

DRAFT

**THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA'S
SECURITY POLICY FRAMEWORK**

CONSULTATION DOCUMENT

Prepared by the

Defence Reform Unit

December 2002

CONTENTS

Acronyms

Foreword (*to be reviewed once 'author' is determined*)

Executive Summary (*not yet written*)

1. Introduction

- 1.1 Purpose of paper
- 1.2 Background
- 1.3 Status of paper
- 1.4 Structure of paper

2. Uganda's Approach to Security

- 2.1 How security is defined
- 2.2 National security interests
- 2.3 Meeting the security challenge

3. The Security Environment

- 3.1 The strategic setting
- 3.2 Factors that shape security
- 3.3 Future security scenarios

4. Security Threats and Dilemmas

- 4.1 Threat categories
- 4.2 Threat assessment
- 4.3 Security dilemmas

5. Managing National Security

- 5.1 A comprehensive strategy
- 5.2 The institutional framework
- 5.3 Roles and responsibilities (*to be reviewed*)

6. Conclusions

- 6.1 Building on our achievements
- 6.2 The way forward

Annex A – Overview of the Defence Review process

Annex B – National Security Council Act, 2000 (*not yet inserted*)

Annex C – Definition of key terms (*not yet completed*)

Annex D – Threat ranking and descriptions

ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CMI	Chieftancy of Military Intelligence
EAC	East African Community
ESO	External Security Organisation
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ISO	Internal Security Organisation
JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee
JLOS	Justice, Law and Order Sector
LARP	Logistics and Accounting Reform Programme
LDU	Local Defence Unit
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOIA	Ministry of Internal Affairs
MOLG	Ministry of Local Government
MOJCA	Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs
MOFPED	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MWLE	Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
MSS	Minister of State for Security
OP	Office of the President
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOES	Ministry of Education and Sports
NGO	Non Government Organization
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
SPF	Security Policy Framework
UDES	Uganda Defence Efficiency Study
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Forces
UDRP	Uganda Defence Reform Programme
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America

FOREWORD

The Security Policy Framework (SPF) is the first major output of the Defence Review process that the Government of Uganda is undertaking as part of its pledge to professionalise and modernise the armed forces. In keeping with the multi-dimensional notion of security that this Government subscribes to, the SPF is a cross-Governmental initiative. It is hoped that the SPF will stimulate greater national debate on Uganda's security needs and how these can best be addressed.

The basic message of this paper is that an integrated Government approach is required that effectively makes use of all available policy instruments.

As a first step, we need to develop a common understanding among relevant security actors of the nature of Uganda's security problems, who has responsibility for addressing them, and how their responses can be co-ordinated most effectively. To this end, the SPF will inform the development of our Defence policy and will also provide an enabling framework for other security actors to review their policies.

What is put forward in this paper should therefore not be seen as replacing any previous security laws or policies. Rather it should be seen primarily as a tool to enhance the effectiveness of our National Security Council, which was established in 2000 and is responsible for advising the President on all matters relating to national security.

The Ministry of Defence was tasked by the President with leading this process in close collaboration with other Government departments and agencies, the UPDF, Parliament, and various civil society groups. As such, this paper represents the our collective assessment of the security challenges facing our nation. We welcome additional views.

Hon. Amama Mbabazi
Minister of Defence

or

The President???

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

(Two pages)

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of paper

The primary purpose of the Security Policy Framework (SPF) is to:

- help develop a common understanding across Government of the key security problems that Uganda may face over the next 10-15 years;
- determine which departments and agencies have a role to play in addressing these problems; and
- clarify their responsibilities and improve co-ordination so that the Government can respond more effectively.

The SPF is also intended to inform the people of Uganda about how the Government proposes to meet their security needs; to clarify our approach to security for the benefit of neighbouring countries with whom we have common security interests; and to inform our international development partners about how the security question fits into our broader development plans.

1.2 Background

The SPF is the first output of the Uganda Defence Review. Phase One of this process, the 'Strategic Security Assessment', situates defense within the wider security challenges facing our country. This paper is based on a comprehensive consultative process involving a range of security 'stakeholders' from across Government, including key ministries, parliament, the UPDF and the President's Office, as well as academicians and the general public. The workshop reports provide a more detailed summary of these proceedings. (See Annex A for further information).

1.3 Status of paper

The SPF is not a formal security policy *per se*. It provides a framework for discussion by the National Security Council (NSC) which advises the President on all matters that relate to national security (see Annex B for further details on the NSC).

The SPF should also serve to inform efforts by other security departments and agencies to develop their internal policies. The Ministry of Defence has drawn on the SPF to produce its Defence Policy. The SPF may one day provide the basis for developing a formal national security policy.

1.4 Structure of paper

The paper consists of four main sections that examine:

- Uganda's general approach to security
- Factors that shape Uganda's security environment
- The key security challenges the nation faces
- How national security will be managed

A number of technical terms are used in this paper. Definitions of these terms are provided in Annex C.

2.0 UGANDA'S APPROACH TO SECURITY

2.1 How we define security

Security is an essential condition for effective development and a strong concern of Uganda's people. In this paper, security is viewed in a wider sense than the traditional focus on defence, the military, risk of invasion, and protection of the state. While these are important aspects, we define security as a broader concept:

Security encompasses freedom from threats, intimidation and other pressures, from whatever source, that would undermine the basic rights, welfare and property of our people, the territorial integrity of our state, and the functioning of our systems of governance.

