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MRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

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Questions
1. Please provide a brief summary of economic conditions in Uganda.
2. Please provide a news report of the outbreak of tribal conflict 2 weeks ago (between Bagandan loyalists, loyal to the King)

RESPONSE

1. Please provide a brief summary of economic conditions in Uganda.

Information on the economic conditions in Uganda provided in the CIA World Factbook on 23 September 2009 indicates that Uganda's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate increased from 6.6 percent in 2006 to 8.6 percent in 2007; however decreased in 2008 to 6.9 percent. The most important sector in Uganda's economy is agriculture, in which over 80 percent of the labour force is employed. The Factbook indicates that Uganda's inflation rate was 12 percent in 2008, compared with 6.1 percent in 2007, and that at 31 December 2007 the commercial bank lending rate was 19.11 percent. In 2001, it was estimated that 35 percent of Uganda's population were living below the poverty line. In addition, Uganda's public debt was 17.4 percent of GDP in 2008, compared with 73.9 percent of GDP in 2004. In the last two decades, Uganda's government has implemented a range of policy reforms in order to stabilise and rehabilitate the economy:

> Since 1986, the government – with the support of foreign countries and international agencies – has acted to rehabilitate and stabilize the economy by undertaking currency reform, raising producer prices on export crops, increasing prices of petroleum products, and improving civil service wages. The policy changes are especially aimed at dampening inflation and boosting production and export earnings. During 1990-2001, the economy turned in a solid performance based on continued investment in the rehabilitation of infrastructure, improved incentives for production and exports, reduced inflation, gradually improved domestic security, and the return of exiled Indian-Ugandan entrepreneurs. Growth continues to be solid, despite variability in the price of coffee, Uganda's principal export, and a consistent upturn in Uganda's export markets. In 2000, Uganda qualified for enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) debt relief worth $1.3 billion and Paris Club debt relief worth $145 million. These amounts combined with the original HIPC debt relief added up to about $2 billion (Central Intelligence Agency 2009, *The World Factbook*, 23 September https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ug.html – Accessed 2 October 2009 – Attachment 1).

Background information on Uganda's economy provided by the US Department of State's Bureau of African Affairs in September 2009 indicates that despite strong potential based on significant natural resources, "chronic political instability and erratic economic management produced a record of persistent economic decline that left Uganda among the world's poorest and least-developed countries". However, the report also states that the Ugandan government has implemented various economic policies in an important step towards economic rehabilitation. Such policies are "designed to restore price stability and sustainable balance of payments, improve capacity utilization, rehabilitate infrastructure, restore producer incentives through proper price policies, and improve resource mobilization and allocation in the public sector". The effectiveness of these policies has led to an increased growth rate of 8.6 percent in the 2007-2008 financial year, compared with 7 percent in 2006-2007. In addition, inflation in Uganda decreased frfom 240 percent in 1987, to 5.1 percent in 2003; however rose again to 12 percent in 2008 with an increase in food prices (US Department of State - Bureau of African Affairs 2009, 'Background Note: Uganda', September http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2963.htm#econ – Accessed 2 October 2009 – Attachment 2).

A World Bank country brief on Uganda updated in August 2009 provides some information on the country's economic progress, stating that with an average growth rate of 7.8 percent since 2000, it is one of Africa's fastest growing economies. However, Uganda must maintain this growth rate in order to increase its per capita income above the current figure of US$420. Despite a commitment to poverty reduction, and a rapid decline in poverty rates from 56 percent in 1992 to 31 percent in 2006, poverty remains a significant problem in rural areas, particularly in the North and East of the country (World Bank 2009, 'Uganda: Country Brief', August http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/UGANDAEXTN/0,,menuPK:374947~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:374864,00.html – Accessed 2 October 2009 – Attachment 3).

In addition, a World Bank article dated 14 August 2009 discusses a visit to Uganda by World Bank President Robert B. Zoellick, who stated that "Uganda has fared relatively well [in the face of the global economic crisis] because it's got a good stable base…But we know that there are still difficult times ahead". Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni acknowledged the assistance provided by the World Bank in the achievement of minimum economic recovery (World Bank 2009, 'Take Advantage of Regional Economic Marketplace, World Bank Tells Uganda', 14 August – http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/UGANDAEXTN/0,,contentMDK:22278022~menuPK:374871~pagePK:2865066~piPK:2865079~theSitePK:374864,00.html – Accessed 2 October 2009 – Attachment 4).

