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FEDERAL - REPUBLICANISM
THE ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
APPROACH FOR UGANDA.

By:

H.E. MBABAZI-ARAALI.

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"OH! UGANDA, MAY GOD UPHOLD THEE,
WE LAY OUR FUTURE IN THY HANDS,
UNITED,
FREE FOR LIBERTY,
TOGETHER,
WE WILL ALWAYS STAND."

This is the first and opening stanza of Uganda's National Anthem coined as we received flag (political) independence from our British colonial masters in 1962. At that time, the people of Uganda, in which their nation-state they entrusted their destiny and fate, were religiously committed to unity, Freedom and Togetherness. However, a rapid scan through Uganda's socio-political history since independence in 1962 but particularly since 1966 reveals a tale of total disrespect and a premeditated chronological violation of, this Ugandan peoples' commitment to national unity and free liberty. What ensued from a false political start in 1962 degenerated with time into a seemingly irrevocable pilgrimage on the road to bloody internal conflicts that have immensely subverted our people's initial expectations of genuine independence, freedom, progress and unity.

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am delighted to have this opportunity of joining you at what I see as an extremely important and timely meeting for Uganda. The broad spectrum of distinguished participants gathered here makes it a double privilege for me to be addressing you on the conference theme of "Internal Conflicts". I have worn a number of different hats at various periods of my life and while I am today once again a national civil servant, my compelling and abiding interest in "Internal Conflicts" is rooted in my experience in the Uganda Crisis of the last six years in which I participated as a diplomat turned guerilla freedom fighter. I am here as a prototype of million of Ugandans gravely concerned with the extent of destruction occasioned by incessant conflicts that have characterised my country for more than two decades now, claiming a total of about one million innocent lives, gross violation of the fundamental human rights of our people and imprisoning the whole populace in a terrified cocoon of political bankruptcy and criminology.

My paper seeks to establish the contention that all facets of Uganda's internal conflicts are a corollary of the political derailment which the forceful and violent abrogation of our independence constitutional formula by Milton Obote's Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) government in 1966 engendered - a perverted unitary republican constitution that was imposed on the people of Uganda up to the present hour. Political conflict, has been so overriding that I shall devote this paper to an alternative political development approach to the management of the affairs of Uganda and her people.

I shall deploy federal-republicanism as the foundation of the return to political normalcy, peace, progress and economic development for Uganda and unquestionable respect of the human rights of her people. The central theme of my submission is therefore the tireless and unscrupulous fight for the cause of federal republicanism as the "ROCK OF OUR POLITICAL SALVATION"; as the sacred and inviolable palladium of our happiness and indeed as the primordial wish of my whole heart.

I am not an ideologue or an obscurantist, neither a doctrinaire though I love doctrine. I am distinctly more concerned with the "how" than the "why" of government. I am really more interested in the ways the people of Uganda can be persuaded to obey the commands of sovereign authority cheerfully than in the reasons why they should have to obey them at all; in discovering rules for the effective operation of government in general displaying the superiority of federal-republicanism to any other forms. I am also more interested in teaching the leaders and the rulers alike how to respond to public opinion, than in fixing external standards to which such opinion ought to conform. My submission labours to divine those wise, just and temperate maxims and political structures which will forever constitute the true security, felicity and democratic freedom of Uganda.

1. HUMAN NATURE: THE CORNESTONE FOR FEDERAL-REPUBLICANISM

All political speculation to be just must be founded on a clear understanding of the principles of human nature. Such is the truism in the management of public affairs; similarly true is the conceptualization of the knowledge of human nature the science of policy.

No leader of people worth his name, certainly no builder of a new political arrangement like federal-republicanism in Uganda can afford to be ignorant of the most useful of all sciences—the science of human nature. Some principles of human nature are as infallible as any mathematical calculations. It is this science that forms the bedrock of this paper's subject, federal-republicanism, as the only solid and rational expedient for establishing and preserving democratic freedom and national unity in Uganda.

As you may be well aware, any leader of men without a political theory should realise that no general principles will hardly work much better than erroneous ones. Leaders should be men of intellect in public life; they should value learning, logic, wit and judgement. This is because intellect divorced from tradition and experience, as for intellect divorced from conviction and morality is horrendous. In the continual analysis of Uganda's political complexities, the ideologues are almost as dangerous men as the obscurantist. People should berate those political doctors whose sagacity disdains the admonition of experimental instruction: those whose minds have fallen prey to too great abstraction and refinement and who by enveloping all their lives in the midst of theory, are constantly seeking for an ideal perfection. I similarly dread the reveries of philosophic politicians who being mere speculatists and opportunists, aim at more refinement than suits either human nature or the composition of our nation.

To be able to gauge the relevance of human nature in organising or disorganising men in society, several tenets about man and society should be studied. First, the fact

that there exists an eternal and immutable law of nature and the capacity of natural reason, unwarping by dogmas to discover the commands and sanctions of this law. Secondly, the existence of certain natural and inalienable rights, including the right to property and to a free conscience which carry with them the natural duties of humanity. Thirdly, the fact of equality among all men in the enjoyment of these natural rights. Fourthly, the notion of public office as a public trust, of each officer as servant of the people, and fifthly, the persistence in the body and hearts of the people of an ultimate power to choose their own political destiny, whether peacefully by abrogating the old constitutions and establishing new ones or bloodily by offering armed resistance to manifest tyranny and fascist dictatorship.

In all questions about the advantages or disadvantages of forms of government or in similar questions with respect to all the sources of social happiness and national prosperity, the people of Uganda should critically observe the difference between the true politician and the political empiric. The political empiric will either attempt to travel out of human nature and introduce institutions and projects for which the people are not fitted and which perish in the imbecility of their own conception and structures, or with puzzling and embarrassing every practicable scheme of administration which is adopted. The last indeed has been and shall continue to be the most usual because the easiest course, and it embraces in its practice all those hunters after popularity who, knowing better, make a traffic of the weak sides of the human understanding and passions.

The true politician, on the contrary, takes human nature (and human society its aggregate) as he finds it, a compound of good and ill qualities, of good and ill tendencies, endowed with powers and actuated by passions and propensities which blend enjoyment with suffering and make the causes of misfortune. With view of human nature he shall not attempt to warp or disturb its natural direction, he shall not attempt to promote its happiness by means to which it is not suited. He shall favor all those institutions and plans which tend to make men happy according to their natural bent, which multiply the sources of individual enjoyment and increase national resource and strength, taking care to infuse in each case all the ingredients which can be devised as preventives or correctives of the evil.

Every contending leader of men should tire to learn and exploit certain pertinent themes about men and human nature. Several of these themes are discernable at a mere glance of society.

A- The universal, enduring depravity and frailty of men.

In contriving any system of government and in fixing the several checks and controls of the constitutions, decrees, promulgations etc., every man ought to be supposed a knave. Therefore he who believes in the dream of the perfectibility of men shall be shocked to find out that in every society or country and at all times the major theme is the depravity of mankind. Among those specific varieties of "natural depravity" that might occasionally take command of even the best of men are hatred, cruelty, envy, dishonesty, hypocrisy, treachery and avarice.

It is no accident therefore that the first cause of war and armed conflicts is the rapacious and vindictive nature of men. The seeds of war are actually sown thickly in the human breast. To judge from the history of mankind and as proof from the history of Uganda, one shall be compelled to conclude that the fiery and destructive passions of war reign in the human breast with much more powerful sway than the mild and beneficent sentiments of peace; and that to model our political system upon speculations of lasting tranquility is to calculate on the weaker springs of the human conduct.

Among the varieties of "natural frailty" are fear, pride, vanity, ingratitude, laziness, fallibility, intemperance, irresolution, narrow-mindedness, obstinacy, and the capacity of self-delusion. These evidences of human weakness are equally menacing hazards to social stability and political sanity. The supposition of universal venality in human nature is little less an error in political reasoning than the supposition of universal rectitude. Depravity is a powerful but not omnipotent presence in the community. Man is a mixture of degrading vices, discouraging imperfections, and ennobling virtues. Human conduct reconciles, the most glaring opposites like honor, generosity, bravery, humaneness, love of liberty, and the sense of justice.

However wickedness is not only more deeply planted than goodness in the human breasts, it has a way of asserting itself with unusual vigor. It is a common observation that men, bent upon mischief are more active in the pursuit of their object than those who aim to do good.

B- Loves of esteem, gain and power.

Esteem another word for emulation, means an intense drive from a simple need for respect to a prodigious thirst for glory. Men can be roused to unaccustomed effort by the lure of places and honor. A noble emulation is the source of every excellent and such a feeling of emulation or esteem is an anxious desire, that is the love of fame, the ruling passion of the noblest minds, to plan and undertake extensive and arduous enterprises for the public benefit.

Ambition is a term that can be used to describe a number of related drives, the most forceful of which is the desire of material gain. Ambition is as strong a drive as emulation and the operations of ambition in a well-ordered society can lead to happiness and prosperity on a broad scale. Is not the love of wealth as domineering and enterprising a passion amongst men as that of power and glory? These drives are not virtuous, neither are they vicious in nature, but can produce good or bad results in men. In a man held to paths of right behaviour by the inner checks of reason and self-discipline and the outer-checks of law and order, the above three drives of esteem or emulation, gain and power can quite possibly work wonders of self-advancement and self-realisation, and all society would be the gainer. Upon a man holding a licence to behave as freely and arrogantly as he wished they would almost certainly bring down the sins of lust and corruption, and all society would be the loser.

An overdose of emulation results in vanity, of ambition in avarice, of the love of power in the lust of domination and in the abuse of power. Vanity, avarice and the desire to play the tyrant are evidence of corruptibility. A fondness for power is implanted in most men and it is natural to abuse it when acquired. Dictator Idi Amin, demagogues Paulo Muwanga and Milton Obote, and fascist Tito Okello have excelled in this such abuse of power always acquired violently and illegitimately. This universal axiom drawn from the experience of all countries and all ages makes it the height of folly for Ugandans to entrust any set of men with power which is not under every possible control - constitutional control. We as Ugandans, have observed with tragic consequences how easy it is for men to change their principles with their situations; to be zealous advocates for the rights of the citizen when they are invaded by others, and as soon as they have it in their power, to become invaders themselves;

to resist the encroachments of power, when it is in the hands of others, and the moment they get it into their own, to make bolder strides than those they have resisted in misuse of power and authority. Federal-republicanism is to nail political sanity into pretending leaders and rulers of men.

C- Public, private and self-interest.

No reasoning person can deny the fact that every man is in one important sense, a self-contained unit in the social structure whose first obligation is to himself. Self-preservation is the first principle of our nature as people, self-love is an indispensable duty and self-interest is the most powerful incentive of our human actions. Every man has his interests, whether in gain, esteem, power, pleasure, or simply survival and there is no much point in telling him that he ought to pursue them in a spirit of moderation and with an eye out for the interests of others.

