T.C.
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A FOREIGN POLICY DETERMINED BY SITTING PRESIDENTS:
A CASE STUDY OF UGANDA FROM INDEPENDENCE TO DATE

PhD Thesis

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<td>ACRI</td>
<td>African Crisis Response Initiative</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>CMS</td>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
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<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
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<td>EAC</td>
<td>East African Community</td>
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<td>EIDHR</td>
<td>European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FDC</td>
<td>Forum for Democratic Change</td>
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<td>H.E.</td>
<td>His Excellency</td>
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<td>IBEA</td>
<td>Imperial British East African Company</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court Of Justice</td>
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<td>IGAD</td>
<td>Inter governmental Authority on Development.</td>
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<td>IGADD</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Desertification</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>KY</td>
<td>Kabaka Yyeka</td>
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<tr>
<td>LRA</td>
<td>Lord’s Resistance Army</td>
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<td>NAM</td>
<td>Non-Alignment Movement</td>
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<td>NRA</td>
<td>National Resistance Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRM</td>
<td>National Resistance Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organisation of Islamic Cooperation</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>South African Development Community</td>
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UPC  Uganda People’s Congress
UPDF  Uganda National People’s Forces
USA  United States of America
W.B.  World Bank
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INTRODUCTION

A lot of materials in the field of international relations accord the formulation and implementation process of foreign policy of any given country to a variety of factors. These factors that are commonly categorized in two groups: internal and external which continually shape the foreign policy of nation. In addition, the president alongside other policy making organs like the legislature work together to determine the most efficient foreign policy decisions. The case of Uganda in regard to foreign policy decision making is unique given the fact that the president dominates in the field of foreign policy. Foreign policy is a matter that is entirely addressed by the Ugandan president despite the fact that the president is merely among the various determinants of foreign policy.

The foreign policy trend of Uganda since independence suggests that the successive Ugandan presidents since independence have since taken all matters foreign into their hands. The dilemma however is; in reality the Ugandan presidents have to consider both domestic and external factors as they decide on foreign matters in order to come up with the most effective policies that benefit themselves as individuals and the nation at large. Considering other factors besides the president’s interests is inevitable considering the fact that for foreign policy to thrive there has to be an environment in which it’s natured. However, important to note, the president still exercises authority and power as regards which external an internal factors to consider when making foreign policy decisions. A given variable is often factored in by the president on condition that it may yield into a more efficient decision in regard to national and personal interests of the nation and president respectively.
The main research question this study aims at answering is; what are the various dynamics in the Ugandan foreign policy process? Precisely the Ugandan president has a very strong influence on the formulation process as well as implementation of Ugandan foreign policy. This scenario has further been supported by the loopholes created by weak and almost nonfunctional institutions. Institutions like the legislature and judiciary are put in place to act as efficient checks and balances on the powers of the executive. It’s the failure of these institutions that has created an environment in which the president has absolute power and is answerable to no one except himself especially pertaining to matters foreign.

The main aim of this particular study is to analyse Uganda’s foreign policy trend dating back from to the earlier days of independence to the currently evolving trends under the incumbent president Museveni. Specifically I have chosen presidents Obote, Amin and Museveni mainly because their tenures were long enough to allow for their foreign policy to constitute a legacy as far as foreign relations of Uganda are concerned. Foreign policy decisions by the above presidents has been analyzed in relation to; fundamental historical forces of colonialism, societal dynamics like socio-politics and the unstable Ugandan economy that is heavily dependent on agri-business prone to unreliable weather and fluctuating market prices. On many occasions the president’s personal traits are often reflected in almost all foreign policy decision of Uganda.

For an independent nation like any other, all matters pertaining foreign relations are of great importance and are treated as such. Uganda continues to front her national and international interest while she interacts with other nations and therefore foreign policy formulation and implementations is accorded great attention.
For a developing nation like Uganda, the manner in which foreign relations are handled determines the nation’s future developments and progress especially given the fact that Uganda is heavily dependent on foreign aid.

In the same measure foreign relations for developed countries are important as well given the fact that no nation is reliably independent in all dynamic; social, political and economic. Interdependence is therefore one way of catching up on deficiencies at the same time ensuring national survival regardless of the economic development of any nation. It’s therefore equally important for every state to actively participate on the international scene as an avenue to front national and international interest.

Uganda especially as a landlocked country often depends on her neighboring states of Kenya and Tanzania for her export and import trade. In this regard, Uganda on a daily basis continues to build a reliable relationship with neighboring states. Over the years, the Ugandan presidents have made considerable more effort than their counterparts towards greater regional integration with much more to gain from the arrangement. In recent years The Ugandan president Museveni has taken more interest in peace building initiatives in the region to avert any spillover of violence which is more likely to devastate Uganda. Any disruption in Kenya or Tanzania may cripple the Ugandan economy directly considering the fact that Uganda depend on her neighbors to access the sea for her import and export business. Therefore regional and international ties are equally important for the survival of Uganda as an independent state.
The Ugandan president and his government take foreign relations seriously and therefore all options are carefully considered to come up with the most effective and beneficial foreign policy for the nation. For countries like Uganda, membership in regional and international organizations is not only an avenue to diminish disparities but also an avenue to strengthen bargaining power on the international scene. Therefore as much as Uganda is an independent state capable of handling her international affairs, collective bargaining goes a long way in achieving better deals. Every regime has been able to achieve progress depending on how well the president handles relations with other states especially neighboring states; regimes that soured relations with other states realized a decline in the economy threatening the entire existence of the nation. The incumbent president Museveni continues to strive towards stronger regional ties in his recent efforts in advocating for a political integration of the East African community.

Since independence Uganda’s relations with other states has largely been dependent on the president who largely determines the nation’s foreign policy. Therefore Uganda’s foreign affiliations have varied from regime to regime with each regime deciding a different course of action as regards the matter. Foreign relations constitute an integral part of the Ugandan government mainly because Uganda as a nation heavily depends of foreign aid to finance a bigger percentage of the budget. In reality the Ugandan economy and nation at large greatly depends on the president’s ability to formulate the most effective foreign policy in regard to national interests. Therefore the president’s intellect is much reflected in the way he plays off donor powers ensuring steady and reliable aid to sustain growth and development.
As earlier noted, foreign relations are of great importance especially as regards the survival of any given nation regardless of geographical location and capabilities. As regards the same issues, foreign relations and the way in which the president handles them is very critical for the survival of Uganda as a sovereign state. For a developing nation like Uganda heavily dependent on foreign aid, foreign policy is by far the most powerful tool that the government has at its disposal. Mastery and expertise in the field of foreign policy is the most efficient weapon any Ugandan president can put in play in order to lead the nation to sustainable development and political dependence. This is especially important mainly because donor states and organizations always seek to further exploit poorer states driving deeper into a dependence relationship that is even harder to break free from. While seeking new and maintaining old donor relations, the Ugandan government must avoid completely foregoing national in the interest of more donations. Donations may be pivotal in economic growth however public approval is pivotal to regime survival and popularity as well.

Generally Uganda has and continues to nature friendly and mutually beneficial relations with other states especially neighboring states of Kenya and Tanzania; covering up any major differences for the good of Uganda as a nation. The incumbent president Museveni on several occasions has committed national resources to help out neighboring states especially in times of political turmoil. This has in turn ensured mutual support in case of a similar problem arising in Uganda as well as ensuring that these states are indebted to Uganda and can therefore reciprocate the friendly assistance by other means if need arises. In addition Uganda involvement in ventures like peace building in the region serves to popularize the
regime amongst the donors especially the western states. It is therefore to no surprise that President Museveni has become popular amongst the western powers for his peace building initiatives in the west despite his ever growing opposition base at home. In addition committing resources to maintain peace in the neighboring states is much beneficial to Uganda as well considering the destruction violence spilled over from a neighboring state like Kenya or Tanzania can cause in Uganda which is disadvantaged by the fact that it’s a landlocked served only by neighboring seaports of Mombasa and Dar Es Salaam.

Therefore this study seeks to explain in depth the foreign relations decisions undertaken by Presidents Obote, Amin and Museveni highlighting the lessons to be learned and mistakes to be avoided by aspiring heads of state. To totally disregard precious foreign policy decisions undertaken by former presidents is to blindly approach matters creating a chance for history to repeat it’s self. It’s therefore a wise and informed decision to widely evaluate previous foreign policy decisions in order to come up with better and more effective decisions in the same area. Besides, making up for deficiencies in the previous regimes as regards foreign policy, further popularizes the regime with more public support and endorsement in other matters as well. Important to note too, foreign policy decisions made by various presidents over time continue to affect future decisions by presidents to come. This is especially true for commitments that are legally binding. Such decisions may be difficult or impossible to go around for a very long period of time and equally carry consequences in case they are abrogated. In this regard some predecessor presidents of Uganda may be dead and forgotten however some of the decisions they made are still valid and legally binding despite regime changes. This further goes to show the
importance of this study in regard to foreign policy decisions under various presidents since independence to date.

The primary case studies in this study have been selected from the consecutive Ugandan presidents since independence. Presidents Obote, Amin and the incumbent president Museveni have been studied in detail particularly regarding foreign policy decisions undertaken during their tenure. The presidents have been selected as primary case studies in the study about Ugandan foreign policy basically because the presidents in Uganda take centre stage in the formulation and implementation process of foreign policy. An in-depth study of the Ugandan president is vital while analyzing the country’s foreign policy that is solely determined by the president. Therefore Ugandan foreign policy is easily predictable considering the fact that most of the foreign relations decisions are reflective of the president’s personality and background. Therefore it’s not farfetched to assert that every incoming regime in Uganda is most likely to usher in a new wave of foreign relation policies that are divergent from the previous regime.

President Obote Amin and Museveni present credible case studies mainly because they have held long terms in office enough for their decisions to constitute foreign policy of Uganda still effective even long after they are gone. Take for example most of the policies undertaken by president Obote during his term of office are still effective and legally binding to date. For example Obote took initiative to join the East African community of which the benefits Uganda continues to reap, Uganda is still an active member of the UN which she joined under the initiative of president Obote soon after independence. Important to note too Obote was able to have a second chance at being president after he made a comeback in 1980.
Unfortunately Obote was unable to make major foreign policy initiatives during his second tenure mainly because his government was committed to neutralizing guerrilla warfare staged by disgruntled Museveni who believed Obote had rigged the 1980 elections that brought him back to power. Its important to note that Obote as the first prime minister of Uganda was able to initiate major policies for his country many of which are still in force and legally binding as well.

President Obote’s inability to achieve much in regard to international affairs particularly during his second term of office (1981-1986), can be credited to Museveni’s unending guerilla attacks that topped Obote’s domestic and international agenda. Making the first attempt at establishing foreign relations with other states as in his capacity as a president of a newly independent country, Obote meet various mile stones and impediments both foreign and internal. Being the pioneer trend setter for Uganda’s foreign policy, Obote put in place systems some of which are still in existence till present day. Some of these Obote trends still in existence include; one party system, regional integration, pan Africanism among others. In this regard, any foreign policy trend setter for Uganda needs to analyse preexisting trends to pick lessons and avoid repeating mistakes done by the predecessors.

President Amin’s term of office lasted between the years 1971-1979 and like his predecessor Obote was removed from office by means of a coup that was launched by forces loyal to former president Obote. These Obote loyalist forces launched attacks on Kampala from Tanzania with reinforcements from President Julius Nyerere. Amin unlike his counterparts was unique in his policies both domestic and foreign which policies were mostly divergent in comparison to the internationally accepted norms. Amin’s lack of knowledge can be blamed on his low
literacy levels as well as inexperience in politics especially given the fact that Amin came to power by means of a coup and therefore did not meet the criteria for becoming a national leader. Soon after overthrowing president Obote in 1971, Amin immediately embarked on a smear campaign in a bid to win over the Ugandan population to his side. Amin did not only stop at blaming the national problems then on his predecessor Obote but also took on an international campaign to solicit for arms and other forms of aid from particularly Israel and Britain which at the time were rumored to have aided Amin’s coup plot. While blaming former president Obote for the poor living conditions, nepotism corruption among others, Amin hoped to get the international community to sympathize with his regime by recognizing it and providing any necessary assistance for the regime to thrive. Embarking on a totally divergent foreign policy from that of Obote was a justifiable move considering the fact that Amin totally disregarded Obote’s leadership.

Unfortunately Obote’s successor president Amin managed to systematically undermine all the effective foreign policies Obote had put in place. Amin was so desperate to legitimize his regime which had acquired power by means of a coup in 1971 while Obote was away in Singapore attending a commonwealth heads of state meeting. Amin immediately soured relations with neighboring states of Kenya and Tanzania in the long run making diplomatic relations of the East African Community almost impossible. Amin’s continuous effort to strain relations with neighboring states eventually led to his demise in 1979 when Obote loyalists with the assistance of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania invaded Kampala in retaliation to Amin’s troops occupying Kagera region in Tanzania. Amin had unrealistic dreams of making Uganda the centre of all East African matters if not all African matters by all means
possible. This he tried to achieve without factoring in possible consequences for his country; ignorance in such matters can be attributed to his humble education background. This further serves to assert that that president Amin like others that followed him personally made foreign policy decisions that in turn reflected their personal interest and character. Consequently Ugandan relations with other states including donor states were gravely soured consequently some nations totally cutting off ties with Uganda like Tanzania at the time. Intentionally or unintentionally president Amin committed grave foreign mistakes that made him unpopular at home and abroad and therefore a study of his foreign policy choices can point out mistakes for other presidents to avoid in the future as they make policies regarding similar matters.

Various policies have been implemented in president Museveni’s tenure which is the longest tenure to be held by any Uganda president. The incumbent president Museveni has held office since 1986 when his guerrilla forces took over the streets of Kampala declaring victory amidst welcoming masses. Museveni came into power with promises of democratizing the nation that had been torn apart by previous military regimes like Amin’s. Indeed the NRM regime led by Museveni implemented democratic changes as promised winning over an overwhelming support for the regime countrywide. By 1995 Museveni’s government had presented a new constitution providing for basic human rights. Indeed Museveni’s regime gained popularity especially among the western democracies. With both international and domestic support, the NRM regime thrived taking Uganda to higher levels of prosperity registering high levels of development. Indeed during the 90’s Uganda was registered as one of the world’s fastest growing economies.
However important to note, Museveni’s domestic popularity has dwindled over the years as he doubles his effort to hold on to power. With a crackdown on opposition, Museveni’s democratic ratings seem to be taking a dive as well as his international popularity. Museveni has resorted to constitutional amendments to suit his ambition of life presidency further increasing the opposition base country wide. To make up for the lost popularity at home, president Museveni has embarked on an international mission to amass support from donor states. Slowly but surely Museveni has been able to win regain international popularity especially from western democracies that are the biggest donors to the Ugandan economy.

Museveni has successfully rebranded himself to the international community as a peace lover and pioneer in the fight against terrorism within the great lakes region. Uganda has successfully participated in peacekeeping missions in various countries like Somalia, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo committing great national resources in regional peace building. This by all means has made him an ally rather than an adversary of the west which considers him a great ally in the war against terrorism. In this regard Uganda is now a major recipient of military aid from the west inform of weapons, intelligence and monetary support. Therefore Museveni’s foreign policy seems to be thriving at the expense of the domestic policy which is evident in wide spread opposition across the country. With steady flow of aid from the west, Museveni is able to keep the Ugandan economy afloat despite poor economic indicators like; high levels of inflation, high unemployment rates and poor standards of living.

Therefore throughout this study, my main aim is to analyse various foreign policy decisions made under the various presidents Museveni, Obote and Amin in
relation to the socio-political dynamic under which they were made by the respective presidents. Structural dynamic that have inevitably directed the manner in which foreign relations are conducted by the Ugandan heads of states have been analyzed too in this study; earlier foreign contacts, colonialism, Christianity, missionary education among others have shaped Ugandan foreign policy in one way or another.

This study is largely based on literature review; citing sources ranging from journal articles, books and government documents and reports relevant to the topic of Ugandan foreign policy. In particular literature sources that have been used in preparation of this study include; documents availed by the Ugandan government both online and in hardcopy including official government documents like the constitution, ministry reports mostly from the ministry of foreign affairs resource centre, policy documents from all three branches of the government; executive, judicial and legislature. Various article featured in academic journals(peer reviewed) have been resourceful in the study which have been accessed mainly from online data banks like; Jstor, Google scholar, Tandfonline, Wiley, Proquest and Heinonline all of which access to was granted by Ankara University e-resources through my student account. In addition I was able to access official reports from various organizations availed on official web pages like; UN, UNHCR, UNICEF, EU, ICC, Amnesty international, OAU and the EAC among others as well as newspaper articles containing relevant materials to the study. Last but not least I was able to get hardcopy books from both Ankara university library in Turkey and Makerere university library in Uganda.

I have based this study on the Classical Realism theoretical framework with the aim of presenting an in depth understanding. The various schools of thought in
the field of international relations vary in scope and depth in their explanation of international affairs. In particular Classical Realism describes in depth the behavior of states on the international scene and the dynamics of the international system in which the states are operative.

This study therefore bases its explanation of Uganda involvement in world affairs on the classical realism theory of international relations. In the same way the rationale of the president’s foreign policy choices is based on the principles of Classical Realism. Classical Realism purports that; each state is sovereign in dealing with other states. And therefore since there is no proper international mechanism or unified centre of authority or command, every individual state is mandated to conduct its own survival mechanism; ranging from amassing political power, military might, economic strength or continually pursuing cordial relations with other states. On one hand the theory puts emphasis on the fact that for one state to be able to guarantee its own survival, the state in question must amass more power than its neighbours. This goes far to throw more clarity on the manner in which the consecutive Ugandan presidents have handled foreign relations with other states mainly by means of diplomatic relations, trade and business deals among others thereby compensating for Uganda’s deficiencies in various aspects like economic and political might.

On the other hand, classical realism as a theory stands to emphasise the fact that states should strive to maintain equality in their dealings with one another thereby supporting each another to attain and safeguard individual autonomy. Classical Realism theory as a theory further tackles causes of conflict and war as well as the necessary pre-conditions for peaceful relations to prevail. In other words, whereas
one nation may strive to boost its own security by amassing military capability, on
the other hand, this nation in question eventually is viewed as a threat to the security
of the other nations. The above view can be used to partially explain the hostility
between the nations of Uganda and Tanzania during Amin’s and Nyerere regimes:
Uganda’s Amin illegally sent forces to occupy north-east of Tanzania. This Amin did
as a pre-emptive strategy to deter a possible attack on Kampala by Obote loyalist
groups that were reinforced by Tanzania at the time. By the time of this illegal
occupation of part of Tanzania, rumours of a possible coup supported by President
Julius Nyerere of Tanzania had long reached Kampala forcing Kampala to prepare
for pre-emptive moves on the government of Tanzania. it is upon these insecurities
that Amin therefore acted upon setting ground for possible confrontation from the
Tanzanian government. According to Classical Realism theory, states interact on the
world stage purposely to front their respective national goals and interest. This is
relatable to this study mainly because as states interact in global affairs especially in
platforms like the United-Nations, each state through its national leader strives to
promote the interests of its population. In this regard, presidents act as the voice of
their nations and therefore seek to secure the position and role of their respective
states on the international scene. Classical Realism therefore argues that; interactions
among the various states while on the international scene is in a state of anarchy
especially given the fact that each individual state is being driven by the need to
survive. The foreign policy strategy of each individual state has the underlying
driving force as “the need to protect its own interests” and the national leader is at
the forefront of this move.
In addition to the above, the other premise of Classical Realism is that; in international affairs, the dominant-player or basic unit is the state. This further emphasises the role that ‘head of state’ (the president) as regards foreign policy decision making is tasked to play. This is especially true for countries under the presidential-system for instance Uganda where for regime after regime the president has played a major role in shaping Ugandan foreign policy legacy. Classical Realism further purports that ‘state-behaviour is rational; especially given the fact that states act out of the need to realise national-interest and protect national sovereignty. Considering that classical realism relies on the assumption that states are guided by the logic of national interest in their interactions with other states, presidents too take into consideration the same as they conclude on foreign affairs of their countries respectively. As earlier noted these national goals include security, need for survival, and power.

The 1995 Ugandan constitution ranks the office of the president as the highest civil servant with the highest most authority in the land. The mandate of the president as per the constitution further involves handling the nations domestic and foreign affairs in his or her capacity as head of government. Under the executive authority the president therefore has the legal and moral ground to transact business with other states and international organisations alike on behalf of the Ugandan government with the intention of realising national goals. On some occasions these foreign dealings may involve commitment of huge national resources like in the case of intervention especially for the purposes of safeguarding national sovereignty. This has been the case with recent Ugandan involvement in peacekeeping missions in the neighbouring states of Somalia, Congo and South Sudan. Some of these recent
violence eruptions in neighbouring states have placed Ugandan nationals in eminent danger necessitating the presidents’ immediate initiative without prior notice to the legislative body. Constitutionally the Ugandan president is obligated to present any intervention missions before the parliament for approval especially since they normally involve commitment of huge national resources that require not previously budgeted. However in cases that need immediate action, the president as head of government and commander in chief may take initiative on behalf of the Ugandan government. Cases that involve protection of citizens take precedence over procedural obligations. Important to note however the president is obliged to present his intentions to intervene in another nations affairs before the parliament even after the event. Support from the parliament is important especially in regard to foreign relations that occasionally involve commitment of huge amounts of national resources especially for a developing and struggling economy like Uganda.

In addition as per the constitutional mandate the president has the authority to appoint any person of his choice to the office of the vice president and prime minister. The president’s choices for these offices are required to go through a vetting session by the parliament. In a similar procedural process the president appoints the minister of foreign affairs and ambassadors of his choice to represent Ugandan affairs abroad. These appointments in the field of foreign affairs are particularly important to the president because they represent Ugandan interests abroad. The successive Ugandan presidents have appointed close friends and family to the office of minister for foreign affairs ensuring that they share similar interest and remain committed to them as well.
Uganda participates in international affairs through various channels among which include collective participation in international and regional co operations. Uganda has and continues to be a member to various international and regional organisations like the UN, OAU, IGAD and EAC among others. Initiative to join such organisations is normally taken by the head of government who also is obliged to abide by the rules governing the corporations to which Uganda is a member. Such international organisations are crucial in maintaining international peace and therefore each member state is helping realise international peace by obliging with the rules and regulations. In addition developing states like Uganda are able to enjoy various advantages within regional and international organisations. Advantages like more bargaining power on the international scene, inclusive participation in world affairs, fading away economic and political disparities all of which are beneficial to Uganda as a sovereign state. By participating under such larger groups Uganda enjoys all the above mentioned benefits and more without foregoing her sovereignty as an independent state.

Chapter one of this study gives an insight into the foundation of Ugandan foreign policy; connecting the earliest foreign contacts with the coastal Arabs to the Colonial experience in the 19 century. British colonial experience in Uganda has and continues to shape Ugandan foreign policy in one way or the other. Therefore an in depth study about the colonial experience in chapter one lays foundation to understanding foreign policy decisions undertaken by the successive Ugandan presidents since independence. Pre-colonial societal settings predating the earliest foreign contacts with the Arabs have been revisited in chapter one detailing the political, social and economic organisations of the pioneer kingdoms in Uganda.
Most of these kingdoms were organised under three tiers; clan leadership, chiefdoms and kingdoms. It was under this organisation that some strong kingdoms like Bunyoro put up a formidable resistance against colonial invasion in the 19 century. Such resistance may not have matched the superior colonial defence but it spoke volumes about the level of organisation of such kingdoms. Resistance against colonial invasion was bound to fail given the fact that the British had superior weapons and prior knowledge of all kingdoms acquired through explorers and missionaries.

Given the organisational level of pre-colonial Ugandan kingdoms, the British too employed various colonial techniques to subdue and enforce colonial policies throughout the region. These policies were exploitive in nature tailored to totally benefit the colonial government at the expense of the native Ugandans. Development in infrastructure too was tailor made to facilitate the transfer of raw materials from Uganda to Britain. Railway construction was only intended to connect raw material growing areas to the cost of Mombasa for further transportation by water to Europe. Forced growing of raw materials like coffee, cotton was underway in across the country ensuring steady supply of raw materials to British industries. Later this transportation network and trade arrangement between Uganda and Kenya was consolidated into a regional arrangement under customs union, the EA common service organisation to control and manage shared infrastructural assets between the two nations. Uganda benefitted from this arrangement even after independence. Therefore after independence, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania formalised this cooperation that was renamed the East African Community.
Chapter two of this study analyses some of the external and domestic factors that a president may consider time to time while formulating foreign policy for his/her country. As earlier mentioned, the Ugandan president at one point or another may consider some factors domestic or international in scope in order to come up with the most efficient foreign policy. These factors are considered by the president at free will whenever he deems it necessary. The domestic factors mainly have to do with the socio-politics and economic status of Ugandan society. A case in point; Good donor relations have been maintain regime after regime mainly because the Ugandan economy is heavily dependent of foreign aid. The general cultural composition may consider from time to time by the president especially when it comes to international norms that have to be reconciled with national ones. Take for example the Ugandan president Museveni came under scrutiny in 2014 over a controversial Gay rights bill that he signed into law. This bill was contrary to international human right on one hand and on the other hand collided with the generally accepted Ugandan cultural and religious values. President Museveni caving in to popular demand signed the controversial bill into law despite international threats.

The external factors that the president may consider while formulating and implementing foreign policy mainly include international law obligations arising from prior commitments to international charters governing international organizations. It’s therefore incumbent upon the president to follow through with all the international obligations without fall short of any expectations. These international mechanisms were originally put in place with the main purpose of safeguarding international peace and security which is in the nest interest of every nation.
regardless of disparities in capabilities. The charters of the UN, ICC, AU, EAC among others are legally binding on Uganda by virtue of being a signatory member.

Most of the actors threatening the survival of Uganda as a state commonly take a transnational form thus requiring joint efforts with other states to avert them totally or at least keep them in check. Many of the threats to Uganda are non military in nature and require assistance from other states especially neighboring states. Threats like terrorism, natural disasters like floods and pandemics including AIDS, Ebola are threatening the entire existence of the nation state worldwide. These threats are no respecter of economic status or military power and transcend national borders in all capacity. It’s for this reason that world nations continually cooperate, pooling together resources to avert such threats before they wipe away the idea of state from the face of the earth.

Uganda on various occasion has fallen prey to pandemics like Ebola on which occasions has received assistance from various states that were in most cases preventing a possible spill over to their own territories. In the same spirit Uganda has cooperated with Sierra Leone when a similar catastrophe befell the nation killing hundreds. In addition Uganda is actively participating in peace keeping missions in the region to avert further spill over into Ugandan territory. Peace and security is pivotal in preserving any state and the world order at large. Failed states are only breeding grounds for war lords and terrorism activities to thrive. Terrorism is a worldwide concern that needs to be tackled with joint efforts across the globe. It’s for such reason that the UPDF forces have helped restore peace and security in Mogadishu paving way for a formal government ably operate and run the day to day affairs of the nation. Kenya later sent troops as well to Mogadishu to help secure the
nation and install a proper government. The al-shabab terrorist linked to al-Qaeda in Mogadishu have organized attacks in Uganda and Kenya further motivating both countries to invest in peace keeping missions in the region to deter such acts of terror from further spreading in the region. In addition Uganda is more committed to maintain peace in the region more than her counterparts mainly because of Uganda’s landlocked status that makes her dependant on neighboring seaports for import and export business. In other words violence in Kenya or Tanzania would cripple the Ugandan economy bringing all business to a standstill equally causing suffering to all Ugandans.

Chapter three explores the foreign policy decisions taken by presidents Obote, Amin and the incumbent Museveni in relation external and internal circumstances during their implementation. Foreign policy decision made by these three presidents constituted Ugandan foreign policy during their tenure and some policies are still in place. President Obote being the first head of state took major policies many of which were legally binding and are still in place. For example during Obote’s tenure in office, Uganda joined the UN, OAU and the EAC all of which Uganda is still a member. Uganda enjoyed good relations with neighbor states.

However all these good relations were quickly soured by Obote’s predecessor Amin who was so eager to undo all Obote’s policies in a bid to legitimize his regime. By blaming the outgoing regime Amin hoped to present his regime as the savior and future of Uganda unlike the ousted regime that was corrupt and sectarian. Amin soured relations first with Tanzania and later with Kenya over unfounded issues. For the case of Tanzania, Amin blamed Julius Nyerere for granting his adversary Obote asylum after he was ousted by coup organized by Amin himself. This trend in foreign
relations soured Uganda’s relations with neighboring states and later with the rest of the world especially with western democracies.

Last but not least, the incumbent president Yoweri Kaguta Museveni has undertaken major foreign policy decisions since taking over power in 1986. As the incumbent he continues to shape Ugandan foreign policy while keeping up with international changes as they arise. Over the years president Museveni has been hailed by the international community as well as received major criticisms especially in the recent years. As a result, Museveni has resorted to undertaking major changes in his foreign policy strategy for purposes of regime survival of which his well aware thrives with both domestic and international support. With a bigger opposition base at home, Museveni has resorted to rebranding himself as a pioneer in the fight against terrorism in the region by undertaking peace keeping missions in the region. This has not only increased Museveni’s popularity in the west but also increased the flow of military aid as well as monetary aid to Uganda. Currently Ugandan forces the UPDF are in Somalia and South Sudan on peace keeping missions funded by the AU and UN.
CHAPTER ONE

UGANDA’S JOURNEY TO AUTONOMY AND CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

I. A COLONIAL BACKGROUND OF UGANDA

A. Colonial-Background of Uganda

Colonialism revolves around various aspects like occupation of foreign territory, imposing foreign rule upon unwilling population as well as encouragement of a superior status of the minority ruling class over the majority subjects. Any interaction between the colonial country and the territory being colonized is exploitative in nature and scope.\(^1\) Uganda became a British colony in 1900 a period during which the British exploited Ugandan natural and human resources; a typical relation involving two separate and unequal parties.\(^2\)

Before the advent of the British colonial rule in Uganda, pre-colonial indigenous societies existed in a well-organized manner involving a hierarchy of authority usually with a male superior at the top of the chain. Pre-colonial Ugandan societies were basically divided along ethnic lines with the Bantu ethnic group being the largest. The Bantu mainly occupy areas of central, southwest and eastern Uganda while the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamites occupy the north eastern and northern areas of

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Uganda. Prior to the coming of the British colonialist, the Bantu were the most highly organized ethnic group amongst the indigenous ethnic group and were able to put up an initial resistance towards colonial rule.

The ethnic groups are further subdivided into smaller groups called tribes; made up of people speaking a similar language and sharing cultural norms and values. Detailed information about the origin and organisation of each ethnic group was handed down from generation to generation by means of oral tradition. There were neither formal schools nor writing materials before the advent of colonial rule however elders told stories about their origins to their offspring over fire places in the evenings.

As earlier noted the Bantu is the largest and by the pre-colonial period the most sophisticated ethnic group. Farming, animal breeding and collecting of wild herbs, stems and fruits was the basic way of sustaining the society.\(^3\) The Bantu settled mainly alongside lake and river banks in search of reliable rainfall and fertile soils to support their farming practices. Fishing from the water bodies helped supplement their basic diet that mainly comprised of stem tubers, roots, wild fruits as well as legumes. In addition the Bantu reared some animals like cows, goats and fowl that they slaughtered occasionally for meals.

The Bantu like all other ethnic groups in Uganda practiced polygamous marriages with extended family members living together in one homestead. A group of extended families sharing the similar ancestors were known as a clan. The clan was headed by a clan member who usually was the eldest male along the ancestral line. The clan head as a leader was responsible for the security and wellbeing of his

clan. The clan head in his capacity as the overall leader in his community settled
presided over traditional ceremonies like; naming, burial, appeasing of the ancestors
and marriage. The Bantu communities were mainly patrilineal with the male
descendants accorded respect and expected to be leaders in the society. The males
were expected to protect and fend for their families while the women and girls on the
other hand were expected to take care of the homes and children. The basic unit in
the Bantu society was the family which was usually headed by the father figure.

Families expanded with the polygamous system and the clans too became too
big to be managed by just one clan head. By the nineteenth century, the large clans
had developed into kingdoms much stronger and vast in influence. By this period
these large clan groups had developed semi-skilled farming methods; cultivating and
raring animals on a larger scale for subsistence purposes. The Bantu in the central
areas of Uganda were predominantly cultivators raring some animals alongside. On
the other hand western Bantu were practiced both cattle raring and farming.