However, a paper on economic conditions in Uganda dated 31 July 2009 describes a number of obstacles to economic growth faced by the country:

> Uganda's heavy reliance on coffee exports makes it vulnerable to international commodity price fluctuations and poor weather conditions. Privatization initiatives pose a problem as they are seen by many to be a scramble for previously state-owned property. Another problem plaguing Uganda's economy is corruption. Uganda relies upon international donors for 41% of its national budget. Those donors, in particular Ireland, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, have become increasingly critical of governance issues and a rise in defense spending (Dagne, T. 2009, 'Uganda: Current Conditions and the Crisis in North Uganda', Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, Federation of American Scientists

website, 31 July, pp. 7-8 http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33701.pdf – Accessed 2 October 2009 – Attachment 5).

2. Please provide a news report of the outbreak of tribal conflict 2 weeks ago (between Bagandan loyalists, loyal to the King)

A Human Rights Watch article dated 1 October 2009 provides detailed information about the riots which occurred on 10 and 11 September 2009 in Kampala. It is reported that 27 people died as a result of the riots, which began when police prevented a delegation of the Buganda kingdom from visiting the district of Kayunga for National Youth Day. Leaders of the Banyala ethnic group, who reside in Kayunga and reject the authority of the Bugandan king ('kabaka'), were opposed to the visit. The king's supporters protested against the police action, leading to violence and riots in various parts of Kampala. Human Rights Watch have called for an investigation into reports of the use of unnecessary force by police and security forces against unarmed persons:

> The Ugandan government should immediately order an independent investigation into the killing of unarmed persons during and after riots in Kampala on September 10 and 11, 2009, Human Rights Watch said today.
>
> A Human Rights Watch investigation found that at least 13 people were shot by government forces in situations where lethal force was unnecessary. The Minister of Internal Affairs reported to parliament that 27 people had died during the riots and that seven were uninvolved in riot activity.
>
> "Shooting in self defense is one thing, but we found that some soldiers shot at bystanders and shot through locked doors," said Georgette Gagnon, Africa director at Human Rights Watch. "The government needs to put an impartial investigation in motion now."
>
> The riots in Kampala, Uganda's capital, began on September 10, when police blocked a delegation representing the Buganda kingdom from visiting Kayunga district. The cultural king of Buganda, known as the kabaka, was planning to visit Kayunga for National Youth Day two days later. The visit was opposed by leaders of the Banyala ethnic group in Kayunga, who reject the kabaka's authority. The kabaka's supporters took to the streets to protest the police action, and violence began soon afterward.
>
> Sources at Kampala's main hospital, Mulago, indicate that 88 victims of the violence were admitted for treatment over this period, most for gunshot wounds. Victims were taken to other hospitals as well. According to the minister of internal affairs, at least 846 people were arrested for alleged crimes committed during the riots, and the arrests continue. At least 24 of the alleged rioters have been charged with terrorism for destroying government property, and many others have been charged with unlawful assembly and inciting violence.
>
> During and after the unrest, Human Rights Watch interviewed more than 50 victims and their family members, witnesses, doctors, and local and senior government officials. On-the-ground research was conducted into the circumstances surrounding the violence in the Kampala neighborhoods of Nateete, Kasubi, Busega, Ndeeba, Bwaise, Bunga, the Salaama Road at Nakinyuguzi zone, and in Mpigi town.
>
> Human Rights Watch investigated several fatal and non-fatal shootings by security forces on September 10 and 11 that raise serious questions about the level of force employed in response to the riots. In a number of cases throughout the city, there is strong evidence that security forces shot individuals who were not threatening them or others.

This challenges statements by some government officials that live ammunition was only fired into the air to clear the streets of protesters.

However, President Yoweri Museveni, addressing parliament on September 10, after the riots broke out, contended that “initially police acted slowly” in response to the unrest. “Looters,” he said, “will be shot on sight, as will those who attack civilians.”

Human Rights Watch said that investigations should look into the circumstances of the rioting and into how to improve policing during demonstrations. Thus far, there is no clear evidence to support the contention of some Ugandan government officials that the Kampala riots were organized in advance. The Buganda kingdom government has denied any role in organizing the riots. Some rioters do appear to have employed parallel tactics, such as burning tires to block roads in several areas of the city, especially on the afternoon of September 10.

Human Rights Watch urged the police and other security forces to abide by the United Nations Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials. The principles call upon law enforcement officials, including military units responding to national emergencies, to apply nonviolent means before resorting to the use of force, to use force only in proportion to the seriousness of the offense, and to use lethal force only when strictly unavoidable to protect life. The principles also provide that governments shall ensure that arbitrary or abusive use of force and firearms by law enforcement officials is punished as a criminal offense under their law.