By their private interest government must govern men, and by means of it, make men cooperate to public good, not with standing their insatiable avarice and ambition. Without this, government shall in vain boast of the advantages of any political arrangement (constitutional or unconstitutional), and shall in the end find that the people have no securities for their liberties and possessions, except the whims or good will of their rulers.

The safest reliance of government, every type of government, is on men's interests and this is a principle of human nature on which all political actions, to be just and popular, must be founded. To suffocate men into a disaffected lot, for example the wealthy lot, and allow them to remain among the people would be most dangerous to the people's liberties; as enemies to government they will be always endeavouring to undermine it and bring the people back to the subjection of anti-people, fascist elements. For instance to forestall a vicious circle of violence at the violent overthrow of government the most important task is to make it the interest of those citizens who, during the revolution or past regimes, were opposed to the people, to be friends to the new popular government, by affording them not only protection, but a participation in its privileges, and they will undoubtedly become its friends.

However there exists in Uganda and in society as a whole a handful of men to whom the laws of human nature seem to apply imperfectly, or not at all. There may be in every government a few choice spirits who can rise above interests and passion and act from more worthy motives. There are men of stern virtue, men who can neither be distressed nor won into a sacrifice of their duty - these should be available for public service. While such men/the "growth of few soils" so to say, they exist in sufficient numbers. They are evidence of the existence of a portion of virtue and honor among Ugandans and they provide a reasonable foundation of confidence in the outcome of the Ugandan gamble in democratisation and search for strong national cohesion under federalism.

D- War between Reason and Passion.

There is an unending war in the minds and hearts of men between "reason and passion". Passion is used mainly as a short-hand term for each of the neutral drives or loves - interests, prejudices, vanity, anger, pride, ambition, caprice and unreason or bad reason. Reason is the faculty of thinking coolly, objectively, and decision; on the other hand passion is any trait or impulse from obstinacy to rage and frenzy (by way of ignorance, fear and prejudice) that corrupts and subverts reason and often drives it from the field.

We Ugandans have been convinced beyond any reasonable doubt that nothing is more fallacious than to expect to produce any valuable or permanent results in political projects by relying merely on the reason of men. Men are rather reasoning than reasonable animals for the most part governed by the impulse of passion. All changes of regimes have produced nothing but a rising expectation of hope but soon to be subverted by the rising negative passion of the rulers.

E- Superiority of bad over good.

The bad side of human nature, always in a position of natural superiority in its contests with the good, is put in an even more commanding position by the fact of human association. Men in groups especially groups or factions unrestrained by law or custom, behave worse than men on their own. For instance regard to reputation has a less active influence when the infamy of bad action is to be divided among a number of people than when it is to fall singly upon one person.

In conclusion, a sound knowledge of human nature is among the primary qualifications for lawgivers and political leaders especially those who set themselves the task of writing the constitution of the land, prescribe medicine to cure political ailments and the establishment of a good government system of administration. The foregoing review of human nature has allowed us, who are interested in the causes, nature and solutions to internal social, economic and political conflicts, to discover several pertinent characteristics of men and society. Somehow the vices of freed men must be brought under control, somehow their virtues must be encouraged, somehow their loves must be directed toward healthy ends, somehow their powers of reason must be fortified for the endless duel with prejudice and passion. But most important of all the interests of men must be looked after, secured, gratified and thus enlisted in the service of the whole community. Federation shall be able to do exactly this for Uganda and her people.

2. ETHNOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS

To be able to fathom the complexities produced by human nature as far as political conflict is concerned in Uganda, an examination of the ethnic composition of the country is a vital point of departure. The present day national boundaries of Uganda cut across ethnic and language barriers, and place together over forty (40) ethnic groups which formerly had little in common.

and who even today may not understand each other's language and are a source of a multitude of social, ethnic and political antagonisms that heat up more often to violent confrontation. Modern Uganda encompasses peoples of three (3) distinct language families - the central Sudanic, the Nilotic and the Bantu.

a- The central Sudanic speakers like the Lugbara, Kakwa and Nadi are found in the North of West Nile province. They also extend across the border into Sudan and Zaire, Uganda's neighbours to the north and west. They are fundamentally agricultural peoples, with a non-hierarchical social organisation. From 1972 - 1979 these peoples formed dictator Idi Amin's major political and military base dominating all the security forces (army, police, state research bureau, public safety unit, etc) in close criminal collaboration with their kinsmen from Sudan - the Nubians.

b- The Nilotic speakers can be categorised in two main groups:-

(i) Western Nilotes occupying the north-west of Uganda, such as the Acholi, Langi, Jonam and Alur. Closely related to the Kenyan Luo, they are mixed agriculturalists, organised in chiefdoms.

(ii) Southern Nilotes from the East of Uganda like the Karimojong and Iteso are related to the Kenyan Turkana and Masai. Originally they were pastoral, with a social organisation based on clans and age sets. From 1962 - 1971 the Nilotics, aided by some Sudanic speakers dominated the security forces of Uganda and formed Milton Obote's major base for political and military adventurism. From 1980 - 1986, the Nilotics were the only major factor that guaranteed Obote's tragic second ascent to and descent from power in 1985.

c- The Bantu speakers who are fundamentally, but not exclusively agricultural, are found in the south, south-east and west of the country, and can be divided into three major groups:-

(i) The more centralized societies (once governed by monarchical-royal dynasties) include the Etoro, Banyoro, Baganda and Banyankole.

(ii) The less centralised societies include the Basoga, Bagishu, Bagwere, Banyole, Basamia and Bagwa in the south-east; and the Bakiga in the south-west; and the Bamba, Bagwisi and Bakonjo in the west.

(iii) In among (i) and (ii) above, there live in some places groups of specialized pastoralists, the Bahima and Batutsi. Both groups establish supremacy over the agriculturalists in the areas where they settled - the Bahima over the Bairu and the Batutsi over the Bahutu. Bahima and Bairu are collectively termed the Banyankole and the Batutsi and Bahutu are referred to as the Banyarwanda. The Bantu, having played a peripheral unjustified role since independence has assumed prominence on the military scene since they launched a popular guerrilla uprising in 1980 to fight Milton Obote's reemergent fascist dictatorship.

They eventually trounced over fascism in 1986 having led a guerrilla rebellion for six years in three major fighting movements - the National Resistance Movement (NRM), the Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) and the Uganda Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEMU).

Figure L. shows the ethnic composition of Uganda.

Since the emergence of the "winds of change" towards independence in Africa, a phenomenon called "tribalism" has been under frontal assault. It has been denounced by militant Pan-Africanists as a divisive force, a tool of the "divide and rule" colonialists. Patriotic nationalists have called it a negative manifestation of "sectarianism" or "factionalism". Cultural conservatives have publicly denounced it but leaned towards it as the rock of their political and military survival. Ideologues and fascists alike have exploited it to their own destruction.

Yet local nationalism, many times misbaptized tribalism remains an essential element of the Uganda scene as well as that of many other African countries. It has been and shall continue to be the primordial precipitator of social-political tremors. Uganda's political history reveals ardent attempts to constitutionally reconcile needs of the central government with the demands of local nationalists by guaranteeing both traditional or cultural entities and their leaders a place in the life of the nation. The conflict between local and regional nationalists has deep roots in the 20th century history of our nation. Centralism and separatism interacted upon each other continuously from 1894, when the powerful kingdom of Buganda became a British protectorate until 1962, when the entire country gained flag independence. Uganda then comprised the kingdoms of Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro, and the territory of Busoga, which were federal states, and the districts of Acholi, Bugishu, Bukedi, Karamoja, Kigezi, Lango, Madi, Teso, Sebei, and West Nile. The leaders of Buganda Kingdom, asserting that the kingdom's relationship with Britain rested squarely on the 1900 Uganda Agreement (which established Buganda's rights within the Protectorate), felt free to act independently of central leadership on various occasions.

As a consequence Uganda centralism tended to be more apparent than real, and Buganda's sense of separateness from the rest of the country was not eradicated. The continuous tensions of this situation were evident in the negotiations establishing Buganda's federal relationship with the centre, the rise of a Buganda political party, Kabaka Yekka (KY) and the kingdom's determined opposition to integration into an East African federation.

In the face of strong tribal and ethnic loyalties Uganda has had to make unique political and constitutional adjustments. As a result the country has had broad experience in political engineering. Uganda has known a federal government as well as elements of unitarism both existing side by side in an uneasy relationship under the same 1962 constitution.

Although provisions for federalism were included in the basic law in order to accommodate Uganda's ethnic pluralism, it became increasingly doubtful when a strong sense of national unity could flourish in such an environment. Consequently, the 1966/67 Republican revolution sought to strangle federal sentiments in favour of unitarism. However it was so violent that it shook Uganda's society out of its political nest of stability and plunged it into misdirected principles of national unity equalled to national uniformity. This was the progenitor of Uganda's political, social, religious, ethnic and economic quagmire ever since.

3- HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

It is imperative to take an analysis of the political history of Uganda so as to situate the concepts of federal-republicanism in their proper content of this seminar. Before the arrival of the British, the area from which Uganda was later formed had a continuous history of tribal migrations, warfare and even diplomatic and commercial relations with other areas. As observed earlier, the territory came to include many and diverse nationalities and peoples. At the time this pluralism had an important influence upon both the formal constitutional structure and the particular pattern of nationalism which evolved in Uganda. Centralized systems (such as the highly centralised political systems of Buganda) as well as decentralised systems had to be accommodated within the same framework, and each system exerted its influence on the constitutional organisation or disorganisation of modern Uganda.

The establishment of a British Protectorate over Uganda took place by stages. It began with the declaration of protectorate status for the kingdom of Buganda in 1894. This action was preceded by a series of events that began with the exploitation of Speke, who arrived in Buganda in 1862 and awakened England's interest in this land. When Cpt. Lugard (as agent of IBEAC) arrived in Buganda almost 30 years later, he found the kingdom rapt by factional strife. The introduction of Christianity in the 1870's had resulted in religious conflict in Buganda. Involving himself in the struggle only one year after his arrival, Lugard helped the Protestants to a military victory over their Catholic rivals then headed by Kabaka Mwanga.

Lugard intervention on the Protestant side at the climax of events undoubtedly played an important part in ensuring that Uganda became a British protectorate. Had the Catholic party triumphed under Mwanga's leadership the company could scarcely have maintained a foothold in Buganda.

Shortly after this episode, Kabaka Mwanga signed a treaty with Lugard and Britain somewhat reluctantly began to realize that, largely for strategic and missionary reasons, the fate of Buganda had become intertwined with its own. In May 1873, British Commissioner Sir Gerald Portal signed a new treaty with Kabaka Mwanga, making Buganda a British protectorate, and the following year Parliament formally agreed to this new extension of British influence in Africa.