2.2 National security interests

Uganda's key security interests include:

- A society which functions according to principles of Justice, Freedom and Democracy, and where fundamental Human Rights are promoted and protected.
- A political environment in which power is exercised by a civil - democratically elected leadership, and where the military is under effective civil authority.
- A state that empowers the active participation of all Ugandans in the governance process, and works to meet their basic needs in the areas of health, education, shelter and clean water.

- A country that is secure and united, that is both peaceful and stable, and where everybody is free to participate in actions to develop economically.
- A nation which has the capacity to defend herself from external threats and to maintain her National Sovereignty, Independence and Territorial integrity.
- A country at peace with her neighbours, which supports regional and global efforts to maintain peace and stability, and which fulfils her international obligations.

2.3 Meeting the security challenge

The Government of Uganda's security policies will be based on our own assessment of the factors that threaten national interests and how these can best be addressed.

Our approach to protecting national interests will be holistic and comprehensive in nature, involving all of the policy instruments available to the Government. This includes our diplomatic machinery, social and economic policies, legal and constitutional instruments, and the security forces. We will combine responses to immediate threats with longer-term strategies to either deter or prevent potential security problems from arising.

- Uganda will ensure a properly functioning Justice, Law and Order Sector based on a police service that is accountable to the people and the efficient dispensation of justice. Freedom of press, speech and association will be safeguarded by the Constitution.
- The government recognizes the need to have regular, free and fair elections, both at national and local levels, to ensure that the leadership is accountable to the people and that the power to change the leadership resides with the people.
- Government continues to support capacity development within local governments to ensure that services are efficiently delivered nearer to the people and improve public perception, ownership of local political and administrative systems
- The Government of Uganda is committed to building a professional Uganda Defence Force to secure Uganda against external threats and protect its sovereign interests.

- Uganda will work towards a secure region, through participating in global and regional efforts aimed at improving security, building peace and conflict resolution.
- Uganda will continue to meet her regional and international obligations and protocols.
- The government recognizes that certain social groups are more vulnerable to disasters, including floods, drought, earthquakes, which can lead to loss of life and property or acute food shortages. Government will help communities and local governments to cope better with humanitarian disasters.

3. THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

3.1 The strategic setting

Uganda's security problems are unique, requiring unique responses. There are a number of key factors peculiar to our social, economic, political and environmental situations that will shape the kinds of security problems we face and how we respond.

- Uganda is situated in the heart of Central Africa's conflict-ridden Great Lakes region. We have to contend with the 'overflow' of wars from neighbouring countries and, as a consequence, devote more resources than we might otherwise have to, to protecting our borders.
- Uganda is small in comparison with most of its neighbours. Our 'strategic depth ratio' of 93 sq. km of territory to every km. of border reduces our defensive options in the event of external attack. This requires us to develop more pro-active strategies to promote regional cohesion, manage our borders and deter potential adversaries.
- Uganda is landlocked. This increases our vulnerability in times of crisis by reducing options for external assistance and also constrains economic development by increasing the costs of exports and imports and dissuading outside investors.
- Uganda's borders are particularly porous because most do not coincide with natural barriers like mountains or rivers. This

- Our economy is dominated by peasant subsistence agriculture that accounts for about 50% of GDP and employs more than 88% of our labour force. The average per capita income is US\$ 300 per annum. About 35% of Ugandans live below the *poverty line*. Poverty helps to create conditions in which armed violence, communal conflict, organised crime and terrorism can emerge, and implies that less resources are available to the state to address these problems.
- Our Government depends on external assistance for more than 50 percent of public spending. This makes us vulnerable to future aid cuts, and could also subject us to foreign influences and manipulation that are not in our best interest.
- There are many challenges to social cohesion in Uganda. The high degree of ethnic diversity, the increasing gap between rich and poor, the rural-urban divide, and the nature of gender relations can lead to social and political tensions.
- Uganda shares a number of valuable natural resources with her neighbours. These include the Nile river, Lake Victoria, the Rwenzori mountains and potential oil deposits in the Western border regions which increase the stakes for control of these resources.
- Finally, Uganda is a young state. Since gaining independence from colonial rule in 1962, successive waves of political turmoil have undermined our social fabric, economic infrastructure and efforts to build institutions that can channel political competition in non-violent ways.

3.2 Factors that shape security

There are many different factors that shape Uganda's security environment. In assessing our current and future security needs and developing our security policy, there are six particular sets of issues which require careful attention:

National politics and governance – The question of who holds power and how it is managed is central to the security and stability of Uganda. As in other parts of Africa, Ugandans are still dealing with fundamental questions about the kind of state we want, the

role of traditional authorities, and what form of political governance will best meet our needs. These issues are being debated in the framework of our constitution. How these issues are resolved will determine the state of our future political environment.

Social cohesion and human development – The level of social cohesion in Uganda is closely linked to levels of human development. This encompasses a range of factors that relate to health, education, gender relations, demography and whether our populations basic needs are being met in a manner that reflects their cultural identity and traditions. National security will be very much affected by the progress Uganda will have made, over the next 15 years, in the field of Human Development.

Economic production and globalisation - Prospects for promoting human development and political stability in Uganda are closely linked to the state of our economy. This is in turn closely shaped by global economic forces. Globalisation has created new opportunities for Uganda to harness world markets, but also presents new challenges for managing our economy. Uganda's trade activities link it to a global market where prices are globally determined. Negative external shocks arising from events in these global markets could have an adverse impact on our economy.

Civil-military relations – Uganda has a long legacy of negative and undemocratic military involvement in politics which has undermined our development. In a democratic state, the elected civil-authority has power over the military and directs the military's actions. In such a situation the military is, subordinate and accountable to the civil democratic authority.

