

Uganda

Rice

In 1962, Uganda gained independence from Britain. Milton Obote, the leader of the majority Uganda People's Congress party (UPC) became the first Prime Minister. 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 suspended the constitution and created a new one which gave the president (previously a ceremonial role) more powers. Obote's government from 1967 on is classified by Geddes as being personalist. In 1971, Obote was ousted in a military coup led by Idi Amin, who declared himself President and amended the constitution to give him absolute power. This is a SOLS change. Amin's government is classified as being personalist as well. In 1979, Tanzanian forces, with the support of Ugandan exiles, waged war against Amin and his forces. The Tanzanian forces 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 UNFL was mostly a coalition against Amin, we do not code the UNLF as single SOLS. In fact, 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).

An interim government was formed under Yusef Lule, a member of the Ugandan National Liberation Front (UNLF). Two months later, the governing body of Uganda, the National Consultative Commission, removed Lule and replaced him with Godfrey Binaisa, also of the UNLF. 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 and 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.

Eleven months after taking office, in May 1980, Binaisa was overthrown in a military coup led by Paulo Muwanga. This is a SOLS change. According to Muller et al (2011: 1468), Muwanga was a chair of Military Commission of UNLF, so he should be considered as a member of UNLF. However has stated above, we don't consider UNLF as a SOLS. Instead, we code Muwanga's SOLS as military. A military commission ruled Uganda until elections were held in December 1980. These elections returned Obote and the UPC to power; however, we code only one SOLS change in 1980 from Binaisa to Muwanga. 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, 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 May 12th 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)

Obote's government is again classified by Geddes as being personalist, and had one of the worst human rights records in the world at the time. Throughout his tenure, Obote was attempting to quell an insurgency by the National Resistance Army, which destroyed large sections of the country.

In 1985, Obote was ousted in a military coup led by Lt. Gen Basilio Olara-Okello. Olara-Okello ceded control of the new, military government (which is not classified as military by Geddes, but is defined as such by the State Department) to General Tito Okello. We code Uganda in 1986 as being under warlord rule, and thus, we do not code a SOLS change for a transition from Obote to Tito-Okello. Okello continued to struggle with the NRM (National Resistance Movement) insurgency, leading to an accumulation of more human rights violations. In late January 1986, the NRM gained control of the capital city, and Okello fled to Sudan. The leader of the NRA, Yoweri Museveni, became the leader of the government, which was reorganized around a system called the National Resistance Movement. Museveni's government is classified as personalist by Geddes. Thus, we code a SOLS change with Museveni. He remains in office (as President) in the present day. He has technically been reelected several times, but the elections are seen to be marred by serious irregularities.

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Coded by Meera Krishnan August 25, 2010

Updated by Mariana Rodriguez 1/26/12

Updated by Naoko Matsumura 06/21/2012

Revised by Bryan Rooney 10/15/2012

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