

PAN AFRICAN CLUB DISCUSSION REPORT ON AFRICA'S UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Proceedings of a Youth Dominated Discussion Held on 14th Oct 2016

Theme: "Most African Countries are the Least Developed in the World; What is Africa's Real Problem?"

Venue: Seascallop Restaurant in Kitante – Kampala

Organized by Pan African Club

Content Outline:

- Presentation by **Mr. Godber Tumushabe**, Associate Director of Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies. He was a Senior Policy and Strategy Advisor of The Democratic Alliance (TDA). He is a Lawyer by Profession and former Executive Director of ACODE etc.
- **Participants' Views**
- Responses by **Mr. Godber Tushabe**.

PRESENTATION BY MR. GODBER TUMUSHABE, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE GREAT LAKES INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES (GLISS)

Personal Story: Mr Godber Tumushabe began with telling a personal story to emphasize the importance of investing in education adding that possibly if he did not go to school, he would not have met most of us. He said he grew in a family of 22 children. The only form of communication then was analogue, there was no post office and if you wanted to send a letter somewhere, you would do so by sending your children. One time, he was together with his sister sent to his uncle to deliver a communication; the uncle told Godber to stay and eat passion fruits and so his sister went back alone. Godber was then at age six. Later, the uncle decided to take him to school thus enabling him to begin Primary One at age nine. At Ryakasingakye Secondary School, they were second pioneers and together with fellow students set a target that if they got results allowing them to have a combination at HSC, their destination should be a University. Fortunately, some of them performed well and qualified for HSC. His classmate Arthur Bainomugisha went to Nganwa High School but for him, his parents told him to go to TTC because there was no money to take him to HSC. Godber refused to go to TTC and said that unless there was money to go to High School, he was stopping schooling. He spent the whole year of 1996 at home doing family work. His uncle sent him to look for a High School in 1997 and ended up at Kyapa High School where he met Charles Rwomushana.

In short, the passion fruits changed his life. During his first year at University, he was working to pay for his siblings' school fees, all of whom managed to study and finish University. He expressed disappointment that Africa has not adequately invested in education; he is surprised that Africa invests in education as one of the small things yet education is paramount in transforming society!

He pointed out that the other mistake Africa has made is not investing in time. He reasoned that unless we undertake time management seriously, even if we discovered very precious resources, it would remain a big challenge to our development. He asserted that if you can't manage time, you don't know how much you are losing.

Godber's two same viewpoints with President Museveni about Africa's problems

- **Mr. Godber Tumushabe** said that he finds a lot of validity in the view attributed to President Museveni that leaders overstaying in power is Africa's problem. He stated however that unfortunately, Museveni no longer believes in this view.
- He also concurs with President Yoweri Museveni on the ten strategic bottlenecks hindering Africa's development. He said however that what President Museveni does not tell us is why for over half a century of Africa's independence, we have failed to solve these problems.

Mr. Tumushabe said that as a policy analyst, he knows that the beginning of failure of a policy is failure to identify the right policy problem; otherwise, you will address mere consequences while the real problem remains. He clarified that unfortunately in Africa, we have always been addressing consequences.

The Guest Speaker revealed that he led a technical team towards CHOGM meeting in Uganda to write a CHOGM background paper on why some countries in the Common Wealth have transformed while others have not; politically, socially and economically. They concluded as follows:

Historical background; He said that the first set of factors for Africa's under development are historical imbedded in slave trade and colonialism, which Africa underwent many years ago. He reasoned however, that considering that these happened so many years ago, Africa should by now have been able to recover from their effects. He pointed out that today when Africa talks about slave trade and colonialism, it is to explain why we cannot develop. In other words, he finds it an excuse to escape our responsibility. He argued that in Africa, our problem is our high propensity to explain our failures than solving them. He explained that he finds it distorting for example that we still use slave trade and colonialism to explain why we cannot give quality education to our children today! He revealed that Developed Countries do incredible things, which we are not doing in Africa.