“Much of the attention has focused on the politics surrounding recent events,” said Gagnon. “But the real tragedy is that families have lost loved ones in entirely unnecessary circumstances. They deserve to see justice done.”

Violence and the Response

Human Rights Watch found that in the early stages of the demonstrations on September 10, some protesters resorted to violence in some areas of Kampala, burning at least five cars, one passenger bus, and one delivery truck, blocking some main roads with burning tires and debris, looting shops, and throwing rocks at police and members of the armed forces. In Nateete, protesters burned a police station. In Bwaise, a factory was set on fire. No one was reported injured in either fire, and local hospitals did not report any burn victims. Police, some in riot gear, used teargas in several areas of the city.

Uganda’s inspector general of police (IGP), Maj. Gen. Kale Kayihura, told Human Rights Watch that military police and the army’s Presidential Guard Brigade were deployed under his orders to support the police beginning at around 4 p.m. on September 10, and that infantry soldiers were deployed in support shortly thereafter. Kayihura said that these units fired live ammunition into the air to scatter rioters.

Human Rights Watch’s research indicates that the security forces faced some situations in which the use of firearms may have been warranted. One witness described seeing a rioter steal a civilian security guard’s gun near Kampala Bus Park on September 10 and shoot a policeman in the leg. Kayihura provided two other instances, in Nateete and Sseta, where rioters fired on the security forces. It remains unclear if anyone was injured in those two instances, and those events were not investigated by Human Rights Watch.

Kayihura told Human Rights Watch that, while all government forces had been ordered to use minimum force, non-lethal options such as rubber bullets and pepper spray are not standard issue in all police posts. He claimed that the security forces had few alternatives to shooting live ammunition into the air. Other knowledgeable sources in the police told Human Rights Watch that the police stocks of tear gas had run low and that officials feared they lacked the means to secure the city without using firearms.

Where Lethal Force Was Not Necessary

However, among the episodes that raise serious questions about the use of force, in Bwaise on September 10, local people gathered to observe the fire brigade fight a fire set by rioters earlier that afternoon. An army armored personnel carrier drove by the crowd and the troops on board fired, striking Hussein Mujuuka in the back of the head and killing him instantly. At least 10 others were wounded by the gunfire. Several witnesses told Human Rights Watch that local residents responded by burning tires along the Bwaise-Kampala Road. They said that shootings by the military continued during the evening hours in Bwaise and that many other people were wounded. Deaths from military gunfire also occurred the same day in Kawempe, Nakulabye, Mulago, and the Ndeeba areas of Kampala.

Security forces using live ammunition caused many injuries and at least six deaths on September 11. Witnesses and victims told Human Rights Watch that most Kampala communities were trying to return to normal business after the previous day's unrest. However, soldiers heavily deployed both on foot and in armored personnel carriers in some areas of the city fired live ammunition. There is evidence in some instances that they deliberately shot and killed or wounded people who were not actively involved in demonstrations or unrest.

For example, military units, some accompanied by police forces deployed in Ndeeba that morning, apparently ordered people on the roads to return home. Over several hours, soldiers shot and killed one person and seriously wounded two more. In each case, the victims were shot after they had entered their homes or workplaces. Witnesses said that soldiers apparently pursued people several hundred meters from the main roads and fired their weapons through locked doors. However, no official curfew had been imposed.

Kinaalwa Sseddulaaka Jackson, the owner of a dry cleaning shop about 100 meters from the Masaka road in Tomusange zone, Ndeeba, hid in his back storage room and locked the back door when an army armored personnel carrier entered Ndeeba and soldiers on board began shooting. A few minutes later, a uniformed soldier walked through the area and fired his AK-47 through Sseddulaaka's back door, killing him instantly. Human Rights Watch researchers saw two bullet holes in that door, as well as five other bullet holes in doors and walls in the neighborhood. All were in the lower half of the doors and walls.

Soldiers and police also deployed around Nateete market that morning, closing the main gate even though the market was filled with food vendors and customers. Witnesses told Human Rights Watch that uniformed soldiers, some wearing the red berets of the military police, began to attack people with sticks and batons, and ordered them to clear the streets and return home. Several women selling matoke (plantains) showed Human Rights Watch large contusions and bruises from having been beaten while trying to flee.

The witnesses said that the soldiers then began firing their weapons, both in the air and into the crowds. One customer was killed and another wounded. One female vendor showed Human Rights Watch where she had been grazed by a bullet on her hip, requiring medical treatment. Human Rights Watch saw three bullet holes in the market walls and three others through its iron roof sheeting.