Regional cooperation, geography and environmental constraints - In a landlocked and small country such as ours, regional cooperation is an essential factor in trade and the need to form trading partners and blocks is critical. Regional cooperation also plays an important role in the military, politics, economics and social aspects of Uganda. Stability in a region is therefore a major factor in attracting investors and tourists.

International partnerships and obligations - Uganda is a member of the United Nations (UN). Under the Article 93 of the UN Charter, all UN members are *ipso facto* Parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Uganda is also a member of the African Union (AU), and a state party to various international

treaties and conventions including the East African Community (EAC) Treaty. Uganda is therefore, bound by obligations under these various international treaties and conventions.

3.3 Future security scenarios

It is not possible to predict exactly what kinds of security problems Uganda will face in the next 10-15 years. Uganda nonetheless needs to be prepared to face a range of possible 'scenarios' – a 'best', a 'worst' and a 'medium' case. The summaries of these scenarios, which are provided below, are based upon a comprehensive understanding of the different circumstances Uganda may face in the future.

By preparing to meet a range of rational and reasonable circumstances represented by these scenarios, Uganda can be prepared for the worst while understanding what needs to be done to avoid this worst case.

Best-case scenario - *A prosperous and stable Uganda*

The question of the system of governance has been resolved with all parties agreeable. The government institutions are functional and recognized. There is stability in the region with the East African community (EAC) now more functional with its parliament and court. Transborder trade and human traffic between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda has had barriers removed. Rwanda and Burundi are now the newest members.

Infant mortality rate has reduced, the literacy level is now between 65% and 70%, and the poverty levels are now below 15%. As a result of the improved living standards the social tensions are negligible.

The economy has long moved from the dependence on traditional cash crops and Uganda has increased exports of diversified processed goods and products. As a result of a better economy and reduced economic crime the living wage is comparable to that of Middle Developing Countries.

Uganda is very active on the diplomatic front and is involved in almost all conflict resolution on the diplomatic front. We have no troops except observers beyond our borders. The military is a well-organised unit with well-defined roles. The EAC defence pact is ratified. The joint military exercises are a reality already.

Intermediate scenario - *A Uganda striving to consolidate development gains*

Although there is stability and economic development in many parts of Uganda, some parts in the north and west are still bogged down by insecurity and hence continue to register high levels of poverty. The presence of weak institutions, corruption and a high rate of crime, if not checked will increase political instability and poverty.

The political instability and realignment of military forces within the Great Lakes region continue to have a political military, economic and security impact on Uganda. The absence of a clear foreign policy and closure of Ugandan embassies abroad undercuts the capacity to have a good early warning system resulting in ineffective diplomacy. The country is ill-prepared for interventions and invasions.

The percentage of the overall population living below the poverty level is decreasing. The government operates a cash budget whereby it only spends what is available. This has checked inflation to one digit percentage for years. The dependency on donor funds (approximately 50% of total government budget) makes the country vulnerable to external manipulation, although this dependency is declining.

Worst-Case scenario - *A Uganda in disarray*

Contentious provisions in the Constitution have not been resolved. The Constitution is perceived to have been manipulated and there is more direct involvement and interference by security personnel in the political system. As a result of this there is now growing armed political opposition from within and without.

Because of the turmoil within Uganda, her neighbours are overtly calling for dialogue while they have covertly made alliances with the opposition groups which will best serve their interests. Uganda has been blamed for abusing international boundaries in pursuit of her enemies. She has recalled her representative to the African Union. The EU has suspended development assistance while the United States, the British Commonwealth, and the UN are observing the situation with interest.

Religious groups are openly supporting political factions, government schools and hospitals are not functioning up-country

because of the insurgency. Infant mortality is up with primary health care in a sorry state. Famine is more widespread. The economy is weakened by the reduction in donor funds, subsistence farming and falling export prices. It cannot support the public programmes.

The Army is more involved in shaping government policy but does not have total control of the country. The biggest problem is having to contend with armed factions and warlordism.

4. SECURITY THREATS AND DILEMMAS

4.1 Threat categories

Over the next 10-15 years, Uganda can expect to face a very diverse range of threats to the security of the state and its people. These threats will manifest themselves in different ways depending on the circumstances in which they emerge. The nationwide consultative process resulted in the identification of 134 potential threats. These were grouped into 9 broad categories:

- i. **Border insecurity** – includes all of those threats that may involve breaching – or attempting to breach – the border of Uganda, including smuggling; illegal crossings; overt or covert invasions.
- ii. **Destabilising external influences** – any threat, whose source is outside Uganda, which has an impact upon either the security of the State or our citizens, including the political and economic policies of other states.
- iii. **Political instability** – includes tensions emanating from weak state institutions, poor governance, and political competition that disrupt the functioning of government and the political process.
- iv. **Environmental stress and resource constraints** – any factor which degrades the natural environment and resource base of Uganda upon which livelihoods and both the formal and informal economy depend, exacerbating competition over resources.
- v. **Human underdevelopment** – factors that constrain or undermine human development in terms of health,

education and access to basic needs such as clean water, a healthy diet, and adequate shelter.

- vi. **Internal insecurity** – a range of threats from crime, banditry, political repression, armed insurgency and civil strife that impact upon the security of the State and its citizens.
- vii. **Economic shocks and stress** – any threat to the productive capacity of Uganda that constrains economic growth, including factors that undermine external trade relations, fiscal stability, and the economic infrastructure.
- viii. **Social polarization** – involves the breakdown of social cohesion due to the emergence of communal, religious and ethnic tensions, or mounting economic disparities between social classes.
- ix. **Civil disaster** – any disaster, whether man-made or natural, that undermines the welfare of the population and requires an emergency response by the civil authorities.

