes." I saw then that the whole process was a farce. We tried peacefully to push the case that the Amin elements, and people like Bazilio Okello, who had killed people in broad daylight, must be excluded from government. Our voice, however, was a lonely one because there were so many pressures from the international community, which is interested only in trade. They do not care how many skeletons we have in Uganda: all they care about is for the road to be opened so that their goods can have free passage.

We, therefore, made our position very clear: we were not going to take part in any government that included and involved criminals. Unfortunately these people believed they had tricked us. Tito Okello, for instance, came back saying that my signing the agreement showed that they had removed the teeth from the *salambwa* (poisonous snake). Our position, however, has always been very clear. If you play tricks with us, we shall play tricks with you; if you are honest with us, we shall be honest with you; if you are violent against us, we shall be violent against you. We are people who pay others in their own currency and we never use cowardly tactics.

When I was in the bush, I had a lot of pressure from people who said that we should assassinate people like Obote, Muwanga, and Bazilio. I disagreed because I argued that when you assassinate people like that, you turn them into martyrs and heroes. What you need is to develop enough strength to enable you to sweep that kind of garbage to where

it belongs: on the dungheap of history. Why should anybody bother to kill small people like Bazilio? You may kill Bazilio Okello, but you will be left with many other Bazilios.

Therefore, the security of the people of Uganda is their right and not a favor bestowed by any regime. No regime has a right to kill any citizen of this country, or to beat any citizen at a roadblock. We make it clear to our soldiers that if they abuse any citizen, the punishment they will receive will teach them a lesson. As for killing people—if you kill a citizen, you yourself will be killed. During our struggle, we executed five soldiers of the National Resistance Army for killing people in Bulemezi, Ngoma, and Fort Portal. One of these soldiers had killed a doctor in order to steal his money.

What, on the other hand, has been happening in Kampala? Recently, people were massacred in Luwero and a high-powered delegation was sent there: you know these so-called high-powered delegations led by excellencies and honorables, etcetera. Personally, I do not like being called "Excellency." People in Bulemezi call me Yoweri or *Mzee wa Kazi*. Now, these excellencies, and honorable ministers, and high-ranking military personnel, and what-have-you went to Luwero. Can you imagine what they did?

We were told that they had transferred the person who had killed the people in Luwero to another station! Can you imagine? Someone kills a hundred, fifty, or even two people and you say you have transferred him to another area? It was suggested that the solution to some of our problems would be for Kampala to be completely demilitarized. So I asked: "Where are you going to take these criminal soldiers? Even if you take them to a national park they will kill the animals there!" The solution, therefore, is to put criminal soldiers where they belong: in prison.

Unity versus Sectarianism

The third point in our program is the question of the unity of our country. Past regimes have used sectarianism to divide people along religious and tribal lines. But why should religion be considered a political matter? Religious matters are between you and your god. Politics is about the provision of roads, water, drugs in hospitals, and schools for children.

Take the road from here, Parliament Buildings, to Republic House. This road is so bad that if a pregnant woman travels on it, I am sure she will have a miscarriage! Now, does that road harm only Catholics and spare Protestants? Is it a bad road only for Moslems and not for Christians, or for Acholis and not for Baganda? That road is bad and it is bad for everyone. All the users of that road should have one common aspiration: to have it repaired. How do you become divided on the basis of religion or tribe if your interests, problems, and aspirations are similar? Don't you see that people who divide you are only using you for their own interests — interests not connected with that road? They are simply opportunists who have no program and all they do is work on cheap platforms of division because they have nothing constructive to offer the people.

Our movement is strong because it has solved the problem division: we do not tolerate religious and tribal divisions in our movement, or divisions along party lines such as UPC, DP, UMP, and the like. Everyone is welcome on an equal basis. That is why you find that when our army goes to Buganda, the people there call it *amagye gaffe, abaana baffe.* When it goes to the West, it is *amahe gaitu abaana baitu,* which means that wherever the NRA goes, it is called "our army, our children." Recently, Buloba was captured by our army, and the commander in charge of the group was an officer called Okecho. He comes from Pakwach in West Nile. Therefore, the so-called division between the north and south is only in people's heads. Those who are still hoping to use it are going to be disappointed. They ought to dig a large grave for such aspirations and bury them. Masindi was captured by our soldiers led by Peter Kerim: he, too, is from West Nile. Doctor Ronald Batta here, who is from Madi, has been our Director of Medical Services for all these years in the bush.

Obote tried to propagate the idea that there was a division between the Bantus and the Nilotics and that if the Bantus took over, the Nilotics would be wiped out. We have, however, exposed him. Whenever, we captured soldiers from Acholi, Lango, and elsewhere, we would treat them well and then release them. Obote would be surprised and he would ask: "Were you really captured? Did you see Museveni? Were you really not beaten?" Once we captured the police commander of Masindi, a man

called Gala. I talked to him and another man called Epigo, also from Masindi. When we released them and Epigo got back to Obote, Obote did not like what Epigo had to say: that the National Resistance Army was not a tribal army as the Obote government had been trying to make out. So Obote locked Epigo up in Luzira Maximum Security Prison because he did not want to hear the truth about our movement and army.

There is, in philosophy, something called obscurantism, a phenomenon where ideas are deliberately obscured so that what is false appears to be true and vice versa. We in the NRM are not interested in the politics of obscurantism: we want to get to the heart of the matter and find out what the problem is. Being a leader is like being a medical doctor. A medical doctor must diagnose his patient's disease before he can prescribe treatment. Similarly, a political leader must diagnose correctly the ills of society. A doctor who does not diagnose his patient's disease adequately is nothing but a quack. In politics we have also got quacks—and Uganda has had a lot of political quacks over the past two decades or so.

Regional Cooperation

I also want to talk about cooperation with other countries, especially in our region. One of our weaknesses in Africa is a small market because we don't have enough people to consume what we produce. Originally we had an East African market, but it was messed up by the excellencies and honorable ministers. It will be a cardinal point in our program to ensure that we encourage cooperation in economic matters, especially in transport and communication within the East African region. This will enable us to develop this area. We want our people to be able to afford shoes. The honorable excellency who is going to the United Nations in executive jets, but has a population at home of 90 percent walking barefoot, is nothing but a pathetic spectacle. Yet this excellency may be busy trying to compete with Reagan and Gorbachev to show them that he, too, is an excellency.

These are some of the points in our political program. As time goes on, we shall expand more on them.

To conclude, I am appealing to those people who are trying to resist us to come and join us because they will be integrated. They should

not waste their time trying to fight us because they cannot defeat us. If they could not defeat us when there were just twenty-seven of us with twenty-seven guns, how can they defeat this army that you saw here?

They cannot defeat us, first of all, because we have a correct line in politics that attracts everyone. Second, we have a correct line of organization. Third, our tactics are correct. We have never made a mistake either in strategy or tactical calculation. I am, therefore, appealing to these people not to spill more blood, especially of the young men who are being misled by older people who should know better.

TWO

The Price of Bad Leadership

I am very glad to be in Gulu, but I am sorry that I have to speak to you in English. This is because our leaders in the past did not encourage or foster a national language. I sound silly when I talk to my people in English when there are African languages that can be easily learned by all of us. Owing to the bankruptcy of the leadership over the past twenty-four years, no effort has been made to develop a national language. So when I am speaking to my people, I have to speak in English as if I were a colonial governor. Uganda has been very unfortunate in having particularly bad leaders.

In spite of good agricultural land, inexhaustible hydroelectric power resources, fisheries, timber, animal resources, minerals, and a very rigorous population, Uganda is not developing: instead it is going backward. Countries that were behind us in development, like Kenya, Tanzania, and Rwanda, are now ahead of us. Over the past twenty-four years, we have lost an estimated eight hundred thousand people, in addition to those dying of disease, neglect, natural causes, and accidents. If you go to a place like Luwero now, you will see skeletons and skulls upon skulls of human beings.

In one place called Kiboga, where there was a unit of the Obote/Okello Army stationed at a *saza* headquarters compound, we collected 237 skulls from there alone. These people were in their trenches, eating and drinking with 237 skulls of their victims around them. We had the

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Address to elders in Gulu at Acholi Inn, March 12, 1986.

same experience in Bukomero, Lwamata, Kaya's farm, Nakaseke, Mityana, Masulita, and Kakiri. All these places are in the Luwero Triangle. If you saw these skulls, you would understand why we fought Obote, Okello, and the rest. I will tell you one story I heard in Ngoma subcounty, in Luwero District.

Murder and Tyranny

Some soldiers had attacked a village and abducted some women. When they were crossing River Itoha, some babies were making too much noise. The soldiers took one baby and bashed him on the ground, telling the woman not to worry since she was going to produce more babies fathered by the soldiers themselves.

Another incident in Semuto, Makulubita subcounty, involved the grandchild of a man called Kalibala. This man, whom I knew well, was about seventy years old. They arrested Kalibala with his grandchild. As they were driving them toward Luwero town, the child started crying. They bashed the child on the head for causing a disturbance. Kalibala was so heartbroken that he could not move. They cut him with a *panga* and left the pieces there. These are the things that have been happening in Uganda because of the leadership of useless people like Obote, Amin, Okello, and Muwanga.

Although Lule and Binaisa were not themselves encouraging or instigating these killings, they failed to control or stop them. Even Tito Okello, I am sure, never ordered that anyone be killed; but like Lule and Binaisa, he failed to stop the soldiers from murdering people. I cannot say the same of Bazilio Okello. So over the past twenty-four years, people have been killed, the economy destroyed, the dignity of our country violated, and people have lived in misery, until some were ashamed to call themselves Ugandans whenever they were abroad. Uganda had become a byword for murder and tyranny.

Ugandans had become so dehumanized that when we took over Kampala, the first thing people did was to thank us that they were no longer being killed, as if being killed was the normal thing. One lady who came to Kampala from Moyo District through Zaire told me that it was so surprising that our soldiers were so humble, you would not think they were soldiers. I told her that our soldiers are trained and compelled to

be humble to the people and show their *ukali* (harshness) only to the enemy. The spear always points to the enemy, not to its owner, or the person it is supposed to defend.

Obote and Amin's Legacies M7s life in late 70s

During the 1966 crisis when Obote was quarreling with Mutesa, Obote's army massacred many people. If Mutesa is having a political quarrel with Obote, what does the population have to do with it and why kill them? I do not agree with the proverb that when two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers. If people are rioting you can arrest them and put them in prison. The government has a lot of power to deal with rioting people and means to control crowds without killing them.

Amin was supposed to have been dismissed from the army, but Obote protected him instead. So he took over power and killed people for eight years, especially people from Acholi and Lango. Some of us fought Amin for eight years until we removed him from power, but other fellows in our alliance had the wrong motives. However, since we did not have complete control of the situation, some elements of the alliance that removed Amin started killing people right from 1979. Evidence was coming in pointing to the Obote group, but leaders were weak and they could not do anything decisive to control the situation. Some of us tried at first to take a position against the crimes of that period, but Obote's group, allied with Binaisa, removed me from the Ministry of Defense so that they could have complete control of the army and use it to cause trouble in the country. They succeeded and made illegal recruitments into the army, just giving soldiers uniforms whether they were trained or not. So the forces that had been a liberation army ended up becoming a gang of murderers, like Amin's army had been.

In 1980, I was vice-chairman of the then ruling Military Commission under Muwanga. One day I went to Kireka with my wife and child and I was arrested at a roadblock. I was made to squat on the ground for five hours and I was mistreated because I did not speak Acholi. These soldiers were acting on the orders of their superiors. However, the salient point to note is that if the second-in-command in the country could be so mistreated and humiliated, what sort of a country were such people trying to build? Whom will such people respect? Are you going to be

surprised then if they kill villagers? Or if they rape women? If you teach them not to respect the vice-president of the country merely because he does not belong to their tribe, will you be surprised when they kill villagers who may not come from those "right" tribes?

When Amin came to power some of us had to oppose him by force. We fought him and removed him. However, the system that Amin represented was not removed. We appeared as if we had won, but in no time our victory had been neutralized. So we had again to go back to the bush. We went to the bush to oppose murder, tribalism, and any other form of sectarianism. In the National Resistance Movement, we ruthlessly oppose tribalism and the use of religion in politics. If you emphasize the interests of one tribe against those of other tribes, how can you build a nation? Are we going back to have a Republic of Acholi or Lango or Buganda? How can we survive that way in the modern age?

In the modern age, we are not competing with tribes: we are competing with vast political entities like the Soviet Union, which covers one-sixth of the globe and has a population of three hundred million people. Instead of organizing our African peoples into units that can compare with these powerful countries, we want to fragment further even the little entities we have. There are the people who cannot see the value of unity, not only of Uganda, but of the whole of Africa. Our old chiefs were more advanced. Kabalega knew that if he united Bunyoro, Acholi, Buganda, and Ankole, he would be more powerful.

When we went to the bush, we went to fight tribalism and any other forms of sectarianism. We also fought to end murder in Uganda, to end corruption in government, and to end backwardness in the economy. We have had all these excellencies: Obote, Amin, Okello, and now Museveni! These people have been flying our flag at the United Nations and elsewhere. While 90 percent of the people they represent have no shoes, a certain excellency like Tito is buying furniture worth £500,000 for one house. Unfortunately, our backward situation is now regarded as normal. Instead of coming to talk to you about your problems, these so-called leaders talked to you about tribes or religion.

I have told our NRA soldiers to be very clear in what they are doing. Criminals like Bazilio go and commit crimes and when we start punishing them, they rush to their villages and tell lies that the NRM is

against the whole tribe. Our movement is a very clearheaded movement. We know who is causing trouble. We know why they have been involved in these crimes: it has been partly because of their own individual mistakes. Fortunately, there are not so many of these people and it is not the NRM or the NRA that will punish them: it is the courts of Uganda, according to the existing laws.

A No-Nonsense Approach

If these criminals think that by going to Sudan they have escaped the law, they are mistaken because we can seek their extradition through the courts of Sudan. However, for the young offenders or privates who committed crimes on the orders of their superiors, I can guarantee that these can come back, and there will be no case against them. Those we cannot absorb into the army will be resettled and helped financially to settle in the villages. You should explain to them the futility of trying to fight us. You cannot fight for wrong causes and expect to win.

We are fighting for a good reason: we are opposing murder and eventually everyone in Uganda will see that we are right. I want the brigade commander here to organize a delegation of elders from here to go to Luwero and see evidence of the atrocities for themselves so that you do not think that we are telling lies. If these young men think that they can fight and defeat us in the face of those crimes, they are wasting their time.

We are now in control of a large part of the country and we think the security situation in the areas we control is good. This is in spite of the fact that we are not yet very well organized. For instance, in many areas, neither the police force nor the local administration is functioning. In spite of these constraints, however, you find there is peace and security in many parts of the country already. I think the main reason is that first of all, we always have a no-nonsense approach to problems. If a soldier kills a civilian or another soldier, the force of the laws of Uganda will be applied in full. He is arrested straightaway and charged with murder. Punishment for murder in Uganda is hanging: whoever you are, you will hang if you commit murder.

Recently, when we had come out of the bush, one of our officers killed a former MP from Bunyoro. This man had been harassing the

officer's family when the officer was in the bush. However, it was not the officer's business to avenge these wrongs. The officer was arrested and he is now facing a murder charge in court. This is because we are serious: we are not corrupt and we do not instigate corruption or insecurity. Since we have got power, we shall use it to make sure we root out and expose criminals.

Politics of Unity

On production in this area, I am particularly interested in the transportation of cotton which, I am told, is lying uncollected in houses. I have instructed the ministers concerned to make sure that this cotton is collected and paid for in cash. We shall not continue the former practice of buying farmers' cotton on credit. The government must pay cash. This cotton is useful for you as individual farmers, and it is useful for our whole economy.

We shall also try to ensure that the train starts running up to here from Kampala, as it is a cheaper means of transport. We are also going to ensure that the government hospitals are as efficient as mission hospitals which, I am told, are the only ones functioning well here. If there is any lack of food, you should report this immediately, so that we can make arrangements for food relief for some time, until the situation improves. However, everyone should try to be self-reliant in food production.

Finally, you need to establish Resistance Committees here. The NRM is not a party like the UPC or DP. Every Ugandan should join the National Resistance Movement to restore the country to normality. This is the aim and purpose to NRM: to unite everybody in order to solve this national crisis that is before us. Once we have solved our national crisis, if you want to go back to your politics of dividing the country, you can do so after the interim period. We shall hand over to you. If you want to tear it up again, it is up to you. In the interim period, however, it is our view that we must suspend the politics of DP, UPC, and so forth and practice the politics of unity for the first time in the history of our country.

THREE

Religion and Politics

Galileo, Joan of Arc, Emperor Franz

We in the National Resistance Movement have no prejudice whatsoever against any religious ideas. Many of us are members of the Christian churches in Uganda. Nevertheless, we cannot escape the historical fact that the church has sometimes been used to serve wrong interests in society.

In the Middle Ages, the church was used by people who were not properly informed to suppress and stop the spread of new ideas. The Spanish Inquisition was responsible, for instance, for the destruction of thousands of lives. The execution of brilliant scientists like Galileo and Copernicus and the well-known story of Joan of Arc are testimony to a negative side of the church. The part played by Emperor Franz-Joseph of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is another example. This man organized what he called the Holy Alliance against the French Revolution.

Manipulation

Here in Uganda we have seen that sometimes religion is used to bring about unprincipled divisions among the population. I was one day in Kabale campaigning for the UPM in the 1980 elections. I was trying to persuade a certain man to join the UPM, and he said, speaking in Rukiga, that he would like to join but if he joined, *aba bainazi baratumara* meaning, "These enemies will finish us." He meant that the Catholics, working through DP, would win.

Address at Conference of Bishops at Gaba, June 4, 1986.

This type of mentality is very unfortunate indeed. Responsibility for this, we believe, must be shared first of all by the colonial powers who introduced this very distorted use of the church to manipulate the population in order to serve their own selfish interests.

Here in Buganda, they favored the Protestant Church and they used it against other religions. It was even enshrined in the 1900 Agreement that the Kabaka had to be a Protestant, and that he could not marry a Catholic. So you can see that religion had stopped being a vehicle of communion between man and his creator, God. It had instead become a tool for the control of other men. But a large share of the responsibility for the continued chaos must be fully borne by those among us who have perpetuated these very same ideas to continue misleading our people. We must share this blame because the colonialists have been gone now for over twenty years. We should have been able to sort things out by now.

Obote, Amin, and Islam

We can see the role leaders can play in distorting things. For instance, Islam in Uganda had become unmanageable because of interference from the government. Obote and Amin both wanted to use Islam for their own purposes. When I was in the Military Commission in 1980, different factions of Moslems came to me to solve their problems. But I refused to get involved since my duty was to maintain law and order. I told them to go to the Registrar of Societies and look up their own Moslem documents where the rules are stipulated, in order to decide who had done wrong. My job was in state government, not to interfere in matters of religion.

Therefore, it is my ardent hope that the churches in Uganda will understand the historical role of the National Resistance Movement. In this role, we are sometimes against traditional ideas that have sustained the status quo. It is incumbent on us to repair the distortion in Ugandan politics that has caused so much damage.

The National Resistance Movement is not opposed to the role of the churches and religion, if they can be used positively. The movement expects the churches to assume their rightful place in the development of nations and is indeed committed to the support and encouragement

of the spiritual and moral rehabilitation of our society. This direction is exactly in consonance with the programs of the National Resistance Movement, which is concerned, among other things, with the restoration of morality and human dignity.

Our government looks forward to working closely with the churches in order to try and overcome these problems.

FOUR

Colonial versus Modern Law

GIVE ME FREEDOM OR GIVE ME DEATH

Let me take this opportunity to reiterate what I have said many times before, that the NRM government is fully committed to the rule of law, the protection of individual human rights, and the independence of the judiciary. Our country has gone through a traumatic experience for the last twenty or so years, mainly because Obote and Amin had no respect for the rule of law. Their soldiers and security agents had become a law unto themselves because they could murder, rape, and rob with impunity. The liberation war we fought was to restore the dignity and inviolability of the person of every Ugandan and to protect his property. Nobody has the right to take away a person's life, freedom, or property except within the due process of the law.

Law is important for the preservation of order and good government. A society without laws would soon degenerate into anarchy and cease to be worth living in. A society with bad laws, on the other hand, is equally dangerous because it is oppressive and dispiriting. "Give me freedom or give me death" was the slogan against feudal oppression in France in the eighteenth century. A kind of "rule of law" exists in South Africa, but there law serves to oppress, exploit, and dehumanize the Africans.

Whose Law?

We must, therefore, be careful that we do not have laws on our statute books that serve the interests of the minority against the majority of

Speech at a law seminar in Kampala, January 12, 1987.

our people. When we talk of the "rule of law" we should always ask ourselves, whose law? Against whom are these laws? And in whose interests do they operate? The laws we adopted at independence were colonial laws meant to serve the interests of the colonialists. We must revise these laws to suit our people and our present circumstances.

Before the colonialists came, we had laws (which have now been dubbed customary laws) and a system of justice that was organically linked to our society and that was understood and respected by our people. The colonialists stopped the development and evolution of this law and imposed a system of justice that remains incomprehensible to the overwhelming majority of our people. Take the marriage law, for example, which we adopted from the British. Because of its alien nature, many people do not understand it or deliberately ignore its legal consequences. For example, divorce of a wife is allowed on grounds of adultery. Other grounds of divorce found in our traditional society, like insulting one's spouse's parents, are not permissible under the foreign law we have. The laws we adopt must be meaningful and relevant to our people if they are to earn their respect.

Law exists to serve society and not vice versa. The principle against retrospective criminal legislation, for example, is something that should be reconsidered. It is common knowledge that Obote and Amin's security agents killed our people in the hundreds of thousands. We cannot enact criminal legislation making it an offense for a person to have been a member of a murderous organization because such a law would be retrospective, and, therefore, unconstitutional according to our present laws.

The removal of the retrospective clause from the constitution would meet with stiff opposition from our learned friends both here and abroad for having gone against a sacred principle. The mass murderers of the people of Uganda are, therefore, untouchable.

Liberating Law

The NRM government is a revolutionary government in law and in fact. It does not owe its legitimacy to the old order, which we overthrew by force of arms. In a revolutionary situation, sometimes practice may be concretized and take form before it is fully legalized. Our Resistance

Councils, for example, were established in the liberated areas long before we took power, but they are now established all over the country. Steps are now being taken to constitute them legally and to spell out their powers. Our not having done so earlier should not be seen as a manifestation of an intention or desire on our part to act in a lawless manner, but rather because circumstances dictated our actions at the time.

We are opposed to a situation where justice is a preserve for the privileged few and where it is sold like a commodity to the highest bidder. Justice must be made easily accessible to every Ugandan who requires it. This principle is the cornerstone of our judicial policy.

In the countryside and even in towns, there is an outcry about corruption in the lower courts. It is said that bribes are taken by the magistrates and that whoever gives the largest amount of money wins the case. There is an outcry about delays in hearing and completing cases. There is also an outcry about the exorbitant fees charged by advocates. I am told that the minimum amount payable for a case is not less than one million shillings.

There is a host of legal issues that must be addressed and I hope your deliberations will help in resolving some of them so that justice can be properly administered in our courts.

All in all I wish to reiterate that law can be an instrument of liberation or repression. Law can be fair or unfair. Law can be for the majority or for the minority; it can lead to progress or retrogression. It is high time we evolved laws that are integral to our liberation process and that serve the interests of the majority of our people.

FIVE

Security Is the Key...

When we took over power one year ago today, the security situation in the whole country was very bad: 300,000 Ugandans had been murdered in central Uganda; in the west, people had been murdered and lots of property looted; in Lango, the Okellos had created havoc with murder, rape, and looting; in Teso, Ojukwu was using helicopters to locate cows so that ground forces could loot them; and in Karamoja there was endemic cattle raiding. Kampala and other parts of Uganda had been parceled out among warlords of different factions. In 1985, we tried to reach a peace agreement with the Okellos in Nairobi, but in spite of the peace agreement, the Kasalla Mission nuns were raped and a hundred people were murdered in Luwero town. People were murdered in Kabasanda, but not a single punishment was meted out to the perpetrators of these crimes.

By taking over power in January last year, we dramatically reversed this situation. Security was restored to the central, western, eastern, West Nile, and northern regions of Uganda. Even the cattle raiding in Karamoja stopped. We achieved all this without resorting to measures like the Detention Act.

In August, however, the remnants of the old regimes that had fled to Sudan launched attacks against our forces in the north and a new wave of insecurity had set in. All attacks were repulsed with very heavy losses of life and equipment on the part of the remnants of the criminal armies.

Address on the first anniversary of the NRM administration, January 26, 1987.

The enemies tried to impede the movement of our troops by blocking off roads, but we countered them and no battalion of ours has ever withdrawn from a position because of lack of supplies. Civilian transport, however, has been affected, as has production and security of ordinary people.

Witchcraft and Mysticism

Since August, when we have been continuously destroying their groups, the enemies found it difficult to retain the support of those they had confused or coerced into supporting them. They had to resort to witchcraft and mysticism.

They told their supporters that there was a woman by the name of Alice Lakwena who had risen from the dead, just like Jesus. It was said that this lady had charms that could protect members of these groups from bullets. If the NRA fired bullets, the magic would turn back the bullets and kill those who fired them. This is all desperation and defeat by the enemies. Following this new line, they have turned their defeat into a disaster for their cause—if it can be called a cause. For instance, between Christmas Day and the Sunday of 18th January, our forces in the Corner Kilak-Pajule area alone killed at least 697 enemies. This count is from the dead bodies abandoned on the battlefield. It does not include those who died later. The weapons captured there came to 1,136 pieces, including about 1,000 rifles, RPG launchers, antiaircraft guns and some mortars. These are mainly the weapons they had run away with. We do not know how they got back these arms from the Sudanese authorities who had originally confiscated them.

If I was asked, "What do you think of the situation in the north?" I would reply, "Excellent," in spite of the hardships. This is because of the following reasons:

(a) By the fascist forces starting a new conflict last August, they gave the people of Uganda a chance to give them a thorough punishment. Otherwise they would have remained a constant threat to the security of democracy in Uganda because of their fascist and primitive mentality. I know, for instance, that many elements in our society still believe in primitive magical practices,

but it is a disaster when people who have led Uganda in various capacities for decades believe in and practice voodoo. It makes me sad that such people should have held any leadership responsibilities at all.

Therefore, the thorough defeat of these negative forces is a prerequisite for permanent security in Uganda. Merely chasing them to the Sudan, as we did in March, somehow left the matter unresolved. The forces of progress and enlightenment must defeat them thoroughly. Also those foreign vultures who always utilize weak elements in our society must be made to abandon that negative line forever.

(b) My second reason for optimism is that the people of northern Uganda have risen up against these primitive elements by supporting the National Resistance Movement. That is why some of our RC men have been killed by the rebels, thereby exposing the fallacy of the idea of tribal political homogeneity, which some confused elements always try to pedal.

Therefore, within this sad picture of disruption and unnecessary loss of life, there is an emerging strength and crystallization of the patriotic elements, as happened in Luwero and western Uganda. Nevertheless, the NRA is determined and is in a position to bring this insecurity to a decisive conclusion. We are working out an amnesty document for those who did not commit crimes against humanity.

Fascist Rebels and Cattle Raiders

There was a similar problem in Karamoja. After we had taken over the east and the north, the cattle raiders tried to steal cattle in Acholi, Lango, and Teso. In all cases they were repulsed by our forces. Only in Muyembe did they manage to make some penetration and steal cattle. When, however, the fascist elements caused trouble in the north, we moved forces from the northeast to the north. This left fewer forces in the east and the cattle raiders took advantage of this. From September to early December, they terrorized wide areas of Soroti, Kumi, Lira, and Kapchorwa districts. By December we had, however, built up adequate forces to strike blows at them. The biggest confrontation was in Nabilatuk, where

we killed 250 cattle raiders. Since these confrontations, there has been peace in Soroti, Kumi, and Kapchorwa.

By hitting both the fascist rebels and the cattle raiders in this way, we cannot say that these elements have been completely eliminated. They have, however, been terribly weakened and the stage is set for their total destruction. However, Obote and his agents are continuing to prepare groups to attack Uganda from outside. Names of certain countries have been mentioned. I am warning whoever may be involved that when it comes to making trouble for our enemies, we are not easily surpassed. Those who are used to a weak, improperly led Uganda and who cannot accept the present irreversible reality may have to pay a heavy price for their folly.

We are, therefore, continuing to strengthen our defense forces: to neglect doing so would be like exposing meat when there are dangerous carnivores around. Remember the story of the boy who took a lump of meat out in the courtyard. A carnivorous bird (*kamunye*) swooped down on him and not only took the meat but left his fingers bleeding. The boy came crying to his father, who told him, "It was your fault: You should have carried a spear so that when the *kamunye* came to grab the meat, it would have impaled itself on the spear." Uganda's riches are very tempting. There are many *kamunyes* with their mouths watering for Uganda's coffee, gold, timber, skins, hides, and other riches. Certain interests do not want stability here. Stability here will mean that there are no longer any possibilities for smuggling.

Detribalizing Politics

Coming to politics, I would like to say that the situation is also encouraging. One of the biggest weakening factors in Africa is tribalism and other forms of sectarianism. While in other continents you find different nations living and working together under cohesive political entities that are powerful, however diverse they are, in Africa tribalism is always emphasized. Look at the United States of America or the countries of Western Europe, which have now formed the EEC. In Africa, however, we encourage unprincipled divisions. In fact Samora Machel once described tribalism as the commander-in-chief of anti-African forces.

The NRM is totally opposed to tribalism. I am, therefore, very encouraged to see a process beginning in the detribalization of Ugandan politics. I can cite many examples. During the month of March, the defeated forces from West Nile tried to use that area as a base for opposing us. They were told by the people of West Nile, in no uncertain terms, that they must either cooperate with the NRA or go away. The same has happened in Acholi, Karamoja, and Teso. During Christmas, the people of a certain part of Teso rose up against the former Special Force men and killed six of them who were terrorizing them with guns. In my tours all over the country, huge crowds always turn up to hear me speak. This is in spite of the fact that we have not yet been able to do much work on the economic front.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the masses are tired of sectarianism. It is now up to the NRM cadres to serve them with dedication. Unfortunately some of our cadres, leaders, and army officers are busy with wrong pursuits. This must stop. I have already asked NRC officials to draw up appropriate legislation to punish severely those who neglect to work for the people.

The people are also disappointed by the misbehavior of some NRA soldiers. They misbehave in minor ways compared to the former armies: they do not kill or rob, but they drink in bars and drive dangerously. The Army Council has already outlawed drinking in public places and I want the Army Commander to implement this.

Incoherent Economic Policies

Turning to the economy, although it was buoyant immediately after the colonial era, by 1970 it had started declining because of incoherent economic policies. Amin's accession to power in 1971, and his subsequent declaration of an economic war, hastened capital flight from Uganda and accelerated the rate of economic decline. His appropriation of Western capital without proper compensation exacerbated Uganda's economic decline. By the time of his political demise in 1979, Uganda's productive sectors had declined so considerably that coffee was the only export commodity. The decline in the production of exportable commodities together with that of the domestic production of consumer

goods led to severe shortages in essential consumer goods. This led to a lot of *magendo* activity, which eroded the country's tax base.

The regimes that succeeded Amin did nothing to reverse the decline. Instead, they made the situation worse. For example, per capita production declined by 15 percent. By 1986, GDP was declining at a rate of 5.5 percent per annum, while per capita GDP was declining at 8.0 percent per annum. This was in spite of the fact that in 1981, the Obote government ran a recovery program that purported to revive the economy. This program, which was supported by most international institutions, had by 1986 mobilized external funds amounting to $2,013 million (U.S.). Unfortunately for Uganda, because of wrong economic policies, this enormous sum of money did not make any positive impact. Rather it increased our debt burden. Consequently, we are having to repay $200 million per annum to our external debtors, instead of using the money to purchase the badly needed trucks or raw materials and spare parts for our factories. In spite of this massive inflow of funds, available statistical information shows that most sectors of Uganda's economy were declining during the 1970–1985 period.

At the macro level:

Total Gross Domestic Product declined by 11.8 percent.
Monetary economy declined by 20.2 percent.
Nonmonetary economy increased by 7.6 percent.
Per capita GDP declined by 43.0 percent.

At the sectoral level, statistics show the following percentages:

Agriculture declined by 29.8 percent.
Cotton ginning, coffee curing, and sugar manufacturing declined by 63.7.
Mining and quarrying declined by 95.8 percent.
Manufacture of food products declined by 64.9 percent.
Miscellaneous manufacturing declined by 55.1 percent.
Electricity production declined by 3.3 percent.
Construction declined by 66.3 percent.
Commerce declined by 44.8 percent.
Transport and communication declined by 27.2 percent.
Government expenditure rose by 108.5 percent.
Miscellaneous services declined by 12.6 percent.
Rents increased by 45.0 percent.

All in all, by the time we took over power, we inherited the following problems:

- The economy had totally collapsed with inflation raging high.
- Financial management within the public sector had ceased to exist and, as a result, the government was running a huge budget deficit, which was financed mainly by the Central Bank.
- The transport system was badly shattered.
- A massive foreign debt was spent on unproductive activities.
- There was excessive liquidity resulting from the government financing its recurrent expenditure by borrowing from the Central Bank and from the floatation of the Uganda shilling in the face of a decline in productive activities.

Economic Diversification

Our government is not only committed to redressing all these problems, but also to effecting fundamental economic changes so that our economy serves the interests of the majority, rather than a minority of our people, as has been the case in the past. We shall do this by restoring the social and economic infrastructures and by creating conditions for expanded economic production.

Our economic program hinges on reviving and diversifying production, both in the agricultural and industrial sectors, with a view toward creating an independent, well-integrated, self-sustaining economy. In this regard, our efforts will be directed at restoring traditional export crops (coffee, cotton, tea, tobacco, hides, and skins), and also at expanding the production of nontraditional export crops, such as beans, sim sim, and soya beans. This drive to increase our production capacity, coupled with improved marketing facilities, will not only boost our internal and external earnings, but also improve our nutritional levels.

The restoration of price stability and reasonable levels of living standards, efficiency in parastatal organizations, and the reestablishment of proper financial control and management of public funds, are some of the salient features of our economic program. However, because of a lack of sufficient investable resources, we have found it imperative to

set priorities in those areas of the economy that can act as engines for sustaining future growth. Our priorities, therefore, are:

- the provision of agricultural machinery and implements, seeds, herbicides, acaricides, and other animal drugs;
- the rehabilitation of roads to facilitate easy conveyance of goods to and from markets;
- trucks for transportation of produce and consumer goods;
- provision of industrial raw materials and spare parts so that our factories can produce light consumer goods for local consumption; and
- the provision of basic utilities, such as water and electricity.

The success of our program will depend on the cooperation of all Ugandans. Although it may call for further belt-tightening, we shall be better off in the end. In the one year we have been in power, we have carried out partial rehabilitation of the following enterprises:

1. Nyanza Textiles
2. Uganda Blanket Manufacturers
3. Uganda Breweries
4. Nile Breweries
5. Lake Victoria Bottling Company
6. Uganda Cement Industry
7. Mukwano Industries
8. Uganda Grain Milling Company
9. East African Distilleries
10. Lake Katwe Salt Project
11. Uganda Baati
12. Sembule Steel Mill
13. East African Steel Corporation
14. Cable Corporation
15. Ship Toothbrush
16. Uganda Bags and Hessian Mill

We have also paid the debts of Uganda Airlines, partially rehabilitated Mulago Hospital, and bought several hundred trucks. On the basis of

self-reliance, we have also used tens of millions of dollars to equip the NRA with appropriate weapons and equipment. Of course, we are also paying off the debts left by Obote. With increased earnings, therefore, provided we maintain the same frugal management, we can achieve a lot on the basis of self-reliance.

We, of course, welcome foreign aid if it does not interfere with our plans. In the same way we fought a hard war against Obote, we are going to fight economic stagnation—and we shall win.

SIX

The State of the Nation in 1989

I congratulate you all on your election as members of the National Resistance Council. I hope all of us agree that, by and large, the recent electoral exercise was free and fair. I have, however, heard that in a few cases, there were instances of the old practices of sectarianism and other manipulations taking advantage of the ignorance of the population. In spite of that, however, there is a general consensus that this was the fairest and most peaceful electoral exercise in the history of our country.

We should now be able to tackle the fundamental questions affecting the future of our country. I am sure the prophets of doom will again be proved wrong as we successfully tackle Uganda's long-standing problems. I am very proud to see that one of my long-held wishes — to see the emergence in Uganda of a reasonable measure of national consensus, as well as a nonsectarian forum — is at last beginning to be realized.

When we launched the armed struggle against Amin in 1971, which was itself a successor to previous political struggles against Obote's bad politics, our aim was to build a new order. In spite of many tribulations and a zigzag course, the people of Uganda are at last able to stand back from the ignominious and shameful politics of the past two decades.

It was a great shame that at the time we took power in 1986, Uganda was the poorest country in Eastern and Central Africa. Before I recapitulate the situation that obtained in Uganda before 1986, I wish to give

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Address at the state opening of the first session of the expanded National Resistance Council, April 11, 1989.

you a résumé of the evolution of the general African condition so that we can put Uganda's situation in a proper context.

The Most Backward Continent

Currently, Africa is one of the most backward continents in the whole world. Elsewhere, I have defined backwardness as the absence of a reasonable degree of development. I have also defined development as man's ability to tame his environment and utilize its natural laws for his own benefit. I am using the word "reasonable" because man's mastery of nature — even for the advanced countries — is still only relative.

Nevertheless, there are those who have reasonably mastered certain aspects of nature and have, consequently, improved their lot on earth. If one, therefore, takes "development" and "backwardness" as defined above, you will agree that Africa is one of the most backward continents.

If you look at Africa's social statistics, you will discover the following: whereas in the developed countries 13 children out of every 1,000 in 1987 died before they were five years old, in the developing countries 60 children out of 1,000 died in that year, and in the case of Uganda, 172 children out of 1,000 died before they were five. Apart from the conditions affecting children, the adult population in developing countries has a life expectancy of 61 compared to 76 years in the industrialized developed countries. In Uganda, life expectancy is only 48.

These figures reflect poor and inadequate health facilities. In the developed countries, for instance, for every 500 people there is at least one doctor available to treat them. The average for developing countries is one doctor for 6,590 people. In Uganda, we have one doctor for over 21,000 people. In the rural areas the ratio is much higher.

If you look at the economic performance data, you will discover the following situation: whereas the average per capita income in industrialized countries is about $13,000 (U.S.), that of sub-Saharan Africa is $370, while Uganda's is $230 per capita, ninety-ninth in the world income ranking. Uganda's economy is a typical dependent economy dominated by one main export crop — coffee — which contributes over 90 percent of our foreign exchange earnings. The manufacturing sector contributes only 6 percent of total GDP and employs only 6 percent of

Life expectancy
Rates

the labor force. Despite a large resource base, the economy is distorted and heavily dependent on imported inputs that have no linkage to the rest of the economy. As a result, more than 86 percent of the rural population is engaged in peasant agriculture, with low levels of productivity.

Uganda's experience is particularly bad, for not only does it suffer from the usual problems of underdevelopment, but even the colonial economy that the British left in place was mismanaged. For instance, during the period between 1963 and 1970, GDP increased at an average of 5.1 percent per annum. By the end of that period, the manufacturing sector was able adequately to meet basic consumer requirements like soap, sugar, and textiles, and even leave a small surplus for export.

This relatively good performance, however, hid the dependent character of the economy. The economy lacked significant linkages between the industrial and agricultural sectors, and there was a total lack of a capital goods industry. Many of the industries depended on the importation of foreign raw material inputs. This partly explains why the industries collapsed when foreign exchange became scarce. The situation was worsened by the upheavals the country experienced during the Amin and Obote regimes.

As a result of Amin's mismanagement, by the end of 1980, real GDP and per capita income had fallen to 78.1 percent and 65.7 percent of their respective 1971 values. Between 1983 and 1985, real GDP declined at an annual average of 3 percent per annum. Given a population growth rate of 3 percent per annum, therefore, income per capita declined at 6 percent per annum. By 1985, average industrial capacity utilization in Uganda stood at 20 percent, in spite of substantial credits offered to Uganda by the International Monetary Fund and other donors.

On an occasion like this, it is important to find out why Africa lagged thus behind in the first place. This is not a mere postmortem: it is, rather, a necessity that will help to illuminate our future. You cannot plot the future without identifying your past pitfalls.

Why Africa Lagged Behind

First, most of Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, is a plateau. Therefore, the rivers in much of Africa cascade from the interior to the coast

through waterfalls, cataracts, and rapids, which did not permit easy navigation. Given these nonnavigable rivers, plus the forests and the deserts, one can see that communication in the past was not easy. Without easy communication, trade, mobility, and the spread of ideas became very difficult.

Second, the ambient climate in most of sub-Saharan Africa did not exert enough pressure on Africans, in the way that the harsh northern hemisphere climate forced the Europeans and Asians to become more innovative. Similar conditions would have forced our ancestors to look for ways of manipulating nature to ensure survival. In sub-Saharan Africa, people merely depended on the bounty of nature.

Third, because of conditions in which many diseases could spread easily, the African population did not grow as rapidly as it did in other continents. There was thus no pressure on people to become aggressively competitive and innovative.

Fourth, given the foregoing, Africa's weak microstates and backward technology made the continent easily susceptible to foreign domination by more organized societies. While the Arabs were encroaching on African sovereignty and resources from the North, the Europeans started plundering from the West, South, and East. In time, this added two new problems. The slave trade further depopulated the continent and the social, economic, and political cohesion that had been achieved was completely disrupted. The subsequent loss of sovereignty meant that Africa's main occupation was to serve outsiders' interests. This combination of factors explains why Africa has lagged so far behind other continents.

Honorable Members, I think this is the historical task and challenge that we face. If the present generation of leaders in Africa does not rise to this challenge, I am afraid Africa's subservience to foreign interests will continue, in whatever disguises it may manifest itself. This will ensure continued misery for our people. Before I leave this point, I would like to point out that the above scenario also left us the following big disadvantages:

(i) The process of state formation, which in other continents meant the merging of clans to form tribes, and of tribes to form nation-

states, was not consummated in Africa. The supratribal political entities that had emerged disintegrated because of the colonial onslaught.

(ii) The result was a balkanized Africa with small, and in many cases, unviable economies characterized by small markets that could not and cannot sustain large-scale production.

Therefore, if somebody were to ask me, "What are the most fundamental historical tasks facing the African continent today?" I would answer him thus:

(i) Consolidation of national unity within individual African countries and promotion of inter-African cooperation and unity. This will solve the problem of fragmented markets and weak political entities.

(ii) Ensuring that the African countries exercise unbridled sovereignty so that they can find genuine solutions to their problems without having to pay too much attention to outside forces.

(iii) Ensuring the acquisition and development of science and technology.

At the time of independence, Uganda was a microcosm of this African reality. However, because there was a progressive colonial governor, Andrew Cohen, and an enterprising Asian and African middle class, a miniscule industrial base with an element of intersectoral linkages was created. This nascent industrial base had some linkages with agriculture and the resources of subsoil. Nevertheless, all this was on such a small scale that it had no significant impact in accommodating the competing interests of a growing middle class.

Consequently, the first casualty after independence was political stability, which was disrupted by the petty middle class, whose interests could not be accommodated in a narrow neocolonial economy. This problem was compounded by the crudeness, myopia, and lack of ideological consciousness of that class. The consequence of all this was the turmoil Uganda has experienced since 1966. The miniscule industrial

base and the export-oriented commercialized agriculture that had developed in the colonial period were greatly disrupted.

The Economic Recovery Program

It was in the midst of this turmoil that our liberation struggle was conceived and executed. After many years, the armed struggle culminated in the seizing of state power by the NRM in 1986. When we captured state power, we decided to start the huge job of rehabilitation by attending to eight priority areas:

1. Defense
2. Agriculture
3. Roads, railways, and water transport
4. Commercial trucks
5. Repair of light goods industries in order to save foreign exchange
6. Repair of utilities, especially electricity and water, for industrial use
7. Restoration of construction capacity
8. Restoration of storage capacity

This prioritization was dictated by the desire, most importantly, to restore production in agriculture and industry. In spite of this prioritization, however, every Ugandan should know that we are still operating in the general framework of an uneven world economic order. Since we belong to the underdeveloped southern half of the globe, terms of trade are always deteriorating to our disadvantage. The following figures should serve to illustrate this point.

In the case of the African region, over the period between 1950 and 1988, commodity prices dropped by over 45 percent. This means that you need to export almost twice as much as you did in 1980 in order to obtain the same earnings in 1988. In more specific terms, while Uganda required 205 bags of coffee to import one seven-ton Mercedes-Benz truck in 1980, in 1987 we required 420 bags of coffee to import a similar truck.

The point here, Honorable Members, is that given the present unfair international division of labor, whereby the advanced countries pro-

duce high-priced goods that are always going up in value, while we produce low-priced goods whose value is always declining, we shall not make much progress. Even if we increase production, there is no guarantee that we shall earn more. In my view, therefore, the way out lies in the following multipronged course of action. We should:

(i) Increase and diversify the production and export of primary products like cotton, beans, soya beans, oil seeds, tea, and maize.

(ii) Reduce our import list by utilizing the whole range of our natural resources in order to manufacture most consumer goods locally.

(iii) In addition to exporting a wider range of the usual primary products, we should launch an aggressive program of exporting finished industrial products, such as fruit and foodstuffs, beef and dairy products, fish, textiles, leather and wood products, fertilizers, industrial chemicals, and metal products.

Although we still have a long way to go, by taking such a course, we shall have made some progress toward realizing our cherished aim of building an economy that is independent, integrated, and self-sustaining.

However, ever since we launched our priority program in 1986–87, substantial progress has been made, particularly in the agricultural, industrial, and road construction sectors. The agricultural sector, which accounts for 44 percent of GDP, grew at 6.2 percent in 1987, with the monetary sector expanding at 5.5 percent, and the nonmonetary sector at 6.8 percent.

The industrial sector registered a growth of 30 percent in 1988 and a number of industries that had closed down resumed production. The rehabilitation of the Lugazi Sugar Factory was completed early last year, and this year production is estimated at 300,000 tons. The textile industry grew by about 70 percent between January 1986 and June 1988. We also have a number of new industries, including those making foam mattresses, laundry soap, and exercise books.

Since the National Resistance Movement government assumed power, a total of 1,850 kilometers of all-weather roads and 2,411 kilometers of gravel trunk roads have been rehabilitated. In addition, 1,785 kilome-

ters of feeder roads have been opened up. While we mobilize resources to enable us to create our own road construction capacity, we should also organize our people, through the Resistance Councils, to do most of the work on the roads in their areas. Road construction equipment is expensive and cannot cover all corners of the country at once.