Our Guest told us that Uganda is like Countries such as USA and Australia in a way that both are countries of immigrants. He disclosed that most of us are not indigenous people in Uganda. He said that apart from the Batwa, the IK and the Tepeth in Karamoja, the rest of us are actually immigrants; the Bantu came from West Africa, the Luo came from the North, some other Ugandans came from the Ethiopian Highlands etc. He thinks that possibly this is the reason Uganda is Pearl of Africa. He said that people migrated running away especially from diseases, land exhaustion and lack of pasture, which saw us eventually converge here in what is today called Uganda.

Mr. GodberTumushabe mentioned that the difference between us and the other countries; Australia and USA is that the latter were land of criminals because if you were a criminal, the British would ship you to those countries. He said however that unlike us, they have used their diversity well to advance their military and economic strength.

The Speaker argued that after 50 years, for us to still say that colonialism and slave trade are our problems means we are incompetent as a people together with our leadership. He stated that it's leadership which transforms society because it is leaders who sit and say this is how we are going to organize and develop our society. He categorically concluded that **Africa is a failure of leadership.**

Godber was surprised that some people say that he does not appreciate what the government has done and wondered why he should do! Instead, he is focused on what the government should. He analysed that Uganda is developing in a circle whereby we point many success stories but also many colossal failures hence Uganda is not going anywhere. He reasoned that Uganda is making a lot of mileage but not making movement. He explained that a factor consistent with regime survival to stay perpetually automatically creates a situation where certain things would not work.

Failure to have developmental states; Mr. Godber Tumushabe highlighted that since independence to date, Africa has failed to have developmental states. We have either had patrimonial dictatorships and some democracies but not developmental states where leaders are guided by consciousness and delivery of services such as healthcare, quality education and accountability as sources of their legitimacy not elections, which they actually steal.

The presenter emphasized and explained further that Africa has failed to get a developmental state except Rwanda which just came close to be one. He clarified that benevolent dictatorships as is known to be in Rwanda today are known to work in the interest of the public in disregard of who might be affected, for example; the state will build a road no matter what you say if the action of that road construction affects you. He said that to the contrary taking example of Uganda; money for road construction will be allocated, big people will have bought the land to be affected and when the time comes, they compensate themselves and then if you are lucky, you will find a substandard road. This is in spite of the fact that a democratic process was undertaken. He reasoned that benevolent dictatorships like the one in Rwanda today usually eventually explode as was the case in Libya under Gaddafi and Egypt under Mubarak to mention but a few.

He stated that Uganda today is one of the most inefficient states where everybody has mandate to do everything with no body accountable. He said there is a road in Ntungamo which was not worked on for ten years despite repeated promises from the government. Time came when people would go to the district to ask why this was so, they were told that the road belongs to UNRA! Godber wondered whether local people know what UNRA is!

Lack of Transformative leaders; this was the third point raised by Mr. Godber Tumushabe explaining why Africa is underdeveloped. He mentioned that Africa is plagued by transactional leaders and that we lack transformative leaders. He disclosed that in 1996, he campaigned for President Yoweri Museveni because he thought he was a transformative leader. He stated that Uganda achieved a certain level of development under Yoweri Museveni's presidency by 1996, which was unprecedented in the postcolonial period apart from Northern Uganda where there was war. He said that people looked open and confident but observing the trends since then to date, there is evident decline.

He said that **President Museveni has now turned into the biggest transactional leader on the African Continent.** Considering this, it is not surprising that Kasese district is now at the verge of being divided into four districts according to Mr. Godber Tumushabe. He also said that he told Prof Elijah Mushemeza that Bushenyi district would be cut into pieces when President Museveni thinks that it's unity no longer serves his objective. This came to pass; In 2006, it was only Bushenyi where President Museveni campaigned more than once; he would be like say in Moroto, Arua etc and is told that Bushenyi is gone, then he would abandon his campaign schedule to run back to Bushenyi. Therefore, for Godber, he saw the division of Bushenyi coming because President Museveni had to dismantle that influence. He added that indeed, Bushenyi's hitherto influence is no more today.

Mr. Godber Tumushabe asked that; to run a health centre, build a school etc do you really need Chairman L.C 5 and the DISO hence one must have a district in order to have these services? He said however that when transactions focus more on the self and not the country, these are the results you get. He said that this was the problem for example in Burundi, President Nkurunziza was thinking about himself not the people of Burundi thus plunged the country into the dilemma it finds itself in today. He said that even in Uganda, if the National Constitution was not changed in 2005, the country would today be having a different conversation but has instead been reduced to Museveni & Besigye.