4.2 Threat assessment

Within these nine categories, 25 specific threats were identified that are considered the most important ones that Uganda must prepare to face. This ranking was assessed on the basis of the probability of each threat occurring and its potential impact on the security of Uganda and the people were it to occur (Descriptions of these threats are provided in Annex D).

- The top three threats relate to external factors including **full-scale invasion** by the army of a neighbouring state, **cross-border raids** by smaller insurgent forces, as well as **major illegal movements** of people such as refugees or criminal elements that could disrupt our security. Also included in this category are destabilising external influences such as the possibility that other countries may develop policies that are deliberately hostile to Uganda.
- The next three threats were internal in nature and stemmed from **political stability**, **civil disaster** and **internal insecurity**. Each of these threats can have a direct and indirect impact on security – either by undermining our systems of governance and social cohesion, thereby increasing political tensions, or by

undermining the welfare of our people – ‘human’ security. These threats can also manifest themselves in many different ways, each of which will require different responses.

- Threats 7-14 were predominantly non-traditional security threats meaning that they are essential economic, environmental and social in origin. This includes problems that emerge from **social polarisation**, **human underdevelopment**, and **economic shocks and stresses**. While these threats have a direct and immediate impact on the welfare of our citizens, they also have a long-term, equally harmful impact on political stability which policymakers need to address.
- The final grouping of threats 15-25 did not include any new factors – most of these threats are different manifestations of threats that have already been identified above. A few of these are significant – such as political instability resulting from **warlordism** or **famine** – but their relatively low ranking means that they are not the immediate concern of our policymakers.

4.3 Security dilemmas

There is a fairly clear understanding of the kinds of threats Uganda can expect to face in the future, and their potential impact upon the security of our nation. The threats are social, economic, environmental, political and military in origin, and also include new security challenges such as organised crime and international terrorism. What is much less straightforward is how Uganda should respond to these potential threats.

Developing effective responses to these threats requires substantive resources of both a human and financial nature. While the Government will want to focus its attention and resources on those that are the most important in terms of their potential impact, it cannot afford to completely disregard those with a lower ranking. This creates a number of decision-making dilemmas for the Government:

- Uganda needs to be able to react to sudden security challenges like insurgency and banditry without overlooking the need to strengthen preventive mechanisms that may help to avoid those same future threats. How can Government allocate resources in such a way that addresses the underlying causes of these threats including poverty, social polarization and political marginalisation?

- Uganda has a number of key security actors, though their effectiveness is limited by their current capacity to play their designated roles. Should the Government, for instance, invest in strengthening institutions like the Police to fulfil internal security functions, or should funds be allocated to the Ministry of Defence to enable it to handle internal problems like organised crime which the Police cannot alone handle?

These dilemmas need to be addressed by the Government as part of a comprehensive security strategy that includes strengthening national capacity to assess security needs, formulate policy, plan responses, implement policy, and monitor this.

5. MANAGING NATIONAL SECURITY

Given the multi-dimensional Security threats that Uganda might face in the medium and long term, it is imperative that the country prepares a holistic, integrated and multi-pronged security strategy to respond to or prevent the threats. The most effective long-term strategy will require Uganda to make effective use of all of its instruments of security policy.

5.1 A comprehensive strategy

Uganda's security policy must derive from the legal-constitutional framework and be supportive of wider national development goals. These are spelled out in 'Vision 2025' which sets out the Government of Uganda's vision for "A Prosperous people, Harmonious nation, a Beautiful Country". This vision was arrived at through a consultative and participatory process.

Among the strategies identified for achieving the vision, is the development of a democratic society and full observance of Human rights. Some of the factors that contribute to a democratic society and human rights observance are the strong institutions e.g Parliament, Judiciary, Executive, Public Service and the Security Services. Building of manageable, modern, highly professional and well- equipped security forces is essential to the achievement of the "National Vision".

On the development side, the national planning framework that provides the overall goals for governments policies and programmes is the Poverty Eradication Action Plan(PEAP). The

PEAP establishes the principles that guide the investment plans and management of the economy. The key message of the PEAP is that ‘pro-poor economic growth is essential for poverty eradication’. In other words, national plans should focus on improving the livelihoods of the poor.

The PEAP has four interrelated goals:

- Rapid and sustainable economic growth and structural transformation.
- Good governance and security.
- Increased ability of the poor to raise their incomes.
- Enhanced quality of life of the poor.

Providing a secure environment in which the nation can develop is therefore one of the key Government strategies for tackling poverty.

5.2 The institutional framework

Uganda has made progress in terms of developing a framework for addressing its security challenges. Among its achievements are the establishments of a National Security Council through the National Security Council Act 12 of 2000 (see Annex C).

The Council, which is chaired by the President of Uganda, has a broad representation including the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defence, Security, Finance and the Attorney General. It also includes as representatives the heads of security organs including the UPDF, the Inspector General of Police, ESO, ISO, Special Branch, CMI Criminal Investigation Department, and Prisons.

The Council’s main functions include:

- To inform and advise the President on matters relating to national security;
- To co-ordinate and advise on policy matters relating to intelligence and security;
- To review national security needs and goals;
- To receive and act on reports from the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC);
- To carry out any other function as the parliament may oblige to the council.

The National Security Council Act 2000 also made provisions for the establishment of District Security Committees and District Intelligence Committee in every district, as well as Sub-County Security Committees.

The National Security Council provides a mechanism of analysing Uganda's security needs and developing policy. The Council should also lead in terms of all decision-making that relates to the management of major security problems of both an internal and external nature.