We would, however, have achieved much more had it not been for the incredible incapacity of public servants, including ministers, to carry our sectoral microprioritization, supervise progress, ensure project implementation, and set production targets. We know, for instance, that we need, on average, about $1,200 million (U.S.) per annum to meet our import needs and service the debts left behind by past regimes. Since we know our foreign exchange annual requirements, why does the Ministry of Planning find it impossible to tell us how much coffee we should produce, for instance, in order to meet our foreign exchange obligations? With the Ministry of Agriculture, they would then set acreage targets for each farmer in the areas where these crops grow best.

To continue with this example, the Ministry of Agriculture would have to work out the list of quantities and values of required equipment and inputs like tractors, accessories, fertilizers, and other chemicals. Then the Ministry of Cooperatives would line up the necessary crop finance and make sure there was adequate processing capacity to cope with the anticipated increase in production. The Ministry of Planning should use data to set targets in all sectors to ensure intersectoral harmony and equilibrium.

It is erroneous to have too much crop but too little crop finance, or too much crop but too little storage capacity. I realize that it is not possible to achieve such intersectoral harmony overnight, but there should be a clearly charted course with recognizable milestones toward achieving our goals. I have made this point repeatedly in the private councils of government, but progress has always been too slow: this is completely unacceptable to me. Using present world prices, and assuming that normal disbursements of loans and grants from abroad continue, we would be able to meet our annual foreign exchange obligations for the 1990–91 financial year if we achieved the production targets listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Production Targets for Uganda, 1990–91

Crop	*Production Quantity 1990*	*Production Quantity 1991*	*1990/1991 Exports (Tons)*	*1990/1991 Value of Exports in U.S. Dollars (Millions)*
Coffee	165.0	170.0	168.8	382.5
Cotton	13.9	22.2	22.2	31.1
Tea	12.0	13.0	13.0	26.4
Tobacco	2.7	2.7	0.8	1.7
Cocoa	2.0	2.0	2.0	3.5
Maize	516.5	64.0	100.0	10.0
Dry beans	444.5	563.0	70.0	35.0
Soya beans	8.5	8.7	5.0	1.5
Sim sim	77.9	114.6	15.0	11.3
Groundnuts	282.0	248.0	10.0	4.0
				Total 507

Meeting these production targets is the only way we can solve our numerous problems. We shall then be in a position to meet our high education costs, rehabilitate health units, buy more road equipment to repair feeder roads, and open up new ones.

Environment Protection

I cannot end this section about the economy without touching on the question of the environment. If we allow our environment to be degraded, the much-talked-of beauty and potential wealth of the Pearl of Africa will cease to exist. It is frightening to note that in 1900 we had a forest cover of 100,000 square kilometers. Today, that forest cover has shrunk to 16,188 square kilometers! I have instructed the Ministry of Environment to work out the implications of this shrinkage for the rainfall, temperatures, and erosion of the topsoil. All of us should familiarize ourselves with these figures.

It is crucial to note that the *mvule* tree takes between seventy and one hundred years to mature, and the *musizi* fifty to seventy years. Therefore, the reforestation program must start immediately. Quick-growing

species should be identified and planted in order to put back the "hair" on the bald heads of Uganda's hills. This is the only way we can ensure satisfactory levels of rainfall and protection of the topsoil. The Ministry of Environmental Protection has received money from outside but the plans they have worked out have not had any impact yet. We need to pull up our socks in this area.

The whole land area of Uganda is fertile if only we could protect it and utilize it maximally. Even areas that are supposedly dry, like Karamoja, receive rainfall of 35.83 inches annually. If this water were trapped in valley dams, we would conserve 5.6 billion cubic meters of water annually. One step we ought to take to stop the degradation of the environment is to minimize the use of wood fuel. We ought to start propagating the use of alternative fuels to stop the encroachment on our forest reserves. We should make greater use of electricity, solar energy, and biogas.

Education

Education is still a problem area because our revenue resources are still inadequate. I am aware of the burden on parents of high education costs. I have instructed the Minister of Finance to implement measures to ameliorate this situation. Otherwise, I would like everybody to know that it is an NRM long-term aim to ensure free universal and compulsory primary and, when possible, secondary education. We cannot, however, undertake such a task in the present state of the economy.

Let us, however, for the moment concentrate on ameliorating the burden of costs on parents, improve the supply of scholastic materials, repair school facilities, improve pay and other emoluments to teachers, and repair and increase technical schools. These measures should be possible in the short and medium terms, as more revenue becomes available to the government. My anxiety about education, however, has enabled me to get a commitment from a friendly country to assist in opening a new university in Mbarara to teach science and medicine.

Security

Ever since we were in the bush, we made security of person and property a cardinal point in our political program. In the early part of 1986,

we made very good progress on this front, but in August of that year, some reactionary forces made counterattacks against us using the guns they had run away with to the Sudan. This destabilized the districts of Gulu, Kitgum, Lira, Apac, Soroti, and Kumi. Bandits and cattle rustlers caused a great deal of damage to the population and their property.

Consequently, the people in those areas have been greatly impoverished and many lives have been lost. The bandits have committed many crimes such as killing RC officials, hacking whole families to death, and raping women and girls. The population has, therefore, suffered greatly. Despite its infancy in the multiple tasks of guarding our frontiers, people's lives and their property, as well as doing ordinary police work, the NRA rose to the occasion. In numerous confrontations with the reactionary bandits and cattle rustlers, NRA forces have been able to curb insecurity in much of the north and northeast. Only in two counties of Gulu District and recently, in Usuk county, Soroti District, are there still remnants of banditry and cattle rustling.

Although these acts of banditry are regrettable and reprehensible in the extreme, I hope we all agree that the situation is far different from the time in 1987 when many districts in the north and northeast were engulfed in large-scale insecurity and experienced a breakdown of law and order. That is, however, no reason to relax aggressiveness toward these criminals.

I am calling on the remnants of the rebels to surrender or else they will face severe punishment. Any bandit who holds out until he is captured will be charged with treason and will be hanged on conviction. If a bandit surrenders voluntarily, however, he will benefit from the presidential pardon that has been in place for some time.

Those who have gotten into the habit of rustling other people's cattle must know that they have been committing great offenses under the law. Cattle rustling itself is punishable by life imprisonment. Some elements in Karamoja say they had to acquire arms in the past in order to fight against the Turkanas, Pokot, and Topotha people who were raiding their cattle.

In addition, however, they used the guns to raid innocent citizens in Kapchorwa, Teso, Lango, and Kitgum. During the Obote II regime, UPC politicians complicated the problem further by creating tribal militia

in Acholi and Teso, which in turn raided Karamoja and counterplundered. The UPC had calculated that intensifying intertribal vendettas would solve their political problems. The NRA now has enough forces in Karamoja to ensure that the Pokot, Turkanas, and Topotha do not raid into Uganda. Therefore, law-abiding Karamojong should prevent lawless elements in their society from diverting our forces from that duty.

Let me now warn the reactionary bandit elements that their schemes of soliciting support from neighboring countries by spreading lies in the region will not take them very far. We fought and defeated different permutations of reactionaries when we had no state power. We are now better equipped than ever before to cope with and decisively defeat any schemes and conspiracies the bandits and their sympathizers may weave. Unfortunately, these conspiracies, many of them harebrained, only succeed in diverting resources from development expenditure to security measures. We can ill-afford this in view of the scenario of backwardness I have just portrayed. I therefore hope that statesmen in this region will immunize themselves against the bandits' potentially dangerous schemes so that every ounce of this region's material resources is saved for its development.

We still feel frustrated on the side of justice. In the past, it was governments in Uganda that were the chief culprits in violating human rights. These days, however, it is common criminals who are violating people's rights, sometimes with impunity. The courts, the police, and the Directorate of Public Prosecutions have yet to provide expeditious justice to the majority of aggrieved people. While I appreciate that there are still some bottlenecks that inhibit the work of the law enforcement agencies, this does not explain all the numerous cases of miscarriage of justice. All the state agencies concerned with the maintenance of law and order and justice must ensure that the population regains confidence in the administration of justice.

Foreign Policy

As you may know, our foreign policy is based on nonalignment. Quite early on in our administration, we refused to involve ourselves in the polarization of the Eastern or Western power blocs. Apart from a few

political outcasts like South Africa, we cooperated with all countries irrespective of the social systems they operated inside their own countries. Our line has now been vindicated by the thaw in rigid lines of political demarcation between East and West.

We hope this improving atmosphere of détente will enable the developed countries to divert resources from militarization programs to development for the benefit of all mankind. It has always been incongruous that while man has advanced as far as conquering the mysteries of outer space, two-thirds of mankind still live a subhuman existence.

To reiterate, we are working toward the amalgamation of African markets in order to encourage large-scale production, which will reduce production and costs. We also work for harmony among African states and for the elimination of colonialism and racism. We should give more support to the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, now that you belong to this august body, I would like to call upon you to rise to the challenge of the young men and women of the National Resistance Army and the masses of the National Resistance Movement, who through sweat and blood, were able to usher in this new political order, which will act as a precursor and stimulant to sustained development. As members of the National Resistance Council, you should unite people in your constituencies and act as development catalysts there. You must ensure that the various development projects conceived in your areas are implemented. All of our politics must be development-oriented.

Demagoguery, cheap popularity, intrigues, obscurantism, and corruption will simply not be tolerated anymore. In the NRM, we believe that politics is the science of the management of society. Therefore, every council member, indeed every leader, should educate himself about the laws that govern the forward motion of society. Society does not develop by accident and you should, therefore, all study and master political economy.

I again welcome all of you to the National Resistance Council and now declare open the First Session of the Expanded National Resistance Council. I wish you fruitful deliberations.

SEVEN

Why the Interim Period Was Extended

Honorable Members of the National Executive Committee must be aware that Legal Notice No. 1 of 1986 (the Proclamation) provides as follows in section 14: "The National Resistance Movement Government shall be an interim Government and shall hold office of a period not exceeding four years from the date of this Proclamation." Section 14 (ii) adds: "This Proclamation shall be deemed to have come into force on the 26th day of January, 1986."

The above, therefore, clearly means that the maximum stated interim period should end on the 25th of January, 1990. Members must also be aware of the buildup of anxiety and politicking aroused by this time factor, especially in certain political circles. It is for this reason that the subject should be openly discussed and guidance offered to the population in order to stop the speculation about what is going on.

The NRM had two main objectives in the interim period:

(a) "Reasonable" rehabilitation of the country's broken-down infrastructure and of the economy as a whole. This is reflected in the Minimum Recovery Plan.

(b) To lay a firm foundation and prepare the groundwork for security, political stability, and orderly succession of political authority.

Statement to the National Executive Committee explaining the extension of the interim period, October 24, 1989.

This would include the following:

- Development of a national army.
- Development of an adequate police force.
- Development of an efficient and respected judiciary.
- Above all, evolution of a nationality acceptable and respected national constitution.

It must now be clear that these programs somewhat lagged behind our set time schedule, in spite of the considerable successes we have scored. The most important of these successes have been:

(a) The reversal of an annual economic decline at the rate of 2.6 percent per annum between 1973 and 1986. This has now been replaced by a rate of growth of 7.2 percent in the 1988–1989 financial year.

(b) The building of a democratic mass political movement in most of the country, culminating in the constitution of the present NRC and NEC.

(c) The restoration of Uganda's respectability abroad, as evidenced by the many people coming from all over the world to establish cooperation with us.

(d) The reestablishment of the rule of law and peace in almost all parts of the country.

(e) The elimination of the massive refugee problem, thus taking Uganda away from the ignominious position of being the fourth biggest exporter of refugees in the world.

(f) The building — in record time — of a national army capable of maintaining internal peace and defending our borders.

The unforeseen situations that developed and contributed to the lagging behind in our schedule were the following:

(a) The war in the north and northeast. The resurgence of insecurity in these parts since August 1986 led to a total breakdown of civil administration in the affected areas. It was, therefore, not possible for democratic representation to be

established in these areas. It was not until February this year that national elections to expand the NRC could be held, and one of the affected districts, Gulu, has yet to hold elections.

In the areas that are settling down after the war, the priority there is the rehabilitation of the infrastructure and the reestablishment of social services like education and health. The war also had the effect of diverting efforts and resources from the rehabilitation program to the execution of the war, in order to reestablish peace and social order in all the affected areas.

(b) There were external threats to the security of the country: this is well known by everybody. As a result of this, not only was there a diversion of efforts and resources, but there was also direct interference in the recovery plans, as our route to the sea was intermittently disrupted. This caused delays in getting our imports into the country, and our exports out.

(c) Because of the ever-declining prices of our major export items, there was a progressive deterioration of external earnings, in spite of the increased internal effort. This factor would not have been very significant on its own, but when coupled with the other factors mentioned above, it became a critical setback in the achievement of our set objectives. This meant, for instance, that the government's capacity to acquire the necessary logistics (e.g., the opening up of roads and the acquisition of vehicles) for holding a genuine election on the basis of one-man one-vote was significantly undermined.

It has become clear from the experience of the last three and a half years that the magnitude of the primary problems in the interim period was underestimated. The level of socioeconomic decay had reached a higher level than had been estimated. But even more significantly on this point, the effectiveness of the Civil Service in program implementation had been grossly overestimated. I am sure everybody knows what government has had to go through in the struggle against an ineffective public service.

I am sure you are all aware of the steps that have been taken to deal with the shortcomings talked about in points a and b above. In spite of

all these misgivings and setbacks, however, the general situation throughout the country has improved tremendously.

- Most people who have been recipients of relief supplies have begun producing their own food.
- Our relations with our neighbors have improved — and measures have been taken to prevent future disturbances.
- We have launched a campaign to diversify our export products so that our foreign earnings are stabilized. This was started even before the current coffee crisis, which we predicted long ago in our Ten-Point Program.
- Most important of all, we have held national elections to the legislature based on mass participation by the whole population. The National Executive Committee has also been established, based on district representation. These institutions, based on popular democracy, can now ensure effective representation nationally and become the basis for political stability and national consensus.

It ought to be clear from the above that some of the objectives of the NRM interim administration have not been achieved in the time we prescribed. This has been through no deliberate fault or weakness on our part. On the contrary, I am sure everyone will appreciate that we have numerous achievements to our credit.

I am sure everyone appreciates the fundamental importance of the proper use of the interim period to make it serve as a firm foundation for continued political stability and orderly transition. This calls for patience, continued hard work, and above all, good faith and political maturity.

I, therefore, recommend that the time of the interim period be extended to complete the work we have started, especially in the following areas:

- Discussion and acceptance of a national constitution.
- Rehabilitation of roads, so that all parts of Uganda are accessible.
- Building of a national police force and a local administration police force.

- Reinforcement of the judicial system.
- Rehabilitation of the war-ravaged areas in the north and northeast.

The period for the extension should, therefore, be measured so that it can adequately encompass these activities. I propose that a clear timetable be worked out on the basis of the uncompleted tasks, so that the population is assured of a continued march forward. These measures will help close the openings for speculation about the direction and intentions of the National Resistance Movement.

EIGHT

The Interim Balance Sheet

When we took power four years ago, the Ugandan economy had suffered a cumulative decline in GDP of 10.5 percent between 1971 and 1985. The real picture, however, is that GDP per capita had declined by 41 percent because while production had been going down, the population had been increasing all along. This decline, together with internal instability and external shocks, precipitated an economic crisis. Tackling this crisis was no easy task, given that the country's infrastructure had become dilapidated by years of neglect. External debt servicing was also taking a significant percentage of our foreign exchange earnings.

Economy

However, I am pleased to report that since we have been in power, not only have we reversed the economic decline, but the economy continues to register remarkable improvements. The average annual growth rate of GDP between 1986 and 1989 was 5.4 percent per annum, compared to 2.5 percent per annum between 1980 and 1985. For the first three years of the NRM administration, that is from 1986 to 1988, the annual average growth rate was even higher, at 6.9 percent per annum. After registering a mild recovery of 2.4 percent in 1986, the economy entered a new era of faster growth: GDP grew by 6.5 percent in 1987 and 7.2 percent in 1988, and is projected to have grown by 6.1 percent in 1989. This decline in the high rate of growth was caused by the fall in coffee prices.

Address on the fourth anniversary of the NRM administration, beginning the five-year extension period, January 26, 1990.

Over the past four years, strong recovery has been registered in the strategic sectors of agriculture, industry, construction, tourism, transport, and communications. As a result, the food situation in the country has improved greatly. Domestically manufactured commodities are no longer in short supply and the transport and other sectors of our infrastructure have all improved remarkably. The investment tempo has improved significantly.

It is important to note that with the population currently estimated to be growing each year at a rate of about 2.8 percent, the per capita income growth rate will be rising at a significantly slower pace than the expansion in GDP. It should also be understood that the income we earn is either consumed or saved (either voluntarily or in the form of taxation) and that the saved portion is invested to generate future income. If the savings and, therefore, investment expenditure is growing faster than GDP, then disposable income will go down.

This is what has been happening over the past four years. Significant resources have been invested in infrastructure such as roads, water supply, importation of commercial vehicles, and the rehabilitation of our electricity supply. The impact of such investment is not immediately felt by the general public as an increase in their welfare—at least not in the immediate future. Indeed, the impact of the rehabilitation of these infrastructure projects has no direct effect on personal incomes, which the general public uses as an indicator of economic growth. This is very crucial for the *wananchi* to understand.

In this context, therefore, the severe effects of the years before the advent of the NRM administration must be taken into account. For example, the per capita output of food crops and livestock products is estimated to have fallen by 14 percent between 1983 and 1985, and the recovery we achieved from 1986 to 1988 has not yet fully offset this decline. All in all, it will take us time to recover fully the per capita incomes our people enjoyed in the 1960s.

Export-led Growth

As we enter the second phase of our revolution, we shall shift our economic policy orientation from focusing on short-term rehabilitation

measures to long-term measures aimed at restructuring the economy. This will enable us to achieve our fundamental objective of creating an integrated, self-sustaining, and independent national economy in a secure environment. Our strategy to achieve export-led growth means that projects aimed at promoting and diversifying exports will be given first priority. This will enable us to earn enough foreign exchange to acquire some badly needed foreign technology. I call upon Ugandans, especially those in the private sector, to participate vigorously in this venture.

The government is currently pursuing a policy of fixing foreign exchange rates at levels that will make it possible for export-oriented activities to become profitable. To enhance this, certain measures have to be put in place. The private sector will now be able to participate, on a competitive basis, in the export of all non-traditional products. In due course, this will cover a wide range of exports. In order to facilitate this venture, exporters will not only be able to enjoy a 100 percent export proceeds retention, but they will also be permitted to barter those exported commodities for other imports.

One of the weaknesses we have been facing is the balancing of our budget: that is to say, collecting enough taxes to meet both our recurrent and development expenditure. This was mainly because the tax administration machinery was weak. For example, while many developing countries collect up to 20 percent or more of their GDP as tax revenue, in Uganda it is estimated to stand at only 6 percent of GDP. In more specific terms, in 1988–89, while our total tax revenue collections stood at 42.6 billion shillings, our total expenditure, both recurrent and development, was 86.7 billion shillings, leaving a deficit of 44.1 billion to be financed by internal and external borrowing and through grants.

If, however, we had collected tax revenue amounting to 20 percent of GDP, we would have raised about 126 billion shillings, thus realizing a surplus over our expenditure of 39.4 billion shillings. Apart from this primary budgetary consideration, other macroeconomic advantages such as lower inflation and increased investment would have been attained. The government is currently engaged in improving our tax administration and to this end, I have recently appointed a Director-General of Tax-

ation. Second, in order to step up economic growth, the major element of policy focus will be to enhance efficient utilization of available investment resources. This will be achieved both in the public and private sectors, but only if we stop all corrupt practices, especially in the public sector.

In order to achieve a sustained inflow of foreign investment, we are in the last stages of publishing an Amended Investment Code and will soon be setting up in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development a One-Stop Center Investment Authority aimed at coordinating investment activities. In due course, this center will have private sector representation.

Therefore, if we are disciplined and hardworking, the first half of the nineties decade is forecast to be economically bright. In the first five years of the decade, GDP is projected to grow by over 7 percent per year, thus allowing per capita incomes to grow at an average of 4 percent per annum. Inflation is expected to drop to below 30 percent by the end of this year and fall continuously over the next five years. This year, the rate of inflation will be reduced to 24 percent or thereabouts. In order to do this, we must control the volume of money in the economy and ensure that it is in close harmony with the volume of the manufacture or importation of consumer and producer goods; the production, transportation, and marketing of foodstuffs; and the availability of services.

No More Magendo

It is this monetary squeeze that people are now referring to as "poverty." This is, however, a very positive development. It means that the loose money that people used to get as a result of speculation (*magendo* or *kusamula* or *kugoba line*) is no longer available. Speculation means earning money without contributing to national wealth through production — that is, by cultivating crops, manufacturing, providing a service like transport, fishing, or mining. Speculation means that you are selling the few scarce goods available very expensively, but you are not contributing to national wealth.

As already pointed out, this is no longer possible because consumer goods are now plentiful. They are, however, still expensive and people

do not have enough money to afford the high prices. The answer, therefore, is to ensure that everybody engages in intensified economic activities, for example, agricultural production, manufacturing, artisanship, fishing, small-scale mining, or any other productive activity that will give the individual a high income.

It is well known that because of speculation, people were no longer interested in increased production or taking up gainful employment or even education to improve their academic and professional qualifications. You will remember that *mafuta mingi* (tycoons) were people who did not produce wealth, but got very high profits by selling a few commodities at very high prices. They despised education and professionalism. As you know, it had become very difficult to get people to work in places like tea estates or sugarcane fields or on public works like roads. This, however, is changing. People are now looking for all possible ways to increase their incomes and this is very healthy.

As already stated, the remaining problems are: improving the road network to facilitate the transportation of the increased volume of crops from the rural areas; the availability of crop finance to buy the crops; increasing and improving processing capacity so that agricultural produce can reach the markets in good condition; and the search for markets, especially foreign ones, to absorb these crops. In such ways, we shall earn more money, which will enable us to solve our other problems. In solving these problems, especially improving our marketing systems, we should not leave the job only to government agencies — Ugandans should become private exporters of the products of their country.

There are huge markets in the Middle East, America, Europe, Africa, and now Eastern Europe. Recently, for instance, we sold 30,000 metric tons of maize, a newly commercialized crop, to Yugoslavia. A little earlier, we had sold maize to North Korea and we have been selling beans for some time now to Cuba. Let our middle class justify its existence by becoming exporters, producers, and manufacturers and not just by wearing suits and ties similar to those of the European middle classes. Government agencies will continue to increase their capacity to do internal and external marketing alongside the private Ugandans who will participate actively in this new process.

I would, however, like the Ministry of Local Government to work out a formula for devoting more power to the District Administrations so that they can be responsible for more economic activities in their districts, especially the supervision of extension workers. This point has been talked about a lot but so far little action has been taken. Other exports, especially those of a nontraditional nature, are also expected to increase and improve significantly. Tourism, which has been growing at a rate of over 20 percent since 1987, is projected to grow at over 10 percent per annum over the next five years. The industrial sector is also expected to maintain its growth rate of over 10 percent. Social services such as education, health, water, and housing are also expected to improve significantly. Also, because we are determined to maintain the present road construction momentum, Uganda should enjoy one of the best road networks in Africa by the mid-1990s.

Plans for the Future

However, the NRM government is keenly aware that the fifteen years of economic decline have had an adverse impact on the living standards of the vast majority of the population. There are also specific regions that were devastated by war and violence. Among the most affected groups are orphans, women, the disabled, and the urban poor. The government is aware that unless these groups are identified and specifically helped, they will not be able to participate in meaningful development over the coming decade. Against this background, therefore, the government has prepared a Program to Alleviate Poverty and the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAPSCA) targeted at helping these groups. The implementation of this program will be in March 1990.

Let me take this opportunity to mention a number of important statistical exercises that will be carried out in the course of this year. The National Census of Population and Housing will help us in national economic planning. I therefore request the cooperation of everybody concerned in government, as well as in the rest of society, to help make this exercise a success.

The second major exercise will be the census of establishments employing five or more persons in manufacturing, construction, retail and

wholesale trade, transport, and other services. This census, which will be conducted in June 1990, is important because it will provide the benchmark data for the construction of an input/output table for Uganda. Again I call upon all managers and owners of establishments to cooperate fully.

Social Improvement

In the social sector, the only areas that have registered significant growth over the last four years are health, especially in the immunization program, and water rehabilitation. Our aggressive immunization program has enabled us to lower the infant mortality rate from 120 per 1,000 live births to 70 per 1,000 in Kampala, and to 107 per 1,000 in the rest of the country. This is, undoubtedly, a new and important phenomenon in the struggle to improve the health of our people. If we could couple this with improved nutrition and sanitation standards, we would eliminate almost 80 percent of all morbidity.

The curative part of health has, however, not been as progressive because of resource constraints. Some hospitals have been rehabilitated and drugs are coming in, but this is still at a level that does not yet meet our satisfaction. We are, however, in the process of establishing a pharmaceutical industry under the National Enterprise Corporation. This will make drugs more easily available. Construction of health facilities will become easier after the recent rehabilitation of the cement factory at Hima.

Education costs are also very high and are a heavy burden on parents. If, however, we solve the problem of low tax revenues, funds will become more easily available for education. There are some modest steps in housing as far as institution houses are concerned. Private builders, however, are doing a commendable job. They will perform even better when we have our own cement.

As I have already pointed out, water rehabilitation and the sinking of new boreholes have realized a significant growth. The water system in Kampala now caters for 50 percent of demand, compared to 30 percent in 1986. The water systems in the following towns have also been rehabilitated: Kamuli, Jinja, Mbale, Masaka, Mbarara, Tororo, and Entebbe.

Additionally, the water systems in the towns of Masindi, Kasese, Hoima, Kabarole, Kabale, Bushenyi, Katwe, Kabatoro, Rakai, Lira, Gulu, Kaberamaido, and Soroti will soon be rehabilitated. Overall, 356 boreholes have been rehabilitated since 1986 and 214 new ones have been sunk since that time. There is an aggressive program underway for the sinking of over 1,000 more boreholes.

Politics at Home and Abroad

There have also been very important developments in the political field. Soon after we came into government, we organized RC elections up to RCV level. Then in February last year, we held new RC elections culminating in the expansion of the NRC. These were great events because they were the freest elections in the history of Uganda. The turnout for these elections was also very high — more than 90 percent of all people qualified to vote in the villages turned up.

Over the coming five years, we shall consolidate this democracy by evolving a national constitution after an exhaustive process of consultation. Whatever view anyone has about the future, he or she should put it into the Constitutional Commission. This should be done in a polite and civilized manner, without insulting other Ugandans or undermining national unity. Those newspapers that champion sectarian interests should be particularly watchful, as undermining national unity cannot be said to be part of the democratic process. In short, we need to develop civilized political behavior. The masses understand this, although some elements who have only their own interests in mind have not yet caught up with the general public.

Another event of great political importance over the past four years was the ending of the phenomenon of massive numbers of Ugandans living as refugees abroad because of political insecurity in the country. Many of the refugees in Sudan, Zaire, Kenya, Europe, and Southern Africa have returned home. Certainly we no longer have any peasants living as refugees in neighboring countries. There are still small numbers of people living abroad out of their own choice, or because of the fear of prosecution for their past crimes. Of course, there are some Ugandans who go abroad for purely economic reasons, looking for "greener pastures."

After defeating the counterrevolutionary groups that were trying to recapture power from the popular forces, security has been improving in most parts of Uganda. Petty crime is also being tackled through the increase of the police forces and the strengthening of the judiciary. We are striving to reequip the judiciary with transport, office equipment, and other facilities. Once justice is seen to be expeditiously dispensed, petty crime will certainly decline.

On intra-African matters, we have been emphasizing cooperation within the context of PTA good neighborliness and the total liberation of our continent. In 1986 the future of the PTA was still very much in the balance. Now, however, the PTA is a secure organization that is growing in cohesion and influence. The Extraordinary Heads of State Summit, which we held in Bujumbura in 1986, was a turning point in the fortunes of the organization. As Europe is turning more and more toward itself, the PTA is becoming more useful to this region, even to those who did not initially share our view. With its abundant natural resources, Uganda can benefit greatly from PTA markets and infrastructure.

The independence of Namibia extends the frontiers of African freedom and we call upon the racists in South Africa to concretize the recent promises by Mr. de Klerk to end that shameful system. At the same time, real democracy should be introduced in the rest of Africa. It is nonsensical for the rest of Africa to demand democracy in South Africa while still carrying on undemocratic practices in their own countries. Our forms of democracy, however, need to be agreed upon. Flunkyism and blind imitation will not solve our problems.

We should encourage good neighborliness in this region and all inter-African conflicts should be solved peacefully. We should adhere to the principles of the OAU Charter and thus save our resources for development. The increase in production, even after the fall of coffee prices, shows that we have the potential to overcome our problems.

Corruption

I am, however, disappointed by those who are still addicted to corrupt practices because they undermine development and divert resources. We are, therefore, going to continue the vigorous struggle against this

dangerous cancer. This struggle will be helped by the increase in earnings as the supply of commodities increases, and the value of our currency improves. Nevertheless, we shall continue to use administrative methods to apprehend those involved in corruption, whoever they may be.

Finally, I would like to appeal to all Ugandans to ensure that there is a peaceful atmosphere in which real development can take place.

NINE

Where Is the Public Spirit in the Public Service?

The NRM government lays great emphasis on seminars and all other forms of knowledge-sharing processes because of the importance we attach to the acquisition of knowledge as the foundation upon which all government activities must be based. Government ministers and other officials must have data and they must understand the NRM's orientation in order to execute our various programs. The success or failure of programs must be continuously assessed so that the government is always fully aware of its performance.

While it is true that the success of government programs depends on the efforts of officials at headquarters, to a large extent it also depends on the activities of field staff. Because of the importance we attach to training for better performance, the government approved this seminar: its theme is "Performance Improvement." This seminar is opportune in that it takes place right at the beginning of the second term of the NRM administration. It gives us an opportunity to assess our past performance and it provides a platform for charting the immediate and long-term programs that will fulfill our people's aspirations.

One of the most serious problems observed over recent years has been the very slow and even nonimplementation of decisions and policies already agreed upon by government. This gives the impression that we in Uganda live in some earthly paradise where no effort is necessary and everything is timeless. On countless occasions, I have had to act as *nyampara* or foreman to ensure that simple and routine things get done.

Address to permanent secretaries at a seminar, Jinja, February 12, 1990.

Yet the system of government is such that everybody has got his schedule of duty. You actually know this better than I do because I did not have a schedule of duties when I was fighting in the bush, at least not one as regimented as yours should be.

You, as administrative heads of ministries, should ensure that work gets done. Permanent secretaries have the whole machinery of the Public Service at their disposal and this should enable them to do their duties effectively. The regulations, for example, allow you to recommend staff for promotion, demotion, or other disciplinary measures, including removal from the service. I do not know how often, if ever at all, permanent secretaries have evoked these regulations to recommend the removal from service of officers complained against as being inefficient, dishonest, or drunkards. You find drunkards in the service, yet drunkenness is the most dramatic form of indiscipline: you cannot hide it, so how does it escape the notice of the permanent secretary? Instead, such people are just transferred to other departments, thus shifting a problem from one place to another. Transfers are not remedies to incompetence and inefficiency.

Because of your lack of action, we shall in the future have to hold you responsible for the shortcomings of the people under your supervision. I should, therefore, as a start, begin by giving you advance notice of my intention to make impromptu inspection tours of your ministries in order for me to get the real picture of things that may sometimes be distorted during planned visits.

Slow Project Implementation

On the side of project implementation, it is alarming how most projects have been subjected to almost indefinite time spans. Year after year, increasingly larger and larger amounts of funds are voted for the same projects but they never take off. As a result, the whole country is littered with unfinished projects. In Kampala alone, there are constructions and repairs of offices that have been stagnant for long periods, notwithstanding the constant outcry concerning the shortage of office accommodation. It is, therefore, reasonable that from now on, those responsible for nonimplementation of projects be investigated and the culprits pinned down.

The principal and traditional role of the Public Service has been, and still is, to give utmost and dedicated service to any administration in its efforts to develop the country. It is not, therefore, a civil servant's role to question, refuse to implement, or sabotage government policies. There cannot be any dispute that positive achievements by the government will benefit the whole of the Ugandan population. Public servants should, therefore, be content with being associated with any such achievements. For this reason, politically active servants should subordinate their urge to the common good by diligently implementing government policies. After all, at your level of permanent secretary, most government policies are based on your advice, given on the basis of facts and experience.

This point ought to be obvious since ours is a broad-based government, embracing a wide spectrum of political views joined together for the common purpose of pulling the country out of its past decadence and retrogression. This broad-based arrangement was possible because the NRM's political and economic programs are all-embracing. They therefore deserve the wholehearted support of all public servants and, indeed, of all citizens of Uganda.

One other area of great concern is the apparent abandonment of field staff and field programs by ministry headquarters. I have already alluded to the importance of field officers in the execution of government programs, but you and your officers at headquarters appear to have abdicated your supervisory duties over field activities. During my various tours upcountry, some of the most persistent complaints from field staff have included lack of direction from headquarters, long-delayed salaries and allowances, lack of operational funds, lack of transport, and above all, lack of tools for work. A good number of high caliber and dedicated officers have braved this unacceptable situation and maintained a modicum of services to the people. Others have, understandably, given up and diverted their attention and efforts to things like petty trade.

What is the reason for this scenario? If it were not for the RCs at the grassroots level, the government's profile in the field would have been very badly undermined. The people's own initiatives and resourcefulness have saved the day in a number of areas where government should have been present with ideas, advice, and leadership. Regular remuner-

ation, periodic inspection tours, and counseling of field staff are normal and necessary functions of line ministers, but they have been ignored by those in responsible positions. It is, therefore, not surprising that some impatient civil servants have given up their duties for alternative engagements because little interest has been shown in their well-being, duties, and career prospects.

In addition to tackling the scourge of supervisory negligence shown by headquarters staff, the NRM government is committed to cleaning up corruption in Ugandan society. The actions that have been taken so far have received a mixed reaction, especially from those with guilty consciences. If, however, you have been carrying out your duties diligently and honestly, you should have no fear at all from the various probes and subsequent actions taken, as these are aimed at ensuring public accountability. The punishments for selfish and illegal actions must be serious enough to act as a deterrent for would-be offenders. Additionally, we also believe that one of the measures for fighting this malaise is by showing a good example to those we lead. If permanent secretaries contravene the very regulations they are supposed to enforce, they will have lost their moral right to discipline culprits.

We have had to take action against corrupt people and I was informed that some people were uneasy about this. But what should we do? Should we allow the country to rot just because the individuals who are supposed to protect the public good are the ones who endanger it? In the past we had a problem: when we came into government we did not have any reliable means of investigation, and we did not want to victimize people on hearsay or rumors. That is why we were so careful that we were criticized for being too soft. But we are not soft at all, as people ought to know by now. When we were able to get the Public Accounts Committee to investigate and pin blame on a particular individual, we took action.

Coordinated Planning

Let me now say something about the importance of planning. Planning has long been appreciated as a basic prerequisite for rational, social, and economic development. Planning has, like so many other activities, become scientific in approach, so that mere guesswork no longer has room

in the modern world. Uganda's plans should, therefore, be based on reality, dependent on our expected earnings and receipts. At the same time, sectoral ministerial plans, too, should conform to the budgets of the periods covered in development plans. Most importantly, the various plans from the different ministries and sectors of the economy should be well coordinated and interlinked in order to achieve balanced and sustained development.

Mastering a plan and ensuring that it is implemented and ensuring that the ministries work within the budgeted monies are very crucial for the recovery of the economy. Last year, we had almost brought inflation under control, but we made a deliberate decision to inject money into the economy to buy crops. There was a big problem of crop finance, because the statutory bodies that should have bought the crops had no money, having been undermined over the years. A reasonable amount of crops were bought, but our inflation targets were not met. We were supposed to have reduced inflation to around 60 percent last year, but we ended up with about 80 percent. Previously, however, we had had triple-digit inflation, so the situation was still not too bad.

Over the past three or four months, inflation has been below 2 percent per month, which means that since our target is to reduce it to 30 percent this year, we shall have a rate of less than 24 percent, which is still high, but will not be too bad. You cannot, however, control inflation if you do not control expenditure. If you put money into people's hands in an unplanned way, they will rush to the shops, and when they find no goods there, prices will go up. We have now discovered that the biggest creators of inflation are the government departments.

You hear so many stories about *mafuta mingi* (tycoons)—there are no *mafuta mingi*—the only *mafuta mingi* here are government departments! We have a few fellows like Mukwano, who have built some industries: he may have some cash, but it was the government that helped him build the soap industry. All the money that was floating around before had been stolen from government departments. If we tighten government expenditure, therefore, there will be no more inflation. I want this year to achieve a target of 24 percent inflation, and the crucial people are yourselves, the government's accounting officers. I had a difference with some monetarist economists who believe in balancing

money only—balancing the books. They think if you balance your books but you are poor and remain in the swamp, that is good enough. I, however, insist that I must come onto dry ground and balance my books there! And while I am coming out of the swamp, I can even afford to have a deficit for some time.

I think we are now on dry ground and there is enough money to buy crops, although there is still a problem with bodies like the Coffee and Produce Marketing Boards not selling what they buy, but holding it in stock. If something is held in stock, it is idle money that cannot be recycled to buy other crops. That is another problem of a lack of implementation: we must crack our heads and do everything possible to promote our exports.

Lack of Initiative

I am sorry to blow my own trumpet, but recently, the Yugoslavs came to see me. They were demanding their money for the construction of the road from Mityana to Kampala. We had not paid them, so they had come to apply some political pressure so that I could get their money for them. But we had no money because the price of coffee had gone down. Then I asked them: "Can't you take maize instead?" The man had never had such an idea suggested to him, so he said: "Okay, let me go and check with the ambassador." He went away and after three days he sent me a telex from Yugoslavia saying that Yugoslavia could indeed take 100,000 tons of maize. Now I hear the Yugoslavs have accepted 30,000 tons of maize as part payment. But, as President, I am busier than anybody else—why could you not have found out that those fellows could accept maize instead of coffee? They can also accept sim sim and soya beans—this was confirmed to me in the telex. By using that maize we have now been able to pay part of our debt to Yugoslavia. If we sold them the 100,000 tons they want, which is more than the money we owe them, we could use the surplus for other projects.

Recently I was in Nairobi and I heard rumors that a minister from Malawi was asking about maize: he wanted 6,000 tons of it. Since that time, I have been busy and I have not followed it up, but I mentioned it to someone and I wonder if it was followed up. How can you develop your country if you are not serious? Do you not see how much time

Europeans spend here promoting their sales? A man goes from office to office, even talking to people he would not normally talk to, but he does so in order to promote his products. However stupid you may be, if a European businessman knows that you have a market, he will not leave you alone. That is why when the Europeans came here they looked for interpreters to talk with the local chiefs in order to secure markets. There are now huge markets in Eastern Europe: those fellows there need so many things but if you do not go there and capture them, how shall we develop?

The permanent secretary, of course, will not himself be the one to do all this, but he should direct his officials or even private entrepreneurs to those markets. Private people can be used to build wealth for the country and I have been trying to promote some of them. If I had not sponsored Mukwano to buy the machines he needed for his soap factory, I am sure even now we would have no soap. Active participation is, therefore, very crucial in implementing our programs.

A major part of our program in this extension period of the NRM administration is to continue the building of long-lasting democratic institutions that will ensure and guarantee future political stability, social progress, security, democracy, and prosperity. The Public Service will be instrumental in the implementation of these programs and you, as senior administrators, will have a special role to play at various stages.

Nurture a Public Spirit

The NRM government continues to put in place various measures to motivate public servants. These have included periodic salary and allowance adjustments and, lately, a vehicle coownership scheme, which will in time be extended to include more people. These measures are aimed not simply at motivating public servants, but also at instilling a greater sense of responsibility. It appears in Uganda that a government vehicle on a hire-purchase scheme gets a lot more care from its owners than do vehicles entirely under departmental registration. This is because of ideological backwardness: people who are backward do not regard social property as their own. Although individuals cannot live apart from society, as matters stand, we are forced to exploit individualism, because it is the only ideology that our people can understand.

It is very sad that most people do not regard social property as their own: this is a primitive attitude but I do not mind using it. The Banyankole say, *Oku omutwe guri enshunju nikwo itegwa,* meaning that the hairstyle is determined by the shape of the head. If I do not own my own car but there is a public bus available, will it not serve me? But if you think that the bus should be driven recklessly and that you should only care about little personal cars, that is backwardness. We can, however, take advantage of your backwardness and put it to some use.

Proper care of government property prolongs its life and helps save huge sums of money in replacement costs. I think we should try to develop our social consciousness and realize that social property is, in many cases, even more important than private property. If, for instance, we give you a private car but you do not take care to maintain the road, where will you drive the car? If you build a good house but the water department is not run properly, can you build your own private waterworks?

The various measures constantly being put in place by government should be reciprocated by public servants through hard work and committed service. I have had occasion to say this before and I am repeating it here: if public servants, and indeed all citizens, want better services from government, they must work hard to facilitate the provision of such services. There is no alternative to hard work. We, must, therefore, change our attitude to work in order to accelerate our pace of advancement.

Uncoordinated Troop Movements

I would like once again to touch on the subject of the need for vigorous implementation of projects using an illustration. Last year we had a controversy with some people whom I do not want to name. Some of us thought that we could double or even triple our agricultural production. We presented our proposals but because of a lack of discipline, some of our public servants went behind our backs talking to foreigners in order to undermine and campaign against our targets. Those of us who were positive, however, stuck to our guns.

I even had to call a conference at Mweya of donors and our technocrats. Partly pumped by our own officials, who had gone behind our

backs, telling them that what we were proposing was not realistic, the donors, too, came out against the targets. One very good lady, who is a great supporter of ours, said that she had never known anywhere where production could be increased by 100 percent in one year and that our plans were, therefore, unrealistic. But we insisted and said: "No, our plans are realistic because you are missing two points. You are using experience from advanced countries. If a country is fairly developed like Britain, it means that resources are fairly fully utilized; most of the land is cultivated; and most of the people are employed. But here we have a lot of idle capacity. Here we have wasted people doing nothing—they are just sitting around drinking *waragi.*"

If all these people were mobilized, therefore, they could transform our situation in a fairly short time. Some of the crops, after all, take only three months to mature, and some of them six. So if you mobilize people sufficiently and you provide them with tools, why should you not register dramatic growth? But some of our people could not see this: not only could they not see it, they were actively campaigning against it. This is what happens whenever technocrats and experts go abroad for negotiations. I have appealed to them: "Please, whenever you go for negotiations, adopt one common position and one spokesman for the group, and the rest of you keep quiet. We know you are all good orators, but if you have chosen poor Museveni to be your spokesman because of some accident of history or whatever, the rest of you, please, keep quiet!"

When our people go to a meeting, two things will happen when the head of the delegation is speaking: one member will say, "By the way, this is not exactly what he was saying . . ." or if he does not do that, he will keep quiet and when they go out of the meeting, he will approach those foreign chaps and say, "By the way, although the other man was saying this and that, the truth is actually different. . . ." Is this your country or what? This is indiscipline, which actually amounts to sabotage because it confuses our partners abroad. I think you should have a code of conduct about interaction with foreigners.

In spite of all that, however, we achieved our targets and maize production has gone up by 100 percent. The defeatism that I detect in some of the public servants must end. People are defeated even before they

start the struggle. The problem is that they do not take into account all the relevant factors: they concentrate on some very small ideas that somebody may have put into their heads twenty or thirty years ago. If we have a plan that has got subsections, let us all look at it, each officer at his own sector, and let us see how, together, we can push production to the highest levels, taking into account the fact that we have got a lot of idle capacity. Take our fish here in Lake Victoria: has fish been a factor in our GDP until now? It has not, but it will be, since we now have our new factory at Masese, here in Jinja.

Another controversy has been with some people in the Ministry of Animal Industry. They have been saying that there are no cows in Uganda. But if there are no cows, why is there overstocking in southwestern Uganda, which is now almost a desert? If there are no cows, why is there overgrazing? What eats that grass? Is it buffalos or what? Because we now have four million head of cattle, we can, in a very short time, build up a beef industry. Timber is another potentially big export for us: the whole world wants furniture. In fact I am already working on that, but it is the export of furniture, not logs. Can you imagine a whole Ugandan just carrying a log for export? What if somebody sees it and asks: "Where is this log from?" and the answer is "Uganda." They will say we are just idiots who do not have enough intelligence to modify this log to make it into a table, at least.

I am really working hard on this with some people from Djibouti because I want to establish an agency there. Wherever I go, I concretize deals because I do not want to be told stories. We can start with Djibouti, although I know many European and Middle Eastern people are desperate for furniture. But who is going to identify these projects, or implement them when they have been identified?

Mzee Kaunda told me the other day that Zambia imports cooking oil from America. Why can we not get cooking oil and take it to our Zambian brothers and in return get copper for electric cables? What is so difficult if everybody responsible looks out for a genuine trading opportunity and not making commissions? If we are vigorous, I am sure we can transform this country in a very short time because it is very rich. Even other people in the world are beginning to realize this, because in spite of our problems, we are one of the few African countries

who can feed themselves. Not only that, we even have surplus food to export. That is not very common on this continent of ours. It is only America that exports food—the European countries do so by using subsidies.

Down with Defeatism

I do not accept the common excuse about lack of facilities, because I, too, am a substantive head of a government department, the army. We have been able to build up an army without any facilities: no offices, no housing, nothing. So I do not need lectures from anyone about a lack of facilities. A former Inspector General of Police told me that my army grass huts were against City Council regulations! You should visit some of our camps: we have got helicopters that can carry you there and back! In one of our training camps, which we built ourselves, we are training 3,000 people. Who could have provided offices for this huge army we have now?

For my part, as a head of a department, I can boast that I have built up a big institution without new offices and without new residences, and this department of mine is there for everybody to see! As a head of a department, I had a mission to fulfill: Uganda needed to be defended but Uganda did not have any resources, so I had to use my head to work out how to build an effective force using the resources available and I improvised. How can you just sit around and wait to be defeated by problems? When we were fighting in the bush, we had some boys who were cowards and they would keep on saying: "*Rwarema! Orutaro rwarema, olutalo lulemye!*" They meant that the war had become impossible! How can you say a war is impossible and give up just like that?

Again in the bush, people like Doctors Ronald Batta and Kiiza Besigye operated on patients in banana plantations. I think one could take you there—to Kitemamasanga in the Luwero Triangle. They carried out caesarean sections, amputation of limbs, all kinds of operations, in fact, except brain and heart surgery. We analyzed the situation and said: "Now, what do we do? How shall we treat our sick people?" Then the doctors said: "We can operate: although the place is not sterilized, by injecting patients with antibiotics, we shall control the bacteria from

inside the body rather than from the outside." In the theater, the whole place is sterilized, but if you cannot get theater conditions, should a person be left to die? No! Do something about it! We did and we saved a lot of lives that way. I am, therefore, not impressed by the *rwarema* theory of doing things.