He said it is still a challenge how we should nurture transformative leaders in Africa. He said he is worried of the future of the young people who kneel before the likes of Jacqueline and Museveni who are transactional leaders. He wondered what goes in the mind of that youth who says is going to kneel for such people! He disclosed that he recently saw an L.C 5 Chairman also kneeling before President Museveni and cannot imagine seeing his son aspiring to be an L.C 5 to kneel before other people!

Nature based Economy; Mr. Godber Tumushabe said that this fourth argument is related with what we have failed to do in order to become more systematic to enhance our economic transition. Instead, we are still nature-based economies in Africa with exception of very few such as South Africa. He explained that the implications of this is that our output is basically primary production. He revealed that In Uganda, we still have troubles such as the Bududa landslides because in addition to being a nature dependent economy, we have also degraded our environment. He recalled that during the recent independence celebrations, President Yoweri Museveni announced that 40% of the seeds distributed to farmers had dried up due to long droughts. The president then advised that people should fetch water from a stream, get a bottle of water and spray the crops. Mr. Godber Tumushabe wondered how a whole president could suggest such a very rudimental method and it passes away unchallenged in the 21st Century when the rest of the world is discussing very serious irrigation schemes!

Godber emphasized the importance of transition from nature-based economies to industrial economies in order to create jobs to employ a bulk of the labour force. Then from industrial to service economies reflected in banking, insurance, telecoms, tourism, health, education to mention but a few. He said that in Uganda, a bulk of our GDP approximately 50% is the service industry. That, over 69% of our households are trapped in agriculture moreover subsistence an implication that as a country, we have not transformed. Then beyond service economies, we would transit to knowledge economies. He noted that in Africa, it is only Mauritius in this category producing high value products. He explained that if you must sell 50 cows in order to buy a computer chip produced by Bill Gates, shows that you still have a long way to go. He stated that as a country, we have failed to get a leadership to create transition.

The Guest Speaker explained that in Uganda, we have a crisis at our hands. He revealed that according to education statistics by UBOS, children approximately 19 million enrolled between Primary One and Primary Seven for the last 12 years are unaccounted for yet it cannot be assumed that they are somewhere within because of no-repetition policy in UPE. He said that if civilization was to prevail, such a government would easily resign but again in our case, we are fond of explaining our failures! **Godber reasoned that the next leaders of Uganda will have to face a challenge of 20 million people who are unemployed and yet also unemployable.** He advanced a strong point that the future of Africa will depend on how we tap a leadership which is going to focus on solving these challenges.

Devastating conflicts, Godber explained that Africa is plagued by conflicts because of leadership that has failed to inspire and unite the people for prosperity. As a result, we are embroiled into colonial borders and tribal conflicts for example. He analyzed that if we got prosperous economies, petty conflicts would disappear. Regarding Uganda, he explained that we have failed to transit from one president to another. This reflects a failure of generational transition in leadership from the Museveni generation. He said that ideally, even the Besigye – Muntu generation should have come and gone and now we should be having his generation taking charge, hence there is generational vacuum. He blamed this situation on short-termism mentality characterised by lack of thinking in long term to cultivate a relationship to go to the future. He reasoned that the usefulness of NRM/Museveni is gone adding that the good thing of the likes of Museveni, Gaddafi, Mubarak etc, their countries collapse after they have gone.

The presenter also highlighted the role of a president in business. He suggested that its institutions which should do business not the president, otherwise you have to be worried that your country has been reduced to a level where a president personally does business. He stated that presidents inspire and give big dreams but not opening water taps, commissioning a market. Instead, presidents do big things like commissioning airport, connecting the country to the rest of the world etc. He said that in Africa, we are fond of celebrating marginal achievements e.g a small road of 20kms

and then spend in the celebration as much as was spent in the construction of the road itself!