In Busega, an area dense with open-air shops and stalls, soldiers shot and killed two people in separate incidents that morning. Residents and officials reported that on the previous day, rioters in the area had blocked roads with fires and demanded money from those trying to enter Kampala by car. Rioters had looted a Coca Cola truck and burned it. The situation calmed by 7 p.m. that day, and the shops along the road had reopened. Witnesses said the area had remained calm the next morning until a military armored personnel carrier and military and police trucks drove through, in some cases telling people to clear the streets and return home. The shops closed quickly when soldiers in the personnel carrier began firing live bullets, but 13-year-old Daoudi Ssentongo was struck in the head and killed inside his family's shop when a bullet ripped through a refrigerator next door. His death triggered more demonstrations, and members of the community tried to block the personnel carrier from re-entering the area by burning debris in the road.

Near where the youth died, soldiers on foot chased people away from the main roundabout, evidently to arrest or deter rioters. Soldiers pursued several young men who ran away. Ronald Kasagga, who supplied ice to the area's fish vendors, was fatally shot in the chest at close range by a soldier. Witnesses said that the soldier yelled "Stop!" and that when Kasagga turned around, the soldier fired.

Around 11 a.m. on September 11 in Kasubi zone 4, rioters had been taunting nearby soldiers and throwing rocks near a gas station on the main road, witnesses said. When the soldiers pursued them, they ran up the hill, past the home of Stella Kabasinguzi, who had left her house briefly, seeking bread for her three children. The soldiers approached her home, and Kabasinguzi immediately raised her hands in the air. A soldier shot her, in front of her children. She died on the way to the hospital. Human Rights Watch observed three bullet holes through doors in other homes in zone 4, more than 100 meters from the main road where riots had occurred. Witnesses told Human Rights Watch that a soldier on foot demanded that people go inside their homes, and shot through the doors when some hesitated.

Throughout the city on September 11, soldiers and police threatened and beat people to obtain information about the whereabouts of alleged rioters. A woman making tea outside her restaurant in Ndeeba was questioned by a uniformed soldier carrying an AK-47. According to several people interviewed separately, when she did not have answers to his questions, he poured the hot tea on her back. He then stuck the gun barrel into her mouth and demanded to know where rioters were hiding. She escaped only after bystanders diverted his attention.

Nile Broadcasting Services broadcast video of police and military patrolling areas on September 11, beating people sitting and standing near their homes in Kazo and throwing them into the backs of police trucks. The authorities did not request names or identity documents before arresting them. In one instance, when a man protested being forcibly removed from his home, he was beaten repeatedly. Police took truckloads of suspects to Kawempe police station. Human Rights Watch researchers observed similar actions on Salaama Road that afternoon.

On September 10, government officials told television stations to stop broadcasting live pictures of the violence. In some instances, government forces forcibly removed video footage from TV stations, appropriated journalists' cameras and videotapes, and deleted photographs of dead bodies. Some journalists were beaten attempting to report on the unfolding events. The state-owned newspaper, The New Vision, inaccurately reported that mobs had on September 11 burned two people to death in Ndeeba. Local officials from Ndeeba and other knowledgeable sources informed Human Rights Watch that no rioters had burned people, but The New Vision has yet to issue corrections.

The Police Explanation

Police Inspector General Kayihura told Human Rights Watch that the police lacked capacity to respond to the speed and geographical breadth of the events of September 10. Unrest in previous years had centered on Kampala's Central Business District and had not extended into the populous residential neighborhoods. He said that Uganda's military police, the Presidential Guard Brigade, and regular army units had both the equipment and the mobility to respond to the unrest. He said that the military police, like the civilian police, have had training in riot control, and that the armored personnel carriers were deployed to help move units around the suburbs where riots were taking place. He said the Ugandan military possesses four of these vehicles – two Gila and two Mamba anti-riot vehicles, which can also be used for "fighting terrorism and insurgency."

Kayihura said that seven of the 27 reported killed during the riots were not involved in the riots at the time of their deaths, and that they were hit by "stray bullets." He told Human Rights Watch that the deaths were unfortunate and regrettable, but that the security forces had shown restraint in their response to the unrest. He said that two policemen had been arrested for shooting in the air in Kasubi (the arrests appear unrelated to the death of Kabasinguzi). He said that investigations would be conducted into the circumstances of all the deaths during the riots, but also cited section 69 of Uganda's penal code, which states that police may use "all such force as is reasonably necessary for overcoming" a riot and police "shall not be liable in any criminal or civil proceeding for having, by the use of such force, caused harm or death to any person."