I will give you a final example of one of our companies, the National Enterprise Corporation. Recently there was a crisis in road construction when there was no lime. Our people in NEC, using their knowledge and initiative, went to Dura Forest, which is in Kibale, in Kabarole District, and started digging up lime with their bare hands, using hammers. Of course it would be better if there were machines, but lime extraction is not a very complicated process. The main machine is a bulldozer, which digs up the lime from the ground, and then all you do is crush it. But since our people did not have any machines, they decided to use manual labor — pulling those rocks on wheelbarrows and crushing them with sledgehammers. In that way, they were able to produce 300 tons of lime a month, while the road construction companies needed 500 tons a month. So by using a little common sense and initiative, NEC was able to produce 60 percent of the required amount of lime.

There is, therefore, room for improvement in this country, if we drop the wrong attitude of *rwarema* or *vita emeshindikana* (the war has become impossible). Although I am not given to using slogans, I think this time I should end with one: "*Down with defeatism!*"

TEN

Corruption Is a Cancer

I hope all of you had a happy Easter and peaceful Idd el Fitr. On the occasion of the state opening of the Fourth Session of the National Resistance Council, my remarks will center on the current economic, security, and political situation in our country.

The Economy

Our economy continues to make steady progress on its road to full recovery. The cumulative rate of inflation between July 1989 and March 1990 was 24 percent, down from 86 percent for the 1988–89 financial year. This gives us hope that by the end of this financial year, we shall have contained it at no more than 30 percent. Although such a rate of inflation is by no means ideal, it is nonetheless a big improvement compared to that of the 1988–89 financial year. It is most certainly a major success compared to the crippling rate of 370 percent experienced in 1986.

You all know the necessity of controlling inflation — this is the only way to restore the value back into people's earnings. As I have told you before, our economy grew at the rate of 7.2 percent in 1988–89 and is projected to grow at 6.1 percent in the 1989–90 financial year.

These rates are commendable by any standards, and the projected rate of economic growth for 1990–91 is 6.6 percent. Sectoral growth rates for 1989–90 have been 14.7 percent in manufacturing and 7.2 per-

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Address on the state opening of the Fourth Session of the NRC, April 30, 1990.

cent in agriculture. We are also continuing to make steady progress in the road construction sector. Since this time last year, we have made progress on these roads: Kampala-Jinja, Masaka-Mbarara, Mbarara-Ishaka, and Kampala-Mityana. Once we have fully rehabilitated our road network, we shall have removed a serious bottleneck in the infrastructure. Bad roads have been constraining work in all sectors of economic and social life. They are a major factor in raising production and transport costs, which are consequently passed on to the consumer.

In agriculture, there has been dramatic growth in crop production. In 1989, we produced 1.3 million tons of maize, up from 286,000 metric tons in 1986. This was an increase of 350 percent over a period of just four years. The increase in the production of beans is not as dramatic as that of maize, but it has gone up all the same. In 1989, we produced 352,000 metric tons, compared to 267,000 metric tons in 1986, an improvement of 32 percent.

These dramatic rates of growth prove, therefore, that in a fairly short time, we can increase production in nontraditional export crops and thus compensate for the loss of earnings caused by the decline in coffee prices. If, for instance, we sold 300,000 tons of beans, we would earn 150 million U.S. dollars. This means that it is within our capacity, through hard and disciplined work, and by utilizing our abundant land and water resources, to lessen our overdependence on coffee earnings and foreign financial support.

Indeed, far from continuous dependence on foreign loans and donations, our beans and maize are being bought by the European Economic Community and the World Food Program to send to countries in the region, like Mozambique and Rwanda, that experience food shortages. If the World Food Program buys 20,000 tons of maize from us this year, we shall earn two million U.S. dollars from that transaction alone. So you can see that we are really in a very strong position. The problem in the past had been that we had neglected to tap our considerable potential.

Increasing crop production, however, is not enough on its own. We must expand and improve our processing and marketing structures. The Produce Marketing Board is going to improve its processing capacity so that it can handle a half million tons of grain at any given time,

and they will have achieved this target by the end of this year. So we shall solve the problem of *wananchi* growing their produce only for it to remain unbought and rotting in their houses. Because of improved capacity and techniques in the Produce Marketing Board, whereby they will be able to clean, demoisturize, sort, and grade produce, we shall soon have grains and legumes of standards that are acceptable on foreign markets.

Additionally, the Produce Marketing Board and other government organs will continue to search for markets for our crops in order to fulfill our obligations to our present trade partners. I am, however, renewing the call I made in my New Year's message for private entrepreneurs to come forward and take part in the struggle to sell our products, both internally and outside the country. By the end of this year, the Ministry of Commerce will have worked out measures to give licenses to exporters. These measures, which will be free of complicated bureaucratic procedures, are intended to facilitate export-led growth, using as wide a range of commodities as our country can produce. The Ministries of Information and Cooperatives and Marketing together with the NRM Secretariat should explain this information to the people so that they do not become despondent over the temporary problems we are still facing.

Security

The security situation in the country is also continuing to improve. Over the last four years, the Uganda police and the other security organs have acquired considerable capacity to pacify the country and guarantee security of person and property. In spite of constraints like inadequate transport, housing, and communication facilities, these national organs now have enough capacity to wipe out insecurity. The only lacking element has been coordination. Recently, I made an extended trip to the east of the country to sort out this problem in that area. I have also instructed the Inspector-General of Police to put police units at all *gombolola* levels so that police protection is locally available where it is required. This measure will not only act as a preventive against crime, as potential criminals will know that sooner or later they will be arraigned, but it will also make it possible for wronged parties to have quick redress.

If an area's police force is based only at district or regional headquarters, it is unrealistic to expect that it can adequately combat crime or provide protection in a far-off *muluka* or village. This microzoning of the country will, therefore, pin responsibility on a given police unit, which will be answerable for the security of the people and property of its designated area. In this way, we shall redress the absurd and dangerous past situation, where criminals were allowed to commit crimes and harass ordinary people, and the state was either unwilling or incapable of doing anything about it.

There are, however, still many incidences of corruption in the police force. We are trying to counteract these practices by revising the Police Act in order that appropriate action can be taken against offenders. Members of the public should also help us by reporting any policeman who solicits a bribe. It is erroneous for responsible citizens just to keep quiet and sit back, hoping that the government has somehow got supernatural powers of detecting and combatting corruption. Government can only act on evidence, and evidence means information by, or against, one of the parties involved—either as a victim or as an accomplice.

As far as the National Resistance Army is concerned, we already have in place a strict Code of Conduct and we have many times meted out severe punishment to people who have broken it. There are numerous examples of corrupt practices, such as overinvoicing and the "supply of air." In order to check this, we have, for instance, given an order that it is illegal for officers and men of the NRA to get involved in import or export trade businesses. Transgression against such orders carries a penalty of dismissal, demotion, or a prison sentence. Corruption in the army is, therefore, easier to deal with than it is in the civilian sector because all we need is information and we then take expeditious and appropriate action. The Armed Forces Bill, which will soon be tabled before this Council, will consolidate further the considerable progress we have made in creating a disciplined and nationalist army.

Corruption

As I have said, I am convinced of the correctness of our handling of the economic, security, and political matters in our country. My worry,

however, is in connection with the corruption of our public officials. Originally when we came into government, there was rampant corruption in the Civil Service. I am now, however, beginning to get persistent reports that there is corruption among our political leaders, who are supposed to be the mobilizers in the vanguard of our reformist, revolutionary movement. You will recall, no doubt, that the elimination of corruption and misuse of public office is point number seven in the Ten-Point Program of the NRM. How can we hope to convince anyone of the rightness of our cause if our own people are violating our own stated goals, thereby undermining our political, economic, and social programs? Corruption is a cancer that, if it is not checked, will hinder progress in all sectors of society. Instead of officials carrying out work on public projects, they are busy looking for avenues through which they can divert funds and materials for their own private use.

Having said that, however, I do not feel despondent about this problem because I know that it is just a matter of time before we shall have perfected our means of defining and detecting corruption. The weighing scale that will help us define corruption is the Leadership Code, which will be brought before the Council during this session. Once the Code becomes law it will be easier to categorize corrupt practices. The next battle in the war against corruption will be its detection. There are already a number of government agencies that ought to be doing such work—the Inspectorate of Government, the various security organizations, the Auditor General's office, and the Public Accounts Committee.

The major task in combatting corruption, therefore, is to ensure that these institutions are manned by incorruptible people. It seems, however, that corrupt elements have infiltrated one or two of these departments and it is my intention to ensure that these subversives are uprooted. I am, therefore, confident that ultimately, the battle against corruption will be won. Members of the public should ensure this by giving information to the Inspector-General of Government in confidence. It is every responsible citizen's obligation to do this as it will guard against the violation of his or her rights.

If, for instance, a hospital official diverts drugs and you or your child do not get proper treatment, you can see that your human rights have been violated because that corrupt man or woman is depriving you of

your right to good health. I have received many reports of public officials simply neglecting to do their work. One of the main duties of a District Veterinary Officer, for instance, is to ensure that there are enough drugs available for the livestock in his area. If that District Veterinary Officer just sits in his office at headquarters waiting until the drugs run out, thus creating an artificial crisis, what exactly does he think he is doing in that office? I think our people should really start being more serious about their public duties and remember that neglect of duty is a chargeable offense. More often than not, this willful neglect of duty amounts to sabotage of projects and programs. The apathetic attitude of saying that "things are the same everywhere" has simply got to stop. Negligence and corruption, coupled with wrong methods of work, are a lethal combination indeed.

There are several other pending pieces of legislation that I urge this Council to debate and put in place as soon as possible. This will enable the machinery of government to run smoothly. These pieces of legislation include the Magistrates' Amendment Act and the Penal Code Amendment Act.

Good Neighborliness

Finally, I would like to report that our government has been working very hard to improve our relations with our neighbors. In spite of provocations from various quarters, we have intensified diplomacy and continued to promote the principles of good neighborliness and noninterference enshrined in the United Nations and Organization of African Unity charters. There is some improvement in the atmosphere in the region, which I hope will be sustained and consolidated. It is in the mutual interest of all our neighbors to live in peace in our region—I hope everyone shares that view.

I now declare open this Fourth Session of the National Resistance Council and wish you fruitful deliberations.

ELEVEN

Was It a Fundamental Change?

Five years ago today, we established the National Resistance Movement government and ended twenty years of tyranny. We presented you with a program conceived in the bush during those long years of the struggle. It is now time to take stock: has the National Resistance Movement delivered on its program?

The question of what political, economic, and social institutions Uganda should have was never seriously addressed when the British relinquished power in 1962. We thus became an independent nation on the basis of institutions the British had left in place. These were not of our own making and it is, therefore, not surprising that barely four years after independence, we had to embark on a venture of institution-hunting. That hunt has, unfortunately, left a lot of blood in its trail.

When the arrangements the British left in place were abandoned, those who abandoned them failed to think of institutions with which to replace them. Instead, they reduced institution-building to a couple of slogans. It was, therefore, easy for tyrannies to take root and thrive in that institutional desert.

To serve their own purposes, the British had created Uganda out of the many precolonial states they found had reached varying levels of constitutional development and that had different political systems. The colonialists did not put much effort into creating a Ugandan con-

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Address on the fifth anniversary of the NRM administration, January 26, 1991.

sciousness as such. Unfortunately, most of the politicians who joined the struggle for independence in the 1950s pursued the same sectarian politics that had characterized the colonial period. Our politics took a wrong course for which we have had to pay with a lot of blood.

At independence, the colonial structure was not reassessed. There was a lot of excitement caused by the inheritance of the power and wealth left over by the colonialists. Indeed, a phrase was coined to describe what had happened. The leaders had "fallen into things" (*okugwa mu bintu*). This mindless grabbing of the fruits of independence was honed to a fine art when Idi Amin declared his "economic war" in 1972 and the consequences are still tormenting us. The failure to build viable political, economic, and social institutions led to violence, tyranny, and chaos.

Disciplined and Politicized Army

When, therefore, the NRM established its administration, the restoration of peace and security was our first priority. It is easy to take peace for granted and, indeed, it should be taken for granted. Ugandans, who were deprived of peace and security for a long time, now realize how important they are.

The citizens of our country were terrorized for a long time by the very soldiers who were supposed to protect them: people used to have to run away from their own protectors, but this has now changed. This is surely a fundamental change for those Ugandans who used to have to abandon their houses for fear that rogue soldiers would come to rob and terrorize them. It must be a welcome, fundamental change for those Ugandans who held their breath every time they encountered a roadblock. Today those traumatic experiences sound like a bad dream, but they were our people's daily experiences before the NRM came in.

The NRM has endeavored to give this country an army she deserves, a disciplined army capable of defending people's basic rights. As you know, we have dealt very harshly with indiscipline. There is a very strict Code of Conduct for the National Resistance Army and a mechanism for dealing with wayward soldiers. No soldier is spared, whatever his rank may be. It is impossible to have peace and security if soldiers are allowed to take the law into their own hands.

In the past, armies belonged to individuals and not to Uganda. We believe that armies should be national and nationalist. They should not be swept away by changes of government or by the exit of individuals from power. That is why we attach the greatest importance to the politicization of our soldiers. They must assimilate the aspirations of all the citizens of Uganda so that they can learn to serve them all, and not just individuals or sections of the community.

Soldiers are currently actively involved in the process of constitution making because it is they who will be called upon to defend it. It is only fair that they should understand what they are supposed to defend. The National Resistance Army, unlike the former armies, will not become an enclave of illiteracy and ignorance. Illiterate and ignorant armies have been easily manipulated by unscrupulous politicians and commanders in the past. An educated and informed army will not be so easy to manipulate and this should save Uganda a lot of trouble in the future.

Soldiers should be able to acquire skills that can be useful in civilian life so that they can learn to look beyond the barracks. In the past, soldiers were told that the gun was their mother and father. This meant that they used their guns to get whatever they wanted. For our part, we are training our soldiers to become farmers, technicians, and entrepreneurs. We are offering them opportunities to improve their general education so that they are able to stand on their own outside the barracks. Ugandans should become soldiers in order to defend their country, to provide security to their people, and to enhance their aspirations and widen their horizons.

The security of a nation is, however, too important to be left to the soldiers alone. That is why the National Resistance Movement introduced the concept of home defense. We are trying to demystify the gun so that the people can begin to see it as an instrument of security and not of terror. Now the people can become directly involved in the provision of their own security. The days of terrorizing people with the gun are gone.

In 1986, at Mugusu in Kabarole District, we established the first political school, which was later moved to Namugongo, then to Wakiso, and then to Kyankwanzi. The National Resistance Army has its own political school at Entebbe. The idea behind the establishment of the

political schools is to expose as many Ugandans as possible to the realities of their country. People must understand how the problems in their country arose and be able to discuss solutions in a disciplining environment. Additionally, the cadres are introduced to military science. Ordinary citizens are taught how to use the gun, and the gun thus becomes democratized. Tyrannical rulers would never do such a thing because their existence depends on the mystification and monopolization of the gun.

Karamoja and Teso

Although we cannot claim that we have been able to bring 100 percent security to the whole country, all I can say is that we are doing our best. You know very well that since 1979, defeated armies have retreated to the north and northeast of our country with their weapons. You also know that since the colonial days huge parts of the northeast have never been effectively administered. They were alienated by hostile administrations; this is the situation we inherited in 1986. Nevertheless, we have built up a strong capacity in the whole country, which is already a basis for providing security for all Ugandans.

In 1987, we established the Karamoja Development Authority to address the problems of this hitherto neglected part of the country. I appointed a minister of state in my office to oversee and monitor the machinery of government, to help in the formulation of policy for Karamoja, and to supervise the activities of the Authority. For the first time since independence, therefore, the people of Karamoja are being involved in the planning of the development of their own region. We have desisted from assuming that we know what is best for our people there; the other development agencies will be guided by the people right from the planning stages through to implementation. This approach, I hope, will bring peace, security, and prosperity to Karamoja.

I recently appointed a Presidential Commission for Teso whose major task is to identify ways of ending insecurity in Teso. The NRM government is doing everything possible to resolve conflicts peacefully. Our people in the north and northeast have suffered enough at the hands of insensitive leadership not acquainted with the real conditions of the people. It is high time that our people in these parts saw through the

bluff of absentee "liberators" and joined other Ugandans in making their country secure and prosperous.

Democracy

Point number one of our Ten-Point Program is the restoration of democracy. The Greeks are reputed to have initiated a form of government where the people were directly involved in the making of decisions concerning the running of their daily lives. In the Greek city-states, where this form of government was first tried, neither the slaves nor the women took part in decision making. They were excluded from the political process and yet they formed the majority of the population in the city-states. The importance of the concept, however, is that the people should be involved in their governance and the National Resistance Movement subscribes to this principle: this is the substance of democracy.

If we are aspiring to have a democratic society, this, in our view, is a very good institutional foundation, and it is something that we have not had before. On the basis of the Resistance Council system, we were able to organize the highly successful national elections in February 1989.

In all democratic and civilized societies, constitutions are the anchors of people's rights. The people must, therefore, be afforded an opportunity to make the constitution themselves. In 1961 and 1962, the making of the Independence Constitution involved just a handful of Ugandans who were deliberately taken from Uganda to Britain during the deliberations so that they would not be able to consult the people whose constitution they were supposed to be making. Of course, the major input to the Independence Constitution was from our colonial masters. When it was overthrown in 1966, Obote turned up with a constitution that was endorsed by members of the National Assembly even before they had read it! He simply told them that they would find the document in their pigeon holes after that sitting. That is how the "Pigeon Hole Constitution" came into being. The 1967 Republican Constitution was made by a badly emasculated rubber-stamp National Assembly without involving many people in the exercise.

Our view is that the people must make their own constitution. It is for this reason that we set up a whole Ministry for Constitutional Af-

fairs to supervise the constitution-making exercise. In February 1989, a Constitutional Commission was appointed and its mandate is to evolve a popular and enduring constitution based on national consensus.

The Constitutional Commission is now educating and sensitizing the people by encouraging discussion of constitutional issues through seminars that take in special interest groups such as workers, the youth, women, security forces, civil servants, professional associations, Resistance Councils, and so on. People are responding enthusiastically with both written memoranda and verbal contributions. We hope that a constitution made in that way will consolidate our national unity, safeguard peace, and guarantee the fundamental rights and freedoms of our people.

This, to us, is a democratic way of tackling the governance of the people of Uganda. Ugandans are, for the first time ever, engaged in this important exercise, and this should count as a fundamental change. Whichever way democracy is defined, it must incorporate the rule of law, social justice, and the observance of basic human rights. You, no doubt, remember that during the second Obote regime, from 1980 to 1985, Uganda had a multiparty system complete with Parliament and Leader of the Opposition. That multiparty democracy did not encompass the democratic elements I have referred to. The polarization of society along ethnic and religious lines cannot form a basis of democracy and Uganda's recent history had proved this point again and again. It is important to forge a democratic system that will ensure our unity. We want to build a "win-win" democracy where all political groups can participate and where all people will get the feeling that the government belongs to them. That is the only way we shall ensure peace, security, and stability.

Women

It is true that women in this country have had the vote for as long as men have had it. However, women had not been brought into the mainstream of our political, economic, and social life. We are determined to do just that because we cannot talk about democracy without involving women in the nation's governance: they form slightly more than 50 percent of our population. If democracy is about equality and social justice, then women, who contribute around 60 percent to our agricul-

tural production (the mainstay of our economy) and produce 80 percent of our food, have to be taken more seriously.

The NRM government created a Ministry of Women in Development as a deliberate attempt to bring women into the mainstream of all aspects of development. In the Resistance Councils, women are automatically represented, since the Secretary for Women's Affairs must be a woman. In the elections to the National Resistance Council, every district throughout the country sent a woman representative to the Council. There are altogether thirty-eight women in the Council, seven of them ministers. Women now occupy key positions in the Civil Service and parastatals and nobody will be discriminated against on the basis of her sex. Our intention is to close the gender gap. This process, to me, is a fundamental change.

The Economy

Economics rule politics and all other aspects of life. That is why any government worth its salt should pay the greatest attention to the country's economy. It is for that reason that we asked ourselves the fundamental question — what kind of economy should this country have? We raised and tried to answer that question in our Ten-Point Program. Unfortunately, our predecessors had not seriously addressed themselves to any such question. There was either a lack of vision or will to develop an economy consonant with our status as a backward, economically dependent country. Instead, the colonial economy continued to drift and the much-vaunted "Move to the Left" of the late 1960s did not affect the substance of our essentially colonial economy based on the export of raw materials and aid-dependent "development" plans.

The NRM government has the vision and will to restructure the economy in order to bring about development, as opposed to mere growth. We know all the developed countries of the world planned their economies according to their own circumstances and we, too, must do the same.

I have tirelessly talked about the role of science, technology, and managerial skills in development. The developed countries became developed and continue to develop because of the scientific, technologi-

cal, and managerial revolutions in their economies. It is, therefore, important that our scientists, technologists, and managers not only absorb the stock of knowledge from without, but also extend the frontiers of knowledge in their disciplines to relate to our particular developmental requirements.

Like our predecessor governments, we have continued to beg and borrow, but it is a begging and a borrowing with a difference. We have something to show for it. Many factories have been revamped, roads constructed or repaired, and hotels refurbished. Above all, we have created an atmosphere in which investors can invest. Moreover, our present borrowing will lead us to self-sustenance.

At independence our raw material, cash-cropping economy depended on the export of coffee, cotton, and tea. Sugar was produced but most of it was locally consumed, while copper was mined at Kilembe and exported. Tourism was also becoming a major industry. There were also a few import-substituting industries and that was about all. During the troubled 1970s, Uganda could only manage to export coffee, simply because coffee trees, once planted, can survive many conditions of neglect. You would have to uproot a coffee tree in order to kill it off.

Of course, we are rehabilitating the traditional staples of our economy, but we are doing more than that. Our thrust is toward a diversified economy, as we clearly stated in the Ten-Point Program. To this end, we have ventured into the export of nontraditional crops like maize, beans, and sim sim. The export of horticultural crops is high on the list of our priorities. These nontraditional export crops figure prominently in our barter trade strategy. Although the barter trade strategy may not have taken off as vigorously as we had envisaged, we have no regrets about it whatsoever. We are now busy building an infrastructure to support it.

Work has already been completed at Kyazanga for a storage facility capable of accommodating 3,000 tons of grain. Tomorrow we are commissioning the 20,000-ton storage facility at Masese in Jinja. Plans are already underway to build grain storage facilities at Hoima, Kigumba, Kapchorwa, Lira, Mbarara, Nebbi, and Sironko. Altogether, these facilities will be able to handle 39,000 tons. Our aim is to create a national

food reserve and to fulfill our obligations under the various barter trade protocols. We are now paying for the construction of some of the roads and importing medicines, using the proceeds from bartering our maize and beans. This is, indeed, a fundamental change.

Mining

Our subsoils have a lot of wealth waiting to be tapped and our policy is to intensify the exploration and exploitation of minerals, including petroleum. Under the PTA arrangements, Uganda will produce and supply phosphates to the PTA countries and beyond. The quality and quantity of our iron ore at Muko in Kabale District is being investigated and preliminary drillings indicate that there are deposits of around fifty million tons of good quality ore. This could be the basis of an iron and steel industry in the future.

The government recently signed an agreement with the French Geological Survey Department to carry out a survey of gold deposits. Presently, our people with our primitive technologies are exploiting gold deposits in Busia, Ibanda, Kasanda, Kanungu, and Moroto. They are earning a decent living from this venture, but with inputs of requisite capital and technology, Uganda may become a major gold producer.

We are investigating the cobalt and nickel potential in Mbarara District; we intend to exploit cobalt pyrites piled up over the years at Kilembe; we are evaluating clay kaolin, talc, volcanic ash, and other minerals with the assistance of the Eastern and Southern Africa Mineral Resources Development Center.

Cement is scarce and expensive and this is bogging down development, especially in the construction industry. We have, therefore, embarked on a project to develop a low-cost cement using ash and volcanic ash mixtures. Additionally, we have finished rehabilitating the cement factory at Hima. One line is now ready but it still lacks electricity.

Oil

I do not have to emphasize the importance of an internal source of petroleum, especially at this moment when there is a war going on in the Middle East. Petroleum is a major drain on our meager foreign ex-

change earnings. We have, therefore, taken all the necessary steps that should lead to prospecting for oil and, hopefully, to the launching of an oil industry in this country.

There is already a training program for prospective workers in the oil industry. Ugandans are being trained abroad, in various aspects of the oil industry, up to postgraduate degree level. In June last year an agreement of cooperation between Zaire and Uganda was concluded in Kampala, providing the legal framework for the joint exploration and exploitation of the potential petroleum reserves along our common border.

For many years, copper used to be the mainstay of our mining industry. Although the Kilembe Mines are not yet in a position to produce once again, they have managed to develop a very important sideline in lime production.

Conclusion

All in all, we have reversed the trend of decline that had become inherent in our economy and society in general. For example, real income per head declined by 40 percent between 1972 and 1985. Since 1987, however, gross domestic product has been improving at an average rate of 6.7 percent. We are determined to maintain this rate of growth and we aspire to do even better than that.

Inflation has declined from an average of 258 percent in 1986–87 to 57.5 percent in 1989–90. By June 1990, inflation was down to 29 percent and fell to 22 percent in July before rising slightly to 26.7 percent in November 1990. If it had not been for the Gulf crisis and now the war, leading to a rise in the prices of petroleum products, inflation could have declined to the 15 percent we had projected.

There is another social statistic that is very encouraging. When we came into power, the infant mortality rate was 120 per 1,000 live births: today it is 101 per 1,000. Our immunization rates for BCG at 92 percent, diphtheria at 60 percent, polio at 60 percent, and measles at 60 percent are well above the African regional average of 60 percent for BCG, 45 percent for diphtheria, 45 percent for polio, and 45 percent for measles. All economic and social statistics show marked improvements.

No matter how good our plans may be, however, we need people to implement them. The major problem in this country is that the guardians themselves have to be guarded. We require, at all levels, a leadership that has the moral authority to lead. The leadership cannot have that authority if they are themselves tainted with corruption. I condemn corruption in all its forms and I wish to emphasize here that corruption can only disappear if the leaders are themselves clean. Only then can they exercise that moral authority, and only then will corruption be stamped out. I know that our leaders have enough perks to enable them to live above the poverty line. If they are corrupt, they are corrupt because when, over the years, morals and decency declined in this country, practices like that became the new ethic. In the name of our revolution, therefore, I beg our leaders to change their ways.

TWELVE

Building Uganda for the Future

My purpose in coming here is to ensure that, if possible, we can reach a thorough understanding of the problems here and if that is not possible, we can at least identify the areas of our differences. For that reason, I am ready to come here any time you want me to come so that we can sort out any outstanding issues. In the evolution of man, one of the hallmarks of progress is the suppression of the part of the brain that controls instinct and the supremacy of that part that controls conscious human action. Backward people are differentiated from civilized people by that rating—whether they follow instinct or conscious human action. The doctors tell us that there are two parts of the brain—the part that controls instinct is called the hypothalamus and the one that controls thought is called the encephalon.

I suggest that you read a little bit about the evolution of the human being. I do not myself have all that many books, but I manage to get some reading done. In fact, not so long ago, I borrowed some books from here. I was going to give a lecture on evolution at Bombo Military Academy and I needed to look up some facts, so I sent my aide to borrow some books from here—from this library, which you despise. There are some old books that you can borrow if you want to read.

The hallmark of a civilized society, therefore, as opposed to a backward one, is the development of a cooperative culture, as opposed to a

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Address to Makerere University students and staff at Freedom Square, Makerere University, Kampala, June 8, 1991.

culture of exclusivity and antagonism. I have come here to reason with you because there is nothing that we, as a government, cannot explain to you—there is nothing hidden. What we are trying to do is for our country—and for our continent. So if there is any area that is not thoroughly examined, it should be examined in an orderly, nondemagogic, disciplined, informed, and knowledgeable manner. But when people come here and just blow hot air, completely devoid of fact or analysis, and think they are contributing to the development of their country, then, I am afraid, the future of that country cannot be very bright.

We in the National Resistance Movement do not believe in such practices—we have been engaged in a lot of struggles, but we always combine reason, whenever possible, with confrontation, whenever necessary. But since we know the cost of confrontation, we always try to minimize it. In your case here at Makerere, there is no need for confrontation because you can always call me here, or the Minister of Education, if you have any problem and we can discuss it in a disciplined way.

Consider the disaster that can come about if there is confusion in the channels of communication, like the one that resulted in the death of our young people here last December. Some people called in an ill-led police force, which has decayed over so many years, and that, added to the indisciplined actions of students who were acting in contravention of the law—the confluence of this cocktail was the cause of the disaster. You here, therefore, cannot claim that you do not have part responsibility for the tragedy of last December. I disagree with your student leaders who completely ignore the contribution of the students' indisciplined actions. I have condemned the police because they did not act according to their standing orders. I beg all the parties involved to make sure that such a situation does not arise again.

The "Good Old Days"

The issues we are dealing with here are not secret matters—they can all be discussed publicly. I shall start by taking issue with the Guild President, who talked about "the good old days." It worries me when I hear university students in 1991 talking about "the good old colonial days." That kind of statement shows me part of the problem, and that is why some of us have recommended that we introduce a course on

Political Economy. Perhaps this course would help you unravel further the dynamics of the laws that govern the development of society. Society does not develop accidentally or haphazardly, as some people seem to think. There are certain basic laws of motion that govern society, and if the intelligentsia, among others, do not master these laws, no doubt we shall continue to be off course, as has happened before in Africa.

We are now talking of the '80s as a "lost decade," but I say that it is not only the '80s decade that was lost—the '70s and '60s were lost decades too, because we did not address the issue of the structural transformation of our economies. Instead, we sank deeper and deeper into the production and export of raw materials and the consequence of that strategy is what we are reaping now. That wrong strategy is why all the African, Asian, and Latin American countries are facing economic and political crises. Except for countries producing oil and diamonds, like Botswana, all the others have got serious financial problems. The raw material strategy was evolved in colonial times and inherited by the postindependence governments. Therefore, when I hear my young colleague talking of "the good old days," I get concerned because it means that if you misconstrue the investigative studies you are undertaking in this institution of higher learning, we shall continue to have a lot of problems. We shall have people who think they are educated, but who are, in fact, misinformed.

This is exactly what has been happening. Why do you think Africa has not moved? If the good old days were so good, why could our economy not sustain itself? It was not integrated and it could not function properly because it was dependent on the production and export of raw materials, including coffee. Why are the prices of all the raw materials going down? They are going down because of scientific reasons. One, because there is worldwide overproduction. The world production of coffee is 100 million bags, but the consumption is only 70 million bags—that is why the price has gone down. In 1985, we got 400 million dollars (U.S.) from coffee—this year we shall only earn 140 million dollars. Why is this? It is because all the peasants in the tropics—from Brazil, to Colombia, to Vietnam, to Indonesia—are producing cof-

fee. As the price goes down, our standard of living—the schools, universities, and all other services—declines as well.

The second reason why raw materials are losing value is because of the progress of science and technology in the world. As science and technology develop, alternative raw materials and new methods are discovered for industrial processes. Take copper as an example. Copper was very highly priced in the past and countries like Zambia, Zaire, and Chile were very prosperous in the 1950s and 1960s because they produced copper, which was used for electricity and telephone lines. Because science developed, however, the telephone makers discovered microwave systems, which do not require physical wires. Copper wire is now only used for electricity cables and its price has consequently gone down, and the economies that were built on copper have gone down with it. These are very serious issues that you should discuss and be familiar with. If you do not know about these issues and then proceed to talk about "the good old days," especially in a place of higher learning like this one, what will the peasant in the village, who does not have the privilege to come here, talk about?

Coming to the problems you raised, I should like to touch on your problem of electricity load-shedding—the situation where you have electricity for some hours, after which it is taken away to another place. These problems are the cumulative effects of what we have been going through. Our small power station at Jinja was capable of producing 150 megawatts when it was built in 1954, and when the population of Uganda was four and a half million people. By the time we came to government in 1986, its capacity had declined to 120 megawatts, and the population of Uganda is now seventeen million. In the meantime, countries like Tanzania, which were far behind us in power generation but did not undergo the same problems as we did, were by 1986 producing a total of 370 megawatts. In other words, Uganda was producing less than one-third of Tanzania's total power output.

We have, however, struggled to repair and upgrade our power station to 180 megawatts. At the same time, we are struggling to build a second power station on the eastern side of the River Nile. This will produce about 200 megawatts. Five years from now, we shall have ar-

rived at Tanzania's 1986 power position. So you can see the crisis we are talking about. The economic hardships of Uganda are a matter for study, if you care to study them.

Regarding the other questions that were sent to me, some of which are purely welfare and campus affairs, I shall ask the Ministers of Education and Finance to answer more fully because that is their field. If there is anything to add, I shall add it but you must respect the fact that there must be specialization in dealing with such issues.

Education for the Future

MUASA (Makerere University Academic Staff Association) talks of the need for an amendment to the 1970 University Act and the 1975 University Decree. They would also like some changes immediately in some university regulations that do not require legislation. I have already talked to the minister about some of these issues and he has some answers. MUASA would also like to be availed with copies of the White Paper on education policy. The NRM is not going to be content with the prevailing education situation in the country. If you take a district like Masaka, which is supposed to be a "developed" district, at the primary level of enrollment, out of every one hundred children who are supposed to go to school, only fifty-two do so, and forty-eight never see the inside of a classroom. Remember that I am talking about a so-called "developed" district. If you go to Kotido, in Karamoja, the figures there will be far worse. This is a situation the NRM cannot tolerate.

There is no way we can effect a revolution in Africa without developing the human skills that are the most crucial element in the progress of a society. A society is said to have progressed when it has mastered a higher level of the acquisition of science, technology, and managerial skills. This is the primer for development—like the needle in a gun that activates the bullet to go forward. You cannot raise the level of productive forces unless you raise the level of human skills through education.

Some countries, like Japan, do not have any natural resources to speak of—they have no coal, oil, iron ore, or even fish, but Japan is one of the most developed countries because it has a highly skilled population that has transformed the country into a very prosperous nation. If we want to develop our country, we must develop our human skills but

not by using the elitist colonial education system that we inherited. We have got a few people who go up to Makerere, but they are an island in a sea of backwardness. The NRM's philosophy is that we must create the conditions for mass education. It is not easy because in the short run, we do not yet have enough usable or mobilized resources in the form of goods and services.

Although we still have constraints on resources, we must embark on a program of mass education. We must have a strategy that will optimize the scarce resources we have and make sure that by the year 2002, every child in Uganda will go to school for at least eight years. This is not much, but it is better than nothing and it will enable our people at least to read a newspaper and be able to do a few things for themselves. This is all contained in the White Paper and there is no reason why it should not be distributed to everybody so that there can be a national debate about it. I think one of the problems in the past has been to regard the problems of educational restructuring as if they were matters only between Makerere University and the Ministry of Education. This is a national policy that should be discussed in Parliament, at RC levels, and by the newspapers so that everyone can take part in the debate. I do not see why it should be taken as if it were a tug-of-war between the academics at Makerere and the bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education. Everybody in Uganda has an interest in education and everybody should take part in the debate.

Why Is There an African Crisis?

There were also wider questions of African and international concern. I was sent the question: "What did the recent OAU Summit meeting contribute to the resolution of the intensifying African crisis?" I have already talked about the essence of the African crisis.

1. It has come about largely because of these reasons: the first is the production and export of raw materials. I have already dealt with it in detail but I shall add another illustration. The fact of the raw materials being made irrelevant and redundant by alternatives or new discoveries is not a new one. It is in the history of the development of the world. Those of you who study some history will know that the biggest impe-

tus for the Europeans to explore and evangelize the world was the search for spices, which were in high demand because they were being used as preservatives for meat and other foodstuffs. They did not come just for evangelization — in fact, Cecil Rhodes said that colonialism meant evangelization plus a 5 percent profit. The Spanish and Portuguese colonists as a result became very rich because of the spice trade.

Now, just imagine if today we depended on the export of spices — what would our situation be? Zanzibar, for instance, was once very prosperous because its economy was based on the export of cloves, but their price has declined. This phenomenon of raw materials being rendered irrelevant is, therefore, an old one. What happened in the past was that postindependence African governments did not identify and address these issues — instead they exacerbated the problems.

Take the example of the Ivory Coast, which after independence expanded the production of coffee sixfold and of cocoa fivefold. Now Ivory Coast is the third largest exporter of coffee in the world after Brazil and Colombia — Uganda is number five. Additionally, Ivory Coast is the largest exporter of cocoa. In spite of all that, there is a very serious economic crisis in the Ivory Coast because of the decline in the prices of coffee and cocoa. Whatever reasons may be advanced for the failed strategy of economic development in that country, the fact is that the economic strategy itself was wrong in the first place.

Take cotton as another example: if you export one kilogram of cotton today, you will get one and a half U.S. dollars. But if you convert the one kilogram into T-shirts, you will earn thirteen U.S. dollars. Therefore, the fact that we export raw goods, which have no value added, loses us a lot of money.

2. The second problem is the fragmentation of African markets. Uganda, like most African countries, is too small to support big industrial production. That is why the Europeans formed the European Community in 1960 — comprising first six countries, then nine, now twelve. They now have a market with a total population of 350 million. Those of you who have studied a bit of economics should know that the more you produce, the less are your costs. But this has not been the case here in Africa. That is one of the problems we addressed recently in Abuja

by creating the African Common Market. Earlier we had created the PTA, ECOWAS, and so on.

3. The third problem that afflicts Africa is an unskilled population — a population of peasants, not of technicians. We should have a society of intellectuals, scientists, and technicians. How can Africa's peasants compete in the modern world? That is why the NRM is laying a strategy for mass education, which will enable our people to compete in the modern world; perhaps over the next twenty or thirty years we shall have a skilled population.

4. The fourth major problem in Africa is dictatorship and lack of democracy. Without democracy, you cannot, for instance, stop corruption, which is a big cancer in Africa. Some people think that dictatorial regimes can cause development in the economy, but I don't agree. Without democracy, there is no way you can bring about development because people cannot speak freely, they cannot criticize wrong programs, they cannot criticize corruption, and without criticism things are bound to rot. So the question of democracy is a vital matter indeed for Africa. There is a lot of debate on this issue at present, but I see one problem in it. It is that some of the thinkers confine this debate to multipartyism, which they think is equivalent to democracy. I myself disagree with this viewpoint. I have gone on record on this issue and I shall do so again. A society like ours here is still preindustrial, which means that it is still primarily a tribal society, and that its stratification is, therefore, vertical. In an industrialized society, on the other hand, you have horizontal linkages and, therefore, horizontal stratification.

If you take the United Kingdom, for instance, you will find that manufacturers in Scotland, in Wales, and in England all have similar interests. When they are discussing issues with government, they are debating how to protect their industries: whether to join the Common Market, and what the advantages for British industry are in so doing. They are talking of cross-national industrial interests. The workers who work in the industries are always struggling with their employers over wages and this will apply to all workers, whether they are in Scotland, Wales, or England. Again you get a horizontal, cross-country linkage based on class interests, because an industrialized society is really a class

society. That is why the political parties in industrialized societies are largely national. If you take the Labour Party in Britain, it is largely a party of workers. Again the workers in Scotland, in Wales, and in England will join the party on the basis of their class interests.

You can see, therefore, that a multiparty system in an industrialized society is likely to be national, while the propensity of a similiar arrangement in a preindustrial society is likely to be sectarian. In this debate on democracy, the lack of which is one of the major crises in Africa, we must bear this point in mind, otherwise we shall again vulgarize the debate and miss the boat like we did in the 1960s. The democratic movement in Africa will be hijacked again like the anticolonial movement was hijacked in the 1960s. As it was gaining momentum, outsiders came and split it up saying: "You here are pro-Russia, and you there are pro-America." What had begun as an African liberation movement became a fragmentation of quisling entities beholden to extracontinental forces, and that distortion contributed to Africa's crisis.

5. The fifth point is related to the fourth and it is the question of ideological independence. Africans are not intellectually or ideologically independent; they are intellectually lazy and the salvation for a lazy man is to imitate other people's ideas because he does not then have to think for himself. You abdicate thinking and copy what other people are doing, irrespective of whether or not it suits your circumstances; this is our biggest crisis. It is pathetic, ridiculous, and shameful when you see the way Africans imitate other people, although I do not want to be too controversial about this! It is pathetic to see that so-called African intellectuals are completely incapable of original analysis and appreciation of vital issues. The only thing they do is to imbibe and imitate what other people are doing. This phenomenon of flunkyism, always being on somebody else's coattails, is manifested in our politics, our culture, and our very style of life. People are always trying to denounce themselves and their heritage and become somebody else. The philosopher Frantz Fanon called it self-hatred. Africans are alienated from themselves and this is a big crisis indeed.

In our case here when Amin came to government, at first the Western countries welcomed him. They said that although he was "a bit

short on the grey matter," he was still a nice chap. Then after two years, he quarrelled with the British when he expelled the Asians. Thereafter, the Russians, the Arabs, and others adopted him. Whenever I went to foreign embassies in Dar es Salaam to try and tell them about our case, the Eastern Europeans would tell me that Amin was not all that bad—that he had some positive tendencies! Positive tendencies in Amin! We, on our part, refused to listen to either the Western or Eastern Europeans and that is how we managed to get rid of Amin. Had we listened to either of them, Amin would still be here. I am trying to show you the importance of independence in ideas. Ideas must spring from your social reality. You must analyze your own society and extrapolate relevant theories on which you can base your judgment and actions. Mere imitation will not take Africa anywhere.

On democracy, the NRM has always been in the vanguard of this ideal but we insist that it must always be on the basis of independent analysis, not just the regurgitations of whoever thinks he is entitled to give us lectures on subjects with which he may not be very conversant. We did address some of these issues in Abuja and, as for me, I use every forum and opportunity to put across our views of what will save Africa. Economic integration is one way out. Fortunately, moves have already been made in that direction. We have the PTA in this region, and now we have the African Common Market, which, although it will take time to materialize, it is still better to be on, rather than off the road.

North and Northeast Uganda

MUASA also sent me a question about the problems in north and northeast Uganda. I shall answer this by giving you the background—the genesis of the problems in those areas. In 1986, when the rebellion started, it was a counterattack by the previous factions that had held power—the Obote and Amin groups. They launched a counterattack to recapture political power: it was as simple as that. Now, the question is: what did they want to do with that power? In moral and ideological terms, what justification did the Obote or Amin factions have in trying to regain power? They had had power before and they had misused it. The terrible consequences of their tenure of power are still here with us, so I do not see why they should have wanted power again, having messed

up the country as they did. It was, therefore, our duty to stop them from regaining power.

In the process of our trying to stop the rebellion, there has obviously been a lot of suffering. But what else could we have done? In spite of the fact that we knew the goals of these groups, we have always used two methods to deal with them. On the one hand, we have used military means to crush those who wanted to reverse the gains the population had made and on the other, we have used dialogue. There is no group I have not myself talked to—Otema Allimadi, Angelo Okello, Peter Otai in London, and so on. Alice Lakwena fled to Kenya, but the poor girl was being manipulated by the UPC Obote faction. Because they found that they could not fight us on a scientific basis, which means that you aim your gun properly and kill your adversary, if you can, they resorted to intoxicating poor peasants with mysticism and incredible lies.

So we also still have a struggle for a qualitative transformation of the politics of Uganda. These criminal opportunists would tell the poor Lakwena peasants that provided they protected themselves with some herbal medicines, they would not get killed even if they were shot at with a machine gun. These were the politicians who sought to take over power in Uganda—they knowingly sent poor peasants to sure death and they would use any other such means as long as it would help bring them to power. We must stand firm—we cannot accept the bankruptcy of men who would knowingly deceive ignorant people and make them rush to their deaths to be mown down by the army. They would tell the peasants: "When you are going into battle, don't look behind you; those who died were killed because they were sinners who did not follow what we told them. They looked behind them and they were killed by the 'holy spirit.' We also told them to make sure that they did not come in contact with their fellow fighters, but they did not listen—that's why they were killed." Those are the types of people who sought to run Uganda! The poor Lakwena girl was being manipulated by criminals who would intoxicate soldiers on marijuana so that they would rush into battle against machine guns, and tell them that somehow, at the end of the day, somebody would be on the radio declaring himself President of Uganda!

In our own movement, we had similar primitive tendencies. When we were in Luwero, the peasants would invite me to participate in their ceremonies. They would say, *Omukulu, kirabika olutalo lunno telugenda mumaso bulungi kubanga tetunaba kukola byakinnansi,* meaning that the war was not going very well because we had not performed traditional ceremonies. So they would take me with them, slaughter a goat, then we would jump over it, and they would say we would have to eat all the meat at once because if any of it remained, the ceremony would not have been completed—just the same ideas as Lakwena. They would then say, *Nga kati bwokoze omukolo, nebwogenda nemundu emu, owamba Kampala,* meaning, "Now that you have performed the ceremony, even if you go with one gun, you can capture Kampala." They would reason that this was now possible *kubanga emisambwa gya bajjajja ffe kati gyenyigidde mulutalo*—that since the spirits of our ancestors had been mobilized and were now part of the war effort, we did not have to worry about the actual scientific preparations for waging a war.

Then I would say, *Banange bajjajja mubagambe nti eby'olutalo ebya wano babindekere,* meaning, "Please, tell our ancestors that since I am on the spot [conducting the war] let me handle the present situation—tell them just to bless me!" And my peasant comrades would agree to leave the conduct of the war effort to me. In this way, I would combine collaborating with them with educating them, because I could not allow the peasant ideology to gain the upper hand in the movement: that would have been very dangerous indeed, if not totally disastrous.

We also had some of our peasant soldiers who believed that if they carried reeds into battle, they would not be shot. We had to confront this and rule that anybody who said anything more about carrying reeds into battle would be shot by firing squad. We said we would give him his reed, let him perform his ceremonies, and shoot him to see whether or not his reed would protect him. That was the end of the reed theory in our army, but it illustrates the crisis of the quality of leadership, which was sending the Lakwena peasants to fight against a modern army using mysticism instead of science.

Going back to the question of negotiations and using soft methods to bring about reconciliation in the country, I do not think there is anybody who can surpass us in this. We formed a broad-based govern-

ment with many different elements in it, and we are still trying to win over those who are still against us. At the same time, we cannot afford to be too compromising because we can endanger the country by allowing the ascendancy of negative forces. The situation in the north is improving tremendously. In fact, the insurgency, as such, was ended in 1987 and all that remained were remnants, who were killing civilians and kidnapping school children, until we moved in during the recent massive operation and picked out the rebel collaborators.