The next formal expansion of British influence occurred in 1896, when the western kingdoms Bunyoro, Ankole, and Toro and the territory of Busoga were gathered under her majesty's protection. In subsequent years, the British spread their authority to the north-east, north-west and south-west of the 1896 protectorate. The Buganda leader, Kakungulu conquered the area to the north-east in Britain's name, subduing such tribes as the Lango and the Iteso. In Buganda itself the situation became stable only after the Protectorate government crushed Kabaka Mwanga's revolt against their authority and deposed him in favour of Daudi Chwa, his son. By the turn of the century, conditions were sufficiently settled that Britain could signal formal agreements with Buganda (Uganda Agreement) and Toro in 1900 and Ankole 1901. Bunyoro in 1933.

The special status of Buganda in Uganda was the most important legacy of the colonial era. It was specified in the 1900 Uganda Agreement (UA). The Agreement made Buganda a province of the Protectorate and declared, in Art 6, that the "Kabaka of Buganda shall exercise direct rule over the natives of Buganda to whom he shall administer justice through the Lukiiko or native council, and through others of his officers in the manner approved by Her Majesty's government."

The agreement had two important consequences.

1. A significant alteration of Buganda society took place. Freehold land was introduced, entrenching the power of those chiefs who controlled land at the time of Agreement especially vis-a-vis other political contenders.
2. British sovereignty over Uganda was now clearly established. The Lukiiko and the Kabaka, before giving effect to their resolution, were required to consult with and explicitly follow the advice of Her Majesty's representative. The Buganda rulers were bound not only by their own laws but by those of the Protectorate government.

Its interpretation and not so much its content was to prove crucial. Since so much apparently came to be based on the Agreement, it was natural for the Buganda to consider that their relationship was quasi-diplomatic. Moreover, given the concessions they had secured, the Agreement equally naturally, appeared to the Buganda as in some sense at least an agreement between equals.

A classic case of indirect rule and also an important concession made to Buganda was the assumption implicit in the Agreement that the British would rule in the kingdoms only through the tribal political authorities.

Elsewhere in Uganda, the situation was different. Appointed chiefs became the administrative and judicial authorities. Even where the local leaders were made chiefs, they operated within a new system of authority foreign to that in most of Uganda.

In view of the power of Buganda, with its wealth, size and unity, and the limited power of Britain's commitment, the British found that the direct colonial control of Buganda's affairs was not feasible. Indeed there was little British supervision over the internal administration of Buganda during the 18 years following the agreement. Such a policy was determined by reasons of finance and administrative convenience.

In the years that followed the signing of the Uganda Agreement, it was by no means certain that the protectorate would not follow Kenya in the direction of white settler-dominance. Sir Harry Johnston favored introducing large-scale plantation agriculture by Europeans in Uganda, but Sir Hesketh Bell, the Governor 1907-11, opposed extensive settlement by Europeans. The colonial office decided to prohibit the sale of land to non-Africans in 1915 which policy became firm government policy in 1921.

African suspicion of white settler domination lingered on and became aroused by an attempt on the part of the Kenya settlers to unite the three British territories of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. Why, else, they reasoned, did the Europeans of Kenya seek a union with Uganda but to radiate their influence and control over Uganda? A memorandum from the Basoga to the 1931 Joint Select Committee on closer union in E.A. declared:

"We fear that if closer union is adopted the white settlers may come into our country and take away our land as they have done in Kenya." Closer union and land problems became inextricably intertwined, precluding any movement toward wider territorial integration or federation.

A- ADOPTION OF "FEDERALISM"

By the 1920's the Protectorate government had begun to intervene directly in Buganda's affairs. More and more it imposed its interpretation of the Agreement on the rulers of the kingdom. Protectorate influences in finance and in the supervision of local administration and personnel increased markedly during this period; by the 1930's, central supervision over traditional authorities had become extensive. In appearance at least, the administration of Buganda was becoming like the administration of the other kingdoms and peoples of Uganda, and the country seemed to be moving steadily towards a unitary system of government.

But as the British increased their control over Buganda they also provoked Buganda separatism. As early as 1916, the Lukiiko had questioned the Protectorate's authority to issue passports to Buganda, and a decade later a constitutional crisis occurred over the independence of the Buganda Katikkiro (prime minister) from British control. Moreover, the demonstrations and riots of 1945 and 1949 in Buganda were directed against chiefs who were considered too acquiescent to British control. Then in the 1950's, as the British tried to push direct elections and establish a military state in

Uganda, their efforts provoked the most serious crisis of the colonial era. Buganda, anxious about its position in an independent Uganda and refusing to be treated like the other Uganda regions, sought to limit the political involvement of the kingdom with the rest of the country. This assertion of the right to self-determination was an anticipated consequence of indirect rule. Paradoxically, both Buganda and the British based their positions on the 1900 Agreement, an identity of claims which made a crisis almost inevitable.

By the 1950's, Britain's determination to build a unitary state in Uganda has reached a high point. As independence for Uganda became a serious possibility practical considerations such as the country's small size and population seemed to militate against launching a federal experiment. The 1953 Wallis report on local government assumed from the outset that a federal of native states was impracticable and that the country would be developed along unitary lines. In March, 1953, Governor Sir Andrew Cohen and Kabaka Edward Frederick Mutesa II of Buganda issued a joint memorandum which emphasized Buganda's special position in a unitary Uganda while at the same time devolving powers to provincial authorities in primary and secondary education, rural hospitals, dispensaries and health services, agricultural and veterinary field services. Moreover, a law enacted in 1955 defined, and thereby limited the powers of local authorities in the northern, western and eastern provinces. The purpose of both moves was to assure Uganda's continued evolution as a unitary state. The concession made to Buganda were considered expedients to his end. Sensitive to criticism that the devolution of additional powers was inconsistent with centralist objectives, Sir Andrew explained later that a failure to work in harmony with tribal loyalties would have been harmful or at least unreal, and the view taken was that strengthening the unity of the country would not be furthered by failing to recognize the attachment of the people to the parts.

Sir Andrew's dedication to the goal of a unitary Uganda was put to the test shortly after the joint memorandum was announced. Buganda fears for the future status of the kingdom in a unitary Uganda intensified their general anxiety over a reopening of the question of East Africa federation. Not only did the Kabaka seek assurances that federation would not be imposed on his people, but he subsequently used the federation crisis to ask for Buganda's separation from the Protectorate as well. His refusal to back down on the question of Buganda's independence, deemed by the British to a breach of the 1900 Agreement, led Her Majesty's government to withdraw recognition from the Kabaka and to deport him to the U.K. Sir Andrew, who had acted in order to strengthen the unity of the protectorate, rode through the crisis and saw the 1955 Buganda Agreement restore the Kabaka to his throne as a constitutional monarch and, in effect, recognize Buganda's incorporation in a strongly centralised Uganda.

A constitutional committee, under the chairmanship of I.V. Wild, made important proposals in 1959 aimed at continuing this general policy. The Wild report recommended direct elections on a common roll basis for representative members to legislative council and urged the development of political parties on a national basis - both controversial recommendations in an area where tribal societies place great store in the main tenets of a sense of solidarity. On the establishment of Federalism in Uganda the report was unenthusiastic, certainly support for a unitary form seemed widespread in the eastern, northern, western provinces at that time. But dissenting views were also in evidence. The Toro (Oukurato) (District Council) continued to press for federalism, passing a resolution in May, 1960, which called the Federal form of government the one which guaranteed safeguards for the status and dignity of the traditional rulers.

B- SEPARATIST TENDENCIES:

As the British pushed centralism in a more determined manner, separatist tendencies came to the fore, unitary government represented a threat to tribal solidarity, and each advance on its behalf brought about astute and determined opposition. In the final analysis, British policy-makers bent to the forces of local nationalism, seeing a geographical expansion of power as the only realistic means of creating a united, independent country.

The storm centre of tribalism was Buganda. Like nationalist movements elsewhere, that in Buganda tended to be exclusive thereby causing serious strains in a plural community like Uganda. Although not always in evidence, Buganda separatism had been a factor in Uganda politics since the signing of the 1900 Agreement. Separatist tendencies became manifest every time the protectorate government had asserted more authority or had acted so as to lower Buganda's status as a nation. In 1953, they came into the open over the question of creating East African Federation; and in 1960, a Lukiiko (parliament) resolution proclaimed Buganda's secession from the Uganda Protectorate.

Early in 1960's, signs of an impending crisis became apparent. On Feb. 11, an information officer in the Kabaka's government placing on record Buganda's intention to secure federal status for itself, spoke ominously of the possibility of secession. The move toward unitary government he asserted, was one of the greatest reasons why Buganda desired to go it alone, months later, talks were held between the colonial secretary and a delegation from Buganda on constitutional questions affecting the kingdom. These talks broke down in September over such issues as the return of Buganda's sovereignty and the future form of government in Uganda. The Lukiiko there upon voted overwhelmingly to petition the Queen to secede from the rest of Uganda.

Although all responsible British authorities rejected any question of any part of the Protectorate seceding from Uganda so long as Her Majesty's government is the protecting power there seemed little question that the secessionist move did much to force the British to bargain on the nature of Uganda's form of government. Buganda's action, observed the Uganda Relationships Commission, which advised on the future form of government in 1961, plainly led towards disaster. Such a conclusion forces the British to rearrange the existing scheme of government to reflect, in a permanent manner, Buganda's power and influence in the affairs of a new Uganda. Thus the trend toward a strong unitary government came to an end. Federalism had rightly trounced over unitarism.

C- Reconciling local Nationalism:

The Relationships Commission report marked a major turning point in Uganda's constitutional history. Because a unitary system was no longer practical for political reasons, the commission proposed to incorporate elements of federalism in the constitution. Emphasis was placed throughout the report on reconciling local nationalism and central needs. Uganda's unity was to be secured after independence by accepting and placating particularism.

The commission denied the feasibility of establishing a thorough going federal state in Uganda; there was deemed to be an absence of a number of more or less self-governing states out of which a completely federal country could be composed. A federal relationship was proposed for Buganda and for Buganda alone. This violation of the normal equality of the constituent units in a federal system indicated the commission's pragmatic approach Buganda's administrative experience, size of the commissioners. Perhaps more important, Buganda constituted a disruptive element under the arrangement then in force; a federal system (albeit a unique one) seemed a small price to pay to overcome its secessionist rumblings.

This august commission also recommended a somewhat novel status for the three kingdoms of Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro. On the grounds that there are a large number of possible gradations between unitary and federal states in their pure forms, it proposed that these kingdoms be given "semi-federal" status. This would safeguard local customs, institutions, and languages while preserving central administration leadership. A federal system, explained the commission, would be too weak and expensive for these kingdoms. If they were federal states they would have to equip themselves with much more elaborate government machinery than they had then and they had not the resources, either human or financial, for this task. For the rest of Uganda, the commission favoured the continuance of strong unitary government. The remaining districts, lacking hereditary rulers, had not agitated for federal status,

Undoubtedly the Relationships Commission chaired by Lord Hailey, did its utmost to give each political unit the approx. status it visited upon. The result was a basic law which defined clear-cut classification in its existing form. In effect, the commission supported three approaches to constitutionalism - federalism, semifederalism, and a unitary system of government within the same basic law. Such a pragmatic approach was obviously not ideal because its constitutional ambiguity led to conflicts between units of different status, but its justification lay in its ability to ease the pressures of local nationalism.