The south western Bantu of Uganda were well known for their long horned
cattle and caste society. These western Bantu tribes were well organized under the
first royal dynasty known as the Bachwezi dynasty. The Bachwezi originally were
nomadic pastoralists moving about in search of fresh waters and pastures for their
animals. They came into contact with the south western Bantu over whom the
imposed themselves as rulers. The Bachwezi formed a well-organized dynasty
known as the Bachwezi dynasty under which succession to the throne was by birth

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right.\textsuperscript{5} Given their superior organizational skills, the Bantu believed the Bachwezi to be demi gods who descended from the skies.

Demi gods as they were believed to be, the Bachwezi enjoyed their newly acquired superior status over the Bantu who even worshipped them as supernatural beings. The ordinary Bantu came to be known as the Bairu who tasked with doing all the cultivating while the ruling Bachwezi enjoyed the privileges that came with royalty and owned all the cattle in the land.\textsuperscript{6} The Bachwezi as their norm of nomadic life later moved on further south to Katanga areas in Tanzania.

The departure of the Bachwezi left a leadership void in the Bantu society which was later filled by another nomadic tribe known as the Luo. The Luo like their predecessors the Bachwezi, were nomads who survived by moving from one place to another in search of greener pastures and shelter for their animals. The Luo were organized and strong enough to impose themselves as rulers and protectors of the Bantu. The Luo settled in Toro where they formed the Luo-Babiito dynasty. Succession to the Luo-Babiito dynasty was by birth following the male lineage. They brought with them pet-names like Amooti, Akiiki that were adopted by the Bantu tribes as part and parcel of their culture. This cultural integration between the Luo and the Bantu enriched the Bantu tribes and the leadership skills later led to a more sophisticated kingdom in the region.

The central-Buganda Bantu were the most highly organized community in Uganda. In fact Buganda kingdom was the most organized pre-colonial kingdom in the great lakes region. The head of the Buganda kingdom was known as the Kabaka. The kingdom extended over vast areas on central Uganda most of which were

\textsuperscript{5} Peter Robertshaw, “Beyond the Segmentary State: Creative and Instrumental Power in Western Uganda”, \textit{Journal of World Prehistory}, Vol. 23, No 4, 2010, p. 255-270.

\textsuperscript{6} John, \textit{op.cit}, p. 5-6.
annexed by means of expansionist wars on the orders of the ambitious Baganda kings.\textsuperscript{7} Given their faring way of life, the Baganda set up settlements along the shores of the great Lake Victoria. The shores of Lake-Victoria have reliable rainfall throughout the year as well as fertile soils suitable for farming. Like their counterparts on the south west, the Baganda too had a hereditary succession system to the throne that followed the male born child. Usually the eldest son to the king was the crown prince. In a bid to ensure loyalty, the Buganda king married a woman from each clan thus making in-laws of each clan in his kingdom. The Kabaka often appointed trusted friends to become chiefs with the mandate to run the kingdom on his behalf. The chiefs were the Kabaka’s representatives all over the vast kingdom with the duty to inform the Kabaka of all the activities in the kingdom. The chief were loyal to the Kabaka and this helped the Kabaka run the vast kingdom efficiently.

The kingdom had a well-trained army and navy force situated on Lake Victoria shores in case of any adversaries like Bunyoro makes an advance on the kingdom from the lake. The royal army ensured law and order all over the kingdom enforcing the king’s decrees. Taxes too were enforced by the royal guards who punished any insubordination to the throne by death. The Kabaka surrounded himself with loyal servant boys known as pages who were trained at the place from a tender age. It is from these pages that the Kabaka appointed loyal chiefs to enforce his will over the vast kingdom\textsuperscript{8}. With such high levels of organisation, the Buganda kingdom

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\footnote{Lloyd Ashton Fallers, “Ideology and culture in Uganda Nationalism”, \textit{American Anthropologist}, Vol. 63, No. 4, 1961, p. 677-687.}
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was the most organized political entity in the region. The colonial masters too admired the advanced chieftaincy system of the Baganda which they exported to other parts of the country as a tool to enforce colonial policies. The Baganda chiefs were grass root level leaders who interacted with the locals on a personal level and were therefore the Kabaka’s eyes and ears in each society they headed. These Baganda chiefs that were transferred to eastern and western Uganda effectively enforced colonial policies on behalf of the British like Semei Kakungulu in eastern Uganda.

Before the advent of British colonialist, the native Ugandans had earlier external contact with the coastal Arab merchants by 1840. The Arab merchants ventured further inland as far as Buganda with the aim trading goods with the natives. The merchants mainly purposed to exchange items like fire arms, mirrors, gun powder and cloth for slaves and ivory. Ivory was on high demand in Europe thus boosting the ivory trade at the east African coast as well. Elephants had been poached almost to extinction at the coast driving the Arab merchants further inland for fresh poaching grounds. In order to venture further inland, Arab merchants organized caravans that reached as far as Buganda. The first Arab caravan led by Ahmad Bin Ibrahim arrived in Buganda bearing gifts for Kabaka Mwanga who was very impressed by the items. Impressed by the gifts from the Arabs which included mirrors, cloth, guns and gunpowder, Mwanga was convinced to join in on the

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lucrative Arab trade. Given the Kabaka’s ambition, he was mainly attracted by the superior weapons which he would easily acquire through trading with the Arabs. The Kabaka saw an opportunity to further strengthen his army by equipping it with weapons superior to other kingdoms hence furthering his expansionist policy. The Arab merchants too were driven by the needs to expound on the trade adventure however to a smaller extent the need to spread the Islamic religion further inwards.

A similar warm welcome was extended to the Europeans when the first made contact with Baganda. The Baganda are generally welcoming community with expectations from each visitor. In the same manner the Baganda welcome the initial European visitors with a lot of expectations. The Baganda initially expected the European visitors to come with good intentions just like their predecessors the Arabs did. Unfortunately for the Baganda and their king all hopes were shattered when they learned the true intentions of the Europeans which were only exploitative in nature and scope. In 1862 Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda extended a warm welcome to the first European explorer to set foot in his kingdom Hannington John Speke. Speke’s true intension of visiting Buganda at the time was to explore the kingdom and report back to his government all detail that he had noted about the kingdom, especially the political organization of the kingdom. On one of his many expeditions, Speke claimed to have discovered the source of the river Nile. Speke was able to report back to his government all he had observed about the kingdom of Buganda. With this information gathered by Speke the British colonial government was able to make

informed decisions thus preparing adequately for any possible retaliation from the Baganda people.

Thirteen years later Kabaka Mutesa opened the gates of his palace to yet another European explorer Morton Henry Stanley in 1875. In the initial conversations Stanley had with Kabaka Mutesa, he was able to convince him to invite Christian missionaries into his kingdom. Stanley’s advocating for the formal invitation of Christian missionaries to Buganda was meant to benefit colonial interests in Buganda especially since missionaries later played an integral part in the conquest of Uganda as a British colony. As a result in 1877, Kabaka Mutesa extended a formal invitation to the Church Missionary Society. Soon after the Church Missionary Society, the Catholic White Fathers followed in 1879. Both groups of missionaries were allocated land in the Buganda kingdom where they went ahead to set up missions.

As expected various indigenous Baganda subscribed to Christianity forsaking their ancestral religion including Kabaka royalists. Ancestral religion was practices long before the advent of the European missionaries who demonized all its dynamics like ancestral worship and animal sacrifices. Important to note however is the fact that both the catholic and protestant Christian sects variated in the content of their teachings thus creating grounds for contention amongst new indigenous followers. These differences in the long run later culminated into Buganda religious wars between the catholic and protestant sects. Further still the Christian conflict later involved the Muslim converts as well escalating religious wars to another whole new level. Both protestant and catholic missionaries equipped their converts with

weapons in order to win the religious wars between the years 1888 and 1893.\textsuperscript{16} This total and blind loyalty that was encouraged by the European religions later caused the kings loyalists to undermine his authority. In total outrage towards insubordination from his pages, Kabaka Mwanga felt the need to put an end to the uncontrollable insubordination from his subjects all over the kingdom by setting an example with a few converts’ execution. Consequently Kabaka Mwanga ordered for the execution of some of his servants for insubordination on Christian religious grounds.

Chartered companies like the imperial British East African Company were contracted to administer British colonies. However in the case of Uganda, Britain took over formally from IBEA in 1893 the administration of the colony. Britain went ahead to formally declare Uganda British protectorate with the signing of the 1900 Buganda agreement.\textsuperscript{17} Agreements like the 1900 were signed between indigenous Ugandan kings and the British colonial representatives in order to formalize British control over their territory. Such agreements were unfair given the fact that they were signed between two unequal parties and were by all means exploitative in nature and scope. The kingdoms of Ankole and Toro were extended the same courtesy as Buganda to sign official agreements with the British imperial government. The kingdom of Toro signed an agreement with Britain in the same year as Buganda while Toro signed a similar agreement in 1901. Sir Gerald portal assumed the office of British commissioner right after Britain took over colony administration from the IBEA Company that had run bankrupt by 1894 and could no longer run the colony on behalf of the British colonial government. Uganda remained under British


colonial rule a period under which her resources both human and natural were exploited fully to the benefit of Britain.

**B. British Colonial Interests**

**a. British Economic Interests**

British interests in Uganda were largely economic especially given that fact that Britain was industrializing by the nineteenth century. Therefore there was a high demand for agricultural raw materials in Britain like cotton, sisal, tobacco as well as minerals like copper, iron among others. Uganda had volcanic fertile soils coupled with adequate rainfall to favor growing of cash crops. Eventually the British introduced compulsory cash crop growing mainly coffee and cotton were grown and exported directly to Britain. Take for example the textile industries needed cotton as raw material without which they would collapse.

Various reasons have been explained to justify the scramble for Africa during the C19th. The biggest motivation for the scramble for Africa was the industrial revolution in Europe at the time. Africa therefore provided an alternative for cheap raw materials, fresh market for industrial goods as well as capital investment opportunities. With all the above opportunities in Africa, Britain couldn’t resist venturing into the virgin African territory at all costs.”

Britain therefore occupied the Ugandan territory with the main purpose of exploiting both human and natural resources for the benefit of her industrial sector back home. Indigenous Ugandans

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were the losers in this whole arrangement which only guaranteed that British factories were kept open at the expense of Africans. In addition Uganda was well endowed with reliable rainfall throughout the year, fertile soils all which facilitated the growing of raw materials needed to fuel the industrial sector in Britain at a low cost. Large scale farming of raw materials was underway in Uganda soon after Uganda was declared a British protectorate. Indigenous Ugandans were force to work on such farms against their will little or nothing to gain. The little pay that they received found its way back into the pockets of the colonial masters in form of tax payments. The British levied taxes on the small huts that the workers lived in as a means to ensure they worked on the farms in order to earn just enough to pay their tax dues in time.19

At the peak of the nineteenth century, European markets were saturated with manufactured goods. Almost every country had industrialized and therefore exporting similar manufactured goods to an industrialized country was no option. In addition most of the European countries had protectionist policies in place to protect their growing industrial sector. With a low demand for manufactured goods in Britain, the industrial sector was realizing less and lesser profits. In search for fresh markets, European goods were being exported to the Asian markets which got saturated in long run. Therefore Africa provided the next best market especially considering the fact that there were no industries on the African continent.

The demand for manufactured goods would be met easily by European firms. Britain therefore jumped to the first chance she got to secure Uganda as a potential market for manufactured goods. The biggest advantage to African market was the

fact that Britain had a chance to totally monopolize the market by declaring it a British colony. This meant that no other European country could carry out any form of business apart from Britain. In this way Britain was able to monopolize the raw material supply as well as the market in Uganda. Important to not too, the British made sure that they did not set up any manufacturing industries in Uganda. The British preferred to transport raw materials all the way back to Britain rather than set up industries in Uganda. This was mainly done to protect the British industries by avoiding competing industries in Africa having to share the same African market. On that note Britain transferred raw materials from Uganda and returned refined finished goods to be distributed on the Ugandan market. Finished goods from Britain were brought on the Ugandan market as well as second hand products like clothes\textsuperscript{20} it is therefore not farfetched to say that Britain under developed Uganda by exploiting her human and natural resources during the colonial period. Brutish industries thrived on the cheap raw materials got at almost no cost thus profiting way beyond expected levels.\textsuperscript{21}

As profits sky rocketed from the British industrial sector, so did the need for capital investments especially abroad given the fact that reinvesting in the same sector would not yield much. Most of the other sectors in Britain too had been invested in heavily and therefore the country needed to find alternative grounds for fresh investments for the redundant capital in the country. Uganda by all means presented the best option for capital investment; fertile soils and reliable rainfall as well as cheap available labour guaranteed raw material supply at very low costs. In

addition, by virtue of Uganda being a British colony it meant that Britain owned Ugandan land and therefore would allow any capital developments by British nationals. In addition to cheap costs and means of production, all Ugandan sectors were undeveloped and therefore presented fresh capital investment opportunities. Any investment in Uganda at the time would meet no completion at all guarantying abnormal profits arising from low costs of production and monopoly advantage.

As expected, the development levels in the British industrial sector would be matched with an increase in unemployment levels. The use of machinery in production was ensured higher profit margins given the fact that more goods were manufactured in a shorter time. Many employees were laid off and as their manual labour was replaced with machines that gave a higher output at a cheaper cost\textsuperscript{22}. The high unemployment levels were eventually blamed on the British government and the masses demanded a quick solution from their government. Whereas the industrial sector was bringing in a lot of revenue for the British government, a good number of British nationals were without a day job and unable to feed their families. Therefore Britain looked at her colonies like Uganda as a way to partially solve the rise in unemployment levels in Britain arising from industrialization. The British government ferried some of the unemployed nationals to work in the Ugandan colony in the various sectors like education, health, infrastructural development among others. Colonial administration too provided job for semi-skilled British nationals who ran the colony enforcing colonial policies like taxation, cash crop farming among others. Ugandans mainly were a source of manual labour on the cash crop farms given the fact that none of them had any formal skills. For this reason

British that had a formal educational background were able to work in health centres, schools and take up administrative jobs too. It was after a while that some indigenous Ugandans were able to acquire basic levels of formal education from missionary schools. The basic skills like English language, writing and reading enabled some Africans to work as clerks and interpreters for the colonial administration.

b. Exploration Expeditions

Before colonialists ventured into Africa they needed to find out basic information about the unknown continent. Britain could not afford to venture into Africa blindly especially given the high costs of administering a continent. Therefore Britain had to ascertain possible benefits before investing in any administrative ventures. Besides the main reasons Britain was willing to venture into Africa were purely economic; Britain considered Africa an investment and therefore measuring possible benefits was a requirement. For example information about the exact nature of Ugandan resources was beneficial for British imperialist. British government therefore funded various explorers on their journeys into Uganda for the first time to find out essential information about the people and the region. Such information would be used to convince the British parliament at the time to commit government resources for the purposes of colonial occupation of Uganda. Explorers like John Speke arrived in Buganda where he received a warm welcome from the king\textsuperscript{23}. The king recognised Speke’s presence in an official capacity and granted him access to his kingdom. The king allocated some of his servants to escort Speke on his

expedition in his kingdom during which he discovered the source of the river Nile.\textsuperscript{24} Speke was able to give a report about Uganda to the British government explaining in detail the organisation of the people, natural resources, and weather conditions among others. All this information provided by explorers like Speke assisted the British Government in making an informed decision as regards the conquest of the Ugandan territory.\textsuperscript{25}

One of the reasons why the British colonialists did not meet much resistance while advancing in Uganda is because they were more prepared than the native Ugandans who lost everything to the British. The detailed information about the kingdoms of Uganda was vital in the smooth conquering of Uganda. Reports compiled from the Ugandan exploration expeditions made by John Speke in the year 1862 followed by his counterpart Stanley H. Morton gave the British a head start in this fight. For example they reported about the sophisticated kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda detailing their adversary relationship which the British exploited to their advantage. Therefore the British were aware of Buganda’s sophisticated military political organisation and adequately prepared to out match it.\textsuperscript{26}

Other explorers followed with the same aim of gathering vital information to the successful conquering of Ugandan territory. Information about the strategic location of the source of the Nile in Uganda helped seal the fate of Uganda. A colonial power like Britain vested plans to control territory beyond Uganda extending to the greater East Africa territory. In other words, the Nile was a source of

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livelihood for a greater part beyond East Africa stretching as far as Egypt and the Sudan territory. Explorers being the first Europeans to reach Buganda, they fully utilized to warm audience with Kabaka Mutesa to pave way for other whites to visit his kingdom for various reasons. Take for example Stanley in his conversations with Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda mentioned the good works missionaries had been doing around the world. Stanley was indeed able to convince Kabaka Mutesa to extend personally invite missionaries to his kingdom in 1877.

It's therefore no wonder that the British were well prepared to crash any possible resistance to their policies. The British employed various colonial methods that seemed tailor made to suit each society. Kingdoms like Buganda were treated as allies by the British given their earlier warm welcome to the explorers and missionaries who followed later. The Hostile reports from Sir Samuel baker who visited Bunyoro kingdom in the south western part of Uganda played a big role in the military approach the British employed on king Kabalega.27 The British were able to avoid any further resistance from other communities by making an example of Kabalega of Bunyoro and his subjects. The warm treatment towards Buganda too served as an example of the British’s good intentions towards cooperative societies.

c. Missionary Activities

The role played by the missionaries in the colonization process of Uganda cannot be taken lightly. Missionaries by simple definition are agents of religion: however their role in Africa during the C19th was arguably diverse in nature and

scope. The main activity carried out by the various missionary groups in Uganda was mainly preaching the Christian gospel to potential converts and teaching basic formal education skills to the natives. Kabaka Mutesa invited both the catholic and protestant missionaries to his kingdom Buganda and allowed them to carry out their activities throughout the kingdom freely. The Kabaka went ahead to allocate them pieces of land on which to build missions, schools and churches. The protestant and catholic missionaries came under umbrella organizations known as the Church Missionary Society and the White Fathers respectively. The various missionary activities that generally involved preaching, teaching formal education and medical services in one way or another played to the advantage of their colonial governments.

Formal education skills imparted through the Christian founded schools basically benefitted the colonial administrative purposes. The breed of graduates from these missionary schools was only able to work as clerks or interpreters in the colonial administration. The skills acquired were not enough to improve upon neither the African society they lived in nor the graduates themselves. The reading and writing skills were put to use when studying the bible. The few Africans who got the chance to study the English language grammar were able to help the British colonial government bridge the communication gap especially while enforcing colonial policies like tax collection among others.

In addition to basic skills, students from such Christian missionary schools acquired the European culture by default. European values like dress code, English songs and etiquette were transferred from the missionary teachers to the students. As any other students, the Africans aspired to emulate their teachers totally in all aspects.

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including foreign cultural values. In the process such graduates from missionary schools normally acquired a new accent, language, dress code in a bid to assimilate into the new English cultural setting. This level of attachment to the foreign societal values made the students feel better and superior to their counterparts who had not acquired formal education skills. In the long run a new breed of Africans was created; one that felt more English than African and improved in comparison to their counterparts. They appreciated and valued English values and norms above their own cultural ones. In the long run a good portion of Africans considered the British a superior race from which they could copy and learn from instead of resisting and hating all that they stood for. Majority of these graduates were young and therefore this education system targeted the younger generation which is the backbone of every society; what better way to transform a society than through the younger generation which is the future of any society regardless of race and geographical location.

In addition to preaching the gospel and teaching formal education, the missionaries too set up medical centers on their mission properties. These medical centres and that later transformed into hospital were open to both whites and indigenous Africans as well. Medical centres were a necessity considering the fact that there was no medical treatment centres in Uganda except for herbalists who depended on wild shrubs to treat both life threatening and minor illnesses. Therefore first and foremost these missionary operated medical centres were meant to ensure the survival of missionaries and colonial administrative workers in Uganda. Uganda being a tropical country, the whites were at risk of contracting topical diseases like

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malaria which were fatal and there was no proper treatment prior to their coming. These medical services saved the lives of whites and Africans alike reducing the African mortality rate greatly considering the fact that before Africans were dying from treatable diseases like malaria. Such lifesaving acts made the Africans forever grateful and indebted to the white man. In the long run many Africans appreciated the additions the white man had to bring to their society. Therefore the British colonialists and the missionaries alike were able to set up shop in Uganda without so much resistance from the Africans who needed medical assistance from the whites.30

The most powerful tool that the missionaries had to offer in regard to the conquest of Ugandan territory was imbedded their Christian doctrine. First and foremost the Christian religious doctrine is founded on the principle of faith that requires believe in unseen and untouchable truths. These principles require total belief without question of logic because Christian principles are supernatural in nature and therefore surpass human understanding. With such teachings, the missionaries were preparing the African converts to defy all logic especially their own cultural values learnt from their elders. It was therefore to no surprise that many of the new converts denounced their traditional cultural practices to adopt the new white Christian doctrine and principles. Principles like total submission, forgiveness, equality, brotherhood and peace all worked in favor of colonial takeover of Uganda. These new African converts therefore considered the whites as fellow brothers belonging to the Christian family that took precedence over their blood families. In the long run many of the converts disregarded their loyalty to their kings and elders thus embracing their new found faith and mentors. This bond of acceptance towards

the white missionaries extended to the colonial administrators a well who were easily accepted with little or no initial resistances. Unfortunately some of the kings loyal servants who denounced Kabaka Mwanga’s authority were executed on the orders of the king to serve as an example to all those who intended to follow suit. The missionaries too played a big occupational role as regards colonizing of Uganda.

C. Colonial Methods

The British colonialists took a while to prepare adequately before any actual occupation of Uganda. A lot of information regarding the organizational-skills and the geographical features of Uganda was gathered and collected from various sources funded by the British government like explorers and missionaries. The British based on such information to make informed decisions on which particular colonial methods to employ in Uganda. Various methods ranging from divide-rule, indirect-rule to treaties like the 1900-Buganda agreement were employed by the various in Uganda.\(^{31}\) Many of these colonial methods were based on prior information availed to the British and therefore methods varied from region to region depending on the level of organisation. Take for example more organized kingdoms like Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro signed agreements with British colonial government.

The Buganda-agreement amongst these agreements was the most significant of them all. This was mainly because Buganda was situated at the centre of Uganda with the largest ethnic group and the most organized and powerful of all the

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kingdoms in Uganda. The Buganda-agreement contained a detailed explanation the British-colonial policies which included taxes like the hut-gun which were to be imposed on the indigenous population. Taxation was an avenue for the British to compel the indigenous people to work on cash crop farms as a means to earn money to pay compulsory taxes to the colonial government. Terms of the Buganda-agreement were exploitative in nature and tailor-made to benefit only the British despite the fact that two parties were involved in the signing of the agreement. After the signing of the agreement the Ugandan-indigenous people emerged as the losers in all aspects; they lost their land (mailo land), freedom and livelihood to the British colonial government. With the finalizing of the agreement, Britain had full control over the Ugandan territory including both the natural and human resources.

From a legal perspective the 1900-agreement was not an agreement at all both in nature and scope. To start with it was drafted solely by the British colonial government with prior consultations with indigenous people that it would affect the most. Therefore it turned out to be beneficial to the colonialists. In addition this agreement was entirely written in the English language that was totally foreign to the African party. It is therefore proper to deduce that the Africans signed an agreement to which whose content and intension they did not understand. It’s therefore to no surprise that the Africans willingly agreed to sign away their freedom and property at no cost to complete total strangers.

Besides formal agreements, the colonialists used another method called indirect-rule to bring Uganda under colonial rule. This method of indirect-rule was mainly designed to shied colonial administrators from facing direct opposition from

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the native population. As anticipated the colonialists expected initial resistance towards the exploitative colonial policies. Policies like taxation, compulsory cash crop growing were considered unfair by the Africans who had totally nothing to gain but everything to lose including their freedom. Luckily enough for the colonialists all they had to do was employ Buganda chiefs as colonial representatives in various parts of the country to enforce colonial policies on their behalf. The chieftaincy-system in Buganda was advanced and therefore the colonialist saw a chance to employ it thus cutting on administrative costs since these chiefs worked without pay. In addition Africans were more accommodating especially when the colonial policies were enforced by fellow Africans rather than total stranger. However in some cases these African chiefs too met some resistance like Kakukngulu in Budama from where he was posted to Rwenzori areas. Given Buganda’s cooperation in this regard, the British-colonial government considered the kingdom an ally thus allowing the king a level of autonomy; the Kabaka was allowed to run his kingdom affairs independently as long as he did not interfere with colonial-administrative work

Divide-rule method was another method that was mainly considered by the colonialists in regard to the kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda. Bunyoro and Buganda were suitable candidates for this method mainly because of their historical adversary relationship that was made known to the British prior to their coming. The two kingdoms were poised against each other and the British planned on playing them against each other to their advantage. As earlier mentioned the British considered the Baganda allies and therefore counted on their support when it came to

crashing the rebellion out up by king Kabalega of Bunyoro. Col. Colville on behalf of the British colonial government armed the Baganda with guns to help subdue Kabalega. The king of Buganda jumped to the chance to suppress his long time enemy once and for all. As was the norm with the Ugandan pre-colonial kingdoms, after winning a war, parts of the conquered people and area are annexed to the victor. In a similar manner, the kingdom of Bunyoro lost her counties of ‘Bugerere’, ‘Ssingo’, ‘Bugangaizi’ and ‘Buruli’ that became part of Buganda.\textsuperscript{34} This was a big blow for Bunyoro, losing to Buganda after years of struggle to build an army and military as an insurance policy against any attacks from Buganda. In 1894, Kabalega not only lost part of his kingdom but was also forced to flee his own kingdom and live as a commoner in a foreign land.

II. PIONEER ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

A. The Foundations for Independence

After being controlled by a foreign power for over six decades, Ugandans felt the strong urge to break free from colonial shackles at whatever means necessary. Many years of forced labour on cash crop farms, compulsory taxes and land grabbing all acted as incentive for independence struggles. All Ugandans regardless of education background or ethnic affiliations were willing to unite and struggle towards freedom. By the late 50’s a good number of Ugandans had been exposed to self-determination ideas through reading, college degrees and traveling to neighboring countries that were organizing independence struggles. Around the same

\textsuperscript{34} Dunbar Archibald, \textit{A history of Bunyoro-Kitara}, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 86.
time Europe had fully industrialized and was calling on all imperial powers to grant independence to all their colonies.

Inspired by other countries like India that had succeeded in their struggles for independence, Ugandans too gained momentum to follow suit. Various think tanks further organized themselves into political parties that constituted a voice for all Ugandans. All Ugandans were united by the desire to have an independent government led by the people without any foreign influence whatsoever. All these independence sentiments had been brewing in the minds of the old and young alike over a period of many years. For example exposure to formal education, independence of former colonies and World War I all led to freedom sentiments.

Formal education introduced by the British colonial government was a means of exposure to various ideas including independence and self-rule. Knowledge before the advent of formal education was handed down from one generation to another by means of oral traditions. Most of this knowledge was limited to the African society norms and values. The elders in society used this as an opportunity to keep their society alive to avoid cultural dilution and extinction in the long run. In addition, children acquired their parent’s trade through the same channels which they were required to pass on to their children as well. Educating the younger generation was the responsibility of all elders in society and this was done at any time of the day whenever a teaching chance presented itself. However, most commonly knowledge was passed on to the young ones in the evenings around fire places through story telling. Particularly the task of training girls was handed to the female relatives who

trained the girl child on how to be a good mother and wife. In addition to the fire places, the king’s palace was another source of knowledge. Young boys known as pages were selected to serve as the kings royal servants and were trained for this duty from quite a tender age. The selected pages were required to live in the place as they undergo training in royal etiquette. Any of the pages that showed insubordination to the king was punished by either expulsion from the palace or death depending on the gravity of the crime. Royalty to the king was expected from these pages from whom the king later selected chiefs who were then distributed around the kingdom to act as the king’s spies.

Generally the foreign missionary style of education that was first introduced in Buganda systematically phased out informal education system which was the original indigenous education system. Outstanding schools like Gayaza girls’ school, Makerere college school and Mengo secondary school among others were built and run by European missionary groups. Basic skills including English language grammar, typing, reading and writing were all that could be acquired by missionary school graduates\(^{36}\). The main target of these missionary based schools was to produce clerks, interpreters and secretaries to assist in colonial administrative work. It is from this pool of missionary graduates that colonial representatives were chosen and deployed in various villages to enforce colonial policies like taxes, cash crop growing among others. Semi-skilled labourers were produced deliberately by the missionary education system in order to control possible strikes from rather highly qualified and enlightened graduates. However, important to note, these missionary schools like ‘Makerere’ were later upgraded to college levels producing college

graduates with better skills to improve their society and their own lives. In fact some of the graduates from Makerere College were granted scholarships to study abroad. The exposure such students attained from abroad put them in a better opposition to led and organize small groups in the struggle for independence. Graduates like Obote eventually managed to lead their political parties to victory.37

The event of World -War 1 in one way or another inspired quite a number of Ugandans to demand for their independence. Uganda may not have been at the forefront of World -War; however the 77,000 Ugandan males that worked as porters for the British fighters learnt a lesson or two.38 The Ugandan veterans after the war felt the need and desire to fight for their independence at home in the same way the British were struggling for their rights. These veterans learnt that freedom in most cases is taken by force and therefore the time for waiting and hoping that freedom would eventually come was over and gone. With the few fighting skills they had acquired the veterans were willing to lead the rest of the Ugandans to the battle field against the colonial government despite the costs. It was now clear to Ugandans that the British were not all powerful after all, they too had to defend their rights with blood so did the Ugandans. Besides after the World -War 1, Britain was over spent and did therefore did not have the resources and manpower to take on another resistance in Uganda. It was therefore the right time for Ugandans to take on the colonial government in demand for independence. Britain too after the war had to cave in into anti-colonial forces in Europe that demanded for the freedom of all colonized people especially in Africa. In addition at the time anti-colonial struggles

were erupting in all British colonies around the world and Britain did not have the resources nor the will to hold on to these colonies thus granting Uganda independence too in 1962.

India’s independence in 1947 was an eye opener for other British colonies especially for Ugandans. Most Ugandans given their past experience with resistance attempts against the British had never dreamed of breaking free from colonialism. India and Uganda were both colonized by Britain and exploited in similar ways. Ugandans did not have the military training or the sophisticated weapons to drive the British out of their country completely. It’s for this reason that the peaceful tactic employed by Gandhi in the Indian struggle for independence appealed so much to the Ugandan situation. Ugandans were further motivated by the fact that they too could attain independence without actually military confrontation with the British.39

Gandhi’s successful independence struggle also inspired Pan-African sentiments across the African continent especially in Ghana. Charismatic politicians like Nkwame Nkruma in Ghana carried the mantle of Pan-Africanism as a basis for independence not only for Ghana but for the African continent at large. Soon Ghana gained independence in 1957 and immediately Nkruma furthered the Pan-African campaign across the continent until most African states had regained their freedom. Nkrumah’s Pan-African sentiments were much shared by Ugandans who were inspired to start up protests on small scale in the town centres eventually pressuring Britain to grant independence.40 For example the Bataka who were former land


Stuarts in the Buganda kingdom were still disgruntled about their land that was grabbed by the colonial government. It’s these same Bataka who organized small factions of Baganda in the cities to join in on strikes against colonial government policies. These small strikes were directed at unfair colonial policies like land-grabbing, unfair trade system which excluded Africans from ably participating, continued forced-labour on cotton and coffee farms as well as unfair-taxation policies that only benefitted the colonial government. By 1945, these riots started small in magnitude and coverage, however within 10 years these riots were a threat to colonial administrators who advised their home government to consider granting Ugandans independence. The Bataka took advantage of the Buganda’s loyalty to the Kabaka and encouraged the masses to fight for their kingdom freedom and rebirth. Non Baganda too participated on grounds for a nationwide freedom. These riots escalated out of control spreading all over the city centers with more numbers joining in daily. The British failed to contain the situation in Kampala and exiled the Kabaka in to serve as an example of how far they could do to control the riots. However exiling the Kabaka in 1953 did not calm down the situation instead more Ugandans were determined more than ever to struggle for their freedom.

With all the above factors considered and all options tabled, the British opted to start the process towards Uganda’s independence. Holding on to African colonies was no longer a viable option for Britain that was experiencing financial difficulties as well as taking heaving criticism from anti-colonial campaigns in Europe at the time. The British parliament on various occasions debated on the options to grant all their colonies independence one at time and in the case of Uganda, the date Oct-1962 was agreed upon. Representatives of the Ugandan people were hosted at a conference
on the 8th of September 1961 during which the case for Uganda’s independence was made. While negotiating the terms of independence at this conference, political party representatives lobbied for general inclusion of all Ugandans unlike their Buganda kingdom counterparts who mainly argued for Buganda’s autonomy as a kingdom. Buganda kingdom hoped that the privileges enjoyed during the colonial period would be extended after independence too. This was a difficult idea to put across especially considering the dynamics of a sovereign state. Buganda’s demands for autonomy were rejected and upon returning home, the Baganda decided to boycott the first set of election to appoint parliamentary-representatives. The Kabaka’s party eventually lost out on parliamentary seats and thereafter reconsidered the choice of boycotting the presidential-elections. A coalition deal was struck between KY party and the UPC party that eventually won the presidential election from which DP party lost. On the 9th of October-1962 Uganda was officially granted independence with Obote being the first prime minister of Uganda and Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda being the first president of Uganda⁴¹.