A Correct Military Strategy

I should like to brief you a little bit about the NRA's strategy on army building. Our strategy for the war in the north was a correct one. We had to take a firm stand by building an army that was adequate for our conditions. We built a largely infantry army—not a tank or any other kind of army. This meant that our soldiers could walk and reach every nook of Uganda. If you are in a tank, you cannot walk to go and find a bandit who is hiding behind a tree in the bush because a tank normally travels along main roads or at least in clear areas. By building this force, and in record time, we have been able not only to guarantee internal security, but also to maintain production in a large part of the country, and guarantee the defense of our borders against all sorts of threats. I think this is an interesting area of study, not only for us but also for other countries. Recently we had some officers from Nigeria who were shown around and they were very interested in how we do things here.

Going again to the welfare problems you have raised here, I myself have been solving many problems without facilities—many, many times. For instance, when we were in the bush, we fought a war without bullets and ran medical services without hospitals—I can show you people who were operated on under banana trees. We repaired limbs, carried out caesarean sections, opened up abdomens—all this without concrete-built houses and without modern theaters. This is the culture of the NRA—we do things on the basis of self-help and improvisation.

We would not have been able to build up our army if we had waited until we could get concrete buildings. Even now our soldiers are still living in grass huts—as I did myself. If we had the need to fight again on a big scale, I would stay in a grass hut again—if necessary for ten

years. Therefore, I feel some pity for those Africans who do not see that sometimes, in order to get over present-day dilemmas, it may be necessary to live a life of self-denial in order to get to another stage of development. We never compromise on our stand because we do not fear sacrifice. For me personally, that means that although I am now almost turning fifty, I would go back to the trenches and stay there if the need arose. I think Uganda would be better off if there were a spirit of sacrifice, simplicity, and improvisation, especially among our young people. I would like you, my colleagues, if you can, to join me on the road of sacrifice for our country—the few of you who can, although I would, of course, prefer it if there were more of you. To conclude this point, therefore, the war in the north will be ended soon because we handled it in time. There is, however, nothing that can salvage those people who insist on going down that wrong road. We are willing to welcome them back if they surrender on their own accord, but if anyone waits for us to catch him, we shall put him on trial for treason.

A Narrow Tax Base

MUASA also raises the issue that the government should establish a scheme for the furnishing of university teachers' houses. They also propose a housing loan scheme that would enable members of staff to construct their houses. The Minister of Education will deal with these issues later, but I shall make a contribution. I shall do so by giving you some information. All the things you are asking for can and perhaps should be done, but the crux of the matter is that we must first earn some government revenue. Government revenue comes from taxes, and taxes come from taxing income and property and from excise and customs duties, sales tax, and so on.

When we came into government in 1986, the tax revenues were very low. Why was this? They were low because Uganda's whole economy had become *magendonized,* that is, it had become informalized. Beer was not coming from a factory here—it was coming from Rwanda and Burundi: it was a certain type called "Primus." This beer would not come through the customs points at the borders—it would be smuggled into Uganda through the hills. When beer comes into a country through the hills, the tax collectors cannot collect taxes on it, and the

same applied to all other consumer goods. Over the past five years, our government has been trying to reverse this trend in order to ensure that we formalize the economy again by creating channels for the formal supply of goods — that is, by repairing the beer, sugar, cement, and cigarette factories and building new ones so that we can once again create a tax base. We have done quite a lot of work in this area.

I shall read you some figures to illustrate this. In 1986–87, the tax revenue collected within Uganda was five billion shillings (just over five million U.S. dollars at present exchange rates). The government of the whole of Uganda was running on five billion shillings! In 1987–88, it went to 22.26 billion shillings; in 1988–89 it went to 47.8 billion; in 1989–90 it was 94.53 billion; and in 1990–91 it was 131.27 billion shillings. This financial year, 1991–92, we shall raise 198 billion shillings. The five billion in 1986–87 was 4 percent of GDP. Taxes are collected as a proportion of GDP and the percentage of GDP collected in taxes is normally between 25 and 30 percent. Next financial year's collections will be 10 percent of GDP, having risen from the 4 percent of 1986–87. If we could collect taxes of up to 20 or 30 percent of GDP, many of the problems you are talking about would be tackled. So when you are talking of loan schemes and so on, you should bear in mind where we are, where we came from, and where we are going. It is just a question of figures, which you can obtain from the Treasury and inspect for yourselves.

The Students, the Authorities, and Jobs

Coming to the points raised by the Students' Guild, they say they would like student representation on the University Council to be increased. There is no problem with that and in fact you are flogging a dead horse. Somebody was saying that the Council is dominated by government ministers — but my government is not interested in dominating college councils. Is this really an issue over which to waste time and strike? This is not a contentious point, as far as we are concerned.

In 1968, I was the first student in East Africa to sit on a University Council. I was the one who proposed the idea of students sitting on college councils — this is a matter of record. The students also say that they want to sit on the University Senate, but I cannot support that because what I remember about universities is that college councils are admin-

istrative policy organs, while the Senate is an academic body that deals with the marking of exams and so on. If you are saying that democracy means marking your own exams, then I am afraid I cannot accept that. The Senate is purely for academic purposes and it is not for students to sit on. If you had your own independent sources of money and were not funded by the government, I do not think it would be necessary to have even the one representative from government, but since you use public money, the government must know what is happening here.

The Guild also says that the clause of the University Act that virtually negates the autonomy of the university should be done away with. By this you are saying that the minister should have no say over the university, even when there are matters of public interest. Since you are getting public money, this would not be constitutionally acceptable because the minister is answerable to Parliament. Here we are talking of accountability and democracy, and that is the road on which Uganda is traveling at the moment. We shall be even more democratic in the future because everyone, including the president, will have to be elected.

Since, in a democracy, the supreme organ is Parliament and all public expenditure has to be justified before Parliament, and if public money is being spent on the university, I do not see how you can say that the government should have absolutely no say in what happens here. That is nonsense, I am afraid, and I cannot support it. Supposing something goes wrong? How can you say that the government should have no residual powers? These are residual powers — they are not powers that are used in a daily operational role. Autonomy does not mean expulsion from the university of the ultimate authority — the government. Autonomy means that you have freedom of action in normal times. But why should the government not come in if there were a crisis?

The Students' Guild would also like students to be guaranteed employment after graduation and also during vacations. I think we shall have to be a bit careful on this one because there are some contradictions. Some of you advocate capitalism as the best method of running society. The moment you accept capitalism, you must accept its rules, one of which says that labor must be hired according to the demands of the labor market. If you say that we must guarantee you employment, I do not think that will fit in our economy, which is now a mixed, mainly

private enterprise economy and which will become more capitalist in the future. If a private person sets up his own factory, how can you force him to employ people he does not need? I think, therefore, in the syllabus and also in your own individual choices for careers, you should bear in mind the marketability of your qualifications. If you qualify as a sociologist, how marketable are your skills? Even in professions like medicine, some of its branches are completely underdeveloped here because of their marketability. For instance, I think we only have three orthopedic surgeons in the whole of this country. Why is this? It is because repairing bones is not a very lucrative business. On the other hand, gynecologists and obstetricians are abundant because the business of delivering babies is a booming one.

That is why we are trying to move the syllabus toward more technical qualifications to improve the marketability of our graduates. Alternatively, you could come and join me in farming! If you are a sociologist and you do not get employment, come and join me in farming. As for me, I started farming when I was a young boy. After completing my Higher School Certificate, I bought a piece of land with my own money, which I had earned during the six-month vacation between leaving school and going to university. Or you can convert your qualifications into teaching so that we can have more teachers. You must, therefore, bear in mind the marketability of your qualifications or be ready to go into private enterprise.

The Guild also talks about staffing levels being only 50 percent filled. I do not know what the problem is here because I meet many Ugandans abroad complaining that when they apply to join the teaching staff, they are often discouraged. I shall discuss this with the administration, but I also think it is good to have a public debate about such issues.

Corruption

The Guild also raises the problem of corruption in the public service. It is a very big problem caused mainly by low salaries, which we are trying to remedy. Apart from that, the moral fabric of our society had completely decayed and our culture had become completely ruined. So we have to struggle very hard to fight corruption. Recently, we brought some people from Ghana to help us in detecting tax evasion and we

have already made some arrests. Tax collectors collect money and pocket it, and the people who are supposed to inspect the tax collectors to make sure that the money actually goes to the Treasury are also involved in the racket. In order to break it, you must get somebody from outside. The situation is very serious. I have also appointed a CID officer to my private office. I did this because whenever I went upcountry, the peasants would bring me petitions about corruption, which I would pass on to the police, but nothing would happen. So I decided to have my own CID branch directly under my control so that investigations could be started straightaway.

We have made quite a number of arrests and people are a little bit scared now. Previously people would even say to us, *Twakalaba gavumenti meka*? meaning, "How many governments have we seen? This one has come and will go like the others before it." But even if the government lasts for one day, it can cause you problems if you are breaking the law. If I could get a few more good CID people, the situation would improve.

Rwanda

The Guild is also concerned about the regional tensions created by the problems of Rwanda. This is true and we are very sorry about it, but it was not of our making. The Rwandese who are living here came in two batches — one at the beginning of the 1920s because of the bad Belgian administration in Rwanda. It was a very harsh regime and many Banyarwanda fled as a result. Some were cattle-keepers and others worked on shambas. The next group came between 1959 and 1961 as refugees fleeing the civil war in Rwanda. These people are here legally, but they are refugees whose status has never been regularized. As for those who are not legally refugees, they are illegal immigrants. The Rwandan government has been taking the line that the Rwandese outside Rwanda are none of their business and that they are the responsibility of those who were stupid enough to give them refuge. The Rwandan government even made a public statement taking this line until we told them that we would not accept that position.

While still on this issue, I should tell you that there are ethnic Banyarwanda who are Ugandans because the colonial boundaries incorpo-

rated into Uganda one county of Rwanda, which is now Kisoro District. In precolonial times, that area was occupied by Banyarwanda as part of the Kingdom of Rwanda. Some people in the Rwandan government have been arguing that the Rwandese in Uganda should remain there because, "after all, Uganda took our land." As a matter of fact, Rwanda took more land that was Ugandan. This is the area that is called the Omutara region. It is opposite Kamwezi, Kizinga, and Kakitumba—that area was part of the Kingdom of Mpororo, which was later joined to the Ankole Kingdom. Even the place names are Kinyankole not Kinyarwanda names—Kayonza, Nyabweshongoize, Rwempasha, and so on. This, however, is not the point. We are not going to argue on this because the OAU recognizes colonial boundaries as they are and it is not correct for the Rwandan government to keep on raising this issue. The real problem is that the Rwandese government does not accept its own people.

How the Banyarwanda came to join the National Resistance Army is a matter of history. They were living here when we had our civil war. During the civil war, the Banyarwanda, like other people in Uganda, joined the different factions—some joined us, others joined Amin, and so on. We were fighting for our own internal reasons, which had nothing to do with Rwanda. Then in October last year, the Banyarwanda in our army conspired and went into Rwanda and started to cause trouble there. Some people have asked the question: "How could so many people go without the government being aware of it?" But there is an English word called conspiracy—I think we have all heard of it! The truth of the matter is that these people conspired, took us by surprise, and went to Rwanda, which was not particularly difficult. There are no natural barriers on the borders between Uganda and Rwanda—you just walk across and you are in Rwanda.

We had some information that the Banyarwanda in Uganda were up to something, but we shared it with the Rwandan government. They actually had, or should have had, more information because, after all, it was their business, not ours, to follow up who was plotting what. But that is one part of the story—the other part is: how long would the problem of Rwanda have gone on? It is always easy to mourn a patient when he dies, but if the man was chronically sick, how long could he

have gone on? If a government does not bother to solve the problems of its people, what does it expect? Does it expect peace?

When we came into government in 1986, we had a half million Ugandan refugees living in the Sudan and Zaire. In 1980, they fled from West Nile from Obote's repression and it was a priority of our government to ensure that they came back. We brought all half million of them home and they are back in West Nile, in Nebbi and Madi. It was our duty to ensure that our people did not remain abroad in such massive numbers. If people are going to live abroad, let them do so voluntarily, but not as refugees. Within two years of coming to power, the NRM had resolved Uganda's refugee problem. Suppose we had not brought them back? There is now a civil war in the Sudan, and the Ugandans would have been caught up in it: some would have joined Garang, and others would have joined the Khartoum government. Who knows, one day they might have escaped from the Sudan and invaded us! One could argue that it would have been the fault of the Sudanese government, but it would have been, first and foremost, the fault of the government of Uganda for not having taken measures to repatriate its people.

For our part, we are ready to help the Rwandan government to solve this problem in any way they think is feasible, if only they will accept their people and find a solution for them. All the countries in the region are expecting them to do this. The Rwandan government tried to isolate us by presenting the problem as a Uganda-Rwanda one, but we exposed it in all the forums — in Mwanza, in Gbadolite, and in Dar es Salaam. Everyone says three things: one, Rwanda, you should accept that Banyarwanda are your people; two, have a ceasefire with the rebels; and three, negotiate with the rebels. This is the message of Mwanza, where we met with President Mwinyi of the Republic of Tanzania and President Habyarimana of Rwanda; this is the message of Dar es Salaam, which was a regional meeting; and this is the message of Gbadolite, where we met with President Mobutu of Zaire.

The other day, President Habyarimana raised this issue in Abuja at the OAU Summit and he gave me a chance to explain to the whole of Africa how the whole problem started. As I have explained to you, if the Banyarwanda had not been living here, they would not have got

caught up in our civil war. They took advantage of our civil war to gain some knowledge about the use of arms, and later on used that knowledge to go and try to invade their country. These are risks you face when you have got large numbers of your population living abroad involuntarily. The Rwandan government says that their country is overcrowded and I have told them repeatedly that they can call me to discuss that problem to see if we can be of any help.

Part II

Military Strategy in Uganda

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THIRTEEN

Why We Fought a Protracted People's War

This article aims to explain to our people, as well as friends of Uganda elsewhere, the broad strategy of our struggle. It will also outline the progress we have made so far in the liberation war, and deal briefly with the prospects for its successful conclusion.

The strategy of the National Resistance Army, which is the armed wing of the National Resistance Movement, is that of a protracted people's war. The concept of a protracted people's war is not a new one, but it is not properly understood, particularly in Africa. Nor is the term "strategy" itself, in the technical military sense, always properly understood. Strategy is often confused with tactics, as if one meant the other. Therefore, before we talk about the progress and prospects of a protracted people's war in Uganda, we shall briefly examine the terms "strategy" and "tactics" and the concept of a protracted people's war itself. We should also be aware of the different kinds of strategy that may be employed to resolve a war situation.

Strategy means the methodology one uses to solve a problem as a whole, that is, to solve a problem from A to Z. Tactics, on the other hand, are the methods one uses to solve parts of a problem from A to B or from B to C. In situations like that of Uganda after Obote grabbed power last year, there are four possible strategies to consider.

Article published in *Resistance News* in 1981 at the beginning of the war of liberation.

Conventional War

Conventional war is the strategy by which large formations of armies slog it out in face-to-face battles following fairly definable and identifiable frontlines. These entail the use of large pieces of modern equipment including artillery, aircraft, and rockets. The degree of sophistication depends on the belligerents. Advanced countries have very sophisticated equipment, while Third World countries have varying degrees of sophisticated equipment depending on their wealth, political systems, and the presence or absence of regional conflicts.

But to describe a war strategy as conventional does not mean that it depends only on the sophistication of the weaponry used: it depends also on the nature of the fighting, as pointed out above. Conventional war as a strategy uses tactics of large-scale formations, fighting face-to-face battles. Examples of this are World War II and the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973. In the case of Uganda, the strategy used by the Tanzania People's Defense Force (TPDF) in the 1978–79 war was that of a conventional war. Two divisions of the TPDF, supported by Uganda freedom fighters moving along two axes, routed Amin's army and drove it up to the Sudanese frontier over a period of eight months.

Insurrection

This is a strategy where the population, for example, students, soldiers, or workers, stages an uprising against the government and overthrows it. This normally takes a short time, perhaps a couple of days, but it involves a lot of people. This was the strategy used in the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964, and the Congolese Revolution of 1963 against Filbert Youlou. This kind of strategy needs a high degree of coordination.

Coup d'État

A coup d'état is a strategy where elements of the army seize key installations and take over power in a relatively short time. It normally takes a few hours to accomplish. This strategy has been the most widely used in African countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan, Egypt in 1952, and Idi Amin's coup in Uganda in 1971. In the case of Ethiopia, however, the

officers of the Ethiopian Army, principally those of the Second Division in Asmara, used the method of a "creeping coup" against Haile Selassie and it took them several months to overthrow him.

Protracted People's War

This is a strategy where popular forces, namely those forces supported by the masses, wage a protracted war against those in power. The elements in power may be colonial or local oppressors. Popular forces may start off with weak military units in terms of numbers, weaponry, and organization, but by using the strategy of a protracted war, they will turn potential into actual strength, thus overcoming their weaknesses vis-à-vis the enemy forces.

A protracted people's war goes through three phases: guerrilla warfare, mobile warfare, and finally conventional warfare. The phase of guerrilla warfare entails operations carried out by small units — section, platoon, or company — operating almost independently and launching short, sharp attacks, ambushes, and executions of notoriously antipeople elements. In order to cope with these attacks, the government or colonial forces will try to spread out their forces by fragmenting their army into numerous small units. These small units are thus made more vulnerable and subject to surprise attacks, harrassment, or annihilation. If, on the other hand, the enemy does not scatter his forces in this manner, he will lose control of territory and population to the popular forces. This is an absolutely insoluble dilemma for a repressive machinery, provided the cause is popular and the guerrilla commanders do not make mistakes through adventurism or defeatism.

The guerrilla forces concentrate on disruption of communication networks, the economy, the enemy administrative structure, and the spy networks. The guerrilla forces also initially concentrate on attacking weaker structures like police units, auxilliary units like militias, or the less powerful of the enemy forces. This is done in order to avoid casualties and to gain battle experience before taking on tougher assignments. They concentrate on attacking the enemy when they are on the move rather than when they are in encampment because the enemy is more vulnerable on the move. This process of wearing down the enemy will eventually shift the balance of power, with the repressive forces becom-

ing worn out and the popular forces gaining in strength, weaponry, numbers, and combat experience and organization.

Once the popular forces have solved the initial organizational problems of weaponry and combat experience, they will start operating with bigger units like companies, battalions, or even brigades and eventually reach a level where they can fight mobile warfare. Mobile warfare involves the fighting of mobile and fluid battles. At this juncture, and during the phase of guerrilla warfare, the popular forces should not worry about loss of territory or control of the population. Loss of territory is, at this stage, of no consequence.

In our case, the more important considerations are the preservation and expansion of our forces by avoiding unnecessary casualties and destroying the enemy's means of making war, namely his weaponry, his troops and their fighting morale, his economy, his physical infrastructure, and his international credibility. Of course, all this assumes the support of the masses, otherwise such a war could not be sustained even for a day. When the balance of forces has shifted in our favor, we shall launch conventional warfare. This entails fighting positional warfare for control of towns and strategic points. It is the final phase of a people's war, but even here, the popular forces do not have to compete with the enemy forces in terms of weaponry. All one needs to defeat the unpopular forces of repression, provided one has grasped the science of a people's war, is basic infantry weapons and artillery, namely, field artillery, antiarmor pieces, and antiaircraft missiles.

The point to stress here is that we do not need as much weaponry as the tyrants in power. Where they have tanks, we only need antitank weapons of modest caliber; where they have aircraft, we only need antiaircraft weapons. The basic weapon, however, is the support of the people and their political consciousness. The people should also be convinced of their own strength vis-à-vis that of the enemy. The strategy of a protracted people's war was used with great success in China, Cuba, Mozambique, Vietnam, Algeria, Kenya, and other countries. Any failures have been caused by mistakes made by the organizers, or because the war was being fought for wrong political reasons.

When the Obote clique seized power on December 12, 1980, a number of patriotic forces started considering the question of armed strug-

gle to remove the dictatorship. Two lines of thought emerged on the strategy that should be adopted: some advocated a coup d'état, while others advocated a protracted people's war. We who later formed the Popular Resistance Army, which has now merged with the Uganda Freedom Fighters to form the National Resistance Movement and Army, rejected the strategy of a coup. The main point against staging a coup was the presence of Tanzanian troops in Uganda that could always be reinforced from Tanzania. By trying to capture the radio station and take power in one day, we would have been making a gift of ourselves to the Tanzanians, since they had already decided to become backers of Obote's dictatorship.

We therefore decided to give them an expensive war—a protracted people's war—which would render their superior weapons irrelevant and wear down their means of making war in Uganda, namely, the economy, morale, and domestic political support in Tanzania for their government's involvement in Uganda. We knew the Tanzanians could not afford to fight the people of Uganda once they had become well organized. The consequences for the perpetrators of aggression against the popular forces of Uganda using the TPDF would not be very pleasant. The people of Tanzania are not only brothers, but allies of the people of Uganda. Anybody betraying the interests of the Ugandan people, using the TPDF, would soon be found out by the Tanzanian people.

Our Choice of Strategy

A number of other factors dictated our choice of strategy. The plot of the Obote clique against the Ugandan people revolved around the following points: making the TPDF support Obote's usurpation of power, the illegal expansion of the tribal militia in the months before the elections, and the concentration of this militia in Kampala while non-UPC elements in the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) were dispersed to places like Soroti, Mbale, Jinja, and Masindi. According to this plan, those elements opposed to Obote's seizure of power within the UNLA would not be in a position to challenge this array of Obote-Tanzania strength. How could "pro-Museveni" soldiers move from the Sudanese border and other remote areas to come and challenge Obote in Kampala? Therefore, when Obote's clique and its backers announced

their usurpation of power on December 12, 1980, they thought they were home and dry! Obote now concentrated on coopting the neighboring countries into supporting his antipeople coup, thinking that he would isolate the popular forces in Uganda by starving them of any assistance that might help them in the struggle.

Some of us watched this circus in amazement because we knew that the people of Uganda, provided they were well led, were capable of administering a deadly counterblow in defense of their abused democratic rights. Because of limitations in their political outlook, Obote's clique, supported by the Tanzanian authorities, greatly underestimated the revolutionary capacity of the Ugandan people. Their contrived dispersal upcountry of the pro-people elements in the UNLA had the practical result of further dictating that we should opt for a protracted people's war strategy.

The War Begins

Having chosen our strategy, we launched the war against the Obote dictatorship on February 6, 1981, by attacking the Kabamba School of Infantry at 8:30 A.M. Using our one platoon, we attacked 1,400 trainees and the one company of Tanzanians that was training them. We overran the camp by capturing the quarter guard, the communications room, the military transport depot, and all the administrative quarters. But we failed to enter the underground concrete armory, where a Tanzanian corporal, because of our mistake of prematurely firing at the quarter guard, had taken firing position under excellent concrete cover. When we weighed the possibility of the casualties we might sustain, we ordered our fighters to withdraw, taking all the vehicles and other available equipment. Thereafter, we established ourselves in various areas of central Uganda and started launching attacks against the enemy.

Our operations have comprised surprise attacks like the one at Kakiri, seventeen miles on the Kampala-Hoima Road, on April 6, 1981. In this attack, we used a company to engage twice as many of Obote's bandits who had camped there since February, terrorizing and stealing from the people. We overran the camp and captured everything: submachine guns, one 82mm mortar, one 60mm mortar, antitank grenades, one GPMG, and one box of 7.62mm rounds of ammunition. We also, un-

fortunately, killed some Tanzanian officers and men who had ignored our orders for them to stop while they had been on their way from Busunju.

When we withdrew with our booty, the Tanzanians from Busunju and other units from Kampala supported by APCs tried to encircle us in a forest near Kakiri. Had it not been for the heavy load of our booty, we would have inflicted grievous damage on the reinforcing units. Eventually, we slipped through the net they were trying to weave around us and withdrew to our bases in good order. This was a typical operation of a fairly advanced form of guerilla warfare—that is, reaching the stage of attacking enemy encampments. A characteristic of this kind of operation is that it is short and sharp. We do not fight protracted battles: rather, we fight protracted campaigns and a protracted war.

Another tactic we use is ambush. The best example of this so far was when we carried out an ambush against Obote's troops at Kawanda on March 16, 1981: Kawanda is only six miles from Kampala on the Gulu Road. Using several sections, we lay in ambush for twelve hours until 5:30 P.M., when we decided to go into action. Altogether we destroyed eight army vehicles, three lorries, and five Land Rovers, captured substantial quantities of ammunition, and killed seventy enemy soldiers.

However, from April to the end of June, we suspended operations to allow the Tanzanians time to withdraw. We did not wish them to get involved in our war and be killed on their way home after they had helped Ugandans get rid of Amin. We resumed operations on June 30 and we are achieving success after success. What the enemy has received so far is but a drop in the ocean of what we shall give him if he does not accede to the people's demand for democracy.

It is important to note that in all our operations, our soldiers maintain the highest level of discipline and have instructions to be humane even to captured enemy soldiers. We have also refused to adopt assassination as a tactic. More important, however, we regard assassination as a cowardly tactic used because of a failure to identify and isolate antipeople criminals. It must also be said that indiscriminate political assassinations can preempt the maturing of a political process and thus deny the population an opportunity to see for themselves the bankruptcy of the repressive elements in power. Thus we do not use indi-

vidual elimination to neutralize a political opponent simply because he is a political opponent, even in a war situation like ours. We concentrate, instead, on neutralizing armed opponents. We believe in disciplined, organized, and politically motivated violence against systems, but not against individuals.

However, it must be emphasized that notoriously antipeople elements who persistently undermine the struggle, especially by killing civilians and our fighters, will not escape their just punishment. He who indulges in committing antipeople crimes turns himself into a legitimate military target and earns just retribution.

Can We Win?

A question is often asked: can we win? For us the answer is not merely that we can win, but that we shall certainly do so. The reasons?

1. We are fighting for a just cause: we are fighting for the democratic rights and human dignity of our people, which have been trampled on for nearly two decades by Obote and his erstwhile protégé, Amin. Our women shall no longer be raped by bandit soldiers; our citizens shall not be robbed or beaten at roadblocks; and no citizen, not even a tramp on the streets, shall be killed unless he is so condemned by the courts. Court orders shall be obeyed by even the highest government officials; elections shall take place and they shall not be rigged. The right to be treated with respect and courtesy by these so-called officials, the right to live, and the right to dignity are not favors to be bestowed by anybody: they are the birthright of every human being.

2. We are fighting a war supported by 85 percent of the people of Uganda, and the number is growing, including defections from the UPC itself. There are genuine patriots who may have honestly belonged to the UPC without knowing the bandit and gangster character of the Obote clique.

3. Our political line is a patriotic one — it is antitribalistic, antidictatorship, and nationalistic, that is, anti-foreign domination. It is antitribalistic in that it rejects, for instance, the bankrupt position put about that this war is between the Bantu and the Nilotics. This is because Obote, a habitual opportunist and reactionary, always tries to evoke sympathy on ethnic grounds. It is true that Obote's tribalist line has had

its corrupting influence on some of our people, but they are simply being used as cannon fodder by his clique. For our part, we draw a distinction between the misled and the misleader: we aim at liberating the whole of Uganda and all of its people.

We also reject the other view, equally backward and tribalistic, that is advanced by some persons who are supposed to be leaders. According to this view, the boundaries of Uganda were drawn badly: the northern border should have been drawn along the River Nile — meaning that it is the northern people of Uganda who have been the cause of all the woes of our country. Utter rubbish! It is true that both Obote and Amin came from across the Karuma Bridge, but their crimes of two decades have nothing to do with the peoples of northern Uganda, where the peasants have suffered as much, if not more, than anybody else because of the backward and disastrous policies of these two evil men.

Our line, therefore, rejects tribalism, and aims at maximizing the unity of our people as a sine qua non for lifting themselves out of their miserable living conditions. Our political line is progressive because it is opposed to the perpetuation of the socioeconomic backwardness on the African continent. First, we acknowledge without embarrassment the reality of this sociological backwardness, which is in large measure caused by the backwardness of our productive forces (for example, technology). We do not, however, glorify and eulogize this as some misguided academics tend to do, not knowing that all cultures were backward at some stage or another, and that there is nothing particularly "African" about backwardness.

The phenomena of tribalism, nepotism, rampant corruption, the barbarism exhibited by the so-called armies, and the disrespect for human dignity are products of this very backwardness. Likewise, characters like Amin, Obote, Bokassa, Nguema, Tombalbaye, and other monster politicians do not drop from heaven but arise out of our conditions of backwardness. Backwardness tends to propel backward elements into positions of leadership. Uganda, unfortunately, seems to have had more than her fair share of backward men in positions of leadership. The main reason seems to be that at independence, our elite — one of the best trained in sub-Saharan Africa — despised "politics" as such because of biased colonial training. They left it mostly to men of low political un-

derstanding, most of whom had a low level of modern education. That is how school dropouts like Obote found themselves at the helm of affairs of state at independence.

Therefore, most of the political views and practices that have prevailed in our country have been of a backward, nonprogressive type: tribalism, sectarianism, sycophancy, intrigue, and corruption. These wrong lines, for which Obote bears heavy responsibility, have propelled into leadership people with ideas that would have been considered reactionary even in medieval times.

This backwardness manifests itself in the following manner: on the one hand, the leaders despise the people, and on the other, the people underestimate themselves. The shedding of backward leaders and of the backward situation that produces them is an absolute imperative. For while it is impossible to have civilization in situations of backwardness, ignorance, economic misery, and primitive technologies, it is nevertheless possible to have progressive political elements in such a situation. Once such people are in a position of leadership, they have a duty to guide the population out of the quagmire of superstition, ignorance, primitive technologies, economic misery, and other aspects of backwardness. Our political line, which is broad, patriotic, nationalistic, antitribalistic, and progressive is, therefore, correct and will eventually be accepted by all, including some who may at present be on the side of the enemy.

4. The mere justness of our cause, however, or the correctness of our political line, or even the overwhelming support of the masses would not be enough on their own to win the war. We must, in addition, have a correct military line that is in harmony with our situation: a military line that avoids adventurism and eschews subjectivism at the same time. As already stated, the chosen military line of the NRM and the NRA is a protracted people's war, but to recapitulate, this strategy goes through three phases: guerrilla warfare, mobile warfare, and finally conventional warfare.

In the guerrilla warfare phase, a protracted people's war is governed by the following principles: "When the enemy attacks, we withdraw; when he encamps, we harass him; when he retreats, we attack." To go on to other principles of the struggle: fight short and sharp battles; avoid

battles you are not sure of winning; attack the enemy when he is on the move rather than in encampment; utilize the element of surprise and concealment; utilize your mobility; do not attach importance to loss of territory; attach importance, instead, to preserving and expanding forces and destroying the enemy's means of making war, for example, economic structures, weaponry, morale of personnel, and international credibility; use ammunition sparingly; rely basically on manpower and treat weapons as secondary; and above all, integrate yourself to become one with the people in order to ensure their support.

At the stage of mobile and conventional warfare, a protracted people's war is similar to modern warfare waged by regular armies. By that time, large sections of the guerrilla forces will have been transformed into regular forces. We have seen the effectiveness of this strategy against powerful forces, for example, in Indochina against the French and the Americans, in Mozambique against the Portuguese, and in Chad against the French and the puppet regime of Tombalbaye. In Mozambique, for example, while the Portuguese had 70,000 troops, half of them Europeans, FRELIMO started with only forty-eight fighters, divided between four provinces. In Cuba, Castro started with twelve fighters and defeated Batista's army of 50,000 men: the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Even in Uganda, this strategy has succeeded brilliantly in our struggle against the Obote dictatorship. Starting off with relatively few men, we have built up a considerable force of dedicated, patriotic, and disciplined fighters who have inflicted defeat upon defeat against Obote's bandit forces. Had we had the necessary weapons, Obote's fate — even with the support of his Tanzanian backers — would have been different by April this year. We are about to come to grips with the dictator and we shall certainly win.

Why Is the War Taking So Long?

Another question is often asked by our compatriots: why is it taking so long? The answer is that the war is taking a long time because the strategy of a protracted people's war, dictated by our circumstances, means precisely that. We could not have opted for a coup d'état or insurrection or conventional warfare for reasons we have already discussed. The popular forces, though overwhelmingly backed by the masses and led

by fighters of a high caliber, were not yet ready or sufficiently organized to take a single decisive action that would have resulted in the downfall of the hated regime. Furthermore, it is not easy to make the necessary arrangements and mobilize enough resources for one decisive blow while the enemy is still in control of the country.

We have now, however, established an alternative center of power inside the country. The control of territory is contested and authority is also contested. The only task remaining is for us to arm ourselves. Once we have attained a decent level of weaponry, the outcome will no longer be in question. We do not need sophisticated weapons: we compensate for our relatively simple weapons with superior fighting capability. Fortunately, we have acquired long experience in fighting and we are in the process of passing it on to our people.

There is one more question. Isn't the population opposed to Obote's dictatorship going to be systematically decimated and eventually wiped out? Obote's gangs are massacring whole villages on the pretext that the villages are supporting freedom fighters. This has been done in places like Mukono, Bujuko, and Kikandwa. The answer to this is that people cannot and should not wait to be wiped out. In heavily contested areas, they should run away to neighboring villages or even to neighboring countries until the dictatorship is defeated. Of course, this means a lot of personal hardship, suffering, and loss of property in some cases, but there can be no freedom for us without such a price having to be paid. The commitment to petty property, such as one's *kibanja* (plot of land) should not be so much that it leaves us open to blackmail by criminals like Obote and Amin. Such monsters will always hold us at ransom by threatening to kill people en masse when patriotic forces challenge them where it hurts most: on the battlefield. We cannot allow ourselves to be intimidated in this way by desperate people.

The population should, therefore, be prepared to abandon their villages temporarily in order to escape the reprisals of Obote's bandit army. We should know that mass reprisals have never saved criminal regimes, be they Hitler's, Caetano's, or Amin's. Have we forgotten Mustapha's statement in 1976 that if Amin were harmed in any way, Kampala would be bathed in blood? Where is Amin now, and where is Mustapha? Have we forgotten the Wiriyamu massacre in Mozambique? What about the

massacre in Angola in 1961? What about the My Lai massacre in South Vietnam?

The lesson from all this is clear: desperate rulers will always act brutally, but they will not be able to save themselves. The villages of Uganda are not the first to be razed to the ground by desperate despots on their march to the dungheap of history: Obote, Ojok, and others are one such group. Provided our people remain as determined and resolute as they have been all along in this struggle, there is nothing that can save Obote and his usurper clique in Kampala. Moreover, these crimes shall not go unpunished. We shall definitely review our policy of restraint toward these criminals. They must be individually answerable for the crimes they perpetrate. In addition, subject to availability of arms, the whole population should be armed so that they can defend themselves against these criminals. We want the people of Uganda to know that the dictator's bluff will soon be called because our victory is certain.

FOURTEEN

Who Is Winning the War?

Some people in our army and movement are interested to know how the present balances of forces in the Ugandan situation stands. The question on a number of people's lips is: who is winning the war?

In order for one to know who is winning the war and who is losing it, one has got to use the weighing scale of whether the main objectives of the respective belligerent parties are being realized or not.

Therefore, we must ask the following questions: what are, and what have been, the main objectives of the enemy over the past four years and what have been ours and how many of them have been realized? The answers to these questions will tell us the winner and the loser so far in the Ugandan conflict.

Obote Has Failed

Let us start with the enemy's objectives, which have always been the following: wiping out our army by killing our officers and men and our political leaders, capturing our weapons in order to end the insurgency, and restoring the monopoly of the armed tribal groups, which have enjoyed political power since the 1960s. In an attempt to achieve this, the enemy has launched sixteen offensives so far, sometimes with up to seven thousand soldiers at a time, using medium artillery against us. The enemy has also used encirclement techniques trying to starve

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Letter written to members of the NRM from NRA Headquarters in the Luwero Triangle, March 11, 1985.

us, as well as the scorched earth policy to intimidate our supporters and starve us into submission.

Has the enemy succeeded in these aims? Not at all! Except for destroying property and killing hundreds of thousands of civilians, the enemy has failed in all his objectives. First and foremost, he failed to wipe us out and we have survived. Second, he has failed to stop the growth of our movement and army. These two are failures of a very fundamental kind on Obote's part. He should by now have realized that the insurgency of the people of Uganda in pursuit of their just rights cannot be defeated and that our victory is inevitable.

Our army started off with twenty-seven armed men on February 6, 1981; now we have thousands of armed people organized in battalions and brigades. Over the past thirteen months, we have used brigade-sized units to attack Masindi (the enemy's 15th BN, Artillery Regiment and Artillery Training School, as well as police and prisons), Hoima (army detachment, police, and prisons) and Kabamba Military Training School. We have captured all the weapons in these major military and administrative centers. We have successfully beaten off all the counter-attacks manned by units mustered from all over the country, who tried to come to the rescue of the units we had overrun.

For our part, we have withdrawn in organized order back to our operational base. In the case of Kabamba, apart from overwhelming the unit that was guarding the Military Training School and the recruit cadets, we successfully beat off counterattacks by the following units: Mubende's 33rd BN, the Buffalo and Bear Battalions of the Special Brigade reinforced by companies from Masaka, Jinja, and Moroto, as well as Ngoma BN, Katoke BN, F-Zone BN (Masuliita), and Bee BN.

All these counterattacks were unsuccessful in their missions of reclaiming the weapons we had captured from Kabamba, inflicting serious casualties against us, or blocking our return to our operational zones of Luwero, Mubende, and Mpigi. Such large-scale and multifaceted thrusts into the mid-Western regions of Mubende, Kabarole, and Hoima Districts are living testimony of the enemy's failure in achieving his two aims of wiping us out or seriously impeding our growth. Obote's failure is not confined to those two fundamental aims: it is evident even in the secondary objectives of his war effort, which is to in-

flict serious casualties on us or expel us from the operational zones in which we first launched the war in 1981, that is, in Mubende, Mpigi, and Luwero.

These two objectives, particularly the latter, would not, in any case, constitute victory for Obote. This is because, ultimately, the most important factor in winning or losing the war is not the capture or loss of territory: it is, rather, the retention or loss of the cohesion and combat effectiveness of the forces. Victory is not the capture or loss of territory or even the number of serious casualties sustained or inflicted. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that Obote has failed to achieve even these peripheral aims.

Therefore, as you all know, not only have we survived Obote's attempts to wipe us out, expanded our manpower and weaponry, and deepened the quality of our army in every aspect (training officers and men in field engineering; light, medium, and antiaircraft artillery; communication systems including broadcasting and the repair of our radio sets; and establishing medical services), but we have actually defeated Obote on all counts and we have inflicted grievous casualties against his troops.

To take an example, you all know that over the past fifteen months, we have defeated Obote in all major and minor engagements except for the encounter between the enemy and our troops of the former First Battalion at Mukubira's farm in March last year. In this encounter in addition to losing four soldiers, including an officer, our troops failed to fulfill their mission, which was to proceed to Kiwoko-Wakyato Road and lay an ambush. They had to withdraw in confusion. The reasons for this defeat were not difficult to find. There was no reconnoitre on the planned route and errors were made in reacting to enemy fire.

Many Battles Won

Apart from this encounter, we have won all major and minor battles in these fifteen months. We only have to mention Kigweri, Kyankwanzi, Muhanganzima, Biduku, Tweyanze, Lukono, Kibanda, Masindi, Buhanku, Rwamahungu, Mpoma, Namugongo, Kapeeka, Semuto, Hoima, Kabengeredwa, Kibike, Mugogo, Kirolo, Mawale, Nakaseke, Kitawungwa, Galamba, Kembogo, the heroic battles by the Sick Bay, Kabanda, Kyaka,

Karuguuza, Birembo, Ntwetwe, Kitalya, Kirema, Kagembe, ambushes on Gombe-Kirolo Road, Kyoga, Kyajinja, Mataba Swamp, ambushes on Kyakwanzi-Kiboga Road and Kiboga-Bukomero Road.

In all these battles our casualties were low, the highest being at Kitalya, where we lost nine comrades — most of the casualties being self-inflicted or caused by carelessness. In all these missions — some of them major indeed — all our objectives were realized and some missions, like Kabamba and Masindi, were very lucrative, resulting in the capture of enormous quantities of arms. We also killed and wounded many of the enemy, for instance during the battles of Kyoga and Mataba Swamp. At Mataba, it is estimated that two hundred enemy officers and men were either killed or wounded.

The above facts, therefore, answer the question: is the enemy realizing his objectives or not? To repeat, the answer is definitely "No." Are we, for our part, then, achieving our aims? The answer is "Yes." Our major aims are to survive and to expand our forces. We are realizing even minor objectives like maintaining low casualty rates on our side while inflicting high ones on the enemy's side. We have also remained in our operational zones, in spite of massive enemy pressure.

Our Correct Strategy

Why have we been so successful in battle? This is because we have followed correct lines in military, political, and organizational matters. In military affairs, we scrupulously ensure equilibrium between our aims and our resources; in political affairs we always support right against wrong; and we rely on the masses, but at the same time struggle against popular but erroneous traditional beliefs, like witchcraft, which could be very injurious if they were given free rein. Our correct line in organizational affairs ensures the correct handling of, for example, the relationship between the leaders and the led, the handling of secrets, and the solving of problems within the movement. This ensures that we can avoid adventurism and always maintain an equilibrium between various factors and forces.

Following these major and sustained victories, I am in a position to tell the membership of our movement, and the world at large, that the civil war in Uganda has entered a decisive stage. In the not too distant

future, our army will be in a position to launch strategic offensives to remove Obote from office and ensure the elimination of his gangs from every inch of Ugandan soil. We need, however, to ensure that everything we require is in place before we launch such a strategic offensive. We need enough trained manpower to handle captured weapons; the ability to control a reasonable section of Uganda's territory; to guarantee security for the people and their property; and to acquire enough rifles, bullets, and shells to launch and sustain a decisive offensive.

All NRC members, COs, and PCs should ensure that all our officers and men understand these facts about our struggle. This will help to avoid pessimism and impatience, especially on the part of some politically backward elements in our movement. This will also help to counter the confusion that can be caused by opportunists who joined the struggle hoping to use it for their own selfish interests. There are, for instance, people who think that since we now have quite a good number of guns, we should immediately attack Kampala and take power without regard to some of the factors I have outlined above. Such politically backward people even argue that Museveni could have taken over power long ago but did not do so because he wanted to indoctrinate the population first into believing in communism!

These good-for-nothing fellows fear the political education of the masses like they fear cancer because it threatens to wipe out the ignorance they have been flourishing on and with which they have been manipulating and exploiting the people. They would like us to emphasize tribes and religions, without which divisions they know they cannot survive even for a year on Uganda's political scene. I should like to tell them that political education in the NRA, and indeed the NRM, will actually be intensified whether we are in the bush or in power. Those who fear that the people of Uganda will soon discover their real interests and those who would like to perpetuate ideological obscurantism in Uganda ought to know where to go: they should actually join Obote.

Victory Is at Hand

However, for those who genuinely wish to know why we have not taken Kampala in spite of our enhanced fire power, the answer is that war is a

science: it is not a gamble. As we have said above, we must, if we want to succeed, ensure equilibrium between our objectives and our resources. Second, it should be clear that taking Kampala is not necessarily victory. The problems we are now experiencing in the bush are nothing compared to those we would face if we took on Kampala without making adequate preparations.

In conclusion, I should like to point out that the struggle of the people of Uganda is beginning to assume historical proportions because it is one of the very few struggles that have been genuinely self-reliant. Chiefly because of the weaknesses of our external workers, it was not possible to get material assistance from outside. A number of good projects were ruined by so-called high-ranking officials on our External Committee. In spite of this, however, the internal wing has been able to sustain the struggle and expand it with quite a lot of hardships that could and should have been avoided. Our civilian supporters have been subjected to severe repression — that would have been prevented if we had received external assistance.

Having said that, our acquired self-reliance ought to give hope to any determined oppressed people in the world: it is possible to defeat repression on the basis of self-reliance. Another interesting aspect is the merging of the different social classes and strata in a common struggle: peasants, workers, intelligentsia, and businessmen all working for the common interests that unite them. The third aspect is the defeat of sectarianism. In our army, you do not find attitudes of religious or tribal bigotry: people of all religions and all tribes work together, as do the members of the UPM, DP, CP, and UPC. This shows that national unity is achievable.

Let us push on: victory is at hand!

FIFTEEN

The NRA and the People

I want to thank you very much for all the good work you have done since I last saw you at Katonga. Your battalion is the one that fought the Katonga battles. The Katonga battles, fought mainly by yourselves and at times jointly with the Fifteenth Battalion, were great battles indeed in the struggle to liberate Uganda. This is because we used Katonga as the grinding stone against the enemy. I thank you very much for this great work.

In doing all this work, in all these accomplishments, you adhered to our political line. You maintained a good relationship with the population. This is very important. People like Bazilio Okello had spread some malicious propaganda here that our army was going to massacre the people in northern Uganda, in Acholi and Lango especially. They said that we were going to kill them to avenge the crimes committed in other parts of Uganda by young men from northern Uganda. They scared the population to the extent that people abandoned their towns and went into hiding.

When you arrived here, however, and practiced our politics of regarding all Ugandans as one people, Bazilio's bad politics fell to pieces. Their campaign disintegrated. Yesterday (see speech, "The Price of Bad Leadership") I was talking to some elders, some of them UPC supporters, and I explained to them that our line is to take all Ugandans as one, and to regard all Ugandans as equal. The largest part of the political

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Address to the National Resistance Army in Gulu, February 13, 1986.

work was done by you. If you had made some errors, my words to the elders would have been meaningless. Since you had laid a good political foundation by your actions, it is now easy for the movement to do political work in this area. Therefore, I thank you again very much for the political work you did through your actions.

Now, I want you to rest a bit: you have done very good work in this war and you rightly deserve some rest. Make sure, however, that you rest like a lion: when a lion is resting, you think it is sleeping, when in actual fact it is quite awake. Do not go and rest like *wananchi,* taking off your shoes, putting on pajamas, thinking that the war is over. That is dangerous. Rest like a lion, your gun at the ready. Rest, wash your clothes, but stay alert.

When you are playing the guitar, you play all the strings. All the strings make part of the guitar. If you want to play good music, you cannot play only one string.

Today, every day, the whole world is tuning their radios to hear what is happening in Uganda. Bazilio is gone, Toko has gone. All this is because we are playing the war music together. All the strings are being played, each at the right time. And do not forget something else that is more important about this guitar: the population. The frame of the guitar itself is the population: the army are the strings. You must remember this and always keep it in mind.

Continue the good political work you have been doing. If a *mwananchi* needs treatment, our doctor should treat him. If you meet an old man with a heavy load, help him. You must show your wrath to the enemy, but never to the population.

SIXTEEN

How to Fight a Counterrevolutionary Insurgency

In order for a patriotic national government to fight a successful counterrevolutionary war, the following conditions must be met:

1. The cause of the government must be a just one: it must be fighting for right and not for wrong causes. It must be fighting to preserve or bring about democracy, to carry out land reform, to crush tribalism or other forms of sectarianism, to crush banditry like cattle rustling or other forms of gangsterism.

