

Uganda

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Uganda is coded as a democracy at independence in 1962 with Apolo Milton Obote of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) serving as prime minister. There is no SOLS change at independence. During this short democratic period we diverge from Cheibub et al. (2010) and code Uganda as a parliamentary democracy (Nijzink et al. 2013; Kirunda 2011; Quinn 2011). In 1966 Obote dismissed the president and vice president and created a new constitution granting himself absolute control over the government (U.S. Department of State 2010). Geddes codes Obote's regime as personalist starting in 1966. We do not code a SOLS change in 1966 because Obote remains the leader. However, this could be considered a SOLS change without a leadership since Obote's basis of power changed from the people of Uganda to a small personalist clique. In 1971 there is a military coup led by Idi Amin Dada, who declared himself president and gave himself absolute power. Amin had been put in charge of the military by Obote but he should not be considered Obote's pre-designated successor as he took power in a coup and distanced himself from Obote. He murdered his opponents, including supporters of Obote, and killed the Acholi and Lango people who had been Obote supporters (Peoples of Africa, 550). He established his own personalist system and appointed his friends to high offices (Peoples of Africa, 550). According to Geddes, Amin established his own personalist system and it appears to be distinct from Obote's. Thus, this is a SOLS change.

Exiled Ugandans fought with Tanzanians against Amin's regime. In 1979 they were successful, and Amin fled the country. The forces that ousted Amin, functioned under the umbrella group UNLF (the Uganda National Liberation Front). Given all sources indicate that the UNLF was mostly a coalition against Amin, we do not code the UNLF as single SOLS. In fact, the following the overthrow of Amin's regime, the many opposition factions that had united under the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) against Amin began to disintegrate (Mutibwa 1992, 125-126).

The victorious soldiers of the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) formed an interim government and named Yusufu Kironde Lule president. Later in the year, Lule was replaced by Godfrey Binaisa. Mutibwa (1992) argues that both Lule's and Binaisa's governments were highly reliant on the Tanzanian troops that had defeated Amin. He suggests that Tanzania played a role both in the selection and removal of Lule; Lule was selected as a non-controversial candidate when the fight against Amin had not yet been resolved (Mutibwa 1992, 128). Moreover, Kasozi et al. (1994, 128-132) agree that the Tanzanian forces were central and argue that Lule did not sufficiently acknowledge this fact, leading to his downfall. Moreover, Lule appointed rivals of Obote, one of the strongest warlords. In the end, Lule was left with little support and lost support within the National Consultative Council – which had acted as a parliament of sorts. Therefore, Lule was forced to retreat in favor of Binaisa. (Kasozi et al. 1994, 128-132). Lule was an academic, not a politician and not a member of the military. He was removed forcibly by Binaisa, who according to Geddes established a military regime. Given that we consider Lule an interim leader, we code a SOLS change when Binaisa comes into power. Therefore the SOLS for the leadership changes from Amir, to Lule, to Binaisa are coded as military, non-party, and military for 1979.

In 1980 Binaisa was removed and replaced by Paulo Muwanga the chair of the Military Commission of the UNLF (Muller et al. 2011, 1468). Later that in 1980, Obote (from the UPC) resumed power with Muwanga as vice president. The Department of State says that this is a result of an election but the country is not considered democratic by our coding rules. (Note though that Cheibub et al. have coded it as a presidential system.) However only the leadership change from Binaisa to Muwanga is coded as the only SOLS change for the year.

Where Lule and Binaisa seemingly deal within the same environment of leadership support, the advent of Muwanga is clearly a break with the previous period. Kazosi et al. (1994, 133-136) argue that the military commission took control of the government in order to secede it to Obote. Obote, in my reading a powerful warlord, had been kept out of government, possibly by Tanzania (Mutibwa 1992, 128). Muwanga was the head of the Military Commission - an organ of the UNLF - and in the Obote camp.

The Binaisa government did not control any means of violence themselves and on May 10, 1980 the Kikoosi Maluum militia that was aligned with Obote took up positions around the capital. The Tanzanian troops withdrew from Kampala and by 12 May Muwanga's Military Commission declared to take over control of the presidency. Obote was not officially involved, but returned to Uganda from Tanzania under Muwanga. The Military Council then proceeded to hand over power to Obote in a manner that would be considered legitimate. Therefore, elections were held that were rigged in order to ensure victory.

Again, it seems that Tanzania was heavily involved and that they had wanted a legitimate Obote at the helm. Therefore throughout the Lule, Binaisa, Muwanga, and Obote period the Tanzanians remained the true constant source of leadership support for all leaders. They had done most of the heavy lifting to remove Amin as well. However, within Uganda politics, the faction of Obote and Muwanga is clearly different from that of Lule and Binaisa (Kazosi et al. 1994, 133-137)

In 1981, Museveni and the National Resistance Army (NRA) started their campaign to overthrow Obote. The made continuous progress. In 1985 there was a military coup by the Acholi people led by Basilio Olara-Okello (not related to the NRA). A military council headed by Tito Okello (no relation to Olara-Okello), the Commander –in-Chief of the army, ruled the country as head of a Military Council. Okello depended on the military for support and not on Obote's clique. We code Uganda in 1986 as being under warlord rule, and thus, we do not code a SOLS change for a leadership transition from Obote to Tito-Okello. While Okello was able to make peace with a number of rebel groups the NRA eluded him and, in 1986, Yoweri Museveni's army, in opposition to the Okello government, was successful in overpowering Okello's troops and took control of the country. We code a SOLS change with Museveni. While Museveni was also military when he took power, his SOLS seems to be his clique—the NRM, National Resistance Movement. Uganda is coded as a personalist authoritarian regime under Museveni through 2008 with no further SOLS changes.

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