B. Pioneer Ugandan Political Parties

a. UPC and Kabaka Yyeka Coalition Victory at Independence

Towards the end of the 1950’s various political groups, based on religious, cultural values sprung up as nationalistic sentiments grew stronger and stronger amongst both the older and younger population in Uganda. The pioneer political

parties around this period included Uganda People’s Congress (UPC), Democratic Party (DP) and Kabaka Yyeka party (KY). The leadership of these parties was based on religious values as well as tribal values for the case of the KY party that was purely a Kabaka loyalist party committed to Baganda kingdom interest\textsuperscript{42}.

Young enthusiastic graduates like Obote provided able leadership to political pressure groups that were instrumental in Uganda’s journey to independence. Some of these young politicians had gotten a chance to go beyond Ugandan boarders and learn relevant lessons that they applied to their home independence struggles. Take for example Obote had previously visited Kenya and picked lesson from the Mau-Mau independence struggles in Kenya from which he got inspiration. All these political parties shared similar core values like freedom for all Ugandans and total independence from foreign rule under which Ugandans had been exploited for over 6 decades. However, important to note, the KY Kabaka-loyalist party had a slightly different agenda from the other political parties.

In addition to advocating for Uganda’s freedom the Kabaka loyalist party (KY) made Buganda’s autonomy a priority above Uganda’s autonomy as a nation\textsuperscript{43}. The Baganda hoped to enjoy a semi-autonomous state with the wider state of Uganda. At the very least the Baganda advocated for a federal political system for the independent Uganda as a means to run their kingdom independently. This view was clearly expressed by the KY party at the 1961 London conference which view was totally rejected by the British government. Starting out with a federal political system would be setting out Uganda from total failure at the first shot as independent state.

\textsuperscript{42} Meddi Mugyenyi, “the Sources of Collective Rebellion: Nationalism in Buganda and Kikuyuland.” \textit{Transafrican Journal of History}, Vol. 8, No. 1/2, 1979, p. 94–104

As much as the British were relinquishing their hold on Uganda, they did not intend to set up Uganda for failure at her first attempt at self-rule. By advocating for semi-autonomy state with the larger state of Uganda the Baganda hoped to restore their fallen kingdom to its former glory of the nineteenth century. However the Baganda failed to understand that the time for cultural kingdoms had long gone and Uganda had developed into a nation state that is more organized and sophisticated than cultural kingdoms. Never the less the Baganda still have hope that in the future their kingdom will shine again above all others institutions in Uganda.

Besides cultural-affiliations, other political parties like the DP and UPC were basically founded on religious values. Most of the member composition of the DP party was generally catholic regardless of ethnic-affiliations. On the other hand the UPC party was predominantly made up of members affiliated to the protestant religious fact. Both the protestant and Catholic religious sects were originally introduced in Uganda by the European missionary- societies that came to Uganda during the nineteenth century. The divisions and differences amongst these Christian religious sects were still influencing Ugandan politics even after 60 years. Therefore at independence many Ugandan voted for their favorite candidate largely based on shared religious sentiments.

The Kabaka-loyalist party at one point made the decision to boycott the initial parliamentary-elections that were organized and carried out prior to the main presidential elections. As a result the UPC and DP parties dominated the parliamentary elections. Seeing that the boycott had not benefitted the Buganda

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kingdom at all, KY party jumped to the first opportunity to form a coalition with the
UPC party in order to win the Presidential elections. Indeed the DP Party lost to the
grand coalition between the UPC and the KY party that ushered in Obote and
Kabaka-Mutesa as the “first prime minister and president of Uganda” respectively45.

Soon after Ugandan independence was declared on the 9th of October 1962,
the British too handed Uganda a constitutional guide similar to the British one to
promote democratic rule in the new Independent Uganda. This ‘new Constitution’
laid out the foundation for all the three government organs; the ‘Judiciary,
Legislature and Executive”. Obote as the first prime minister was tasked with
building initial policies both domestic and foreign to guide the country as an
independent sovereign state. Obote in this regard employed the expertise of educated
Ugandans whom he deployed to various offices. Many of the ministries like
education, health among others were built from scratch especially the ministry of
foreign affairs that had to be built from the ground up. Embassies were opened up
home and abroad, building foreign relations with other countries other than the
former colonial power Britain.

b. Post-Independence Presidential Initiatives.

Soon after taking over as head of state, Obote embarked serious policy
making in order to commence development plans for the country. Obote was tasked
with a lot of decision making; most of which decisions were vital in the future
progress of the Uganda as an independent state. Every Ugandan especially the ones

that had voted Obote into power were eagerly waiting to see what policies he was ready to partake on in the country’s interest.

First on the agenda were matters concerning the way forward as regards the East-Africa-Community (EAC). Matters of the EAC needed immediate attention considering the fact that both Kenya and Uganda were independent states free to conduct their foreign affairs independent of any foreign influence. As earlier noted, there were various services shared between Uganda and Kenya during the colonial arrangement. As expected these services that included transport and financial services had to be formalized. The terms of this continued shared services arrangement was formalized between the two countries under the new East African Community. This new arrangement was formalized in 1967 with Tanzania joining in as a newest member 46 of the East African Community, an economic-cooperation intended to progress into a political one later.

Obote in the same spirit of regional cooperation took initiative to join the greater African Union cooperation: a regional-cooperation accommodative of all willing African independent states. Uganda especially in her capacity as a newly independent African state stood a chance to benefit from regional-cooperation like the EAC and the AU alike. Under the African-Union, Uganda stood to gain from the support of other African independent states, sharing ideas and resources for the betterment of the Continent. Africa stood a greater chance to fast development in a joint effort rather than each single nation working in isolation. Merging African resources was a much realistic plan given the merger resources of the continent.

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The African-Union encouraged all newly independent African states to join for the greater good of the continent. With the imperial powers out of the continent, all African states need to put together resources and ideas to fast track the progress of the continent. The African-Union put together resources to assist all African states still under colonial rule to attain independence in the shortest possible time. With the joint effort of African states through the African-Union initiative, countries like South Africa and the latest South Sudan have been able to gain total independence. In this regard South Sudan being the newest member of the African Union after seceding from Sudan in 2011.47

Obote at independence inherited Uganda’s ethnic-differences that were mainly elevated by the Buganda kingdom that still hoped for greater autonomy even after independence. Therefore Obote embarked on policies towards greater ethnic-cohesion for the greater good of all Ugandans. Dealing with the Buganda kingdom politics was one of the pressing needs on Obote’s agenda as a head of state. The Buganda king Mutesa still hoped to push for a federal system under which he hoped to revive his kingdom to the days of glory. This was unacceptable for Obote and his government that sought to unify Ugandans under a common political entity rather sub divide the nation along cultural lines like the Baganda hoped. Therefore for Obote to have an efficient foreign policy, he needed to reconcile domestic differences first especially the ones arising from the Buganda kingdom demands. In one way or the other, for foreign policy to be efficient, there is need to reconcile it with the domestic policy. Therefore much attention should be given to the domestic policy of any given country as much as the foreign policy. In order to focus sufficient

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attention on the domestic policy, sometimes the president may delegate matters of foreign policy to the minister in charge of foreign affairs.\textsuperscript{48} However important to note, in most cases the consecutive presidents of Uganda have opted to handle directly all foreign matters personally. In this respect, most foreign policy decisions over the years are reflective of the personalities of the respective Ugandan presidents under which whose regime they were undertaken. In this respect, domestic policy of Uganda is normally reflected in the foreign policy decisions by the president. In both the foreign and domestic agendas are normally similar regardless of the president’s priorities. Reconciling the domestic and foreign agendas of the nation is essential in the country’s development and progress in all other sectors. The ethnic diversity of Uganda has been a point of concern for all the successive presidents of Uganda since independence. This problem has been magnified by Buganda’s persistent demands for a federal state. Like any other sovereign state, Uganda seeks to front her national goals and values as she interacts with other states on the international scene.\textsuperscript{49} These national goals are mainly intended to preserve Ugandan sovereignty in all aspects.\textsuperscript{50} Therefore national sovereignty has remained the major national goal regime after regime. In the same way as agenda joins various regional and international organizations, preserving her national sovereignty is paramount to all other interest.

As expected all presidents present and past have made the preservation of national sovereignty the essence of their policies both domestic and foreign; for without the nations independence there is no government to head. Strategies may


\textsuperscript{50} Susan Gitelson, “Major Shifts in Recent Ugandan Foreign Policy” \textit{African Affairs}, Vol. 76, No. 304, 1977, p. 359-381.
change with a change in regime but the core national goals, interest and values remain unchanged. The means to achieving them is decided upon by the head for state in the best way they deem fit. Foreign policy strategies have differed with each regime in Uganda and this remains the case given the fact that the president personally makes foreign policy decisions largely based on his or her personal experience. As a result, the president’s character is largely reflected in the nation’s foreign policy.

At independence, Obote in his new capacity as head of government immediately took on the task of leading the country into the future without any foreign interference. All sectors foreign and domestic were a new blank slate awaiting his imitative as head of government. Many important decisions were required of him and expectations were high especially from the eager Ugandans who vested all their hopes and support in him to lead the nation to greater heights in the light of zero colonial influence. Fresh international and regional-affiliations were initiated by Obote in his first days in office as the executive head. The already existing regional integration policies with countries like Kenya that had initiated by the colonial government were simply formalized to constitute the EAC with Tanzania joining in her capacity as a sovereign state. Obote maintained ties with former colonial power on an independent level: Britain and Uganda after independence interacted as equals.

Given her previous exploitative relation with the western powers, Uganda was very slow to initiate relations with western powers to avoid further exploitation.

Embassies were opened up in Uganda and abroad as Uganda built her foreign affairs experience from scratch. Britain offered assistance to Uganda in form of aid and personnel in various sectors of government. Other countries like Israel too offered military aid in form of training for government security and weapons as well. Uganda needed foreign support in all sectors to enable her land on her feet after the colonial government had pulled out completely from all affairs Ugandan. In the same way Uganda need support to stabilize, so did other countries still under foreign rule.

In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, Obote made a decision to assist other countries break free from the shackles of imperialism. Take for example Obote facilitated training for South African antiapartheid fighters in Kampala. In the same spirit Obote made the decision to assist the Anyanya fighters of South Sudan who sought to secede from the North.

Obote had to deal with ethnic differences that had been magnified at independence: the UPC and KY parties struck a coalition deal which lasted only until 1966. As per the deal Kabaka Mutesa became president of Uganda, however the Kabaka and his subjects continued to insist on autonomy for their kingdom. This was a threat to greater national ethnic cohesion which was the best way forward for a newly independent state like Uganda which is ethnically diverse in composition. Therefore any further divisions along ethnic lines would hinder any national progress. With the Kabaka remaining adamant as regards the matter, Obote in 1966 ordered for the raid on the kabaka’s palace, an event that shattered the coalition deal which ended up with a presidential system in Uganda. Regional ties took precedence above all other international affairs mainly because Uganda is dependent on her

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neighbors to access the sea.\textsuperscript{54} With further regional cooperation, Uganda is able to
enjoy the benefits of collective bargaining. Advantages of regional integration go
beyond collective bargaining to include; fading away any disparities, stronger
participation in international affairs among others\textsuperscript{55}. It’s for these advantages that
Uganda had pushed for the reinstatement of the East African Community that was
first established in 1967 and due to various disagreements between member states it
was dissolved by the year 1977 with all shared assets divided amongst member
states.\textsuperscript{56}

III. CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF UGANDA

A. Pioneer Ugandan Constitution

Upon attaining independence, Uganda adopted a constitutional system similar
to that of former colonial power Britain. In 1961 at the Lancaster London conference,
details of the future Ugandan pioneer constitution were debated upon by
representatives of the United Kingdom government headed by the secretary of state
for colonies Ian MacLeod and representatives from Uganda among which included
political party representatives of UPC, KY and DP parties\textsuperscript{57}. The Ugandan
constitution that emerged after negotiations between Ugandan political
representatives and colonial representatives seemed to favour Buganda’s superior
status.

\textsuperscript{54} Daudi Ochieng, “Economic forces and Ugandan foreign policy”, Huricins Centre for African and
\textsuperscript{56} Arthur Hazlewood, “The End of the East African Community: What are the Lessons for Regional
The Kabaka of Buganda Mutesa was the president and as per the constitution, he was a ceremonial leader. On the other hand Obote was the head of state responsible for the actual running of the government. Buganda through the Kabaka retained a certain level of leadership in the new government, a position Buganda felt was less than she deserved, however according to other regions; Buganda got a better deal in comparison to other regions. Unfortunately Obote soon abrogated the independence constitution in light of continued Baganda demands for autonomy. Obote considered the option of getting rid of Mutesa and actually followed through in 1966 after a raid on the Kabaka’s palace forced him into exile leaving the presidency vacant. Obote proceeded to abrogate the constitution by introducing a presidential system where all executive state powers are vested in the president.

With Mutesa gone, Obote declared himself president and the head of state in that capacity. To ensure there was no more ethnic divisions, Obote totally abolished traditional kingdoms in all regions of the country until they were partially restored two decades later by president Museveni. A bill to amend the constitution was tabled by president Obote and with a period one year, an improved constitution was ready for unveiling by the legislative assembly. Under this new constitution, president Obote tied up loose ends without leaving anything to chance: traditional rulers and institutions were completely phased out so were other opposition political parties under the idea of a one party system.

The new constitution paved way for a dictatorial form of government with all power centralized in the hands of the president. First and foremost, all kingdoms

were abolished ensuring that the president was the only political authority in the country. In addition, opposition parties were silenced too ensuring no checks and balances on the powers of the president. Absolute power in the hands of the president enabled him to handle all government matters the best way he deemed necessary. Obote entrusted government departments like the army to his protégé like Amin who in turn took matters into their own hands. General Amin got greedy at one point and decided to organize a coup against the government of Obote. Amin was able to take military matters into his own hands as was the norm in other government departments. Amin over a period of time amassed personal support from a big number of soldiers whom he had personally recruited and therefore were loyal to him personally rather than to the people that they served. Obote lost power to Amin in 1971 after a successful military coup against his government organized by his trusted army general Amin. The news of the coup found Obote in Singapore where a heads of government summit was in procession. Luckily for Obote his long term regional ties with neighboring Tanzania paid off with Tanzania’s Nyerere offering him asylum. To Amin Obote has lost everything, however Obote never lost hope that one day he would gain back his rightful position with the help of close allies like Nyerere and a faction of loyal soldiers and friends. With Obote living in neighboring Tanzania, Amin could not help but look over his shoulder especially for the first days in office. Amin acted paranoid, with his first actions as president were to fire all public servants and soldiers loyal to Obote in anticipation of a counter coup. Amin treated Nyerere with equal paranoia and disrespect considering him an enemy as well.

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for harboring Obote next door. The same disrespect Amin extended to Kenya through distasteful rhetoric further souring relations in the great lakes region.

Amin unleashed a fully dictatorial regime that totally disregarded constitutional rule. Under Amin’s regime, the three arms of government were totally disregarded, with the president the executive the sole operative government organ. Several human rights atrocities were committed on the orders of Amin all over the country without option of appeal for justice. The international community blamed these actions however nothing was done to avert them. Unfortunately Amin targeted anyone he assumed to be any Obote loyalists especially the ones working in public service and in law enforcement organs in various ranks.61

As the international community watched on and did absolutely nothing as Amin committed heinous crimes, Obote loyalists together with the assistance of Julius Nyerere were determined to take action at all costs necessary. Since the 1971 coup that ousted Obote, Nyerere facilitated Obote loyalists in the struggle to reinstate Obote as president in Uganda. Nyerere made a decision to invade Uganda after Amin’s forces illegally occupied the Katanga region in north western Tanzania. In retaliation, Nyerere ordered Tanzanian soldiers together with Obote loyalist forces (UNFL) to invade Uganda and take over Kampala. The Kampala government was overthrown in 1979 by Tanzanian forces, taking over Kampala and an interim government was installed. The interim government was led by a committee headed by Lule Yusuf which was tasked with organizing fresh elections. This task was completed and fresh elections were organized in 1980 from which Obote emerged the overall winner. Unfortunately various groups disagreed with the outcomes of

these elections sighting election malpractice. 62 It’s on this note that Museveni after losing in the 1980 elections took to the bush with 27 loyal supporters. Considering the small number of fighters and insufficient weapon supply to match the Obote government, Museveni and his group resorted to unconventional war tactics that aimed at straining the second Obote government. Indeed the second Obote government was unable to achieve much as especially in regard to constitutional rule. Much of the resources and time were committed to neutralizing the NRM guerrilla war instead of the reinstatement of democratic rule in Uganda that had taken a toll during the Amin regime.

Eventually the NRM war gained momentum and by 1986 January, the NRM fighters had taken over the streets of Kampala in enchantment and celebration. Museveni declared himself president of Uganda and promised constitutional change and a fully democratic government system. Immediately the NRM government embarked on restoring all government organs to active service: the Judiciary, the Legislature and the Executive. The NRM government unveiled a detailed programme to democratize the political system in Uganda, a programmed that came to be known as the “NRM 10 point programme. 63 Under this programme a country wide constitutional campaign was underway to explain to the people the intended constitutional amendments as well as gather opinions to be considered in the amendment process.

Majority of the intended constitutional amendments were to allow the inclusion of basic human rights into the Ugandan constitution. Area members of

parliament were tasked with gathering of such information and making sure their constituent members understood the purpose of amending the constitution. This level of community involvement in the constitutional process was a new phenomenon in the politics of Uganda and a direct effort to democratize the political process in Uganda that had much become dictatorial in nature under previous regimes. By allowing the masses to decide on what to be included in the national constitution went a long way in building mass support for the new NRM government that had gained power by means of a coup. In addition, this level of mass inclusion assured all Ugandans that the new NRM government had their best interests while undertaking major constitutional changes.

The intended outcome of such an inclusive constitutional process would be; an effective constitution greatly upheld by the masses who feel less imposed upon considering the fact that they too accept the terms of the constitution as their own initiative. Such levels of commitment from the masses further unite the country fading away any would be divisions along ethnic, gender and religious lines. This is a very important strategy especially for an ethnically diverse nation like Uganda that is prone to ethnic manipulation especially by politicians. On assuming power in 1986, the NRC an organ of the NRM government was tasked with constitutional matters that involved amending the 1967 version of the Ugandan constitution.\textsuperscript{64} The main amendments as earlier noted were to do with basic human rights. The army too was included in the constitutional process through the direct participation of the army council. This direct inclusion of the army served to fade away any opposing factions in the army especially the ones loyal to the previous regimes. Any disgruntled facts

in the army unattended would be a security threat to the regime and nation therefore total control and loyalty of the army is paramount in securing any nation’s political structures. The army felt appreciated and recognised as an important government institution pivotal to the security of the nation. In addition, the constitution was to be adjusted to allow individuals the freedom of association: anyone would be allowed the freedom to join and participate freely under any political party of their choice. A system of political intolerance as was the case with the previous regime was to be turned around to allow a degree of political freedom.

B. 1995 Constitutional Amendment Process

The regional representatives together with the assistance of the NRAC fell behind the scheduled time for unveiling the new proposed constitution. Initially the NRM government had planned to organized nationwide parliamentary elections as with presidential elections to follow immediately, however this was not done within the estimated time. In light of this view, the interim government lasted a little while longer in order to present a draft of the new constitution before presidential elections could be organized.65 In line with democratic practices, a nationwide referendum was organized to present the people a change to decide on what type of political system they wanted moving forward. This referendum followed the parliamentary elections that were a success with a good number of voter participation country wide. The referendum too was met with equal enthusiasm, with majority of the voters deciding on a one-party system as their political system of choice. A one-party system had

been in place since 1967, the difference this time round was that the people choose the system themselves through a referendum instead of it being directly imposed on the people as was the case with the previous regimes. In the light of the referendum results, the ruling party NRM remained the sole political party in Ugandan politics, however there was a degree of tolerance in regard to other opposition political party activities. Ugandans were free to affiliate to another political party other than the ruling NRM party. This wasn’t the case with previous regimes that totally banned any other political party activities apart from the ruling party.

By the last quarter of the year 1995, the amended constitution presented to the people in September after a long process of country wide consultations carried out by the constituent representatives and NRAC members. This 1995 constitution was a by-product of the 1967 constitution that was implemented by the Obote government soon after the 1966 Buganda kingdom raid. Various amendments to the 1967 constitution were made as well as new resolutions especially concerning basic human rights were adopted changing its effect in various aspects. Duties and authority of the basic government organs: the Judiciary, Executive and Legislature were defined under the new constitution. Uganda maintained the presidential system under which the president was the head of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. In addition, the position of prime minister was reinstated with the president allowed the right to choose a prime minister of his choice to be vetted by the parliament before assuming office.

As per the 1995 constitution, constituency representatives were to be elected by all Ugandan citizens above the age of 18. The constituency elections and

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campaigns are to be carried out concurrently with the presidential elections. Parliamentarians are to hold a five year term of office with an option of reelection at the end of the term. In addition to constituency representatives, various groups like the vulnerable were to be represented in the legislative assembly too. Candidates to represent the disables, women, workers, youth as well as an army representative are elected to parliament. Appointment of vice president, prime minister as well as cabinet ministers is the duty of the president. All the above candidates are vetted by the parliament upon appointment by the president. These candidates may be chosen from the successful constituency representatives that have been elected to the parliament as well members of the public who are not official members of the parliament (Ex-officio).

In its capacity as the national constitution, the 1995 Ugandan constitution is still in force to date and therefore is legally binding on all citizens of the republic of Uganda as well us all foreign persons and groups operative in Uganda. It is incumbent upon every citizen and all other foreign individuals working in Uganda to uphold the constitution and all that it stands for. Failure to do so may result in punishment by law: in this regard, the possibility that contentious matters may arise from the interpretation of various sections of the constitution has been provided for in advance. Terms of a constitutional court have been laid out to attend to any contentious constitutional matters as they arise. Such contentious matters are more likely to arise during a court session or constitutional amendment sessions in parliament. On occasion that the constitutional court is convened, its composition is made up high court judges led by the chief justice: bench composition may be

suggested by the parliament depending on the magnitude the case. Citizens as well groups have a right to appeal to the constitutional court any matters arising from constitutional interpretation. Similar matters arising from tabled bills, constitutional amendment bills and new resolutions to be adopted can be appealed in the constitutional court. A case in point is the controversial anti-gay bill that was appealed in the constitutional court even after it had been signed into law by the president. The parliament on many occasions has accepted and debated constitutional amendment bill, a process that is inevitable especially given the fact that the dynamics of globalization are affecting Ugandan population composition and attitudes on a daily basis.

The consecutive chapters of the Ugandan constitution are dedicated to the three main organs of government: the Judicial (courts of law), Executive (office of the president) and Legislature (parliament). The executive branch of government is provided for in chapter seven of the constitution: duties and authority of the president. The Ugandan president is to be elected by the Ugandan citizens in free and fair elections to be organized by the state. Candidature is open to any legible Ugandan citizen between the age of 35 and 75. Term of office for the president is duration of 5 years at the end of which fresh elections are to be conducted.

The office of the president is the highest office and the president is the official head of government and commander in chief of the armed forces. The president has the responsibility to appoint the vice president, prime minister and cabinet ministers as well who are subjected to a vetting process by the parliament before assuming their respective offices. The president has the power to veto a bill

however a presidential veto is subject to an override if two thirds of the parliament’s composition is in agreement. Further still, the president can be impeached by the parliament on various grounds like misuse of office through a vote of no confidence. In case of impeachment, presidential elections would be organized within a period of 6 months. In this regard the parliament has to work in agreement with the president for the smooth running of the nation at the same time the parliament keeps the presidential authority in check whenever necessary. However, important to note, the original 1995 constitution included a two term limit clause which was amended in the year 2005 lifting term limits. As of now, the age limit clause may soon be up for amendment with mounting pressure from the ruling NRM party that seeks a chance for the incumbent Museveni to run for another term in office despite him being over the age limit. The presidential age limit as per the constitution is 75 years of age, beyond which one is not eligible to run for office. Scrapping the age limit clause from the Ugandan constitution technically would guarantee ‘life presidency’ for future Ugandan presidents.  

As per the 1995 Ugandan constitution, the parliament that is composed of constituency representatives and other stake holders is the official Ugandan legislative body. Every constituency votes for their representatives in the parliament which representatives in turn represent the views and interests of their respective constituencies. Various groups including the disable, women and youth from every constituency are represented in their respective capacities. While in parliament, the respective members are tasked with the duty to present views of from their respective constituencies.

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constituencies as they debate on respective bill tabled on the floor of parliament. The parliament fulfills its legislative duty through tabling, debating and passing bills into law. A bill is passed into law with a vote from 2/3s of the parliament. After which the bill is presented to the president for signing. Most times the bill may be signed right way into law whereas in some case it may be sent back to the floor for review.

Chapter eight of the 1995 Ugandan constitution elaborates on the Ugandan judicial system. First and foremost, the judiciary in its mechanism and duty is facilitated to be an independent organ of government, free from external influence of the executive and legislature. The independent nature of the judiciary is a means to endure democratic rule in Ugandan political system. The duties, scope and composition of the various courts is detailed in chapter 8 of the constitution. The highest court of appeal is the Supreme Court. There is no higher court than the Supreme Court, therefore its judgment cannot be appealed and is binding on all other courts and parties alike. The Supreme Court is comprised of six bench judges led by the chief justice who is normally the president’s choice. The president too is tasked with appointing the attorney general to be chosen from candidates recommended by the Ugandan Judicial Service Commission. Any candidate for attorney general should meet the criteria to serve as a high court judge and should have served not less than 10 years in the Ugandan judicial sector.

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CHAPTER TWO

FOREIGN-POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS

I. INTERNAL-FACTORS THAT MAY BE CONSIDERED BY A PRESIDENT IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY

A. Economic and Socio-Political factors

In the case of Uganda, foreign policy in its entirety revolves around the will and persona of the president. All foreign affairs matters presented through the ministry of foreign affairs and the office of the president are authenticated by the president first. In this regard specific factors may be considered by the president as he puts pen to paper on all matters foreign. Such factors are derived from both the domestic and international scene which constitute the environment in which foreign policy “thrives”. As earlier noted, foreign policy does not “thrive” in a vacuum: therefore, the president may factor in variable both domestic and foreign however, the all the “pomp-glory-power” of foreign policy belongs to the president who at the end of the day has the final say. 73 Considering domestic-factors in the process of formulating-implementing foreign-policy will go a long way in ensuring that the needs and interest of the public are met. A satisfied public normally pledges support towards government policies both domestic and foreign. Public approval is pivotal in the sustenance of any given regime especially for a regime with a bigger opposition

73 Zbigniew, op.cit., p. 8.
base across the country. Public support for policies is especially important mainly because these government policies affect the masses directly or indirectly. The public may not always directly participate in policy making for example through referendums; however it is important for the interest of the public to be directly considered when such policies are being drafted. Such public interests that entail socio-political and economic interests are factored in one way or another by the president especially while deciding on foreign policy strategy.

In light of the above point, every strategy, policy and decision made in regard to foreign-relations will curtail opportunity costs in various forms: socio-political or economic in nature. The president’s ability to minimize the opportunity cost foregone in the process of making foreign-policy decisions will ensure the most efficient outcome (policy) in relation to national interests. There has to be a proportionate balance between opportunity costs and actual benefits in as far as foreign-policy decisions are concerned. In a scenario where the costs outweigh the benefits by a big margin, country-wide spread opposition to the policy is a possible scenario. Therefore weighing in the country’s socio-political and economic needs/interest is a general prerequisite for national stability as well as public endorsement for government policies both domestic and foreign. Presidents like Amin in the past who totally neglected public needs/interests while formulating foreign-policy strategy often became unpopular thus paving way for their own demise unknowingly.

Public endorsement of government policies is goes a long way in making implementation of policies easier. Unpopular foreign policy too will attract country-wide opposition thus forceful or failed implementation process as well. Therefore, ignoring the public’s socio-political and economic needs is a projection for a failed
strategy or an unpopular regime in the making. To consider or not to consider public needs and national goals is at the liberty of the president; however the outcome is predictable given past experiences with previous regimes.

Given the political perspective, military capabilities of a nation like Uganda will determine the level of participation in international affairs at any one given point. It’s a common trend for super powers to over shadow all other states on the international scene especially dominating decision making in international organisations like the UN. However, important to note, nations like Uganda may appear invisible on the international scene especially when measured against super powers like America. In regard to regional affairs however, Uganda has taken a more proactive stand in comparison to international affairs where Uganda tends to take a more pragmatic stand. Uganda in the recent past has pioneered anti-terrorism initiatives as well as peace-building projects especially in the great-lakes region motivated mainly by her own national goals and interests. The main reasons behind Uganda’s active policing role in the region are mainly to do with preserving national goals and interests. As earlier noted, Uganda is a landlocked country and therefore has had to depend on her neighbours in particular Kenya and Tanzania for all her import-export business throughout the year. In one way or the other therefore, Tanzania and Kenya’s stability is in the best interest of Uganda as a nation state.

Chances of violence spilling over into Uganda from Kenya and Tanzania are high; therefore it’s in the best interest of Uganda to contribute to any peace-building efforts in these respective countries. Violence in Kenya and Tanzania would in turn cripple business in Uganda bring the Ugandan economy to a standstill. It’s for this

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reason mainly that Uganda is willing to commit resources to assist in combating any possibility of violence in the region. Kampala government jumped to the first opportunity to assist Kenya when fresh election violence broke out in Nairobi in the year 2007 after disputed electoral results were announced. Uganda assisted in various ways; refugee-camps were set up for Kenyan and foreign nationals fleeing the violence. Never the less, business in Uganda was affected; inflation resulting from fuel-scarcity especially with food commodity prices which hit market high prices that most average Ugandans couldn’t comfortably afford. In turn the high inflation levels resulted in general government blame and unpopularity. In order to avoid any disruptions in business, Uganda willingly participates in regional peace-building missions; the most recent missions being Somalia, South Sudan peacekeeping missions funded by international and regional corporations like the UN and AU respectively.

Uganda as a sovereign state makes an effort to resolve any contentious-issues with neighbouring states peacefully without letting the situation escalate into armed conflict. The other neighbouring states to Uganda like Kenya and Tanzania strive to do the same especially considering the possibility of mutual-distraction in case the countries engaged in armed conflict. This is mainly because the disparity in military capabilities between these countries is negligible and therefore once engaged in war with each other; the destruction would be fatal on all sides. Therefore the east African countries try as much as they can to keep cordial relations with one another;


extending assistance to each other in whichever way possible. This mutual assistance keep the region secure as well facilitates mutual trade dealing amongst the nations. In the long run each state feels indebted to the other ensuring mutual-friendship kind of relations in the region.

Besides the military capabilities of Uganda as a nation, the president from time to time may factor in Uganda’s political system while deciding on major foreign-policy issues. The political-system of Uganda counts as part of the political environment under which major foreign-policy decision are made by the president from time to time. A country’s political system of choice in one way or another affects the process of decision making especially in regard to foreign-matters. A look at the authoritarian government, a president operating in such a system has more liberty when making policy decisions. In such a political system the president has absolute power and therefore is at liberty to make any kind of decisions without much interference from the public or government organs. Decisions making in an authoritarian kind of political system is a much faster process with less or no approval necessary from other parties apart from the president. On the other hand, the implementation process of such decisions is met with no resistance from the public which may have no clue at all in light of the fact that the media is heavily-censored in most authoritarian states 77. Limiting and shaping public opinion. The international community on many occasions is blindsided by foreign policy decisions of authoritarian states since not much information is availed to world news outlets as well. Authoritarian states therefore remain unpredictable to the international community in terms of foreign-policy pattern.