If the government is fighting to impose or preserve sectarian hegemony, to grab peasants' land in favor of landlords or big local and foreign capitalists or to perpetuate corruption, the government is likely either to fail or face a very hard time, depending on how well its opponents are organized.

Many Hurdles to Overcome

Therefore, if a government is to have any chance of defeating a counterrevolutionary insurgency, it must be fighting for justice, not for injustice; it must be fighting for right and not for wrong causes. However, even if a government is fighting for justice, reactionary or primitive forces may take advantage of the ignorance of the population and manipulate it into opposing the government. This is a real possibility in Africa because of the following factors:

Paper given to NRA officers at Bombo Military Academy, August 17, 1990.

(a) Illiteracy and the low cultural level of the population in Africa. Parts of the population are parochial; they cannot read or write, they are superstitious and ignorant of the outside world, and, quite often, of their own interests. It may be possible to mobilize the peasants to serve the interests of others and oppose their own interests. For instance, landlords may incite peasants to oppose a government policy on land reform that would have benefited those same peasants. The reactionaries may also whip up tribally based opposition to a government, thus again taking advantage of the ignorance of the people.

(b) Poor infrastructure like roads, airports, and railways could also hamper a government's capacity to fight an insurgency, even when the insurgency is motivated by wrong reasons.

(c) Weakness of a national economy, which may not be able to sustain the large expenditure necessary to build up adequate forces to cope with the problem of a counterrevolutionary insurgency. Uganda is better off than some countries in this respect because of our strong resource base, in spite of the fact that these resources are not optimally exploited. We have, for instance, been able to develop an adequate force that has dealt with the large-scale counterrevolutionary insurgency that had developed in the north and northeast, and the cattle rustling in Karamoja and neighboring districts. Had we not had the resources to do this, we would have faced a lot of problems. We would not have had the guns, the helicopters, the APCs, and the food for the army, all of which helped us to crush the insurgency.

(d) There is also the problem of ideological, political, and general conceptual underdevelopment on the part of quite a number of Third World regimes — some of which may have good intentions. This is due to the fact that we have been colonized for a long time. Therefore, even after independence, many Third World regimes, unused to the role of managing society and its institutions, resorted simply to imitating the ideas, forms, and style of management that were prevalent in the countries of the East or the West.

This can be a big problem because it incapacitates an otherwise well-intentioned government and renders it incapable of responding to threats. In order to defeat a counterrevolutionary insurgency, a revolutionary or patriotic government must formulate appropriate and ade-

quate ways of responding to and defeating threats. You cannot respond in the same way people in Europe do because we do not have their means and, in any case, our conditions are different. Therefore, our concepts, responses to threats and the essence and form of our organization must be closely determined by our circumstances. I shall expound on this point later on.

2. Having pointed out the fact that the cause of the government must be a just one, the next important element in fighting a counterrevolutionary insurgency is ensuring the correct concepts of army building already referred to. I have already referred to the dangers of blind imitation of foreign concepts of organization and fighting. This danger is accentuated by the presently unavoidable necessity of training our military personnel in foreign academies.

Graduates of such courses, who later on exercise influence in Third World armies as commanders and staff officers, sometimes take what they learn as gospel truth and therefore aggravate the problem of distorted concepts and organization. We cannot avoid training our people in foreign academies because of the need to acquire knowledge of some modern weapon systems. Technical know-how, however, should not be confused with strategic and tactical concepts although, of course, weapon systems often alter some concepts.

Means and Circumstances

To illustrate, one needs to know that Uganda, with its savannah, rain forests, mountains, and swamps, needs different concepts from those of the Middle East and North Africa. Certainly, when you are fighting insurgents who do not possess armor, antiaircraft systems, or effective antitank systems, you need to build up units that are suitable. In the NRA, we had, for instance, to build light infantry battalions, which we called "Mobile Forces." These did not depend on logistical support from brigade headquarters. Instead we devised the system of RCA (Ration Cash Allowance), that is, money that the Mobile Force Commander could use to buy cattle or cassava or both from the peasants in the areas where he was operating.

In this way, a unit saves itself the need to use supply vehicles, which may be ambushed, and also creates a commercial relationship between

the peasantry and the army. This is particularly significant if the peasantry does not have previous commercial outlets or if the ones that existed have been disrupted by the insurgency.

As you can see, this was a situation peculiar to Uganda—a country with so much food that even during the war the peasants had food and cattle to sell. We also quickly developed a small helicopter force for logistical support to resupply ammunition and evacuate casualties. This force was also useful in ground support operations using the formidable 23mm small caliber cannons to attack hostile concentrations of enemies. Helicopters can also be used to airlift troops to a vantage point in order to intercept an enemy force that might have been advancing, withdrawing, or simply moving to a new location.

Such maneuvers are very vulnerable to helicopter attacks. Had we made the mistake of blindly imitating others and, for instance, concentrated on developing tank forces and interceptor elements and failed to develop an adequate infantry force in time, we would have come to grief. This was because we relied on our own analysis. The technical cooperation we got from outside went into implementing our concepts.

Another dangerous notion we had to reject was the concept of "a small but efficient" army. I wish to categorically and authoritatively state that as far as combating insurgency is concerned, this notion is nothing but suicidal. Insurgents do not have to do much, but they will have succeeded in their devices if they simply terrorize the population, stop them from producing wealth for the country, dismantle the network of civil administration (for example, chiefs or RCs), and block communication. Once the state does not stop insurgents from doing this on a large scale, the country will rapidly lose income and find it impossible to support the army.

Once the army becomes incapacitated because of lack of logistical support, insurgents will be in a position to create a situation of strategic stalemate or even to launch a strategic counteroffensive to seize state power. Therefore, the question of adequate infantry forces using light weapons like rifles, machine guns, and antipersonnel grenade throwers is very decisive. If the insurgents acquire some armor like APCs, as in Ethiopia and Sudan, the government army should have portable anti-

armor weapons like RPG-7Bs and 82mm recoilless guns. All these weapons can be integrated in a mobile light infantry battalion.

If the battalion is also able to carry out night attacks, it will be all the more devastating against the bandits. Mobile forces should move on foot and should always move in antiambush formations. In order to deny the enemy territory and protect the population against subversion by intimidation, there should be zonal and mobile forces.

As you know, our zonal forces stayed in their zones cooperating with the population while mobile forces rushed to operate wherever significant enemy forces were sighted. By forcing the enemy concentrations to decisive battles like Corner Kilak, Chwero, Opit, Koch-Goma, Apala Primary School, Alito, Puranga, Bibia, Pabo, Geyero, Muterere, Iyolwa, and Kaiti, our heroic army was able to break the back of the insurgency.

At Corner Kilak we concentrated, over forty-eight hours, approximately 4,000 rifles and machine guns against the enemy's 2,500 rifles and machine guns: the victory was decisive. We captured 1,033 rifles and other pieces from the enemy. Remember that at Corner Kilak we were not using APCs or armed helicopters. The ones we had bought had not then become operational. Out of desperation, because of pressure from our Mobile Force, the enemy would sometimes try to attack our entrenched positions like Lira, Gulu, Bibia, Soroti, Apyeta Bridge, Kitgum, Magamaga, and Minakulu.

Sometimes mistakes would occur on our side because of poor preparations, such as a lack of cleared killing ground, poor replenishment systems, and poor psychological preparation. Poor briefings as well as poor overall training of officers and men were also hindering factors. Otherwise, because the High Command charted a correct military line that was implemented by the loyal and patriotic officers and men of the NRA, we have had a glorious history of victories achieved through a lot of sacrifice. Had we faltered on concepts, the sacrifices made by our soldiers would have been in vain: the enemy would have had freedom of action and the situation of the NRM government would have deteriorated.

Politicizing a Confused Population

3. Having seen the two crucial elements necessary for victory against counterrevolutionary insurgency (the government fighting for justice,

and the right concept of army building), we need to look at other important factors. As already stated, an insurgency may have been caused by manipulation of the peasantry's ignorance by counterrevolutionary forces. In this scenario, a significant number of civilians may wrongly believe that the government is not working for their interests. This was briefly the case in northern Uganda.

The bandits tried to whip up tribal sentiments, taking advantage of the fact that we had not previously carried out political mobilization in that area. However, the criminal nature of the bandits soon started to manifest itself and the NRM's countermobilization started paying dividends. In this case, the correct handling of the military problem gave us time to mobilize and deintoxicate the population from the cheap tribalism on which the rebels had been feeding them.

The tribal intoxicants were wrong ideas like "Acholis are natural warriors, so how can they be defeated by soldiers from other tribes?" There was also an attempt to present the conflict as one between "northerners" and "southerners." These lies were, however, soon exposed both by explanations from the movement and the reality of the bandits' actions compared to those of the NRA. For instance, the bandits' first targets were Resistance Councillors at all levels. These were people's elected representatives, yet these are the very people the bandits were killing, at the same time claiming that they were fighting for the Acholis as a tribe. All the RCs who were killed were Acholis. On our side, suspects arrested by the NRA were put in internment and when the time was opportune, they were released. This knocked the bottom out of the enemy propaganda that the NRA was killing prisoners of war.

Sometimes, whole villages would be frightened by the bandits into running away with them whenever they heard the NRA approaching. In such instances, it was necessary to slowly stalk the footsteps of the hidden *wananchi,* surprise them, apprehend them, and bring them to our camps for debriefing about enemy propaganda. If the situation permitted, some of them would be released to go and talk their friends and relatives into coming out of the bush. We had, however, to be very careful in such instances because the bandits, being ideologically bankrupt, would kill anybody they suspected of having come into contact with the NRA, however involuntarily. The bandits would say: "Why has

the NRA arrested you and released you without killing you? That means that you must be an agent of the NRA!"

The *wananchi* were also being told that Lakwena's spirit would kill anybody who deserted their group. Therefore, we had to devise indirect methods of utilizing our agents. We would, for instance, release somebody we had worked on, but tell him to say that he had escaped. Another technique we used was to round up civilians and put them in protected centers where they would be fed by the government, leaving the bandits to become isolated in the villages. After the people had understood our ideological line, we started forming local defense force units.

Sensitivity and Intelligence

In other words, because of the correct exposure of our policy and our successive military victories, we were able to convert into soldiers of our revolution a population that had been hostile, indifferent, or intimidated by bandits. Once you have reached that stage, you have won the war. Crucial in this task of winning over a population that is initially misguided are two elements: the discipline of the army, as well as good and prompt management and utilization of intelligence information.

Our people were quite weak on the second point. The peasants wanted to give information but also to remain anonymous. Some of our commanders, however, would force "informers" into becoming "guides." Some commanders claimed that they did that because some of the informers were not genuine and wanted to lead the NRA units into traps. In such a case, the right policy would have been to get another "guide" but keep the "informer" under confinement in case he turned out to be an agent provocateur. There were also cases of delayed use of information. For instance, intelligence information would become available but its utilization would be delayed because the Battalion Commander was in Kampala for an Army Council meeting.

Sometimes, forces would be deployed in operational areas without a standby force ready to move at a moment's notice. That is why we increased the number of companies in battalions to six or seven so that

some of them could remain at base while others went out for instant operations. Therefore, it is crucial to be able to collect, manage, and promptly utilize intelligence information in order to wreak maximum damage on the enemy.

A serious intelligence officer cannot fail to get information about an enemy in an operational zone. Information can be obtained from conscious agents, children, women, some elements disaffected with the bandits for one reason or another, and captives. There is also information from technical sources, such as radio monitoring and air reconnaissance. If aggressively used, all these methods will yield good results. The danger, however, is that some commanders are sometimes diverted by activities like transporting cows and selling food. The other element in this connection is the discipline — or lack of it — of our officers and men. This does not need much elaboration.

However, insurgents are sometimes unpopular with the masses, but because of the weakness of the army, the local population is intimidated into collaborating with them. This was the case in northern Uganda from 1987 to 1988. By 1987, many members of the peasantry had witnessed many acts of banditry and had become disillusioned. While the NRA was scoring victories, however, we did not have enough battalions to provide continuous security for the masses away from big administrative centers like Gulu, Lira, and Kitgum.

At that time the task was simpler: it was a question of adequately building up the right type of army, as already described. Once the job was accomplished, victory was certain. If, however, the government fails to provide security for the population, what started off as a security problem can end up becoming a political and economic one. Countries like Mozambique have had such problems.

Diplomatic Weapons

4. As far as the Third World countries that do not manufacture their own weapons are concerned, there is the additional problem of handling diplomacy in such a manner that you can get the right weapons when you need them. This is not only true of counterinsurgency, but it also applies to general interstate wars in which the backward countries

of the Third World are involved. This problem, for instance, almost caused Iran's defeat recently so that she had to abandon her previous terms for achieving peace with Iraq.

To reiterate the four main points in this paper, therefore, first, in order to ensure victory, a government must be fighting for patriotic, just causes that will advance progress and development in the nation at large. Second, the government must ensure that it builds up an army that is suited to conditions in the country.

Third, at operational levels, the government must ensure that there is an amicable relationship between the army and people. The army must be disciplined and quick to learn how to exploit all intelligence information. Finally, diplomacy must be handled correctly in order to ensure a continuous flow of the weapons necessary to defeat the insurgency and maintain peace in the country.

Part III

African Politics

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SEVENTEEN

What's Wrong with Africa?

I was not given any particular topic to speak on, so I shall choose a few things I consider important for Africa. With that in mind, I shall put my topic as follows: What is wrong with Africa? What is the problem? This is what I am going to try to establish.

My years in Dar es Salaam were very useful for me because I had left Uganda deliberately to pursue politics, not so much studies. When I was in the sixth form in Uganda, I put all my three choices at this university. The reason was that at that time, there was some political activity in Dar es Salaam that was not taking place in any of the other East African countries.

First of all, President Nyerere was talking a certain political language, and although I did not understand it thoroughly at that time, I found it attractive. Second, there were movements in Dar es Salaam that were fighting for the liberation of the countries of Southern Africa. I, therefore, thought that Dar es Salaam was a more attractive place not so much for the learning they were offering at the university, but because there was a progressive political atmosphere. I used my time here to try to discover what Africa's problem was. I was aware that something was definitely wrong, but I did not know what it was.

In the 1960s, I used to hold discussions with my father, who is a peasant, and he would say: "You young men are looking for trouble. How can you be independent of these Europeans when you cannot

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Address at Dar es Salaam University, Tanzania, July 11, 1986.

make guns, needles, or even razor blades? You have to depend on Europeans in everything. So, how will you be independent?" I told him he was a confused old man who did not know what he was talking about. Later, however, when I thought about it, I realized that he had a fundamental point.

You see peasants are realistic—they have the capacity to know what is wrong in a given situation, although they may not know the reasons why the situation is not ideal. So the question was: how can you have a viable nation when that nation has no viable independent economy? That was the reason for my father's skepticism. How can you have an independent nation without an independent economy? Soon after independence, I could see that things were not going well. Uganda shared the general African problem, although the country had its particular problems arising out of its history, like the problems created by the political parties that had taken charge of the preindependence struggle. I could see that we were getting nowhere, but I could not see the solutions. So I thought it would be good to spend some time investigating what could be done about the situation. That is why I was attracted to the University of Dar es Salaam. When I came, I made a reasonably enlightened study of politics.

The Youth and Politics

This brings me to my first point, which is about the consciousness of young people in Africa, the consciousness of the elite. As young people in the university, your role is to ensure that you discover what is wrong with Africa. Some people think that what is happening in Africa today is merely an accident—but this is not the case. That sort of thinking will not get us anywhere. Everything has a cause. I can, for instance, explain how I come to be here now. Yesterday, I came from Kampala and flew here for a reason. I am not here by accident. Africa is in its present situation because of previous phenomena, which we must understand.

Therefore, the ideological consciousness of the young people, the elite, and of the population in general is very crucial. A university like this should be the center of that activity. I am not impressed that somebody is an engineer or a doctor if he does not want to know anything about politics. We struggled against that kind of mentality until we in-

troduced a course called Development Studies. I hope it is still being taught. This course was supposed to equip the student with knowledge about socioeconomic affairs, so that whatever qualifications he attained, he would know that that profession is merely an instrument in the overall struggle. We have many experts — engineers, doctors, and other professionals who are mere tools. They can be used to make weapons to kill people, or they can be used to manufacture chemicals for the good of society. Therefore, what is most crucial is the politics that guides whatever activity we undertake. Expertise must be guided by politics.

You, as young people, should be at the forefront of making sacrifices for Africa. Often, in Africa, instead of young people being at the forefront of the struggle for social justice, they are at the forefront of the struggle for privileges. Your mission is to understand the politics of your country, and of Africa in general, in order to discover negative and positive politics. You must discover the path Africa should take in order to get out of the situation in which we find ourselves. Whatever profession you choose, you should be an instrument in that struggle for the greater understanding of the economic, social, and political problems of Africa. Therefore, an ideological grasp of what is right and what is wrong becomes crucial.

Close Ethnic Links

When we were students at this university, we managed to make some progress on that front. That is why we were of some value when we returned to our respective homes. We had managed to get an insight into the problems of our countries and of Africa in general. If you look at Uganda, you have to ask: why did essentially small problems become so big? Uganda is a very rich country with many resources — plenty of water and very good soil. Even when you talk of tribes, Uganda is more homogenous than Tanzania, for instance. Owing to the mishandling of the country's politics, however, Uganda almost disintegrated. Many of the groups in Uganda are linguistically very close. They either speak Bantu or Luo dialects, which are very close.

It used to be said that Uganda was so tribalistic that it was ungovernable. This is utter nonsense. I, myself, am from Ankole, for example, but I started an armed struggle in Buganda, mobilized the people there

and armed them until we took over power. So, what happened to the much talked about tribalism of Uganda? Why did the Baganda not refuse to cooperate with me? The issue, therefore, is not tribes or tribalism: it is wrong politics.

Why Is Africa Backward?

Now coming to Africa's backwardness: first, why do I think Africa is backward? Second, what do I think should be done to get out of this state of backwardness? I would define backwardness as a society's incapacity to master its environment and harness it by utilizing the positive aspects for that society's betterment.

Let us take some African people's understanding of illness as an example. Even with some of our educated people, if a person is ill, many people will say that he has been bewitched. We all know that malaria is caused by vectors that inject plasmodia into the body. The solution is to kill the plasmodia or the vectors, instead of talking about witchcraft. However, if you do not know the cause of your illness, and there is nobody in your society to tell you otherwise, then you are living in a backward situation. This is what we mean by backwardness. If we understand backwardness, its causes and consequences, we shall understand development.

Let us suppose that a foreign company comes here and builds a factory to assemble cars and another company a factory to roll toilet paper, and another one to assemble bicycles. Is this development? In my understanding, it is not development because that society has not acquired any of that technology. Our society is being used by other people to sell their goods. There is no development when we merely assemble other people's products. Development should be the acquisition of integrated know-how to utilize our raw materials and transform them into finished products. Our economies, as they stand today, are not developed: they are artificial creations.

Africa is like a man who falls and cannot get up on his own but has, instead, to wait for someone to help him get up and walk him. That is the difference between a viable economy and a nonviable one. When African economies fall, they cannot get up until someone comes along to pick them up. So why is Africa backward? I can give you two reasons,

although there are several others. One reason is the natural obstacles you find in Africa: the deserts and tropical forests prevented the easy spread of ideas and commerce.

The second reason could be this climate of ours, which is a bit too comfortable. In Europe the climate was so bad that people had to be serious in order to survive. They had to struggle against the environment more actively. In our countries, you can afford to go naked and not die of exposure. These two reasons were the initial causes of our lagging behind. However, a third element came in: this was the intrusion of foreign forces into the affairs of Africa. The worst aspect of this was, of course, the slave trade, which went on for a good four hundred years. Human beings were taken from Africa to Europe for four hundred years. Then there followed the material wealth taken from our continent to Europe and the Americas.

The third element of this foreign involvement was the distortion of our structures, especially economic structures. Instead of producing wealth for the benefit of Africa, we started producing for the benefit of Europe. The Europeans have gone through several revolutions while we have been marking time, as we say in the army: we have stood still. We have isolated aspects of modernization, but these are neither consistent nor integrated within our own society.

Fighting Complacency

We have been independent for twenty-five years, so why has this situation persisted? Soon after independence there should have been a dramatic change. One factor was the ideological outlook of the independence politicians. Many of these people took the view that there was nothing to change. They were satisfied with being exporters of raw materials and providing a market for finished products from Europe and America. Since the elite could not change anything, our people were crushed with a sense of impotence.

We in the National Resistance Movement, however, do not believe in this complacency. That is why we launched an armed struggle using our own resources and defeated a government that was trained and advised by foreign forces. We grabbed skills wherever we could find them, and we integrated them so that they became our own. It is important

to internalize technology and make it your own. The peasants in Uganda were at first very scared of the gun when we started mobilizing them. They gradually gained confidence, however, when they found they could master the techniques of the oppressor. Eventually, the population rose up against the oppressor. I think that in Africa we are not as weak as we make ourselves out to be. We in the NRM have challenged, and will continue to challenge, this mentality of thinking that it is impossible to solve our own problems. We think that our program is an answer to the present African challenges.

A Program for Change

Now, finally, what do I think is the solution to backwardness? We in our movement wrote a document called the Ten-Point Program and we tried to answer this question. I shall extract several important points from the Program.

In point number one, we talk about democracy and in point number two about security. This is important in the case of Uganda because many people were killed during very insecure periods in our history. Point number three is about national unity, which is important in the case of Uganda. You in Tanzania are fortunate: you had the leadership of TANU and the CCM, and Mwalimu Nyerere emphasized unity from the beginning. You have never been exposed to the damage sectarianism can do to a country.

Point number four is about national independence. If a country is not independent politically, if the leaders cannot make their decisions without being pressured by outside powers, then that nation cannot solve its problems. Whatever solutions you adopt will be solutions in the interests of other forces. We are very conscious of this point because we have been living under leaderships that were subservient to foreign interests.

Point number five is about developing an independent, integrated, self-sustaining national economy. This applies to many African countries. We need to acquire technology so that our people can carry out research and develop appropriate means of advancing our economies. This is why we have formed a Ministry of Industry and Technology.

Point number seven is about fighting corruption, which is an obvious point. Point number six is about improving the social services.

Point number eight is about land reform and point number nine deals with cooperation among African countries. Our states are too small and that is why we cannot solve our problems. We have small markets that are not conducive to stimulating production. Africa should have concerted economic programs for the benefit of all the countries on the continent.

EIGHTEEN

Most of Africa Kept Quiet...

I must state that Ugandans were unhappy and felt a deep sense of betrayal that most of Africa kept silent while tyrants killed them. The reason for not condemning such massive crimes has, supposedly, been the desire not to interfere in the internal affairs of a member state, in accordance with the charters of the OAU and the United Nations. We do not accept this reasoning because in the same charters, there are explicit laws that enunciate the sanctity and inviolability of human life.

The United Nations Charter reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims in Article 3 that everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person. Our own OAU Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in Article 4 clearly stipulates that human beings are inviolable and that every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and integrity of his person.

Tyranny Is Color-Blind

While we accept and recognize the validity of the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of a member state, we strongly hold that this should not be used as a cloak to shield genocide from just censure. African silence in the face of such gross abuses, we should realize, produces results prejudicial to our just goals. In particular, tolerance or

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Speech at OAU Summit, Addis Ababa, July 29, 1986.

indifference to such tyranny encourages instability in the state concerned, thereby detracting from a rational commitment to socioeconomic development, whose precondition is peace and stability.

It also tends to undermine our moral authority to condemn the excess of others, especially South Africa's racist regime. Tyranny is colorblind and should be no less reprehensible because it is perpetrated by one of our kind. It was because of our deep commitment to the sanctity of the lives of our people that we waged a people's struggle in Uganda, under the banner of FRONASA and later the National Resistance Movement. For the first time now, our people have real hope and faith in building a worthwhile future.

African Backwardness

While Uganda has had its own particular problems, it is nevertheless part and parcel of the general African condition, which is characterized by underdevelopment and backwardness in the various fields, namely economic, political, and social.

It is crucial that in order to formulate and implement effective programs and solutions, we must first understand the framework in which we, as a continent, operate. We must understand how our past history continues to influence our present. Only then can we plan realistically and effectively for our future. Our state of backwardness is neither deniable, nor accidental. Consider the facts: Africa has the highest infant mortality rate in the world at 120 for every 1,000 live births; the lowest life expectancy, 34 years on average; and while our population growth is the highest in the world at over 3 percent per annum, our food production increases only by 1.5 percent.

False Start in Africa

The penetration, subjugation, and exploitation of Africa by European powers over a period of four hundred years has been directly and largely responsible for the present dismal state of our socioeconomic conditions. This European dominance was characterized by the massive exploitation of our resources. More tragically, the domination was characterized by the plunder of human resources in the form of slaves. In the process, Africa lost over 150 million souls. This robbed Africa of

much of the innovative element that would have played a crucial role in the technological and economic advancement of the continent.

As Rene Dumont points out in his *False Start in Africa,* the damaging effects of the slave trade went much further. It undermined the cohesion of many societies. It undermined the evolution toward state formation and helped to dismantle those that had come into being, for example the Kingdom of the Congo. Remember that this evolution was pivotal, in other continents, in galvanizing peoples into more viable entities. We should not forget that the state that came to be known as Germany at the beginning of the century was not consolidated until 1870, when the German principalities were united by Bismarck. Likewise Italy was not unified until 1860.

Hand in hand with the disintegration of the nascent states that had emerged, a very serious distortion took place in the economic process. In exchange for the slaves, gum, ivory, gold, and other minerals, some of which are nonrenewable, the Europeans, plundering and looting, gave Africans trinkets, firearms, tobacco, and alcohol, but not the carts and wheels that would have promoted progress. So the stage was set for the unequal economic relationship that has persisted up to this day.

Collective Corrective Action

The stage was set also for the economic backwardness, disequilibrium, and stagnation that has given rise to the crisis that has brought us to our knees. To summarize, we need to remind ourselves of three of the consequences of this colonial experience.

First, the halting of the evolution of African societies and their disintegration, and in their place, the balkanization of our economies, which were made to benefit the external powers but not our people locally or regionally. This laid the foundation for what obtains in Africa, whereby in the words of the Economic Commission for Africa, "we consume what we do not produce and produce what we do not consume."

Second, the institution of an unjust world economic order characterized by unequal advantage, as most of our resources continue to be drained by industrial countries in exchange for trivialities, in the form of ephemeral and irrelevant consumer goods.

Third, to sustain this unequal relationship between Africa and the industrial world, the development and propagation of false and obscurantist theories in the social sciences to rationalize and perpetuate it.

It is against this background that we should collectively and individually address corrective measures in these proceedings. In April 1980, this Assembly of Heads of State and Government adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa. Our government fully subscribes to this Plan of Action and we are prepared to be actively engaged in developing strategies for its implementation. This Plan is crucial for the socioeconomic emancipation of our continent and deserves total support. It is our belief that Africa is capable of much more rapid development if we examine ourselves through a clear and undistorted microscope.

NINETEEN

Self-Reliance Is the Way Ahead

The National Resistance Movement is not a party like UNIP. It is a movement because, by definition, a party is uni-ideological. You, in Zambia, have sorted out your political problems so that you can have a party with one ideology. I congratulate you on that.

But in Uganda, we still need a movement because a movement is multi-ideological. In our movement, you will find feudalists, capitalists, and socialists, but we insist that one line of thought must lead all those tendencies. If you are a feudalist, a capitalist, or a socialist, you must, at least, accept that you are a nationalist. Even if you have feudalist tendencies, you must subject them to our nationalist aspirations.

We are insisting on a minimum position below which you are not allowed to go: you are not allowed to be an imperialist agent, for instance — we cannot allow that. We have outlawed only one group of people we cannot work with: they are called comparador capitalists. These are not capitalists in their own right. They are not what one might call national capitalists. National capitalists are capitalists whose economic activities contribute to the independence of the country.

The second type of person we do not like is the speculator who, by the nature of his business, does not contribute to production. He buys one item and sells it for twenty times more than the original price so that by the time it reaches the consumer, its price is astronomical. We regard this man as a negative force.

Speech at UNIP conference, Kabwe, Zambia, August 18, 1988.

Witchcraft, Jiggers, and the Moon

There are those who believe in obscurantism — the process of obscuring the truth — for instance, those who believe in witchcraft. If someone suffers from malaria, instead of treating it, some people say that he has been bewitched; even those kinds of people are welcome in our movement. It means that we welcome people who are ignorant, but who are not fundamentally harmful to society.

If you asked me what the biggest problem the African people are facing today is, I would tell you that it is backwardness. But how do we define backwardness? We are backward or not depending on our capacity to harness nature for our own benefit. Once we have got a reasonable capacity to tame and harness nature, then we can say that we are developed. Take drought, for instance. If your know-how is developed, you should be able to trap rain water and conserve it for use during times of drought. That is an example of what I mean by harnessing nature for our own benefit. In the year of Our Lord 1988, when people are traveling to the moon and back, you still find people in Uganda suffering from jiggers. That is a graphic illustration of our incapacity to control our environment because if jiggers are free to enter your feet as they please, then I propose that you accept my definition of backwardness.

The means to increase our capacity, to tame and harness nature for our own benefit, is through science and technology, plus acquiring managerial capacity. Those three elements are what are called productive forces. If they are undeveloped in your society, then you are backward, I am afraid to say. All these problems we are talking about — floods, drought, unbalanced budgets, rampant inflation, lack of commodities, lack of spare parts, and lack of raw materials — all go back to one thing: our lack of technology and science.

I think that the biggest contributing factor to the gap between our jiggers and those fellows who have been to the moon and back was foreign domination and imperialist interference in Africa's affairs. Although there is still a big gap between us and the developed countries, that gap was not so big in the fifteenth century, although it has grown and grown ever since. We had then acquired some level of development. We had geologists who knew that certain rocks contained iron ore and others copper; we had smelters and blacksmiths who shaped these minerals

into implements. If that technology had not been interfered with, we would have been far advanced by now.

Owing to foreign interference, we have been unable to develop our productive forces. That is why today in Uganda we cannot accept anybody coming from outside to make decisions for us. However well-intentioned such a person may be, he cannot really fully appreciate our needs. We must oppose foreign control so that we can resume our journey to acquiring the technology that was abandoned six hundred years ago.

Coffee Boom and Bust

After independence, there was an idea that we could develop by expanding the production of the few export crops available to us at that time. In Uganda, the slogan was that we would grow through the expansion of our coffee production. And what is coffee, by the way? Coffee is a beverage that some people happen to want very badly. In Uganda, it is not crucial for our survival, although someone living in a cold climate needs it.

So what happened when we expanded our few export crops? Tanzania expanded their production, as did Kenya and the Ivory Coast. What was the outcome? Prices went down! Instead of a structural adjustment to reshape our economies, we had expanded the problem. We need an alternative to traditional cash crops and I think there are three options.

One option would be complete disengagement, whereby we would sever all relations from people who are taking advantage of us. This would entail a complete disassociation from our past, and the use of our domestic resources, thus putting the whole burden of the development process in the hands of the citizen. Although this is not yet a possible solution for us, some countries like China and North Korea have used it to achieve economic emancipation. This may, however, be difficult to implement in a pluralistic society because it requires iron discipline and it could be misunderstood as dictatorship. For example, if you tried to stop the importation of wigs, whisky, and perfumes, you would immediately be called a dictator!

Furthermore, this approach requires a minimum threshold of scientific, technological, and organizational skills to initiate and sustain the

progress. The dismantling of distorted production structures can only be achieved by a system that is capable of enforcing iron discipline as well as instituting harsh measures for deviants, both at top levels and at the grassroots.

Symptoms and Causes

The second option is a more orthodox approach. It calls for the maintenance of the status quo with stringent, but externally imposed financial management techniques. The major focus of this approach is to adjust short-term monetary parameters such as price levels, exchange rates, money supply, credit, budgets, and balance of payments. This, in other words, is the IMF approach. But these are symptoms of the problems of a neocolonial economy. They are not the underlying structural causes of the problem.

The basic factors that need to be adjusted are structures of production and consumption, science and technology, management, ownership, distribution, and marketing channels. In order to do this, one requires the participation of the visible hand of government, rather than the invisible hand of market forces. If you insist that market forces become the dominant feature in an economy, this method will not permit the state to guide the improvement and modernization of these structures but it will lead to increased trade liberalization. That is very dangerous if it means that anybody is allowed to import anything they like into the country—all those things bought in scarce dollars. I can compromise with the IMF on other things, but not on this one.

This second orthodox option also calls for the removal of price controls and subsidies, but such measures may be crucial for the survival of industry and agriculture. The main contention of this approach is that the people should be guided by comparative cost advantages, but if countries like Japan had followed such a static argument, they would never have acquired the dynamic comparative advantages in the automobile or electronic industries.

Acceptance of this orthodoxy implies the perpetuation of excessive dependency by developing countries because of their lack of industrial capacity, science and technology, management skills, and financial resources. Because of the above reasons, the National Resistance Move-

ment advocates a gradualist crawling approach to disengagement. This approach recognizes the following facts:

1. That the existing production structures must be transformed in order to achieve the ability to control the supply of the basic needs of the country;
2. That because the country lacks the scientific, technological, organizational and financial capacity to effect rapid transformation in production, gradualism as a time-buying mechanism has to be employed; and
3. That although domestic self-reliance may be employed as a second-best alternative, ultimately collective self-reliance through regional cooperation is the best solution.

Let Us Exploit Our Wealth

When we came to power in 1986, we found that the country was spending thirty-six million dollars a year importing oil for making soap. And what is this oil? At first I thought it was something mysterious, so I went to the factories to see for myself what this wonderful thing was and why we were spending thirty-six million dollars on it. It was oil from groundnuts, soya beans, castor, coconuts, and palm trees! And where were we buying it from? Singapore! Imagine Singapore selling oil to Uganda! We now have a rule that there must be no more importation of soap-making oil. It must be produced from within the country in the shortest time possible.

Then there is beer: we have been importing barley from Europe to make the 7.5 million crates of beer that we need to satisfy the thirst of our beer drinkers, but I think it is highly irresponsible for us to pay our scarce dollars to import this barley. We must start growing our own barley since there are areas in Uganda where it can be grown successfully.

Hence, if you look at our industrial list, you will find that most of our industries can be serviced by our agriculture and we shall eventually be in a situation where our agricultural and industrial sectors are more integrated and complementary. This cross-fertilization between industry and agriculture is the first step in our structural adjustment

plans. The second step is for us to start acquiring the capacity to make our own spare parts.

I recently went to Jinja, to a textile-making factory where most of the machinery and spare parts are imported. Most spare parts wear out rapidly, but the most dramatic one was a mill that has a wheelbarrow-like attachment. This appliance's rubber wheels are imported from abroad. But not only do they come from outside, the whole thing has got to be shipped to Denmark, where the wheels are replaced, and then it is sent back. We must find ways in which we can avoid such costly and time-consuming processes.

We could, for instance, make an agreement with Zambia whereby you could supply us with copper wires to make electric cables, and we could supply you with soap-making oil, if you need it. This is just an illustration of the kind of cooperation there can be between our various countries. Most of our problems can be solved in a fairly short time if we cooperate and exploit our natural wealth.

South Africa

Finally, a word on South Africa, on which Comrade Sam Nujoma has already spoken very well. He traced the frontiers of freedom from Dar es Salaam, to Lusaka, to Harare. Now the last frontier is at the Limpopo River in the south, and at the Cunene River in Angola. We are really very strong, but we must exploit our strength. What I regard as very crucial is mobilization. If we mobilize our people, who are essentially ignorant and initially fearful, then I am sure we can do a lot of work. I think we are very strong if we cooperate. Our progress so far already proves this.

Mzee Kaunda has played a leading role in this struggle and you should be proud of him. Although the Bible says that a prophet is never respected in his own country, I think you are lucky to have a leader like Doctor Kaunda — and I am not saying this merely as a matter of diplomacy. I saw the same style of leadership in Tanzania, where some people were initially skeptical about the political direction the country was taking.

I am sure even here in Zambia there are people who are saying that Kaunda will harm the country's economy because of his stand on sanc-

tions against South Africa. Yes, there are hardships but they are surmountable and they should, therefore, not make us so pessimistic that we are not able to make a thorough assessment of our achievements and potential.

We in Uganda are grateful to Doctor Kaunda for another reason: when a monster called Idi Amin was in power, among those who refused to deal with him were Doctor Kaunda and Doctor Nyerere. We can at last see a football team of people who treasure freedom emerging in Africa and Doctor Kaunda is a leading player. I think he is now playing center-half. I do not think it is time yet to change team members, otherwise we shall spoil our team!

TWENTY

Political Substance and Political Form

Whenever I have some time to glance through the newspapers, which are quite abundant these days on the streets of Kampala, I always feel slightly uneasy because some of them are still taking political lines that have caused a lot of problems in Uganda. The writers of these papers — and the political pressure groups they represent — do not appear to have any idea of the direction our country should be taking. I am concerned about the amount of space and time that is wasted on what I may describe as surface, rather than essential and substantial matters.

They ought to be asking: what is the cause of all our problems? What is the basis of all things that happen in life? Does life develop accidentally or are there basic laws that govern the dynamics of society? I do not see any such questions being addressed. These papers are mainly concerned with form rather than substance.

As an example, let us take the substance we call water. Water changes its form — sometimes it is solid ice, at other times it is steam, and at others it is liquid. Therefore, although the form or appearance of water changes from time to time, its essence remains the same. Unfortunately, when I read the published opinions of certain groups, I see that much concentration is put on form, not substance — on appearance, not on essence.

Confront Real Issues

You will find these papers talking about political parties and kingdoms. But why do they not spend as much time talking about the real prob-

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Speech at the opening of a political seminar for NRC members, September 6, 1989.

lem, which is backwardness? You may talk about kings or parties if you want to, but if you do not examine real problems we shall not get anywhere. You can have kings, but if they rule over backward people, what will it help you?

The politics of the past diverted people from their real interests and ordinary citizens were not encouraged to examine their real problems. This is my concern when I read what is published by people who think they have something to tell the public.

For many years, I have been busy trying to struggle with the politics of substance, not of form, so there is a fundamental conflict between some of us and these so-called opinion makers. There will be inevitable conflicts because I am not going to be party to feeding the Ugandan people with the politics of mere appearance. I think it is high time they were given a really substantial menu. Coming to the substance of our NRM political program, we have written it down, but I shall recapitulate some of its points.

The biggest crisis facing the Third World today is backwardness in technology. The fact that we do not have the technical know-how to solve our problems is our biggest crisis. We have a population of eighteen million now, but many of those eighteen million people have not had any training that they can use to change their lives. Our biggest problem in the Third World today is not one of resources, it is lack of technology, which is itself caused by lack of education. Our people are not educated and they are, therefore, not able to utilize their brains to transform their lives. This is the biggest crisis we are facing.

Of course there are other problems such as lack of democracy, without which you cannot address some of the other fundamental problems. If the population is not given a chance to elect its representatives, as they have elected you, for instance, then other problems will crop up. Governments will become corrupt and there will be no way of criticizing them; resources will be diverted and many programs will not be implemented.

There is also no doubt that lack of political education has tended to contribute to Africa's crisis. Because of lack of political education, people cannot confront real issues, so certain groups hijack power and misuse it. Real problems will not be addressed, let alone resolved. Again here it is a question of form and substance: a system can appear to be

free, but you find that in essence, it is not so. For instance, you can manipulate the ignorance of the people and make them make decisions that will militate against their interests.

Can this be called freedom? Can freedom include manipulation? Should there be freedom to manipulate, misinform, and take advantage of people's ignorance? Is that democracy? I personally do not think it is. Democracy presupposes that you are putting choices before an informed electorate. We think that lack of freedom and democracy contributes to our problems. You will remember that the first thing we did when we came into power was to organize locally elected councils. Using such methods, we shall have a better chance of solving our problems. However, we must have disciplined democracy. If you have indisciplined democracy, that is democracy based on manipulation, lies, and tricks, I am afraid our situation will get worse.

I have seen crises in some countries being worsened by cheap politics and cheap popularity. One of the attributes of a potential subversive is cheap popularity. We consider that taking advantage of people's ignorance is an act of treason and in the army we do not tolerate it.

Another point I should like to make is that I see a lot of political ignorance among the political elites—the ones who write in the papers. They do not know the ABCs of how to manage society. Let me illustrate what I mean. Some of these people have never heard of what we call the state. I can describe the state by pointing out that it has certain pillars, which if they do not exist, will result in a nonviable state. Some of the pillars of the state are the army, the police, and other security organs such as the intelligence services, the prisons, the judiciary, the civil service, and the legislature.

These pillars are crucial to the existence of a state and to prevent its disintegration. The state should guarantee security of person and property. If it cannot do that, why should people owe it allegiance? This is precisely one of the problems of Uganda's recent history. Before colonial rule, we had backward tribal states here. If anyone tries to glamorize them, he is telling you a lie. If these tribal entities were equal to the tasks of a viable nation-state, why did they surrender their sovereignty to foreigners? Can any foreigner come here now and take away our sovereignty? It is impossible! This is because our present state is superior to the ancient tribal ones.

Some of the chiefs in our past history, however, tried to consolidate their rule, but today, the neotraditionalists are actually divisive. They want to divide people according to tribes. This, if anything, conflicts with the ideas of ancient chiefs, who were expansionists. In political terms, they were playing a positive role. I have never heard of a chief who sought to divide his people. If you unite peoples or tribes, you have the population and their resources under one umbrella. If you control an area you also control its natural resources. The old kings realized this and that is why they were expansionists. I hear people here who claim to speak up for kingdoms, saying that "foreigners" should get out of their areas, but I have never heard of a genuine king who chased away people from his kingdom!

The precolonial indigenous states were weak because they had not yet succeeded in uniting all the tribes and consolidating the resources in this region. Some had made more progress than others, but they had not yet evolved enough power and unity to immunize themselves against foreign encroachment: that is why they were conquered.

After sixty years of colonial rule, the British left a weak state apparatus manned by culturally backward people and we are still trying to solve the problems that resulted from that legacy. An example of an inadequate state apparatus is the way the situation in Karamoja had gotten out of hand. Previously, there was only one battalion in Moroto and it was supposed to control cattle raids in Karamoja. That lone battalion had no transport, no helicopters, and no other logistical support whatsoever. And yet it was supposed to cover an area that spans three hundred miles. How could they have been expected to succeed?

We need to have an in-depth knowledge of the issues that affect our society because if we are supposed to be opinion leaders, we can put our people in danger. I would advise those who publish and influence people with their opinions to examine issues closely and discuss them more seriously. For instance, we should make a comparative study of how other people manage their societies.

Correct Methods of Work

Finally, we have to look at our methods of work. One reason for our successes in the NRM, especially in the army, was the fact that we sorted

out our methods of work. We worked out ways of maintaining the unity of our group and solving problems within it. One principle we advanced was that we should always talk frankly, using the right forum. You do not go to a bar, for instance, and turn it into a forum for discussing serious issues. We also advocated the giving and accepting of open criticism. We insist that if a person is criticized, he should not resent it, otherwise an organization can quickly become a conspiratorial apparatus. If we could evolve such methods within the NRC, they would help us tremendously. We shall then be able to build up a culture of leadership that will study and address the issues of this country seriously and honestly.

You should, therefore, take an active interest in the experiences and history of the NRM, especially the army. Together we can consolidate and develop this experience and thus close some of the loopholes that are still causing drawbacks.

Finally I share the view that now we have got a good chance of success. I was looking at the qualifications of the members who were elected to the NRC and I was very pleased. From an educational point of view, this Council is much better than any previous parliament this country has had. For the first time, we have people of a high cultural level — because education is culture. Since you are now managers of society, I think you need to make a professional study of the science of the management of society. You are going to have to deal with all kinds of people including criminals, liars, and intriguers.

Ever since we came out of the bush, there has been a struggle between us and the old society we found here. Some people have been trying to take over the army and use it as an instrument to benefit their families. Some members of extended families have tried to use our soldiers to solve their economic problems. And yet our resources and land are abundant. Instead of developing these riches, such people want quick and easy ways of enriching themselves.

Therefore, if you, as members of the NRC, can study intensively the methods we used in the bush to solve such problems, you can make your own criticisms and contributions. In these ways, we shall together work out a proper direction for our nation.

TWENTY-ONE

The Crisis of the State in Africa

When I received the invitation to come and address this seminar, I tried to put some thoughts down, but I shall not read the written speech. I shall summarize what I think are the salient points of this important subject: "The Crisis of the State in Africa."

Soon after the formal departure of colonial rulers at independence, the state in Africa was beset by many problems and I shall concentrate on the most crucial of them. The first problem was that the state was economically dependent on the former colonial powers, especially for technology. We often talk of economic dependence, but this dependence is coupled with and aggravated by an absence of technology: we do not have the technical and managerial skills to enable us to solve our own problems.

After a number of years of independence — more than thirty years in some countries — we have been able to train a few economists and some scientists, professional people like yourselves. If these people could have helped us, we would have gotten somewhere. But because we have not solved the problem of technological dependence and been able to participate in technological developments, we are not making much headway.

The only way we can participate at present is by someone giving us technology in the form of aid. The donor finances it and then his people

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Address to Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation conference held at Mweya, Uganda, May 13, 1990.

come and build a factory in our country. Occasionally, we buy technology with our own money. Right here in this area, there is a salt factory, but it is not producing anything because our people bought technology from Germany and found that it was the wrong kind of technology. They are completely dependent on the Germans or some other outsiders to come and put it right. This is a very big handicap indeed.

Since the modern African state cannot be independent, it becomes easy prey to manipulation. If our states can be so manipulated, how can they expect to solve the problems of the people except with the permission of the former colonial rulers? A state that does not have the capacity to tell the colonial or neocolonial rulers that it will act independently, in spite of what those rulers think, is completely handicapped. If you need ideas for how to solve problems, why must you borrow from or imitate somebody outside?

Ideological Dependence

The problem of economic and technological dependence was aggravated by ideological dependence. If you want a microphone, like this one I am using now, you must import it because you do not have anyone in your country who can make it, which is bad enough. In addition to that, however, you are also ideologically dependent: you need ideas on how to solve problems and you must borrow from or imitate somebody outside.

In Africa's case, this problem was very serious because our states were born during a time of conflict between the Eastern and Western European countries, which had their own arguments about how best to organize themselves. Some said that we should use market forces and others that we should have planned economies. Behind these ideological arguments were European nationalism and chauvinism. There were ideological and nationalist tussles and there was always the old quest for domination — more organized peoples dominating less organized ones.