Operationalising security policy will require building the capacity of the relevant security actors, including Ministries responsible for fulfilling core security functions related to defence, diplomacy, policing, intelligence, interpreting the law, and punishment of criminals. Each of these actors require appropriate internal policies to guide their operations that specify their respective roles and responsibilities in dealing with security threats.

5.3 Roles and responsibilities

- i. *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* – This department should lead in monitoring and coordinating Uganda's national interests and concerns beyond its geographical borders. MOFA will play a lead role in the event of hostile policies by other countries. It will also be highly involved alongside stakeholders in addressing threats that are related to border insecurity, political instability, environmental resources, civil disasters internal insecurity and economic shocks and stress.
- ii. *Office of the Prime Minister* - OPM is the leader of government business. Its major responsibility is to ensure efficient and effective implementation of government policies and management issues of disaster refugees and pacification programs. OPM will, therefore, lead other stakeholders in responding to civil disasters and severe environmental resource scarcity. It will also be significantly involved in working together with other government departments to address threats in areas of border insecurity, political instability, human under-development, internal insecurity and economic shocks and stress.
- iii. *Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development* - The mission of Ministry of Finance is to promote economic development and ensuring micro-economic stability, and to allocate resources in an efficient and effective manner that

meets Uganda's strategic objectives. The role of MOFPED, therefore, in addressing Uganda's security threats cuts across and is similar in all sectors. MOFPED plays a leading role in addressing the various intensities of economic shock and stress. However, MOFPED has a high degree of involvement in working alongside others in responding to what is related to border insecurity, environmental resources, political instability, human under development, internal insecurity and civil disaster.

- iv. *Ministry of Local Government* - The mission of this Ministry is coordinate and support Local Governments for sustainable, efficient and effective service delivery in a decentralized system. Its mandate, therefore, is guide, harmonise, mentor and advocate for all Local Governments in Uganda. The Ministry plays a leading role in responding to civil disaster that are limited in or 'localised' in nature. It will also work in conjunction with other stakeholders in addressing threats that are its area of responsibility. These threats include border insecurity, environment stress, political instability, human under development, internal insecurity, economic shock and stress and social polarization.
- v. *Office of the President* - The mandate of the President is provided for under Article 99 of the Constitution of Uganda, where all Executive authority is vested in the President. This makes the office of the President a very important "solar" office of the entire government. This office exists in order '*to uphold the constitution and sovereignty of the Republic of Uganda, provide leadership in the initiation, formulation, implementation, coordination and monitoring of public policies, ensuring territorial integrity and good international relations with other communities, mobilize and politicize the masses towards self-governance, progress and development.*' OP should play a lead role in addressing political instability and social polarization. It has a high degree of involvement, working alongside other players in responding to any other security threat.
- vi. *Minister of State for Security* - It is a government department that falls under the Presidency. Its main responsibilities include to ensure timely availability of well-researched and reliable information to the Presidency and other executive areas of government for decision making and policy formulation. It also maintains a system for information

gathering, analysis, storage and dissemination. Article 218 of the Constitution creates ESO and ISO through which MSS carries out its roles. ESO focuses its activities outside Uganda whereas ISO's activities are mainly to do with security threats inside Uganda. MSS plays no lead role in addressing a particular threat but has significant level of involvement in working with other stake holders in all security threats because all are an important part of its responsibilities.

vii. *Ministry of Defence* – Article 209 of the Constitution of Uganda spells out the primary mission of UPDF as:

- Preserve and defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Uganda.
- Cooperate with civilian authority in emergency situations and in case of natural disasters.
- Foster civilian harmony and understanding between the Defence Forces and civilians.
- Engage in productive activities.

MOD, therefore, plays a lead role in responding to irregular and regular military bodies attacking Uganda from outside. Because the capacity of MOIA (Uganda Police) is inadequate, MOD will sometimes be highly involved in addressing threats that include internal insecurity and political instability. It will be also highly involved in responding to civil disasters, environmental stress and resource constraints since they are an important part of its responsibility.

viii. *Ministry of Internal Affairs* - Through its departments of Uganda Police, Uganda Prisons and Immigration, MOIA ensures maintenance of law and order, acceptable legal immigrants and allowed in and out of Uganda and safe custody of prisoners. MOIA will therefore play a lead role in addressing threats of border insecurity and internal insecurity. It will work closely with other government departments in responding to threats amounting from outside, environmental resources, political instability, human underdevelopment, civil disaster, economic shocks and social polarization.

ix. *Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs* - One of its major responsibilities is to ensure that constitutional rule

prevails. It is therefore, a leader in addressing political instability (tensions) whereby people settle their political differences in courts of law. Being a member of JLOS, MOJCA plays significant roles in ensuring law and order in Uganda and in any other threat where MOIA is significant involved.

- x. *Other Government Actors* - These include MOES and MOGLS which will lead in addressing the human under development threats since this is an area of their core responsibility. The MWLE will lead other government agencies in responding to threats that impact on Uganda's environmental resources.

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Building on our achievements

Since 1986 Uganda has made tremendous headway in the management of national security. Key milestones include the development of improved civil-military relations following the National Resistance Movement's accession to power in 1986, the establishment of a legal framework for intelligence activities in 1987, the promulgation of a new Constitution in 1995 with clearly defined roles for the security forces, the establishment of the National Security Council in 2000.

There nonetheless remain many challenges that the Government has undertaken to meet in the context of the Uganda Defence Reform Programme that was launched in 2002. These include:

- Full and effective operationalisation of the National Security Council Act to ensure that the Council and its sub-committees meet as stipulated in the Act to conduct the business.
- There is need to develop a comprehensive and well-defined security policy to guide the activities of the National Security Council and its actors. The SPF could form the basis for developing a National Security Policy.
- The Government departments and agencies that make up the Council should ensure that their missions and operational policies are consistent with the overall national security policy.