Uganda’s political system has evolved since independence undergoing fundamental changes under each regime. Therefore the foreign-policy pattern under each regime may appear different from the next one. This change in foreign-policy pattern has been much dependent upon the presidents who take foreign-policy matters into their own hands. Therefore a closer study of foreign-policy decisions made under presidents Obote, Museveni and Amin reveal inconsistencies especially during Amin’s regime.78 During Amin’s regime, the political climate in Uganda was typically authoritarian and state matters were run in a style similar to a monarch with no proper checks and balances to the power of the ruler. Amin’s policies were imposed upon citizens with no questions asked: anyone who dared to ask question was considered a traitor and punished accordingly. In the same manner any neighbouring state that did not agree with Amin in any capacity was considered a traitor and treated as one. The case in point is Amin’s attitude towards Tanzania on grounds that Nyerere has taken in Obote whom Amin considered an enemy. Amin ignored criticism and warnings from other African states that largely did not agree on the way he was running the government; many African states did not recognise Amin’s authority right after he staged a coup in 1971. Ignoring all the other African states, Amin opted for fresh relations with western democracies and Arab nations respectively. All these major shifts in foreign policy were undertaken by Amin with a short span of time and without any resistance from the public.

By 1986, the Ugandan government started to shift majorly towards a more democratic political system. The NRM government under president Museveni embarked on major political changes in an effort to steer Uganda to a democratic

system of governance. Adjustments to the constitution were made: new-resolutions on basic-human rights were adopted as well as amendments undertaken. The parliament is active in its full capacity making legislation governing the country. The Judiciary operates independent from all other government institutions as is expected of a democratic system. Various referendums to decide on both foreign and domestic policies have been organised since 1986. Generally the NRM government restored the rule of law in Uganda and the government has been run on democratic values. Foreign-policy decisions that require further approval by the parliament too have been tabled for approval as required on various occasions. On various occasions too, some bills may have domestic as well international implications. Major aid donors of Uganda threatened to cut back on aid, especially in cases where foreign policy decisions of Uganda contradict basic human rights norms. In such a case, the president has to consider both domestic and international interests. The president often sided with the ruling of the parliament which represents the views of all Ugandans. Museveni continues to comply with international norms especially in regard to intervention policies especially complying with the UN charter.

The economic status of Uganda is commonly factored in by policy makers in order to come up with the most effective-foreign policy strategy. Uganda as earlier noted depends on her neighbouring states of Kenya and Tanzania to access the sea for her import and export trade. Therefore all the consecutive-presidents of Uganda have made an effort to maintain mutual relations with Kenya and Tanzania for the

sake of the wellbeing of the Ugandan economy. This relation is mutual considering the fact that the economies of Kenya and Tanzania gain from the revenue Uganda pays to use their seaports of Mombasa and Dar-Es-salaam respectively. In addition these East-African nations depend on each other for mutual market opportunities. Good manufactured with east Africa are mostly consumed by customers in the same region. It’s for such mentioned economic benefits that the EAC has been strengthened gearing up to greater economic cooperation.\textsuperscript{82}

Ugandan presidents too have made an effort to form ties with highly industrialised nations mainly for the purposes of attracting direct capital investments to Uganda. In the past countries like Britain, America have invested in Uganda mainly through multinational companies. Most recently Uganda has encouraged countries like China to invest in Uganda on large scale. President Museveni’s government has put in place incentives to attract direct foreign investments like tax holidays and availing cheap factors of production like land. The Chinese government has so far invested in various sectors in Uganda like health, infrastructure among others. This economic relation with China is mutual especially since China has been able to invest her excess capital in Uganda as well as export various goods that are now being sold on the Ugandan market. Presently most of the imported goods sold on the Ugandan market are manufactured in China.

Most of the time, Ugandan-foreign policy directly reflects Ugandan cultural and religious values. The Ugandan society is generally very cultured in every aspect: most of the policies both foreign and domestic as well as constitutional core values hinge on Ugandan cultural and religious values in one way or another. With high

exposure levels, certain aspects of Ugandan values may have been diluted to blend in globally accepted values but only to a certain level. The Ugandan president considers the cultural and religious preferences of society as he makes important foreign-decisions especially in the light of the fact that these Ugandan values may sometimes be divergent from the internationally accepted ones. These Ugandan values are important especially because they are unique to Uganda and define the Ugandan society.

Uganda’s colonial background has been reflected in many of Uganda’s major foreign policies. Foreign ties with former colonial power Britain were initiated at independence and most are still in place, however Uganda is cautious in her dealings with Britain and other developed countries to avoid any slight chance of neo-colonialism. Britain and Uganda have maintained closer-relations with Uganda benefiting from British aid in various forms. Similar British government structures were incorporated into the Ugandan government like: parliamentary-structures, constitutional structures and English continue to be the official language since independence. Uganda continues to forge relations with developed countries with a degree of “reservation” given her past experience of colonialism.

Furthermore most donor states grant aid to Uganda with conditionality that are mainly exploitative with the donor state gaining much more from the deal; a situation not much different from the colonial-exploitative interactions in the past. It’s therefore incumbent upon the president to carefully examine each deal.

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85 Rodney, op.cit., p. 308-312.
before putting pen to paper in order to avoid a possible exploitative trap. Countries like China of recent have shown a keen interest in investing with Uganda and their deals seem less exploitative with more for the Ugandans to gain as well. It’s on such grounds that lately Chinese aid is flowing into Uganda in various forms.

**B. A Corelation Between Foreign Policy and The Presidents Background**

**a. A Military Background**

Most of Uganda’s foreign Policy decision making is directly handled by the president consequently the president’s character and background is reflected in foreign-policy decisions. Like any other human being, past experiences shape ones attitudes in life whether they realize it or not. The same goes for presidents especially as they finalize on important decisions that pertain to foreign affairs. As much as in some presidents have tried to distance themselves from their backgrounds for various reasons, in reality its unachievable considering the fact that one cannot erase or change their past experiences like; lineage, culture, physical appearance and ethnic composition, totally. New affiliations may be made but the past has no chance of being rewritten no matter the amount of effort. Such past-experiences predetermine ones mindset, psychological capabilities as well as conscious and unconscious actions. Therefore a Uganda’s foreign-policy can be predicted to some extent in line with the president’s background especially given the fact that Ugandan presidents take it upon them to personally address all matters foreign. It’s for this reason that Uganda’s foreign policy is bound to shift with a change in regime. Therefore it’s important to observe the ways in which the past experiences of the consecutive-
Ugandan presidents have shaped foreign policy decisions undertaken under the various regimes.

In relation to the military experiences of Ugandan presidents, Amin and Museveni have a solid military experience with active military duty in the past. It’s therefore right to observe and note that both Amin and Museveni’s military experiences may have aided in their decisions to engage in military action with neighbouring states during their tenure. Both Amin and Museveni engaged in military coups to attain power and have since undertaken military foreign policy for various reasons. In the case of Amin he illegally directed Ugandan forces to occupy Katanga region in Tanzania thus inciting military action from the government of Tanzania. Therefore in response to the illegal military occupation of Tanzanian territory by Ugandan forces, Tanzanian forces invaded Uganda in retaliation and took over Kampala over throwing the Amin regime. Amin after a failed military containment effort, fled to Saudi Arabia where he was granted asylum till his death in 2003.\\footnote{86 ABC news Editors, “Amin dies in Saudi Hospital” ABC news 16 August 2003.}

On the other hand Museveni has engaged in military efforts in neighbouring states but for totally peacekeeping reasons.\\footnote{87 William Brown and Sophie Harman, African Agency in International Politics, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 108.} Ugandan military forces are currently active in countries Somalia and South Sudan to help avert internal uprising within the respective countries. Unlike his predecessor Amin, Museveni has employed military action to assist restore peace in Somalia and South Sudan. Museveni’s military experience helped him make a choice to extend military aid to neighbouring states. Such a conclusion can be based on the fact that Museveni and Amin unlike their colleagues easily took military action in foreign territory with much ease. In general,
a president with a military experience tends to consider military action as a viable option in comparison to his counterparts without a military background. In addition, Museveni employed military solutions to neutralise domestic terrorism by the Lord’s Resistance Army the terrorised northern Uganda for over two decades. To note still the instances where president Museveni has employed military solution is to protect nationals and secure the country. For example most recently in 2015, president Museveni sent UPDF troops into South Sudan to help Ugandan nationals trapped in the war zones to come home safe.\textsuperscript{88} President Museveni however intervened in the South Sudan violence only with the aim of securing Ugandan national borders and citizens who had been living and working within South Sudan. President Museveni is cautious not to violate any international law norms that govern military intervention to avoid any related consequences to violating them.

Important to note, Museveni’s military and educational background complement each other especially when he has to make decisions pertaining to military action within other states. Unlike his counterpart Amin who majorly depended on his military experience to make such important decisions in the end Uganda suffered the consequences. In other words the presidents’ experiences at one point are reflected in his foreign-policy decisions; it’s therefore important for any Ugandan president to have a solid background in education, cultural-religious values for a successful foreign policy. Important to note however, a military background is not emphasised by the Ugandan constitution and neither is it a guarantee for a successful foreign policy.

b. An Education Background.

An education foundation is one of the basic requirements for any aspiring presidential candidate in Uganda\(^89\). This is mainly because the presidency requires a minimum set of skills to effectively execute the duties of the president. Obote and Museveni have an educational background as required by the constitution except for Amin who lacked one and was able to take office through forceful means. As such the educational levels of the three presidents are reflected in the manner in which they handled foreign-policy during their tenure. Amin’s foreign-policy were lacking in one way or another: he lacked consistency and broke every international rule every chance he got. On the other hand, his counterparts Obote and Museveni displayed a high level of awareness in regard to international-law obligations in their execution of foreign-policy. An education background besides equipping one with necessary skills also makes one aware of the environment in which they operate in and the understanding that every action bears consequences positive or negative. Thus the president is able to exercise restraint while making major foreign-policy decisions well aware of possible outcomes.

An education puts the president at the same level as his peers who are usually well educated as well. This enables the Ugandan president to interact with his peers on an equal level, engage them in meaningful debate as well as make informed-opinions and decisions. A well informed president is able to come up with the most-efficient foreign-policy strategy for his country; well aware of international affairs and his country’s position and capability. In other words such a president is bale to

know when to adopt a more pragmatic stand or when to take centre-stage in foreign-issues. An educated leader too is well aware of his surroundings: the socio-political and economic features of his nation and at what point to consider in foreign policy formulation.

Amin’s took Uganda’s relations with neighbouring states lightly and often disregarded other countries’ opinions. This kind of rhetoric from Amin was one of the reasons why the East African Community was headed for failure and collapse. The collapse affected Ugandan economy which partly depended of close ties with the neighbouring states that provided market for Ugandan produce as well as access to the sea. Amin’s ignorance about the importance of regional relations prompted him to act and believe that Uganda could be self-reliant and thrive without the cooperate assistance from neighbouring states. It’s probable that Amin would have handled regional and international relations a different way had he been educated. In many ways therefore Amin heavily relied on his military experience to base his foreign-policy decisions.

Amin’s regime worldwide is remembered for human rights abuses that his government did not condemn nor stop. Amin ignored all Uganda’s prior international law obligations in so doing putting his own personal interests ahead of national ones. Amin was more interested in consolidating power and becoming the most powerful leader in the region and the world. This he hoped to achieve by oppressing any opponents domestic and foreign at all costs.

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Amin did not put into context the rights and capabilities of other states especially in regard to Uganda. Such ignorance led him to create more adversaries rather than allies. He was not aware of his own deficiencies as well he did not realise the importance of allies. Amin disregarded the advantages of regional and international ties in strengthening his position and his nation especially on the international scene. In addition Amin never solicited for advice from any one not even the legislature or judiciary when making important foreign policy choices. Anyone who dared to advice or speak against president Amin ended up arrested and in some cases killed. In addition, president Amin did not consider an education background as a prerequisite to attaining any government office. Amin appointed his relatives and friends to ministerial posts based on his personal relationship with them ignoring their educational credentials. As a result, many of the ministries and government sectors were run to the ground by incompetent civil servants who were ill-equipped for such responsibilities. Amin’s policies were inconsistent and unpredictable at the most, with many of his policies based on personal interest rather than national ones.

On other hand his counter parts Museveni and Obote made meaningful foreign policy choices that are still binding upon Ugandan as a sovereign state. Unlike Amin, Uganda has realised economic growth levels credited to effective foreign-policy choices over time. Museveni has made a priority regional and international ties thus ensuring a steady flow of foreign aid. Regional ties have ensured security in the region which has in turn supported Ugandan export and

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import trade that majorly depends on Mombasa and Dar-Es-Salaam seaports. On the same note Uganda has committed national resources to securing peace in the region.

Given Museveni’s educational background, his aware of his surrounding and has been able to adopt various coping mechanisms, changing with the tides. It’s for this reason mainly that Museveni’s foreign-policy may appear to change slightly with the change in international and regional demands. In other words, president Museveni has adopted manoeuvring skills without completely losing sight of national interests. The preservation of national interest is paramount therefore surrounding environment like the international community and regional states are to be factored in a way that is more beneficial to Uganda as a sovereign state. In this regard Museveni has employed a diverse foreign-policy ranging from diplomatic negotiations and ties to military peace-building missions. In the occasion that one method fails another is given a chance: such skills are groomed through an educational experience. Presidents’ with a humble educational background tend to rely mainly on personal experiences rather than consider all the facts before deciding on major issues. An education equips the president with analytical skills that are necessary especially in this time and era where information technology and intelligence skills avail the president a pile of information and the rest is upon him to come up with the most suitable solution to a given situation at any given moment.

President Obote’s educational background directed his foreign-policy path: Obote’s foreign-policy legacy still going strong even after his long gone. Obote was an important part of Uganda’s foreign policy considering that he laid the foundation

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for Uganda’s foreign policy. President Obote in most of his career as president of Uganda, mainly employed diplomacy in his dealing with other sovereign states. Initially Obote negotiated Uganda’s position as one of the founding members of the East African Community\textsuperscript{94} thus laying a foundation for good regional relations: a legacy that has been carried on by his predecessors. Uganda still to date is a loyal member of the East African Community under which Uganda is pushing for a political integration to benefit all member states. The East African Community has grown stronger and wider with Rwanda and Burundi joining as member states\textsuperscript{95}. Obote too officially saw Uganda joint other international organisations like United Nations, a membership from which Uganda has benefited just like all other member states. The United Nations through its various organs like UNDP, UNICEF, and UNHCR among others has assisted Uganda in various capacities. The UN has often and again extended aid to Uganda during times when the country has been hit by natural disasters like famine, landslides as well as in times of political turmoil like the protracted LRA war period during which the UNHCR alongside other UN funded NGO’s assisted victims of the war.

President Obote held high the banner of Pan-Africanism in the same way most African freedom fighters like Nyerere of Tanzania and Nkwame of Ghana did in the earlier years after attaining independence. Given his solid educational background, Obote was well aware of the benefits of Pan-Africanism to all Africans especially for the newly independent states. Pan-Africanism was an ideology that


was spread especially through university and colleges around Africa: an ideology that advocated for the unity of all African states in order to achieve total independence from colonialists. Therefore president that had attended universities and colleges in Africa were able to spread and promote the Pan-African ideology encouraging freed states to assist others under colonial bondage so that Africa would totally be emancipated. With this knowledge and background on Pan-Africanism, Obote assisted South African freedom fighters as well as Anyanya freedom fighter in Sudan who were fighting for freedom and political rights.

c. A Cultural/Religious Background.

As earlier noted, Ugandans are very religious and cultural people in all aspects of their lives. Therefore Ugandan culture remains an important aspect of society and should be accorded attention in all domestic and foreign aspects of government as well. It’s for this reason therefore that all Ugandan presidents are required by law to be Ugandan citizens. The president’s cultural-religious experiences are a first step in understanding the cultural-religious needs and interests of the Ugandan society. This is very important especially given the fact that Uganda is an ethnically diverse society with over 60 tribal groups within the borders of Uganda. Uganda’s ethnic diversity has been a point of concern for all Ugandan presidents in regard to national unity. Therefore a president that can ably relate to Ugandan cultural-religious values is in an advantage point to work towards ethnic-cohesion thus uniting the masses beyond cultural-religious differences. A unified

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society paves way for effective-foreign policy strategy that is based on national goals rather than on divergent cultural and religious interest. Therefore a society unified along national lines allows the president an opportunity to focus on foreign matters thus ensuring better results benefiting the nation as a whole. In other words a successful domestic policy hinged on ethnic tolerance will contribute to an effective foreign-policy aimed at working towards national goals undisrupted by domestic ethnic conflicts. Whenever ethnic differences describe domestic policy, more effort and resources are focused on the domestic issues leaving no time and resources to foreign policy strategy which is equally important for overall national progress. National goals benefit all Ugandans while cultural-religious interest benefit particular sects and tribes. The key to a successful Foreign policy is ethnic-cohesions given Uganda’s ethnic diversity. It’s for this reason that president Obote’s soon after assuming office embarked on ethnic-cohesion as his domestic policy strategy: a united society paves way for a successful-foreign policy. Important to note, at independence, Buganda demanded for more privilege for the Baganda people, a move that would literally put Buganda above all other tribal groups. This would simply further divide the nation along ethnic lines making policy decisions difficult for the president. President Museveni has made an effort to avoid ethnic divisions that can eventually lead to potential genocide if uncontrolled. It’s for this reason that Obote and Museveni alike ignored Buganda’s demands for a federal system given Uganda’s ethnic diversity.

Important to note, Buganda kingdom had been awarded a semi-autonomous state for their collaboration during the colonial era. It’s upon this background that Buganda continues to demand for a federal type of government despite the chances
that such a government is not suitable for an ethnically diverse country like Uganda. These demands escalated in 1966 when Obote ordered for the raid of the Buganda king Mutesa who was forced into exile. Obote all together decided to abolish all cultural establishments in Uganda. Buganda kingdom expected the Obote to put cultural needs of one tribe over national needs. It’s after Obote had abolished cultural establishments like kingdoms that he focused on wider national goals through foreign policy strategy aimed at benefitting all Ugandans regardless of their religious and cultural background. However Buganda has not given up on hopes of a federal system in Uganda under which the Baganda can attain an autonomous state within Uganda as a nation. President Museveni still holds the same stand as Obote in regard to federal. Important to note, other tribal groups within Uganda did not wish for a federal system in Uganda mainly because it will encourage ethnic conflict.

In the most recent years, Buganda loyalists staged strikes in various parts of the city centre protesting the government’s restraint on the Kabaka’s movements within his kingdom. The government blocked the Kabaka from attending cultural a ceremony organised by his subjects in the district of Kayunga. The authority of the Kabaka is heavily contested in Kayunga district which is partly made up of “Lost-counties”. The Lost-counties as earlier noted consist of Bunyoro territory that was annexed to Buganda on the authority of the British colonial government as a gift for collaboration efforts by Buganda in neutralising Bunyoro’s resistance. The tribal group called the Banyala who reside in the district of Kayunga continue to protest the authority of the Buganda king claiming their Bunyoro routes. Such ethnic conflict

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only further subdivides the nation along ethnic lines which further hinders any foreign policy efforts as well as national goals to be successfully achieved.

Other ethnically inspired resistance against national unity include the infamous “Holy-Spirit Movement” and the LRA that mushroomed in northern Uganda under the leadership of Lakwena Alice and Kony Joseph respectively both of whom manipulated people’s cultural and religious beliefs. 99 Ethnic differences if not attended to become the centre of focus impeding any progress in the field of foreign affairs. Obote for example was unable to pursue meaningful foreign policy until after he had neutralised Buganda demands for autonomy. In the same way President Museveni has been able to achieve successful foreign-policy strategy after neutralizing the LRA conflict which destabilized northern Ugandan for the last three decades. The deeper cultural and religious knowledge and experiences of any given Ugandan president is vital in formulating a successful foreign policy strategy as well as domestic strategy. As notes above, Ugandan presidents have been able to tap into their cultural experiences in order to come up with suitable policies for the nation at large. Therefore the Uganda constitution requires all presidential aspirants to be Ugandan nationals first and foremost.

C. The Executive and Foreign Policy Formulation

The Ugandan president is tasked with overseeing the smooth running of the government in his capacity as head of government. For the president to effectively supervise all other organs of government, power tools have been provided for in the

Ugandan constitution. In the field of foreign-policy, the president has the authority to commit government-resources for a cause that is in the interest of the nation. This enables the president to make an immediate decision especially in case of an urgent situation. Take for example the civil violence in South Sudan where several Ugandans were trapped and in imminent danger: the president had to make an immediate decision to send Ugandan troops to secure airport and road routes to oversee safe passage for Ugandan national as well as foreign nationalities trapped in the South Sudan\textsuperscript{100}. Rushing to the rescue of Ugandan citizens is a matter of national interest while safe guarding national borders too is a matter of national security.

However, important to note, matters that involve commitment of huge national resources to foreign matters normally require parliament approval: an exception is made in emergency cases that may be tabled in parliament even after the event. Parliament’s approval of foreign-policy projects by the president is a sign of public approval as well since the parliament represents the general views of the people. In addition, any kind of military assistance attached to another country needs to be legally and officially solicited for either by the host government of legal in reference to international law norms. This will protect the Ugandan government and the president from any possible accusation of foreign intervention in international judicial courts. In addition the president has veto powers that he can evoke when necessity calls. The president can veto a bill especially one that may be blocking a crucial decision pertaining to national security. This is a possible scenario especially from opposing sides that usually make it their business to oppose any initiatives undertaken by the president despite national wide benefits. Therefore veto powers

\textsuperscript{100} Martin Kitubi, “More Ugandans Still Stuck in South Sudan”, \textit{New Vision}, 22 July 2016.
serve to enable the president overrule any unfounded opposition strategy to important national policies. Such veto powers are normally evoked in instances where majority of the parliamentarians belong to the opposition parties and are therefore more inclined to vote against almost all proposals tabled by the president thus impeding any progress from the office of the president. Veto power is a tool at the disposal of the president in order to aid him in his efforts to realise national goals above any other goals.

The chief executive office held by the president is the highest in hierarchy second to none. With such authority and power, the president is able to take initiative in regard to international affairs especially the ones that require immediate action: this may be done prior to any approvals from other parties like the parliament. As earlier noted such situations may pause immediate danger to national and regional security: any hesitation may result in catastrophic loss of lives. Most times the president may even be blamed for undertaking such initiatives however the president is obliged by the constitution of Uganda to uphold national interest above all others.

In addition to veto powers, the president as per the 1995 Ugandan constitution is tasked with the responsibility to appoint suitable candidates to the office of the prime-minister and his vice. But most importantly, the president gets to appoint his right hand man in the field of foreign affairs. Together with the minister of foreign affairs, ambassadors to represent Uganda’s interests are appointed and posted all over the world to head missions. These ambassadors in their capacities represent Ugandan interests in the host countries where they a posted together with a team of foreign affairs officers. It is therefore incumbent upon the president and the minister

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of foreign affairs to appoint the best candidates to represent Ugandan interests abroad.

Therefore in most cases the minister of foreign affairs is chosen from the president's inner-circle of friends even relatives who often share similar national sentiments and values. ¹⁰²This has been the trend with the consecutive-Ugandan presidents delegating the ministry of foreign affairs to close relatives and comrades with whom they share political values. A case in point is Hon. Kutesa who has been the minister in charge of Ugandan foreign affairs for quite a while now. In the same spirit, Obote appointed Sam Odaka one of his close party members as minister of state for foreign affairs. In the same spirit, Amin appointed Kibedi Wanume his brother in-law as minister in charge of foreign affairs. Foreign affairs, especially for a developing country like Uganda that is heavily-dependent on foreign aid, all foreign relations are important and must be treated with the utter most attention at all times.

In addition, as per the 1995 Ugandan constitution, the president is the “commander-in-chief” of the armed forces. In this authority as commander-in-chief, the president therefore can commit government-resources to foreign military commitments in the interest of the nation. As earlier noted, some international scenarios may require quick action to secure Ugandan nationals from war zones as was the case with the 2015 Sudan civil war outbreak that trapped hundreds of Ugandans working in Sudan. In this particular scenario, president Museveni had to send UPDF forces into Sudan before tabling the proposal on the floor of parliament.

This was mainly so due to the urgent nature of the situation: many Ugandans alongside other nationals would have lost their lives if the president had to first wait for the parliament to reconvene from recess as was the case. Never the less, the office of the president tabled its operation inside South Sudan territory in parliament for approval.

This proposal attracted a considerable amount of negative attention from the opposition that accused the government of malicious intentions to gain military foreign aid from the activities in Sudan. However the fact is many Ugandan nationals were saved from the civil violence in Sudan that started in 2015 during which Sudan nationals and foreigners alike were at risk. Waiting until the parliament reconvened would have cost many Ugandans their lives. National goals supersede political party motives and should be treated with great importance as such. Many times presidential initiatives especially the ones in regard to foreign-affairs may no be welcomed especially by the opposition that seek to disapprove most of the presidents’ initiative good or bad. Therefore in such circumstances, the president may use his veto powers in addition to other power tools at his disposal.

II. EXTERNAL-FACTORS THAT MAY BE CONSIDERED BY A PRESIDENT IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY

A. Global Corporations

In most recent years, international organisation like the United Nations that have taken centre-stage in international matters. Such international organisations
have a big number of members all over the world who influence international affairs under these umbrella corporations from time to time. The main objective of these organisations is to promote world peace through international laws that govern world affairs in various aspects. All member states subscribe to charters governing such organisations to which Uganda is a member. As a member, Uganda is obliged to uphold the charters of such organisations without fail. Failure to do so may lead to consequences for Uganda as a nation.

Such international organisations are able to fulfil their obligations by enforcing international law norms on all member states like Uganda. Take for example Uganda has been able to refrain from military conflict with neighbouring states in allegiance to her prior commitment to the UN charter in particular article 51. In addition to international security, international organisations like the UN are committed to dealing with international problems like HIV/AIDS scourge, natural disasters, Ebola pandemic especially in developing countries like Uganda.\(^\text{103}\) Important to note however, sovereign states remain independent in their activities on the international matters and voluntarily join and leave these international organisations at will.

Therefore sovereign states aim at fronting their own national goals as they interact with other states and international organisations alike on the international scene. Uganda is equal to all other sovereign states in all her activities on the international scene regardless of economic and political differences.\(^\text{104}\) This has been


the case for Uganda since 1962 when Uganda acquired independence from the British colonial government becoming a sovereign state. And since then Uganda has joined various regional and international organisations enjoying benefits like collective bargaining. The United Nations in particular was formed soon after the conclusion of the second World-War, as a system to maintain peace worldwide as opposed to military settlement of disputes amongst sovereign nations.105

Uganda is able to voice her opinion and take part in international affairs under the United Nations as well upholds United Nation values like human rights. In addition fulfilling UN obligations is not so difficult considering the fact that all neighbouring states of Uganda are UN member states too. Many of the international law norms are incorporated into the Uganda national constitution thus making it easy for the president and the citizens of Uganda to abide by these international standards. Further still most of the other international organisations like regional organisations are regulated by the UN; therefore Uganda’s membership to organisations falling under both categories is no point of conflict since they are inter-related. In this regard, all member states uphold the main objective of the UN which is to preserve international peace through various means that is provided for in the Charter of the UN.106

Uganda in her bid to refrain from forceful means to settle disputes with neighbouring states as required by the UN charter, has been able to contribute to peace in the great lakes region. A case in point is the way in which president Museveni exercised restraint from war with Sudan in retaliation for Bashir’s support of the LRA rebels who disrupted internal peace in Uganda. During this period of the

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105 Thomas, op.cit., p. 27.
LRA war, Uganda was unable to pursue any successful foreign-policy considering the fact that all efforts, resources and time were allocated to neutralising the LRA which had the backing and support of another nations (Sudan). The LRA-protracted war affected the Ugandan economy too displacing hundreds of people internally, all done by a small rebel group with the backing of a large country Sudan. Uganda for over 30 years refrained from going to war with Sudan and the tension between the two countries was resolved in 2000 when both president Bashir and Museveni agreed to talk.

By 2008 both countries Sudan and Uganda agreed to put resources together to neutralize the LRA completely as a step towards bilateral relations. In the process, a UN negotiating team headed by Chissano Joachim engaged in peace negotiations with the government of Uganda and LRA representatives in Juba. Despite the peace-talks effort, Kony and his team walked away without signing citing the outstanding LRA arrest warrants issued by the ICC on the request of the government of Uganda. Unfortunately Kony only used the warrants as a scape-goat not to sign the deal. Thousands of Ugandans lost their lives at the hands of the LRA, about 1.8 million people displaced internally within northern Uganda and over 45,000 children abducted. The LRA still is a threat in Central African Republic, however peace was restored in Northern Uganda and relations too were restored between Sudan and Uganda government. By refraining from going to war with each other, Uganda and Sudan saved a lot of lives and resources that would have been the cost of such a war. In addition, long after the LRA war in Uganda, the UN through the UNHCR,

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UNICEF and other NGOs has helped rebuild and rehabilitate the people of northern Uganda who were directly affected by the war.

In line with the international peace keeping mission of the UN, Uganda is participating in such missions in various parts of the region. For example the UPDF has the biggest number of boots on ground in Somalia under the UN-AU backed peacekeeping mission. With this joint effort peace has been restored in Mogadishu and an operative government in place with the 2012 presidential elections headed by president Hassan Sheikh Mohamud. President Museveni has sent UPDF troops around the region in an effort to keep peace with the aid of UN and AU funds and other major western donors like the United States of America. First and foremost, Uganda’s participation in peace-building missions around the region ensures steady flow of foreign aid to the Ugandan economy especially in form of military aid. Peacekeeping is in line directly with requirements by donors. However above all, maintaining peace on surrounding countries helps to prevent violence-spill over into the Ugandan territory. In addition, violence ridden countries are simply a breeding place for war-lords and terror groups. Such groups operate beyond national boundaries and can therefore spread their terrorist activities into Uganda as well if not controlled. Take for example the al-shabab terror group in Somalia has launched attacked in Kampala and Kenya successfully. Uganda is therefore acting in the interest of national security by policing terrorism activities in the region.

The European Union too has shown great interest in democratic progress in Uganda as well. The EU over the years has been a big donor to the Ugandan economy in an effort to promote democratic practices like human rights protection,

the rule of law, fair and free elections among others. The EU has and continues to support Uganda as she struggles to uphold basic democratic practices through funding the government projects as well as civil society, human rights defenders in various capacities. In addition EU observation teams have participated in election processes in Uganda providing detailed reports of election outcomes and recommendations as well to the government for consideration. All these EU activities have been facilitated by the government of Uganda that agrees with the efforts made by EU to further democratize African states like Uganda. Promotion of human rights and democracy in developing countries is among the official objective of the EU. Therefore the EU through the EIDHR has pioneered a number of efforts in various cooperative African states: various activities and projects in line with the protection of Human rights have been funded.

Like most developing economies, Uganda too is closely tied to the IMF and World Bank to which a huge debt is owed\textsuperscript{110}. President after president inherits the debts at the same time borrowing more money from these institutions to be able to develop the economy further. These loans from international financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank have conditions attached to them which must be fulfilled by the aspiring countries. A country like Uganda has to depend on loans and grants is in order to support her struggling economy: without which the economy would crumble totally. With the continuous borrowing, any hopes for a debt free economy seem to disappear with each new loan. The incumbent Museveni is still struggling with payments of the debts that his predecessors accumulated. With such a trend in borrowing, Uganda’s debt is far from over and thus Uganda will remain

indebted to these institutions for a while longer. In a bid to steer such heavily-
indebted countries like Uganda towards debt payment, the IMF and World Bank over
the years have formulated debt-relief policies intended to help indebted countries
offset their debts much faster.

A case in point is the World Bank’s policy called “structural-adjustment
policy” which required aspiring nations to implement structural-adjustments policies
formulated by the World Bank in the hope of stimulating the economies at a much
faster rate.\textsuperscript{111} Uganda in fact did flow up with these structural adjustment policies in
the early 90’s and was able to qualify for more loans and grants to stimulate
development which policies included: reducing on social and public services alike,
privatisation, encouraging multinationals and NGO’s to set up in Uganda. Indeed
Uganda realised steady development in the 90’s unfortunately this progress was not
so steady after all with stagnation in economic development after a decade on. The
structural-adjustment programme failed to produce sustainable growth in the case of
Uganda.\textsuperscript{112} All in all its up to the president’s to get on board with any kind of
strategy laid out by international organisation since Uganda is a sovereign state and
makes her choices independent of any coercion.\textsuperscript{113} Therefore the president of Uganda
cannot shift any blame on international policies since he has the choice to get on
board or not to.

B. International Security-Threats

Major threats facing Uganda as a nation are non-military and transnational in nature and scope. Such threats are becoming a point of concern and stand to threaten the very existence of Uganda as a nation. Such threats have taken the form of natural disasters, terrorism activities, pandemics like Ebola and HIV/AIDS. Over the years Uganda has prepared against military threats however the threats that pause immediate danger are non-military in nature and Uganda seems to be unprepared for any of these kinds of threats. Such extra-ordinary threats call for extra-ordinary measures like regional and international cooperation to effectively combat these threats. These non-conventional threats are a major threat to the very existence if the notion of a nation and therefore combined efforts are required by all nations especially considering the fact that no nation is secure regardless of economic or military capabilities. Developed and developing countries alike are in imminent danger as long as such threats are not controlled in one way or another.