Africa was thus dragged into European arguments. As soon as any country came to the fore — as soon as any country became independent — the question would come up: "Are you pro-East or pro-West? You must answer that question first before you can do any business with us. What is your ideological color? You have to take a position." Some of

our people did not have the capacity to be able to say: "This is not my argument or my quarrel. Or even if it is my quarrel, it is only partially so." Some countries tried to be procapitalist and others tried to be pro-Marxist, even when the conditions were not conducive to being either.

In Uganda for instance, in 1980 and earlier on, we had political groups that had existed since the days of colonial rule. These groups were artificially divided between those called "leftist" and others called "rightist." But when you examined them closely, there was no substance as to why one was called rightist and the other leftist. These were simply opportunistic groupings seeking platforms from which to seek external support. When some people want to get aid from the Russians, they say they are leftist; when they want to get aid from America, they say they are rightist. But when you examine the content of their programs, there is nothing that shows that they are either one thing or the other. They are just small elite groups seeking power, and in order to take political power, they need foreign support. In order to qualify for that support, therefore, they must sing the song of their benefactors.

We in our movement, however, refused to join these opportunists. We refused even to recognize the so-called leftist-rightist categorization. We felt that the opportunistic groups should be gotten rid of altogether so that we could make a fresh start. We would not join them because they had no genuine platforms. The ideological debate in Africa was thus taken over by opportunists, and opportunism became their ideology: how to qualify for aid from so-and-so. Even the liberation movements were affected — both the Soviets and the Chinese supported liberation movements that had to declare whether they were pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese and this was very disruptive indeed.

I think the lack of ideological independence has been a very destabilizing factor because it has generated wrong ideas most of the time. This is why you see that the state in Africa is now in a crisis, as the theme of your conference states. The regimes that said they were rightist are in a state of crisis; those that said they were leftist are also in a state of crisis. So what is the problem? How can they all be in crisis? That means there is something fundamentally wrong. The main problem is that our leaders did not find time to define the issues confronting them. They

borrowed foreign ideas and superimposed them on their countries: this could not, and did not, work.

If you examine the scene in Africa, it is quite difficult to find a model solution. Those who followed the planned economy system got into very serious problems with their economies; those who adopted the so-called market forces approach fared no better either. In very few cases was there real structural economic transformation to generate sustained growth. Those who adopted the planned economy approach overextended the involvement of the state and went into all sorts of little ventures, which in itself undermined production. The economy was taken over by bureaucrats who had no interest in it and the consequence was that the population was not given a chance to take part in meaningful production. Economies that adopted the market forces approach concentrated on producing raw materials like coffee and tea, but these were not integrated with the industrial sector. Therefore, whenever there is a price crisis, it is heavily reflected in the concerned country. Capitalist-oriented regimes were successful only for as long as commodity prices were high.

My personal view, therefore, is that we should have used a mixture of market force and planned economy approaches, depending on convenience and individual countries' circumstances. Above all, we should have aimed at integrating the various economic sectors: the industrial sector interacting with the agricultural sector, agriculture producing raw materials for industry, and industry transforming these into finished products for domestic consumption, leaving the surplus for export. Our industries should have been geared to producing inputs like tools and chemicals for agricultural use.

This, however, was not done and economies that were supposed to follow the capitalist approach were only concerned with producing raw materials and exporting them in an unprocessed, raw form. The prices of these raw materials are, however, very uncertain. The problem was that even where our people could have detected the impending crisis and done something about it, they were besieged by advice and threats from East and West. If we do not solve this crisis, I think we shall remain in a lot of turmoil for a long time and we shall keep jumping from one mistake to another. We must have ideological independence; we can bor-

row ideas, but nobody should force us to adopt them if they are not suited to our conditions.

Africa's "Big Armies"

Another problem of the state in Africa is the inadequacy of its means to assert its independence. There is a belief, which I personally do not share, that the armies in Africa are too big, for instance. I often hear the opinion expressed on the radio that Africa is not developing because its big armies are consuming all the resources. But where are these big armies? Sudan, for instance, is 2.5 million square miles, without modern communication systems. How do you maintain the unity of such a country without a big army? Therefore, my view, which is contrary to what some people have been saying, is that one of the biggest problems in Africa is the weakness of the state apparatus, i.e., the armies, the police, and so forth. When the state tries to strengthen these institutions, however, it sometimes acquires equipment that is not suited to its circumstances. Sometimes a state may build up a wrong type of army, for example, a mechanized army instead of an adequately equipped infantry.

If we take the police, I am informed that in Europe the ratio of police to population is one policeman for every 500 people. But here in Uganda, at one time there was one policeman for every 100,000 people. The population was, therefore, left at the mercy of criminals. For instance, the law here says that you are not supposed to beat your wife because she has her citizen's rights like everybody else. But who will enforce this? Who will even detect that you have beaten your wife? Nobody!

Of course, I should be careful here: do not think that I am supposing the strengthening of every type of state. We must first of all define the character of the state. Is this state democratic or not? If it is undemocratic but strong, it will be very dangerous. But even if it is democratic but weak, the people will suffer as much as if it were not democratic.

Low Cultural Level

Another problem that beset the African state was the low cultural level of the people who took charge of our affairs. You must have heard of people like Idi Amin and Bokassa. If you examine the matter carefully

and pose the question, "Who was Idi Amin?" you will find that Idi Amin was a sergeant in the British Army. A sergeant is ordinarily taught to manage thirty people under the supervision of an officer. He is not allowed to manage those thirty people on his own: he must do so under the supervision of someone more cultured and better trained than himself.

But here we had a situation where suddenly people who were simply ignorant and hopelessly out of their depth were propelled into positions of very great power. This is a big problem. The endemic corruption in Africa is partly caused by this low level of culture. Culture first generates knowledge, then it generates ethics. How do you define right and wrong? How do you differentiate between what is acceptable and what is not acceptable in society?

In addition to the problems already discussed, the state in Africa also had a problem of the cultural slavery of the small elite groups. I am informed that at independence, Tanganyika only had thirteen university graduates. How can you run a country with such a small number of graduates? We had very few educated people, but even the few we had were cultural slaves to foreign ideas. If you did not do things the way they were done in Europe, you were not proper and our elites put pressure on governments to make wrong decisions. Even when they were not themselves in government, the elites exerted all kinds of pressure on governments. The ability to improvize and find solutions was thus completely impaired by cultural slavery.

Our elites do not have the capacity to educate our people to use the means that are within their reach: they are always hoping for things that they can never get. As a result, nothing useful is ever done. When you are a slave to certain ideas, you incapacitate yourself because you make yourself incapable of taking another route from that taken by people you regard as superior. Any initiative is stifled because you must do things the way they are done somewhere else.

Interrupted State Formation

When the imperial powers started penetrating Africa, the process of state formation—the amalgamation of clans into tribes and of tribes into nations—was beginning to crystallize in different places through-

out the continent, although it had not yet become consolidated. Some empires had emerged in west, central, and east Africa, but there was no urgency for the formation of centralized states. When you are living in the tropics with a small population, there is no great urge for one clan to go and conquer another in order to form an empire. The problems we face here are not so numerous. If you live in the Middle East, however, you have a lot of urge to conquer others because you need their resources. Here each clan can stay in its own area: once in a while they all go and raid cattle from another clan, but they will come back home. There is no great need to establish hegemony over other people.

Therefore, the urge to form states was not as strong as in other parts of the world. All the same, there was some linkage at various levels. The clans were linked culturally, although politically they were not centrally organized. Linguistic groupings like the Bantu and the Luo are a manifestation of cultural linkage. A few chiefs tried to unite these clans in order to control resources in their areas and put them under one authority. When colonialism came, however, this process was interrupted and frozen. The territories were channeled to deal with European powers so that horizontal contact between them was discouraged, or stopped altogether in many cases.

Instead, the colonialists encouraged vertical interaction: between the colonized and the colonizing people. They also brought new contradictions like factional religious sectors. Religions have played a prominently disruptive role in confusing and dividing our illiterate people and this added to the crisis of the state where you will find people killing one another in the name of religion. However, this sectarianism is sometimes overstressed in writings on Africa that talk so much about tribes in Africa. People are not aware that the problems were caused by colonial and neocolonial political organization and that there is, in fact, a great deal of cultural homogeneity.

Africa Is Still Precapitalist

Another problem confronting the state in Africa is the precapitalist nature of African societies today. African societies are still living either at clan or, in some cases, at feudal levels of organization. Hardly any African state has reached the capitalist stage. The European capitalist class was

very useful for integration. If you want pan-Africanists, you should look for capitalists because capitalists would be very good pan-Africanists. Why? Because a capitalist is a producer of wealth: he needs a market for his products and he needs labor in some cases. He cannot, therefore, afford to be parochial: he will work for integration and expansion and he will not support the splitting up of a country because this will split up his market.

It was the capitalist middle class that caused the unification of the German states. Until 1870, the Germans were living more or less as we were living here. People in Bavaria and Prussia spoke the same language but they were not politically united. It was the industrialists and capitalists who wanted a united market, and it was they who pushed Bismarck for German unification.

In Africa, this class does not exist. The middle classes in Africa are not producers of wealth; instead they are salesmen selling other people's products. Fanon said this middle class became senile before they were young. The African middle class is a caricature of the European middle class. Any resemblance between the African middle class and the European middle class is limited merely to the wearing of suits and ties, because in terms of their relationship with the means of production, they could hardly be more different.

In order to have integration, one must use one of two things. You could use either vested economic interests or ideologically committed people who can work for integration if they are intellectually convinced that it is the right thing to do. The churches offer a good example. Although churches have economic interests, they also have evangelists who preach with conviction. Such people can advance the cause for which they are preaching—although they are often used for other, less laudable purposes by some interest groups.

If you do not have ideologically committed people and you do not have people with vested interests who can push for integration and, therefore, the stability of the state, then you are in a crisis. You must have one or the other. For instance, the Tanzanians have pushed the process of integration a bit further than some of us, because the leaders who were in charge of state affairs from the very beginning, for instance, used the Swahili language to advance the integration of their country.

Lack of Democracy and Accountability

Another problem that has plagued the state in Africa has been the lack of democracy and accountability. When I talk of democracy, I should not be confused with those who are talking about multiparties. The talk about multiparties is about form, it is not about substance. Each country's circumstances should dictate what form of democratic expression should be used. There should be control of the top leadership by the population; there must be regular elections; leaders must submit themselves to elections and be thrown out if they are rejected by the electorate. As long as that is happening, I think there will be democracy and accountability, although the exact form this democracy assumes is a different matter. I do not agree with those who are trying to push the idea of multiparties down everybody's throats.

Having outlined all these crises, is the situation in Africa hopeless? Should we become despondent and give up? I would not myself agree with such a pessimistic view. In fact, the situation in Africa is very bright and it can be turned around very quickly because we have a lot of resources and manpower in many of our countries. There are a few countries, especially those in the Sahel belt, with real problems because they lack water and other resources, but in most cases, we can turn the situation around. I am firmly convinced of this.

What Is the Solution to the Crisis?

How can we correct the present situation? These are some of the steps we need to take:

1. First of all, we must acquire ideological independence. We must stop ourselves being pushed around by exporters of ideas. We should be very adamant about doing what is good for our people. If we do not do this, the crisis will continue.

2. Second, we must acquire technology. We must take deliberate steps to acquire access to the scientific know-how that can transform our natural products into finished goods. We should pay scientists handsomely, so that the few we have do not keep running to Europe and America. My own view is that these scientists should be bribed. If they are not

committed to working for their countries, let us bribe them! They should be given very huge salaries, vehicles, and other incentives to make them stay here so that they can help us solve the problem of our technological dependence. We have tried to put this program into action here in Uganda, but I do not know why there are so many vested interests opposed to it. However, we shall soon sort it out. Ideological conviction is not a very common attribute, so we cannot rely on it. Let us instead rely on the mercenary instinct and bribe our scientists to make them stay here!

Let us also deliberately push the teaching of science in our schools and universities by providing laboratories and other scientific materials. I am sure these two methods will enable us to overcome this problem over the next ten years or so. We should also open more technical schools and institutions for artisans.

3. Third, we should coordinate better among African countries because acting singly is not good enough. We are really not so weak as is generally assumed. For instance, Cuba, a small country, and Angola were able to break the myth of the power of the South African army and change strategic thinking completely. I had occasion to tell Sir Geoffrey Howe in this very room—he was British Foreign Secretary at the time—that, in my view, the South Africans were making a mistake by thinking that their present superiority over African countries was a perpetual phenomenon. We are disorganized, we are uncoordinated, we are not mobilized, so they seem superior, when actually that is not the case.

My view is that the South Africans should have looked for political solutions while there was still time to do so. The events in Angola were an example of what a sizable force we can muster if we act together. Not only would better coordination make us strong, it would also minimize the conflicts between African states, which sap the energy of the continent as a whole.

4. Fourth, we should institute universal education. We must aim at providing universal education up to the twelfth year of school because we still have millions of people in Africa who are ignorant. Uganda, for instance, has a population of 18 million, but of these, perhaps as many as 17 million are still ignorant, illiterate, and superstitious. Because of

lack of knowledge, these millions are either completely immobilized or only partly mobilized. If we had universal education, however, we would have a big strategic advantage.

5. Fifth, we must encourage the African languages that can be easily spoken by a wide range of the African population. In East Africa, I would recommend Kiswahili. There are other languages in other regions, such as Lingala in Central Africa and Hausa in West Africa. Language can be a major factor in promoting integration and stability.

6. Finally, we must have democratization. Without democracy things are bound to go wrong. You cannot manage states properly without democracy. We must have elections and democratic practices that guard against sectarianism and opportunism. If you campaign on a sectarian platform, you should be automatically disqualified. If the political process is about real issues, they must be submitted to democratic debate and decision by the population.

I think that if we implemented some of these measures, we would resolve the situation on our continent. There are a lot of resources, although they are still untapped, and there is quite a lot of homogeneity on the continent in terms of culture and language. There is an impression that there is so much conflict in Africa that Africans cannot work together: this is not correct. We must stop highlighting our differences and instead highlight the many similarities that can unite and help us develop our continent.

Part IV

Africa in World Politics

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TWENTY-TWO

Genuine Nonalignment

Mr. President, we in Uganda have just marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of our independence and yet, for most of those twenty-five years, our people have suffered greatly at the hands of dictators and murderers. It was to put an end to fascism that Ugandan patriots organized an armed struggle that brought down Amin in 1979, and Obote and his successors in 1986. In January 1986, the National Resistance Movement and its military wing, the National Resistance Army, pioneered by twenty-seven young men, triumphantly overthrew the agents of dictatorship and fascism. The change we ushered in was not a mere change of guard, but a fundamental one. It is the character of this change that I would like to share with you.

In times of great difficulty, it is true that any generation often considers its problems and hard choices unprecedented, compared with those before it. Most would agree that in a profoundly deeper sense, our generation stands at the crossroads of human history as none other before us has done. We sit and deliberate here at a time when mankind has acquired unprecedented knowledge, which can either unite and save, or destroy us entirely. Our destiny as nations is indissolubly tied up with each other and common sense dictates that in order to survive, we need cooperation, not confrontation, mutual assistance and not exploitation.

The United Nations was established to give a firm foundation to this increasing perception of our common destiny. Its main purpose was

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Address to the United Nations General Assembly, New York, October 21, 1987.

"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

How are we entering the twenty-first century? Do we enter it as a planet whose scientific discoveries and spiritual values have provided a common purpose of survival? Or do we enter the next century poised to use our space-age technology to prepare for the annihilation of life on our planet? It is our profound conviction that the survival of mankind and the fulfillment of our dreams as individuals or nations must be in direct proportion to the extent to which we adhere to the ideals and values articulated in the UN Charter, and all other international treaties and declarations.

Respect for Human Rights

Mr. President, notwithstanding our limitations, my country stands tall in the endeavors to uphold the great purpose of this organization. The Uganda government, under the National Resistance Movement, begins, first and foremost, with an unwavering commitment to the respect for human rights and to the sanctity of human life. We waged a protracted war against tyranny on a platform of restoring personal freedoms and the amelioration of the socioeconomic conditions of our people. That is the cornerstone of our program.

Perhaps there is no surer indication of a return to normalcy than the degree to which refugees return to their country. They can only do so when they are genuinely convinced that they will be safe and their property secure. Our record since the NRM government took power speaks for itself. Available UNHCR statistics, corroborated by those of our government, show that since January 1986, the rate at which Ugandans have been returning to their homeland has dramatically increased.

For example, over a period of eighteen months (January 1986 to July 1987), there were 231,555 returnees, a spectacular rise of 362 percent compared with the monthly average over the forty-one months before we came to power (July 1983 to December 1985), when total returnees numbered only 142,055. From UNHCR statistics, by mid-1987, 20,000 had

returned from Kenya, 30,000 from Rwanda, 176,560 from Sudan, and 25,885 from Zaire. Tens of thousands of internally displaced persons have resettled peacefully in their former homes.

No Dignity in Poverty

Despite our unwavering commitment to the observance of human rights, which is popularly defined as the absence of physical molestation, freedoms of speech, movement, and ownership of property, the NRM is acutely aware that for these to be meaningful and capable of realization, a more fundamental commitment to the improvement of socioeconomic conditions is the prime imperative of our times. A hungry man cannot be said to enjoy a full life; a sick man is an incomplete human being. The fundamental human rights popularly championed by such worthy organizations as Amnesty International, important though they are, may be quite meaningless and irrelevant to the millions who are tortured from birth by hunger and disease. It is not possible to guarantee human dignity in a state of poverty, disease, ignorance, and economic backwardness.

It is in this context that the NRM government has embarked on a vigorous and realistic program for national recovery. The abject poverty in which our people live is juxtaposed with the tremendous potential riches of Africa. The statistics of our socioeconomic conditions are as graphic as they are disturbing.

Consider, for instance, that the adult daily calorie requirement is about 2,500. In most of Africa, however, the greater part of the population consumes less than two-thirds of this. In Uganda, a country that is fertile and blessed with a favorable climate, the prevalence of malnutrition still runs at 20 to 30 percent, and even higher in some places. In June 1987, the crude death rate was recorded at 18 per 1,000; maternal mortality was at 5 per 1,000; and neonatal death at 47 per 1,000 by comparison with which most developed countries have infant mortality rates of less than 20 per 1,000.

When we arrived on the scene in 1986, 12 percent of all children born in 1985 died before reaching their first birthday, and by projection, 25 percent would have died before they were fifteen. While the fact of these deaths is a tragedy, the folly of it lies in the fact that these high rates of

morbidity and mortality are largely attributable to diseases that are vaccine preventable. Measles, responsible for 56 percent of deaths in 1982 and 34.5 percent of deaths in 1984, is still the major cause of death in the under-five age group. Other preventable diseases, such as whooping cough and tuberculosis, are on the increase.

We have countered this by a vigorous and accelerated program of immunization whose coverage is now over 56 percent of the target group. We are determined to reach 100 percent coverage in the shortest time possible. Life expectancy in Uganda is 55 years and although it may be an improvement on the 1980 record of 53, it is very poor compared to a country like the United States of America, where the corresponding figure is 74. Our low life expectancy is further compounded by the doctor-patient ratio of one doctor for every 31,000 Ugandans, and a literacy rate of only 65 percent and 45 percent respectively for men and women. Our per capita income has been declining at a rate of 2.9 percent per annum over the past fifteen years and is now among the lowest in the world. This state of affairs typifies the backwardness and underdevelopment of so many Third World countries.

Asymmetrical Economies

By and large, most of our countries have got economic structures whose asymmetrical development perpetuates underdevelopment and a net outflow of resources. I am referring to a backward subsistence sector based on agriculture, side by side with a stunted modern sector, which is merely an enclave of the former. There is usually no healthy linkage between the sometimes ultramodern import-export sector on the one hand, and the subsistence sector on the other. Whatever linkage there may be is parasitic in favor of the modern enclave sector.

Often the rural population produces coffee or cotton that is sold to foreign countries by the national elites. The foreign exchange proceeds from these commodities are then used to buy whiskey, perfumes, and video machines, and nothing goes back to the primary producers. The disequilibrium is not only between the so-called modern sector and the rest of the economy, but also between agriculture and industry. The semimodern sectors are more linked with the economies of the advanced countries, especially in the West, and there is little internal cohesion.

Those countries with a tourist industry cannot, in most cases, service it on their own. For instance, the cornflakes, jam, cheese, and wines to feed the tourists all come from outside the Third World. So-called factories are, therefore, no more than assembly plants.

Pro-West or Pro-East?

There is a lot of distortion concerning the situation in Africa, including Uganda, not least in the ideological sphere. When we were fighting the corrupt, brutal dictatorships of Amin and Obote, there was a lot of speculation about our ideological orientation. The question was often raised: would we be pro-West or pro-East? In my view, this type of labeling is an insult to the African people. It presupposes that the Africans have no legitimate interests of their own and their only role is to support the interests of either the Western or Eastern blocs.

This attitude is erroneous, misleading, and simply unfortunate: we reject it entirely. Even the simplest form of animals, such as amoeba, hydra, or earthworms know their interests. They know how to get the food that is appropriate for their survival and they run away from danger when they see it. They know friend from foe. Why should Africans not know what is good for them? Why must we only know what is good for us through the lenses of the East or the West? Our movement rejects this type of thinking.

When we came to power last year, we found that 96,000 of our children were dying every year from six preventable diseases: measles, diphtheria, tetanus, polio, whooping cough, and tuberculosis. This figure of 96,000 fatalities did not include those who die from other mass killers like malaria and gastroenteritis. Did we surely need Americans or Russians to tell us that it is simply not acceptable to allow 96,000 of our children to die from diseases that can be prevented by vaccines? And why should our program for changing this sad state of affairs be seen in terms of the East-West conflict?

Point number ten of our political program prescribes an economic strategy of a mixed economy. We must stress that it is neither pro-West, nor pro-East: it is pro-Uganda. We reject dogmatism, oversimplification, theoretical vulgarization, and grafting. We take from every system what is best for us and we reject what is bad for us. We do not judge the eco-

nomic programs of other nations because we believe that each nation knows best how to address the needs of its people. Let us hope that although we are a small nation, no outside power will presume to prescribe what is best for our economy and our people. We have got our legitimate interests and we judge friend and foe according to how they relate to our interests.

Economic Diversification

Since we took up the reins of power, we have not lost a moment in implementing our radical program of transforming the pathetic situation we found in our country. We are repairing and reorienting the factories to ensure that they have more elements of locally added value. We are repairing roads and we are importing vehicles for public transport and equipment for agriculture. We are glad some international financial institutions have agreed to cooperate with us in this task. After this program of minimum recovery is accomplished, we are going to expand and diversify agricultural production, build new processing plants, and increase our power output in order to ensure that we transform the lives of our people.

Crucial to this process is technology transfer: inferiority in technology was responsible for the economic colonization of the African continent. There is no way we can maintain our independence in politics unless we create a technological base of our own. This work is difficult and easy at the same time; it is difficult because our people have got used to a slave mentality of impotence and dependency. At the time we took over, mere safety pins were imported. Looking at it from another angle, this work, in my opinion, is not so formidable, because we are not doing the pioneering work that those who preceded us in industrialization did. Provided we frugally, cleverly, and creatively husband and utilize our resources, we can purchase this technology from partners abroad.

We are embarking on increasing agricultural production for domestic consumption and export. More particularly, we are rehabilitating traditional exports like copper, cotton, and tea, as well as embarking on producing other export crops that have traditionally been produced only for local home consumption. Here I am talking about crops like maize,

sorghum, sunflower, sim sim, and soya beans. We are also rehabilitating the beef, dairy, leather, fisheries, and wood industries in order to widen our raw material base. This will enable us to earn more from export.

We intend to invade the area of engineering also, so that we can begin making some essential spare parts for our industries. Gradually we shall acquire the capacity to make tool and machine-making equipment. This is all part of our program to build an independent, integrated, and self-sustaining national economy. This is point number five in our Ten-Point Program.

This effort will be greatly assisted by a process of regional integration so that we can amalgamate the fragmented markets of Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa into one entity that can sustain big industries. I am glad efforts are being made already under the fifteen-nation Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area.

I have dwelt at length on economic issues. This is because I believe that there is no way Third World countries can liberate their peoples from poverty and maintain their independence without improving the performance of their economies. We have got a radical program of economic transformation and we make no apologies about it because our people are entitled to a good life. This radical program is not aimed at any other country, it is aimed at Uganda and there is no reason for anyone to be jittery about it, unless he has illegitimate interests in Uganda.

Oppressors Are Always Overestimated

At the level of international affairs, we support the three great causes: the liberation of man from domination by nature, the liberation of man from oppression by other men, and the liberation of peoples from other peoples, nations, or governments.

In the southern part of our continent, there is still an arrogant racist group that is oppressing our people in a manner that is without parallel in the history of man. Our people there, however, are waging a valiant struggle and in spite of the arrogance of the fascists, they shall win in the not too distant future. Oppressors have always been overestimated throughout history until the hour of reckoning. The South African regime is narrow minded, aggressive, and disdainful of African and world opinion. It thinks it can hold back the march of history by using sub-

version against Africa, aggression against Angola, and repression within its own borders. Who has ever succeeded in holding back the forward march of history? How many regimes of oppression that had greater power has history witnessed collapsing?

Therefore, the African people and the whole world need not be cowed. There is a lot of power in Africa that can be harnessed against the handful of racists in the southern half of our continent. The sooner the racists recognize this, the better for themselves and for southern Africa as a whole.

Trade, Not Aid

With regard to international cooperation, our view is that the Western countries in particular have a moral obligation to help the Third World economically because in the past they expropriated a lot of resources from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Out of morality, therefore, the West ought to compensate us for this transfer of resources. The Third World should not, however, make foreign aid the strategy for its development. It should, instead, insist on fair and balanced trading arrangements whereby it can purchase machinery, implements, and technology on terms it can afford. We, in Uganda, do not emphasize aid; aid is limited and is often a mere token. We are more interested in fixing mutually advantageous trading arrangements so that we can make our economy more independent.

AIDS

Mr. President, allow me to say how pleased I am to note that one of the issues being addressed by this assembly is the problem of the disease AIDS. We in Uganda recognize AIDS as a very serious global health problem. In our own case, the disease was first identified in 1982. By the beginning of 1987, about 1 138 cases had been reported. We have approached the problem with openness and honesty—which unfortunately has been equated with an exaggerated preponderance of the disease in the country and fueled by exaggerated publicity in the international press.

However, we shall continue to be open about it because we know that it can be contained and eventually prevented through a vigorous program of public education. We consider debates about its origin diver-

sionary and the racial imputations therein very unfortunate because they are scientifically unproven and can only serve to postpone its total eradication. I wish to place on record our appreciation for the work done so far by the World Health Organization and to appeal for a greater concerted global effort.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I reaffirm our commitment to the noble ideals of this organiaation. If we accept that the building blocks of the awesome physical universe in which we live are particles of matter too small to see with the naked eye, we must surely realize that the fate of our community of nations can be accurately measured by what happens to the small, numerous Third World countries like Uganda.

TWENTY-THREE

When Is Africa's Industrial Revolution?

One of the Third World's biggest problems is not the absence of natural resources, but the absence of technology. Most of Africa's problems are caused directly or indirectly by our lack of technology, which, by implication, means lack of industry. Europe, North America, and Japan have not always been industrialized. Industrialization in Europe is recent, having started about two hundred years ago. Previously, people all over the world lived in poverty and backwardness because of lack of industries. All the big inventions that have liberated man from poverty, backwardness, and want are relatively recent.

The steam engine was only invented in the eighteenth century and penicillin was not discovered until the 1940s. So these miracles of machines, chemicals, rockets, and energy are not very ancient. However, you can already see their impact on the lives of the people of those areas. Machines have, for instance, made travel very easy: you now can travel from here to Europe in seven hours.

I was recently in China and the Chinese president told me that in the 1920s, it used to take two months to travel from China to the United States; it now takes hours. This shows you that industries can completely transform people's lives and alleviate the burdens of manual labor. To-

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Speech at the opening of the National Workshop for the Development of Small-Scale Industries, April 3, 1989.

day, our people in the villages depend almost entirely on manual labor to do the most elementary jobs and in Africa this burden falls largely on the women. In my opinion, women should take a very active interest in industrialization processes because they will be among its first beneficiaries.

Industrialization Is Liberating

Compare the tractor with the hoe: how much work can you cover with a tractor and how much with a hoe? Consider the revolution in transport brought about by the motor engine! Consider how quickly you can milk a cow when you use a machine; the list is endless.

Therefore, there is no way that Africans can emancipate themselves from backwardness without carrying out an industrial revolution. All the problems we are always complaining about in Africa — unbalanced budgets, deficits, the prices of commodities, high taxes, and so on — all go back to our lack of industries. If we had industries to make bicycles, tractors, and batteries like the ones I saw this morning, each of those industrial products would give us some tax revenue.

There would, therefore, be no need for heavy taxes because we would have a large range of products, each bringing in money to the treasury. In fact, instead of taxing you heavily, the government would be able to subsidize you, as they do in Europe. There, governments subsidize education and housing, and even people who are not employed get money for subsistence. This is because those countries have built up a strong industrial and financial base. Each unit produced brings in taxes, and from these, the government is able to provide free education, housing and unemployment benefits, pension schemes, old people's homes, day-care centers for children, and other social services.

If we do not expand our industries, I am afraid we shall remain with our problems, such as illiteracy. In Uganda today, out of every one hundred men, thirty-five cannot write, nor can they read, and out of every one hundred women, sixty-five can neither read, nor write. And what is the contribution of this huge number of illiterate people? They form the majority of the population, but their contribution is very limited because they cannot advance themselves, let alone their society.

Exports Cheap, Imports Costly

To illustrate some of the problems we shall continue to face if we do not wake up to this issue of our lack of industries, I have managed, with a lot of difficulty, to get some figures from the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development. I wanted some figures for tractor prices, but the ministry could not get them. If they do not have such figures, I do not know how they operate. Anyhow, they managed to get me the prices for Bedford trucks. Since 1980, a Bedford truck has been rising in price by 6.5 percent per annum.

If we look at coffee prices, however, while the price of the Bedford truck has been rising by 6.5 percent per annum, coffee prices fell by 32 percent between 1980 and 1987. It is not only Bedfords that are going up in price, it is any manufactured product you care to import. You can see that the situation is not in our favor.

Another example is that in 1986, our total export earnings were $407 million (U.S.), which is a very small figure for a whole country. Coffee earnings account for a very large percentage of this figure—about 90 percent. In 1987, we worked very hard: we arrested some smugglers, put a few people in prison, and we earned $319 million. We increased coffee exports, and our earnings dropped by about $100 million. This is catastrophic! If our people in the Ministry of Planning could calculate the figures properly, you would see the terrible situation we are in today. It is totally unacceptable to some of us.

The summary of all this is that however hard we work, our situation will not change as long as we go on exporting primary commodities. If we are producing coffee and exporting it in raw or semiraw form, we shall not get very far. And there is a reason for this: as technology develops in Europe, North America, and Japan, our raw materials become less and less relevant. For instance, because of efficient machines, textile manufacturers will use less cotton than they used when technology was still backward.

Also, because of advances in technology, the developed countries now have alternative raw materials. There is also the fact that we in the Third World are competing among ourselves and we do not produce according to a rational plan. If we take coffee, for instance, we are now pro-

ducing ninety-eight million bags of coffee worldwide, while the world consumption is only sixty-six million bags. The other day I was in Addis Ababa for a meeting, and I heard someone propose that we should talk to the Europeans so that they can guarantee prices for our coffee! But how are you going to guarantee the price of something that is not wanted? Are you going to arrest Europeans and force them to drink coffee? If you could find a woman on the streets of London and force her to buy two tins of coffee instead of one, then you could guarantee prices for your coffee! Nobody can guarantee the prices for your products. You must produce goods that are marketable. This is the only way you can guarantee prices for your products.

Manufacturers, Not Commission Agents

In order to industrialize, we need two things in my opinion. In a country like Uganda, we have natural resources that could be used as a base for industrialization. In fact, we are lucky in many ways because we have quite a number of natural resources that other countries do not have. But second, we need an entrepreneurial class of people who will be able to grasp opportunities wherever they see them, and build industries on the basis of those opportunities.

This is very important because previously, we had people here who called themselves capitalists, although this was a misnomer. These people were not capitalists but commission agents who were simply distributing other people's products. You could call them salesmen. I believe that someone who merely sells other people's product is not a capitalist, and he is certainly not an industrialist. He may be a capitalist in a loose sense, but the capitalists of Europe were creators of wealth, not mere distributors.

Now, I am glad that the Ugandan middle class is beginning to transform itself from commission agents into producers of wealth, into manufacturers. I think it is a very important transformation. For instance, today I was with Mulwana, who used to import batteries but is now manufacturing them. He has moved up from being a salesman to being a manufacturer. I was also at another factory where someone is recycling cast-iron scrap into cast-iron products to make spare parts for

copper factories, maize mills, and so on. This is a very big transformation and we encourage it.

Economic Traffic Controller

Private entrepreneurs in Uganda are more dynamic than those in public enterprises. I was telling Mulwana that I am sure he is not putting up a factory because he is a philanthropist. He is working for himself and in the process, he also makes a contribution to the country's economy. So we can take advantage of his hard work and support him fully. This is, therefore, a positive development; the transformation of the Ugandan middle class from comprador capitalists into national capitalists.

Having said that, we need a superintendent who will stand at the gate and say: "No, you stop. Don't go there but go that way instead." This superintendent should be in the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development; he should be in the Ministry of Finance, and he should be in the Bank of Uganda. This is the man who should be saying, "Now, hold on. Don't import safety pins. Instead, import a machine to make safety pins. And you, don't import toilet paper, but import a machine to make toilet paper instead." We need this planner. You could call him a traffic controller, because there is a traffic of resources flowing from here to Europe, and very little coming in. You cannot have traffic going in one direction only, so our traffic controller must be more active and more energetic.

One of our main problems now is that our planners are not serious. While the private sector is taking seriously our message of doing everything possible to build an independent economy, the traffic controllers have gone to sleep. This is the crisis I have seen, and I do not think moaning about it is enough. I hear people saying: *Ebintu biri bubi: abasajja bano tebakeola! Tunakola ki?* (Things are bad: these men are not working! What shall we do?) It is a big problem but I am sure if our energetic private entrepreneurs got assistance and guidance from our planners, we would make dramatic advances.

When I was in China recently, I discussed with the Chinese the idea of setting up a food technology research center for all the alternative uses of our natural resources. If an industrialist makes inquiries, he will be given the options: from cassava, you could get this, from millet,

you can make this, and so on. This center would be a great advantage and it could later be expanded to carry out research not only in food, but also in minerals and other resources.

Technical Manpower Needed

Another thing we need to do is to intensify technical training in secondary schools. We shall soon face a crisis of a lack of technicians. Most of the technical schools we had in the past are no longer functioning. Masaka Technical School and Kyambogo are operating only suboptimally, while many others have closed down. This is going to be a bottleneck, if it is not one already. Therefore, the Ministry of Education, together with the Ministry of Planning, should start a program to reopen technical schools and build new ones. This will give us a ready pool of technical manpower. We are opening a University in Mbarara that will have a bias toward science and technology, but an engineer must have a technician working below him. There is a huge surplus of secondary school leavers who would like to get into higher institutions of learning and all these should be absorbed into technical schools.

Additionally, we need to go back to the old idea of the 1964 Kampala Agreement under which the East African Community envisaged a rationalization of industries. The plan was supposed to work as follows: Tanzania, for instance, would produce tires and all the members of the Community would buy tires from Tanzania and thus avoid duplication.

We now have the PTA, but it has not yet ventured into production. At the moment, it only stops at the level of giving preferential treatment to commodities produced within the PTA region. If there is duplication, the present PTA arrangements do not help. We therefore need some other measures to ensure that there is rationalization in the distribution of industries so that we can take advantage of the whole of the Eastern, Central, and Southern African market. If we produce certain goods on a large scale, we should be able to lower production unit costs and thus become more competitive.

Creative Joint Ventures

In the meantime, I shall do everything possible to pressure the government of Uganda to ensure that we buy what we produce in Uganda. I see

no reason, for instance, why we do not buy electricity cables from Cable Corporation in Lugazi. Some people tried to convince me that it was the World Bank that forced them to buy cables from elsewhere. But I do not believe this. I think it was the weakness of our own people who did not stand up and say, "Look here, we have cables in Uganda, so don't make them part of the international tendering contract. Keep them out of the loan."

After all, even if these are World Bank loans, we shall repay them eventually. We may take a long time doing so, but we shall have to repay them. No one can, therefore, force me to take out a loan I do not want. If I want someone to rehabilitate this room, but I already have microphones installed, nobody can force me to include them in the contract. I shall say, "Thank you very much, just repair the room because I already have some microphones." Therefore, no one can convince me that the World Bank or the IMF forced Uganda to buy cables from elsewhere when we already have them here. The IMF has earned itself a bad name, so people use it to cover up their own inefficiencies.

I was recently in India. India nowadays does not import motor vehicles. They got hold of one model—I think it was an old British Austin Morris, copied it under license, and now every driver in India drives a Morris, with an Indian name—they call it an Ambassador. Here in Kampala, you see all sorts of vehicles. I one day saw a Jaguar on the streets! How do you drive a Jaguar in Uganda when you cannot even make a water pump?

Another method we could use is joint ventures. I support joint ventures with outsiders who have access to technology. This can be a very good, mutually advantageous method for all the parties involved. The only thing you have to bear in mind with joint ventures is that we are now members of the Preferential Trade Area of Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa, which requires that if an industry is to benefit from preferential treatment, it must be 51 percent–owned by nationals of the PTA.

On the side of the government, we are formulating a Foreign Investment Act, which we shall soon publish. We shall lay emphasis on attracting investments either as joint ventures or as solely foreign-owned enterprises. First the emphasis will be on generating foreign exchange,

and secondly on saving it. Any enterprise in which you engage — whether it is a joint venture, or is solely owned by outside interests — should have the capacity either to generate foreign exchange or to save it.

For instance, if you engage in a joint venture with an outside person to manufacture jam or to extract juice from fruit, which you export and earn dollars for, that is very good. It means that from those dollars, the foreign partner will take away his dividends. On the other hand, you could engage in a joint venture like Mulwana's factory, where some British people are involved in making batteries here, thus saving us some foreign exchange. This type of venture should be supported.

But if there were to be a partnership between an outsider and a Ugandan to run a bus company in Kampala District, for instance, what would Uganda get out of the arrangement? First, the buses will be imported, as well as the spare parts, the tires, and the petrol. And for all this we would be paying our foreign exchange. At the end of the day, the foreigner wants his dividends in foreign currency. Uganda will send out so many dollars, and yet the bus will only earn local currency. This type of venture is a drain on our foreign exchange and it is one of the biggest problems for the Third World.

In the 1960s, someone calculated that for every dollar that comes into the Third World, 2.5 dollars go out to the developed countries. This lady, an economist named Joan Robinson, said that it was like giving a patient one pint of blood in the right arm and taking out two pints from the left one. The patient will not die immediately, but he will certainly deteriorate. This is what has been happening to the Third World.

Our Underdeveloped Wealth

I am happy, however, that people in Europe are beginning to talk of a Marshall Plan. I think such an idea is good. This morning I heard on the radio about a meeting of finance ministers of the "Big Seven" — I think this is the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Canada, and Italy. These are the countries that control most of the world's developed wealth. In Uganda we have a lot of wealth, but it is not developed. This is why we do not attend this meeting of the Big Seven. If they called a summit of those who own a lot of natural resources, possi-

bly different people would attend the meeting! If you have a lot of minerals in the ground but they are not exploited, you do not attend that Big Seven meeting. If you have a lot of hydroelectric power that you are not able to exploit, you do not go to that meeting!

Anyway, I heard this morning that these ministers had met and made some positive recommendations about Third World debt. I think the realization is growing in the world that it is not in anyone's interest to have two-thirds of mankind living under very poor conditions. This is not in anyone's interest at all. For instance, if I have some cows that produce milk, do you think it is in my interest to have neighbors who are so poor that they cannot buy my milk? It would be better if my neighbors were better off so that they could provide a market for my milk. These advanced countries do not stand to benefit if the Third World remains so poor that it cannot buy their products. It is, therefore, in everyone's interest to ensure that there is balanced development in the whole world, which will mean more trade and a freer flow of resources.

Finally, I commend the attempts by our small-scale industrialists to uplift our industrial base. This kind of enterprise is really catching on and everyone is busy producing something. If only our planners would wake up, I believe we would move much faster. I would like to recommend that you not only sustain this effort of making finished articles, but that at some future date you should think of producing machine-making machines. Our industrialization process will be more secure when we reach that stage.

TWENTY-FOUR

Defending Our Common Heritage

On behalf of the government and the people of Uganda, I wish to begin by stating that we consider it a singular honor and privilege to host this First African Regional Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development, which is a follow-up of the World Commission Report, entitled "Our Common Future." I understand that this is the first of a series of such conferences, which will be organized on a worldwide basis to discuss the challenges of environmental management and sustainable development.

Often in human history, crises have served to propel humanity forward in its development. The fact that so many distinguished personalities from all over Africa and other parts of the world are gathered here today is proof that environment is the crisis of our time. It is playing the role of stress necessary to thrust us into a new and higher order of development. In a very real sense, therefore, our pathology is our opportunity.

Looked at from this point of view, the environmental crisis—that is, deforestation, desertification, global warming, ozone depletion, and industrial pollution—is powerfully instructive. It forces us to grasp the fundamental truth that we should have grasped long ago, that environment determines the status of life and without it, there is no life. At the beginning of time, figuratively speaking, man descended into a Gar-

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Address at the opening of the First African Regional Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development, Kampala, June 15, 1989.

den of Eden and proceeded to take abundance, growth, and progress for granted. Today's crisis forces us to regain an awareness of our proper place in nature. There is an awkward ecological consciousness of the complex interactions of people and environmental elements.

The environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human actions, ambitions, and needs. Indeed, as the Brundtland Report states with great clarity: "The environment is where we live and development is what we do in attempting to improve our lot. The two are inseparable." Sustained development is not a fixed state, but rather a dynamic process of change in which the exploitation of technological development and institutional changes are made consistent with future as well as present needs. In other words, humanity has the ability to make development sustainable, to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

In the years since the publication of the Brundtland Report, the international community has become increasingly aware not only of the interlocking nature of the environmental crisis, but also of the relationships that bind environmental problems with conditions of acute poverty and deprivation in developing countries; with international food production and trade; with global weather systems; with the international balance of power; and intimately, with each of our lives. The nature of these problems is not only highly complex, but very little understood.

Sustainable Development

What is now widely understood, however, is the necessity of facing up to the profound challenges of incorporating environmental considerations into sustainable economic and social development programs. It is a challenge that requires a holistic approach to the complexity of the ecosystems involved. Each country should be aware not only of its global responsibility to preserve the environment of its own territory, but also to take account of the impact of its policies on other states and regions. African countries constitute a very important component in the global ecosystem.

Tropical and subtropical countries possess the bulk of the earth's species of flora and fauna. Many of these are restricted to relatively small geographical areas and, as a result, are frequently threatened with ex-

tinction. With the destruction of their natural habitat through the impact of human activities, the number of species becoming extinct is rapidly increasing.

As can be clearly seen from the past experience of the advanced economies, serious environmental degradation follows in the wake of most industrialization processes. Natural resources become depleted if no appropriate measures are taken in relevant planning contexts.

Conversely, sustainable development becomes a key concept in social and economic programs, where systematically integrated plans for development and environmental conservation allow the present generation both to sustain reasonable standards of living and to convey this heritage to future generations.

In response to this challenge, the Brundtland Commission has vigorously advanced the concept of sustainable development in order to harmonize these two basic requirements of development and environmental protection within an integrated package of domestic policies. In this new perspective, the concept of incorporating environmental considerations into the development process has not been fully appreciated in most of our countries. Social and economic diversity in African countries may make it difficult to adopt a single system for the kind of integration we are talking about. As a result, there may be no one appropriate model relating to the concepts and measures for integrating environmental factors into development programs in the African region.

Here in Uganda, we are currently experiencing varying degrees of environmental challenges and I wish to focus on some of them. As you may know, we have a large rural population and a predominantly agricultural economy. We have relatively abundant water resources, fertile soils, forests, plains, and mountain ranges. We enjoy geographic and climatic variety. Therefore, our country has much to lose from an environmental catastrophe. How might disaster strike? We could exhaust our natural resources or devastate our environment with waste and pollution by using inefficient processes of production. Sustainable development is thus vital in ensuring harmony between the objectives of development and the requirements of the environment.

The National Resistance Movement is committed to the development of an independent, integrated, and self-sustaining national economy.

When we came into power in 1986, we inherited a shattered economy. An economic rehabilitation and development plan was launched in May 1987 with the aim of restoring productive capacity in key sectors.

To encourage the incorporation of environmental factors into our development programs, we established a Ministry of Environment Protection whose mandate is, among other things, to underwrite environmental conservation by ensuring that the activities of other sectoral ministries do not endanger the environment. We are still in the formative stages of the process, whose major aim is to stimulate environmental awareness through national governmental and nongovernmental organizations, including your organizations and women's movements. To sustain the development of local expertise, a department offering postgraduate courses in environmental studies has been established at Makerere University.

The environment constitutes a resource that has to be properly managed to maintain its productivity, whether in agriculture, livestock, and fisheries, or in forestry, erosion protection, and wildlife. The latter, of course, both provide food supplies and offer a basis for the future development of our once-prosperous tourist industry. A major factor behind the successful exploitation of this sector is the international interest in this country's wildlife.

Its preservation is a determining factor for any future revival of this foreign currency–earning industry. With the depletion of the country's wildlife stock, the potential for the future development of the tourism industry could be adversely affected. The threatened destruction of the unique ecosystem of the Ruwenzori, in western Uganda, has had similar repercussions, and the government is now devoting increased efforts to resolving these problems, which have been the subject of wide-ranging international attention.

Deforestation

One cause of environmental degradation is the exploitation of energy resources. Our government has started a program for the rehabilitation of hydroelectric power production at Owen Falls Dam in the east of the country, Maziba in the southwest, and at other ministations. This

will increase the access of rural communities to hydroelectric power supplies. Currently, however, the rural population and much of the urban population are still dependent on wood fuel as the only source of domestic energy. Here in Uganda, over 95 percent of our total energy used is wood-based.

Regional statistics in this regard are quite alarming. By 1980, over 144 million Africans in thirty countries, including Uganda, faced wood shortages to the tune of 72 million cubic meters. The situation must have become worse as deforestation was also estimated at rates of 8,000 hectares in Rwanda, and 30,000 hectares per year in Nigeria. Uganda's rate was put at between 10,000 and 15,000 hectares per year. If strong measures are not taken to halt this process, we shall have no forests left by the year 2000. Therefore, we think that given the basic need for the sustained production of both industrial and domestic energy and the few substitutes available, the only way to eliminate the problem is to consider wood fuel as essential a commodity as food, and introduce methods like agroforestry.

