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# Forward to Freedom

being

## THE MANIFESTO

of the

## DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH STUDIES

## FOREWORD

In 1775 13 British Colonies on the continent now known as America revolted against Britain because of unjust laws which Britain had made for the people living in those Colonies. A war was waged between Britain and the 13 Colonies which stood firmly together. The Colonies defeated Britain and the great American nation was born.

Fourteen years later, the people of France revolted against the Government of the day because of the unjust treatment meted out to them by those in authority. The people won and a Government based on principles acceptable to the people replaced the regime which had just been overthrown.

History abounds with similar facts and the lesson taught here is that where a group of people tries to suppress another by unjust laws and other devices the suppressed group after a time rises against the oppressors to regain its freedom. It will always be like this because it is innate in human nature to resent oppression.

The time for us to regain our freedom is NOW. The Muzungu must be told now in clearly understandable words that we want nothing less than self-government here in Uganda after the next General Elections.

For the last 70 years or so we have been subjected to so much oppression, suppression, exploitation and indignities of all kinds that our capacity for taking more has been exhausted. To our European rulers there are no ranks among us. A king among us is just another African with no difference whatsoever. I was once told of a story by an eye witness of a District Commissioner who, when touring his District with the African Ruler of that area, put the Ruler in the back of the lorry with the rest of the servants accompanying the District Commissioner when he (the District Commissioner) and an African Civil servant who was travelling with him sat in the cab with the driver. Another example of this kind of misconduct is the manner of the deportation of the Kabaka of Buganda in 1953. He was arrested at Government House where he had gone to confer with the Governor. He was not allowed to go back to his palace to take a spare pair of shoes, or another shirt, or to say good-bye to his family or to arrange his property. He was simply ordered alone to get on an aeroplane which was to take him to England where he was to be exiled until his death. In that plane the Kabaka found only a tooth-brush, a face-towel and a Passport. Many of us wept when we learnt of these things.

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The Democratic Party has sworn that such things should happen here no more, and the final and only remedy is Self-Government. There is no alternative. Let us all, therefore, join in this great struggle for our freedom. Divided we shall lose; but together, like the 13 American Colonies and the People of France we shall win without doubt.

BENEDICTO K. M. KIWANUKA,  
PRESIDENT-GENERAL,  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Kampala.  
11.4.60.

## INTRODUCTION.

The Democratic Party has found it necessary to tell the people of Uganda its policies, aims and objects; and the party now presents to you its manifesto.

All people in Uganda must realize that political progress in Uganda is to be developed on the lines of political parties and this is the modern acceptable system of Government in the world to-day. It is through political parties that we shall fight and win our independence and recognition as free peoples of the world. By this manifesto the Democratic Party is making its appeal to all people of Uganda, men and women, to join its army in order to fight against colonialism, illiteracy, poverty, social injustices and maladministration. The Democratic Party wishes all the African People of Uganda to realize that it is only we Africans that will help ourselves and therefore it appeals to all to be of good heart, to forget all our differences, and work for unity as brethren for the good of the Country.

## AIMS AND OBJECTS.

The Party is pledged:

1. To transform Uganda into a state in which people can live in harmony without fear, want, or discrimination based on tribe, religion or race.
2. To establish a democratically elected Government for the good of all the people in Uganda.
3. To maintain strongly the rule of law and justice based on recognition of human rights and respect for every individual's right to own property.
4. To create facilities whereby every individual can attain all the benefits of the land, wealth, health, education and all social amenities.
5. To see that Uganda prospers and advances in all spheres and attains a dignified position in the world. The Democratic Party pledges to do its utmost to see that these aims and objects are fulfilled and adhered to so that the people in Uganda may live in peace and tranquility.

## THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The Democratic Party attaches the greatest importance to the maintenance of high standards of efficiency in the country's Public Service. It will therefore pursue a policy which will keep



or bring the best men and women into the Public Service. While experienced and well-intentioned expatriates will not be supplanted, the Democratic Party will launch a vigorous 'Africanisation' programme. We are pledged to train local people for specific jobs in both Public and Private institutions, and not merely to wait until suitable Africans train and present themselves for advertised jobs as is the case under the present colonial regime. Ugandans will be attached to, and they will understudy Expatriate Staff recruited on contract. Also a much bigger number of students shall be sent abroad for training to take over positions of responsibility in Uganda. In the meantime where shortage of staff exists, new personnel will be recruited from all over the world to assist in the thorough and smooth running of the country. Your Democratic Party Government pledges itself that it will foster efficiency by eradicating corruption where it exists and by preventing the squandering of Public funds. The Democratic Party ensures you good Government by the people and for the people.