In addition, given Uganda’s poor economic status, she is faced on a daily basis with more diverse human security threats that include poor living conditions, preventable diseases, high unemployment rates, prolonged droughts, poor sanitation and slums, high crime rates among others. With continued joint efforts with other states, president Museveni has made an effort towards combating transnational threats like terrorism. Therefore it’s incumbent upon president Museveni to take up initiative within regional and international organisations to mobilize for funds and resources to champion the fight against terrorism in the region and worldwide.
In the light of such transnational threats to the very exiting of the nation, there is no country safe regardless of capabilities and geographical location. In addition non-military threats like Ebola and HIV pandemic in the recent past have threatened to wipe away the entire population of Uganda. The last outbreaks of Ebola in Uganda were severe and threatened not just the population of Uganda but also neighbouring states of Uganda were in imminent danger.\footnote{Rodrigo Carrillo-Larco, “Ebola Outbreak in Uganda: What We Can and Can not See from Query Trends”, \textit{South African Medical Journal}, Vol. 103, No. 8, 2013, p. 500-501.} Ebola spreads so fast, killings within hours of contraction. Unfortunately there is no vaccine for Ebola known to Uganda though trials all over the world are in progress given the magnitude of threat Ebola presents. Such pandemics like Ebola can spread from one corner of the world to another especially given the fact that the world is now a global world with advanced modes of transport that facilitate the movement of people to all corners of the world in just hours. Joint worldwide efforts into research on Ebola and other similar haemorrhagic fevers is ongoing with all able countries, organisations contributing in their respective capacities.\footnote{Gerardo Chowell et al., “The Basic Reproductive Number of Ebola and the Effects of Public Health Measures: the Cases of Congo and Uganda”, \textit{Journal of Theoretical Biology}, Vol. 229, No. 1, 2004, p. 119-127.} Uganda has experienced over two fatal outbreaks and has managed to survive them all. With the survival tactics learned from the previous outbreaks, Uganda has been able to avail medical teams to assist in similar outbreaks in Liberia in 2014.\footnote{“After Ebola, The Disease has Left a Terrible Legacy and Another Outbreak is Likely’, \textit{The atlantic}, July/August 2016.}

In addition to pandemic, Uganda has dealt with prolonged droughts that have left many dead and many others malnourished. Uganda doesn’t have the capacity to contain long seasons of droughts and therefore from time to time international organisations like UN, AU and other regional organizations a long side have been
called upon to help prevent further deaths caused by prolonged-drought seasons in Uganda. It’s for such reasons that Uganda is a member of both regional and international regions which assist Uganda overcome problems caused by natural occurrences which normally Uganda would not manage on her own. Ordinarily Uganda experiences two wet seasons annually however in the recent past climate changes mainly due to man-made reasons like massive deforestation have contributed to the prolonged-droughts that have resulted into severe famines. Unfortunately these famine seasons have killed humans and animals alike: leaving animals and humans with no food or water for consumption. Fields have dried up as well as water sources. Heavy deforestation around the country is mainly carried out for the purposes of energy production. The biggest percentage of the population used charcoal as the main source of energy. On that note Uganda needs to make an effort towards energy diversification to reduce on deforestation activities across the nation. Solar energy is the best option for Uganda’s energy diversification prospects, though a lot of funds are needed to invest in that sector country wide. In addition recent expansions have been made in the electricity sector with new dams like Bujjagali and Isimba recently undertaken with assistance from donors.

The land-tenure system in Uganda continues to contribute to prolonged-droughts in the country. Land fragmentation especially in the city centres has caused land exhaustion that has rendered the land infertile and bare in the long run leading to soil erosion. Without vegetation cover, weather changes are most likely to occur leading to droughts all over the country. In addition land-reclamation is now so common in the urban centres due to overcrowding that has been as a result of rural-urban migration. Many Ugandans keep flocking to live in the city centres which in
flow is not matched with well urban planned housing, as a result housing estates have been developed on wet lands illegally.\textsuperscript{117} This has reduced on the water-catchment areas responsible for rainmaking. In such prolonged-spells of drought Uganda has been able to rely on the assistance from international organisations, regional organisations and NGOs operative within the country.

C. Global Law Commitments

Since independence, Uganda has become a signatory to various charters and a member state of international and regional organisations like the AU, UN, and EAC among others. These organisations have regulations that govern all member states: member states are therefore obliged to uphold these regulations without fail. In the year 2002 Uganda ratified the Rome statute and thus is therefore state party to the ICC.\textsuperscript{118} In other words, Uganda has agreed to uphold all her international-obligations as per the above charters, any behaviour contrary would carry consequences: the same applies to all other member states equally. Such institutions are in place to secure international peace by facilitating means for states to maintain civil relationships in their interactions with one another. Any queries pertaining to conflict settlement can be addressed directly though the authorities of organisations like the AU, UN and ICC to which Uganda is a member state.

Uganda decided to employ the help of the ICC totally neutralise the LRA rebels in the north of the country that terrorised the community since 1987 abducting


and killing thousands. President Museveni referred the case of the LRA to the ICC after the government had failed to negotiate with the rebels. The LRA rebel group originated from Acholi land with the main aim of eventually collapsing the new NRM regime that had come to power by means of a coup. The NRM government was blamed for taking over power forcefully and collapsing the Obote regime which was very popular amongst the Acholi. It’s this mind-set that Kony took advantage to group the young innocent youth to form a rebel force against the government.

As earlier noted, the LRA rebel group was not an equal match to the Ugandan government in tactic and resource base however the support from the Sudan government was a game changer even for the Ugandan government. In other words the LRA has resources of a whole government and therefore were a big threat to the government of Uganda as was the case with time. Important to note, the Sudan government decided to support the LRA rebels in their fight against the Kampala government in retaliation for Uganda’s support of the SPLA rebel forces in South Sudan that were fighting to secede from the Khartoum government. President Museveni justified his support for the SPLA rebel group as a freedom fighting group seeking independence for the Christian population living in the South of Sudan: often the Sudan government led by Bashir enforced sharia law on Christian black population in the South of the country. In this regard Museveni claimed to be extending a helping hand to fellow Africans fighting for freedom and independence. Important to note too, the Ugandan army has had a history of supporting rebel groups in south Sudan who were considered freedom fighter: Obote soon after independence


supported the Anyanya rebels in the spirit of Pan-Africanism to help them attain total freedom.

By 2003, president Museveni made a decision to refer the case of the LRA to the ICC for further assistance. The LRA had committed war-crimes and crimes against humanity on the people of northern Uganda; crimes that are in the jurisdiction of the ICC. In response, the ICC facilitated teams to dig deeper into the allegations made by the government of Uganda against the LRA rebel activities. Upon confirmation of the legations made by the Ugandan government, the ICC in 2005 issued warrants for LRA rebel leader and founder Kony Joseph together with four of his senior-commanders.\textsuperscript{121} Uganda doubled her effort in the light of more pressure from the citizens by initiating peace-talks with the LRA rebels. As earlier noted, the peace-talks failed with the LRA team protesting the outstanding warrants by the ICC. This put more pressure on Museveni who assured the rebels that the Amnesty provided by the government in the year 2000 would still apply to all the rebels upon surrender. In addition Museveni hoped that the LRA rebel-case could be deferred to Ugandan high court for prosecution. Unfortunately this has not been the case and the LRA warrants still stand according to the ICC. The LRA rebels have been forced to hide further into the Congo and Central African Republic to avoid being arrested.\textsuperscript{122} One of the LRA rebel commanders Ongwen has since been arrested and is under trial at The Hague.


Museveni together with Acholi religious and cultural leaders continue in their pleas for the ICC to defer the LRA case to be tried at the international-crimes division of the Ugandan high court as well as by the Mato-oput Traditional-judicial system of the Acholi people. The main argument for Mato-oput traditional system is the fact that all these LRA commanders and rebels were former child soldiers that were abducted from their homes and forced to commit crimes at tender-age. Therefore under the traditional justice system they are able to repent, seek forgiveness, pay reparations and reconcile with their families and communities. Uganda has made all efforts to oblige to all her international-law obligation especially in coordination LRA arrests as is with the case of Ongwen who was arrested and handed over to the ICC for prosecution by the Ugandan government.123

D. Dynamics of Globalization

The effects of globalisation can no longer be ignored by any Ugandan president given the fast development in communication technology, higher literacy levels, exposure and opportunities all which have contributed to tremendous changes in the Ugandan society. Generally globalisation can be assimilated with free movement of goods, services, labour, internet communications, telecommunication, foreign investments, and multinationals among others.124 All the above aspects have been instrumental in linking all corners of the world thus the notion “global village”. Every aspect of the world from socio-politics to financial services are interlinked

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through advanced communication services. With high levels of urbanisation, more and more Ugandans are exposed to ideas opportunities beyond their traditional societies. In the long run, the mind-set of the youth and the old alike have been exposed to better and improved ideas from all over the world. Therefore with globalisation constituting a major factor towards the developing trends in all aspects of society, its effects are factored in the process of formulating foreign-policy.

Ugandan culture has diffused with popular western cultural values like fashion/style, music genres, popular catch phrases, as well as contemporary political views. Such western values have been shared over the internet and social-media channels that are accessible to majority of Ugandans especially the urban youth. Many traditional norms have evolved over time and therefore the president as well may consider the trending values as he makes major foreign-policy choices for the Ugandan people. However important to note, most of these western cultural and social values are contradictory to the African values and this has created room for contention especially in the field of foreign-policy. Therefore the Ugandan president has to consider both forces of globalization and the consequent effects on culture as well as factor in the popular views of majority Ugandans while formulating foreign-policy strategy. The effects of globalization cannot be contained by any government and therefore the best strategy is to find a way to accommodate them into national policies without totally foregoing Uganda cultural norms that truly define the Ugandan community in all aspects. To totally ignore Ugandan cultural and religious values is to ignore the true identity of the Ugandan society.

Uganda is becoming evidently part and parcel of the global economy whether Ugandan policy maker choose to admit it or not. As earlier noted, globalization-
forces are transnational in nature thus are not restrained by national boundaries. In this regard, the president and his team need to often consider the fact globalization has far reaching effects on the Ugandan economy especially with the inflow of cheaper goods from countries like China that compete with better quality goods made by Ugandan industries.

In this respect, the Ugandan president from time to time may need to make a choice between aid and protection of the vulnerable industrial sector in Uganda. This is mainly in light of the fact that the Chinese government commonly offers generous aid to Uganda on condition Chinese goods are able to have free access to the Ugandan market. Important to note however, most of these Chinese goods that flood the Ugandan market are mainly of poor quality and very cheap prices thus affecting the sales of higher quality Ugandan product competing for the same market. Therefore Ugandan president has to make decisions that protect Uganda’s economic goals especially while making deals with other states.

In addition to free flow of foreign goods to the Ugandan market, various multinational companies have flooded the Ugandan economy with cheaper goods manufactured in Uganda. Opening up the Ugandan market to multinationals is a requirement by donor states and organizations; Uganda therefore may have less of a choice in controlling multinationals and their activities. This is an opportunity cost Uganda must forgo in the interest of steady in flow of aid. Most of these multinational companies like Coca-Cola originate from western donor states and therefore are protected by their home countries. As much as these multinationals are operative in Uganda, they do not add much value to the Ugandan economy. These multinationals stand to gain abnormal-profits from operating within Uganda. Take
for example, they use cheap Ugandan raw materials, employ semi-skilled Ugandan workers who are paid low wages, and are allowed to siphon huge amounts of foreign currency inform of profits out of Uganda into their home governments. To say the very least, the Ugandan economy does not gain much from the multinational companies that are operative within Uganda. These multinational companies benefit from tax-holidays from government, cheap raw materials and labour all made possible by the Ugandan government in hope of more grants and donations.

Therefore the Ugandan president may consider the economic development of Uganda above all other economic gains.

Uganda since independence has made an effort to join the internationally recognised political system like democracy despite her short comings here and now. The democratic system may be weakened or strengthened depending on the regime in power at the time. Political systems in the world today seem to be interconnected more and more with democracies facilitating democratic practices within Africa. This has been made possible with donor standards than require of recipient governments like Africa to democratize all sectors of government. In response, Uganda has to conform to democratic standards in order to maintain steady flow of income from western-democracies like the USA which is the biggest funder of the Ugandan economy. In various scenarios where the Ugandan government has been accused of non-democratic tendencies like human rights abuse, aid has been cut to Uganda. None the less, Uganda continues to uphold democratic practices associated with the rule of law, human rights protection among others. In this regard the anti-gay bill was appealed in the constitutional court and was nullified on grounds of

quorum. The country together with president Museveni respected the courts of law and the outcome from the ruling.

E. Regional Integration

Uganda is one of the founding member states of the East African Community (EAC)\textsuperscript{127}, a regional umbrella organisation under which mutual economic benefits are shared by the members. The most recent members are Rwanda and Burundi who are sharing from the benefits of regional cooperation to further develop their economies. Important to note too, members of the EAC are currently negotiating a possibility of further political integration strategy for the region. The history of the EAC dated back to the days of British colonialism during which shared economic services were set up between Kenya and Uganda mainly to facilitate to transfer of raw materials from inland Uganda to the East African coast for shipment to Europe. These shared services included East African Development Bank, the East African Airways and East African Railway: A Common Services Commission was established by the year 1922 to oversee the smooth operation of these shared services.\textsuperscript{128} Later Tanzania joined the commission as one of the beneficiaries of these services. Upon attaining independence, the presidents of the threes east African countries officially constituted the East African Community as an official regional cooperation in 1967.

\textsuperscript{128} Arthur, op.cit., p. 44.
Unfortunately by 1977 the cooperation had fallen to shambles due to differences that seemed irreconcilable at the moment between the three member states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.\textsuperscript{129} This collapse was mainly based on the fact that Uganda and Tanzania felt marginalized and demanded for a rearrangement in the way the cooperation was run. So to say presidents like Amin of Uganda, openly expressed his view for the need for equality in terms of benefits citing that Kenya gained more from the cooperation than the rest. This was a position that was grounded by during the colonial era by the British who developed Kenya as a settler economy at the expense of Uganda that was maintained only as a base for raw-material supply without any industrialization.

Preparations to revive fallen regional cooperation started in 1993, with the official signing of the treaty establishing the “Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation”\textsuperscript{130} Reestablishment efforts were first championed by Uganda’s Museveni with the hope of working towards a greater political integration in the interest of further economic and political independence. The final step in reestablishing the East African cooperation was the signing of the treaty to reestablish the East African Community in the year 1999: the treaty came into in the year 2000.\textsuperscript{131} Protocols that have been adopted by the EAC include: the “East African Customs Union”, the “East African Common Market” and the “East African Monetary Union” that came into force in 2005, 2010 and 2014 respectively.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid, p. 8-9.
Over the years Uganda has made tremendous effort towards advocating for the need for a working regional body to spearhead East African interest on the international scene. As expected Uganda stands to benefit especially economically from the arrangement and so will all the other members especially Burundi and Rwanda which are the most recent additions to the group officially joining in 2006. President Museveni however has not given up hope of a political federation of the East African Community despite obvious reservations from other member states especially Tanzania. These reservations have been voiced especially in light of the fact that the economic integration efforts are not yet fully realized. A firm economic integration world surely set a firm foundation for further political integration.

Besides the EAC, Uganda is party to other regional organizations like; IGAD (The Intergovernmental Authority on Development) which was originally formed in 1986 six counties including; Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda. Originally the organisation was named IGADD; “The intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development”, however the name was adjusted in order to widen the scope of issues to be discussed under this forum by regional members. In addition to drought and development agenda, in 1995 IGAD expounded the agenda to include all other issues arising in the region especially settlement of disputes, transnational problems like pandemics, poverty alleviation strategy, natural disasters common to

the region. In this regard, IGAD has been instrumental in finding lasting solution to violence that has engulfed member countries especially in the cases of Rwandese genocide in 1994, Somalia civil war and the latest being the case of fresh violence in South Sudan in 2015. Uganda under the IGAD mandate has been able to send troops to assist member states like Somalia and South Sudan that are currently experiencing political uprisings.

Uganda is a member state of COMESA; “Common Market for East and Southern Africa”. COMESA has been in existence since 1994 after being initiated in Abuja where the signing of the Africa economic common market treaty was signed in the year 1991. Member states with COMESA are striving for Africa to be truly economically independent as a continent without having to beg from developed countries. This member states hope to achieve through steps like; ‘common market’, ‘customs union’, ‘monetary union’ among others. Its only through economic independence, Africa can achieve the goal of sustainable development across the continent. Therefore Uganda is an active member of quite a number of regional and international organizations under which she is able to enjoy benefits of integration that continually facilitate socio-political and economic growth for Uganda. All these various regional co operations are provided for under the UN charter with the main aim of facilitating the maintenance of peace in the region.

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CHAPTER THREE

FOREIGN-POLICY DECISIONS UNDERTAKEN BY PRESIDENTS;
OBOTE, AMIN AND MUSEVENI

I. H.E. PRIME MINISTER APOLLO MILTON OBOTE

A. Profile of the President

H.E. Apollo Milton Obote at independence assumed the position of the prime minister of Uganda a position he held till the year 1966 when he assumed the position of president and head of state sending the president Mutesa to exile in London.  Obote hailed from a village called Akokoro which was in Lango district located in northern Uganda. Born to one Opeto Stanley on the 28th of December 1925, Obote later followed in the leadership footsteps of his father who was a chief of his clan in the Langi tribe. Obote like most of his peers attended missionary school in his home town of Lira where he attained primary education from where he moved on to a nearby Gulu town to attend secondary school. After attaining both primary and secondary certificates of Education, Obote moved further east to attend Busoga College Mwiri a then prominent secondary school from where he was able to complete his A-level education. Soon after Obote pursued higher Education while at Makerere University majoring in English literature and geography. Unfortunately

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Obote was unable to complete his university education at Makerere University after he was discontinued on allegations of taking part in a university strike.

Besides being a statesman, Obote was a family man too, married to gorgeous Muganda woman from central Uganda called Miria Obote. Miria was born to a one Kalule Kisule Blasio and his wife Malita Kalule. Like her husband Obote, Miria attended Makerere University after attending Gayaza high school from where she attained a secondary education certificate. Born raised and educated in Kampala, Miria met her husband Obote in Kampala together with whom they bore and raised four children one of whom later followed in their parents’ political footsteps. Though a public figure, Obote kept his family affairs especially his children out of public spotlight: his family matters were carefully kept out of the press. There were almost no private scandals or his family affairs leaked to the public. According to his wife’s account, Obote loved his children and endeavoured to spare time out of his busy schedule to spend quality time with them.

Just like his father, Akena one of Obote’s sons opted to join Ugandan politics. Akena campaigned and joined politics as a member of parliament for his home town lira and later became UPC party president taking after his mother Miria Obote who become party president of the UPC soon after her husband’s death. President Obote’s other children Engena is currently a Christian pastor in Kenya’s capital Nairobi, Akaki has been living abroad and one Opeto has been living in Uganda. Obote was able to start off his political career soon after dropping out of University.

after securing a job with an engineering company under which he was able to relocate to Kenya working for the same company. Interested in politics as he was, Obote soon joined the Independence movements in Kenya particularly the Kenya African Union commonly known as KAU. By the 1950s Kenya was gearing up for independence with various political groups rallying under a common cause attracting a huge number of ambitious youth like Obote. Obote got a chance to learn from the likes of Tom Mboya who later was to become a renowned freedom fighter in Kenyan independence struggles. Obote was a forward looking man, always taking on any opportunity to build and grow his career. Obote learned from the best and grabbed political positions that later prepared him for the executive office starting with the Uganda National Congress (UNC) that was the first political party in Ugandan politics. Founded in the year 1952, the UNC attracted a good number of followers including many youth from across the nation. Fortunately Obote as appointed to the party leadership in the northern part of the country particularly in Lango his home district. Obote used this chance of leadership in the UNC to kick start his political career targeting party presidency and ultimately Ugandan political leadership in the future. Five years later Obote was elected to the Legislative council as a representative for his home village of Lango under the UNC umbrella. In the year 1959, Obote was elected to the position of party leader of the Uganda National Congress officially becoming a player in Ugandan politics for several years to come. Obote was uniquely posed in Ugandan politics at the time mainly because Ugandan politics were dominated mainly by the Buganda tribe from central Uganda.

Obote did put northern Uganda on a fast truck to participating in Ugandan politics later paving the way for many northerners taking up various positions in government and politics in the consecutive years.

The UNC later split up resulting into the formation of the Uganda Peoples Union (UPU) that was mainly composed of protestant faith believers. The UPU did not fare quite well and from its ruins emerged the Uganda People’s Congress (UPC) with Obote being the pioneer president of UPC. The UPC consequently became predominantly northern in regard to its membership composition which was not surprising as was the norm with most political parties. In the same tribal and religious composition of pioneer political parties, UPC consequently had mostly support from the north which was not sufficient enough to win the 1962 elections thus entering a coalition with Buganda’s Kabaka Yyeka to win the 1962 pioneer elections. In light of this, Obote’s UPC entered a coalition with Kabaka Yyeka political party to win the 1962 elections ushering in Obote as the prime minister and Buganda’s Kabaka Muteesa I as the first president of Uganda. At the eve of independence Obote’s UPC was in a tight race with the Kabaka Yyeka party which was pushing for the Buganda kingdom agenda as well as the Democratic Party which was predominantly catholic in composition. Being the ambitious man he was, Obote made a personal call as head of the UPC party, initiating talks with the then Kabaka of Buganda Mutesa for a possible coalition and post-election power sharing deal. Talks between UPC and Kabaka Mutesa were fruitful with the Kabaka and his loyalists the Baganda whom he convinced that they would have a chance to maintain

their superior position in post-colonial politics of Uganda. Obote was able to convince the Baganda to rally behind him given that he was a very eloquent man able to charm away kings and ordinary men alike\textsuperscript{146}. Obote during his talks with the Kabaka gave his word that the Kabaka would become the ceremonial head of state occupying the position of president at independence.

Unfortunately Obote did not keep his word and in the year 1966 forced Kabaka Muteesa into exile, abrogated the constitution and assumed presidency as the executive leader of the nation\textsuperscript{147}. Therefore in reference to the above incident, Obote is referred to as one not to keep his word especially in central Uganda. The Baganda till to date refer to Obote as a traitor and even after his death Obote remains a very unpopular name in Buganda. Throughout his term in office Obote was very unpopular among the Baganda who never trusted him again knowing that his word was worth nothing. In fact unlike his counterparts, Obote resorted so much of his time and government resources to soliciting Buganda support especially in his second shot at president in 1980\textsuperscript{148}. Unfortunately Obote’s efforts to woe the Baganda one more time were futile with an attempt made on his life in 1966. A one major Ssenkoma Abraham together with other assassins shot at the president’s car several rounds but fortunately Obote was not in the car. Three years later in 1969\textsuperscript{149} another attempt on Obote’s life was made and he was able to survive after a few days of medical care. The hitman Sebadduka Mohammed was arrested as rumours circulated about Benedicto Kiwanuka and Amin’s involvement. Benedicto was


\textsuperscript{147} “Stepping Backwards?” \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, vol. 6, no. 6, 1971, pp. 406–407.


\textsuperscript{149} The telegraph editors, “Milton Obote”, \textit{The Telegraph}, 12 October 2005.
arrested and remanded while Amin’s involvement was not totally confirmed he became a person of interest. Later in 1971 Obote’s once trusted officer led a coup that forced Obote into exile\textsuperscript{150}. Obote determined to retake power from Amin stepped up plans for a counter coup while in exile in Tanzania where he sought refuge after the 1971 coup\textsuperscript{151}. Indeed in 1979 Tanzanian forces together with Ugandan loyalists invaded Kampala and over threw Amin in April. Obote won the 1980 election and was able to get a second shot at being president\textsuperscript{152}. In 1985 Obote once more was ousted by a coup that forced him into exile in Zambia hosted by Kenneth Kaunda. With old age and illness, Obote moved to South Africa for special treatment, unfortunately he met his death while there in 2005\textsuperscript{153}. A public burial was arranged for him in Uganda where he was laid to rest.

\textbf{B. Pan-Africanism.}

In 1962 Uganda officially became an independent country as the end of the British colonial rule ushered in the country’s first prime minister Apollo Milton Obote. The first ever national elections were won by two allied political parties namely Uganda National Congress party and Kabaka’s party headed by Obote and the Kabaka (\textit{King}) Mutesa II, respectively. The two parties strategically merged prior to the elections and this proved to be a successful political strategy when they emerged successful in the elections in 1962. Subsequently the two leaders of the two parties shared political power of office. Whereas the Kabaka became Uganda’s firs

president, Milton Obote became Uganda’s very first prime-minister. This alliance and power-sharing was short-lived as Obote was initially not intent on sharing power nor had he anticipated it. He was not willing to share power or political office or rule with Kabaka Mutesa II (former King of pre-colonial Buganda Kingdom). The Kabaka, in Obote’s view was potentially a threat to his political-career. Disregarding the constitution, Obote launched an armed siege and attack on the Kabaka Mutesa II’s palace in 1962 hence acquiring full political power as President of Uganda with executive power. The powerless Kabaka fled into exile. Nine years later in 1971, Obote’s presidency was brought to an end through a coup d’état conducted by deputy army commander while away on state duty in Singapore. President Julius Nyerere, a political ally of Obote, welcomed him into Tanzania and offered him asylum. With the support of Julius Nyerere, Obote formed a sufficient armed force with the intension of retaking power in Kampala. In 1978, Obote once again with the Tanzania armed forces (military support offered by President Julius Nyerere) invaded Uganda and this time was successful. He thus was able to overthrow Amin in a military take-over and take office as president for a second time hence the 1980 Obote II regime\textsuperscript{154} which was legitimimized when Obote’s party won the controversial elections that were organized in 1980.

Obote’s role as president of a young independent country meant there was a lot to do across all government sectors as well as formulation and implementation of existing and new policies. The new president and his newly independent government had to make adjustments to the existing government structures, systems and policies that had simply been transferred and passed on from the colonial government. These

had earlier been established to benefit the colonial country Britain. Thus changes and adjustments had to be made to benefit Uganda and her people. However, these had to be put in place within a short period of time in order to have the new government operational. One of the areas of government policy, structures and systems that had to be formulated and established right from the beginning was the area of foreign-policy. The ministry of foreign affairs and the formulation of a new and independent foreign policy path was sensitive particularly because it did not only have impact on the internal progress of the country but mainly because it would govern and influence the direction of Uganda’s relations with her neighbors and the world. Therefore, Uganda’s foreign policy sector would determine the country’s position on the international plenary and her stake in international affairs. It would influence the nature of relations with other countries and the perspective with which other countries would view and treat Uganda in its new identity as a newly independent and autonomous country.

Gradually, as the foreign affairs ministry took shape and Uganda’s diplomatic representatives and mission were established abroad, Uganda formed new relations and consolidated already existing ones with various countries around the world. Obote prioritized strengthening of diplomatic relations with all neighboring states and heads of government. This was aimed at securing Uganda’s social, economic and political future especially given its vulnerable or dependent position as a land-locked country. The early years of independence were critical for Uganda because the 1960’s were the peak of the cold war. Therefore the president had a major role to play in steering the direction of Uganda’s foreign policy, making critical foreign policy decisions whose impact would shape the country’s relations and subsequent
policy direction long after Obote’s presidency. For example, Obote and his new
government was under pressure to determine which super powers/blocs and super
powers to align with during the 1960’s cold war period. This would have an impact
on Uganda’s relations with countries from wither side- making them either adversary
or ally. Among other crucial aspects of foreign policy that president Obote had to
consider were regional-integration- Uganda being a land-locked country in need of
access to strategic ports and trade route. Another consideration was the Pan-African
ideology and movement that had engulfed Africa in the 1960’s as colonialism and
imperialism gradually lost its grip over African continent\(^{155}\). In addition, the
president had to consider Uganda’s stand on non-alignment policy as this was an
opportunity for the newly independent Africa and Uganda to curve its own path as an
autonomous country no longer obliged to align to super powers and blocs in the
midst of the raging cold-war politics. Obote also had the most important task of
upholding and preserving the newly acquired independence after years of subjection
through colonialism. All the above and other various critical issues had to be
streamlined into all government policy especially foreign policy and all sectors. A
combination of the above needed to be integrated in all government policy especially
in the area of foreign policy. It should be noted that these aspects have remained
integrated in Uganda’s foreign policy to-date.

The Pan-African movement began in the 1960s decade when majority of
African countries were receiving their independence. It was championed by Ghana’s
legendary freedom-fighter Nkwame Nkruma along with other African leaders
including, among others Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere, of Nigeria’s Nnamdi Nzikiwe,

\(^{155}\) Fred L. Hadsel, “Africa and the World: Nonalignment Reconsidered.” *The Annals of the
Kenya’s Jomo Kenyatta and Tom Mboya as well as Guinea’s Ahmed Sekou Toure. It aimed to promote independence of the new African states and assist those still under colonial governments and rule to gain their independence. The pan-African movement gained momentum and overwhelming support from the African continent, leaders and people as it provided a unifying force, identity and cause for the African people.

According to Nkwame Nkruma, an ardent promoter of the pan-Africanism across Africa, Pan Africanism as an ideology was aimed at promoting independence for all African states. Pan Africanism therefore was a revolutionary-movement whose mandate was to unify and liberate the African continent. This ideology advocates for and is driven by the objective of enabling Africans to manage and control their own agenda while eradicating any form of foreign control and meddling. It therefore embraced the core ideology of Africans developing their own solutions to African challenges, be they social economic or political. The movement sought to unify Africa amidst it ethnic, cultural, religious and other differences. It called for unity of Africans disregarding minor differences along ethnic and religious lines and working to advance development and enhance socio, economic and political growth.

The ultimate longer term goal of the pan-African movement and vision of Nkwame was the political unification of all African states into a single block with a single unified government. Although this was met with reservations from a few African leaders who viewed this as impractical, this objective received massive support from African leaders. However, a political union at this level was less

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achievable because majority of the African states had recently become independent while the rest were still under foreign rule. In addition, this level of political integration required a level of political maturity, structural and organizational capacity which was lacking at the time. Nevertheless this approach and idea was adopted at regional level and thus facilitated the emergence and consolidation of regional integration throughout the African continent.

New nationalist and enthusiastic African leaders like Obote drew inspiration from Nkwame Nkrumah\textsuperscript{157} and the movement as pan-African became a tool for generating the spirit of nationalism, ethnic unity and socio-cohesion. For instance, president Obote actively engaged in the East Africa’s process of regional integration. He also streamlined and integrated the ideology of pan-Africanism into his and Uganda’s foreign and domestic policies. One of Milton Obote’s priority concerns was creation of ethnic, tribal and socio-cultural cohesion and his initial strategy was to reduce the influence of Buganda kingdom and the king Kabaka Mutesa II. He aimed to bring about equality among all Ugandans both as Ugandan citizens and as Africans.

Despite the well-entrenched pan-Africanism ideology of equality and cohesion in Uganda and government policies during Obote’s leadership, Buganda kingdom’s Kabaka Mutesa harbored divisionary political aims that threatened not only Obote’s leadership but also Uganda’s stability and indirectly her foreign policies and strategies. The Kabaka planned to take advantage of the power-sharing and his capacity as president as an opportunity to enable Buganda kingdom to become autonomous. The motivation for this was that British colonial government

had accorded Buganda kingdom semi-autonomous status and the Kabaka was eager to maintain this privilege even during the post-independence period. However, this was contrary to Obote and his government’s policy of unifying building and consolidating a united solid state of Uganda that was government based on equality and equal representation of all regions and people. In other words, the Kabaka, his status as president and his political ambitions were a looming threat to Prime Minister Obote’s regime, political tenure, career and policies. He thus used the notion of promoting pan Africanism as a tool to dislodge Buganda’s superiority aspirations over other Ugandan ethnic groups. Consequently Obote justified and popularized the policy of elimination and removal of all existing kingdoms in Uganda based on their promotion of insubordination and divisions and sectarianism.\textsuperscript{158} Overall, pan-Africanism was an ideology whose core principle was hinged on fighting colonialism and suppressing further foreign control over Africa.