He reminded us that in 1980, the OAU sitting in Lagos came up with a plan of action and that nothing African leaders are saying today which was not said in 1980. He said that even some of the leaders who participated then such as Do Santos and Obiang Nguema have again participated in NEPAD. He wondered what Africa's leaders who have been in power for over 25 years discuss when they meet at the AU! He wondered whether leaders like Robert Mugabe, Omar El Bashir, Obiang Nguema, Yoweri Museveni, Paul Biya, Do Santos etc really understand the people they lead! He gave example that the old man Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe is torturing the people of Zimbabwe to stay in power. He said he has realized that evil people don't die easily. He said many Zimbabweans have benefited one thing; they have run away from Zimbabwe and left it to Mugabe to rule and are now everywhere in the Diaspora from where they have capacitated themselves with education; when they get saved of Mugabe, this capacity will enable them to rebuild Zimbabwe.

Way Forward. He explained that the way forward lies in leadership renewal, which is a challenge of our generation to help sort out these problems. Short of this, we are going to have cumulated fatigue. He discouraged defeatist mentality that people like Museveni will for example die. He argued that resorting to nature to solve our leadership problems is hopelessness and should not happen.

Positive Note; Mr. Godber Tumushabe ended his presentation on a positive note saying there are many sectors which are growing in Africa. Examples of these include telecom companies and that these present opportunities, which we should take advantage of.

PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS

Charles Rwomushana said when a population is happy, Productive and Self Sustaining, it is difficult to Manipulate. He said this was the case in Bushenyi and that even in places like Rukungiri, you can't just call a rally because the people are confident but rather you must find them in churches, others want to be found at their homes. He said what Museveni then does is to destroy that Community. He disclosed that NRM carried its research and is aware that disintegrated poor people are easy to manipulate.

Mr. Rwomushana reminded us that we used to have Burungibwansi / community work where we would work on our own environment, markets, health and the like but the NRM deliberately destroyed this through the L.C System. Prior, the parish chiefs could ensure that people had boiled water, the rack / katandaro etc in their homes but all this collapsed with the introduction of populist L.Cs.

Regarding plantations, Mr. Rwomushana said that you need developed civil system to survive plantations. He gave example that Sudhir, a businessman sprays chemicals on his flowers which destroy pollination and Lake Victoria.

He recalled that Mabira Forest survived because of strong Civil Society intervention led by the National Association of Professional Environmentalists (NAPE), whose Executive Director is MR. FRANK MURAMUZI. Today, Zoka forest in Adjuman is under attack and Mr. Rwomushana suggested that it is only the Strong Civil Society Organizations such as NAPE, which can save it.

About the life-story of **Mr. Godber Tumushabe** particularly his education background, Mr. Rwomushana told Godber that had he not gone to school, still there would be life!

On the question of our development, Mr. Rwomushana asked whose yardstick are we using to arrive at a conclusion that we are poor! He downplayed the relevance of the Whiteman's yardstick of development in which GDP is calculated in terms of National Income and Expenditure. He gave example that Germany imports heavily on warmers because of their bad weather conditions, should we be said to be poor because we are not spending on warmers yet our natural environment provides this? He said that our wealth is in terms of liberty, freedom, sharing prosperity. He argued that Africa is free and this is why you cannot feel Chairman L.C5. The only problem we have is foreign influence such as distilled waragi / alcohol. He also challenged the outcry that we are not doing commercial farming, he said sometimes we give labour in exchange of food and can exchange food for other items; he wondered whether this is not commercial and asked whether commercial means exchange for money alone. He criticized capitalism arguing that it exploits labour.

He explained that in a kingdom, a king is a Lord of everything unlike in a Democracy. He pointed out that turning from the former to the latter will come with attendant complications. He stated that most leaders who became presidents were commanders of kings. He argued that Museveni is a king and is thus the Lord of everything unlike Obama in America because he does not have power but rather the institutions do. In Tanzania, power is not in the president but in the institutions and that these institutions have not been changing. He said that from Monarchs, we turned to Republican Lords and in this case, power dynamics cannot be resolved through democracy but by force.

Mr. Rwomushana said that a computer chip is expensive because those manufacturing it are cheaters. He revealed that in the African tradition, we had our own way of keeping and transmitting data on water, stones, coffee etc.

