

State Terrorism and the Future of Uganda

1. Introduction

It is inconceivable that enlightened and supposedly “educated” Ugandan leaders can be so dumb and short-sighted and greedy that they fail to see the inevitable and serious consequences of their illegal actions which have gone on under NRM for decades. This apparent political mystery can plausibly be explained by three factors. One factor is the greed ingrained in and inherent in human nature which, ironically, led to the discovery of democracy and its refinement into the rules of ethics and the general principles governing the rule of law designed to limit and control the behaviour of leaders, especially those wielding enormous amount of political power at their disposal.

The second factor, which we pointed out in our previous conversation, is the disease which psychiatrists have sufficiently described and developed rules to diagnose. This disease afflicts the personalities of dictators, namely, the obsessive-compulsive personality disorder, which we believe Museveni is suffering from. The third factor is what psychologists call crowd and/or mob mentality that induces individuals in a crowd to behave as one individual with a common purpose.¹ A mob is a group of people who, technically, have lost their individual rationality and follow their leader like sheep follow a shepherd, even when the shepherd is leading them to the slaughterhouse; they willingly follow the shepherd without, of course, being critically aware of what is soon going to happen to them! Mob mentality partly explains the political behavior of many Ugandans today, especially members of NRM. This political behavior is compounded by the absence of a political philosophy which would otherwise restrain mob political behavior.

The question is: why does Museveni and his close supporters behave the way they do? Many of the senior NRM members participated in the making of the 1995 constitution. Therefore, we assume, they know the content of the 1995 constitution. One of the important sections of the 1995 constitution, borrowed from India and other countries, spells out the national objectives and directive principles of state policy. These are some of the fundamental principles laid down in the 1995 constitution to ensure that democracy and the rule of law tame and control the use of political behavior.

2. National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy

When the 1995 constitution was debated in 1994 and enacted in 1995 the common belief, and almost unanimous opinion, was that inclusion in the constitution the national objectives and directive principles of state policy would not only deter dictatorship in general, given the history of Uganda, but also enhance democracy and democratization, guarantee the existence of good government and, generally, prevent state terrorism, or corruption in general, which had been perpetrated by the previous regimes since independence in 1962. That is why the second political

¹ This is exactly what happened in US on January 6, 2020, when President Trump mobilized a mob to attack Capital Hill, in order to prevent the certification of the election results.

objective of state policy clearly provides that “The composition of the government shall be broadly representative of the national character and social diversity of the country”² as a whole.

Clearly if this democratic principle was strictly observed state terrorism and corruption would not exist in Masaka district or anywhere else in Uganda to the extent it does today. In violation of the political objectives and democratic principles the administration of Masaka district under NRM is clearly not “broadly representative of the national character and social diversity of the country.” That violation explains the tragedy of the state terrorism in Masaka where the RCO is Fred Bamwine, the RPC is Enock Abaine, the DPC is Byaruhanga, the RISO is Andrew Kandihwa, the CID is Mubangizi, the regional CID is Mugisha, the OC is Arinaitwe, the DICO is Musimenta, the OC is Turinawe. The others holding important positions in Masaka district administration include: Nuwahereza, Bwabagye, and Owesigiere. Clearly among these top district officials there is not a single Munabuddu.³

What happened in Masaka district under NRM leadership also egregiously violates the principle of devolution of power. Devolution of power means that power is delegated to the citizens who reside in that particular area and not the transfer people from other areas to take over the administration of local government in that area to the exclusion of the natives to the area. We assume that these administrators from other areas are behind state terrorism in Masaka. They do not have the local roots that would discourage them from committing state terrorism against the people of Masaka district. The NRM regime has instituted similar leadership and administrative structures across Uganda in clear violation of the democratic principles and state objectives enshrined in the 1995 constitution as well as abusing the principle of devolution of power to the people. This behaviour is, of course, to be expected from NRM leadership because the NRM leadership do not believe in democracy and, as dictators, find any loophole to assert political control even though democratic principles prohibit such behavior. Now we understand the root cause of state terrorism in Uganda as a whole.

It is inconceivable that so many people can be killed in Masaka without the people in charge of security knowing and/or detecting anything about such serious crimes. Moreover, the distraction tactics of arresting a Catholic priest, Rev. Father Mugisha, and two MPs, Alan Ssewanyana and Muhammad Ssegirinya, who are not even natives to Buddu and charging them with the murders and terrorism in Masaka is not only purely dirty politics but an affront to the common sense of Ugandans about NRM leadership. Moreover, both the Attorney General and the DPP are aware of these facts, but they are silent in violation of their ethical and professional responsibilities which they have subordinated to serving their political greed rather than the welfare of the people. They do not have the courage to protest such illegal behaviour because they are part of it and actually implement it to the fullest extent blind to the fact that the truth will one day come out anyway. They behave like sheep following a shepherd! Facts are facts forever. They cannot be destroyed by political deception. We have a responsibility to expose state terrorism.

² See the 1995 Constitution of Uganda, Political Objectives, II Democratic Principles (iv).

³ A native of Buddu or Masaka district.

In order for state terrorism to be effectively dealt with the Masaka district administration should not only look like Uganda it should also resemble the residents of Masaka district where 77% of the population is Baganda, 9% are Banyankole, 8% are Banyarwanda and the rest constitute 6%. All the names of the Masaka district administrators cited above are from the western Uganda! Would it be appropriate, in light of the directive principles of state policy cited above and the principle of devolution of power, for the district administrators in Mbarara district to be overwhelmingly Baganda or Acholi or Lugbara or Karamajong? To what extent can the political greed blind Ugandan leaders? NRM regime must go. It is inimical to rule of law. It resorts to state terrorism in order to hang on to power. The inevitable result is the crime of state terrorism committed by NRM leadership.