D- The status of Buganda.

Although reactions to the Relationships Commission's recommendations seemed generally favorable, strong disagreement was expressed in various quarters. Some referred to the report as part of Britain's "divide and rule" policy and others criticized the extensive concessions made to Buganda. Nevertheless, by providing a basis for discussion, the report did speed up independence negotiations.

The thorniest question, that of Buganda's secession, was not decided until the Uganda constitutional conference convened in London in 1961, at which time this crucial matter was settled by the parties concerned. Uganda Peoples Congress leader Milton Obote, who became Prime Minister in 1962, agreed to Buganda's price for an end to further talk of secession - federal status and indirect Lukiko election of its representatives to the central legislature. Leaders of the Democratic Party (DP), which formed the government following the 1961 general elections, reacted angrily to Obote's agreement, charging him with political opportunism and conspiracy.

The agreement according to Buganda federal status was a major victory for its politicians. Federal status was sought in order to safeguard the traditions, Kabakaship and the customs of Buganda in an independent Uganda. It was argued that the nationalists were divided and weak, and thus to hand over political power to these people without safeguarding the integrity of Buganda was to invite trouble. Thus traditionalists, fearful for their position in a centralized Uganda after the granting of independence, obstructed the path toward independence until their interests were satisfied. In this they were far more successful than their counterparts in Ghana and Tanganyika had been.

E- The status of the Western kingdoms and Bugoga

Buganda's success in securing federal status was bound to affect traditional rulers elsewhere. The rulers of Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro and Bugoga had long sought some form of special recognition. Now they insisted upon being granted full federal status, declaring the guarantees implicit in semifederal status to be illusory. They claimed to be fully capable of assuming the fiscal responsibilities of federalism, even though their populations were small and their possibilities for economic advancement limited.

What all this amounted to, in brief, was a demand to be accorded the same rights and respect as Buganda.

From the time of the Wild Report, Toro took the lead among the kingdoms in pressing for federalism and for a clarification of the position of traditional rulers in Uganda. On August 20, 1960, the Katikiro (prime minister) of Toro cabled the colonial secretary, Ian Macleod, making it emphatically clear that Toro would not support a unitary system; only a federal system, and nothing else, could properly safeguard its hereditary institutions. The Munster Report caused a lot of resentment in Toro by providing for no more than semifederal status, and the London conference, by devolving few powers to the kingdoms that were not also assigned to the districts, did little to mitigate this grievance. In January 1962, the Toro Mukurato (parliament) went to the length of cabling the new Colonial secretary, Reginald Maudling, that Toro was not prepared to accept integration with the rest of Uganda unless full federal status were granted. It seemed just possible that a new secession crisis was in the offing. Toro leaders even spoke darkly of another "Congo".

Although authorities in London were naturally reluctant to reopen discussion on forms of government only months after the conclusion of the 1961 conference, they were soon forced to take note of the pressures that were rapidly building up. On March 2, 1962, at the ceremony in which he was sworn in as Uganda's first Prime Minister, Benedicto Kiwonuka (murdered by Idi Amin in 1970's) spoke of anxieties in the kingdoms and Busoga, as well as of the traditional rulers' legitimate demands. Indicating his intentions of making a fresh approach to British authorities on this matter, he asserted: "I can see no reason why federal status cannot be granted to the districts. This will help to allay the fears of the rulers and their subjects in those kingdoms and the result will be peace and stability of government."

On the following day, Milton Obote, UPC leader associated himself fully with these sentiments, while in the National Assembly one of his chief lieutenants, Grace Ibingira, introduced a motion calling on the colonial secretary to negotiate with the kingdoms and Busoga with a view to granting them appropriate forms of federal status. Because of such pressures, the British authorities decided to reappraise the matter. The immediate reason for re-examining the extension of federal status was the involvement of that issue in the coming general elections of 1962. Uganda's life of stability could not endure further than 1966 when Milton Obote opened our country's doors to political militarism ushering in a one man, pigeon hole constitution that imposed upon an unbelieving populace an unpopular system of unitarism.

4. FEDERALISM: CHARACTERISTICS AND PRINCIPLES.

Uganda's experience in federalism versus centralism or unitarism has been an experience of many stories, stories of victory and stories of defeat; of battles won, and battles lost. To comprehensively analyse the origins, nature and extent of such experience, let us examine what federalism as a political and social concept is all about.

A- Definition

Federalism and its kindred terms like "federal", are used to describe the mode of political organisation which unite separate units or entities within an overarching political system so as to allow each to maintain its fundamental political integrity. This is done by distributing power among general or central or national and constituent or regional or state governments in a manner designed to protect the existence and authority of all the governments. Basic policies are required to be made and implemented through negotiations in some form thereby enabling all people and governments concerned to share in the system's decision-making and decisions executing process.

Because of the difficulties in relating theoretical formulations to the evidence gathered from the actual operation of several systems, it is impossible to have a single definition of the term "Federalism" looks to the linkage of people and institutions by mutual consent, without the sacrifice of their individual identities as the ideal form of social organisation. It is characterised by the desire to build society on the basis of coordinative rather than subordinative relationships and by the emphasis on partnership among parties with equal claim to legitimacy who seek to cultivate their diverse integrities within a common social order.

As a political device, federalism is a kind of political order animated by political principles that emphasize the primary of bargaining and negotiated coordination among several power centres or foci as a prelude to the exercise of power within a single political system and stress the value of dispersed power centres as a means for safeguarding individual and local liberties.

I must hasten to point out that if we can have at one end of a definition line, an ideal federal system and at the other end of it, an ideal unitary system, one would discover that operationally, all present systems of government in the world fall somewhere in between these two ideals. When a particular government system falls nearer to the federal ideal then it is labelled "federal" while if it falls nearer to the ideal unitary system then that is labelled "unitary".

The distinction between the two systems stems basically from the division of powers and responsibilities between the national government and the governments of the parts. The unitary system has in place a government which is supreme and merely delegates power (at its own choice) to the governments of the parts. Indeed, the governments of the parts will merely be administrative focal points for dispensation of services in their respective parts. Such administrative units have no legislative powers. They only have delegated executive powers.

Federalism on the other hand is an arrangement of government whereby powers within a country are shared between a country-wide national government (federal/central) and a number of regionalised governments. Each regional or state government exists as a separate and independent one from the others. It operates directly on persons and property within its territorial area, with a will of its own and its own apparatus for the conduct of its affairs. Regional governments have authority in some matters exclusive of all the others. Federalism is thus essentially an arrangement between governments, or a device by which powers within a country are shared among two tiers of government. This yardstick is the true nature of federalism is almost universal to all forms - be they American, Nigerian, Australian, Canadian, Indian, German or Swiss.

B- Principles and Processes.

The most useful way to understand how federalism as a political phenomenon has been at the root of Uganda's political conflicts, and in what ways shall its contribution to resolution of conflict be effective, let us survey the basic characteristics of federal systems, principles and processes.

The first federal relationship must be established or confirmed through a perpetual covenant of unity, inevitably embodied in a written constitution that outlines, among other things, the terms by which power is divided or shared in the political system and which can be altered only by extraordinary procedure. Noble declarations in a constitution do not become a living principle unless they are faithfully implemented and respected. A written constitution, however, is the crucial element in the federal principle.

The political system must reinforce the terms of the constitution through an actual diffusion of power among a number of substantially self-sustaining centres that are generally coincident with the constituent political units or policies established by the federal compact. Such a diffusion of power may be termed non-centralization. It differs from decentralization - the conditional diffusion of specific powers to subordinate local governments by a central government, subject to recall by unilateral decision. It is also more than devolution - the special grant of powers to a subnational (regional) unit by a central government, not normally rescindable.

Non-centralization ensures that no matter how certain powers may be shared by the central and state government at any point in time, the authority to participate in exercising them cannot be taken away from either without mutual consent. Constituent units in the federal system are able to participate as partners in national governmental activities and to act unilaterally with a high degree of autonomy in areas constitutionally open to them because they possess effectively irrevocable powers.

Autonomy, described as the separateness and independence of the regional or state governments is the first and foremost of the principles usually associated with federalism. Such autonomy requires not just the legal and physical existence of an apparatus of government like a legislative assembly, a governor, but as an autonomous entity, it must be able to exercise its own will in the conduct of its affairs, free from direction by another government. Thus an arrangement which legally obliges one government to accept direction from another in the conduct of its affairs is not true federalism. Where a central government is legally able to override the regional governments in all matters is not autonomy either. While certain matters may be common or concurrent, as it were, to both the central and state governments, and while one may be permitted to prevail over the other in such concurrent matters, there must be certain aspects over which each can operate to the exclusion of the other and without interference from it. Such an exclusive field should be substantial enough to give meaningfulness and reality to the autonomous existence of each government.

Autonomy further implies that neither the central nor the state government can confer functions or impose duties on the functionaries of the other without the consent of its chief executive (president or governor). Autonomy therefore encompasses the notion of equality, only equality of status as a government. Each government has, by virtue of its independent existence an equal status as a government with the others, so it is entitled to an equal say, though not equal in size, population or resources.

The notion of equality extends not further than this - it becomes in effect question of equity. Any conception of federalism as implying a dualism, between two equal and competing sovereignties - therefore portrays an erroneous and misleading picture.

Areal division of power is another principle ensuing from that of autonomy. There must be internal division of authority and power on an areal basis, that what in some federal systems may be called territorial democracy. Areal division is opposed to divisions on the basis of functional interests for example accommodation of ethnic, religious, ideological differences, which many times forces federalism to give way to pluralism. Power and authority must be divided between separate and independent departments of governments - the legislatures, the executive branches and the judiciaries. Actually most people known as federalists and anti-federalists in Uganda and beyond usually base their arguments around the respective values of areal and functional diffusions of power.

Similarity from the autonomous existence of each regional (state) government and the primary character of the national (central) government flows the doctrine of mutual non-interference; a doctrine that the exercise of those powers is not impeded, obstructed or otherwise interfered with. But a proper balance must be struck in the national interest. Too much regional autonomy will tend to glorify the regions at the expense of the nation. If the regions are so powerful as almost to submerge the centre or to cause the citizens to think in terms exclusively, or mainly, of the regional government, then it will be hard for them to develop any loyalty to the nation.