As earlier noted there was an urgent need to ensure that Africa sets its own agenda and controls her own affairs while preserving her autonomy and integrity with minimal meddling and less support from the outside. The pan-African approach aimed to engage all Africans living in Africa and abroad. In order to further solidify their individual state as well as Africa’s continental independence and autonomy, the young independent states of Africa sought to form an umbrella organisation. This would be comprised of African member states united by mutual objectives. It would be a platform for African leaders to interact and develop unified strategies and policies including foreign policy issues and aspects regarding international politics and affairs which affect African states. Its other main mandate would be to assist the

remaining countries under colonial rule attain independence. Because the newly independent countries were unable to offer all this kind of support to other struggling countries, the use of joint effort and collaboration was the most attainable and viable option in kicking colonialism out of Africa successfully and completely.

Having adopted a unified perspective and objective of collaboration to kick colonial rule as well as ethnic and other differences out of Africa, the newly independent African states agreed to form an umbrella organisation. The pan-African movement therefore birthed the beginning of the Organisation of African Union (OAU). President Milton Obote of Uganda thus became a founding member who played an active role committed resources to the OAU cause of fighting for the freedom of states from imperialism. Obote assisted the South African ANC group in their struggle against apartheid in form of logistics, military arsenal and arms\textsuperscript{159}. An example of groups which benefited from such support is South Africa’s ANC whose members fighters fighting for the freemen of the black population and abolition of apartheid.

Uganda was one of the countries that attained independence earlier than most and thus was open to rendering support to other countries still that were still struggling to achieve the same. It showed solidarity and actively supported groups of freedom fighters fighting for independence and against oppression in various countries including South Africa, Congo, and Sudan. There were a few states that had an open willing policy to actively support Mandela and the fight against apartheid and Uganda was one of them as it provided military training and logistical assistance to the South Africa’s freedom-fighters. This cause resonated with

\textsuperscript{159} Fred Daka Kamwada, “It’s Unfair that Neither the ANC or Nelson Mandela Recognised Milton Obote for His Fight for Freedom in South Africa”, The Uganda Times, 20 July 2016.
Uganda’s pan-African and nationalism ideologies because it sought to free native black African population in South Africa from the heavy economic, social and political domination, oppression, segregation exerted by the white minority population. Another cause that Uganda supported as part of its foreign policy was the struggle against colonial-rule in Congo led by Patrice Lumumba and an army of freedom-fighters. Uganda offered refuge to the Congolese freedom-fighters by allowing them entry into Uganda and supported them in the purchase of arms. Uganda also supported the Anyanya freedom fighters representing the black Christian population in the southern region of Sudan in the fight against the Arab Muslim oppressors in northern Sudan who controlled political economic and social power and dominance. The government in Khartoum which was controlled by the Arab population aimed at attaining total submission of the African population in the southern part of Sudan\textsuperscript{160}.

Obote’s involvement in supporting of other African countries to obtain independence and win the war against colonialism was driven by certain policy goals and targets. He believed this participation was a stepping stone for him to achieve certain goals. First, Obote saw Uganda’s involvement as an avenue to draw regional and international acceptance and legitimization for his government and leadership. It was therefore a tool he used to create new allies, friends and relations with neighboring countries and other international entities as well as the rest of Africa. He therefore strategically offered support to Uganda’s immediate neighbors such as Congo and South Sudan. It was thus important to create good relations with her neighbors. Supporting these neighbors to attain independence and freedom form

colonialism made these countries indebted to Uganda and Obote. It sealed their friendships and laid a foundation for cordial and close relations between these countries both at the time and in the future.

In 1963 Uganda became one of the founding member states of OAU securing Uganda’s chance to participate in international affairs\textsuperscript{161}. By participating in international affairs through the OAU, Uganda’s and Obote’s position on the international scene became more significant with more bargaining power and influence. Countries under the OAU bargain and conduct international affairs as a united front and a single block untied by a common view and mutual objectives and equal opportunities for all members. The benefits became evident when Uganda was identified as one of the fastest growing economies in the world and one the most promising democracies.

The decade of the 1960’s was significant world-wide. It was characterized as being the climax of the cold-war. It was also the decade where imperialism ad colonialism lost its influence in Africa as majority of African countries gained independence during this period. The most significant implication of this phase for these young African democracies was that they faced the dilemma of having to make critical a political and international-relations choices. One of the most outstanding was that they had to choose which ideology and super powers to align with. These African countries were under pressure to choose one of two main ideologies that were the core of the cold war, that is, socialism and democracy. As a result some governments opted to stay out of the super power completion and preserve their independence. In this regard, Obote and his government initially adopted democracy

due to various reasons. First and foremost, this is because Uganda was inherently
democratic in its policy. It had been colonized by democratic Britain and the newly
independent Uganda government and leadership had inherited its systems and
governance approach from the same British colonial government. Secondly, Obote
chose to align with the western super powers on whom Uganda government relied
heavily for support both politically, economically, among other forms. Therefore,
strategically adopting a democratic ideology was critical for the sustenance and
progress of Obote political leadership, his government and Uganda in general.162

However, it is important to note that the socialist bloc offered new untapped
opportunities of potential aid and other forms of support for Obote and his Uganda
government. Uganda as a young economy would benefit for this potential support in
numerous ways although this would mean severing longstanding ties with the west
especially European powers including Britain as well as the support they had been
rendering to Uganda. For these reasons, Obote later decided to adjust his foreign
policy in order to benefit from both socialist and democratic blocs. During this era,
both opposing blocs of super powers were scrambling for Africa, eager to spread
their ideologies and make allies among the newly independent African states which
needed urgent aid and support in order to legitimize advance their young
governments. The possibility of belonging to both socialist and democratic blocs was
very slim especially at the height of the cold-war during the 1960s. Therefore, after
independence Obote eventually had to decide which bloc to belong to, whether to
remain with democratic or cross over to the socialist ideology. It was important to
make the best choice for Uganda by choosing the best policy. Choosing which

162 Thad Dunning, “Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility, and
powers to align with directly shaped and formed part of Uganda’s foreign policy and its stake in international affairs. Obote, in order to access the support and benefits that came from belonging to either sides, decided to adopt a foreign policy and a position that was neutral- choosing to align with none of the blocs. Obote and Uganda therefore chose to belong to the Non-aligned Movement. This included countries that chose a neutral position. This pitted Uganda favorably against other aligned African countries. By adopting this policy, Obote was able to access good international relations, support and aid from both socialist and democratic blocs. However important to note Obote later aligned himself with the socialist ideas a move he declared in 1970 while addressing the National Assembly\textsuperscript{163}.

C. Non Alignment Ideology

The Non-allied Movement which began in 1961 was birthed from a wave of radical ideologies that swept across the world. These included Pan Africanism, Pan-Americanism and Pan-Asia movements. All these movements. This struggle spread to Africa states that became proxy nations which succumbed to the pressure to choose which ideology to align with. The formation the non-alignment movement provided an opportunity for African leaders to adopt a neutral position in international affairs without being drawn into the cold war ideological struggles.

Obote used the non-alignment movement as a foreign policy tool to avoid minimise direct foreign influence in Ugandan affairs. This enabled Obote assert himself as the head of an autonomous country with the freedom and right to decide

\textsuperscript{163} Garth Glentworth and Hancock Ian “Obote and Amin: Change and Continuity in Modern Uganda Politics.” \textit{African Affairs}, Vol. 72, No. 288, 1973, P. 237–255.
Uganda’s political and foreign policy direction. During the post-colonial era, indicators of neo-colonialism started to take root in Africa. Therefore, Obote was inspired by leaders like Tanzania’s president Nyerere and Ghana’s Nkrumah to strongly oppose and avoid the neo-colonialism influence by adopting nonalignment ideology. One of the major ways Obote planned to achieve this was by accepting as little aid and support from donor countries as possible. Obote aimed at preserving Uganda’s autonomy by exercising the freedom of choice to either accept or reject foreign aid and support from developed countries. Obote hoped to exercise full autonomy by reserving the right to accept or refrain from moral and financial support from developed countries. This kind of adamant, assertive and sometimes hostile attitude to developed countries and the west in general was characteristic of most African freedom fighters, leaders and founding presidents of African countries during the 1960s. The main reasons for this was because they were very aware of the growing neo-colonialism and were also strongly opposed to it and very eager to suppress any form of it. They were committed to protecting and defending the freedom and independence they had fought for, often at great cost. These leaders including president Obote viewed aid as an indirect tool of foreign control and neo-colonialism especially tied-aid that came with multiple conditionalities and directives attached to it. It only served to further exploit Uganda’s resources. Therefore Obote chose a foreign policy of creating alliances such as East African Community and the OAU with the objective of making Uganda self-reliant instead of building a donor-dependent country.

164 Hadsel, op.cit., p. 93-104.
Obote’s choice to a neutral position enabled him to create relations with both the east and west to his advantage. This was a popular policy among African states during this period. The economic and political need of Uganda in all sectors necessitated this approach to foreign and domestic policy was a way of accessing the much needed aid and resources and assistance from the donor countries. Nevertheless, Obote was keen on not letting Uganda fall back to the previous state of exploitation and dependence which was experienced during the British colonial rule. Therefore Obote sought to maintain diplomatic relations Uganda’s former colonial power- Britain but only at arm’s length and with minimal interference from Britain. For instance, whereas Uganda adopted Britain’s constitutional method and style and applied it during the first 3 years of independence, Obote later made adjustments in 1966 to suit Uganda’s political situation.

In fact during this era of cold-war politics, Uganda applied its policy of neutrality by establishing foreign missions/embassies in multiple countries irrespective of their ideologies. This was Obote’s attempt to assert his stand in international affairs by emphasizing to the western and eastern ideological blocs that he and Uganda were to commit to either side nor participate in cold war struggles and politics. Against this backdrop, Uganda successfully established relations with Russia and China from which it benefited military support and aid while maintaining its ties with Britain and America in the west. This translated into greater access to foreign funding and other forms of assistance to different sectors such as education.  

beneficial to Obote and other leaders like Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere, they later became targets of the western democracies who viewed them as potential threats to the spread of democratic ideologies in Africa. They perceived them as potential proxies and agents of the socialist East. Obote and his counterparts underestimated the long run repercussions of their non-aligned foreign and domestic policies. These became indirect targets because Britain, USA and other western democracies were actively engaged in the fight against the expansion of socialism and state leaders who were viewed socialist sympathizers. This made Obote threat and target. Despite his neutral approach, Obote spearheaded the anti-neocolonial campaign in Africa and maintained close ties with socialist sympathizers such as Nyerere. He argued that the west was not genuinely interested in the progress of African economies but rather sought to use aid as a tool of perpetuating control over the newly independent African states. Obote cultivated ties with countries like Israel which demanded less in return. For example, Obote accepted military aid in form of training for Uganda’s armed forces. However, it is important to note that like the west, Israel too had adopted an anti-socialism campaign role in the newly independent African continent. Its activities and engagement in Africa was directed towards curbing the spread of socialism in Africa and consequently gaining favorable relations and ties with western democracies with whom it shared similar ambitions. 168 This could explain the motive as to why Israel readily offered military and other forms of assistance to newly independent African states (including Uganda) and their leaders soon after gaining independence. Right after gaining independence, Israel offered military aid

in form of military training for Uganda’s military officers and pilots from 1963-64 as requested by Obote.\textsuperscript{169}

\section*{D. Socialism (Regime Preservation)}

Over time, president Obote gradually shifted from his neutral foreign policy which he had initially adopted during the cold war. However, by 1968, it was evident that Obote’s ideological stand leaned more toward the East’s leftist ideology of socialism\textsuperscript{170} as clarified in his 1968 address at the his UPC party delegates conference. It was during this 1968 UPC delegates conference president Obote proposed the adoption of the “common man’s charter” a document that marked Uganda’s shift to the left. The common man’s charter laid out principles that were compliant with socialism.\textsuperscript{171} The subsequent adoption of socialism and official shift to the left and was publicly declared at a national function in 1970 (national Labour Day celebration). These declarations later termed ‘Nakivubo pronunciations’ detailed Uganda government’s agenda to nationalize private-owned companies up to sixty percent. This was Obote’s way of transferring wealth and economic power from the foreign minority Indian population into the ownership and control of the common population of Ugandan nationals. This was his attempt to entrench his socialist ideology, restore equality and shrink the income gap while countering the exploitative tendencies of capitalism from the west.

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\textsuperscript{170} Glentworth, Garth, and Ian Hancock. “Obote and Amin: Change and Continuity in Modern Uganda Politics.” \textit{African Affairs}, vol. 72, no. 288, 1973, p. 237–255. \\
\end{flushright}
It should be noted because a large portion of the nationalized businesses were owned by British foreign nationals. Moreover, Britain was Uganda’s biggest foreign aid donor and trade partner as well as former colonial master. Nevertheless, Obote prioritized the integration of socialism into all government policy, sectors and operations over the deteriorating relations Uganda and Britain. The pro-socialist “common man’s charter” aimed at empowering the Ugandan native population to drive their own economy by transferring power from the control of a handful of foreign-investors who controlled the largest portion of the economy and national wealth, into the hands of Ugandans. Upon adoption of this charter, president Obote laid bare the sole purpose of the charter to Ugandans and highlighted its significance in effecting the above economic adjustment. During this period, the minority Indian population had monopolized Ugandan retail trade especially in Kampala (capital city) and Jinja. Even the major and basic services alike such as education and health were controlled by foreign investors especially the British and Indians. The participation of Ugandans in trade was mostly limited to support jobs characterized by exploitation, low remuneration and extended work hours. Ugandans, especially the Baganda and settlers in central region equated this to the pre-colonial exploitation which enriched foreigners and exploited the natives with little intervention from the government. The situation in Uganda and Obote’s leadership were in a difficult position and this ideological shift and the resulting charter were viewed as a solution. Various factors contributed to the justification of this change in approach by Obote. First and foremost, there was strong opposition by the Baganda (Uganda’s largest tribal population) which developed right after independence, stemming from his elimination of the Kabaka from the independence power-sharing arrangement. He
then refused to grant the Kabaka’s and the Buganda kingdom’s demands for (‘federo’) semi-autonomous status and instead abolished all kingdom establishments in Uganda. Moreover, the Indian and general foreigners’ monopolization of trade especially in central Buganda region had only served to fuel the already brewing dissatisfaction and opposition against Obote and his leadership country-wide. Obote expected the charter to be a mobilizing too that would garner support from all Baganda and all Ugandans who felt exploited and excluded from trade and economic participation. The transfer of the economy over to control by Ugandans through nationalization was the Obote’s strategy to appeal to the entire population and to act as a unifying force.\textsuperscript{172}

The charter also aimed at facilitating equality among all Ugandans despite differences in ethnic and economic backgrounds and status. Obote hoped that this significant policy adjustment by his government would not only be embraced by Ugandans but that it positive impact and benefits would be shared by all. Obote therefore sought to create a charter and policies that would benefit the entire nation rather than bow to demands for federalism which would serve to advance only the Baganda. His aim was to introduce policies which would enhance equal development across all regions and sectors in the country. It is important to remember that Obote’s regime was tainted with rampant tribalism, nepotism and inequality. The cabinet and other significant government positions or offices were occupied mostly by officials belonging to the Langi and Acholi tribes to which president Obote belonged.\textsuperscript{173} The Ugandan army and police were the most affected. They were filled

with incompetent, under-educated and inadequately qualified Acholi and Langi officials. There was unequal access to these positions and promotions. This created overwhelming dissatisfaction amongst the rest of the army officers who were denied privileges, promotions and other opportunities. It also created opposition amongst the general population who often faced difficulty in accessing employment opportunities enjoyed by these tribes and a few privileged groups.

This was a critical period for Uganda’s post-independence phase as well as Obote’s political career. Obote was tasked with the burden of convincing Ugandans and the world of his capacity to steer the country in the right direction towards growth and maturity. He focused on legitimizing his government and attracting recognition and acceptance from the Ugandans who had elected him into power as well as the international community. The meant that it was important for him to carefully identify the most suitable ideology for Uganda, establish strategic relations with the international community and formulate the most appropriate policies. One of the ways Obote attempted to do this was by promoting pan-Africanism although this proved to be insufficient in legitimizing his regime and enabling its survival in the long run. Moreover, the cold-war did little to help matters. Obote eventually joined the trend and decided to adopt the non-alignment movement which appeared to be the most suitable policy for Uganda. However, shortly after, Obote declared his ambitions to steer the country to the left in an effort to boost the popularity of his increasingly unpopular regime. These changes and constant or abrupt adjustments signified Obote’s continued and unwavering efforts to popularize his leadership and government, a strategy and objective he had applied since taking over leadership in 1962.
By 1966, nearly four years into his leadership, Obote’s regime had amassed so much unpopularity and opposition. This was even worse especially within Buganda region (central Uganda) where Obote had ordered a military attack on the Kabaka’s palace, a move that forced the king Kabaka Mutesa II (the then president in the power-sharing regime in which Obote was prime minister) to flee into exile in Britain. Obote’s other policies serve to worsen the already deteriorating situation by abrogating the constitution of 1966 and consequently abolishing all kingdoms as well as traditional-establishments in Uganda. In addition, Obote dropped his title of prime minister and adopted the title of President. It should be noted that in 1967, Obote adjusted the constitution and gave the President executive powers. Therefore, Obote sought to pacify the disgruntled Ugandans and obtain their support through the ‘common man’s charter’ which advocated for fights of all Ugandans in spite of ethnic, economic, geographical, social, political and other differences. He focused on curbing partisan federal demands and sectarianism.

Overtime, Obote and his government encountered a series of challenges despite the effort to perform and deliver on their agenda. The final blow to Obote’s first regime was his overthrow by way of a military coup. While Obote attended a Commonwealth summit in Singapore, his trusted Army commander Iddi Amin Dada carried out a coup. Obote’s response to this move and betrayal was to seek assistance and refuge from his close counterpart and neighbor Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere. On the domestic front, this meant that Obote’s presidency did not last long enough to witness the fruition and impact of his socialist policies which had only

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been recently adopted in the ‘common man’s charter’. Internationally, Obote the same charter caused him to grow increasingly unpopular among Uganda’s largest donors- the western democracies. Therefore, it did not come as a surprise when Britain (a major democracy of the west) took the first move to recognize Iddi Amin’s new government immediately after the successful coup that ousted Obote in 1971.

II. H.E. PRESIDENT MAJOR GENERAL IDDI AMIN DADA

A. Profile of the President

The name Amin has been synchronised with Ugandan political history mainly because his political choices caught the attention of many world-wide. Amin was born to a one Nyabire Andreas of Kakwa origin a Sudanic tribe in northern Uganda while his mother Aatte Assa was from the Lugbara tribe. Amin’s mother Aatte was a local herbalist for the royal clan in the Buganda kingdom and worked in the king’s Palace. Unlike other children who attended national education curricular, Amin attended Islamic religious classes as a child attaining skills in Koran reading and memorising. Amin grew up in a broken home having to live with his mother for a larger part of his childhood. Amin married seven women with whom he had a number of children. Important to note, Amin’s wives referred to him as a loving father and husband to seven wives whom he loved and cultivated a

relationship. Amin was proud of his wives and children with whom he was seen with on several official functions. Amin has been described as a loving and caring father by his children whom he cared for deeply. In addition Amin officially married his wives at official functions at which Amin entertained several witnesses further speaking to his respect for his wives and in-laws respectively. Amin married his first wife Sarah Kibedi with whom he had six children. In the same year Amin married Kay Amin who became his second wife together with whom he fathered four children. Third in line was one known as Norah Alaba who got married to president Amin together with whom she gave birth to two children. A one Madina went on to become Amin’s fourth wife giving birth to five children.

In 1975 during the OAU heads of state summit, Amin threw a luxurious wedding ceremony and married his fifth wife Kyolaba Sarah. With Kyolaba, Amin had four children with her. Amin went on to take a sixth wife known as Zamzam Nabirye with whom he fathered one child. Amin’s last official wife was one Nassali Kiggundu in Saudi Arabia. The couple together had five children and lived in exile in Saudi Arabia till Amin met his death. In addition to the official children from the seven wives, many of Amin’s children still live on within Uganda and other countries.

Besides being a family man, Amin was a moralist as well as a cultured man; Amin felt strongly about indecent dress code and as president he was able to declare

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a ban on miniskirts and any other indecent dress code for females. In addition, decency is embedded in Ugandan culture and Amin took it upon himself as a leader to enforce Ugandan cultural and moral values. Important to note too, Amin was very passionate about religious tolerance and therefore in the same manner, Amin declared friday as a public holiday. After assuming a more powerful position Amin gave the minority Muslims community the opportunity to worship on friday in the same way fellow Christians were free to worship on sunday. Making Friday a holiday gave Muslims more inclusion and recognition as a religious sect in Uganda as well spoke to Amin’s fairness and compassion.

As regards his military career, Amin joined the Kings African Rifles, an appointment that was later to mark the beginning of his military career. Amin was among the King’s African Rifles troops that were sent to Kenya to neutralise the Mau Mau. Amin excelled on this Mau Mau mission gaining recognition and a promotion to a higher rank. Amin worked in Lango district on deployment to provide extra protection from Karamojong rustlers and later moved to South Sudan on deployment. Amin for a long period of time was not promoted in rank in comparison to his counterparts despite the fact that he excelled on ground missions. This delay in rank promotion was mainly due to his lacking in formal education. However Amin did not focus on his deficiencies and managed to go on various missions even to neighbouring countries like Sudan and Kenya to neutralise insurgencies and rebellions against British colonialists. On various occasions Amin was recognised for his extra efforts on ground on all the various missions he was deployed on. Amin

was deployed in Karamoja to investigate the death of a British officer who was murdered by the Turkana. Lt. Cedric R. Weeding. Weeding was murdered by the Turkana and Amin was able to fend off the Turkana who had caused trouble in the region. In 1964 Amin instigated complaints by the military for salary increment citing heavy work by the army. The government did not respond to the military requests and this resulted in a mutiny. Amin was among the negotiators appointed to end this confrontation and as a result of Amin’s success in ending the mutiny was promoted from captain to major.

Focusing on field excellence, Amin was able to outshine his educated counterparts and was often promoted for his exceptional skills on ground, respect for higher rank officers. Amin however was able to rise to the rank of army commander solely based on his exemplary effort on the field. Amin rose to the rank of colonel and at the time was part of the Ugandan troops that were sent into the Congo to support nationalistic struggles led by Christophe Gbenye against Moise Tshombe led mercenaries. Moise had allied himself with the Americans thus becoming a likely threat to Obote's government that had chosen socialist policies. The Tshombe Congolese nationalists with the help of Amin hoped to procure arms using gold that they gave to Amin. Unfortunately Amin together with other ministers; Felix Onama, Nekyon Adoka and prime minister Milton Obote were accused of embezzling the gold and failed to procure arms.

A motion on this Gold scandal was tabled on the floor of parliament and almost turned out disastrous for the Obote regime in 1966. The motion was meant to discredit Amin and Obote’s regime and eventually finding grounds to oust the regime. To avoid further corruption scandals on Amin and Obote himself, Amin was promoted to chief of staff and led the task force that attacked the president’s palace in 1966 forcing the Kabaka into exile. After the above raid of Mutesa’s palace, Amin was promoted to Brigadier and was put in charge of overseeing massive recruitment into the military. Amin personally recruited these soldiers majority of whom were from his home district thus cultivating personal loyalties to himself. By recruiting tribe’s men, Amin was able to directly control most of the Army as his own. In the long run, Amin became very powerful with majority of the army pledging allegiance to him one way or the other.

Amin was promoted to Major General and was in charge of Ugandan military efforts to support the south Sudan struggles for political rights. Amin directly handled military and other aid from other states especially from Israel. Israel supported Ugandan troops in Sudan through military training, arms as well as financial aid. With direct control of the army as well as most of the army projects, Amin amassed a lot of power and later felt compelled to disregard the president Obote’s orders. After becoming Army commander and given Amin’s military Ambition, becoming President and commander in chief was befitting of his next stop. Amin was an extremely ambitious man considering the fact that he was able to rise to the rank of army commander given his humble academic background. Amin

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was unstoppable in his quest for power and worked twice as hard to outsmart his counterparts. In this regard it was inevitable that Obote grew suspicious of Amin’s limitless ambition for power.

This insubordination and control of the army by Amin unfortunately created insecurities on the side of Obote resulting into mistrust issues with Amin who for long had become a close friend and asset to the regime.\footnote{Garth Glentworth and Ian Hancock, “Obote and Amin: Change and Continuity in Modern Ugandan Politics”, \textit{African Affairs}, Vol. 72, No. 288, 1973, P. 237-255.} Amin and Obote grew apart to the extent that Amin was among the suspects who looked good for the assassination attempt on Obote’s life. Fortunately for Amin a one Brig. Okoya was arrested for the attempted assassination of Obote especially because he attempted to overthrow the government thereafter.\footnote{Arnold Spero Bisase, \textit{Guardian Angel Volume One: the Beginning}, Bloomington, Author House, 2012, P. 256.} Brig. Okoya had the full support of the Acholi faction of the army and police which was a threat to Obote as well. Okoya’s arrest and death only deflected attention away from Amin but only for a short while.

Obote embarked on major rank shifts in the army starting with the replacement of Brig. Hussein as chief of staff taking over from Amin. In addition, Obote restricted Amin’s role in the office of army commander and eventually ordered for his arrest. Obote ordered for the arrest of Amin before lifting off to Singapore where he was scheduled to attend a commonwealth heads of state meeting in 1971. Consequently Amin started on his journey to flee the country while Obote loyalists soldiers were attempting to make massive arrests of any soldier loyal to Amin especially the ones that belonged to his tribe as well as some of the Sudanese mercenaries that Amin had incorporated into the national army over the years. As expected there was resistance...
from the Amin loyalist army officers who were able to take over Kampala whilst Obote was in Singapore to attend the commonwealth head of states meeting.

B. International-Affiliations

On assuming power in 1971, Amin cemented ties with Britain and Israel which were the first countries to offer Amin diplomatic support. Israel and Britain were the first countries to recognize Amin’s government as the new regime in Kampala while the rest of the world and Africa were trying to first analyse the legality of the situation before committing diplomatic support to Amin. On the morning of the 1971 coup, Israel Defence attaché was able to confirm to Britain that Amin had taken over Kampala and forces loyal to Amin were in control. Both Israel and Britain had vested interests in Amin as the new Ugandan leader. To the Britain Amin presented a better option for Uganda than Obote who by 1971 had embarked on a serious move to the left. Britain had faith in a new government of Amin who did not agree with Obote’s move to the left as a solution to Uganda’s problems. To the British therefore, the replacement of Obote helped deter further expansion of socialism into East Africa. For Israel Amin was a better replacement of Obote especially because Obote halted Israel military support to Anyanya through Ugandan. Israel had been working with Obote to give necessary military support the south Sudanese rebel group Anyanya to fight against the Khartoum government. By 1966 Obote started building good relations with the Khartoum government and halted Israel support for the rebel group. Amin on the other hand had maintained side deals with Israel without the Knowledge of Obote. Therefore Israel had high hopes that Amin in his new capacity as head of state would continue with his support for
Anyanya. Amin benefited from the British and Israeli who supplied him with arms in addition to the MI5 and Mossad training Amin’s security forces\(^\text{191}\).

Further still Obote went on to expand Uganda’s horizon as regards relation to include relations with Arab states. Amin natured relations with Saudi Arabia and Libya. Libya’s Gadhafi and Amin became friends and on various occasions organized state visits to Kampala and Tripoli. Gadhafi on several occasions offered assistance to Amin especially military assistance. Uganda become a member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and Uganda is still a member to-date.\(^\text{192}\)

Amin nationalized foreign companies majority of which were British owned in a bid to hand the Ugandan economy to the ordinary Ugandan. This move to nationalize British companies soured relations with Britain which had high hopes in Amin as an ally in east Africa. In 1972 Amin expelled Asian including Asians with British citizenship severing relations with Britain\(^\text{193}\). It should be noted that during this time, many Indian immigrants had permanently settled in Uganda and become Uganda citizens owning property and businesses. Originally most of the Indians were ferried to Uganda by the British colonial government as casual labourers to build the Uganda railway. Many of these Indian labourers decided to stay in Uganda for years and built lucrative business. Amin expelled them on grounds that they had monopolized trade in Uganda at the expense of Ugandan nationals. It can be urged that Amin acted as a nationalist and patriot.

A big number of these Indians were Uganda citizens with generations born and bred in Uganda and had no connection with India whatsoever. Therefore


majority could not return to India given the fact that they had no property and businesses there. Those who held British citizenship fled to Britain whereas some of the most desperate are said to have drowned themselves in Lake Victoria to escape execution by Amin’s military officers. In order to implement this, Amin redistributed the confiscated Asian businesses to native Ugandans. Property and businesses originally owned by Asians were taken over by native Ugandans who benefited from them.

Amin aligned himself with Palestine and was willing to show his support for the Palestinian cause publicly. Amin allowed safe landing for Palestinian terrorist at Entebbe international airport as proof of his close ties to Palestine. This occurred in a 1976 incident in which Amin collaborated with Palestinian aircraft hijackers by offering them safe landing of a Tel Aviv-bound plane, providing them with the necessary supplies and hosted them during their negotiations with Israel for release of their fellow terrorists. Israel then embarked on a successful rescue mission suffering only one death. Israel’s covert rescue mission team successfully departed Entebbe with the rescued hostages and landed in Kenya for re-fueling before takeoff. This was a major blow and embarrassment to Amin’s regime. In addition Amin condemned Kenya for assisting Israel in the rescue mission. Amin’s relations with Saudi Arabia later paid off when he was granted asylum in Saudi Arabia where he lived in exile until he met his death in 2003.

C. Regional Foreign-Policy

Amin’s relations with neighboring Kenya and Tanzania were cold in comparison to the same relations during Obote and Museveni’s regimes. Such cold relations with neighbours isolated Uganda within East African. The three leaders of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania enjoyed good relations that were consolidated in the East African Community (EAC), a regional body that comprised of these three East African states as pioneer members. The integration under the EAC enabled the three countries to benefit from various economic, political and social advantages. Uganda specifically has benefited greatly from the EAC economic integration as a developing economy. Hostility between Tanzania and Uganda was manifest soon after Amin took over power from Obote. Fortunately for Obote, Nyerere was able to grant him asylum given the good standing relations between the two presidents.\(^\text{196}\) Unfortunately for Nyerere relations with the new president Amin started off on a low note considering that he was harboring Obote whom Amin considered a threat. Amin first act of aggression was a verbal as he became verbally aggressive towards Tanzania and Nyerere in his declarations and decrees.\(^\text{197}\) However, this kind of aggression did not shift Tanzania’s allegiance and thus Nyerere readily supported Obote and continued to offer him asylum. More so, Nyerere welcomed into Tanzania pockets of army offers from Uganda who were fleeing the brutal regime of Amin or were loyal to Obote. With Nyerere’s support, Obote reorganized these soldiers to begin a military campaign aimed at overthrowing Amin and reinstating Obote. They thus used Tanzania as their base while president Nyerere availed them support both

\(^{196}\) Rita, “Uganda a country”, p. 202-203.
military and logistical as they prepared for a military coup and invasion against Amin in Uganda.

However, Amin was made aware of Obote’s planned military attack and he decided to retaliate against Tanzania by launching a preemptive attack so as to intimidate and send a strong message to Nyerere. Obote had created a strong alliance with Tanzania during his presidency and Nyerere and Tanzania in general did not recognize Amin and his government which he viewed as illegal and illegitimate. Amin invaded North-West Kagera area of Tanzania in 1978 and announced he had annexed 710 square miles an act that further provoked Nyerere\footnote{Godfrey Mwikikagile, \textit{Nyerere and Africa: End of an Era}, Pretoria, New Africa Press, 2010, p. 312.}. The hostility between Uganda and Tanzania culminated in Nyerere’s retaliation to Amin’s invasion. After Amin’s invasion of Tanzania, Tanzanian troops led by Obote loyalists took over Kampala in 1979. There after elections were undertaken in 1980 and Obote’s political party won the elections. Amin was given asylum in Saudi Arabia where he lived until 2003 when he died.