Clearly the NRM Masaka district administration is violating the provisions of the national objectives and directive principles of state policy entrenched in the 1995 constitution. Such an administrative structure is illegal under the national objectives and directive principles of state policy of Uganda. Why should we wonder why there is state terrorism in Masaka district? The concocted charges of murder which had been brought against Rev, Father Richard Mugisha were quietly withdrawn without explanation or apology to the innocent Catholic priest. The crooks who indicted Rev. Father Mugisha know all the facts! That is the very nature and behavior of state terrorists. They do not care about ethics, rule of law, justice or the national objectives and directive principles and state policy enshrined in the 1995 constitution.

The main political goal of NRM leaders supersedes the rule of law. This is political corruption in its worst form. It is a farce to hear the IGG, Ms Kamyá Namisango talking about “uprooting corruption” in Uganda by inviting the public to report to her corrupt activities! If she serious she should start with investigating state terrorism in Masaka which we have exposed. The perpetration of state terrorism is the worst form of corruption because it involves the death of innocent people at the hands of a few NRM fanatical government stooges whose primary constitutional job is to protect the lives of the citizens but instead they subject them to state terrorism. State terrorists throughout Uganda must be arrested and punished for their suppression of political freedom with their corrupt activities. The solution to this type of dictatorship by state terrorism which was committed in daylight in the High Court is a federal system of government.

Moreover, now we hear that over 300 people have been arrested because they are “implicated” and arrested because of the recent bombings. Most of the people arrested, if not all, are Muslims. If the Ugandan security officials can arrest so many people in a few days after a bomb explodes how come none of these so-called “terrorists” was on police security radar **before** the bomb exploded? Several Muslim priests and government officials have either been killed or attacked by government state “terrorists” riding on motorcycles. They always swiftly escape leaving no trace behind and hardly anybody has been convicted for such heinous crimes stretching over a decade.

Assistant Superintendent of Police Kaweesi was murdered by motorcyclists. So was an employee of the DPP’s office, Joan Kagezi. General Katumba Wamala narrowly escaped death recently although his daughter did not. All these are victims of the illusive state terrorists riding motorcyclists! Moreover, all these murders were committed with heavy guns/weapons which are exclusively owned and used by the army, police and government officials. No one in Uganda who

owns such guns is unknown to the officials in the Ugandan government! Corruption in Uganda is now a very lucrative profitable organized crime business and government officials are some of the owners of the corrupt businesses involved in state terrorism. No wonder a man who exited NRM in 1999 and was four times an unsuccessful presidential candidate for President has become the lone scarecrow of NRM regime!

3. Besigye's Plan B

On November 2, 2021, Besigye launched the “build-up to ... plan B.” He condemned mismanagement of the pandemic, inequality of representation, healthcare crisis and land grabbing. But Besigye was silent about state terrorism even though he has been one of the targets and one of the most victimized individuals of NRM state terrorism. According to Besigye Plan B is the people's “Front for Transition” to democracy. How can one transition to democracy before defeating state terrorism!

One of the most conspicuous features of build-up to plan B is the timeline on which the build-up is hinged. The plan promises to promote inclusion, deal with corruption and economic crime in 12 months. Also, in twelve months the plan promises “demilitarizing” politics. In twenty-four months the plan promises to “promote” good governance, rule of law, human rights and political participation as well as reconstruction of public service. Within three years, that is, in 36 months, plan B promises “promulgation of a new constitution” and accomplish “devolution” of power. Plan B promises to promote national healing and reconciliation within 48 months. Elections will be held in 48 months. One important issue stands out in plan B. This is “inequality of representation.”

One of the issues that looms large in plan B is vagueness and lack of precision. For example, what is meant by “inequality of representation.” Who is unequally represented? Certainly not women or people with disability! If Besigye means by “inequality of representation” the fact that constituencies are not drawn based on population density that makes sense and needs no elaboration. It also needs no planning. It is a matter to be resolved by the law determining how many people each member of parliament should represent in one constituency.

Another misty issue in plan B is the absence of a political philosophy for FDC. For example, what is the political philosophy of FDC and how it differs from that of NRM, UPC or DP? Political philosophy is important especially in a democratizing political system. Political philosophy, for example can shape the judicial decisions, the preservation of diverse cultures and even the definition and enforcement of rule of law in general. The absence of political philosophy, for example, rendered the NRM 10-point program meaningless because it was not anchored in a specific political philosophy. The 10-point NRM program had to fail because there was no definition of what democracy meant and how corruption had to be eliminated.

The best illustration of what we mean by political philosophy is illustrated by our history. Because of the absence of political philosophy we ended up with state terrorism under Obote, Amin and Museveni. Under Obote and Amin state terrorism was centralized into one man who ruled the country. Under NRM state terrorism is constitutionalized into one man because of article 3 of the 1995 constitution. Ugandans under article 3 of the 1995 constitution are expected to die

fighting for the preservation of the 1995 constitution. In other words, to die fighting for Museveni to stay in power since he cannot be removed by free and fair elections. The philosophical concept of liberty is the foundation of democracy. It is by defining liberty that we can determine what is permissible and what is not.

Museveni under the 1995 constitution is comparable to the leaders of the Soviet Union, Cuba and China under the communist parties. It is important that Besigye says nothing about the 1995 constitution which institutionalizes dictatorship. Moreover, what exactly does Besigye mean by “devolution of power” which is already enshrined in the 1995 constitution. Moreover, one cannot successfully fight corruption without at the same time believing in liberty and democracy. Democracy is the sharpest weapon that can successfully fight corruption and state terrorism.