Our Comrade mentioned that Africa has been rising as a whole because ours is Ubuntu / humane economics, which advances shared prosperity. For example, a water-well cannot be fenced because it is communal but today we have water taps where people

put even a gate. In the past in Africa, If you cleared a farm, people would give you cows, if you lost your cows, people would contribute to reinstate you in your former position which in Runyankore is called Okushumbusha and that if you did not have land, you would give your cows to a neighbour which was called Okuhereka in Runyankore Rukiga. He also criticized the current trend of knowledge of exploitation, gluttons who eat alone etc. He said that the seeds being distributed by Gen Salim Saleh under Operation Wealth Creation Program, which are now said to be failing to germinate should in fact fail as quickly as possible so that we go back to our indigenous seeds because our problem is not lack of seeds.

Comrade Rwomushana proposed that we should carry out a study on foreign influence, which he said is adulterating what we have. He noted that Africa has fresh water, which is not found elsewhere etc but also criticized our own practice of endangering our natural heritage. He proposed we should preserve what we have and protect it against intrusion. He said that originally, China and India were for Blacks. He said that Africa still has advantage because for example more than 60% of Global arable land is in Africa. He said our immunity is good, our skin is okay hence despite all the odds, Africa will survive

Mr. Rwomushana added that, he fears these youths of Pan African Club who board taxis to come to discuss not local but Africa's issues and that such also shows that there is hope; Africa will survive.

Prof Edward Kakonge thanked **Mr. Godber Tumushabe** for raising many important issues. He then told us that whatever development we have, we must determine ourselves because no foreigner will come to Uganda to genuinely develop us otherwise they will be creating a competitor. He argued that we must formulate our own development our own way.

The Professor further said that the leadership we have in Uganda has no concern for changing the youths for their betterment. He added that leaders in Africa generally transact for themselves apart from a few such as the Late Julius Nyerere and Nelson Mandela. Most of the others are just exploiting the youths. He argued that the young people must really define their duties; if they want a better Uganda, they cannot just sit there and dream a better Uganda. He suggested that the youths in Uganda must effectively equip themselves for the time they are going to transform this country. He analysed that others will not help to transform the youths because then they will be creating a competitor.

Prof Kakonge condemned cultural imperialism in Uganda. He gave example that the lawyers wear Black Suits with wigs, which is ancient colonial attire. He wondered why we cannot devise a dress appropriate for the environment we live in!

Muzeyi Peter Wankulu, an OAU Veteran said that education system is our major problem in Africa. He challenged anyone to show him a Professor who employs one thousand people! He also decried the destruction of our environment and said that we must do all it takes to stop it and plant trees.

Amon Bagarukayo criticized **Mr. Godber Tumushabe** for campaigning for President Yoweri Museveni in 1996. He said that by then, Teso Region was paralyzed with poverty yet by 1980, Teso had more cows than any other region in Uganda. He said that yes in 1996, there was coffee boom in Ntungamo district but the rest of the country was badly-off.

He said that the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were a disaster and that under these, the West told us to sell everything yet for them they do not. He argued that this was part of the routine whereby whenever Africa is taking-off, the West design something to keep us backward. He even wondered how the Congolese could not have a meal a day yet they are seated on gold and diamond!

Amon concurred with what our leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah said in the 1960s whereby they argued that there was no slave trade in Africa but slavery. They challenged anyone to show who got the money if at all there was the so called slave trade in Africa.

Moses Owori thanked **Godber** for a good presentation. He said that Africa is evolving and not yet free. He argued that Europe and other Western Countries are not interested in our development because they are dependent on Africa. He also criticized brain drain where the African elite go abroad leaving a skills gap in Africa.

Owori mentioned that many leaders in Africa are into amassing wealth at the expense of the people they lead and are not accountable at all. He was however optimistic that this will also go because society cannot remain static. He reminded colleagues that we came out of the Stone Age behaviour; it served its purpose at that time and can no longer bounce back.

Israel Kyarisiima wondered at our ancestors who could be given a mirror by Europeans and in turn give-in a relative! He also asked **Godber** about the role of research and selling knowledge by NGOs to Western Countries.