According to statements quoted in The New Vision newspaper by the army spokesman, Lt. Col. Felix Kulayigye, military units were deployed under article 209(b) of the constitution, which states that the Ugandan People's Defence Forces shall "cooperate with the civilian authority in emergency situations" and that once deployed, they act under orders of the inspector general of police." Kulayigye contended that the situation was "a war" and that the riots had had "genocidal tendencies." He placed blame for the deaths on the alleged organizers of the riots, but admitted that "the moment the bullet leaves the barrel, anything could happen beyond there."

Human Rights Watch is deeply concerned that Kulayigye's statement might encourage members of the security forces to use unnecessary and unlawful lethal force during future encounters with demonstrators.

Museveni told an emergency session of parliament on September 15 that the government will compensate those who lost their properties and vehicles, and it will also assist those who lost family members.

…**Background**

The role of cultural royalty such as the kabaka in Uganda has been the source of debate historically. President Milton Obote outlawed all cultural leaders in 1966, but Museveni permitted them to return in 1995. Under the constitution, cultural leaders are barred from politics, but they still wield influence over their communities. The kabaka is the king of the Baganda people, the largest ethnic group in Uganda and a key constituency in the upcoming 2011 elections. Since independence, some Baganda political leaders have argued that the Buganda kingdom should be a federal state within Uganda (Human Rights Watch 2009, *Uganda: Investigate Use of Lethal Force During Riots*, 1 October http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/10/01/uganda-troops-killed-unarmed-people-riot-period?tr=y&auid=5408929 – Accessed 5 October 2009 – Attachment 6).

Similar information is provided in a Human Rights Watch article dated 11 September 2009, which calls for an investigation into the use of force by police against protestors (Human Rights Watch 2009, *Uganda: Police Restraint Needed in Response to Protests*, 11 September http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/09/10/uganda-police-restraint-needed-response-protests - Accessed 5 October 2009 – Attachment 7).

An article in Uganda's *The Monitor* dated 3 October 2009 cites the Inspector General of Police, Major General Kale Kayihura, as confirming that "there is no policy for the Police Force to shoot and kill rioters". However, the article claims that police were "overwhelmed by the magnitude of the September 10-12 riots and panicked into using live bullets. Television pictures also showed half a dozen security operatives clobbering unarmed civilians in what can best be described as police brutality. With President Museveni and Kabaka Ronald Mutebi now involved in politico-cultural negotiations to forestall any recurrence of these uprisings, Police must also take measures to improve visibly strained relations with civil society" ('Uganda: Revise Approach to Riot Containment' 2009, *All Africa Global Media*, source: The Monitor, 3 October http://allafrica.com/stories/200910050140.html - Accessed 6 October 2009 – Attachment 8).

An article from *The Economist* dated 16 September describes the riots as the culmination of "[a] row with the Buganda region over aspirations of self-government". The violence occurred following police attempts to stop Buganda king Ronald Mutebi from attending a rally in the Kayunga district. The article claims that the Kayunga district is home to the Banyala ethnic group, which is trying to secede from the kingdom of Buganda:

> The Ugandan president, Yoweri Museveni, who has held power since 1986, is facing serious opposition from a region that was previously the bedrock of his support.
>
> A row with the Buganda region over aspirations of self-government boiled over in mid-September. At least 15 people died and hundreds were arrested during two days of rioting sparked when police stopped the Buganda king, Ronald Mutebi, from attending a rally in the Kayunga district, an area where the Banyala ethnic group is seeking to secede from the Buganda kingdom. The violence reflects an increasingly fraught struggle between the Buganda authorities and the Ugandan government over access to land and its concomitant power. Of Uganda's four historical kingdoms which were restored in 1993, Buganda is by far the most popular among its subjects and, from the ruling party's viewpoint, the most dangerous threat to the National Resistance Movement (NRM)'s political hegemony. The kingdom has a constitutional monarchy, a local parliament, regional assemblies and, crucially, about 17% of the Ugandan population. Relations with the government have deteriorated badly during the past year over differences on a proposed lands bill. The kingdom views the bill as a government scheme to gain control over its land resources while the administration argues that it will simply improve land security.
>
> The confrontation acquired fresh impetus in August, when the king repeated calls for the reintroduction of "federo"--a quasi-federal system of government that existed before the kingdoms were abolished in 1966. This would give the kingdom the ability to raise its own resources, tax its subjects and reduce its reliance on the central government, but is not generally popular outside Buganda. Thus, while the riots were partly a show of Buganda force, they were also borne out of fear of the secessionist desires of districts such as Kayunga, which would diminish the kingdom's influence and reduce its overall power if federo was restored.