We have undertaken a campaign here in Uganda to encourage the preservation of existing vegetation and the planting of new trees. We are aware that although the planting of new trees in the tropics has accelerated recently (about 1.1 million hectares per annum), it amounts to only one-tenth of the rate of deforestation. Therefore, there is an urgent need to identify quick-growing tree species. This is the only way we can ensure continued satisfactory levels of rainfall and protection of the topsoil.

Sustainable Agriculture

I think it is also important to remember that desertification is not only the advancement of the Sahara Desert, but it is also the development of desert-like conditions far away from the Sahara zone. In Uganda, drought and desertification have led to hotter and drier conditions overall. Sample climatic data show that Uganda's temperature has increased by between three and five degrees centigrade over the past fifteen years, and that rainfall patterns are now unreliable and irregular. Temperatures that were hardly known before 1970 have now become common, partic-

ularly during the hottest and driest months in parts of eastern and northern Uganda. Parts of southern Uganda have become increasingly arid, while the Rift Valley regions are deteriorating into virtual deserts.

I would now like to turn to agriculture, which, of course, is based on the exploitation of one of the world's most valuable resources — soil. For practical considerations, soil is nonrenewable. Its development is a very slow process compared with the rapidity of population growth. It is, therefore, extremely important that we conserve the soil we have.

Currently, the world is said to have 1,368 million hectares of cultivated land, of which 163 million hectares are in Africa. In contrast to much of the developed world, Africa has a large amount of land that could be developed for cultivation. It has been estimated that the United States could increase its agricultural land from 189 million to 241 million hectares, while Africa could increase from 163 million to 789 million hectares. However, in view of the rapidly increasing population, merely increasing the amount of cultivated land is not the answer to Africa's food self-sufficiency. We must learn better methods of producing food on presently cultivated land while protecting the soils from degradation.

Food Security

This brings me to the question of food security and sustainable agriculture, which is one of the issues identified for consideration at this conference. In the recent past, food security has come to be defined as the "ability of a country or a region to assure, on a sustainable basis, that its food system allows the entire population access to a timely, reliable, quantitatively and nutritionally adequate supply of food."

Food security, therefore, involves assuring both an adequate supply of food and access of the population to that food, usually through generating adequate capacities of effective demand (purchasing power) resulting from income growth. Food security, therefore, is influenced by a number of micro and macro factors, including a sound technological base, support institutions accessible to farmers, marketing systems, and monetary, fiscal, and exchange rate policies that affect the overall rate of growth and the distribution of income.

I think that poverty is grossly responsible for food insecurity. Environmental problems and poverty are intertwined. The assault on the environment in industrialized countries arises partly from their wealth, while in our poor countries, ecological destruction is perpetuated by poverty. The lack of a sound foundation in agricultural sciences has continued to retard the impact of agricultural research on food production and security in our region. Unable to increase productivity from their limited resources and unaware of the inevitable consequences, our people resort to practices that amount to ecological suicide.

Therefore, the most pervasive manifestation of environmentally destructive poverty in our countries is the dangerous exploitation of fragile resources, for example, deforestation, farming practices that cause soil erosion, and overgrazing. This in turn leads to reduced land productivity and food losses at preharvest, during harvest, processing, and marketing, and at postharvest stages. Estimates of food losses in Africa range from 30 percent to as high as 60 percent — that is, from the time of planting to the time of consumption.

While in North America and Europe they are talking of industrial agriculture, and in Asia, parts of Latin America, and North America there is the green revolution, here in sub-Saharan Africa we continue to depend on resource-poor agriculture, which relies on uncertain rain water, unimproved crop varieties, traditional and unimproved farming technologies, and fragile land resources.

Overstressing the Ecosystem

It is a tragedy, therefore, that in the face of all these conditions, the population in Africa is calculated to double every twenty years and, consequently, to outstrip the rate of food production. According to FAO estimates, per capita food production in Africa is declining at an annual rate of 1 percent per capita. The future is undoubtedly bleak if this is true, and we have no empirically supported cause to doubt it.

It has been a common perception to draw a distinction between population and environment as two separate problem areas, forgetting that population is an integral component of the environment. Therefore, when addressing ourselves to these issues, we should look not only at

biophysical, but also at the sociocultural and socioeconomic factors that constitute the total environment.

As most of our economies depend overwhelmingly on agriculture, when we talk of sustainable development and independent and self-sustaining economies, we are really talking about sustainable agricultural productivity. For a long time, opinions differed on the definition of sustainability and the best way to achieve it. Based largely on the principles of ecology and population dynamics, the concept of sustainable agriculture suggests that farming practices can and should be designed to maintain optimal yields.

We must, as governments, make a deliberate effort to guard against practices that overstress the ecosystem. There must be collaborative efforts between our governments and nongovernmental organizations. The causes of deforestation, acid rain, and the contamination of water by chemicals transcend our economic, social, and geographical boundaries.

In about the third century B.C., Plato is said to have accurately and graphically described the direct and indirect effects of deforestation of the mountains of Attica and their consequent effect on the economy of Athens. Today, two thousand years later, ecologists are still working hard to describe the causes and consequences of overstressing ecosystems. They are identifying warning symptoms and suggesting ways of preventing further deterioration.

Certainly, agricultural production can only be sustained on a long-term basis if the resource base, namely, land, water, and forests, is not degraded. There is a need to enhance the resource base by delineating the land according to its production capacity. Food strategies must be supported by policies that place production in its maximum and most needed area, that secure the livelihoods of the rural poor, and that conserve resources. Perseverance can bring about the miracle. After all, it is not so long ago that most people were convinced that India faced a dark Malthusian future of catastrophe. Today, India is self-sufficient in food, and Africa, too, can surprise the world.

Here in Uganda, the current challenge includes the formulation of agricultural policies that ensure the efficient use of resources for input requirements, linked with the application of the most cost-effective technology. We realize also that efficient investment is required in areas of

production where we enjoy a comparative and sustainable advantage. Sustainability is ensured through appropriate technical extension services to the small farmers. Environmental efficiency is enhanced by the provision of investment resources to the agricultural sector through the broadening of the rural credit scheme, now successfully mobilizing resources for rural development.

What Must We Do?

As our tasks of rehabilitation are completed and conditions for sustainable development recreated, agricultural production will diversify into new crops and new agro-industries. Similarly the industrialization process will gather increasing momentum. The challenge for Uganda will also change. The protection of resources and the prevention of pollution will come into sharp focus. As pollution is slow and as its effects may not manifest themselves over a short period, it is necessary to set up monitoring and control agencies to obtain data on various pollution factors. We think that extra steps could include the following:

1. Purification of industrial waste and its proper disposal to stop it flowing into rivers and lakes.
2. Garbage should be sorted so that some parts can be recycled while organic components can be turned into compost.
3. Sewage should be appropriately treated and used as manure.
4. People should be educated and required by law to keep their living and working environments clean.

Allow me to remind this assembly that the lack of accurate data makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to plan appropriately. Therefore, measures to acquire detailed and accurate information on population patterns, economic activities, land use systems, natural resource exploitation, and food and energy production and consumption must be treated as a top priority. Sustained development cannot be achieved without proper planning, which in turn depends on reliable data.

Mobilize the Peasants

It is my sincere hope that experts will soon find the correct combination of strategies that can extricate Africa from its present environmental

predicament. Whatever formula may be arrived at, it must be recognized that the key to success will be the meaningful participation of the beneficiaries, the peasants of Africa, whose very survival depends on the land. For instance, it should not be difficult to mobilize our people for the changes that may be necessary in their farming practices. But I would wish to urge our scientists, planners, and implementers also to take the trouble to find out and incorporate the age-old wisdom of traditional farming practices in Africa. It may surprise you to find that you are learning a thing or two from these seemingly simple folk.

A precondition for the successful mobilization of populations for effective participation is, of course, political will and genuine government commitment to improving the welfare of the rural majority. Political will must go beyond mere words: it must be expressed in the commitment of resources, funds, and manpower. When a government gives concerted, wholehearted support to a well-designed program with strong community participation, then the sky is the limit.

Here in Uganda, the National Resistance Movement government has nurtured and put into practice a concept of people's participation in matters that affect their lives directly. This is the system of democratically elected people's committees, known as Resistance Committees, which begins at the village level and culminates in the national legislative body, the National Resistance Council. The RC system was conceived to create the conditions in which the people could develop themselves. In terms of initiative, I am proud to report that the concept has already paid off. If we, as governments, are serious about change for the better, then the first steps must be to find ways in which our populations can contribute meaningfully to their own development.

Silent Emergencies

In the subtle interaction of man and his environment, I would like to make specific reference to the matter of environmental health issues. Much alarm has been expressed in recent years about the more obvious emergencies such as deforestation, global warming, ozone depletion, and industrial pollution. We should bear in mind that there are also the silent emergencies of environmental degradation. This is the environment, for example, of the malnourished, sick, and illiterate peasant

mother, on whose care an infant is totally dependent from conception to about six months of age. This is an environment characterized by unsafe drinking water, unsanitary surroundings, and the prevalence of such deadly diseases as diarrhea, malaria, measles, polio, and tetanus.

Efforts to deal with the louder environmental emergencies must go hand in hand with efforts to protect our people, especially the young, from the effects of such environmental emergencies. Success in dealing with the more obvious emergencies depends on improvements in the silent ones.

Here the role of government is not a commanding, but an enabling one. As has been stated by various speakers and keen observers of the environment, the causes of environmental degradation lie in the wasteful and inequitable conduct of the world economy. The impact is, of course, greatest in the developing world. In the face of economic crises, massive debt obligations, falling commodity prices, and protectionism in northern markets, the choices available to our governments and our peoples are seriously limited. In some cases, there are scarcely any choices at all. Unless the international community provides effective opportunities for the underprivileged to plan for a better future, environmental treaties and resolutions will continue to ring hollow.

The gaping hole in the ozone layer does not recognize state boundaries, and no nation, however powerful, can legislate against acid rain and ban it over its airspace. We have a common future and we must defend it if we are to survive as a species on this planet. I perceive in this crisis, therefore, an opportunity to outgrow the luxury of selfish national goals and to fight against the threats that bind us in our common humanity.

TWENTY-FIVE

The Economic Consequences of Coffee

This assembly of the Inter-African Coffee Organization is taking place at a critical time for the coffee industry. It is important that the current problems on this subject be discussed in a substantive and serious manner. This will contribute significantly to the resolution of the problems caused by the current collapse in the coffee price. In welcoming you to Uganda, therefore, I wish to emphasize the importance that we attach to this opportunity of discussing such a crucial subject.

Uganda's economy remains essentially agrarian. Nine out of ten people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Agricultural production accounts for two-thirds of GDP and virtually all our exports are agricultural. Over the past four years, 95 percent of our exports have been made up exclusively from coffee. Agriculture, therefore, accounts for a large share of our industrial and commercial activity either through the supply of raw materials or the demand for input and services. All this goes to show that for us in Uganda, coffee is a product of vital economic and social significance.

Coffee Was Forced on Us

However, the current importance of coffee in Uganda's economy is not a historical accident. It is, rather, a result of the deliberate structural distortions of colonial policy. While it is true that robusta coffee was grown

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Address at the Twenty-ninth Annual Assembly of the Inter-African Coffee Organization, Kampala, November 20, 1989.

long before the Europeans came to Uganda, its importance was limited merely to cultural habits.

In Buganda, for instance, coffee beans were sometimes chewed as a stimulant and used during ceremonial rituals of "blood-brotherhood"—known in Luganda as *okutta omukago.* Coffee beans were, I believe, also commonly chewed in the Buhaya and Karagwe states of northwest Tanzania. This culture, I also believe, has its equivalent in the function of the kola nut in some cultures of West Africa. Apart from this use in traditional rituals, therefore, coffee had no other real significance in Uganda. Its transformation from a naturally occurring plant into a major pillar of the Uganda economy was a result of colonial design and enforcement.

It may interest you to know that to this day, unhulled coffee is known in Luganda as *kiboko.* The word *kiboko* means "whip." This name derives from the fact that prior to the 1930s, if a farmer disobeyed a colonial order to grow coffee, he would be whipped. This illustrates what I mean when I say that coffee became important to our economy as a result of colonial design and enforcement.

Coffee, like cotton and groundnuts, for instance, was a cheap raw material much sought after by the Europeans—for the advancement of European capitalism. Hand in hand with the plunder of our natural resources was the destruction of our indigenous industrial base. With the destruction of the continent's industrial base, Africa became integrated into the world capitalist system as a consumer of imported goods and an exporter of primary goods. The horizontal division of labor that had existed before was destroyed and replaced with a vertical one. As you know, the horizontal division of labor is when the economy is integrated and self-sustaining, while the vertical one is when there is no linkage between the different sectors and each sector is integrated into external economies.

It is, therefore, an issue of great historical significance that the economic activities that dominated our time and effort in the first half of this century were calculated to satisfy the interests of our colonial masters and not our own. We were thus conditioned to produce goods we did not consume, and to consume those we did not produce. A clear grasp of this fundamental reality is indispensable to an appreciation of our current predicament.

We are now saddled with the logical consequences of economic structures that were fundamentally flawed in concept, design, and implementation. The deliberate distortion of our economies, which were designed to serve the interests of foreigners, constituted the meaning of colonialism. But the question that we must now ask is, is it logical that these distortions should persist in spite of Africa's political independence? Is it possible to justify the perpetuation of economic systems and structures that we know were conceived, designed, and implemented by our colonial rulers through the systematic exploitation of the African people?

The position of coffee in the economy of Uganda is a supreme example of colonial distortion, but more tragic is the fact that the Ugandan leadership that inherited the postcolonial state did not have enough ideological consciousness to recognize and confront these distortions. After independence, the correct line should have been to reduce the economy's dependence on coffee by formulating and adopting long-term strategies for sustainable development, but this was not done. Instead the distortions were expanded and the dependency intensified. Where coffee accounted for 46 percent of total exports in 1958, it had grown to over 90 percent in the 1980s. This, then, was the great paradox: that political liberation should have brought intensified and institutionalized slavery and, indeed, economic bondage.

Reversing the Decline

When the National Resistance Movement came to power in 1986, we were determined to reverse this situation. The policy we adopted was to create an economy that is independent, integrated, and self-sustaining. This, indeed, is the cornerstone of our movement's socioeconomic program. We believe it to be a fundamental necessity if the exploitative economic structures of the twentieth century are to be uprooted. We not only reject the perpetuation of a system in which we must ship out more and more coffee in order to get fewer and fewer imports, but we also reject an economic system in which the vital economic interests of our population are subject to the erratic pendulum of commodity markets.

Because of the fall in coffee prices over the past six months, Uganda's deteriorating terms of trade can be estimated as equivalent to a drop in

coffee prices of around 30 percent, coupled with a 5 percent increase in the dollar price of our imports. Thus the overall decline in Uganda's terms of trade over this period is calculated to be approximately 35 percent—which at current prices translates into a staggering $120 million (U.S.) per annum.

Our economic misfortunes can be more graphically portrayed when you consider that in 1970, we needed 212 bags of coffee to buy a seven-ton Mercedes-Benz truck. In 1987 we required 420 bags and now we require more than 530 bags to secure the same vehicle. This state of affairs cannot be described as a just economic order. There is simply no justice in subjecting our population to markets that swing from one extreme to another—at the whims of commodity dealers and speculators. For these and other reasons, we believe that our economies should aim to achieve greater independence and greater internal linkages, which will guarantee us a measure of protection from external shocks.

The problem of erratic commodity markets and deteriorating terms of trade means that the interests of primary commodity producers are not protected. It is obvious that for Uganda, and I believe for most of the countries represented here at this conference, coffee is currently a vital and strategic product. Although in our case we are trying to deemphasize its importance in the long run, for the time being it remains a strategic product whose price has a fundamental impact on the welfare of our population. For this reason, we believe that strategic action on the part of coffee producers is an urgent necessity, especially given the dynamics of the present impasse.

Adopt a Common Position

We must develop levels of market power that are sufficiently strong to compete with consumer market power. Coffee producers should have an interest in a stable and fair coffee price. To protect this interest, it is absolutely imperative that producers should adopt a common position in order to ensure that a viable coffee price is restored and maintained. This is the time for the coffee producers of the world to come together and form an organization that will define and promote their interests.

This body should be formed immediately and as a first step, it should seek a consensus from all member countries to cut coffee production

by 10 percent from January 1990, with further cuts to follow if the situation remains unsatisfactory for the producer countries. Coffee producers can and should be able to enjoy the highest possible revenues from their product.

Is it not better for all producers to sell four billion kilograms of coffee at two dollars per kilogram and share eight billion dollars, than to drive prices down to one dollar a kilogram, and still sell only four billion kilograms since the demand is relatively fixed? The current presumption that some producers are better off in a collapsed market is extremely dangerous and should be stopped at once. The Inter-African Coffee Organization should move decisively to join forces with producers in Central and South America, as well as Asia, to effect rapid, across-the-board production cuts in order to restore a viable world coffee market.

Most likely, such an organization will be questioned by some of our friends throughout the world. But let us remember that we are not yet living in a perfect world. We are living in a world in which we must pay for products that are vital to our existence but whose prices are determined in highly imperfect and controlled markets. We are living and attempting to compete in a world in which markets are protected, farm products are subsidized, and monopolies and cartels actively set the prices of the many products that we must buy.

As long as these facts remain, it is not acceptable that we, the poorest of the poor, should continue to sell our coffee at giveaway prices in order to satisfy the principle of free markets — the workings of which, so far, have not at all benefited the poor countries of the world. If an organization of coffee producers results in a better price for coffee, as I believe it would, thus protecting the debt-ridden nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America from further catastrophe, then our friends throughout the world should support it.

Benefits of Collective Action

Nobody here or anywhere else should underestimate the benefits of a collective agreement to reduce excessive coffee supplies. The historical record is extremely convincing on this matter. For example, the highest revenue that Africa has ever earned from robusta in the past twenty-

five years was in 1977 when we earned a record $2.6 billion. Not so surprisingly, that was also the year when we sold the least amount of robusta—9.7 million bags.

A more recent example is the earnings from coffee in 1986. In that year, total coffee production fell to 61 million bags, compared to 71 million bags the year before. This represented a 14 percent fall in production. What happened to the value of coffee exports in 1986? Coffee prices rose sharply and the value of world exports rose by 32 percent from $10.8 to $14.3 billion. Contrast these increases in coffee earnings following shortfalls in supply with the impact of the 1987 glut, when total coffee production rose by 28 million bags. Total coffee earnings fell from $14.3 billion to $9.4 billion.

These facts suggest very strongly that a reduction in the coffee supply can have a far-reaching impact on its world price. It is crucial, therefore, that this organization examines these facts expeditiously and takes decisive action to improve our coffee export industry. A reduction in the quantity of coffee shipped would also have other beneficial implications for the rest of the economy. It would reduce crop financing pressures and release some internal transport capacity, such as lorries, for other tasks. It would also free some cargo and storage space. Additionally, it is important that African commodity producers should unite in opposition to international institutions that pressure us to increase producer incentives for commodities that are already in excessive supply on world markets.

As we continue to struggle with the present problems of collapsing commodity markets, we must have a vision of the future. We here in Uganda have so far taken substantial measures to encourage alternative sources of income for our people. We shall intensify efforts to produce locally the raw materials needed by our industries. With careful long-term planning, we believe that it is possible to achieve a progressively integrated national economy, complemented by more extensive regional cooperation. In these ways, we shall acquire the capacity to master our resources, our development, and, ultimately, our future.

TWENTY-SIX

Africa Needs Ideological and Economic Independence

It is with a feeling of deep appreciation that I accept your decision to elect me chairman of the Organization of African Unity for the year 1990–91. The confidence you have reposed in me is testimony to your appreciation of the efforts of the people of Uganda to build a just, democratic, and economically viable future and to advance the cause of African unity under the leadership of the National Resistance Movement.

This is truly a historic occasion in that we should receive two of the most valiant freedom fighters in the history of this continent—President Sam Nujoma of Namibia and Comrade Nelson Mandela, Deputy President of the African National Congress. I would like to add my own personal welcome to them. As it closes the twentieth century, this decade should also close the era of institutional colonialism in Africa. We have seen much exploitation and domination by foreign powers and witnessed many heroic struggles for freedom among our people, as symbolized by our two comrades here.

There is no doubt that much of Africa is currently in a state of crisis. A society that does not feed or clothe itself, does not manufacture raw materials for shelter, does not manufacture weapons for its defense, does not provide medicine for itself, in short, a society that survives at the mercy of other societies is, without a doubt, a society in crisis. Even our ancestors in precolonial times were not in this precarious position. They were able to feed and clothe themselves and they were capable of

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Address at OAU Summit, Addis Ababa, July 9, 1990.

manufacturing weapons for their defense. They were also able to make other vital tools for agriculture, such as hoes and pangas, and items for daily use, such as pottery, leather, and soap. In spite of their low level of technology, they had an endogenous, although still nascent, capacity for sustainable development. They were still in the early processes of development, but they could already overcome problems of production and distribution.

Many societies in present-day Africa no longer have this endogenous capacity as most factors of economic growth are exogenous. For instance, foreign experts are from outside, machines are bought from outside, technology or management skills are acquired from outside, and there is very little local input. This is true for many of our societies. There must be interaction between societies in the modern world, but it is incorrect for some societies to be the doers of things while others are mere spectators or recipients of donations. Yet this is precisely the position that obtains in Africa today.

Why is it that Africa is in this dangerous and pitiable position? There are several reasons, one being the favorable climactic conditions in the tropics, which breed complacency: you do not have to struggle very hard to live in Africa because you can live under a tree and still survive. The second factor is the continent's small population, which was partly caused by the slave trade. A country like Uganda is presently underpopulated. There are seventeen million of us, but this population is not big enough to cope with the resources we have. We have got more resources than people to exploit them, and the people we have are not trained to utilize our resources. This underpopulation does not generate a competitive spirit of the kind that prevails in China, for instance. In China you cannot afford to be complacent — if you are complacent you will simply die — but in Africa you can survive with little work or initiative.

Africa's Social and Economic Problems

The other main factor that has plagued Africa since the 1480s was that of foreign interference when Portuguese adventurers started encroaching on Africa's sovereignty. The present-day result of all these centuries of foreign meddling and disruption are nonintegrated economies that concentrate on producing unprocessed raw materials for foreign con-

sumers. Many of the manufactured goods we need come from outside Africa at very high prices. The result is that we cannot balance our export earnings with our import bills. We produce commodities that have got little value added and rely on importing high value goods. We are not able to produce the manufactured goods we need as capital and consumer goods because of the lack of technical know-how and the general disorientation of the economy.

There is also an inferiority complex that prevents our people from doing even that which they could have done. In other words, the present economic order is characterized by an unfair international division of labor that says: "You produce coffee and I shall produce computers." This is unfair because coffee is cheap and computers are expensive. This is just common sense. We have been condemned to perpetual dependence on a world market in which we have little or no influence. We do not influence the prices of our commodities and the consequence has been our peculiar vulnerability to a number of exogenous factors, including adverse commodity prices, high interest rates, volatile exchange rates, increasing debt burdens, and escalating protectionism in the advanced countries.

The external debt crisis confronting Africa remains similarly daunting and requires an urgent and early solution. Our external debt escalated phenomenally from 48.3 billion dollars in 1980 to $256.9 billion in 1989, representing 93.3 percent of total regional GDP and 328.4 percent of the total value of exports last year. By 1989, the debt service ratio was estimated at a harrowing 32.2 percent of total export value. No meaningful and sustained development can take place under such burdens, which drain heavily the very resources essential for internal investment and growth.

Therefore, all the problems we have been moaning over are caused by the basic problem of having nonintegrated or self-sustaining national economies. As a consequence, we have huge foreign debts, high illiteracy rates, poor health, poor housing, dirty drinking water, and poor nutrition. The total African picture becomes even more tragic when compared with Western Europe. Africa has an illiteracy rate of 65 percent, while Western Europe's is 0 percent; we have one doctor for every 24,000 people, while Western Europe has one doctor for every 500; our

average life expectancy is 50 years, while Western Europe's is 75; we have an infant mortality rate of 120 per 1,000, as against 9 children per 1,000 in Western Europe; and whereas a mere 23 percent of Africans have access to safe water, in Western Europe, everybody has access to safe water.

The commodities we produce require little skill and are produced by many other backward countries in the tropics, thus consistently depressing prices. The prices of coffee, for instance, declined from $3,795 (U.S.) in 1986 to $1,147 per ton in 1989. During the same period, the price of a Massey Fergusson tractor went up from £10,000 to £10,700. In other words, while in 1986 we needed four and a half tons of coffee to buy one Massey Fergusson tractor, in 1989 we needed sixteen tons to buy the same tractor. This phenomenon of unequal exchange will be accentuated unless we effect some qualitative changes in our development perceptions.

At the macroeconomic level, Africa experienced an average GDP growth rate of only 0.4 percent in the period from 1980 to 1987, while the annual growth rate for 1988 and 1989 stood at a meager 2.4 and 2.9 percent, respectively. This rate of growth is very low if you bear in mind that the population in African countries grows at a rate of 3 percent and above. Per capita income, already low by the end of the 1970s, declined at a rate of 2.6 percent per annum between 1980 and 1987, resulting in a sharp deterioration in the standard of living of our populations, especially among the most vulnerable groups: women, children, the aged, and the disabled. Thirteen African countries, with one-third of the region's total population, have been confirmed by the World Bank to be poorer today in per capita terms than they were at independence in the 1960s and 1970s.

The investment ratio, crucial to meaningful capital formation for development, plummeted from 24.5 percent of GDP in 1979 to a lamentable 15.5 percent of GDP in 1989. Attempts to rescue Africa from its economic and social doldrums through the adoption of Africa's Priority Program for Economic Recovery (1986–1989) and the United Nations Program of Action for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development (1986–1990), while soundly conceived, were largely futile. Orthodox structural adjustment programs adopted and implemented by some African countries at high sacrificial costs not only failed to produce the projected

positive results, but in most cases generated political dissent of grave proportions. This is a gloomy picture and there is no doubt that the Africa of today is in a state of crisis. However, I am not myself pessimistic about this state of affairs.

Some Solutions

I firmly believe that we can get out of these problems if we do some of the following:

1. We must overcome our exclusion from the process of scientific discovery and participation by increasing the training of scientists. In Uganda, we have introduced a system of paying preferential salaries to scientists and professionals in order to retain the scientists we have and attract new ones to the field.

2. We must ensure that there are intersectoral linkages in order to sustain whatever enterprise we undertake. This means that we should, first and foremost, exploit our raw materials and build industries around them. We must import machinery for processing these raw materials initially, but we should also start making spare parts for some of the machines. In any case, the utilization of our local raw materials will add value to our exports and locally manufactured finished products will substitute for a large range of our present imports. Such industries will be more sustainable because they will have a higher local input content.

3. Additionally, we must ensure that regional markets like the PTA actually work. By uniting our markets, we shall stimulate large-scale production, which will lead to lower production costs and increase our industrial competitiveness.

4. We need to actively use appropriate macroeconomic stimuli to create incentives for producers. These include, for instance, appropriate management of exchange rate policies, interest rates, and prices.

5. There must be deliberate government intervention to ensure overall sectoral and enterprise planning. It is an error if we simply leave the emergence of new industries to so-called market forces. There is a need for proper planning. Planning should work hand in hand with market forces, but if we leave our economies just to drift by themselves, the law of nature dictates that the stronger economies will suck our energies

for development. Whatever we have will gravitate toward the strong economies in Europe, North America, and Japan. We need to counter this law with deliberate government moves.

6. While ensuring our increased participation in the export process, we should also ensure self-sufficiency so that we are not as prone to external shocks as has been the case so far. We should produce for export, but we should also produce for self-sufficiency. We should not be totally dependent on external markets, because we know what this has done to us.

Politics

On the political and ideological front, Africa should reject arrogant interference in the internal affairs of the continent. If foreign interference had been a source of progress, Africa would be the most advanced continent today. Since the fifteenth century, Africa has been under foreign pressure, foreign plunder, foreign colonization, and foreign manipulation. If these were to make us rich, we would be the richest continent in the whole world, because we have had the biggest share of foreign interference.

The outcome of all these forms of foreign interference is, in my view, the present miserable state of the continent. Therefore, it is high time we tried unbridled independence and cooperation among Africans. If this does not work, then we can go back to foreign interference! Let us have African solutions to African problems for a change. We should continue to have exchanges with our external friends, but we should not accept any pressure from anywhere.

African Democracy

It is, however, the right of all African people to enjoy democracy and dignity. We should not practice dictatorship under the guise of independence because independence does not and cannot mean dictatorship. The people of Africa are entitled to democracy. All governments in Africa should derive their authority from the people. We should ensure that ultimate sovereignty resides in the African people. It is not possible to bring about development without accountability on the part of those in power. This means that development cannot take place without

democracy. However, the exact form that democracy should take should be left to the African people to decide. I once gave an example of water, which exists in three forms: liquid, vapor, and ice, but still remains basically water. I will not accept anyone dictating to me that I should drink vapor because it is water, scientifically speaking. Yes, I need water, but let me determine which form I want to use. It is wrong for some quarters to try to impose forms of political organization on the African people. The decision of whether to use the strategy of democratic mass movements or multiparties should be the business of each individual country.

Africans must also be at the forefront of the struggle for the dignity of the African people. All forms of violation of human rights must be opposed. We can no longer deny that the disregard of human rights is a significant contributory factor toward the poor performance of our economies. There is no way we can develop our economies without democracy. First of all, one of the biggest factors retarding development is corruption, and there is no way you can control corruption without democracy. If there is no accountability, you cannot stop corruption, and if you cannot stop corruption, you cannot have development. So you can see that although development is actually linked to democracy, it must be democracy as understood by our people, and not as dictated by some foreigners.

Political and Economic Cooperation

Africa continues to produce the largest number of refugees—accounting for 30 percent of the world's refugee population of fifteen million. Equally disconcerting is the high proportion of internally displaced persons. Yet these are part of the human resources so vital for our socioeconomic programs. It is, therefore, in our own interest to renew our commitment to the respect for human rights and to seek new ways of minimizing internal conflicts and safeguarding the rights of those displaced or otherwise adversely affected by such upheavals.

In this connection, I would like to raise my voice against African intra- and interstate conflicts. It would be wise if peaceful solutions to such problems were found. The founders of the OAU were wise to enshrine in the OAU Charter that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of each other's affairs. This wise principle has not, how-

ever, been adhered to in a number of cases, and this has caused a lot of misery for a lot of people in a number of African states.

Encouraging inter-African conflicts is a big error because, on the one hand, it diverts resources from development, and on the other, these conflicts may result in the disintegration of some African states. Yet what Africa needs is not more states—because we are already balkanized enough. What we need is possibly fewer states through the peaceful integration of existing ones in order to make them more economically viable. If we could consolidate the PTA, for instance, and have one market instead of sixteen in Eastern and Southern Africa, it would be better.

Furthermore, let the present generation of African leaders take strategic decisions to create more integration in the economic, political, and even in the security and defense fields in order to immunize the continent against continued external manipulation and pressure. One of Africa's weaknesses hitherto has been the fragmentation of the continent into micropolitical units that could not stand up against more organized external forces. Why can we not take strategic initiatives in this sphere? Have we not seen the advantages of unity in other areas of the globe? Africa enjoys a lot of cultural and ethnic homogeneousness in language, common ancestry, and religion. The Negroid peoples of West Africa, the Islamic peoples of North Africa, the Nilotic peoples of East and North Central Africa, the Hamitic peoples of North Central Africa and the Horn of Africa, the Bantu peoples of Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa: all these are vast and fairly homogeneous population groups, yet we allow the myth to be peddled about that Africa is peopled by such diverse groups that it cannot find unity. This is not true. It is up to us to promote this oneness and utilize it for the development of our continent.

Why should Europeans, who have been killing each other for centuries, be able to find unity in their politics, economies, and cultures and Africans find it difficult to do even better? The Europeans have transcended their differences and they are now talking of a common European home. Why can we not talk of a common African home? We can certainly reverse this trend if we choose to do so. In any case, it is mandatory, for our people's sake, that we address this issue. Since we

are very rich in natural resources, our present weaknesses are partly self-inflicted.

I take this opportunity once again to welcome Comrade Sam Nujoma to this OAU Heads of State Summit he is attending for the first time as president of independent Namibia. Some people say that the OAU has not achieved results over the last twenty-seven years. Yet over that period, we have been able to bring about the independence of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, the Comoros, Djibouti, the Seychelles and, recently, Namibia! Most of these countries achieved independence through armed struggle waged by our brothers in those territories supported by the OAU and, bilaterally, by individual OAU member states. Therefore, there is no reason for self-deprecation. We have done a good job over the last twenty-seven years. The only thing to add is that we can and must do more, especially now.

South Africa

Great events are now taking place in South Africa. President de Klerk, as a man, seems to be honest and determined to end apartheid. We do not know whether he will carry a significant portion of the whites with him all the way, and whether he will retain the support of the army and the police. If he does, he may turn out to be a great instrument of change for the cause of freedom. It would be important for the African side in South Africa to make considered return gestures of reconciliation to encourage Mr. de Klerk. Removal of sanctions, however, which some quarters are fond of suggesting, is too radical a step and it is premature. Sanctions could be removed after the South African government has published a timetable showing that the scrapping of apartheid has become irreversible. It took us a long time to organize these sanctions and people should, therefore, not play around with them.

It is possible, however, to have some intermediate steps that could serve as gestures of goodwill to the reformist white side. Nevertheless, the South African freedom fighters need to sustain their preparations for the successful and decisive execution of the armed struggle, just in case the de Klerk initiatives abort because of the actions of intransigent white racists. As freedom fighters, we should always be serious, dependable, and magnanimous both in war and in peace.

TWENTY-SEVEN

Where Does the East-West Thaw Leave Africa?

I am most grateful to have been invited to address such a distinguished audience. As the title of your institute suggests, you are concerned with strategic studies, which, over the last forty-five years, have been dominated by the East and West ideological and military blocs that emerged after the Second World War. The conflict between East and West represented the contention between the two most advanced and dominant social systems, that is, capitalism and socialism. The other social systems that existed in the other parts of the world have played a very subsidiary role. In one way or another, the precapitalist and presocialist systems have been servicing the two advanced systems. The more backward systems I am referring to are the remnants of feudalism in parts of the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, and the primitive communal systems that were mistakenly termed "African socialism," although some communities in Africa are still at the hunting and gathering stage.

Imperialism

The conflict between East and West has been mistakenly perceived as being the most fundamental conflict of this century. I say "mistakenly" because although the conflict between East and West was, without doubt, the most dangerous, as it was between two advanced systems, it was not the most fundamental. The most fundamental cleavage in human society over the past four hundred or five hundred years was that caused

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by the phenomenon of modern imperialism. This was the phenomenon of the emerging middle classes in Europe seeking cheap raw materials, cheap labor, secure markets for exports, and, later on, markets for investable capital in the search for high profit margins.

Imperialism was a most traumatic experience, especially for the precapitalist and prefeudal societies of Africa. It was a phenomenon characterized by different devastating phases like slave raiding; plunder for minerals, timber, and ivory; usurpation of indigenous sovereignty in the form of resident colonialism; and the consequent structural distortions that occurred in the economies of the colonies. This interaction between the people of Europe and the peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Americas was not, however, always negative. The precapitalist and sometimes prefeudal societies of these continents were exposed, albeit in a traumatic manner, to more modern capitalist mechanisms of production and distribution.

In my view, therefore, the conflict between the slightly more advanced capitalist societies of Europe and the more backward, precapitalist and prefeudalist societies of Africa, Asia, and the Americas was more fundamental than the recent conflict between East and West. In fact the conflict between East and West came on the scene only after a split between the competing imperialist powers of Europe, after Russia had been taken over by communists who were initially opposed to imperialism or domination of some societies by others.

The moment a major European power deserted the imperialist camp through a communist revolution, a major shift in international relations occurred. The colonized people seized this opportunity to use the Russian revolutionaries to further their own causes. All the anticolonial movements headed for Moscow. Although the Soviet empire had not been the most developed part of Europe, it was nevertheless not very far behind Western Europe. The support of the anticolonial movements by the Soviet Union effected a big change in international relations.

The colonized peoples were further assisted by the wars between the imperialist powers of Europe, namely, the First and Second World Wars. Indeed, the Russian Revolution itself was born out of the First World War. The Second World War weakened the remaining European imperialist powers so much that they had to relinquish their colonial pos-

sessions. Moreover, the European powers had used large numbers of Asians and Africans as soldiers in the inter-European wars. Apart from the demystification of the gun that was brought about by the soldiers participating in the wars, they were further exposed to ideas of freedom for all.

Decolonization

Faced with this situation, the European powers had to decolonize. The "wind of change" was unstoppable and formal independence was granted to most colonies. Those colonial powers that were not smart enough to heed the "wind of change" were ignominiously defeated by anticolonial movements. This happened in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, and recently in Namibia. During the anticolonial struggles, the nationalist movements in Africa and Asia formed a strategic alliance with the communists of the Soviet Union and China. Western Europeans erroneously thought that the African nationalists were stooges or agents of Soviet communists. This was true only to a very small extent. For much of the time, it was African nationalists "using" Soviet communists to advance their own interests, and not those of the Soviets, who, of course, had their own interests, such as weakening Western influence in the developing world.

Therefore, there was a mutuality of interests between two historical movements: the anticolonial movement in Africa and Asia and the communist movement in the Soviet Union and Asia. Before the recent changes, there was always talk of who was "pro-West" and "pro-East" whenever the regimes in Africa and Asia were referred to. This was another distortion. It was an attempt to say that there was no such thing as "African" interests and that the only interests that mattered were those of the capitalists in Western Europe and the communists of Eastern Europe and Asia. This was a falsification of the picture because there are, of course, African interests. Whether or not this reality is so perceived by the dominant interests in the world does not change it.

Indeed, alliances such as that between African nationalism, on the one hand, and communism, on the other, changed the political map of Africa. By using communist arms, Africans have been able to push forward the frontiers of African independence in the last thirty years alone,

from the Ruvuma River in Tanzania to the Limpopo and Orange Rivers on the borders with South Africa. Africans used communist arms not in order to become communists, but in order to become independent. Occasionally, some Africans tried or pretended to be communists in order to better qualify for these arms, but this was the exception rather than the rule. Those Africans who had to wage an armed struggle felt more need to copy communist models. Those who did not have to wage armed struggles, but had only to wage anticolonial political struggles, felt less need to imitate the communists.

Irrationalities in Socialism and Capitalism

The communist regimes of Eastern Europe are now in a process of mutating, possibly into social democracies similar to those in the Scandinavian countries. This is a healthy movement because it is an attempt to iron out some irrationalities in socialism. Socialism's contribution to the long human struggle in the management of the production and distribution of wealth was the introduction of macroeconomic planning. Capitalism had revolutionized the science of the management of the production and distribution of wealth by rewarding private entrepreneurship with a profit margin. The higher the profit margin, the more remunerated the entrepreneur became. This concept tapped the energies of individuals, promoted the creation of wealth, and liberated production and distribution from the shackles and irrationalities of feudalism.

As capitalism developed, however, its own irrationalities came to the fore. The maximization of profits meant minimization of factor costs, including the cost of labor. The minimization of labor costs led to the stunting of purchasing power, which in turn led to the constriction of the market. This is what caused the great crisis for capitalism—the Great Depression of the 1920s. Capitalism then borrowed from socialist thought the idea of state intervention to balance the irrationalities of capitalism, which concentrated on microeconomic efficiency but neglected the macroeconomic market. Socialism, on the other hand, concentrated on macroeconomic intervention and did not pay due regard to freedom of action at the microeconomic level. Socialism is, therefore, trying to tidy up the irrationalities in its system in the same way that capitalism tidied up its own in the 1930s and 1940s.

Roosevelt's New Deal and the welfare system after the Second World War were a part of this tidying-up process. Therefore, those in the West who think that what is happening in the East is a "victory" for their system would do well to remember their own defeat in the 1920s. This is a shallow way of perceiving and interpreting historical phenomena because it is not a question of the defeat or victory of this or that social system. The long debate of how to manage the production and distribution of wealth is as old as society itself. New insights into this problem will continue to clip irrationalities from our dogmas. Rationalization swept away feudalism, reformed capitalism, and is now reforming socialism. This is healthy and it should not become an occasion for jingoism or new ideological obscurantism. If the rationalization process is taken to mean the just remuneration of individual or collective efforts, to increase efficiency and eliminate want in society, then even capitalism still has a long way to go.

There is, for instance, protectionism and the subsidizing of inefficient farmers in Europe and America. This deprives the Western consumer of cheaper goods from other continents and diminishes the individual's satisfaction. The money used to subsidize farmers is, of course, raised through taxes. Western society would be less heavily taxed if there were no subsidies. This money could also be used to develop other sectors of society. Nevertheless, the reform of socialism is most welcome. Long before the reform movement in Eastern Europe, the National Resistance Movement had advocated using the strategy of a mixed economy. In this strategy, we use both capitalist and socialist techniques in the management of the economy. We, for instance, have enterprises that are partly owned by the state but that sell shares to private investors. In the backward areas of the world, even private investors may not have enough money to invest. Therefore, if the state keeps aloof, all investments may end up being foreign ones, and this, too, will cause its own distortions.

What about the Third World?

Where do the current changes in the world leave the Third World? It is now being said that the "second world" has joined the "first world." How will this affect Africa? There are two possible effects. The developing consensus between the two superpowers and the anticipated peace

dividend may liberate resources that can help the underdeveloped countries in Africa and other backward areas of the world. Alternatively, some interests in the industrialized countries may take the view that the backward countries of the world now have fewer options and may become less accommodating of their idiosyncrasies. The peace dividend may not materialize so easily, for the simple reason that conflicts may outlive the bipolar world of the West and the Soviet Union. In other words, accommodation between the capitalist and socialist camps may not bring about the anticipated peace. This will reveal the falsehood that the polarization and conflicts of the past were only caused by differences between the big powers. It will become more and more apparent that the international situation has for some time been characterized by a myriad of interests that must be accommodated in a just manner if we are to enjoy universal peace.

A More United and Organized Africa

If, on the other hand, the industrialized powers become more arrogant toward the backward countries with the view that the latter now have few options open to them, this may create new problems for world peace. Of course, the backward countries have other options, the first of which is that of looking inward toward themselves and utilizing their hitherto dormant potential and increasing cooperation among themselves. This is where the Organization of African Unity and its regional organizations, like the Preferential Trade Area, the Economic Community of West African States, and the proposed Mahgreb Union, come in.

Contrary to popular perceptions, which cast the OAU in the mold of an ineffective, squabbling body, the organization has superintended the continuing liberation process against colonialism. When the OAU was founded in 1963, it only had thirty-two states. There are now fifty-one states, seven of which were liberated from intransigent colonial or settler regimes by armed struggle supported by the OAU. The countries liberated from colonial or settler control have got a total land area of 9.53 million square miles and a combined population of approximately 323 million people. This is not exactly the epitome of ineffectiveness, as the OAU is popularly perceived. South Africa itself is on the verge of a

historic change, thanks to various pressures from the international community and the OAU.

Regional economic organizations are also beginning to be better appreciated on the continent. I find much more consensus whenever I attend regional or OAU meetings than there used to be in the past. We are soon to sign a treaty setting up an African Common Market at the next OAU Summit, due to take place in June 1991 in Abuja, Nigeria. This emerging consensus is partly due to the end of the bipolarization in Europe. The rivalries of the European powers, on the one hand, and ideological weakness on the part of Africa, on the other, were responsible for the absence of consensus on vital African issues. Some Africans were pro-French, some pro-British, some pro-American, and some pro-Soviet or Chinese.

However, even before the end of the bipolarization, some of us in Africa had already rejected this insulting position of being pawns in other people's fights. In my address to the United Nations General Assembly in 1987, I said:

> There is a lot of distortion concerning the situation in Africa, including Uganda, not least in the ideological sphere. When we were fighting the corrupt, brutal dictatorships of Amin and Obote, there was a lot of speculation about our ideological orientation. The question was often raised: would we be pro-West or pro-East? In my view, this type of labeling is an insult to the African people. It presupposes that the Africans have no legitimate interests of their own and that their only role is to support the interests of either the Western or Eastern blocs.
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> This attitude is erroneous, misleading, and simply unfortunate: we reject it entirely. Even the simplest form of animals, such as amoeba, hydra, or earthworms, know their interests. They know how to get the food that is appropriate for their survival and they run away from danger when they see it. They know friend from foe. Why should Africans not know what is good for them? Why must we only know what is good for us through the lenses of the East or the West? Our movement rejects this type of thinking.

It will, therefore, be an error for some circles in the industrialized world to imagine that this is the time to behave arrogantly or peremptorily toward the backward countries. The African situation is still bleak:

the infant mortality rate is 120 per 1,000; the average life expectancy for men is 50.3, and for women it is 53.6 years; income per capita is $400 (U.S.); the combined average school enrollment for both primary and secondary education is 45 percent; and the literacy rate is only 49 percent for men and 28 percent for women. The total debt burden of sub-Saharan Africa as a ratio of total annual foreign exchange earnings is 353.2 percent.

The most positive way of solving this crisis, which originates partly from unequal interaction between Africa and the former colonial powers, is to give massive assistance to the African countries, provided they have viable policies in place. The former colonial powers have got a historical obligation in this regard. After all, Africans contributed, albeit involuntarily, to the development of America and Europe. Why should these powers not contribute to the development of Africa at this decisive stage? If, however, for some reason this cooperation is not possible or decisive enough, I am absolutely sure that although there will be many hardships along the way, the Africans will find a way out.

Apart from the structural distortions brought about by colonialism, there are other constraints to development, such as the monoculture economies inherited from colonial times and the absence of vertical and horizontal integration in our economies. The absence of democracy is one of the constraints the Africans who took over reins of power after colonialism are responsible for. Here I am not talking about mere forms of democracy, which some people spend so much time on, but about the very essence of democracy: accountability, universal suffrage, periodic elections, and a free press.

In conclusion, I am optimistic about Africa's future provided we can sort out our problems of perception. Historical processes are often derailed because of wrong perceptions. The Africans need to be more active in the current ideological debates. They must insist on defining and providing their own solutions to their own problems.

TWENTY-EIGHT

The Need for North-South Cooperation

I would like to begin by thanking the President of the European Parliament for his declaration that from now onward, when Europe is buying aid food for Africa, they will buy it from African countries. As Uganda is a surplus producer of food that we are never able to sell, we are very pleased to hear this declaration.

We are greatly honored to host the joint ACP/EEC Assembly here in Kampala. This is a clear manifestation of the confidence that fellow members of our universal club have in us and we are very grateful. I welcome you to Uganda very warmly and I hope that your stay here will be enjoyable and memorable. I also hope that you will find our humble facilities adequate for your work.