Prof Johnson Kibalama said that there should be unity in diversity for Africa to develop. He also said that it is not correct to assume that Africa's problems are the same. He gave example that North Africa, Central and Southern Africa have quite different problems from one another.

Prof Kibalama disagreed with the view that whites are bad people. He said he studied from Germany and that he cannot agree that people who taught us to write are as bad. He asserted that you can't say that someone who treated him in the village is a bad man. He argued that Godber is right to say that colonialism and slavery are no longer our problem.

Prof Kibalama argued that we must advance and promote our culture and that we should emulate the German's example of real skills training. He revealed that the Germans believe that the best way to train a worker is to do so in industry and that a leader should be taken where there is leadership. He said that the Batooro for example were trying to do this and they would come to Buganda to learn leadership. This is how the Batooro came to die at Namugongo as Christian martyrs; they were here in Buganda on leadership training but also in the due course became Christians. He wondered how then you could have engineering course in Makerere for example where there is no railway line. He said those who want to become Doctors must go where Doctors are etc. He stated that if Africans want democracy then they should promote democracy.

Wycliffe Turyahebwa argued that we are our own problem and our leaders. He pointed out unsustainable expensive lifestyles which some of us live and then keep complaining that we are not developing. He also wondered why usually, leaders say that things are like this and that when they are in opposition but when they cross to the ruling group, they talk different language. He therefore said that dishonest of our leaders is a big challenge to the development of Africa and that these dishonest leaders are both in government and in the opposition.

Linnnet Mudondo posed a question that what is development. To her, development starts with you and that Africa is you and I. She emphasized that it's you not your leaders. She said she did Development Studies Course at Degree Level in Makerere University but many years down the road, it failed to bring development to her! She recently went for a just two months training course in practical skills and she has now started earning and can sustain herself. She then concluded that we need education, which imparts skills.

Andrew Muhandiki appreciated **Godber's presentation**. He said that Africa's natural resources should be our beginning point. That even Jesus used to ask what do you have? He argued that no society has advanced in the space. He said that according to the Bible in the Book of 1Cor, Paul asks; what do you have that was not given to you?

Referring to the SAPs, government pulled out of buying and selling to pave way for private sector led growth. He wonders that now it is said that in the next one decade, it is only Africa, which will not afford to feed itself, then he asked what happened to the

SAPs! He analyzed that you cannot have political independence when your economy is controlled from abroad.

Rubanda Mayonza argued that our society does not give us something to dream. He said that in Europe etc, young people grow up discussing their country's dream. He said that to the contrary, here we grow when we are told that we are a 3rd world country, we go to 3rd world schools and we are ourselves 3rd world people, which inculcates in us a wrong mindset and lack of confidence! He asked **Godber** to tell us the kind of economic system that can work for us.

Oyella Loy Odiko cited corruption as a big problem in Uganda and Africa generally with a tendency to over exaggerate things. She regretted that our leaders forget us and mind about their own families. She also pointed out a challenge of education system, which is mainly theoretical and does not impart the required skills among the learners. She observed that this has resulted into foreign workers flocking into Uganda to take up various technical jobs because despite our being educated; we may not have the required skills to perform them.

Robert Murungi said that we are moving forward. He reminded us that during the regimes led by Amin and Obote, Uganda suffered a lot but this is no longer the case today.

Guma Rutahigwa thanked the organizers for keeping this forum and appreciated **Godber Tumushabe's presentation**. He told the youths that there is a crisis in terms of the generational gap and emphasized that the situation is not good at all. He also argued that a Republican system is not working for us. He said that in it's historic nature, Republican system was established to siphon our resources ref, the Berlin Conference of 1885 where Africa was shared without any African representation. To him, when he sees you claiming to be a Ugandan, he knows there is something wrong with you. He said for him, he is a Munyankore and a Ugandan by default or as a prisoner. He asked management of Pan African Club not to change this topic for some time so that we first exhaust it.

Mr. Rutahigwa commended taking local nutritious drinks such as Bushera as opposed to others like say Coca-Cola, which are harmful to our health.

Regarding leadership, he said if you asked our MPs, you will find that they don't know the families in their Constituencies yet Africa is made up of families. He said that some people seem not to know that apart from the First Family, there are also other families in Africa! He disclosed that some engineers have said that Kampala is a sewage city! He regretted that 80% of Ugandans cannot access clean water.

