mander under Obote, and Brig. Basilio Okello (no relation), the commander of the northern battalion.

Observers believe that the selection for Cabinet posts of Ssemogerere and Toko, neither of whom is Acholi, is intended to impress on skeptics that the new regime intends to distance itself from Obote and place a priority on reconciliation.

The next key test for the junta will be to win the acceptance of Yoweri Museveni, a former defense minister and now leader of the underground National Resistance Army (NRA). Museveni, who has been living in exile in Sweden but was last reported seen in Tanzania, has ordered his 5,000-strong guerrilla force to maintain a cease-fire to allow the regime time for negotiations.

Both Muwanga and Gen. Tito Okello have been negotiating with leaders of Uganda's four political parties on the formation of a Cabinet. They are due to meet Museveni at the Kenyan border town of Bungoma this week.

Reportedly, Museveni has demanded half of the seats on the 10-man ruling military council. The NRA leader initially welcomed the coup but has since criticized the junta, objecting to the lack of consultations with his group before the appointments of Okello as head of state and Muwanga as prime minister.

Misgivings about the new regime were also voiced by former President Godfrey Binaisa, who lives in exile in Britain. He has called for the removal of the new rulers.

Like Ssemogerere, Muwanga and Binaisa are members of the Baganda ethnic group, which also gives Museveni the bulk of his support. The conflicts of interest among the Baganda may complicate Ssemogerere's job, which includes the restoration of law and order in a nation still locked in old ethnic and regional rivalries. (See box, page 3.)

The overthrow of Obote, on July 29, was masterminded by the Acholi ethnic group from the north. Their grievances included claims that rival Langi soldiers were accorded preferential treatment. The week before the coup, the northern battalion under Brig. Basilio Olara Okello mutinied, and the putsch was completed when the central units around Kampala seized the government radio station. Just minutes before this, Obote and some of his ministers had fled to Kenya.

Having assured themselves of a firm grip on the nation, the new rulers reopened the land borders on Aug. 2, and air traffic resumed three days later. The decision enabled hundreds of vehicles stranded on both sides of the border with Kenya to move again. These included trucks carrying coffee, the nation's leading export.

Obote, meanwhile, is reportedly living on the Kabarnet farm of President Daniel arap Moi in western Kenya. Observers in Nairobi, Kenya's capital, contrast this hospitality with the harsh treatment Kenyan leaders gave Obote following the 1971 coup. On that occasion, after learning of

continued on page 14

AFRICA NEWS

(ISSN) 0191-6521
P.O. Box 3851
Durham, NC 27702
(919) 286-0747

is published biweekly, except for the last two weeks of June and December, at 720 Ninth St., Durham, NC, by Africa News Service, Inc., a non-profit, tax-exempt agency also supplying news and feature material to broadcast and print media.

NEWSNET, INDEX: Material in this publication is available electronically via NewsNet (800-345-1301) and is indexed by the Alternative Press Index (301-243-2471).

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charlie Cobb, Lise Ebel, Tami Hultman, Seth Kitange, Reed Kramer, Jim Lee, William Minter, Katharine Somerville

MANAGING EDITOR: Charles Ebel

ASSOCIATE STAFF: Susan Anderson, Mills Crosland, Pat Ford, Debby Jackson-Ricketts, Ruth Minter, Barbara Neely, Debbie Nickell, Robin Surratt, Sharon Whitmore

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Africa News Service, P.O. Box 3851, Durham, NC 27702.
Copyright © 1985 by Africa News Service, Inc. All rights reserved.
(USPS 363-670)

SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID
AT DURHAM, NC

COVER PHOTO CREDIT: Kenya's Margaret Kenyatta, daughter of the late president, addresses the UN women's conference. Photo by *Africa News*.

OBOTE'S TROUBLED LEGACY

[AN] In late 1980 Apollo Milton Obote of Uganda became the first ever African head of state to be voted back into office after being ousted in a military coup. Last month, he became the first to be overthrown by his own army twice, and there is little likelihood that he will return to Ugandan politics a third time.

Obote's first term of office began in April 1962, and he led the country to independence in October of that year. After four years of intermittent squabbling with the powerful Buganda kingdom that had been the preeminent political force under British colonialism, Obote abolished the feudal system and took bold steps to erase its imprint on Ugandan society. Influenced by the ideals of an emerging African socialism, Obote favored an increased state role in the economy, including strategic nationalization. He moved towards a one-party system advertized as a way of undermining ethnic bloc voting.

The first post-independence elections were planned for April 1971, but on Jan. 25 of that year Maj. Gen. Idi Amin seized power in the first Ugandan coup, sending Obote into exile and plunging the nation into a nightmare of bloodshed and anarchy ended finally by a Tanzanian-backed invasion in 1979.

Obote's second attempt to rule Uganda faltered from the start under the weight of the Amin legacy. The hastily organized parliamentary elections of December 1980 in theory gave Uganda a revitalized legislature and a democratically chosen executive, but charges of election fraud put the new edifice of state on a shaky foundation. Many believed that Obote's party, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), had issued a false vote count, so the government faced serious questions of legitimacy. In addition, the opposition Democratic Party, with a strong base in what was formerly Buganda, accused the UPC of violent intimidation.

These troubles were compounded by the continuing breakdown of law and order. A number of dissident political groups, principally Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA), set out to subvert the UPC government through guerrilla campaigns. The new Ugandan army, a rag-tag organization quickly put together for the purpose of ousting Amin in 1979, suffered severe discipline problems and was unable to preserve security even before the Museveni rebellion. Poorly trained and supplied, and weakened by divided loyalties, Obote's military was totally inadequate to the challenges of a politically-motivated insurgency along with scattered banditry—particularly in an atmosphere of general malaise and economic stagnation.

After nine years of Idi Amin, Uganda had lost a generation of its finest civil servants and educators, had seen an accentuation of its regional and ethnic conflicts, and watched the economy deteriorate under a system of military patronage. In the end, Obote was unable to overcome this legacy, and the actions of his frustrated army invited comparisons with the climate of fear experienced under Amin.

In June of this year, Amnesty International charged in a report backed by medical evidence that the army unlawfully arrested and systematically tortured large numbers of civilians. People arrested by the military, said the Amnesty study, were often accused by soldiers of being or knowing about anti-government guerrillas, though they were not legally charged and many seemed to have no connection with the insurgents. Those detained included supporters of legal opposition parties, villagers in areas where the army conducted counter-insurgency operations, and people seized for ransom because of personal disputes with officials.

A week after the human rights organization's report, Uganda's Roman Catholic bishops strongly criticized the widespread violence in the country, detention without trial, corruption, nepotism and the government's failure to curb the skyrocketing cost of living.

"Corruption and graft," the bishops said, "are practiced at all levels. ... Let appointments to managerial positions be made on merit rather than on political, religious or tribal grounds. Let

continued on page 15