From the premise that the federal relationship is between the national government on the one hand and the regional governments on the other, and not between it and each regional government separately, merges yet another greater principle: that the powers of the regional governments and their relations to the national government should be exactly the same. No state government should have more or less powers than the others or be accorded a special position in the national government. The lodging, constitutional or otherwise, of greater powers in one regional government would produce an attitude of superiority and arrogance towards the others, and thus destroy the equilibrium which must exist between them. The issue of equality between the regional governments has had a special relevance and significance to Uganda's past and shall play a bigger role in the future trends to federalism. The 1962 independence constitution of Uganda was an outstanding departure from the equality and equity rule. The arrangement as we have observed earlier on, entailed the national government and five regional entities, the kingdoms of Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro, Toro and the territory of Busoga. The districts of Ndale and others which were excluded from this federal deal served to complicate the dubious federal, semi-federal and unitary political structures. In the descending order, Buganda has a lion's share followed by the four kingdoms, and the least powers going to the remaining districts.

Necessarily, Buganda's overwhelming powers and financial resources automatically created an arrogance which induced it to always wish to impose its will on the national and other regional governments. The collapse in 1966 of the federal arrangement was an inevitable eventuality. It however is not testimony to the view that the federal doctrine is bad and unsuitable for Uganda. It merely meant that federalism had been initially wrongly conceived, misrepresented and in favour of accommodation and compromise, erroneously implemented. The federal republican approach is a livable determination to give federalism yet a full and fair trial under a different but more balanced and democratic power sharing arrangement.

For the successful establishment of this federal-republicanism and to maintain the principle of non-centralization, the constituent politics (states) should be fairly equal in population and resources or at least balanced geographically or numerically in their inequalities. The existence of a large state dominating smaller states with which it is nominally federated on equal terms has often been one of the major reasons for failure of federalism. It is true that as regards the territory and populations over which the regional governments exercise their powers, equality is not constitutionally necessary let alone being practically feasible. However, to form a federal system of two regions is to pitch them against each other in a continual battle for ascendancy and superiority. A federal system of four regions only for Uganda, for instance is much the same thing. Federal-republicanism thrives upon a multiplicity of interest groups and politics reacting upon one another to produce a political equilibrium. Such a multiplicity of region creates a feeling of interdependence, which in turn encourages cooperation and mutual tolerance.

As a consequence, the federal principle is one very essential elements of federalism. The decision-making publics must recognize that the preservation of the constituent units is as important as the preservation of the nation as a whole. Federal republicanism for Uganda looks at the country as an indestructible union composed of indestructible states." A system of many states forces upon each state an awareness of its relative insignificance vis-a-vis the whole country, and the futility of a policy of separation or secession. In federal-republicanism, the multiplicity of states imposes sufficient equilibrium in the system to guard against such unholy acts ganging up, flagrantly violating the spirit and purpose of federalism and seriously subverting the noble federal principle.

3. Republicanism -

Republic is a term used to describe a nation-state or political arrangement where the country is not ruled by a monarch or emperor. It is neither ruled nor dominated by a private or hereditary property but by a general public interest. Republic at times also denotes a country where power is not directly in the hands of or subject to complete control by the people in contrast with a direct democracy. More loosely, it is used to describe any regime where government depends actually or nominally on popular will. Republicanism as a derivative usually refers to such political arrangement. It is a technical designation for representative government which dwells on the necessity for a system of checks and balances against the dangers of straight majoritarian decisions in legislatures elected by majority on a single principle of representation. As a term derived from the Latin words, res publica meaning public affairs or thing, other than stressing absence of monarchism, republicanism expresses avowed concern for the common welfare of the state and for the public control or participation. The essential criteria of a purely republican government is that the principal organs of the executive and legislative departments be elected by the people and hold

their offices by a responsible and temporary or defeasible tenure. Federal-republicanism necessarily implies not a federal system that is republican but rather a republic system that is federal. Uganda is a republic now and my submission is that to reestablish peace, stability, national unity and cohesion, the federal arrangement must be instituted constitutionally to be composed of the several constituent districts that shall become autonomous federal states.

5. FEDERALISM AND NATIONAL UNITY.

1) Unity in Diversity:

Critics of federalism wear several hats to fit their interests. Talk of federalism in Uganda is misrepresented by anti-federalist as courting nonarchical or feudal tendencies. Other so-called ideologues and revolutionaries use it whether carelessly or maliciously as an escapist way to stigmatize the ideas of a man a few degrees to their right or a conservative. Other categories of anti-federalists say that federalism would encourage 'tribalism', thereby making it impossible for people to rise above tribal loyalty. This is fallacious. What true federalism does is to provide a local institutional base for an appeal to tribal community sentiment what some people prefer to miscall 'sectarian' sentiments. What creates such an appeal is not federalism per se, but the struggle for political power and the fear of domination. More important human nature, as we have already observed, forms the basis for such an appeal.

Uganda, a country whose borders are a historical accident occasioned by European interests during the scramble for Africa, is endowed by more than 40 tribal groupings with a similar number of dialects and languages. Today's socio-political structure boasts of a heterogeneous community. With the commercialisation and 'modernisation' (despite backwardness) of our economy, economic and social class interests have emerged creating antagonisms within the society. Such is the nature and extent of the diversity which is supposed to yield to 'uniformity' in a unitarian government system.

There is a dangerous conceptualisation of national unity as national uniformity. Tribes shall remain, religions shall multiply and entrench themselves deeper into the community. The peoples traditions, customs and culture shall continue to play a major role in shaping their political opinion, their habits, tempers, and behaviour. These are pure and simple facts. This is the political reality. Federalism for Uganda should be based on and adhere to the doctrine of 'UNITY IN DIVERSITY' with a major commitment to providing a permanent and working solution to the tribal animosities and hatred that have plagued our country's socio-political scene to the detriment of the ideals of democracy and human rights. Any ideas that one can make diverse peoples into a nation-state by merely suppressing the religions, ethnic and cultural feelings or other affiliations to which the people themselves attach the highest political significance is

single wishful thinking and a non-starter.

Federal-republicanism as advocated for in this paper is conceived as a means to enhance national unity in two major ways. It is to unite people already linked by bonds of nationality under one modern republic since 1967. It is also to unify the diverse peoples in their ethnic and cultural set ups for important but limited purpose, without disrupting their primary ties to the individual units that would constitute the federal republic of Uganda. Federal-republicanism is expected to integrate the sister principles of federal as well as confederal tendencies that still surface among nationalities and peoples of Uganda.

National loyalty and consciousness cannot immediately supplant tribal loyalty and consciousness. National unity, to be both possible and feasible, must be built on top of tribal and regional loyalties by creating a constitutional system of government in which all tribes, religions and regions feel that there is room for self-expression, self-preservation and self-advancement. This is human (natural) nature writ large. The doctrine of the "Federal character" must be enshrined in such a constitution. This doctrine is based upon the principle that all the people of Uganda possess a distinctive desire to promote national unity, foster national loyalty and give every Ugandan a sense of constructively belonging to the nation.

ii) Federalism and Guerrilla Warfare.

From 1980 to 1987, Uganda has experienced a special character of political development - the phenomenon of guerrilla warfare and its resultant strategies of counterinsurgency. In December 1980, the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) led by Milton Obote rigged the 'fiasco' of general elections and declared itself winner. They formed the government with express military support of Tanzania which had helped oust dictator Idi Amin in 1979 in a bloody six months war of counter-aggression.

Several guerrilla movements joined hands with the Tanzanian forces to dislodge Amin. From about twenty or so anti-Amin groups, only three qualify to be considered as guerrilla movements. The first and most powerful was the Kikosi Mwalimu (special force) Commanded by General Tito Okello and the late Major General Oyite Ojok (killed in a helicopter accident in 1983). These forces were under the patronage of Milton Obote and dominated by the militaries. The second was the Front for National Salvation (FRIMASA) led by Yoweri Museveni now President of Uganda and dominated by Bantu speakers from western and southern Uganda. Save Uganda Movement (SUM) led by the late Robert Serunaga was the third and only armed group to be based outside Tanzania, in Nairobi, Kenya. Milton Obote, Lango, Yoweri Museveni, a Munyankole and Robert Serunaga, a Muganda constituted the major political

brokers in the power struggle that followed the fall of Idi Amin in April 1979. Their internal contradiction based on tribe, religion and political ideology led to the impotence of their coalition government led by the late Yusuf Kironde Lule and caused the collapse of three UNLF governments in succession until the re-emergence of the most power-ful Milton Obote - in 1980. Guerrilla warfare prior to Amin's fall was basically external - and substantially more diplomatic and political than military.

When Prof. Lule, the first UNLF Chairman was deposed from the presidency of Uganda barely 68 days after assuming power on April 11, 1979, the cycle of guerrilla warfare was truly sent rolling. He soon founded in Nairobi Kenya, the Uganda Freedom Fighters (UFF) to fight the then UNLF government led by Godfrey Binaisa. Dr. Andrew Lutakome Kayiira (assassinated in May 1987) followed suit and formed the Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM) which he led till his death. On February 1981, Yoweri Museveni, then leader of the Uganda Patriotic Movement (Political Party), attacked Kabamba Military Barracks to launch the Popular Resistance Army (PRA). He later joined with Lule to form the National Resistance Movement. The UFM was dissolved in late 1982 to give rise to the Uganda Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEMU) led by the late Lawrence Semakula (murdered by Milton Obote's regime in 1984). He was succeeded by Dr. David Lwanga. Tribal and ideological mistrust persisted between these movements and prevented real cooperation in their common struggle against Obote's fascism.

Whereas the three movements were based in the central and western parts of Uganda, the north-western part of West Nile was the base for yet other anti-Obote guerrilla groups. The National Rescue Front (UNRF) led by Moses Ali constituted the Sudanic speaking people who, though formerly were cohorts of Idi Amin, had rejected him. The Front of Uganda National Army (FUNA) was the bastion of Aminist elements and were based, together with the UNRF in West Nile, Southern Sudan and Zaire.

In January 1986, the National Resistance Movement finally managed to crush the confused totality of FEDEMU - UFM - UNLA - FUNA - UNRF coalition of opportunists bundled together with the Democratic Party, the Conservative party and the remnants of the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC). NRM had effectively turned the political clock of northern domination to move towards Southern or Bantu emancipation and liberation. Some political leaders and academicians like to bury themselves in a world of political idealism thinking that a north-south divide (Nilotic, central Sudanic - Bantu) is non-existent. In actual fact, it is real and alive and has been so since the colonial masters instituted their haphazard demarcation of soldier - worker (administrator) between the northern ethnic groups and the southern Bantu. As if Uganda's problems were not enough, in August 1987, defeated armies of UNLA (Uganda National Liberation Army) began what has actually become the Northern Rebellion in Kitgum and Gulu districts. The rebellion has now spread to Eastern Uganda districts of Teso, Karamoja, Kumi and Tororo. There are several organisations that have joined this rebellion against the NRM government and close scrutiny reveals a deep ethnic/tribal stratification of the forces inv

Milton Obote, (Banyo), Peter Otau and William Omaria (Iteso), Alice Lakwena, Otema Allimadi and Fazillio Okello (Acholi), Masete Kuya (Lugbara) have set up various guerrilla groups and in effect have attempted to balkanize the north and east of Uganda under their personal sphere of military dominance.