- There is need to strengthen the different security actors to perform their roles and missions as stipulated in the Security Policy Framework.
- Government should ensure that its development partners are educated on Uganda's approach and institutional arrangements for managing national security.
- The government should ensure that the public is involved in dialogue on matters of management of the national security.

Annex A – Summary of the Defence Review Process

Background

Phase One of the Uganda Defence Reform Programme is a comprehensive Defence Review. The Review was launched in June 2002 and is scheduled for completion in August 2003. The Review is being managed by the Defence Reform Unit of the Ministry of Defence, with UK assistance. The Review is a cross-governmental initiative involving various departments and agencies, the UPDF, and a number of academics.

The Defence Review builds upon earlier reform activities within the Defence sector, including:

- The World Bank funded Logistics and Accounting Reform Programme (LARP) Study, 1997.
- The UK-funded Uganda Defence Efficiency Study (UDES), 1998.
- The Ranch-on-the-Lake seminar bringing together the MOD and UPDF, at which the Uganda Defence Reform Programme (UDRP) was established, 2001.

The Defence Review is the first phase of the UDRP and consists of ten stages. The key outputs of the Review will be a Security Policy Framework Paper, a Defence Policy, and a Defence White Paper. The first document provides a broad framework for analysing Uganda's security problems and determining the various options available to the Government to address these problems. Defence Policy sets out the specific roles and responsibilities for defence within that framework and gives broad direction on how they are to be achieved. The White Paper explains how the armed forces should be organised and the Government's vision for professionalising them.

Methodology

The methodology for the Defence Review is based on a generic model developed by the UK Defence Advisory Team (DAT) that has been adapted to meet Uganda's requirements.

The methodology is specifically designed to:

- Provide a practical framework for examining Uganda's security problems and possible policy responses, particularly in the defence sector.

- Promote Ugandan ownership of the Review process by encouraging broad cross-governmental participation and open debate.
- Ensure there is a clear record of all decisions made by the participants so that the final recommendations can be implemented.

The methodology will not of itself provide a ‘solution’ to the complex security problems facing Uganda. But it is intended to help build greater understanding and consensus by those across Government responsible for security on how to address these problems.

Schedule of Activities

Stage 1 of the Defence Review comprised a number of activities associated with the **Launch of the Defence Review** in June 2002.

Stages 2-4 are the **Strategic Security Assessment phase** of the Review. The objective of this phase of work was to develop a broad understanding of the possible security threats that Uganda may face in the future (including military and non-military threats) and how the Government can address them most effectively.

The key output will be a **Security Policy Framework Paper**. This paper will reflect the results of a meeting of high-level representatives from different Government departments and agencies that took place in early November 2002. They discussed the role of their respective departments and agencies in addressing Uganda’s security problems.

The focus of **Stage 5** is on producing a **Defence Policy**. This work is being guided by the general analysis of security threats contained in the Security Policy Framework Paper that will provide the basis for a more detailed focus on military threats and missions.

Stage 6 work consists of a more detailed assessment of defence requirements. The focus is on determining the UPDF’s **operational requirements**: What size army do we need? What kind of equipment? How should our armed forces be organised? Where should they be deployed? For what roles should they train?

Stage 7 will examine the UPDF’s **non-operational requirements**. These relate to financial and personnel management systems; logistics and procurement; policymaking capacity; internal and external accountability systems; civil-military affairs; and the welfare of our soldiers.

The output of these stages will be a detailed assessment of defence requirements that will need to be costed so their affordability can be determined. The report will present various 'options' for the Government to consider.

Assessment of Defence options will be the focus of **Stages 8 and 9**. A consultation document will be produced for circulation among the UPDF, the Ministry of Defence, the Cabinet and other relevant stakeholders.

Stage 10 will be the publication of the **Defence White Paper**, once it has been approved by Parliament. This will formally bring to an end the Review process. Working closely with the UPDF Headquarters, the DRU will then manage the implementation phases of the Uganda Defence Reform Programme.

ANNEX B – National Security Council Act, 2000 (to be inserted)

ANNEX C – Definitions of key terms *(alphabetical order....)*

- Security
- Drivers
- Threat - A threat can be defined as capacity, capability, intention or will to undermine law and order, public security or constitutionalism.
- Stakeholders
- Intensities
- Scenarios
- Poverty line - This is a measure of the amount of money that an individual needs to meet certain basic needs like food, shelter, clothing and medical care.
- Public expenditure - Total of government and donor expenditure included in the budget and the medium term expenditure framework that implement the prioritizing public expenditure and poverty eradication. Here expenditure financed by government, budget support by donors and donor projects are included.
- Inflation
- Globalisation - is a process through which economic, political, social and cultural relations are intensified among nations with technology and power playing key roles in its progress.
- Depth factor
- Solar office

ANNEX D – Threat rankings and descriptions

25 key threats of varying intensities, which the Government should be prepared to address, were identified during the ‘strategic security assessment’ phase of the Defence Review. These threats are first ranked in terms of their overall importance. Then a more detailed description of each threat is provided.