> These events represent a large reversal in popularity for the Ugandan president, Yoweri Museveni, who has previously enjoyed the strong backing of the country's largest ethnic group. He came to power with the help of Baganda peasants that had suffered during the Amin and Obote regimes, and he shored up this support by granting the wish of traditionalists for the return of a monarchy to the Buganda kingdom in 1993. Since then, most Baganda have cast their vote for the NRM, and the party's Buganda caucus is a substantial force in parliament. However, with the memory of suppression under previous regimes fading--Mr Museveni has ruled for 23 years--and with the allocation of senior government positions (at some stage the prime minister, vice-president and finance minister have all been Baganda) insufficient to appease hard-line Buganda nationalists pressing for more autonomy, a showdown is looming ('Kingdom come' 2009, *The Economist Intelligence Unit*, 16 September http://www.economist.com/agenda/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14442349 – Accessed 1 October 2009 – Attachment 9).

An article from *BBC News* dated 11 September 2009 also describes the riots which broke out in Kampala following an alleged decision by the government to ban the king of Buganda from entering Kayunga, an area which claims to have seceded from the Bugandan kingdom. The article claims that "[t]he government denied preventing the king from visiting Kayunga, but said it wanted to put some conditions on the visit to prevent violence":

> Police and rioters clashed for a second day in the Ugandan capital Kampala in a dispute involving a tribal king.
>
> Three people are reported to have died in the latest clashes, bringing the death toll to at least 10.
>
> Violence erupted when the government banned the king of Buganda from travelling to Kayunga, an area which says it has seceded from his kingdom.
>
> A spokesman for the king said on Friday he had postponed Saturday's planned visit, Reuters reported.
>
> The comments by Medard Lubega, deputy information minister of the Bugandan kingdom, contradicted an earlier statement by the king's premier that the visit would go ahead.
>
> "He has postponed it. We don't want to see an escalation of the violence," said Mr Lubega, quoted by Reuters.
>
> Visit banned
>
> Police have said Saturday's visit by Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II would not be allowed as it would be a "security risk".
>
> Buganda is one of Uganda's four ancient kingdoms and its tribal members are Uganda's largest ethnic group.
>
> Witnesses said Kampala's streets were mostly deserted on Friday, with plumes of black smoke from burning tyres rising over the city's hills.
>
> The country's traditional kingdoms were banned in 1966 but reinstated by President Yoweri Museveni in 1993.
>
> The Baganda have long called for the restoration of a federal administration that would give their king the formal political power he is currently denied.

> The king's premier, John Baptist Walusimbi, earlier told the BBC that the government should ensure the king's security.
>
> Ugandan police chief Maj Gen Kale Kayihura said the violence had been inflamed by "sectarian" radio broadcasts and four stations were taken off the air by the authorities.
>
> Correspondents say the king of Buganda is hugely influential although he is constitutionally barred from taking part in politics.
>
> The king and President Museveni have been allies in the past, but their relationship has become strained in recent years.
>
> The government denied preventing the king from visiting Kayunga, but said it wanted to put some conditions on the visit to prevent violence ('Kampala hit by renewed violence' 2009, *BBC News*, 11 September http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8251907.stm – Accessed 1 October 2009 – Attachment 10).

A *BBC News* article dated 30 September 2009 provides similar information about the riots, stating that the government banned the king's visit to Kayunga as it feared violence between the king's supporters and residents of Kayunga who claim to have seceded from the Buganda kingdom:

> Uganda's president and the king of the nation's largest ethnic group have met for the first time in four years, weeks after deadly riots engulfed Kampala.
>
> President Yoweri Museveni and King Ronald Mutebi of the Baganda group held an hour of talks behind closed doors. Both men said the meeting went well.
>
> The king's supporters rioted on 11 September after the government tried to stop the monarch from visiting them.
>
> More than 20 people died in clashes between protesters and security forces.
>
> The BBC's Joshua Mmali, in the capital, Kampala, says officials insisted before the meeting that the two men would not discuss politics – because the king is a cultural leader, not a political one.
>
> The king's supporters have long called for the restoration of a federal administration that would give their largely ceremonial king the formal political power he is currently denied.
>
> They are also seeking more control over their traditional lands, which include prime farmland they say has been taken by other ethnic groups.
>
> But an official statement after the talks confirmed only that the pair talked about a radio station loyal to the king which was closed down during the riots for broadcasting anti-government messages.
>
> Collective decisions
>
> Before the talks, several Ugandans told the BBC's Network Africa programme they were hopeful the meeting would help resolve the issues.
>
> "We want to hear them agreeing with each other – we are Ugandans, we are supposed to be one," said one Kampala resident.