As these groups scramble for the partition of the north and the east according to their tribal affiliations, an eventual truce and peace in the area (either among themselves or with the UN) looks as distant as ever. Mutual mistrust and suspicion has led almost each major and some minor tribes in Uganda to arm themselves and found armies to protect and guarantee their survival. Stretching from the Rwenzururu movement in Western Uganda through Ankole, Buganda, Teso, Gulu to West Nile in the north-west, self-preservation, political power and self-determination are threatening to bring the administration of Uganda into great jeopardy and national unity at the brink of total disunity. Such is the special and abnormal politico-military establishment of the 1980's draw to a close in Uganda. For all practical purposes, peace and stability can only reign again with an introduction of a constitutional framework that respects and accommodates the tribal and ethnic heterogeneity of the country. Political power at the centre of internal conflicts must be diffused into several autonomous states and divided into separate and independent legislative, executive and judiciary departments at the centre. This political arrangement must make it the interest and necessity of all the people of this nation to cooperate in a peaceful coexistence venture to allow all to self-advancement without domination by any one group, armed or civilian. Such must be a federal-republican arrangement. It must be republican to guarantee democratic freedom where the majority shall govern in respect of the minority rights. Republican because all public political offices must be held on a directly elective basis and avoid a return to feudal or monarchical dictatorship of the long past.

All political participants and observers on the Uganda scene should realize that at this material time, the political principles of our people can no longer endure nothing but federal republican governments as opposed to monarchical or unitary systems. Our republic must no longer continue to be unitary it has brought and bred nothing but bloodshed, genocide and political criminology. In times of such political commotion which our country has gone through and given an armed rebellion in the north and east, the passions of our people may be worked up to an uncommon pitch and pose a great danger of fatal extremes. People who have been subject to object oppression and tyranny by governments very naturally have developed passions of contempt and disregard of all authority except their own. When the minds of these are loosened from the attachment to dictatorial establishments like armed forces and political parties, they seem to grow giddy and pre-empt more or less to run into anarchy. These principles, too true in themselves and confirmed to me by experience, deserve extreme attention of those who happen to have the direction of public affairs. In such tempestuous times, it indeed requires the greatest skill in the political pilots to keep all our people ready, steady and within proper bounds. Nothing can achieve this but federal-republicanism.

6. FEDERAL-REPUBLIC OF UGANDA (FRU)

I am so affectionately attached to federal-republicanism that my wish for our country is the establishment of a Federal-Republic. Modern Uganda was established on principles of federalism, hence there has always been a federalistic tradition since her foundation. It assumed continuity when independence came on 9-10-1962, the respective fields, powers and responsibility of the federal government the state government and the districts were spelt out in the 1962 independence constitution. Conscious of our citizens' need to live at peace with oneself and in harmony with others, the federal republican arrangement I propose has indeed greatly modified the federal pattern which existed at independence. Fig 2 shows the nine states which should form a United Federal-Republic of Uganda.

Political, economic and social composition and levels of development have been my guiding principles in this decision. Each state shall manage its own affairs through its own state government. Each state shall choose and develop a state capital at a site of their own choice. The Federal District (Kampala F.D.) shall assist in the establishment of the state capitals (S.C).

(1) KAMPALA FEDERAL DISTRICT

The boundaries of Kampala F.D. will be as defined in the 1962 constitution. It will be a state in its own right under the Federal Government. The 1962 definition of the Federal District can be found on the Map of Kampala, 1958 series: 1832 Kampala, 3000-16/1958 1: US .

(2) EASTERN STATE: This shall be composed by the Districts of Tororo, Mbale, Kapchorwa and Kumi. The population is about 2,000,000. They speak several languages but they are not written and they can speak and write Luganda language. The proposed state capital is Mbale.

(3) NORTH-EASTERN STATE: This shall include the districts of Soroti, Moroto, and Kotido. The total population is about 1,000,000 and speak Karungu and Ateso languages. The proposed state capital is Iriri.

(4) MIDDLE-EASTERN STATE: This shall be the district of Jinja, Iganga and Kamuli. Speaking Busoga which is unwritten, they read and write Luganda. Proposed state capital is Bugembe.

(5) NORTHERN STATE: This shall be the districts of Gulu, Kitgum, Lira and Apac. With the total population of about 1,200,000 they all speak Luo. Proposed state capital is at PURANG.

(6) NORTH-WESTERN STATE: This shall include the districts of Noyo, Arua and Nebbi. The total population is about 1,200,000 and they speak several different dialects but

have a common culture. Proposed state capital is RHINO CAMP.

(7) CENTRAL STATE: This shall consist of the districts of Igigi, Mukono, Luwero, Mubende, Masaka and Nakai. With a total population of about 3,400,000 they all speak and write Luganda. Proposed state capital is KUMMUKA.

(8) SOUTH-WESTERN STATE: This shall consist of the Districts of Ibanda, Bushenyi, Kabale and Kuluwinda. With a total population of about 2,000,000, they speak Runyankole/Rukija. The proposed state capital is KISURU.

(9) WESTERN STATE: This shall consist of the districts of Ushio, Masindi, Kabarole, Bundibugya and Kasese. With an estimated population of 1,700,000, they speak Runyoro/Rutoro. The Bakonjo and Bamba speak slightly different dialects but write and understand Runyoro/Rutoro.

(10) ENTEBBE FEDERAL TERRITORY: This shall include the present town of Entebbe, and the Lake Victoria islands of Sese etc. With a population of about 200,000, they all speak Luganda. This territory houses the executive branch of the Federal government including the present State House to be renamed Federal-Republican House (F.R.H). Uganda's international airport shall also remain at Entebbe F. T. which shall also be under Federal Government administration.

The division of the Federal Republic of Uganda (F.R.U.) into the above states has been based on the following pertinent objectives:-

- a) To completely decentralize the administration, government and power of the country and put them in the hands of the people.
- b) To establish states where the people have a common language or similar languages, and similar or common culture like traditions and customs.
- c) To create states that are politically and economically viable allow independence and autonomy to be meaningful in raising the peoples' standard of living.
- d) To create states that have similar climatic and physical conditions as well as similar natural resources to allow development, planning to be integrated. The economic principle of comparative advantage in the agricultural and industrial (hand-manufacturing and mining) production sectors.

In accordance with the above objectives the following criteria have been established for each state:-

- a) Each state has a population of more than one million people.
- b) Each state has a permanent source of water like lakes, rivers and streams.
- c) Each state has a common border with a neighbouring country either Sudan, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania or Zaire.
- d) Each state has the ability to exploit natural resources as far national and game parks are concerned. Each state

has special cultural sites that can be similarly exploited.

7. THE FREEDOM CHARTER: - THE CONSTITUTION OF THE F.R.U.

A constitution is the supreme law of the land. It is the agreement among the people of how they want to live and be governed. It is the contract between the people and their government; it is indeed the First Law of the Land. A law by the very meaning of the term means supremacy. It is a rule which those to whom it is prescribed are bound to observe. This results from every political association. If individuals enter into a state of society, the laws of that society must be the supreme regulator of their conduct. If a number of political societies enter into a larger political society, the laws which the latter may enact, pursuant to the powers entrusted to it by its constitution, must necessarily be supreme over those societies and the individuals of whom they are composed. It would otherwise be a mere treaty, dependent on the good faith of the parties and not a government which is only another word for political power and supremacy.

The major contribution to Uganda's political violence has stemmed from lack of commitment on the part of leaders to constitutionalism. When the thoughtful Ugandan pledges his allegiance to democracy, he really means constitutional democracy a system of popular government in which power is diffused by means of a written constitution and the wielders of power are held in check by the rule of law. When a Ugandan sings the praises of freedom liberty and justice, he means constitutional freedom, a condition of ordered liberty whose terms are set down for all men to read in the "Freedom Charter".

I am a zealous; painstaking constitutionalist and a firm advocate of the double-barreled principle that the governors of men should think, explain, and bargain before they act, and that they should act only through established procedures in making administering and enforcing public policy. The constitution should be their creed and standard and ought never to be departed from, because departure from it is full of uncertainties and extremes.

If federal-republicanism is to establish peace of mind and body among the hearts and bosoms of Ugandans, constitutional government is the only guarantor of our peoples freedom and our nation's unity and cohesion. The freedom Charter I propose for the Federal Republic of Uganda is designed towards the establishment of an energetic national government which is to face two main problems. First is the problem of peace, that is the task of providing for the security of the nation in the face of a world of hate, envy, mutual ethnic mistrust and widespread militarization of the political life. The second is the problem of growth, that is the task of discovering and then applying the best means of exploiting the unique talents and resources of the Ugandan people in totality, and thus carrying the whole country from backwardness and underdevelopment to grandeur and progress. The constitutional Federal government shall be decisive but not arbitrary, energetic but not oppressive, enterprising but not untrammelled and I am convinced with a skillfully written charter, our entire nation

and our entire community will show widespread devotion to it. In this Charter I have searched and found the rules of law that might restrain men of power without paralyzing them, that would balance the energy of the government and the safety of the people in a working equation for political and social freedom.

Our people have expressed fear and have experienced it from concentrated and unfettered power - the essence of despotism of unitary government. The freedom charter, in no uncertain terms, envisages the stoutest of all defences against the abuse of power: those most approved and well-founded maxims of democratic freedom, which require that the legislative executive and judicial authorities should be deposited in distinct and separate hands. Convinced by the unitary experience of the insufficiency of a mere parchment delineation of the boundaries between any two agencies of power, the charter spells out the techniques with which to check power with power, to balance ambition against ambition and to ensure national unity in national diversity.

a- Structure: I shall give a few major elements or articles which should feature most prominently in the Freedom Charter.

(i) There shall be two houses of the legislature, the Federal Forum. The lower house shall be National House. The Upper House shall be the Peoples House.

(ii) The National House of the Federal Forum shall be composed of members elected for 5 years by the people of the states and Kampala Federal District (including Entebbe Federal Territory). The voters in each state shall have the qualification requisite for voters of the most numerous branch of the Federal Forum.

(iii) No person shall be a Representative in the National House who shall not have attained the age of 25 years and a citizen of Uganda by descent, birth (or by naturalization and resided in Uganda continuously for 10 years) and who shall not, when elected be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be elected.

(iv) When vacancies occur in the representation from any state, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

(v) The Peoples House of the Federal Forum shall be composed of three members from each state elected by the Legislature thereof. for six years and each member shall have one vote .

(vi) Leaders of or their permanent representatives of the Church of Uganda, Catholic Church, Muslim Community and Orthodox Church shall be members of this House and shall have one vote each organisation.

(vii) No person shall be a member of the Peoples House who shall not have attained the age of 35 years, and who shall not be an inhabitant of that state for which he/she shall be chosen.

(viii) The Peoples House shall have ^{the} sole power to try all impeachments and conviction to be carried with the concurrence of at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of the members.