Threat ranking

1. Border Insecurity - Regular military bodies (Raids to Full-scale invasion)
2. Destabilising External Influences –Active hostility
3. Border Insecurity - Major illegal movements of goods/people
4. Political Instability – Tensions
5. Civil Disaster – Major Event(s)
6. Internal Security – Tensions
7. Environmental Stress/Resource Constraints – Inadequate Resource Available
8. Civil Disaster – Serious Event(s)
9. Internal Security – Breakdown
10. Destabilising External Influences – Passive indifference (Reasonable Impact)
11. Social Polarisation – Fluid
12. Social Polarisation – Severely Polarised
13. Human Underdevelopment – Fairly Literate & Trained Society
14. Economic Shocks & Stress – Medium Sustainable Growth
15. Political Instability - Warlord competition through arms rather than popular mandate
16. Economic Shocks & Stress – Economic Collapse
17. Environmental Stress/Resource Constraints – Severe Resource Scarcity
18. Social Polarisation – Good Social Relations.
19. Internal Security – Minimal Threat
20. Environmental Stress/Resource Constraints – Sufficient Resource Available
21. Border Insecurity - Common Transgression
22. Human Underdevelopment – Underfed, Malnourished, Subsistence, etc.
23. Political Instability – Stable
24. **Needs to be added by Steve**

Threat descriptions

1. Border insecurity

Border Insecurity includes all those threats that may involve breaching or attempting to breach the borders of Uganda, like smuggling, illegal crossings, overt or covert invasion. In Uganda's case, this threat could manifest itself in four varying degrees.

- On a lighter side, is COMMON TRANSGRESSION which refers to a natural flow of people across the borders because of historical, cultural, economic and social factors. This is a common occurrence given the porous borders of Uganda, colonial demarcations and the community trade that takes place along the borders. As a threat, it has minimum impacts on both the individual and state but should be monitored to avoid being taken advantage of.
- When there is major movements of goods and people in violation of Uganda immigration, health, customs and security regulations this is a MAJOR ILLEGAL VIOLATION. Smuggling, drugs and human trafficking are some of the manifestations of this threat. It is a major menace to both individuals and state hence requires a comprehensive and integrated response.
- A situation where armed groups carry out incursions into Uganda across the borders referred to as IRREGULAR MILITARY ACTIVITY, can manifest itself in a guerilla group attacking a security encampment or communities along the border and putting the people's lives at stake. It is a major menace that requires a comprehensive and integrated response from security stakeholders. Given the porosity of Uganda's borders, the probability of the threat occurring is high and its impact on the Ugandan population would be high. Therefore it is among the high priority threats where Uganda needs to focus her resources.
- "REGULAR MILITARY ACTIVITY" implies a regular army of neighboring state or any other activity attacking and invading Uganda through any of all its borders. The probability of this happening is high and the impact is also high. In Uganda's case it is among the top priority threats which Uganda should concentrate her resources on.

2. Destabilising external influences

- Destabilising external influence is any threat whose source is outside Uganda and has an impact upon both the individual and state security. This could be as a result of the political, social, and economic policies of other states. This manifests itself in 2 varying degrees.
- The mild form of Destabilising External influence can be defined as PASSIVE INDIFFERENCE. This is where countries hostile to Uganda provide safe havens to groups opposed to the state and government, and such countries make policies hostile to the national interest of Uganda. This threat can manifest itself in forms of safe havens for anti Uganda elements, hostile propaganda, hostile policies, and arm-twisting. As a threat, it has high impact on the individual and state. There is need, therefore, for the stakeholders to design a focused way of responding to it.
- On the higher side there could be ACTIVE HOSTILITY, where parties or states external to Uganda openly and effectively support groups hostile to Uganda. As a threat it manifest itself in form of dissidents being trained and armed by the above parties, hostile propaganda within and without. It is highly likely to occur, has a high impact on Uganda both at individual and state levels. It is a crisis that may require assistance to contain the situation.

3. Environmental stress/Resource constraint

- Any factor which degrades the natural environment and resource base of Uganda upon which livelihoods and both the formal and informal economies depend, and exacerbates competition over resources. In Uganda, this could manifest itself mainly in three levels;
- At the lowest level, “SUFFICIENT RESOURCE AVAILABLE” is where Uganda sustainably exploits her waters, forests, oil, mineral, agricultural and other resources. It is likely to occur but its impact on Uganda is low. It is a minor menace which can be managed through focused response.
- At the middle level ‘INADEQUATE RESOURCE AVAILABILITY’ is a situation where there is high competition over resource that causes political instability and internal strife due to apparent unfair distribution. There could also be competition with neighboring states resulting in open war. The presence of

inappropriate technology, poor land tenure system, high population, inadequate education systems a land-lockedness, small country are the factors that could propel or cause favor this threat. It is highly likely that this threat will occur, it has a high negative impact on the security of the individual and state if it occurred hence, making it a high priority threat that need comprehensive and effective counter measures.

- The worst degree of this threat is “SEVERE RESOURCE SCARCITY” either as a result of an environmental shocks or some other factors like inappropriate technology, poor land tenure system, disasters, high population, poor land use and a small, land-locked country. The probability of this occurring is low although its impact would be high if it did, hence it calls for adequate preparations in terms of preventive measures.

4. Political Instability

- Includes tensions emanating from weak state institutions, poor governance and political competition that disrupt the functioning of government and the political process. This could manifest itself mainly in two levels.
- At a minimal level “POLITICAL TENSIONS”, disagreements between political players in as far as the management of state affairs is concerned. Such tensions cannot easily be resolved through political dialogue but through judicial intercession to overcome the difficulties. This may happen as a result of controversies around issues like political parties, political leadership, parliament, constitution, laws, policies and political succession. It is likely to occur and if it does the impact is very high so it needs a comprehensive and integrated response.
- In the extreme case, COMPETITION THOROUGH ARMS where competing political authorities are sustained through arms rather than popular mandate. This may result from contempt for the constitution, non-effective central government, factional armies or wars between the armies. Although the probability of it occurring is low, it is of a very high impact reaching crisis dimensions and therefore requiring external assistance if it occurred.