### ECONOMIC POLICY.

The people of Uganda, the electorate in particular, have a right to know what will be the Democratic Party's policy in economic matters if it is elected to take over the reigns of Government when Uganda achieves self-government in the very near future. It is therefore necessary and important that we put before you the Party's economic policy.

The Democratic Party wishes to point out that self-government will be meaningless:

1. If measures are not taken to develop and improve the country's economy to a level high and sound enough to stand the burden of self-government. This is because the success or failure of self-government and eventually of independence primarily depends on the development of our economy. Hence, as Uganda is still an underdeveloped country any economic policy must of necessity be an economic development policy.
2. If conditions conducive to sound economic development are not created in order:—

- (a) to attract foreign capital which is essential to the country's economic development;
- (b) to permit local enterprises to expand and local investors to reinvest in the country;
- (c) to enable public and private enterprise to co-operate so as to speed up development, and to enable each sector to undertake economic activities for which it is best

suitable in order to avoid duplication and prevent wasteful usage of the country's resources.

3. If enough attention is not paid to the establishment and encouragement of local industries.

And lastly self-government will mean nothing if education, social and health policies conducive to better and quicker economic development are not adopted as these policies must be of such a nature that will assist to stimulate and maintain the development desired.

### WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILL DO.

As its economic Policy the Party will aim at:—

- (a) Economic expansion.
- (b) Full employment.
- (c) Rational use of the country's resources.
- (d) Financial stability by a sound monetary policy.
- (e) Encouragement of foreign capital and local savings.
- (f) Free trade to stimulate competition and hence economic efficiency.
- (g) Expansion and improvement of railways, road and water transport.
- (h) Protection of locally produced goods.
- (j) Increased production of electricity and other sources of power.

In order Uganda to prosper and become a fully independent nation both politically and economically, and to enable the people of Uganda to attain better and higher standards of living, Uganda's economy must be based on a sound and solid foundation. The Democratic Party is determined and pledges itself to take all necessary measures to adopt such policies, through the above objectives as will make it possible for this end to be achieved. We pledge ourselves to work towards the reduction and elimination of poverty in Uganda.

### AGRICULTURE.

As one of the priorities in its economic programme the Democratic Party will pay particular attention to agriculture. This is because:—

- (a) Uganda is essentially an agricultural country and therefore its economy is based, and will continue to be based for some time to come, on agriculture.



- (b) Agriculture still provides the biggest part of our foreign earnings from agricultural exports—coffee, cotton, etc.
- (c) It is the main source of our food and income, and
- (d) It employs the biggest number of the country's population.

Because of the place that agriculture occupies in the country's economy the Democratic Party will take all steps to improve and increase agricultural productivity as by this our foreign earnings and farmers' income will be increased.

The Democratic Party Government, as a matter of policy, will see to it that:

1. The right agricultural crops are cultivated in appropriate quantities and in areas best suited for their cultivation.
2. More emphasis is put on agricultural scientific methods and mechanisation.
3. Agricultural experts are invited to assist in the development of agriculture.
4. The diversification of agriculture will be one of the major tasks to be tackled by the Democratic Party if in power, as this will help to make Uganda less vulnerable to fluctuations of world prices of agricultural products.
5. A Democratic Party Government will see to it that the farmers get the fruits of their labour and this will be achieved by selling their products at maximum possible prices.
6. The Democratic Party intends to eliminate unnecessary middlemen so as to realise the above objective of maximum prices to farmers and bring the exploitation of farmers by certain unscrupulous interests to an end.
7. The encouragement of co-operatives and other farmers' associations will be one of the agricultural objectives of the Democratic Party. This will greatly help growers to sell their products in the national and international markets so as to achieve the objective of maximum prices.
8. All efforts will be made to enable growers to own and manage more and more cotton ginneries and coffee curing mills.