(ix) Indictment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than the removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or profit, but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment to the Law of the land.

(x) The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended unless in the cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety as may require and only the Federal Forum has the powers to declare a state of emergency.

(xi) A person charged in any state with treason, felony or other crimes who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand from the executive Authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

(xii) No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner presented by law.

(xiii) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, shall not be violated and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

(xiv) The enumeration in the Freedom Charter of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

(xv) The powers not delegated to the Federal government by the Freedom Charter, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the state respectively or to the people.

(xvi) No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice and no other person who has held office of the President for more than three (3) years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be eligible to election to the office of President.

(xvii) The Federal Republic of Uganda is a democratic, free, and sovereign federal republican state and all the state power and authority originate from the people. It shall be exercised by the people by means of elections and voting and by specific legislative, executive and judicial organs.

(xviii) All Ugandans shall have the right to resist any person or persons seeking to abolish this constitutional order, should no other remedy be possible.

(xix) Acts tending to and undertaken with the intent to disturb the internal stability and or peaceful relations between the country and other countries, especially to prepare for aggressive war or armed internal rebellion shall be unconstitutional. Acts of secession are strictly unconstitutional.

(xx) By referendum, the territory of the Federal Republic of Uganda may be reorganized to ensure that the states by their size and capacity are able to effectively fulfil the functions incumbent upon them. Due regard shall be given to regional, historical, and cultural ties, economic expediency, regional policy and the requirements of urban and rural planning.

(xxi) The preservation, conservation and protection of the environment shall be inviolable. To wisely manage and plan for sustainable use of the natural resources shall be the duty of all Federal and state authority.

The above elements of constitutionalism ensure that Federal-republicanism is not similar to other related political systems. It differs from a dual or multiple monarchy where the central constitutional characteristic is that union exists only in the person of the sovereign and is maintained only through the exercise of executive power in his name. Democratic trends are absent as the sovereign becomes overwhelmingly dictatorial and despotic as one-man rule is preserved through royal succession. Federal republicanism also differs from empire allowing cultural home rule, for instance Soviet Union or China or the ancient Roman empire. In such cases, highly centralized modern political authorities, possessing a virtual monopoly of power decide, for reasons of policy to allow local population with different ethnic or cultural home rule, provided that they remain politically subservient to the imperial regime. There is no real local autonomy and any local efforts to transform cultural home rule into political power are invariably met with suppressive force from the central government. Federal-republicanism also differs from a decentralized unitary state. Even though such a state may allow local governments or districts considerable autonomy in some ways, local powers are invariably restricted to local matters as determined by central authorities. They are also subject to central supervision, restriction and even withdrawal without consultation. As exemplified by the Ugandan experience of 1966-67, even powerful traditions and institutions supporting local autonomy have not stood in the way of great concentration of power by democratically elected or self-proclaimed parliamentary majorities. When the armed forces are called in, decentralized unitarism can degenerate into fascist dictatorship. A decentralized unitary state for Uganda would therefore be a short and wrong step in the right direction.

8. Conclusion: The Purpose and Reach of Federal -
Republicanism.

The constitutional establishment of the system seeks to solve the five fundamental causes of internal political and armed conflicts that have plagued Uganda for the last two decades.

- i) The division and diffusion of power and authority between the nation (federation) and the states.
- ii) The role of the judiciary as guardians of the fundamental law.
- iii) The nature and extent of the powers of country's legislature.
- iv) The nature and reach of the President as the head of the executive.
- v) The nature, extent and respect of the country's diversity of people and nationalities.

I am not a federalist by de-or-die conviction, but I harbour convictions that do not prevent me from becoming a federalist by amiable necessity for I look upon a federal government for Uganda as an institutional rendering of the principles of natural law and human nature. My real, ardent concern is results not forms, energy not structure, effectiveness and not abstract principles. I strongly adhere to the universal political axiom that "for forms of government let fools contest, that which acts energetically to promote stability and to protect liberty is best. It is not the forcible elimination of all traces of heredity that troubles me when I contemplate federal republican government, but the forcible introduction of the element of populism - the play of popular will and whim, the sway of passion and faction, in one word - democracy.

Democracy is such an escapist word that clarification of the democracy envisaged by the federal arrangement is essential. At a glance, many leaders love talking of direct democracy, the immediate untrammeled rule of the majority of the citizenry. The pure form of democracy is the assembly of the collective body of the people, the assembly who resolve in the mass of the people. Both forms are tumultuous and turbulent. The ancient democracies of this nature, in which people themselves deliberated, never passed one feature of good government. Their very character was tyranny, their figure deformity. The "popular" assembly is suspect on several counts: because it is a reflection of all the prejudices and passions of the people.

because it breeds factions or sectarian elements like mosquitoes in a swamp, because faction clashes with faction amid scenes of anarchy, and because out of anarchy must sooner or later emerge the tyrant-as-demagogue to bend the so-called agents of the people to his own will. As a mere mob, exposed to interference from external authority, every irregular impulse and subject to every breeze of faction, how can the assembly ever take cool, unhurried, and unemotional view of the issues before it and thus catch at least distant sight of the public and national interest?

Democracy should therefore be used as a shorthand for the concept of the sovereignty of the people and the related concept of the welfare of all the people as the principal object of government. The constitutional arrangement of federalism is to provide a legal and solid basis of government, which government is grounded on the consent of the people and designed to protect, through the commands and persuasion of equal laws, the rights of all citizens regardless of status, merit, ethnicity or religion. Democracy therefore is a notion of a government whose existence everybody wills and in whose blessings everybody shares. Through indirect, direct and staggered elections, constitutional constraints, checks and balances, education and exhortation, the leadership by the wise and good nationalists and patriots, popular and democratic government could be made to work in the Federal Republic of Uganda.

Such a government shall have several pertinent ingredients, first among them being strength, in fact and in appearance. As to the fact of strength, one should realize that a weak and embarrassed government never fails to be unpopular. It attaches to itself the disrespect incident to weakness, and unable to promote the public happiness, its impotencies especially in face of armed resistance, become its crimes. As to appearance, wherever it appears in arms, it ought to appear like an elephant and inspire respect by the display of strength. It is true that weak governments, not strong ones, get caught up in wars that are not of their own choosing; strong governments, not weak ones could trust their fates to the process of diplomatic negotiation and internal reconciliation. War, like most other things, is a science to be acquired and perfected by diligence, by perseverance, and by practice. The federal government must keep a modest supply of experts in this science on duty and a large supply in reserve. A strong, well-armed disciplined and modern army supported by a large popular militia will prove a respectable military posture as the best method of securing our peace, independence and our property. More so as an essential cement and guarantor of the federal republic in a united form.

Second ingredient of the popular and democratic federal government is good faith and the willingness to honour obligations. Repudiation as a course of action is to be detested and condemned on grounds of both right and policy. States, like individuals, who observe their engagements are respected and trusted. The principle here is that the established rules of morality and justice are applicable to nations as well as to individuals, that the former as well as the latter are bound to keep their promises; to fulfill their engagements to respect the rights of property which others have acquired under contracts with them. Without this there is an end of all distinct ideas of right or wrong, justice or injustice, in relation to society or government. There can be no such thing as rights, no such thing as property or liberty, all the boasted advantages of a constitutional government vanish into oblivion.

Popular federal government is identified with a measured exercise of public authority and at the same time with a measured regard for the rules of public etiquette - one word, dignity. No nation could be counted great if its agents in government behaved like thugs, cowboys, corrupt opportunists and speculative thieves. Public men must be gentlemen and the government they serve must be firm and magnanimous. Real firmness is good for every thing, strut is good for nothing. Law and dispassionate views are indispensable. Neither the suggestions of pride nor timidity ought to guide. There ought to be much cool calculation, much calm fortitude.

The success of popular government depends immensely on efficiency, that is sound administration. The federal arrangement spells out how power and authority could be most effectively and systematically wielded. It stipulates how much power should be granted, where it should be located and how it should be checked. The true test of a good government is its aptitude to produce a good administration. For example, a bad form of government like an oligarchy of priests could not be made good by the simple fact of a respectable and prosperous administration of affairs, but a good form of government like a constitutional federal - republic - could be made bad by a want of methodology and energy in the administration. Efficiency is a quality as essential for government to display as was dignity or honor. No matter how carefully power is divided and restrained, no matter how well-behaved the people and well-meaning their leaders, the federal - republican system for Uganda would crash into ruins if an efficient science of administration was not quickly instituted to replace the vague and confined notions of the practical business of government with which unitary government has been run. In this connection, it is worth to note

negative effects of administrative incompetence of legislatures (national assembly, national Consultative Council, national resistance Council); the irritations of haphazard government; the costliness of inefficient government. Equally important is the need for special knowledge and skills in public administrators and the importance of a decent compensation and status for civil servants.

Confidence and Devotion to Liberty.

Strength, good faith, dignity, efficiency in one encompassing word energy, to this catalogue of qualities of the model government for the Federal Republic of Uganda, one must add a final imperative - devotion to liberty. Liberty was the natural God-given heritage of man. The Federal Republic envisages a society of industrious, well-behaved, self-disciplined Ugandans who, even when they may be proudly conscious of the blessings that go with living in a famous community, live private lives and pursue private affairs in which the government had no right or cause to grossly interfere. The clear voice of natural justice has always spoken, even in the darkest hours of Uganda during the regimes of Idi Amin, Milton Obote and Tito Okello, for personal rights and self-government. The people must not only enjoy the common privileges of subjects under the same government but have to share in its conduct.

If liberty is a natural blessing it is also a social necessity. Only men who get a taste of its sweets could be moved to make the kind of effort - persistent, intelligent, imaginative - out of which social and economic progress shall emerge. I have high hopes for the unequalled (though most often subverted and frustrated) spirit of enterprise of the people of Uganda, and I know perfectly well that this spirit would flourish only under conditions of economic, political, social and economic liberty.

However, the tree of liberty and freedom bears sour fruits as well as sweet ones. While liberty is the nursery of learning, prosperity and virtue, it also is the forcing ground of faction, envy and corrupt opportunism. An excessive concern for liberty in public administration could lead to weakness, disorder and ultimately to anarchy. An excessive pursuit of liberty by private citizens could lead to licentiousness, the mischiefs of opulence, and ultimately to immorality. But the gamble for freedom is eminently worth making. Self-discipline, morality, religion and constitutionalism are the political and cultural conditions for a successful gamble. The people of Uganda

have reached a point when the important question must be asked and answered. People must choose whether to be governed by law or by force. If they choose law, they also choose authority, which alone could provide the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, factionalism, sectarianism and of anarchy. The rights of government are as essential to be defended as the rights of individuals. The security of the one is inseparable from that of the other.

The right to own private property and to enjoy the fruits thereof and freedom of economic choice are at the foundation of the principle of liberty itself. In Uganda, the desire for property, especially land, is founded on such strong principles in the human breast that property itself must be regarded as a universal appendage of man, regulated by law yet enjoyed by right. Closely linked with property is the element of confidence.