RESPONSES BY MR. GODBER TUMUSHABE, THE MAIN PRESENTER

Regarding Muhandiki's view that the SAPs are not working for us, **Mr. Godber Tumushabe** said that there is no country out there whose business is to develop another country. He disclosed that Scandinavian Countries are the more moralist countries interested in helping while countries like UK are driven by their interests. He said he hates complaining because countries are supposed to mind their interests not the interests of others, and that even if you complain, they will not stop. He also questioned that how come we negotiate and borrow money from for example the World Bank and then we can't use it or at times even squander it! He analysed that even with the SAPs, the question is leadership. He gave example that despite the SAPs, Ethiopia never liberalized their Foreign Exchange. He said that our progress or lack of it is dependent on us.

Godber also talked about our education system and he recalled that the Education Reform Program report by Prof Senteza Kajubi published in 1992 was spot-on; even if you got only half of it and implemented it, things would greatly change. He wondered whether failure to implement such good ideas should also be blamed on colonialism! He was surprised to hear some time back a Ugandan Minister blaming the youths for their unemployment saying the youths are part of the problem because they do not have the skills, Godber thought that it is the role of government to reform the education system and ensure provision of the skills and the Minister should have known this!

About the definition of Development, Godber said that Development is the capacity of human beings to sustainably tame and exploit nature to meet your basic human needs. In reference to Mr. Rwomushana who had said that in Africa we are okay, Godber argued that we are not entirely okay because we have families which cannot afford a meal a day and cannot take their children to good schools to mention but a few. He argued that pastoralism is a way of life but he asked; should people live a pastoralist hope? He revealed that research has shown that Manyatta smoke is the highest cause of respiratory diseases yet these are common in places such as Karamoja.

He explained that countries are managed by knowledge. In 1997, he went to Kenya and worked there for 3 years in a Policy Think tank called African Centre for Technological Studies. Then the only think tanks he used to see were American Think tanks and he wondered where are African Think tanks! He decided to abandon his job where he was earning 3,000 Dollars a month to come back to Uganda to start one of the powerful think tanks in Africa. True to his dream, he started ACODE which has become the best employer of all the NGOs in Uganda. He also wanted to be a serious negotiator, a practice that has been adopted by ACODE. He clarified that the point he was trying to make here is that when you know what you want, you can make wonders. He related this with African governments and other organizations that when engaging with Donors, you should negotiate until what you want is reached in the agreement.

Mr. Godber Tumushabe suggested that we should talk about colonialism and slavery with a view that they should not happen again. He pointed out modern slavery in the Middle East where it is now us taking ourselves there!

Regarding what someone called Brain drain, Godber said that our second largest foreign exchange earner are remittances from Ugandans working abroad. He argued that if we were interested in our workers, we would have established favourable working conditions in the country. He reasoned that no amount of complaining will stop brain drain but better working conditions.

He also pointed out mismanagement and carelessness especially in our health sector in Uganda. He recalled that one time he went to Mulago for a Heart Operation and what was going on in his mind was what if power is cut-off and then they have to put fuel in a generator but whose keys keeper might say he doesn't have the keys of the fuel store! He said he spent 35,000 Dollars in South Africa to get Heart treatment, the money he wished he had an opportunity to spend in his country Uganda. Ironically, the Cardiology Clinic he went to in South Africa was to be established in Uganda, the investors came to find land and talked to Prof Nsibambi but as usual, the government could not do the needful. He said therefore that our problem is the leadership and ourselves.

He remembered the Amin days when there was no single time you went to Itojo Pharmacy for example, and find that the medicine was not there. He recalled that the patients could be carried on a stretcher to Itojo hospital in Ntungamo and the difference between life and death was arrival in the hospital because every necessary treatment would be provided in this government hospital unlike today where you are always told that there is no medicine.

Godber talked further about our better past and disclosed that when you were told that a Gombolola Chief is coming, you would really feel the government; people would clear the way and the mood was that an important person is coming. He reasoned that once a President reduces the Democracy of a Country to mere representation, then you are in trouble.