5. Civil Disaster

- “CIVIL DISASTER” refers to any disaster, whether man made or natural, that undermines the welfare of the population and requires emergency response by the civil authorities. Civil disaster could manifest itself mainly at the following levels:
- On a lower level “LOCALIZED PROBLEMS,” these are problems causing some destruction, that is limited in nature like temporary displacement of people and livestock. These localized problems have a high likelihood of happening but exist as a minor menace to property and state security. A focused response will be required at this level.
- Civil disaster could also manifest itself as “SERIOUS EVENTS”. These are events resulting in significant destruction and/or displacement of people and their property for instance, in cases of earthquakes, floods and persistent social strife in some parts of the country. In examining Uganda’s security environment within the next 10 – 15 years it is more likely to occur although it is a minor menace to individual and state security. Hence requiring focused response.
- In the worst case MAJOR EVENTS may occur. These are events that results in major displacement or destruction of people, livestock, their property and removing the people from their survival means of sustenance as in cases of genocide, major tribal armed clashes and cattle rustling. This threat is not likely to happen, but in case it does, it will be, of crisis dimension and therefore needs external assistance to contain.

6. Human Under-development

- This threat category refers to factors that constrain or undermine human development in terms of health, education, and access to basic needs e.g. clean water, balanced diet and adequate shelter. This threat is likely to manifest itself in two ways.
- At a Minimal degree, it is reflected in a FAIRLY ILLITERATE AND UNTRAINED SOCIETY. A situation whereby the population has fair literacy rates. In such a case, a substantial percentage of people is illiterate, access to information is limited because many people cannot read and write. There are limited skill levels among the population, poor infrastructure, technology is limited, and the standard of living of the people is low.

- At the other extreme “UNDERFED/MALNOURISHED AND A SUBSISTENCE POPULATION”, depicts a situation where the population is underfed, hungry malnourished, illiterate and in a subsistence rudimentary society. Factors that lead to the occurrence of this threat include illiterate people, scarcity of information, low skills, underdeveloped and poor infrastructure, diseases, poverty, low technology, short life span, low or no incomes and unemployment. This is a major menace to the state and individuals and requires a comprehensive and integrated approach.

7. Internal Insecurity

This covers a range of threats from crime, banditry, political oppression and armed insurgency and civil strife that impact upon the state security and that of its citizens.

- MINIMAL THREAT. Internal insecurity and it exists in minute and not so obvious dimensions. However, it must be monitored so as not to reach higher dimensions that pose danger to the general peace. Factors that cause this threat include petty thieves, thuggery, drug trafficking and misuse, limited, freedom of speech and association, mob justice, occasional labor action, sectarianism, land conflict, traditional cattle rustling, street children and porous borders. The existence of this threat may pose a minor menace. However, it is important to monitor this threat as a preventive measure.
- “TENSIONS” represents an intense case of the internal insecurity. It is a situation where specific major problems are localized to individuals impacting on state security. Factors that may lead to this threat include religious extremism, weak civil society, persistent, social strife, dictatorship at different levels, epidemics, cross border crime, secessionist tendencies, terrorism, economic sabotage, corruption, social dislocation due to rapid and imbalanced economic growth, poor terms and conditions of service in security forces, unemployment, land tenure and succession of the president. This threat poses major menace to personal and state security and should be managed through focused response.

8. Economic Shocks And Stress

These are threats to the productive capacity of Uganda that constrain economic growth and factors that undermine external trade relations and economic infrastructure.

- At low level, Uganda could face a situation of “MEDIUM ECONOMIC GROWTH.” This is similar to the situation Uganda is facing now. Factors that could cause this threat include a limited revenue base, relatively high population growth rates, large informal economy, high levels of donor funding, and a low industrial base. This threat poses a minor menace but has to be monitored and corrective measures taken to avoid its deterioration.
- At the worst level “ECONOMIC COLLAPSE” depicts a situation where Uganda’s formal economy has collapsed and is replaced by a subsistence and speculative economy. In such a situation, the central government exerts no influence over economic activities. Links with international financial institutions are ruptured. The factors that may cause the occurrence of this threat include:- negative effects of globalization, corruption HIV/AIDS, Macro-economic instability, poor infrastructure, limited exports, small sized economy and land locked ness, poverty, organized crime and terrorism.

9. Social Polarisation

Social Polarisation involves the break down of social cohesion due to the emergence of communal, religious and ethnic tensions, or mounting economic disparities between social classes. It manifests itself in the varying degrees.

- In a less form; Fluid Social Relations are relations where cohesion is steadily improving, but declining in others area and this situation can any time go to either side. The presence of religions fanaticism, HIV/AIDS, Gender imbalances, poverty, low industrial development lack of information breeds this threat. It is highly likely that Uganda can face situation in the next 10-15 years. The impact of this threat is reasonable on Ugandans. It therefore exists as a minor security menace that can be managed through focused response.
- The worst level of polarization is where the country is experiencing severely “POLARISED SOCIAL RELATIONS”.

Here the Ugandan Society is highly polarised by ethnic, religious, income, technology and other social factors resulting in violent conflicts.

- Factors under which this threat reveals itself include religious fanaticism, HIV/AIDS, gender imbalances, poverty, lack of information, labor immigration. As a threat it is not likely to occur although it has a high impact on society if it occurred. This is a major menace to the security of the state and the individual Ugandans, requiring comprehensive and integrated response.