The first of the great and essential principles for the support of government is an active and constant interest among the people in supporting it. The great misfortune that can befall a nation is conduct that served to destroy peoples' confidence in government. Since government began to actively participate in the violation of our peoples' human rights and freedom in the name of power, confidence in government has been greatly shaken and as of now it is held in balance. One of the main objectives of the establishment of federalism is to reestablish this crucial element in public government by permitting the people to govern themselves and control the holders of the instruments of violence - the army and police. No popular government could expect to endure for long unless it performed all those acts which would familiarise and endear it to the people. While the confidence of the men with a special interest in order and constancy, is essential to secure, so too, is the confidence of the people at large. Unless men of every class felt some measure of affection, esteem and reverence towards the government, and looked upon that government as the guardian and promoter of their interests, even the best federal constitution would not save Uganda. The federal government as well as that of each state, must be able to address itself to the hopes and fears of individuals, and to attract to its support those passions which have the strongest influence upon Ugandans property and liberty featuring most prominent. If and when the federal Republic of Uganda shall be founded and its government, made the offspring of our people's own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, completely free in its principles, in the diffusion of its powers, uniting energy with safety,

and containing in itself a constitutional provision for its own amendment, all Uganda will undoubtedly shower it with reciprocal confidence and support. Indeed, respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties dictated upon our people by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of the Federal system is the right of the people to make and alter its constitution and government. Our liberties do not come from charters for these are only the declaration of preexisting rights. They do not depend on parchments or seals; but come from the King of Kings and Lord of all the Earth.

I say all this convinced that

"THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE"

IS

THE VOICE OF GOD"

(VOX POPULI VOX DEI)

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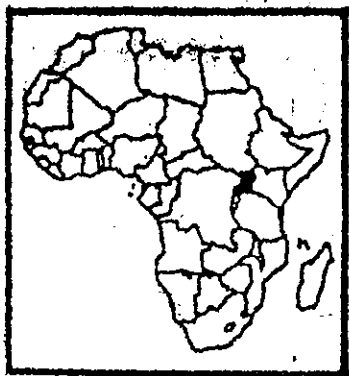
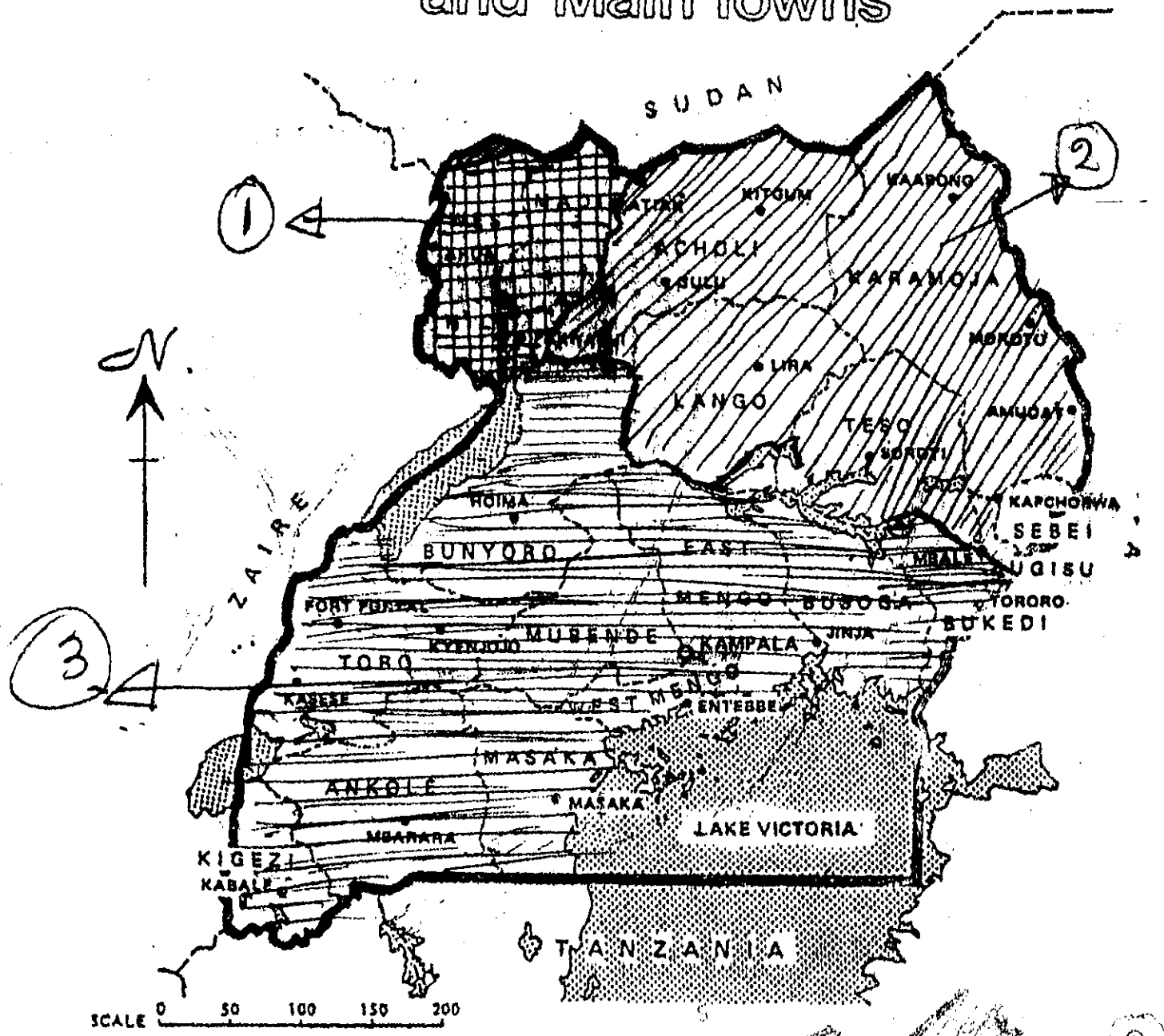
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Annex: - Maps of Uganda

1. Ethnic, Regional Boundaries & Main Towns.
2. Proposed Federal-Republic of Uganda States.

FIG. 1 UGANDA

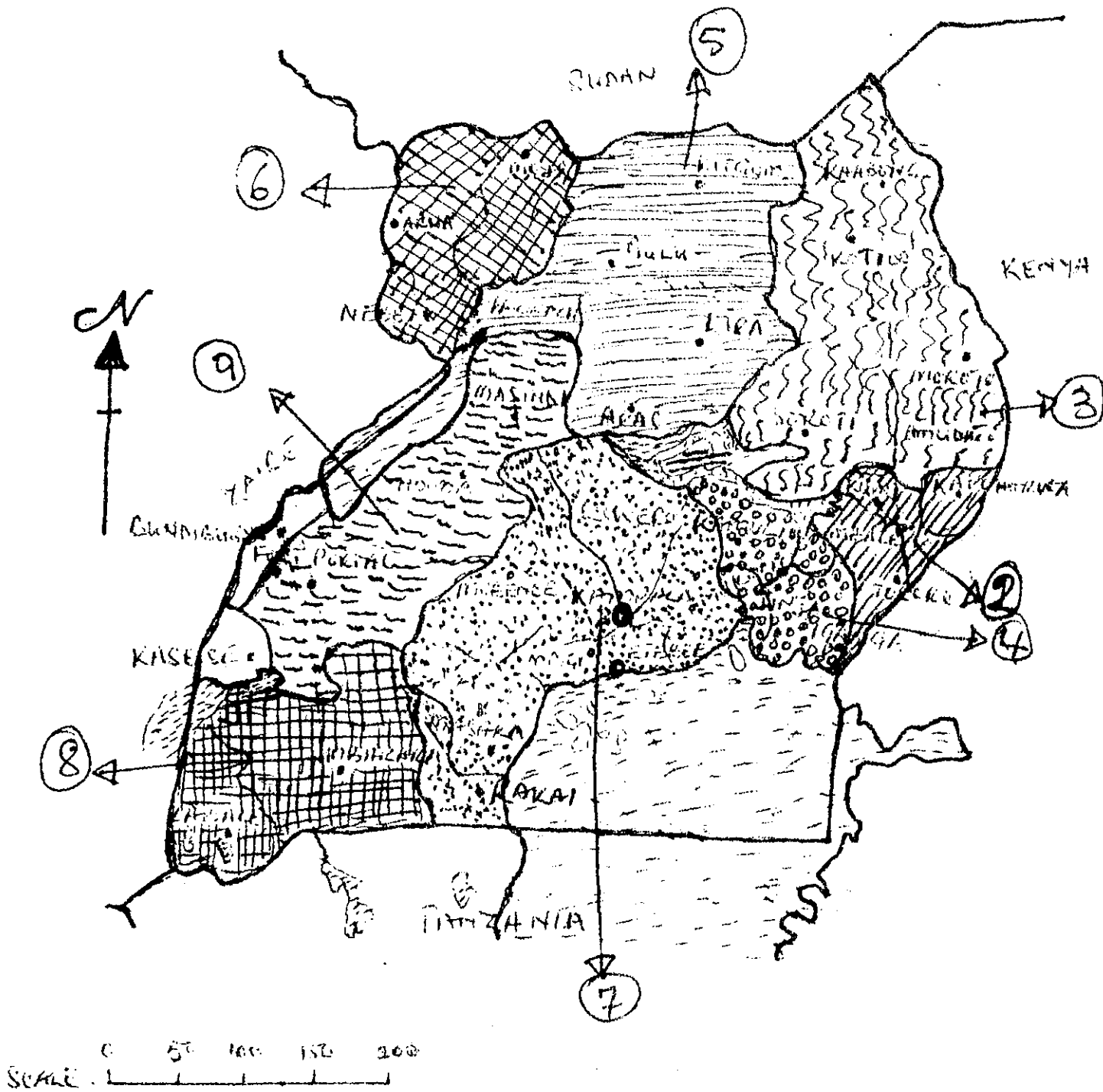
ETHNIC, Regional Boundaries and Main Towns



ETHNIC GROUPS	
① CENTRAL SUDANICS	--- BOUNDARIES
② NILOTES	○ MAIN TOWN - CAPITAL
③ BANTU	• OTHER TOWNS

FIG 2: UGANDA:

STATES OF THE PROPOSED
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF UGANDA
(F.R.U)



KEY

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| 1-0 | KIBIKO FEDERAL DISTRICT | (6) | NORTH-WESTERN STATE |
| 2-0 | ENTERBE FEDERAL TERRITORY | (1) | CENTRAL STATE |
| (2) | EASTERN STATE | (8) | SOUTH WESTERN STATE |
| (3) | NORTH EASTERN STATE | (9) | WESTERN STATE |
| (4) | MIDDLE-EASTERN STATE | | |

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