He defended his campaigning for President Yoweri Museveni in 1996. He said we had just adopted the 1995 Constitution which looked a negotiated Constitution and he was like yeah, we have got it. This gave him a thigh of relief, went and relaxed. However, President Museveni and his team went and started re-writing the rules; the first amendment was in 1996 just within less than a year after the promulgation of the Constitution! He added that after the 1996 general elections, the first thing Museveni did was to go to Parliament to ask to increase his Cabinet. It is then Godber realized and told a Colleague that Museveni is going to be here for a very long time. He argued that it is the duty of this generation to help Museveni to retire and retire peacefully. He explained that the alternative is costly and undesirable yet when time comes, you

cannot stop it just like it was in Egypt, Libya etc whereby the people there never sat anywhere to decide an uprising. He clarified that history has proven that when it is time for change and the people are united for one cause, even the military cannot do much to avert the inevitable.

Back to the concept of Development, he wondered; if you have your cows, do they help you in meeting your basic needs, do you sleep hungry, do you have the technology to tap water, can you send a communication from Kabale to Arua etc. To him, those would be some of the questions to determine whether you are developed or not because we are looking at our capability to tame and exploit nature to attain our needs.

He mentioned that Dictatorships survive by killing identity, institutions and power centres. He stated that Museveni has been demobilizing citizens' formations. He killed Cooperatives and formed SACCOs that are patronage organizations as opposed to the former, which were embedded in socio-economic formations. He said Museveni closed political parties and killed them. He gave example that during the recent elections, he found both UPC and DP were claiming same individuals as their contact mobilizers in districts. This meant that the parties do not even know who their members are! Godber explained that this country is not going to change through the current political formations. He has even discovered that if for example the FDC got power, it could be another NRM or even worse hence, our generation is going to have to find a 3rd Force.

Godber explained that Museveni has killed the tribal identity; you no longer have Ankore etc and such results from losing identity as a Nation. He stated that only Acholis and Baganda are the surviving Nations. He disclosed that there is a place in Eastern Uganda where you cross 5 districts in 5 minutes! This is why Museveni must deal with Kasese.

He said that even cultural institutions have not been spared either. The strategy has been to attack all centres of power either demobilize them or buy them and put them on a pay roll or disintegrate them.

Mr. Godber Tumushabe highlighted that another frontline of attack is Religions. The regime has sucked them into the system and is paying them! He said that the Regime has studied all religious sectors and designed strategies accordingly. The Protestants were found to like money; in donating vehicles, the regime started with Anglican Bishops in Opposition Strongholds! The Catholics were found to like power hence to occupy certain positions, you must be a Catholic! The strategy for Muslims is to confuse them while the Born Again are Co-Opted!

He said there are 3 levels of Dictatorships; 1st, the name of the Dictator disappears. In Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi became Baba Moi. In Uganda, Yoweri Museveni has become Muzeyi etc. The 2nd level; the Portrait of the Dictator appears everywhere e.g Clinics etc

to create an environment where it is as if he is looking at you wherever you are. 3rd, the Dictator appears on the Currency. Dictators kill State institutions otherwise; they will stop them from overstaying in power. He reasoned that it is deliberate that Museveni cannot build the NRM as a Party for similar reasons. He also said that Dictatorships stop change and they are driven by corruption. When people get a chance to steal, they want to steal for decades hence the epitome of architectural arrogance.

Regarding NGOs serving Western interests, Mr. Godber Tumushabe said that some NGOs do projects which Donors have designed but this is not the case with ACODE, which he founded. He disclosed that at ACODE, they develop their own research programs aiming to solve identified problems in our society. ACODE does not do consulting. He gave example that currently, ACODE is running a Program on how to improve the functioning of the Local Government and explained that this as you can see is purely meant to help our country in improving service delivery. He said that at his new organization, the GLISS, he has had only one Donor over the last two years because Donors cannot come anyhow and say do this for us. He said he must look at how what he is going to do will help his country Uganda.

Mr. Godber Tumushabe commended a Social Market Economy, an Economy which is run with a human face. He promised to send us notes about the Workings of a Social Market Economy to be distributed by email to members of Pan African Club for a study.

Compiled by;
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