The East African community succumbed to heated relations as well as verbal attacks from Amin that severed relations between the member states. To this effect the East African Community became defunct.\footnote{Patrick McGowan, et al., “Power, wealth and Global Equity: An international relations textbook for Africa”,\textit{The Regional Sub-System of East Africa: the new Community and its Prospects}, Rok Ajuli (ed.) Landsdowne, UCT Press, 2007, p. 358-394.} Amin once referred to Nyerere as an old woman and prostitute comments that added to the already crumbling relations\footnote{Michael T. Kaufman, “Ugandans Recall Amin’s Brutality”, Chicago Tribunal, 17 August 2003.} Amin’s insults to Kenya and Tanzania completely breakdown Uganda’s relations with Tanzania and Kenya and consequently affecting the EAC. Amin made threats to annex Kenyan territory and accusing President Kenyatta of greed over the East
By 1967, the internal strife and conflicts amongst member states had reached its peak and was no match for the EAC which had always served as an umbrella organisation that fostered Cooperation. Amin’s continuous insults especially to Nyerere broke down bilateral relations with Tanzania as well as severed any relations through EAC. The member states could not agree on numerous issues that concern the region, had engaged in one-on-one conflicts, and thus were reluctant to foster peace amongst themselves and as a members of a regional body. The east African community officially collapsed in 1977 with member states agreeing on the need to liquidate the EAC assets and distribute the money evenly amongst the three member states Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Relations between the EAC founding member states were revived after Amin was overthrown and in 2000 the EAC was officially reestablished.

III. H.E. PRESIDENT YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI.

A. Profile of the President

On January 26th 1986, youthful, ambitious, charming and charismatic Yoweri Kaguta Museveni and his National Resistance Movement group took over power after a successful military coup, declaring victory and promising positive transformation and change for Uganda. The NRM declared itself the new legitimate government of Uganda amidst massive support from the citizens. Uganda
had by then already experienced a history of dictatorial and underperforming governments. Therefore, the rise of a new leadership promising grass-root democracy, economic growth and development was received with positive support and approval.

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni was born in a remote village in western Uganda called Ntungamo. He was born to parents Amos Kaguta and Esteri Kokundeka both professing Christian religious beliefs as many other millions of Ugandans.204 Museveni’s parents were traditional cattle keepers as such brought Museveni up as a cattle keeper from childhood. Growing up Museveni got the opportunity to attain formal education. Museveni attained primary education at Kyamatte primary school, secondary education at Ntare School and Mbarara from where he was able to move to the Dar es Salaam University from where he attained higher education majoring in political science and economics. Museveni was able to graduate with a bachelor’s degree from Dar es Salaam University.

Three years later on the 24th of August 1973,205 the 29 year old Museveni was joined in holy matrimony with his lovely wife Janet Kataaha Museveni with whom he has stayed married to this date with four children. President Museveni has three daughters and a son all of which have been married since giving the president several grandchildren. The first family children include; Diana Kamuntu who has actively taken on tourism promotion through various media productions, Natasha Karugire who has established herself as a successful fashion designer by profession, Brigadier Muhoozi Kainerugaba a Sandhurst-trained soldier serving as commander

205 Janet Kataaha Museveni, My Life’s Journey, Kampala, Fountain Publishers, 2011, p. 79.
of the special forces command and last but not least is Patience Rwabogo leading a
born again church in the city centre called Covenant nations church.206

To start his political carrier, Museveni served under president Obote as an
intelligence officer. However Museveni’s interest in politics dates back to his
university days during which he formed a students’ political group that was famously
known as the students’ African revolutionary front. Museveni while at the university
was so much interested in liberation movements and personalities like FRELIMO in
Mozambique that was struggling for independence as well as Che Guevara. Museveni fled to Tanzania in 1971 upon Amin seizing power together with other
Obote loyalist who were afraid of the possibility of imprisonment. While in
Tanzania, Museveni participated in plans and preparations to overthrow Amin’s
government by means of military coup.207 The Obote loyalists together with other
small groups that wanted Amin out of power formed a group that was later known as
FRONASA which was facilitated by the Nyerere government in preparation for a
hostile takeover of Kampala. Among the famous FRONASA members and close
friends of Museveni included; Sam Kutesa, Ruhakana Rugunda, Amama Mbabazi,
Kahinda Ottafire among others.208 FRONASA together with other groups in
Tanzania later formed the UNLF with a military wing that was known as the UNLA
which later matched to take over Kampala.

After the UNLF coup, Museveni was appointed as the defence minister under
the UNLF interim government which was headed by one Yusuf Lule. Museveni had

206 ThefamousPeople.com, Yoweri Museveni Biography”, 29 September 2017,
p.1.

207 James C. McKinley JR. “Uganda Leader Stands Tall in New African Order, 15th June 1997,
(accessed on 26th July 2018) p.1

208 Arnold Spero Bisase, Guardian Angel: The Moshi Conspiracy, Bloomington, Author House, 2012,
p.140.
been a major player in mobilizing UNLA forces which were comprised of Museveni trained FRONASA group thus his military expertise partly was the reason for his appointment to the defence department. With his new found position Museveni, rewarded his close friends by incorporating them into the national armed forces. These close friends that followed Museveni from Tanzania later were the same people who followed Museveni to fight the guerrilla war that ushered in the NRM government later in 1986. Museveni later was appointed vice president of the presidential commission that was mainly tasked with organising presidential elections. Museveni was one of the presidential hopefuls who unfortunately lost to president Obote. Unconvinced of the fairness of the 1980 elections, Museveni quickly mobilized a group of close friends that he had originally trained in Tanzania under FRONASA and took to the bushes.\textsuperscript{209} The number of Museveni followers that took to the bush war grew in numbers and strength and named the NRA which became a constant point of uncertainty for the Obote Regime. The NRM launched attacks in various districts, notably Luwero suffered most destruction taking fire from Obote forces that intended to wipe out the NRA rebels as well as the Luwero NRA sympathisers. On 26 and 29 of Jan 1986, Museveni and his NRA fighters took over the streets of Kampala declaring victory and Museveni was sworn in as the new president of the Republic of Uganda respectively\textsuperscript{210}.

Museveni has since been the Ugandan president to date. All the above experiences have been a major factor in shaping the character of Museveni especially as a leader of the nation. The various decisions Museveni has had to make over the


years reflect his character and behaviour as an individual. For example president Museveni can be seen as a man of integrity especially considering the fact that he struggled to keep his promise to the Ugandan people whom he promised democratization and economic prosperity right after he was sworn in as president in 1986. Museveni as promised included human rights into the Ugandan constitution, organised free and fair election as well as referendum. In addition various economic policies like privatisation and industrialisation that have ensured steady progress and Uganda being recognised as one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

Museveni is a very charming individual who has mastered the art of manipulating various groups of people to see things through his point of view by plainly offering what they want to hear. Museveni made promises of socialism by adopting the ten point programme which in nature allowed room for policies like nationalisation of companies. With the socialism promises, Museveni was able to sway big numbers to the bush to fight for his cause which was mainly to attain power. Notably after taking over power Museveni hoped to sway the western powers to his side by adopting the IMF’s structural adjustment programme that included massive privatisation, reduced trade barriers all which allow for a free economy with less state interference. Implementing these policies earned Museveni steady flow of aid from western democracies at the same time able to rally masses behind him.

President Museveni at times passes for a self-centred individual who has more than often presented himself as holding all the solutions to Uganda’s problems and the sole vision barer of the nation. He tends to fuse his individual destiny and that of the nation as being one and the same thus manoeuvring both domestic and political entities to align with his personal vision for the nation. In this regard
Museveni continues to put forward his own political party as the party with the best national vision and has often given his party members more privileges in comparison to other opposition parties that seem to be on the outside looking in.

**B. Pan-African Sentiments: The Internal Conflict in Sudan**

It should be noted that although Uganda has recently been increasingly involved in policing the region, settling armed conflicts and engaging military endeavors in other states in Africa, this trend has been a part of Uganda’s foreign policy since independence. In the same manner, president Museveni who shares the same Pan-Africanism ideology and view of freedom, decided to adopt the same foreign policies as Obote and indeed continued in the same footsteps in his relations with South Sudan liberation struggle until 2011. The struggle in South Sudan which lasted several decades finally yielded results when South Sudan broke away and was granted independence as a sovereign country. However, the post-independence period of the young newly independent nation of South Sudan has faced civil war and like Obote, president Museveni has offered support in solving the conflicts as part of Uganda’s foreign policy. Therefore, Uganda has been involved in South Sudan’s pre and post-independence struggles although both were of different kinds. The latest South Sudan civil war is also its first major post-independence conflict. The conflict is a power-struggle between current president Salvar Kiir and the former vice president Riek Machar. In 2013, vice president Riek Machar was rumored to have interest in running for presidency in the upcoming 2015 presidential elections.

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This prompted President Salvar Kiir to make an abrupt and immediate reshuffle of his cabinet and top government leadership because he viewed the vice president Machar as a political threat. Through this reshuffle, the vice president Riek Machar was dropped and lost his position in the government of South Sudan. The president intended this to be a move that would undercut the vice president’s political aspirations and ambitions before the elections of 2015 as he was a potential political opponent of the president. This move by the president sparked the onset of a civil war in the country as it deepened power struggle and rivalry between the two parties. As a result, two factions formed, one loyal to president Kiir and one loyal to vice-president Machar. The height of this tension finally broke out into a full blown civil war on 15th December 2013.

The quickly escalating conflict became too heavy within the first two days to be ignored by South Sudan’s neighbors such as Uganda as well as the United Nations. After hundreds had died in just the first few days of the conflict, President Museveni of Uganda was requested by the UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon to intervene before the conflict turned into a genocide. Other members of the international community began to get involved as the intensity of the conflict gradually caught the attention of the international community. For example, the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) immediately assembled for a meeting in Nairobi.\footnote{Alex De Waal, “When Kleptocracy Becomes Insolvent: Brute Causes of the Civil War in South Sudan”, \textit{African Affairs}, Vol. 113, No. 452, 2014, p.347-370.} During the IGAD meeting, Uganda was tasked with ensuring safe evacuation of the civilian population and international aid workers It was also assigned with the protection of vital infrastructure such as the Juba airport. It should
be noted that Museveni’s relations and connections with South Sudan date back to his early phase of his presidency.

Important to note however, Museveni’s attachment to south Sudan dates back to the early days of his presidency. Whereas Museveni’s NRM fighting a guerilla war in order to take over Kampala and government, instead the SPLA fighters in South Sudan already had successfully put considerable pressure on President Gaafar Nimeiri’s Muslim Government. President Gaafar’s government of Sudan adopted a domestic policy that was inhumane and insensitive towards the Christian population of Southern Sudan. President Gaafar and his government were determined to impose Sharia Law on the Christian South region of the country, disregarding the consequences of such a policy. Therefore, the formation and emergence of the SPLA Group was in response to president Gaafar’s attempt to implement his Muslim Sharia law policy in the predominantly Christian Southern region of Sudan. Being a freedom fighter himself, after taking over power in 1986, Uganda’s president Museveni decided to support Southern Sudan’s SPLA group in their fight against president Gaafar’s government. For Museveni, the responsibility to intervene in South Sudan was an opportunity to further his political intentions and foreign policy with Sudan. For Museveni, it was an opportunity to retaliate against president Gaafar who had been harboring troops loyal to former president Obote who had been ousted. They had been working against the regime of president Museveni with the aim of overthrowing it and reinstating it in a similar as they had done against president Amin in 1980

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The Lord’s Resistant Army emerged as one of the rebel groups which were supported by the government of Sudan. At the time this was a just a small disgruntled group of youth fighting against the government of Museveni. However, over time, the LRA, became a stronger force which was receiving support and assistance from the Sudan government in Khartoum. The Sudan government gave military training and logistics to this rebel group. Whereas president Museveni supported the SPLA fighting group in Southern region of Sudan in its struggle against president Bashir’s Sudan government in Khartoum, also president Bashir supported the LRA rebel group in their fight against Museveni’s government in Kampala on the other hand. The LRA committed massive killings of civilians, crimes against humanity and war crimes against the Ugandan population in the northern region for more than a decade. The tension and deterioration in relations between Uganda and Sudan culminated in the recall of Uganda’s ambassador from Khartoum- Sudan in 1995. Nevertheless, the two countries mended diplomatic relations after the signing the 1999 Nairobi agreement and thus Uganda re-opened its embassy while the both countries resolved to combine efforts and neutralize the LRA rebels. This agreement and good foreign relations between Uganda and Sudan yielded successful results. The Ugandan army (UPDF) working together with the government of Sudan were able to overpower the LRA rebels and push the group out of Sudan. The LRA thus exited Sudan and advanced into the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic. The collaboration between the Uganda and Sudan in combating the LRA was called the Operation Iron Fit (OIF). This successful joint operation began in 2002. Three years later in 2005, the government

of Sudan signed a peace agreement with the SPLA fighter group from South Sudan. The peace agreement was called the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

In the spirit of Pan-Africanism, Museveni supported the black Christian population of South Sudan whom he viewed as being marginalized and oppressed by the Muslim Sudanese population in Khartoum. According to Museveni, it was impossible for the Christians in the south and the Muslims in the north to co-exist as a state as it was at the time. He believed the Muslims’ perceptions of social-living, politics and religion were very deviant. In addition, he supported the view that the Southern region of Sudan be granted independence to become a sovereign state. The process of Sudan’s southern people breaking way from Sudan began in 9th January 2005 when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed by both the SPLA fighter group from southern Sudan and the Sudan government. From the start, Museveni supported the struggle by the southern Sudan people to break away from Sudan. He was willing to provide assistance in achieving successful struggle even before South Sudan became an independent state. Museveni’s inspiration came from the Pan-Africanism ideology to which he subscribes and aims to support all fellow African people in the struggle to attain freedom social, economic and political freedom.

Apart from the purpose of strengthening relations with the Western countries and survival of the regime, South Sudan presents economic benefits for Uganda. Since gaining independence, South Sudan economy had provided a large market base for Uganda’s exports especially agricultural goods and produce. This provides market even for excess production which would otherwise result in waste due to lack

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of sufficient market demand in Uganda. South Sudan has been facing shortage of supplies especially food-shortage because of the civil war. This provides a steady demand for Ugandan goods and benefit for the Ugandan economy. Therefore, Uganda’s contribution to the peace building process in South Sudan is an important part of its foreign policy. Moreover, Uganda has a large portion of its population living and working in South Sudan. This has been as a result of the attractive opportunities of a budding economy whose benefits Ugandans hope to tap into and exploit especially the large number of traders who relocated to Juba to take advantage of the large market. The civil war in South Sudan affected the growth of the economy and as a result, is one of the most underdeveloped in Africa especially in areas of industrialization, agriculture, among others.

Despite the above rationale for Uganda’s deployment of its armed forces (UPDF) in South Sudan, president Museveni has been accused by members of the international community of meddling and interfering in the national affairs of South Sudan. More so, some of South Sudan’s nationals hold the view that their sovereignty as an independent country should be free of interference by other countries. In addition to this, there was a rising opposition and criticism towards Museveni’s intervention in South Sudan. Even greater criticism came from the parliament of Uganda. This criticism was based on the argument that government resources were committed towards intervention in South Sudan without the consultation and approval of parliament. However, president Museveni’s argument was that the intervention into South Sudan to neutralize the civil war was a matter of urgency. The death toll was rising daily, hundreds displaced and the lives of numerous Ugandan nationals were at stake and needed to be protected or evacuated.
President Museveni thus communicated about the intervention to the parliament through the speaker of parliament given the urgency of the situation. As part of Uganda’s mandate and assignment in the intervention in the South Sudan civil war conflict, Uganda’s UPDF was responsible for the safe evacuation and transit of civilians, international workers and mostly Ugandan nationals and traders who were fleeing from the conflict. This was to be done mainly by securing and protecting the major cities of Bor, Jonglei, and Juba. This was because majority of traders were based in these cities. This was a successful operation as UPDF successfully secured Juba airport through which numerous Ugandan nationals and refugees fleeing from the conflict were safely evacuated.

The Ugandan government on more than one accession has clarified the fact that the UPDF forces only entered South Sudan after the South Sudan government had granted and welcomed assistance from Ugandan forces. Further still president Museveni confirmed that he had been contacted by the then UN secretary general Ban Ki Moon in regards to immediate assistance to prevent a possible genocide scenario in South Sudan. It’s well within the rights of South Sudan as a sovereign states to call upon another country or international organisation to assist in an overwhelming violent situation within its borders.

On the same note, Uganda’s military intervention in South Sudan during violence breakouts was sanctioned by IGAD, a regional organisation to which both countries are member states. In 2013, IGAD member states convened an emergency meeting in Kenya’s capital Nairobi with the main agenda of finding an immediate

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action plan to the fresh outbreak of violence in South Sudan. Among the immediate possible action was the sending of Ugandan troops into the Capital Juba with the main goal of securing the capital and main airport and transport routes leading out to Ugandan border. This would enable trapped Ugandan citizens and other nationals to flee the violence. IGAD as an regional organisation was originally founded in 1986 with Uganda and Sudan as one of the founding member states. Since its inception, IGAD has been instrumental in peace-building efforts in the east and horn of Africa region including violence stricken areas of Somalia and Burundi.

C. Regional Peace-Building: The Internal Conflict in DRC

The Congo is another country in the great lakes region that the UPDF forces have camped with the main aim of securing peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as well as securing Ugandan borders. Internal conflict, rebel activity and war-lord terrorism have all characterised the internal situation in the Democratic republic of Congo for over four decades. This internal violence has been harder to contain by the DRC government given its economic and military constraints in comparison to the vast country side and wide spread rebel activity. This prolonged internal violence has destabilized the nation with many people left homeless and living in terror. Various rebel groups headed by warlords and terrorists have taken control of a relatively large part of the country especially the rural areas that remain inaccessible due to undeveloped transport infrastructure. In addition to the above, the desire and greed to control natural resources of the DRC has facilitated the

continuous violence in the country. Every individual, warlord strives to terrorize and control a larger area in order to ensure maximum profits from the natural resources that are attained through subduing citizens to massive forced labour.

Unfortunately the country’s vast natural resources like minerals, natural gas, forests among others have attracted third party profiteers like neighboring states and foreign individuals and companies that have been accused if further fueling the violence for their benefit.\textsuperscript{219} Such profiteers continue to enable the various warlords and rebels through military supplies in return for minerals from the country. This kind of external assistance to the rebels has simply fueled the internal violence that now seems to be the normal order of like within the DRC. Little effort has been made by regional and international organizations alike to combat the internal violence with the DRC. This job has been left to the Congolese government to solve alone thus yielding almost no progress given the technicality of the situation that even involves military aid from external sources. While this the problem of internal violence within the Congo has been neglected with less attention from neighboring states and international organizations, the transnational aspect of this violence has forced action from neighboring states. As expected such prolonged violence that was spreading all over the country held a high possibility of spreading over into other neighboring states like Uganda. In addition refugees were meant to move in large numbers in search of refugee from neighboring states. What started out as a Congolese government problem eventually became a regional problem.

Among the many rebel groups dwelling in the vast Congo forests are some of Ugandan rebel groups using the forests as bases for regrouping and organizing.

attacks on Uganda. Since the NRM victory in 1986, various rebel groups poised against the NRM government have sprouted from various parts of the country. Particularly the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) is a rebel group that initially sprouted in the western Uganda districts in particular the Congo-Uganda border district of Kasese.\(^{220}\) Unfortunately the ADF since its inception has failed to fulfill its major goal of overthrowing president Museveni and the NRM regime. In a bid to cause as much trouble for the NRM regime as regards internal security, the ADF rebels resorted to guerilla warfare launching attacks on the people of Kasese in western Uganda. The Ugandan government forces the UPDF were able to launch military expeditions on the ADF rebels hiding in western Uganda eventually forcing the remnant rebels of the ADF group into hiding in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo.\(^{221}\) It’s from these hide outs that the ADF rebels regrouped and coordinated attacks on the Ugandan government. In addition to the ADF rebels, the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) too set up base in the DRC after being defeated by military operations that were conducted on the LRA in South Sudan hide outs with the assistance of the Sudan government. The LRA not only regrouped in the DRC but also launched gruesome attacks on the people of DRC further worsening the insecurity in the DRC as well as a threat to the Ugandan government. These rebels took advantage of the fact that Uganda had no jurisdiction in the DRC so the UPDF forces could not easily enter the DRC in pursuit of these rebels.

It’s upon this dilemma that these two rebel groups ADF and the LRA were able to regroup enlarge and coordinate effective attacks on Ugandan soil without


much interference from the Ugandan forces that were always caught unaware. Citing this situation, president Museveni sent Ugandan troops into eastern Congo in pursuit of the ADF and LRA rebels in 1998 in order to ensure the security of Ugandans especially the ones living in border town of Kasese who were in direct danger of imminent attacks from rebels based in eastern DRC\textsuperscript{222}. The UPDF has been able to control ADF and LRA attacks on Uganda forcing the LRA rebels to retreat further into the Central African Republic from where they have since launched attacks on locals. The ADF rebels have been disbanded with no major attacks on Uganda for a while though this has not been confirmed that the group has been totally disbanded given the vast area of the Congo country that provides a hiding haven for these rebels continually.

President Museveni has made it clear several times that his government had only one intention of securing Uganda’s borders and national safety by evading the rebel hide outs in eastern DRC\textsuperscript{223}. None the less, various parties like international organizations continuously blame the act of sending UPDF troops into the DRC as a breach of international law from various angles. The DRC government in 1999 forwarded a case to The Hague disputing Uganda’s jurisdiction, citing Uganda’s violation of both the AU and UN charters\textsuperscript{224}. The DRC presented claims that Ugandan forces had plundered the DRC’s natural resources and committed international crimes against the people of eastern Congo. However Ugandan maintained her argument of national security as well as regional security; many

refugees from Congo continue to flee the Uganda amid heavy violence from anti-
government rebels and the neighboring countries like Uganda have to provide shelter
and basics for the refugees. Besides the East African region risks an overspill of
violence from the Congo if nothing is done to avert the alarming situation in DRC
that has lasted decades now without major help and attention from both international
organizations and regional corporations alike. Such violence is transnational in
nature and whether regional governments care to admit it or not, such violence
pauses a threat to regional peace and security and therefore calls for joint effort.

D. Regime-Survival Tactics: The Internal Conflict in Somalia

The country Somalia is synonymous with civil war, poor economic status at
best considered a failed state dating back as the year 1991 since the total collapse of
military government that was led by Said Bare in the presidential capacity. Since the
year 1991 the country known as Somalia has been plunged into further turmoil and
violence by war lords and rebel leaders who have since then assumed control of the
larger part of the nation employing terrorism as the normal order of things. Notorious
terror groups like Al-Qaida since penetrated the Somali area funding and nurturing
domestic terror Islamic groups like the al-shabab groups that have in return terrorized
the East African region.

Somalia as country since 1991 has experienced political turmoil with no
central authority and since has been categorized as a failed state. With no central
authority this has left the country vulnerable to the brutal control of warlords as well
as rebel groups. Various terror groups like the al-shabab control most of the country
and have since been linked to terrorist groups like al Qaida and the latest Isis. Al
shabab has claimed responsibility for several attacks in neighboring countries like Ugandan and Kenya. In an effort to avert an overspill of this violence into Somalia as well as maintaining regional and international peace, Uganda has been an active member in peace keeping efforts in Somalia.

In this regard, the Ugandan government has sent the largest number of troops in Somalia to participate in the ongoing peace-keeping mission funded by both the UN and AU organizations known as AMISOM\textsuperscript{225}. Uganda has the biggest number of troops on ground in Somalia along side Kenya. As a result of this effort, Kenya and Uganda have suffered terrorist attacks organized by the al-shabab terrorist group based in Somalia. Therefore Uganda’s participation in the Somalia peace-keeping missions is to the benefit of Somalia as it’s to Uganda’s as well. Notably Uganda has participated in the pioneer efforts to rebuild peace in Somalia dating back to the year 1992 before the AMISOM forces were constituted by the combined efforts of the UN and AU. In the year 1992 Uganda with the aid and initiative of the UN was actively involved in peace-building in Somalia. In 2007 Uganda too in conjunction with Ethiopia initiated peace efforts for the Somalia region under the AV and IGAD mandate. In 2012 on the 22 of Feb, a UN resolution to increase troops in Somalia was passed in order to ensure that the troops can secure beyond Mogadishu. In response Uganda sent more troops and Mogadishu has been secured. In the same year 2012 presidential election were held in Somalia for the first time in a period of 20 years. The former interim government led by one Sharif Sheik Ahmed, peacefully transferred power to the president elect Hassan Sheik Mohamud.

\textsuperscript{225} Peter Wallenstein, \textit{Regional Organizations and Peacekeeping: Challenges to the UN?}, New York, Routledge, 2015, p. 185.
Restoring a successful operational government in Somalia has been a great joint success by regional and international cooperation, particularly with majority soldiers from Ugandan and Kenyan governments. With a government in place, the activities of rebel and terrorist groups can be controlled and neutralized in the long run, thus reducing the risk of terrorism in the region. With the increased terror activities and sells funded by ISIS, all countries in the region are not safe from such terror threats. Therefore a joint effort to maintain peace in the region is a necessity because such terrorism activities are transnational in nature. A spillover of violence can be catastrophic to any given nation in the region causing economic and political damage. Besides the spillover of refugees from war tone zones is an added expense to the host nation, therefore prevention of war in any country in the region is as much as a benefit to all other countries in the region. In addition securing security in neighboring states is priority for Uganda for a number of reasons the most obvious being the fact that Uganda is a landlocked country that is served by seaports in the neighboring states. Therefore securing such seaports goes a great way in securing Uganda’s import and export trade.

Importantly too, championing the fight against terrorism and peacekeeping has been a major donor expectation for countries like Uganda that are especially dependent of foreign aid. In the early 90’s the donor expectations mainly revolved around democratic governance ideas like multi-party system of governance that the NRM government adopted. This was done by constitutional reforms that allowed for human rights clauses to be adopted as well as ensuring the rule of law. However

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with the western campaign against terrorism and extremism, donor states require African recipient states to be supportive of this campaign and become allies in this fight against terrorism. Uganda has been active participant in regional peace keeping missions and in return has benefited by securing her own nation from possible terror attacks and sells. Furthermore Uganda has received continuous aid from western donors like the USA in form of military aid to facilitate in the fights against international terrorism and extremism.

In addition, president Museveni is a strong believer in the Pan African ideology and continues to support any African country that is need of help especially as regards peace keeping. It’s a known fact that majority of African nations continue to struggle with internal violence that is normally as a result of poor economic status that leave the masses disgruntled and blaming governments for their poor financial conditions. With the Pan African ideological values, African leaders believe in the idea of collective cooperation to find lasting solutions to the continent’s problems that often include civil war. For this reason president Museveni under various regional and international initiatives like the AU, UN EAC and IGAD among others has willing participated in peace keeping missions.

E. International Commitments: The LRA case and The ICC

The NRM govern led by president Museveni took over power in the year 1987 by means of a coup that overthrew the Obote government. While a good members of Museveni’s team were celebrating their victory, Obote loyalists were contemplating on how to overthrow the new NRM government even before it’s inaugurated. Unfortunately the NRM hostile takeover stirred tribalism and ethnic
sentiments amongst the peoples of northern Uganda especially the Acholi and Langi. In protest of the NRM authority, the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) a rebel groups led by one Joseph Kony set an agenda to overthrow the NRM government and install a religious government that respected the Ten Commandments\(^\text{228}\).

Kony took advantage of the fact that many of Obote’s tribes men felt that Obote was wrongfully ousted and was the legitimate president of Uganda. In addition the Acholi feared that all the privileges they had enjoyed under the Obote regime many of which were attached to better jobs in the police, army and civil service would soon be enjoyed by the westerners, a tribal group that Museveni belongs to\(^\text{229}\). the new LRA recruits manly youth took to the bushes terrorizing and abducting the people of northern Uganda especially the kids whom they trained to be child soldiers at a very tender age. The Lord’s Resistance Army was initially underestimated by the NRM government that was negligent to seek regional and international assistance until it was too late especially for the victims that suffered despicable torture at the hands of the LRA rebels.

Amid heavy pressure from the masses to find a solution to the protracted LRA war in northern Uganda, the NRM government in 2003 finally decided to refer the LRA case to the International Criminal Court (ICC) \(^\text{230}\). This decision was preceded by Uganda’s ratification of the Rome statute on the 14\(^{\text{th}}\) of June 2002. In response the ICC launched investigations into the activities of the LRA rebels in northern Uganda. Subsequently in 2005 arrest warrants for rebel leader Kony together with four of his top commanders were unveiled by the ICC. The crimes


committed by the LRA were well in the jurisdiction of the international criminal court. These crimes included; child abduction, mass murders, rape, sexual slavery all categorized under crimes against humanity and war crimes. Millions of people in northern Uganda have been internally displaced with hundreds killed and kidnapped by the LRA rebel group.

The international criminal court surely put pressure on the LRA that moved further into Sudan to avoid arrest. The Sudanese government later cooperated with Ugandan troops to neutralize the LRA rebels that had camped in Sudan. Eventually the LRA were forced into hiding in the Democratic Republic of Congo where the unfortunately were able to regroup and attack locals. However the UPDF was able to send them fleeing further into the Central African Republic where some remnants are assumed to have regrouped and are still in hiding.

The 2005 International Criminal Court warrants are still in place and to that effect one of the LRA rebel commanders Dominic Ongwen was arrested by UPDF forces in the Central African Republic amid heavy fighting with remnant LRA sells in the country. The rest of the indicted commanders including Raska Lukwiya, Okot Odhiambo and Joseph Kony are still at large while Vincent Otti and Lukwiya were killed by Kony in 2007 and 2006 respectively over internal disputes within the group. Dominic Ongwen trial at the ICC proceedings that started in Dec of 2015 and is ongoing with expert witness testimonies; Ongwen is accused of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Pleas for a deferral of the LRA case to be tried within the Ugandan judicial system and the traditional Acholi systems have been verbally made by the Ugandan president and Acholi religious and traditional leaders. This deferral rhetoric dates
back to 2006 with the failed peace talks between the Ugandan government and the LRA rebels\textsuperscript{231} that failed to yield any progress; the LRA rebels demanded that the outstanding ICC warrants against them to be dropped as a condition for signing the peace deal. President Museveni tried convincing the rebel team at the peace talks that the blanket amnesty initiated in 2000 by the government would shield them from the ICC warrants but all was in vain\textsuperscript{232}. This prompted president Museveni’s deferral plea in regard to the ICC LRA case. However the ICC has been adamant and is sticking to the original plan of prosecuting the LRA commanders for war crimes and crimes against humanity. In the same manner various Acholi cultural and religious leaders have made their case for the LRA commanders to be tried in Uganda and especially through the traditional Acholi Mato-Oput system that encourages reconciliation and forgiveness citing the fact that the indicted rebel leaders are formerly Acholi children who were abducted from their homes as little children and trained as child soldiers. Actual war in northern Uganda has been neutralized with people out of Internally Displaced People camps and have resettled in their homes with continues support from government and NGOs that provide psychological support to former victims especially the former child soldiers. Justice is for the crimes committed is under way with one Ongwen undergoing trial at the ICC and another Thomas Kwoyelo a former LRA rebel undergoing trial at the Uganda’s international crimes division of the high court. As duly noted in the subsequent chapters, Ugandan foreign policy has shifted Ugandan foreign policy has shifted with regime change however important to note, some policies have remained constant in core with variations in approach.

\textsuperscript{231} Joanna op.cit, p. 58-59.
IV PERSISTENT UGANDAN FOREIGN POLICY

A. Pan-Africanism

As duly noted in the subsequent chapters, Ugandan foreign policy has varied with regime change however important to note, some policies have persisted on despite seasons of cold relations that have proven time and time to be unavoidable and unpredictable at times. Among the persistent Ugandan foreign policy is Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism became widespread in the early 60 when a wave of independence struggles swept across the continents. The main core values of Pan-Africanism entail independence, preserving African culture, as well as unifying all Africans as one people working to manage their own challenges as a continent. These Pan-African sentiments in the early 60’s were championed by the likes of Nkwame Nkruma and other African nationalist like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who were emulated by Milton Obote of Uganda. The main aim of the Pan Africanist champions in the early 60’s was mainly the struggle for independence of the African continent as a whole and the fight against racial discrimination against people of African descent. Many African leaders were involved in independence struggles across the continent rendering help to fellow freedom fighters in any form possible such as military aid, facilitating training camps as well as safe passage for asylum seekers.


By the end of the 60’s most African countries had attained independence from their colonial masters and therefore their Pan-Africanist agenda currently is focused on maintaining and preserving total independence of the African states. While independence of most African states was achieved in the 60’s, the struggle to be fully independent without any external assistance has remained the biggest task at hand for many African countries. Many African countries still struggle with failing economies and eventually have had to rely on handouts from developed powers especially from their former colonial masters thus cultivating a patronizing relationship. African governments seek to be treated as equals by their former colonial powers however to achieve this fully, African government have to struggle to attain total independence and be able to run their own governments without external assistance whatsoever. Unfortunately this total independence for African states seems to be a dream that is shifting further and further away from grasp considering that most African economies heavily depend on handouts and loans from developed states. However this has not killed the Pan-African spirit in the African states men who continue with the struggle to unite African people so that they are able to preserve and defend their sovereignty, deal with African problems without interference from outside the continent and eradicating all forms of colonialism such as neocolonialism.