> But analyst Frederick Golooba Mutebi, from Makerere University Institute of Social Research, said he was sceptical about what the talks could achieve.
>
> He said the make-up of the country should not be decided by two men behind closed doors.
>
> "This issue should be put out in a wider forum where it could be discussed by Ugandans collectively," he said.
>
> The country's traditional kingdoms were banned in 1966 but reinstated by Mr Museveni in 1993.
>
> Most of the residents of the Buganda Kingdom are ethnic Baganda and are loyal to King Ronald.
>
> But many residents in the Kayunga district, where the king had intended to visit, say they have seceded from his kingdom.
>
> The government said it had feared that the king's visit would spark violence between his supporters and opponents.
>
> But some analysts believe the president is deliberately stirring up trouble within the kingdom in a bid to reduce the king's influence ('Landmark royal meeting in Uganda' 2009, *BBC News*, 30 September http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8283588.stm – Accessed 1 October 2009 – Attachment 11).

A *BBC News* article dated 10 September 2009 also briefly describes the conflict between police and supporters of the king of Buganda, which it similarly claims was started in response to the Ugandan government's attempts to ban the king from visiting a particular region north-east of Kampala where an outbreak of violence was feared:

> At least two people have been killed in Uganda's capital, Kampala, in clashes between police and rioting supporters of a traditional king.
>
> Police fired tear gas at the protesters who hurled stones and burned tyres. One report said at least seven people died.
>
> The demonstrators protested against the government's attempts to stop the king of Buganda from visiting a region near Kampala where violence was feared.
>
> The king has a big influence among the Baganda, Uganda's largest ethnic group.
>
> At least two people were killed in Thursday's riots in central Kampala, police and witnesses said.
>
> But a photographer working for the Associated Press news agency said he had counted seven bodies, adding that all the victims appeared to be civilians.
>
> King Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II – who is constitutionally barred from taking part in national politics – had wanted to visit a hostile part of his community to the north-east of Kampala.
>
> The issue is so sensitive that ethnic Baganda members of parliament walked out of the legislature on Wednesday.

> There has also been a long history of tension between the king and central government, particularly over land reform proposals that the Baganda say threaten their community, the BBC's Peter Greste reports.
>
> Buganda is one of four ancient kingdoms in Uganda. It was abolished in 1966 but then restored in the 1990s ('King's supporters riot in Uganda' 2009, *BBC News*, 10 September http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8249693.stm – Accessed 1 October 2009 – Attachment 12).

An article in *The Economist* dated 17 September 2009 claims that the Bagandan king's forced cancellation of a visit to Kayunga and his perceived humiliation over the order from the government sparked the riots in Kampala:

> RIOTS rocked Kampala in support of the king of the Baganda, the country's largest ethnic group. Shops in the capital were looted, cars burned. Uganda's president, Yoweri Museveni, who hails from the much smaller Ankole group, ordered police and soldiers onto the streets. At least 24 people were killed in and around the city; most were shot. The government says the rioters themselves had guns. In fact, it seems likely that the armed forces fired into the crowds. The main Bagandan radio station was closed. Some journalists were arrested and charged with sedition.
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> Events would have spun further out of control had the Bagandan king, or kabaka, Ronald Mutebi, not cancelled a planned trip to the north of the city. Mr Museveni's aides told the kabaka he would be held responsible for further bloodshed. So he was kept in his palace. Many of his people were enraged by this apparent humiliation.
>
> Buganda is the largest of Uganda's five ancient kingdoms banned under the presidencies of Milton Obote and Idi Amin but revived by Mr Museveni. The Baganda make up 17% of Ugandans. They are not generally averse to Mr Museveni and his political party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM). A majority of them voted for him in the last election, in 2006. The vice-president and numerous ministers and MPs are Baganda, along with many civil servants doing the NRM's bidding. So why are Mr Museveni and the Baganda now at loggerheads, especially as the president is seeking re-election in 2011?
>
> Mr Museveni thinks the Baganda have been getting uppity. Though their kingdom is the largest and was once the most powerful, it is now a ghostly fiction, with no sovereignty and little wealth. Mr Museveni is especially weary of persistent Bagandan demands for a return of a swathe of claimed ancestral lands that were long ago distributed to pastoralists or pilfered by officials—and are most unlikely ever to be given back. Besides, generosity to Buganda would aggravate the other kingdoms, particularly neighbouring Bunyoro, whose land includes Uganda's new-found oilfields.
>
> Mr Museveni may calculate that he can treat the Baganda harshly now, but retain their votes by granting them concessions nearer the election. He has been adept at dividing and conquering the electorate, using carrots and sticks. He dishes out jobs to loyalists but harasses businessmen suspected of helping the fractured opposition. He says he will limit the kabaka's power and chastises "meddlers" harming Uganda's prospects.
>
> Mr Museveni's people say they have identified another villain of the piece: Libya's president, Muammar Qaddafi, whom they accuse of giving cash to the Baganda. For several years Mr Qaddafi has subsidised Uganda's kings and their cultural institutions as part of an exotic plan to unify Africa in a web of chiefs and kings. But his latest dollops of cash, say Mr Museveni's friends, were meant to stir up trouble, because Mr Qaddafi has fallen out with Mr Museveni, despite helping him to win a bush war that brought him to power two decades ago.