Let me reaffirm from the outset that we in the ACP countries are happy to be associated, in this special relationship, with the European Economic Community, which is one of the largest markets in the world today. This is a market that accounts for 20 percent of total international trade outside its European membership. For this reason, we look forward to 1992 and to the opportunities that will accrue from the completion of a single community market.

I understand that independent experts commissioned by the EEC have predicted that the community's Market Integration Program will lead to a medium-term rise in GDP growth of between 5 and 7 percent. Such an improvement in the community's overall economic performance

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Address to ACP/EEC Joint Assembly, Kampala, February 25, 1991.

will, undoubtedly, give impetus to the demand for the exports of the community's trading partners, including the ACP countries.

Raw Material Strategy Was Wrong

The economic woes of the ACP countries, and of the Third World in general, began with the unequal exchange between the producers of raw materials, which most of our countries basically are, and the producers of manufactured goods. Raw materials have always been losing value while the value of manufactured goods has almost invariably been going up. This deterioration is caused by the fact that the backward ACP/Third World countries produce the same commodities and sell in the same markets. This is because most of these countries are in the tropical or subtropical areas, which have the same climatic conditions. Moreover, the commodities produced do not require much skill: you do not require much skill to produce coffee, so anyone can walk into the market and rival you at fairly short notice.

Therefore, many of the tropical and subtropical countries can easily enter the commodity markets. This leads to overproduction and, consequently, to depressed prices. For example, the current world consumption of coffee stands at seventy million bags, while production is one hundred million bags. Another factor causing ever deteriorating terms of trade for the developing countries is the otherwise positive phenomenon of advances in science and technology. While the advance of science and technology leads to fresh horizons for mankind, at the same time, it makes industrial production processes more efficient, thus rendering irrelevant some of our raw materials and reducing their demand. There are many examples of the substitution of natural materials by synthetics, such as in the manufacture of textiles and pharmaceuticals.

As we became increasingly integrated into the international economic system, our import list became long while our export list remained short. The way forward for our backward countries, therefore, is to try and shorten the import list while we lengthen the export list. I do not accept the prescription that our salvation lies only in producing raw materials or commodities that may have temporarily high world prices. At the moment, for instance, sim sim, cashew nuts, and pepper fetch

high prices compared to coffee or minerals like copper and cobalt. If we must depend on the fortunes of fluctuating primary commodity prices, it must be for tactical and not for strategic reasons.

It is partly our fault in the Third World countries that we should have concentrated our strategy on the fortunes of these raw materials. For instance, the price for sim sim is currently very high. If we all rush to produce sim sim, its price will come down and it will become "coffeenized." So where do we go from there? Next it will be cashew nuts grown in Indonesia, Uganda, Brazil, Colombia, Vietnam, and in no time the price of cashew nuts, too, will become "coffeenized." How can we keep on like this?

We cannot continue to dance to the capricious tunes of European consumer tastes. The real way out is to ensure that we build independent, integrated, and self-sustaining economies in each of our countries. We must also consolidate regional markets, like the PTA, to lower our production costs and, if possible, in addition to our usual raw materials, gain access to industrialized markets for our manufactured goods. Industrialization for export and import-substitution, based on our raw materials and supported by our light engineering industries will, in addition to the regional markets, give us relative cohesion and self-sustenance. Such measures will enable us to sell our manufactured goods to the advanced countries. There is no reason why the Third World should not trade with the developed countries in high value items.

Let me now turn to the partnership between the EEC and the ACP countries. Various Lomé conventions order the relationship between us. Allow me to make a few comments on Lomé IV, which, in our view, is a great improvement on earlier conventions. Lomé IV explicitly recognizes that ACP/EEC cooperation should be used to add value to our raw materials and to increase the ACP countries' participation in the processing, marketing, distribution, and transportation of commodity exports to the EEC. This is a very important element of Lomé IV. For us in Uganda, this is an important advance because we believe that there must be a fundamental change in our productive structures in order to achieve backward and forward linkages in the economy. Adding value to our primary products is a first and critical stage in this process.

The Environment and Development

Another area of advance is the recognition of the environment. We are grateful to the negotiators that the environment was inserted as a specific title in the convention dealing with areas of cooperation and that the convention bans the movement of hazardous and radioactive waste between the European Community and the ACP states. Above all, Lomé IV recognizes the need to ensure that economic development is based on a sustainable balance between natural resources and human enhancement.

This is important because we see every day the link between poverty and environmental degradation as our people cut down trees and bushes in search of fuel. Therefore, one of the basic moves that must be taken to save forests in the backward areas of the world is rural electrification. If we provide electricity for the population, they will have no reason to cut down trees. But if we give them sermons about the Ten Commandments of not cutting down trees without providing alternatives, it will be very difficult to solve this problem.

Wherever environmental deterioration takes place, the whole of humanity is ultimately affected. Deforestation in the highlands causes floods in the lowlands, as is exemplified by the increasingly frightening floods in Latin America and Asia, which greatly affect the downhill and downstream nations. Acid precipitation and nuclear fallout have spread across the borders of Europe. Similar phenomena are emerging on a global scale, such as global warming and the loss of the ozone layer. As I said when I opened the First African Regional Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development held here in Kampala in June 1989, "the gaping hole in the ozone layer does not recognize state boundaries, and no nation, however powerful, can legislate against acid rain or ban it from its airspace." So it is in the interest of all of us to eliminate those factors that bring about environmental deterioration in the first instance.

We in Uganda are great believers in regional economic integration as a means to economic liberation. We are a very enthusiastic member of the PTA and fervent supporters of other regional economic organizations, such as SADCC and ECOWAS. I am convinced that only through regional cooperation can Africa ever hope to transform its economies into modern industrialized economies capable of dynamic growth and develop-

ment. I therefore welcome the clarification of the procedures for implementing regional cooperation programs under the Lomé Convention.

The Debt Crisis

In the area of finance, we welcome the recognition of the debt problem, which has been covered in a new chapter in the convention, as well as the inclusion, for the first time in these conventions, of a mechanism for financing structural adjustment programs, based on socially and politically sustainable premises.

In the past, the community discriminated between the ACP states and this was very much resented. Under Lomé IV, however, this discrimination has been removed. This will greatly improve the relationship between the EEC and the ACP countries as a whole. We in Uganda particularly welcome the revamping of the Stabex System to make it fairer and more generous than in the past.

The substantial increase under Lomé IV, in the financial terms, of 40 percent in nominal and 20 percent in real terms over Lomé III is generous, given present financial constraints the world over. Of course, we would have wanted more, and we indeed hope that more can be done in other forums of international cooperation to alleviate the plight of ACP states and developing countries, especially on the issues of resource transfer, debt, and multilateral trade negotiations.

Let me now address the problem of the transfer of resources from the South to the North. Until 1983, the non-oil-exporting developing countries were receiving substantial net transfers from the rest of the world. Since then the flow of financial resources has been reversed as the developing countries increasingly pay more in debt service than they get through borrowing. These debt-related outflows reached $52 billion in 1989, of which $32 billion was from severely indebted countries. Some independent researchers in the developed countries recently estimated that the South to North net transfers will continue at a level of between $45 and $55 billion annually, while at the same time debt arrears are accumulating.

The stock of debt for all developing countries reached $1,200 billion in 1990. For Africa alone, the stock of debt reached $272 billion, almost equal to Africa's total GDP, and equivalent to three times the value of

Africa's total exports of goods and services in 1990. For Africa as a whole, the debt service ratio was about 35 percent of total exports, although for individual countries it was much higher, and in some countries as much as 100 percent. Unless major collective action is taken by the developed countries, the debt crisis will get even worse.

Recently, I was having a discussion with someone who was demanding some money from Uganda and I told him that we could not commit suicide in order to pay these debts: you can only pay what you have. If you do not have the money and you have proved that you do not have it, I think the international community should take this into account, otherwise we shall have a crisis.

Resuming economic growth is an indispensable means of getting out of the debt crisis. This will require, above all, a reversal of the decline in the rate of investment in the debtor countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, the ratio of investment to GDP declined from 21 percent in 1980 to 14 percent in 1988, while in Latin America the ratio fell from 24 percent to 16 percent over the same period. In its report on adjustment lending, published in March 1990, the World Bank observed that the decline in investment may have been so severe that some countries in Africa and Latin America have not been investing enough even to replace depreciating capital.

Reversing this decline in investment will require efforts by both the developing countries and their developed country partners. We in the developing countries ought to review domestic policies in order to achieve the efficient use of available resources, to stimulate savings and domestic investment as well as attract non-debt-creating foreign investment. Our developed country partners should also increase their aid transfers and should recognize that without significant levels of debt reduction, unacceptably huge transfers of resources from domestic consumption and investment to foreign creditors will cause massive economic and social distractions.

The ACP, and Third World countries in general, largely find themselves in this debt crisis not because borrowing is wrong: borrowing can have a salutary effect on our economies and need not translate into a burden if the money borrowed is properly utilized on projects that have

the capacity to create wealth. If wealth is created, then the payment of debts should not be a burden at all.

Debt Relief Is Vital for Us

Although I was not in government in those days, I believe that in the past the debt crisis was partly exacerbated by the Third World countries themselves. I think we must accept part of the blame. For instance, when I was reviewing our past borrowing patterns here in Uganda, I found out that a dollar loan had been given out to someone to set up a hair salon. If you take out a foreign currency loan and use it to change women's hair, when hair does not generate dollars, how do you expect to pay it back? This is simple common sense. There is no doubt, therefore, that we have exacerbated the crisis ourselves. Additionally, we in the developing countries have sometimes borrowed money on unfair terms because of our desperate condition: this simply compounds the crisis.

The international community needs to focus more effectively on the need for debt reduction and debt cancellation. Until the 1989 Brady Plan, there was no coordinated focus on debt reduction, although some creditor countries had already canceled some of the official debts of the least developed countries. Under the Toronto Terms, the Group of Seven industrialized countries extended bilateral debt reduction facilities to the poorest countries among the highly indebted countries, most of which were in Africa.

While the debt payment reorganization options under the Toronto Terms have provided welcome relief to some nineteen countries already, the short-term cash flow benefit is very small, with an interest saving of no more than about 3 percent of their total debt service due in one year. Moreover, the extension of maturities under the Toronto Options leads to an accumulation of future debt burdens. The Trinidad Terms, formulated by Mr. John Major, the British Prime Minister, when he was the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were undoubtedly a great improvement on the Toronto Terms.

Mr. Major's four-point plan would double the debt relief currently available under the Toronto Terms. All the creditor governments would

give this relief in the form of a write-down of the total stock of all eligible debt. This would lead to the reduction of both the interest burden and the debt overhang. Second, the Trinidad Terms required the Paris Club to tackle the total stock of debt for each eligible debtor country in one long-term operation instead of the current rescheduling of one-year maturities at a time. Third, the interest accruing in the first five years would be capitalized and repayments tied to the growth of the export capacity of the debtor country. Last, the repayment periods would be increased from fourteen, under the current Toronto Terms, to twenty-five years.

Mr. Major's Trinidad arrangements are unquestionably superior to the Toronto Terms, especially inasmuch as they take into account the capacity of the debtor country's economy to export and inasmuch as they increase the partial write-off of debt service due. In other respects, however, the Trinidad Terms offer more or less the same palliatives as the Toronto Terms. Apart from the issue of increasing future debt arising from current rescheduling, both the Toronto and the Trinidad Terms apply to a very small part of the total debt service. Most of the debt is owed to multilateral institutions, which have so far refused to broach the subject of rescheduling and debt reduction. I am talking about our friends the IMF and the World Bank — these are the biggest lenders to some of us, but they do not even want to mention the idea of rescheduling; they regard it as sacrilege even to mention this word. I think we should examine this problem more closely.

The debt crisis is, therefore, a fundamental problem that requires fundamental solutions. Without drastic reduction in their debt, the debt-distressed countries will find that the 1990s are not only another lost decade, like the 1980s was, but a decade of economic catastrophe and sociopolitical disaster. Unless these countries are helped to restore the health of their economies, the surpluses required to service their external debts will be obtained through the compression of imports, monetary squeezes, and cuts in consumption, investment, and real wages, all of which are already at socially unacceptably low levels in many of these countries. I therefore call upon the international community to spare no effort in the search for more imaginative and comprehensive solutions to the debt crisis.

Let the world go along with the suggestions of Mr. Bettino Craxi, Personal Representative on Debt to the United Nations Secretary-General. Write off debt service for the world's poorest countries; allow indebted countries to pay the interest on bilateral debts into trust funds in indexed local currencies; allow them to use these funds to finance development projects for the protection of the environment and human resource development; and let there be a commitment on the part of the developed countries to guarantee an adequate flow of resources to the poor.

Incidentally, these countries are backward rather than poor. For instance, Uganda is much richer than many countries in the world, but our riches are not organized. So it is a question of underdevelopment and not of poverty as such—certainly not poverty of natural resources. Let me use this opportunity once again to reiterate the call I have made on several occasions to the international community to find an appropriate forum for handling the reorganization of developing countries' debts to multilateral institutions. These debts are the most crushing burden to most of the least developed countries.

Trade Politics or Free Trade?

Permit me now to turn to the GATT negotiations. For a long time, developing countries saw the GATT as a rich man's club of little or no interest to them. Consequently, developing countries did not actively participate in any of the seven rounds of multilateral trade negotiations completed since the GATT was established in 1947. The possible exception was the Tokyo Round (1973 to 1979), in which some developing countries were active. Amongst other benefits, the Tokyo Round brought into being framework agreements that enabled the industrialized countries to extend the generalized system of preferences to developing countries. It also made it easier for developing countries to adopt trade measures to foster specific industries. These were welcome developments.

Unfortunately, all seven GATT rounds have tended to leave agricultural trade untouched. Agricultural trade is very important to us in developing countries. Recently, the managing director of the IMF observed that the abolition of farm subsidies by the EEC, Japan, and the United States would increase the foreign exchange earnings of the farm exporting countries of the developing world by $50 billion, almost equivalent

to the annual net outflows from South to North. According to a recent OECD study, support or protection by the Group of Seven to their agricultural sectors stands at an estimated $250 billion. The support ratio in the value of production in agriculture is 40 percent in the EEC, 70 percent in Japan, and 20 percent in the United States. The World Bank has estimated that the costs of the Common Agricultural Policy to the EEC were $15.4 billion in 1990, representing a loss equivalent to 0.6 percent of GDP. That figure represents net costs: the costs borne by the consumers and taxpayers are much higher.

This means that it would be much cheaper for our friends in the industrialized countries to import their food from the more efficient producers in the developing countries. The North, including our EEC partners, have always been fervent free marketers. You have undoubtedly been happy with the conversion of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe toward free market practices. It is you who have always argued that subsidies keep prices below factor costs of production, distort market prices, and lead to the misallocation of resources. I do not want to believe the accusation that has been made that the EEC, one of the world's most powerful economic blocs, practices trade politics instead of free trade, thus keeping the competition offered by Third World countries at bay because of the protectionist pressures from the domestic sector.

The advocacy by the North of unrestricted world trade in services would intensify the outflow of resources from the South to the North and effectively kill off our nascent service industries. This in itself would not really matter if the North were to eschew protectionism across the board. There would be the reciprocity to compensate. I was once traveling with a French minister and I told him that they should concentrate on producing airbuses and we on dairy products. He said to me: "But I hear that you don't drink milk in Africa. I hear that when you drink milk you get sick." Yet he was talking to a man who drank only milk until the age of eight—that was when I started eating solid food! Another friend in Europe told me that the idea of free trade was very good, "but we are afraid of the farm lobby," he said. I replied that in Europe there were more town people than there were farmers... so I leave that to you to think about.

When the Uruguay Round was launched by the Punta del Este Declaration in September 1986, for the first time ever a negotiating committee on agriculture was included. It obtained a sweeping mandate to put agricultural trade under GATT rules and procedures. During the first year of the Uruguay Round, some progress was made in the negotiating group on agriculture with a large number of agricultural trading countries submitting detailed negotiating proposals. It is, therefore, a matter of considerable regret that in the subsequent three years, the discrepancies in the negotiating positions of the major trading groups could not be ironed out. This led to the failure to conclude the whole Uruguay Round on schedule in December 1990.

I call upon all the negotiating groups on agriculture and in particular on our partners, the EEC, the United States, and Japan, to capitalize on the common ground between their negotiating positions to reach agreement on a phased reduction in agricultural protection and to move toward more liberal trade practices for their agricultural sectors. Protectionism of whatever kind by the developed countries denies developing countries the possibility of increasing their own earned import capacity. As a result, the developing countries are denied the capacity to grow out of their debt problem. Second, agricultural protectionism in developed countries tends to destabilize commodity prices on the world market, which adversely affects the developing countries. Permit us, therefore, to grow out of the debt by going back to your faith in the free market.

South Africa

On the seventh of this month, I chaired the sixth summit of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa in Harare, Zimbabwe. It was agreed that the economic sanctions against South Africa should not be lifted until the various declarations of intent by Mr. de Klerk to end apartheid are translated into concrete measures; until the majority in South Africa are fully involved in a democratic political process; and until the issues of political prisoners and exiles are satisfactorily resolved. I therefore appeal to the friends of Africa not to relax the pressure you have so far exerted on the apartheid regime: this is beginning to yield

some small dividends. A dying apartheid has to be approached with caution, however, because it is now at its most dangerous.

There is some confusion in some parts of the world—they think that our people in South Africa are struggling in order to share the same buses and other such trivialities with white people. What they want is one-man, one-vote. I would be surprised if our people cared a great deal whether they shared the same toilets or bathed on the same beaches with the white people. With one-man, one-vote, however, the people of South Africa will decide whether or not they want to have two toilet systems—one for whites and one for blacks. If that is what they choose, then so be it.

We welcome Mr. de Klerk's measures and I have asked our brothers both from the PAC and the ANC how they estimate him. They have all said that Mr. de Klerk is an honest man, but an honest man must be put into a context. I think in Uganda I am, myself, not very dishonest but there are so many wrong things that go on here, despite my honesty. You cannot make history according to the honesty or otherwise of individuals. When we talk about history, we are talking about movements and processes that supersede individuals like myself, or Mr. de Klerk, or anyone else.

Let us, therefore, have a timetable for one-man, one-vote in South Africa and we can then start talking about the process of abolishing apartheid being "irreversible." What stops the process being reversed now? Supposing there were a coup against Mr. de Klerk. What would happen then? Let us not oversimplify these matters. The people in the West have got what they call "vital interests" and we, too, have our vital interests here. The racist regime are the only people in the world today who have been stupid enough to say that Africans are not equal human beings—and this on our own continent! They have been saying this openly and publicly!

I hear that in Western Europe you have been struggling with the Soviet Union—but the Soviets never said that the Americans were not equal human beings, or vice versa. They had differences on politics, but the peoples respected each other as equal human beings. The issue of South Africa, therefore, is more fundamental for the human race—not only for the Africans—than the East-West conflict was. The East-West

conflict was ideological—a debate on how to manage society—but the South African racists were and still are saying that Africans are not equal human beings. That is why they are finding it so difficult to get out of the problem they created for themselves.

We welcome Mr. de Klerk's moves, but the West should not ruin the process by wavering at the last minute. After all, you have been maintaining sanctions against Mr. Gorbachev. He now says that he is turning capitalist, but the West is saying: "No, let us first make sure that he is really one of us." But all Mr. de Klerk has done is make a few declarations of intent and we are all now expected to embrace him. Are we being serious or not? We do not want double standards. What is all the hurry for removing sanctions now about? What is a difference of a year or two until we can be sure that Mr. de Klerk is with us and not with the racists?

In fact, our people in South Africa can reinforce Mr. de Klerk—there are very many of them, thirty million of them. If Mr. de Klerk wants strength, he has got soldiers there if he wants to mobilize them. There might be a backlash from white extremists, but it can be contained. So please, do not split the international consensus—it is us who live here and we have asked you to keep on the pressure.

The Gulf Crisis

On the crisis in the Gulf, I am myself not convinced that it was necessary to use actual force. The reason I say this was because I, too, tried to mediate in my small way. You know that in July last year, I went to the OAU Summit in Addis Ababa and I was given the high post of Chairman of the OAU. I thought it was an influential position and started moving around trying to mediate. In my inquiries, I was told by someone who was very close to some of these fellows who are fighting among themselves that the problem could have been solved with minor adjustments here and there. Now that the ground war has broken out, let us wait and see what happens.

Of course, we condemned Mr. Saddam Hussein when he invaded Kuwait and during last year's OAU Summit some of us, especially President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, spoke very strongly against the adventurism of some Arab regimes that destabilize Africa. Saddam Hus-

sein was involved in destabilizing Ethiopia by supporting the Eritrean secessionists. I am sure the Ethiopians are not unrelieved of some pressure now that he is a bit busy elsewhere. We had appealed to our Arab friends to stop meddling in Ethiopian affairs: Ethiopia is one of the most ancient African countries and we did not take kindly to some of those people who wanted to dismember it.

However the crisis in the Gulf is resolved, I would appeal to our European friends to move immediately on the Palestinian question. There must be some consistency in international affairs. There is no way you can justify Israel's intransigence — Israel has defied UN Security Council resolutions for over twenty years — and yet you have been very harsh on Saddam Hussein. We are just going to turn into a bunch of opportunists if we do not stick to principles.

Ideological Independence in Africa

I would like to end by touching a bit on politics in Africa, as I know that our European friends are quite active on the front of democracy and human rights. As far as politics is concerned, there is no doubt that lack of democracy has been partly responsible for the economic stagnation on the continent. When people cannot criticize corruption and when they do not have a free press, they cannot develop. In Uganda, we now have a free press — so free that its practitioners do not know how to use it! But that is always the case with beginners! Without democracy and without a free press you cannot have economic development. For one thing, corruption and lack of accountability cannot be tackled effectively.

The biggest problem we have had in Africa, however, has been lack of ideological independence. We are always running around following other people's definitions. Only the other day, I had a small fracas with one of my friends. I was going to a funeral and this friend told me that I had to wear a black tie. When I asked him why, he said it was because black was the color of mourning. I replied that since black was the color of my skin, how could I, too, imitate the European tradition of making it the color of mourning? Of course Europeans did not know much about black colors until they came to Africa — so they think that anything devilish is black! We should choose a neutral color that is neither black

nor white and use it for funerals. I think this illustration can show you the problem of our lack of ideological independence.

Over the past thirty years, Africa has been torn between European quarrels — some African regimes were pro-West and others were pro-East. When we came into government in 1986, that was the first question I had to answer: "Are you pro-East or are you pro-West?" At the time the two blocs were still in existence. I told these people in my UN speech of 1987 that I was pro neither of them and that I was pro-Uganda. I asked them whether they thought we were just a bunch of nincompoops who did not have any interests of our own except to be pro someone else.

Party Politics Failed Africa

So that is a distortion of political debate in Africa that has paralyzed political development on our continent — and it must stop. I rejected this polarization right from the beginning and poured scorn on it because I thought that it was an insult to the African people. I am not now speaking as a political actor but as a social scientist and I reject oversimplification, for instance over multiparty systems.

First of all, the idea of multiparties is not a new one in Africa. Here in Uganda, we had multiparties between 1962 and 1966. In Nigeria it was the same, as it was all over Africa. The generals took over power all over Africa because the multiparties had failed: this is a historical fact. Their failure was, however, not surprising because we are talking about systems from completely different societies. European societies are and have been industrialized for well over a century now, with crystallized social classes. In Africa, we still have preindustrial societies without any significant level of social stratification. In South Africa, the situation is slightly different because there is a big urban class and there is an industrial proletariat, more or less. In Africa, therefore, we are still dealing mainly with tribal groups and when you are analyzing this problem, you should do so deeply and not just look on its surface. Political pluralism will come to Africa, no doubt, but not at a forced pace.

There is also another distortion in politics by those who run one-party systems. If I express an opinion that you do not like and you expel me from the one party but do not allow me to form another one,

then I am effectively disenfranchised. This practice has created a lot of problems in Africa.

In Uganda, we have a mass movement. The members of the National Resistance Council, which is the country's legislature, are all democratically elected by the people, but they also all belong to our mass movement, the National Resistance Movement. We think this system is very democratic and we are very happy with it because it has helped us a great deal. It is one of the reasons we have been able to achieve some modest rate of growth. In this democratic mass movement, members are elected on a united front with a common program. We do not expel members from the movement: if you must expel people, logically, you must allow them to form another party. Representatives can only be removed from their positions by the electorate, but not by an administrative order by the leadership. Please do not dismiss our models: I invite you to come and study our systems. Let us also contribute to the evolution of political thought because I do not like the role of just being a consumer of political ideas: I, too, would like to be a contributor to political thought.

I now have the honor to open the Twelfth Session of the Joint ACP/EEC Assembly and I wish you fruitful deliberations.

TWENTY-NINE

AIDS Is a Socioeconomic Disease

I understand that this is the first meeting on AIDS held in this region, in spite of the fact that the epidemic has been raging here for the last ten years. I therefore wish to thank the Uganda Medical Association for taking the initiative to arrange this conference. Let me hope that such conferences will continue to take place in our countries so that more of our scientists can be exposed to more information.

So far, seven international AIDS conferences have been held around the world and all of them have been outside Africa, where the problem is most serious. It is true that smaller conferences have been held outside Africa, but because of our financial constraints, only a few of our scientists can attend them. A system should be set up so that the few people who can attend these conferences can give a feedback and share the knowledge gathered with their colleagues.

This information should be disseminated right down to the level of the district medical officer, who deals with the problems on a day-to-day basis.

Six Million Infected in Africa

The AIDS epidemic is the worst public health problem this region has ever faced, apart from the smallpox epidemic in the pre-1900 era. We are sure that we shall survive AIDS because we survived smallpox, which,

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Address to the first AIDS Congress in East and Central Africa, Kampala, November 20, 1991.

according to the stories from the old people who were around at the time, was much more devastating. According to the World Health Organization, in 1987, an estimated 2.5 million people were already infected in sub-Saharan Africa. By that time, the problem had been recognized and extensive campaigns had started. Yet, by 1991, six million people in sub-Saharan Africa are estimated to have been infected by this virus. Six million people means a population equivalent to that of the whole of the state of Burundi. You are all aware that the AIDS situation in East and Central Africa is far worse than anywhere else in the sub-Saharan region. Out of the 120,000 AIDS cases in sub-Saharan Africa, nearly 100,000 of them have been reported from East and Central Africa: these are the cases reported to the hospitals.

The question is, though, why such high figures? Why is it that AIDS in Africa seems to be traveling on a good macadamized road? AIDS is fast becoming one of the many developmentally linked infectious diseases: it is becoming a disease of backwardness, like all the other diseases we have. We are still suffering from diseases that people elsewhere have forgotten about. Until recently, when we started immunization, our children here were still dying from measles, whooping cough, and other preventable killer diseases. These diseases are completely avoidable, but because of backwardness, our children have still been killed or maimed by them. This is despite the fact that vaccines have been available for a long time.

The AIDS/HIV epidemic has reached catastrophic proportions. Globally, the WHO estimates that eight to ten million people are infected with HIV. Over 1.2 million men, women, and children have already developed AIDS, and by the year 2000, there may be 25 to 30 million people infected by the virus. There are millions of people around the world whose lives have been affected by the consequences of this epidemic. AIDS has not only become the most important health challenge of our time, but it also has sweeping global social, economic, cultural, and even political consequences.

At the same time, social, economic, and cultural conditions have encouraged and are fueling the epidemic, especially in the developing world. In 1985, about 50 percent of total world infections were estimated to be in developing countries. But now it is estimated that by the year 2000,

75 to 80 percent will be in developing countries, and that by 2010, this figure will be as much as 90 percent. If it is true in the backward countries, which are sometimes called "developing" just to console them, that AIDS is a developmentally linked infectious disease, then unless there is a concerted effort to redress the economic imbalance between the rich and poor nations, we may see untold millions of people die.

Fertile Ground for the Virus

While AIDS is the preeminent public health threat of our time, socioeconomic factors crucial in the transmission of the disease and of other sexually transmitted diseases have deep historical roots. In Africa, STDs such as gonorrhea and syphilis were big health hazards before the advent of modern medicine. In order to discourage their spread in society, Africans had evolved cultural taboos against premarital sex and sex out of wedlock. With the advent of sulfas and penicillin, "the magic bullet" of the early 1940s, the fear of STDs subsided, ushering in the era of permissive sexuality. The fear of these diseases changed to indifference: in fact in the 1960s, people here were saying that gonorrhea was like "flu," and self-control was thus thrown by the wayside.

These attitudes were later encouraged by the era of the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s, copied from events in Western Europe, which in turn had been set in motion by the universal availability of the contraceptive pill. All these events culminated in the complete neglect of our traditional herbal and other medicines. In the backward countries, though, because of prevailing socioeconomic circumstances, the promise of the wonder drugs was not to be fulfilled. Although drugs like penicillin were available, STDs were not successfully controlled.

When I was fighting in the bush in the early 1980s, in some of the areas where we were operating, as much as 90 percent of the population had syphilis. These people had never heard of penicillin, but even those who had heard of it used incomplete dosages and thus carried on with their STDs out of ignorance. This area is only sixty miles from Kampala and syphilis is curable. I had to try to become a doctor in order to help our people and teach them how to use the available drugs properly. One can appreciate why such circumstances persist if one considers the following facts.

For sub-Saharan Africa, we find that between 1960 and 1986, the average GNP share of public health expenditure only increased from 0.7 to 0.8 percent. This average does not, however, tell us that in a number of African countries, the share allotted to health actually declined from 1 percent in 1960 to 0.7 in 1986. In real dollar terms, the per capita health expenditure in sub-Saharan Africa was a mere $3.50 (U.S.) as compared to more than $1,000 in the United States and the Scandinavian countries. This trend is explained by the marked slowdown of economic growth in the 1980s. In twelve sub-Saharan countries, the per capita growth rate for the 1965–88 period was negative. Starting in 1970, the average per capita income fell to the levels of the 1960s.

In 1953–54, when I was a young boy in primary school, some of the peasants around our village had almost graduated from being peasants to becoming members of the middle class. Some of them had even become wealthy enough to buy vehicles. If you go to those villages now, however, you will find a cemetery for those vehicles of the 1950s and 1960s. Because of the decline in commodity prices, the man who had graduated from being a peasant is now back to being a poor peasant. So when we are talking about social problems like AIDS, we must bear in mind that its roots lie in the economy. It thus becomes easy to understand that in such a depressed economic environment, expenditure on public health was severely constrained. In Uganda, we have the following distorted ratios:

1 doctor for every 23,000 people, compared to 1 doctor for every 1,000 people in industrialized countries;

1 hospital for every 200,000 people;

1 health unit for every 150,000 people;

1 nurse for every 2,332 people; and

1 health bed facility for every 800 people.

It is, therefore, not surprising that by the early 1970s, STDs had reached epidemic proportions. Studies done showed an incidence of up to 14 percent among mothers attending antenatal clinics in some of our towns. When modern medical facilities are inadequate, STDs are usually not diagnosed at all, or if they are, they are not properly treated.

We are told by scientists that heterosexual transmission appears to be much more important in the epidemiology of HIV infection in Africa than in Europe and North America, and that STDs that are hyperendemic in tropical Africa have been considered possible cofactors in heterosexual transmission. Some studies have shown that in uncircumcised men who acquired genital ulcer diseases, such as syphilis or chancroid, the cumulative transmission rate for HIV after a single sexual exposure was 43 percent. I understand that in developed countries, the heterosexual transmission rate is less than 0.1 percent per single sexual exposure.

In view of the socioeconomic factors enumerated above, it is not surprising that when HIV arrived in East and Central Africa in the early 1980s, it landed on fertile ground. It is like the parable of the seeds in the Bible: one dropped on the rock; one fell by the wayside; but like the seed that fell on fertile ground, when HIV came to this region, it fell on fertile ground indeed! The AIDS epidemic has demonstrated the historical continuity of the social, political, and medical reaction of epidemics among socially deprived populations. A historical appreciation of the resilience of the social conditions that promote diseases like AIDS may help society in responding rationally to protect the public's health.

A Thin Piece of Rubber

Epidemiological studies have traditionally focused on the biological dynamics of disease, such as the incubation period, infectiousness of the disease organism, and its ability to cause death. AIDS has, more than any other disease, brought about the recognition that the spread of the disease may be driven more by sociological and economic dynamics. AIDS cannot be understood in biological terms alone. Sex is not a simple manifestation of a biological drive; it is socially dictated. The sexual opportunities available to an individual and the type of partners deemed appropriate will vary from one social group to another. It is in view of this background that I have been emphasizing a return to our time-tested cultural practices that emphasized fidelity and condemned premarital and extramarital sex. I believe that the best response to the threat of AIDS and other STDs is to reaffirm publicly and forthrightly the respect and responsibility every person owes to his or her neighbor.

Just as we were offered the "magic bullet" in the early 1940s, we are now being offered the condom for "safe sex." We are being told that only a thin piece of rubber stands between us and the death of our continent. I feel that condoms have a role to play as a means of protection, especially in couples who are HIV-positive, but they cannot become the main means of stemming the tide of AIDS.

I am not against the use of the condom, but if it were available, affordable, and if our people knew how to use it, then it would be up to them to protect themselves. We have not banned condoms, but we caution: these people to whom you are advocating the use of condoms may not be able to use them properly. I have just told you about syphilis, which was rampant in a place only sixty miles from here. This was not because there was no penicillin, but because of ignorance; the people could not use it properly. We still have diseases like worms. Do you think we cannot get rid of worms? When you find a man walking about with worms in his stomach, is it because there are no means either to stop the worms entering his stomach, or to get rid of them once they are there? So, it is our people's ignorance that I am worried about. It is not on moral grounds that I am objecting to condoms, like my bishop friends — they are worried about life in the hereafter, while I am worried about life here and now!

So my caution is: please do not mislead our ignorant people. It is better that you frighten them with the dangers of AIDS rather than lull them into a false sense of security. Condoms are not the way out in a population that is 90 percent peasant and largely illiterate. Instead of wasting money on condoms on a mass scale, you should buy more AIDS testing equipment to reach the villages so that young people who are getting married should first test their blood.

In countries like ours, where a mother often has to walk twenty miles to get an aspirin for her sick child or five miles to get any water at all, the question of getting a constant supply of condoms may never be resolved.

An Economic and Social Catastrophe

AIDS was first recognized in Uganda in 1981, but because of the negative feelings and sensationalism that surrounded the subject, the government of the day decided to bury its head in the sand like the prover-

bial ostrich. A lot of time was, therefore, lost between 1981 and 1986, when we got into government. Our government has had no qualms about being frank to our people on issues of a national catastrophe such as the AIDS epidemic. When we came to power in 1986, the problem had already spread to most parts of the country. We opened the gates to national and international efforts aimed at controlling the epidemic. Unfortunately, despite my government's efforts and the high level of awareness among the population, the AIDS epidemic is becoming more and more serious in Uganda. However, this awareness has, over the last few years, started paying off. I am informed that there has been a marked decline in the incidence of other STDs. AIDS has, however, hit hardest those who are not only in their most sexually active years, but also in their most economically productive years. A decline in the labor force is already being experienced at both the national and household levels. A number of professionals working in government and other institutions have died. In our countries, where education and technical expertise are at a premium, this will cancel out our economic and social gains.

For many rural households, current levels of agricultural production may be threatened, especially as agricultural activities are labor-intensive. This will affect production by smallholders, which accounts for over 90 percent of our country's export earnings. The reduction will cause more economic strain, especially when coffee prices are not favorable. With regard to social services, AIDS is already affecting our overstretched medical services. Apart from looking after AIDS patients, secondary infections such as tuberculosis (TB) have increased because of AIDS. We understand that already a two- to threefold increase has been observed in our region, where dormant TB is common. Yet treatment for a single case of TB costs $126 (U.S.). If you remember that the per capita health expenditure is $3.50 in this region, you can see the magnitude of the problem.

In Uganda, over the past six years, with the help of UNICEF, we have managed to achieve over 90 percent immunization coverage for the six immunizable diseases, including TB, thus dramatically reducing the infant mortality rate. I am afraid, however, that AIDS might reverse these achievements.

UNICEF predicts that by the year 2000, there will be 590,000 maternal AIDS deaths in Africa, leaving behind 5.5 million AIDS orphans. Traditionally, in an African society, when parents die, the children go to live with another member of the extended family. With families' resources already overstretched by their own children's needs, the orphaned children are going to wind up at the bottom of the family line. If the orphaned children survive, they will find it increasingly difficult to occupy a place in society, as they will have missed education opportunities and, later, have no hereditary rights in their adoptive families. Government and other bodies will, therefore, have to come in and fill the gap. Apocalyptic visions of the virtual decimation of much of Africa's populations may be unwarranted, but the growing devastation is a very real danger. We should not, however, become despondent because we shall survive this disease, provided we control the spread now.

An Integrated Sectoral Approach

In Uganda, we have realized that the AIDS problem goes beyond the mere health of people. We have, therefore, adopted a multisectoral strategy for the control of the epidemic. Where control measures were previously centered in the health sector, we are now establishing fully fledged control programs in other key sectors of communication, rehabilitation, education, community services, defense, and economic planning. An independent body, the Uganda AIDS Commission, has been established to guide, direct, coordinate, and monitor the strategy. The commission will monitor the control measures of the various sectors by listening to the voices of the people through its field officers and grassroots leaders. This strategy will be able to harness our efforts in combatting AIDS. I understand that in some countries in Eastern Europe, hundreds of children have become infected through the use of unsterilized syringes. If this is true, then I wonder what is happening in our countries, where facilities are worse!

I was told a story the other day of a woman taking her child to the hospital for treatment. When she got there, the nurse on duty told her that the child needed an injection, but the woman was worried that the syringe might be unsterilized. The nurse said to her, "For you, madam, we shall use a disposable syringe, but we don't bother to use them on

those other common people." Now, this kind of attitude is completely at variance with medical ethics: this is criminal irresponsibility on the part of the medical staff! I have already told the Attorney-General that if there is no law on the statute books against such practices, then he must make sure such a law is enacted. If you, a medical practitioner, do not do your professional duty toward a patient to ensure his safety, then surely the law should penalize you somehow.

In the developed countries, doctors get sued even if a mistake is not made in such bad faith as in the story I have just told you. Here, if you get AIDS, that is just too bad for you. Something must be done about this because our people have got enough problems as it is. If you do not want to treat a patient, tell him to go away but do not use an unsterilized syringe on him. I know you are working under very difficult conditions and that doctors and organizations such as TASO have to handle patients in the face of shortages of just about everything from hospital space and medical staff available per AIDS patient, to the availability of palliative drugs like AZT, DDI, or even drugs to treat opportunistic infections, but you have to be professional. Therefore, the challenge to you as doctors should be one of formulating alternative strategies in your management of this immense problem.

Develop Herbal Medicines

Uganda's and Africa's forests and savannahs still conserve the largest variety of plant and animal life. These are a potential source of natural chemotherapeutics for AIDS and other diseases. When we became aware of the possibility of using natural herbs in the treatment of HIV, some of the modern doctors laughed at us. My line was that since modern medicine has no answer to this problem, let us encourage our people to carry out their own research either by scientific methods or by empirical observation. Our people here have observed the use of herbs for a very long time, and by discouraging them, I am sure we are doing a disservice to humanity. You might find that the salvation for mankind may come from these people you despise.

The people with this knowledge are dying out very fast because they are getting very old. If we discourage them, we shall lose the benefit of their knowledge. Of course, some of them are quacks and they just want

to make money out of people's misfortunes, but I have already given instructions that we should buy equipment to equip our virus center so that if anyone comes up with a claim that he has an herb that can kill the virus, we can test it. Quacks can always be eliminated once we have the right testing equipment.

We must get into research and not just remain spectators. I know about a lot of herbs myself because I used them when I was still young. I can tell you that local herbs such as *kashaho* and *oruyenje* are laxatives, *omujuma* can deal with malaria, and there are many others. All these herbs are just around us, but have you experts done anything with them? Have you tried to find out whether there is anything useful with them or not? There is a man called Sebabi who claimed that he had a drug that could cure some HIV symptoms, but some people here had refused even to talk to him on the grounds that if doctors in Europe had failed, how could this man start making such claims! As for me, I sat with Sebabi and interrogated him for seven hours about his claims. This is just to show you that we should not dismiss anyone's herbs or claims because we just never know where the cure will come from.

Although I am talking about carrying out research locally so that we can help our people, our emphasis has been in health education and change of sexual behavior, having realized that HIV infection is mostly dependent on voluntary behavior, unlike most other transmittable diseases. Even so, we shall ultimately depend on the concerted efforts of you scientists, in your various disciplines, to lead us out of this dark abyss.

APPENDIX

The National Resistance Movement Ten-Point Program

Background

Over the five years of the protracted liberation struggle (from February 1981 to January 1986), the National Resistance Movement, together with the High Command and senior officers of the National Resistance Army, under the chairmanship of Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, worked out proposals for a political program.

This formed the basis for a nationwide coalition of political and social forces that could usher in a better future for the long-suffering people of Uganda. This program is popularly known as the Ten-Point Program of the National Resistance Movement.

1. Restoration of Democracy

Since Uganda's independence in 1962, Ugandans have not enjoyed "government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' "

Although the National Resistance Movement believes in free and fair elections held at regular intervals, it asserts that democracy cannot be meaningful without a reasonable standard of living for all people.

2. Restoration of Security

Over the first twenty-four years of Uganda's independence, Milton Obote and Idi Amin between them were responsible for the deaths of over 800,000 Ugandans.

The NRM pledges to restore security of person and property to all Ugandans.

3. Consolidation of National Unity and Elimination of All Forms of Sectarianism

Politics in Uganda have been manipulated by past politicians along sectarian, religious, and tribal cleavages. The NRM asks: "What enmity can there be between a Muganda peasant and a Langi peasant? Or between a Christian peasant and a Muslim peasant?"

These manufactured divisions have ensured that people could not unite to confront their common enemy—underdevelopment. The NRM will not tolerate any sectarian opportunists of any shade. The fundamental causes of Ugandan people's suffering must be ended.

One's religion, color, sex, or height is not a consideration when new members are welcomed into the National Resistance Movement.

4. Defending and Consolidating National Independence

Although there were many external forces that hindered real African national independence, postindependence politicians in most of Africa were intellectually, ideologically, and morally unequal to the task of consolidating it, even given the odds.

Many merely used their offices for self-enrichment, thus making a mockery of the very idea of African self-determination and political development.

The NRM concludes, however, that provided a country like Uganda has a clearheaded leadership—given its considerable resources and a dynamic people with traditions of relative civilization—it can deal profitably with countries of divergent social and political systems.

5. Building an Independent, Integrated, and Self-Sustaining National Economy

This point involves the structural reconstruction of the present asymmetrical economy. Most African economies are dependent on the export of one or two crops like coffee, tea, or cotton, which are not even processed in their countries of origin. There are very few manufactur-

ing industries, and the few that do exist are heavily dependent on foreign inputs.

To compound all this, primary commodities are always losing value, while manufactured goods become ever more expensive. (For example, a pound of coffee was worth 340 U.S. cents in 1977; in 1986 it was worth 280 cents; and by January 1992, it had fallen below 60 cents.)

Also, there is no linkage between the different sectors of the economy. The following steps must, therefore, be taken to change this situation:

(i) Diversification in agriculture away from the present narrow cash crop base.

(ii) An extensive process of import substitution in order to reduce the import bill, especially of basic consumer goods.

(iii) Processing of export raw materials so that more value is added.

(iv) Building of basic industries like iron, steel, and chemicals.

On this point, the NRM concludes: "Without an independent, integrated, and self-sustaining national economy, Uganda will never stabilize. Much of the present turmoil is as much due to political mismanagement as it is to a narrow economy that cannot accommodate the aspirations of the many groups within our society."

6. Restoration and Improvement of Social Services and Rehabilitation of War-Ravaged Areas

Because of the backward condition of the continent, the majority of African people live wretched lives. They are illiterate; they have no clean water or adequate housing; and they have low levels of calorie and protein intake.

In the case of Uganda, many of the required social services are within the country's means, provided it has the right kind of leadership.

7. Elimination of Corruption and the Misuse of Power

The prevalence of corruption and the misuse of public office compound the many problems outlined so far. The diversion of hospital drugs by

corrupt officials, for instance, means that patients, already living inadequate lives, will not get cured of their ailments.

In order to tackle the problems of backwardness, corruption must be eliminated once and for all.

8. Redressing Errors That Have Resulted in the Dislocation of Some Sections of the Population

Three groups in Ugandan society came to the NRM's attention:

(a) People displaced by land-grabbers or through erroneously conceived "development" projects. Uganda has a population of only seventeen million and yet it is almost the same size as the United Kingdom, which has a population of nearly sixty million. In spite of this, there is an emerging problem of landlessness. This is caused by misuse of land, which has brought about food shortages in some areas. If the land was intensively and optimally used, it could support a much bigger population.

(b) The long-suffering Karamojong people. The people of Karamoja have suffered greatly at the hands of the various postindependence governments. The provision of potable water would be a crucial element in helping them settle down and stop the nomadic way of life that hinders their development.

(c) The salary-earners who have become impoverished by the inflation of the 1970s and 1980s. The real solution here is to broaden the country's production base so that the availability of more goods will lower prices.

9. Cooperation with Other African Countries

The balkanization of Africa has turned most of its nation-states into small, unviable economic units with small markets and a narrow resource base. African economic unity (along the lines of the PTA, SADCC, and ECOWAS) will provide larger markets and a greater diversity of resources.

For example, with reinforced capacity, Owen Falls Dam could supply power not only to Kenya, but also to northwest Tanzania, eastern

Zaire, and southern Sudan. This would earn Uganda foreign exchange, and at the same time give its neighbors relatively cheap power.

A united Africa will play a more active and effective role in defending the human and democratic rights of African people in general. Without ensuring democracy and human dignity for all African people, the continent cannot develop in any meaningful way.

10. Following an Economic Strategy of a Mixed Economy

This strategy means that most economic activity will be carried out by private entrepreneurs, with the government taking part in crucial sectors, while steering the economy to the set goal of an independent, integrated, and self-sustaining national economy (Point Number 5).

These methods will avoid laissez-faire capitalism, as well as the overnationalization that burdens the state at microeconomic levels. A mixed economy thus combines the best of both worlds.

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Yoweri K. Museveni is president of the Republic of Uganda. In 1979, after several attempts, Museveni's guerrilla forces successfully wrested power from Idi Amin. Museveni then lost the 1980 elections, which he maintained had been a sham. In response to this loss, he formed the National Resistance Army, which he led in a successful military coup, resulting in his becoming president in 1986. In 1996 he won Uganda's first presidential election in sixteen years.

Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere (1922–1999) was president of the Republic of Tanzania from 1964 to 1985. He was the founder and the first and only president of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). As president of TANU, Nyerere campaigned throughout the country for independence from colonial rule. At the time of his death Nyerere served as honorary chairman of the Intergovernmental South Center, which promotes peace, unity, cooperation, and solidarity within Africa. He was also chairman of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation.

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