Pan-African sentiments have been portrayed in Uganda’s foreign policy and can be pinpointed from presidents Obote Amin and Museveni’s foreign policy decisions. To start with, Obote as a Pan-Africanist focused his foreign policy strategy on fighting colonialism, racial discrimination as well as rights for Africans. In this

regard, Obote made sure that Uganda joined regional organizations that fronted African unity as a core value and a solution to African problems. In the Pan-African spirit, president Obote being the first head of state saw to it that Uganda was a founding member of the East African community, an organisation that was focused on East African sustainable development and larger political unification. Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania under the British colonial government enjoyed common services and soon after the above countries attained independence the respective heads of state went ahead to formalize their economic relations by establishing the East African cooperation in 1967. Unfortunately the cooperation lasted up until 1977 when it was dissolved due to irreconcilable differences between the three member states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The main aim of the EAC is to achieve total independence by creating a common market, customs union, a monetary union and a political federation as the ultimate goal. President Obote signed up Uganda to the EAC and participated in efforts by the regional block to attain collective political and economic independence that would help Uganda minimize dependency on western developed powers. Joining together efforts with other east African countries of Kenya and Tanzania was in line with Uganda’s Pan Africanist goals. Taking over power in 1971, Uganda under the leadership of president Amin remained a member of the EAC until it was dissolved in 1977.

The EAC was later revived in 1999 with the signing of the treaty to establish the EAC with Uganda being represented by president Museveni. Carrying on the mantle of Pan-Africanism, president Museveni has keep Uganda’s participation in the EAC very active with the ultimate goal of a greater political integration.236

Museveni has been one of the strongest advocates for a greater political integration of the EAC that now include Rwanda and Burundi that joined in 2007 as well as South Sudan joined in 2016. President Museveni’s argument for a political integration is one based on sustainable development that will phase out the dependency on foreign handouts that only foster further control and keep Africa indebted to western donors. The EAC aims at pooling together the regions resources to the benefit of all member states thus fading away economic disparities and in the long run strengthening East Africa’s bargaining power on the international scene.

In the same spirit of Pan-Africanism Uganda’s founding father Obote ensured that Uganda joined the OAU as a member state. Obote undertook the OAU’s main core values of fight racial discrimination, anti-colonial sentiments as well as unifying all Africans. Uganda’s OAU membership has been a constant throughout Obote, Amin and Museveni’s regimes. During Obote’s regime Uganda became a member state of the OAU and an active one with Obote attending Heads of state OAU summits as well committing government resources to OAU’s goals like fighting colonialism, racisms, and African rights as well fighting apartheid in South Africa. Amin too after assuming power in 1971 kept Uganda an active member of the OAU hosting the first ever heads of state OAU summit in Kampala in 1975. Amin also put more emphasis on closer ties with African states in place of closer ties with western powers. Amin upheld Pan-African values and opted for closer ties with richer African countries like Libya for aid and closer collaboration to tackle Ugandan

economic problems thus supporting the notion of African unity. Amin went to Tripoli on a state visit in February 1972, a visit which marked a series of bilateral relations between Uganda and Libya. A return visit was made by a delegation from Tripoli which visited Kampala and further promises of cooperation were made official. Libya promised military training for Ugandan security organs in addition to pledging economic support through import of large amounts of Ugandan coffee. Gadhafi made good on his promise to Amin by airlifting troops to reinforce Ugandan forces against any Tanzanian confrontation and later in 1977 troops were sent to help avert the internal unrest in Uganda.  

As regards OAU relations, Museveni has been vocal in supporting OAU agenda especially pushing for greater political integration of the African continent. Greater African political integration has always been the OAU’s ultimate goal and so far has been fronted by Museveni and Gadhafi however questions of feasibility await practical answers before such political integration is realised by the OAU member states. In the same spirit of Pan-Africanism, Obote committed Ugandan resources to fight apartheid in South Africa. Obote availed safe refuge for ANC freedom fighter in addition to military training and aid. Under the South African apartheid system in South Africa, Africans were segregated and it was the AU’S Goal to end the racial discrimination in the south of the continent. AU member states like Uganda committed resources to this cause until 1994 when South Africans held the first elections with nelson Mandela who was the voice of anti-apartheid struggles.

emerging victorious.\footnote{South African History Online, “South Africa’s First Democratic Elections”, 27 April 2017, https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/south-africas-first-democratic-elections, (Accessed 1 December 2018)} Mandela under the ANC umbrella was supported by Obote’s government until the apartheid system was ended officially.

In addition Obote gave military support to the Anyanya rebel group in south Sudan that was struggling for south Sudanese political rights. Obote being a pan Africanist willingly supported the south Sudanese, giving them safe refuge in Uganda in addition to military aid. Later in 1971 after taking over power Amin continued with open support for the South Sudan Christians whom he asserted were being mistreated by the Northern Muslim leaders therefore was helping them attain their rights and freedoms as fellow Africans. Amin supplied the Anyanya fighters with arms just like his predecessor Obote had done in the past. Carrying on the same mission, Museveni on accession to power in 1985 continued with support to the South Sudanese fighters who by the 80’s had regrouped into a more organized group known as the SPLA. With continued military support SPLA led South Sudan secede from Sudan on the 9\textsuperscript{th} of July 2011.\footnote{Jeffrey Gettleman, “After Years of Struggle, South Sudan Becomes a New Nation”, \textit{the New York Times}, 9 July 2011.}

\textbf{B. British Relations}

The persistence in Uganda-British relations is not so farfetched considering that Britain was Uganda’s colonial power until the day Uganda attain independence. Uganda had been under colonial rule for 68 years a period during which Ugandan foreign relations were conducted by the commonwealth chambers in London. Preparations to grant Uganda independence were birthed in London and formal
preparations commenced in 1961 at the London conference. The 1961 London conference was attended by 110 Ugandans representing various political parties.\textsuperscript{244} This London conference that took place at the Lancaster house on the eve of Uganda’s independence was purposed to discuss Ugandan constitutional system.\textsuperscript{245} As agreed upon at the conference, the Ugandan constitution features turned out to be similar to the British constitutional system\textsuperscript{246} with members of parliament elected by directly by the people, cabinet ministers appointed by the head of state and the prime minister as head of state. This political similarity with the British created a political bond with Uganda thus paving the way for future relations as two independent states. Uganda joined the common wealth of nations upon gaining independence in 1962.

Soon after independence a Ugandan mission was established in London thus formalizing relations with Britain. Obote in his capacity as the prime minister of Uganda and head of state took the initiative to build a personal relationship with British prime minister at the time Macmillan Harold. Obote and Macmillan met in New York at the United Nations where they interacted as equals. Initiating talks about Kenya’s independence, Obote travelled to London to express the need for Kenya’s independence especially since this was hindering the proper running of the East African Common Service Organisation. With Uganda and Tanganyika already independent, Kenya was not in a position to make independent decisions. Thanks to the good relations with Britain, Obote was able to receive military reinforcements from Britain help avert the rebellion staged by the military in 1964 over salary

\textsuperscript{244} Thembo Kahungu Misairi, “He Took Part in the Lancaster Conference”, \textit{New Vision}, 7 November 2012.
increment. Britain sent about 500 soldiers to fight on behalf of Obote’s government and combat the situation.²⁴⁷

Likewise Amin soon after taking over power from Obote, Britain was among the first countries to recognize Amin’s regime.²⁴⁸ Britain’s immediate recognition of Amin’s regime which had taken over power by means of a coup was misrepresented to some as a sign that Britain assisted in master minding the coup. To the British Amin was a means to revive the long standing relations with Uganda that had been neglected by Obote especially when he opted to move to the left. To reaffirm his stand with the British government, Amin lifted for London shortly after taking over office in 1971. During the London state visit Amin was reassured that Britain was willing to sell military equipment to Amin in addition to military training for security officers in London as well as setting up a military school in Uganda.²⁴⁹ Amin was in the good books of London especially since he ousted his predecessor Obote who had become a threat to democracy in Uganda. With Amin’s ascension to power, Britain had the hope of reopening investment channels in Uganda, thus booming trade for both Uganda and Britain. During Amin’s regime British relations were severed in 1976 with the British citing the Entebbe plane hijacking and the expulsion of Indian British nationals in addition to massive nationalization of British owned firms. Despite all the soured relations, Amin extended an olive branch towards the British requesting that diplomatic ties be restored. In 1979 the British diplomats returned to

Uganda to commence consular duties.\textsuperscript{250} Over 7000 British nationals lived and worked in Uganda though many of them may have fled the country due to temporary breakdown in relations with Uganda after 1976, however some British firms continued transacting business with President Amin until relations were restored.

In 1986 president Museveni became the new leader of Uganda bringing with him new hopes for both Ugandans as well as the possibility of closer relations with other states especially Britain. The British minister for oversees development Linda Chalker was the first foreign diplomat to meet president Museveni in 1986 soon after assuming power to secure British interests.\textsuperscript{251} As an outcome of Linda’s meeting with Museveni, a number of British expatriates were appointed to key positions in Kampala government. For example William pike was appointed the managing director of the New Vision which is the national newspaper. Placing British nationals in key position in the Ugandan Government was a direct indicator of British ties with Uganda. In addition British direct investments have tremendously increased with over 100 British companies that have been conducting Businesses in Uganda for years including Barclays Bank and Tullow oil. Tullow oil acquired three exploration licenses to explore virgin areas of Lake Albert and various development plans have been approved by the Ugandan government in a joint venture. Such British investments continue to provide jobs for Ugandans in addition to government generating revenue from them. Ugandan exports to Britain have increased with processed coffee and tea being the main exports. Likewise Ugandan imports a sizable number of industrial goods from Britain a business relationship that has been


cultivated over the years under the consecutive presidents Obote, Amin and Museveni. Bilateral relations between Ugandan and Britain are further promoted by the Department of International Development (DFID) which fronts British global leadership interest concerning economic development through various channels like direct investment opportunities, developmental aid as well as job creation. The DFID has set aside a Budget of 100 million pounds allocated to Uganda for the financial year 2018/19 to be channeled through refugee response efforts, fight against malaria and development plans for Northern Uganda. State visits have been exchanged between Uganda and Britain the most notable one being Her Majesty the Queen’s visit to Uganda in 2007. The Queen visited Kampala to attend the 2007 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). Other British diplomats that have visited Uganda include Ivan Lewis the undersecretary of state for DFID (2009 February) and Hilary Benn secretary of state for international development (May 2006) among others. President Museveni in recent years has made state visits to London in March 2008 and 2009 with other dignitaries making various visits to London over the years securing British relations considering the fact that Britain has been a big supporter of the Ugandan economy over the years.

C. Israel Relations

Soon after attaining independence, Uganda’s Obote first and foremost established formal relations with Britain the former colonial power followed by

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relations with Israel. These bilateral relations were to the benefit of Israel which hoped to assert her stand within Africa by actively involving in various schemes like developmental projects, agricultural and military as well as public administration training in Uganda. In this regard, Israel gave Obote a warm reception in September 1962 when he visited Tel Aviv shortly before Uganda attained her independence formally from the British. Obote was able to command respect even before he had been officially declared the prime minister of Uganda mainly because Israel considered him a potential asset in East Africa. Israel jumped at the chance to help the new Ugandan government train her military and other security organs as well as train new government administrative officers.

As a show of good will towards the Ugandan government, the Israel Labour minister Allon Yigal who was in attendance at the Ugandan independence ceremony made public the 150 scholarships that Tel-Aviv had offered to Ugandan students in the fields of Agriculture and Science. It’s therefore to no surprise that the Israel embassy was among the first to be established in Uganda. Military assistance in particular to the Ugandan government was channelled through the Israel embassy with the Military assistance over seen by the defence attaché Bar-Lev Baruch. To further strengthen diplomatic relations with Uganda, Israel foreign Minister Meir Golda visited Kampala in February 1963 during which visit Golda signed an agreement of technical cooperation. Accruing to the above technical agreement, various Israel companies moved to Ugandan undertaking massive infrastructure and

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256 Steve Carol, From Jerusalem to the Lion of Judah and Beyond: Israel’s Foreign Policy in East Africa, Bloomington, Iuniverse, 1977, p. 72.
developmental projects. One of the largest developmental projects was undertaken by Soleh Boneh an Israel Company was the Bugolobi housing estate that still stands to date.

Obote being a renown Pan-Africanist, had taken on the task of extending support to the Anyanya rebel group in south Sudan with the help of Israel. Obote too was safeguarding the Ugandan borders with Sudan in the northern part of the country where Sudan troops would kill Ugandan civilians in pursuit of Anyanya rebels. Israel joined in this effort by channelling military aid to the Anyanya through the Obote government. Israel was more than eager to assist the Anyanya fight the Khartoum government considering that Sudan had enlisted support from Egypt a renowned adversary of Israel. Ties with Israel took root with Levi Eshkol together with his wife Miriam Eshkol visiting Uganda in 1966. Obote was on a mission to stop Arab nation’s influence on the African continent particularly Egypt. In addition Israel hoped to draw international attention away from itself in regard to the six day Arab Israel war of 1967 and focus the attention on Israel’s nation building support to Africa. Israel had emerged a superior power in the Middle East after the six day war that was aimed at forcing Egypt to open the straits of Tiran to Israel. However Obote had a change of heart by 1969 and had embarked on making peace with the government of Sudan thus halting military support to Anyanya. Obote ordered the Ugandan military to halt mercenary support to Anyanya as well as putting an end to Israel military support. Amin, chief of staff at the time disregarded these orders and continued channelling support to Anyanya quietly with the aid of Israel. Obote’s

decision to align with the Sudanese government affected relations with Tel-Aviv.\textsuperscript{259}

It’s to no wonder that Israel is said to have assisted Amin stage the 1971 coup that ousted Obote from power.

While in the good books of the Israel government, Amin ascended to power with diplomatic support of Tel-Aviv almost guaranteed. On the morning of the 1971 coup, the Israel defence attaché Bar-Lev was working hand in hand with Amin giving him advice.\textsuperscript{260} Bar-Lev confirmed to the British that Amin was in total control of the Kampala government and immediate threats were minimized by country wide arrests of Obote sympathisers. Israel was one of the first countries to extend diplomatic support to Amin by acknowledging Amin’s regime. Soon after Amin visited Tel-Aviv in 1971 on a state visit to discuss further cooperation particularly military assistance. As a gesture of future cooperation, Amin continued with his Israel aided military support to the Anyanya rebel group in south Sudan. Soon enough Israel made good on her cooperation promises and sold Amin military ware including tanks, jets and other weaponry. In addition scholarships were awarded were awarded to Uganda in the fields of security, administration and agriculture. Israeli companies operated in Uganda exploring Ugandan market, distributing manufactured goods. In 1972 Amin severed ties with Israel\textsuperscript{261} sighting Israel’s hesitation to loan Uganda adequate funds to procure sophisticated weaponry. In this regard Amin ordered Israel military advisors and expatriates alike to leave Uganda in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{260} Richard Dowden, “Revealed: How Israel Helped Amin to Take Power”, \textit{Independent}, 17 August 2003.
\end{itemize}
the shortest possible time. Some developmental projects that were already under way were halted and left incomplete like the Bugolobi housing estate.

Uganda Israel relations went cold for over twenty years until President Museveni the incumbent made an effort to go past the bad blood between Uganda and Israel born from past regimes. In the early 90’s there was progress as regards efforts to renew diplomatic relations between Uganda and Israel. Museveni at the start of his regime in 1986 was not so eager to renew diplomatic ties with Tel-Aviv citing Israel Palestine disagreements and was not willing to play sides. However after the Oslo accords which saw both Israel and Palestine signing agreements, Museveni made significant efforts in pursuing diplomatic relations with Israel. Uganda has a big group of Jewish followers called abayudaya living in Mbale and eastern Uganda. This African Jewish population has lived in Uganda for years and by the time Amin expelled the Jews in 1972, the abayudaya were over 3000262 in population many of whom were killed by Amin. David Benshitrit a leading Israeli investor in Uganda makes continuous effort to convince potential Israeli investors to invest in Uganda. To this end, a renowned Israeli pharmaceutical company called together pharma limited recently moved business to Uganda investing heavily in a medical cannabis production. The company is targeting large exports to Europe and North America with revenue benefits for Uganda in the long run as well as employment opportunities for Ugandans. Israel companies have been undertaking various developmental projects in the Ugandan Jewish communities as well awarding these Ugandan Jews with scholarships to study in Israel. Israel has extended knowledge in

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the fields of agriculture, health, information technology through training and scholarships and continues to do so.

Benjamin Netanyahu visited Uganda in 2005\textsuperscript{263} before becoming prime minister for the second time. During this visit Netanyahu visited the Entebbe old terminal building to honour the memory of his late brother who died during the 1967 rescue mission at Entebbe airport. Museveni visited Israel in 2011\textsuperscript{264} and met with Netanyahu at his residence in Beit Rosh Hamemushala during which both presidents discussed mutual interest for their countries like investment opportunities.

On the 4\textsuperscript{th} of July 2016\textsuperscript{265}, the Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu visited Uganda accompanied by Maj. Yair Golan the deputy chief of the Israel defence forces general staff. Military chiefs of both Uganda and Israel met and discussed mutual security cooperation projects. Netanyahu revealed that Israel had set aside a budget to benefit various African states like Uganda through economic cooperation among others. In 2017 claims were made regarding a deal between the Ugandan government and Israeli one to resettle African refugees of Eritrean and Sudanese origin in Uganda in exchange for weapons. The above deal has not been confirmed by Uganda government which denies any such kind of deal with Israel emphasizing that in the past Uganda had welcomed refugees from other countries and would have no shame in admitting to a refugee resettlement deal in case any was made. IsraAID an Israeli based international non-governmental organisation commenced work in Gulu (northern Uganda)\textsuperscript{266} to support community development.

\textsuperscript{263} Herb Keinon, “Netanyahu to Mark Entebbe Anniversary with Africa Visit”, \textit{the Jerusalem Post}, 17 February 2016.
\textsuperscript{264} New vision reporter, “President Museveni on Four Day Working Visit to Israel”, \textit{New Vision}, 14 November 2011.
Gulu in the 90’s experienced civil war with the LRA rebel group that launched an insurgency against Museveni’s government. Many people were internally displaced during the LRA civil war but with the assistance of NGOs like IsraAID, the Gulu community has progressed over the years.
CONCLUSION

Uganda’s foreign policy has undergone various changes especially with regime change however important to note, some foreign policy decisions have been persistent over the years despite regime change. Uganda in her day to today dealings is no island and needs to depend on other states in one way or the other. Uganda’s dealings with Britain, Israel and the integration of the Pan Africanism ideology into Uganda’s foreign policy has been persistent despite setbacks here and there. British and Israel relations have been kept active throughout regimes of Obote, Amin and Museveni with variations in scope and depth. With regime change in Uganda comes fresh new relations, breakdown in old relations as well as continuance for some relations.

Over the years the Ugandan presidents time and again have positioned themselves to be able to control Ugandan foreign policy almost without any prior consultations from other arms of government. Other arms of government like the legislature and Judiciary that would normally work hand in hand with the executive to formulate foreign policy have been weakened and stripped of their power and privilege. Therefore with weak and almost non-functional government institutions, Ugandan presidents can comfortably impact foreign policy based on their individual opinions. The executive therefore is left with a lot of power and in most cases controls the judiciary and legislature directly or indirectly thus influencing decisions to suit the executive’s intentions and interest. In comparison to the three regimes of Obote Amin and Museveni, each regime chooses which bilateral and multilateral relations to maintain or break off as well as which new relations to initiate.
Ugandan relations have undergone various changes however important to note some relations remain persistent despite setbacks in the various regimes. Most of the persistent relations like with Britain and Israel, Uganda stands to benefit from these relations especially in terms of Aid. At times these benefits are mutual with countries like Britain and Israel collaborating with Uganda to advance their own interests in east Africa and Africa at large. For example in the 60’s Israel sought relations with Uganda with the aim of containing the influence of Islamic states like Egypt, Libya and Sudan in Africa. By financing South Sudan rebels through Uganda, Israel hoped to weaken Sudan and fail her rein forcers like Egypt and Libya. In addition Israel hoped to pain a new international image as a country supporting nationalistic efforts worldwide.

Ugandan relations with Britain are of mutual benefit to both countries in the long run. Uganda is able to run her economy from year to year with the support of British aid while Britain gets to maintain a stable market for her manufactured goods in Uganda. For this reason Uganda British relations have persisted through the rough times and have carried on from one regime to another. Uganda British relations went cold during the Obote’s regime in the 60’s after Obote’s move to the left, however Amin picked up from where Obote left. Likewise Amin soured relations with British especially after nationalising British owned firms and expulsion of British Asians. None the less Museveni was able to renew relations with Britain which relations carry on till to date. Mutual benefits between Uganda and countries like Britain and Israel keep to some extent guarantee possible future relations to last regimes to come.
In summary, chapter one of this study serves the purpose of setting a foundation for the following discussions laid out in the preceding chapters. This foundation includes broader explanations on Uganda’s historical settings; before, during and after colonial influence. Breaking down Ugandan precolonial societal setting to core basics like cultural traditional and religious values and norms around which the society revolved, further gives a clear understanding of colonial activities and how they transformed the Ugandan-society. All these changes eventually affected or influenced the way in which Uganda since independence has conducted foreign relations on both an international and regional level. In reality president Obote soon after independence traced back some of the regional integration mechanisms already set in motion by the British colonial government by consummating them with official agreements signed by presidents of other involved nations like Kenya and Tanzania.

The major reasons that compelled the British colonial government into venturing in the Ugandan territory have been expounded upon like; the economic, philanthropic and religious interest. All reasons have a similar core value that was exploitative in nature and scope with the British colonial government at the benefitting end while Ugandans were simply exploited with no value added to them at all. The relationship between the indigenous Ugandans and the colonialists was exploitative in nature and this kind of relation to an extent shaped the way in which Ugandan presidents regard western countries as exploitative in all their intentions towards Uganda until proved otherwise. As noted in this study, this suspicious kind of relations between Uganda and the west seem to be the trend in the past, present and foreseeable future.
The various methods employed by the colonial British government have been elaborated in regard to specific areas where they were employed and reasons to support those particular choices of methods. More accepting and cooperative societies like Buganda received lenient and softer treatment from the British who in fact considered them as allies in the effort to colonise Uganda. Similarly other parts of Uganda were forced to adhere to colonial policies forcefully. The colonial methods that have been expounded upon in chapter one include; divide-rule, Indirect and direct methods of British colonialism; specifics of how, when and why they were employed in a particular area have been presented too. For example the Buganda society was initially welcoming and accommodative of the foreign white visitors like the European and missionaries who made initial contact with the Buganda kingdom. This initial attitude influenced partly the British decision to persuade the Baganda to work as collaborators with the British government.

The pioneer political parties and activities that participated in the preparations for Ugandan independence are tackled in chapter one as well. The major political parties like Kabaka Yyeka and Uganda People’s Congress that struck up a coalition deal to win the first ever elections in Uganda. The details of the coalition agreement and aftermath are laid down in chapter one as well. Details like party composition, activities, party strength and weaknesses are all detailed there in. Political struggles and activities in favour of independence like the 1945 Buganda strikes that spread across the city centre all worked to pressure the British colonial government into granting Uganda her independence.

The pioneer Ugandan constitution, as well as the pioneer initiatives undertaken by Obote have been included in chapter one. The initial Ugandan constitution
that was adopted at independence was similar to the British one in style and composition. By 1967 Obote has made various changes to it to suit him as head of government. This 1967 constitution constituted major changes in governance; with the president being Obote and a one-party system was introduced. The position of the prime minister was abolished concentrating all executive powers with the president. Traditional establishments like kingdoms were abolished across the Uganda. Further changes to the 1967 constitution were made in 1995 by president Museveni with various amendments as well as protocols adopted. These 1995 amendments and protocols mainly constituted human rights and other democratic policies like rule of law among others.

Initiatives like the ones under taken by Obote right after independence in one way or the other set a trend for Ugandan foreign policy for the following years. All these initiatives especially foreign policy ones, Uganda under took in her new capacity as an independent and sovereign state. Regional and international ties with neighbouring states like the EAC and the UN were initiated by Obote and Uganda remains a standing member state of these co operations. International and regional charters that govern bodies like the UN, AU and EAC were signed by Uganda during Obote’s regime and Uganda has since upheld these values in all measures possible. Political ideologies that were first adopted by Obote like PanAfricanism have since influenced Uganda’s foreign affairs in various ways. Take for example, Obote in the spirit of Pan Africanism extended a helping hand in form of logistical and military training for freedom fighters like the South African and Anyanya Sudanese group that were fighting for freedom from Partied and sharia law respectively. This trend
was kept alive by president Museveni who continued to render South Sudanese military assistance in their secession efforts from Arab dominated Sudan.

The next second chapter of this study is dedicated to analysing internal and external factors that are from time to time considered by the sitting head of government while deliberating on all matters foreign. These factors as explained in chapter two make up the environment in which the sitting president is able to execute foreign relations effectively. The internal factors like; religious and cultural composition and common beliefs and values, economic status as well as the geographical location of Uganda may be factored in by the president whenever he deems it fit. In this respective the president’s background and experiences has been put into perspective in chapter two. The president’s background is in one way or the other reflected in Uganda’s foreign policy given the fact that the Ugandan president practically determines the nation’s foreign policy. The religious cultural educational and military background of the Ugandan presidents Museveni Obote and Amin have been examined in relation to their foreign affairs decisions. The variations in experiences of the presidents, is also reflected in similar variations in their foreign policy.

The external factors like globalization forces, international law obligations, and regional affiliations among others are presented in their relation to international relations of Uganda under the various regimes. These factors have been brought into play on the various occasions that the Ugandan presidents have had to make major decisions regards foreign matters. These factors like the internal ones present an environment in which foreign policy is natured and executed by the president.
The third chapter of this particular study is dedicated to analysing in depth the foreign affairs legacy of the three presidents; Obote, Museveni and Amin. Each of these presidents ruled Uganda for over seven years with each having a Unique and separate foreign policy legacy. These legacies as explained in chapter three were basically shaped by the president thus are reflective of the respective presidents’ experiences. Each regime under these presidents was divergent in their approach to foreign matters concerning Uganda and this trend has continued and is likely to stay that way for many more years to come.

In conclusion therefore this study noted that though all foreign endeavours to be undertaken by the head of state, the main objective is to front national core values and interest above anything else. The national interests that mainly revolve around sovereignty, freedom and independence for the case of Uganda as such are inherent in Uganda’s foreign dealings with other states. It was further noted that amongst the international actors, the state is the most important of them all. States therefore interact with one another on the international scene as sovereign and equal players with the main aim of fronting their own individual national goals on the international scene. The Ugandan presidents since independence have been striving to promote and attain Ugandan national goals in their international endeavours. The Ugandan presidents are keen in setting foreign policy agenda factoring internal and external influencers for an effective foreign policy. Bottom line; Ugandan presidents have and continue to individually set the foreign policy agenda for the nation and therefore their expertise in this area has and will prove to be beneficial to the nation as a whole. The heavy influence of the president in Ugandan foreign affairs is mainly facilitated by the fact that the president has all executive power and other organs are
relatively under heavy supervision by the office of the president. In the long run therefore other arms of government are normally in support of the president’s foreign policy decisions.

This study has further noted that particularly in the case of Uganda, foreign policy has been and continues to be unique under each respective regime. Not one regime has an identical foreign policy pattern with a previous regime’s. Each unique strand of foreign policy DNA has proven to have under lying constant features that can be traced back to the colonial era under the British. As a result Uganda has maintained relations with former colonial power Britain and this relationship has not been broken off irrespective of regime change. At this, Britain is one of the biggest funders of the Ugandan economy and therefore Uganda has and continues to benefit from this relationship. In addition at independence Uganda opted to adopt a democratic political system similar to the former colonial power’s Britain and this system has and is still upheld though with various variations in scope. Democratic ideas like the rule of law, human rights have been maintained though taking a blow especially with regime change but these core values have not been let out of sight. Additionally the newly independent Ugandan state at independence in 1962 as noted inherited colonial relations that had been set in motion by the colonial British government especially with regional states. Common regional services like the rail, bank and air services that were originally created by the British to facilitate exploitation of the regions resources were later attained by the independent nation states of Kenya and Uganda after independence. Obote together with presidents of Kenya and Tanzania officially entered an agreement to form the EAST African Community as the official regional umbrella cooperation to fast truck economic
progress in the great-lakes region. Since independence Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania have maintained relations with one another with each nation benefiting from regional integration arrangements that were initially put in place by the British colonial government.

On the other side however this study also highlighted the fact that this regional arrangement that was initiated by the British colonial government was poised to culminate into disagreements between regional states. These disagreements were embedded in the unequal development of infrastructure that was earlier set up by the British with the intent to maximize exploitation rather than stir equal development in the region. The British established Kenya as a settler economy and Uganda as a protectorate. In practice more infrastructural development was concentrated in Kenya while Uganda only received transport infrastructural benefit in particular areas that were mass growing cash crops to be sent directly to British industries. This uneven development later left Uganda less advantages while Kenya enjoyed an immediate boom in comparison to her counterpart Uganda. As a result regional integration was perceived as unfair mainly benefitting Kenya more than other member states. Such disagreement crippled further regional integration with the East African Community collapsing by 1977.

The personal differences of the Ugandan presidents in reference to experiences and background has been connected to the variations in foreign policy strategy employed under the various Ugandan presidents. Chapter three of this study has presented examples supporting the fact that Ugandan presidents directly influence foreign policy decisions of Uganda given the pattern painted by the various foreign policy legacies. For a president with a humble background, Amin relatively
made plunders that hurt the Ugandan economy heavily registering low or stagnated
development levels during his regime. Soured relations with neighbouring states like
Tanzania and Kenya further crippled the Ugandan economy that heavily depended on
neighbouring seaports to access the sea. In the same regard, Amin undermined the
relations with donor states resulting in reduced aid flow to the economy. On the other
hand presidents Museveni and Obote were both had a solid educational background
and therefore knew the value of foreign relations especially for a developing country
like Uganda. In this regard they crafted foreign policy that was beneficial for the
nation as a whole elevating national goals above personal ones.

The study has therefore observed that the foreign policy legacy of Uganda
under the incumbent president Yoweri Kaguta Museveni is being shaped and is
therefore more likely to experience a major change only in light of a new and fresh
regime as has been the trend. To predict the possible extend of the change with a new
regime, a closer look at the new president’s past experiences is a place to start.
However some foreign policy trends are more likely to remain the same for many
more years to come. Some of Uganda’s commitments to international and regional
arrangements are legally binding and therefore cannot be simply broken by an
incoming president without possible repercussions. Uganda’s membership to the AU,
UN, EAC, IGAD among others has survived regime change while other foreign
policies decisions have been dropped, inter-changed reviewed by incoming
presidents.
FIGURE 1. Map of Uganda Showing Pre-Colonial Kingdoms and Chiefdoms

FIGURE 2. Map of Uganda Showing Ethnic Groups and Tribes

Based on Minority Rights Group International’s ‘Ethnic Groups and Tribes of Uganda’, Uganda: The Marginalization of Minorities (2001). Boundaries are not definitive but are intended to show traditionally inhabited areas.

FIGURE 3. Map of Uganda Showing Regions\textsuperscript{269}

FIGURE 4. Map of East Africa


PHOTO 2. Idi Amin Dada (Ugandan President 1971-1979)\textsuperscript{272}

PHOTO 3. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni (Ugandan President 1986 to date)273

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ABSTRACT

Uganda’s foreign policy trend over the years has and continues to be one that has been executed with all caution particularly avoiding any foreign aggression with other states as well as mending relations. Relations with other countries have varied in scope over the years noting substantial changes with regime change. Although there has been shifts in ideology and approach under the various regimes, the Pan African ideology has been evident in Ugandan foreign policy till to date. Foreign policy matters in Uganda since independence have been centred at the hands of the president who directly or indirectly makes all decisions pertaining to foreign affairs of the nation. It’s for this reason that Ugandan foreign policy approaches seem to differ with each in coming regime. Therefore to analyse foreign policy decisions under the various regimes evidently pin points out the mistakes that have been made in the past learning from them thus avoiding repeating similar mistakes in the future. Further still previous foreign policy decisions by the successive presidents show persistency in relation to bilateral relations with Israel, Britain as well as pan African sentiments embedded within these choices. Each successive Ugandan president has made an effort to mend or strengthen bilateral relations particularly with Israel and Britain and the continuity of this trend is highly likely to persist in the future.
ÖZET