> Mr Museveni has ridiculed Mr Qaddafi's swaggering "king of kings" approach, preferring to build up Africa with regional trade blocs such as the East African Community. Still, it is odd that Mr Qaddafi should want to poke Mr Museveni in the eye by funding riots, since the recent oil discoveries in Uganda should make its president more attractive as a friend. Libya, for instance, hopes to tender for a big oil refinery that Mr Museveni wants to build ('Riots in Uganda: In whose interest?' 2009, *The Economist*, 17 September http://www.economist.com/world/middleeast-africa/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14465663 – Accessed 1 October 2009 – Attachment 13).

In addition, a *Time* article dated 17 September 2009 forecasts a possible repeat of such violence, quoting a Ugandan political scientist, Aaron Mukwaya, as stating that Uganda's economic conditions, including "high poverty, mass unemployment and corruption" will contribute to a "highly unstable and dangerous" situation:

> In a region that includes Kenya, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda can sometimes seem like the stable, sleepy neighbor. But appearances can be deceiving. For 22 years, the Ugandan government has been fighting the cultlike rebel Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a conflict largely ignored by the rest of the world until the past few years, when the LRA extended its violent reach into southern Sudan and eastern Congo. And now it looks as though Uganda is facing more fighting, this time between the government and the country's largest ethnic group. Last week, the capital, Kampala, erupted in bloody riots that left at least 21 dead and about 100 wounded. With an election scheduled for 2011, many fear that the latest burst of violence may be a taste of things to come.
>
> On Sept. 10, protests by the supporters of one of Uganda's traditional Kings spread from outlying towns to the heart of Kampala, bringing the city to a standstill. The riots lasted two days. Cars and police stations were set on fire. Looting was widespread. In response, President Yoweri Museveni sent thousands of police and troops into the streets with orders to shoot on sight. They fired live rounds into the crowds. Four radio stations were taken off the air for "inciting violence," and a leading talk-show host who had been accused of sedition, several opposition politicians and hundreds of suspected rioters were arrested.
>
> Uganda's postindependence leader Milton Obote had abolished the country's four kingdoms in the 1960s. But in 1993, Museveni, a former rebel leader who had seized power seven years earlier and whose family traces its lineage to a tribe in the southwest of the country, restored some of their traditional and ceremonial powers. The idea was that the Kings be rehabilitated as cultural figureheads while remaining barred from active politics. But some Kings were angered by the restrictions, in particular Ronald Mutebi, the King of Buganda, which covers much of the area surrounding Kampala and whose Baganda people make up about 10% of Uganda's population of 31 million. Mutebi has argued that the Kings need a formal constitutional role, not least to settle disputes over how far his kingdom extends. Last week's violence was sparked by the government's decision to block Mutebi's visit to a town east of Kampala that had declared it was breaking away from Buganda.
>
> …Many see more bloodshed to come in the run-up to the 2011 presidential poll. "Given the economic conditions in the country — the high poverty, mass unemployment and corruption — the situation will remain highly unstable and dangerous," says Aaron Mukwaya, a political scientist at Kampala's Makerere University. "You cannot rule out a repeat of this violence." For his part, Museveni has taken to blaming the opposition and shadowy foreign powers for inciting the riots. "I want to assure you that the days of mercy for rioters are over," said the President on Monday, as he toured a police station that had been torched during the fighting.

Maybe. But the days of rioting may be just beginning. As the country's leading independent newspaper, the Daily Monitor, put it in the aftermath of the violence: "Museveni Wins the Battle, but War Still On" (Delany, M. 2009, 'Riots in Uganda: A Sign of Things to Come?', *Time*, 17 September http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1924258,00.html – Accessed 2 October 2009 – Attachment 14).

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