### LAND BANK

Being aware of the difficulties confronting the growers, such difficulties as lack of money to improve and expand their farms and the shortage of labour at certain times, the Democratic Party

will take steps for the establishment of a Land and Agricultural Bank which will advance money to farmers to improve farming and particularly to mechanise agriculture as this will be one way of obviating the shortage of labour already referred to. As a first point in this direction our Government, in order to enable many farmers everywhere in the country to get a much higher income than they get now, will buy many tractors and hire them out to worthy farmers. This will help them increase the size of their cultivation at minimum cost. As the Democratic Party has pledged itself to diversify agriculture, the encouragement of diary farming will be one of the means to this end. The Democratic Party being alive to the problem of malnutrition, its government will encourage diary farming so as to produce enough milk, butter, eggs, etc. for the people of Uganda who have hitherto imported these essential food items.

### MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

Regarding secondary or manufacturing industries, it must be emphasised that no country can really be independent if such country has no manufacturing industries. This is because a country in this position will not be able to produce most of the goods it requires and therefore will always be dependent on other countries for such manufactured goods. The Democratic Party does not want to see Uganda remain in this position of economic dependence all the time. And to this end the Party wants to pursue a policy of early and quick industrialisation of Uganda with all the resources that will be at its disposal. Therefore our Party will see to it that:—

1. More factories to process raw materials produced in the country are set up to manufacture many of the goods Uganda presently buys from other countries.
2. Private investors are encouraged by creating conditions which will be conducive to them to invest more in local industries.
3. Adequate protection is given to local industries against unfair foreign competition which prevents the growth of our local industries and hence delays the early industrialisation of Uganda.
4. As more foreign capital is required in this field an assurance is given that the interests of foreign and local investors will be legally protected and there will be no public take over of property without full compensation. And foreign investors will have all opportunity to keep and use the benefits from their investments without unwarranted government interference.



5. Taxation will be in such a way that government will not unjustly tax profits made in the right way; and further, the system of taxation will be such that it will encourage reinvestment and that it will not lay unnecessary heavy burdens on those who have invested their money in the country and have greatly contributed to the economic development so far achieved.
6. Uganda commercial Banks will be established as soon as possible and practicable with the object of advancing money to African small traders who presently cannot make use of loan facilities offered by the existing banks so as to enable them to catch up with the already established traders.
7. In addition, a Central Bank will be established as soon as independence is achieved and through this Bank the monetary policy of the country will be directed.
8. Labour being a very important factor in a country's economy, the Democratic Party will not hesitate to take steps to improve the conditions of the workers and to see to it that the merciless exploitation of the working man in some quarters is brought to an end as soon as possible and that conditions conducive to good and healthy industrial relations are created. The by-product of healthy industrial relations is a sound economy.

### FREE ENTERPRISES.

It is an accepted fact that Uganda cannot achieve the envisaged economic development if African traders are not fully integrated into the commercial life of the country. If African participation in commerce remains so small and limited as it is to-day Uganda's economic development will be greatly impeded. This is why the Democratic Party pledges itself to take all necessary steps to ensure that Africans are given the facilities and opportunities as accorded to others which will enable them to play a bigger part in commerce.

It is a fact that African commercial activities have been hampered because of the very difficult circumstances in which they operate and carry on their businesses. Lack of sufficient capital either to start or to expand or to operate efficiently is one of the biggest obstacles in the way of African traders. The competition from long established non-African traders offers them little or no chance to go into business in a big and economic way. This is the crux of the problem of the African in business. And it is a problem our government will tackle with all the resources at its disposal.

While it will not be the object of the Democratic Party to displace non-African traders or discourage their entrepreneurship the Democratic Party will take suitable measures to enable African traders to establish themselves in business on a larger scale. The Party is of the opinion, shared by many people, that unless there is full integration of Africans in the commercial life of the country Uganda will not achieve the desired economic advancement and stability.

To achieve this end, therefore, the Democratic Party will make it one of its main economic concerns to promote Africans in commerce by greater direct financial assistance and more intensive and extensive technical advice in business. As a part of its education policy, the Democratic Party will pay particular attention to commercial education.

The Democratic Party wants to reiterate that it has no intention of displacing or discouraging non-African commercial activities as it acknowledges the great part played by non-Africans in the commercial life of the country. But the aim is to make it possible for Africans to have a bigger share in trade than they have at present and it will not flinch to adopt steps that will bring about this desired economic end. Restrictive and discriminatory practices will be ended forthwith as these practices are the real barriers between the people and their economic freedom.

Lastly, the Democratic Party will make all efforts to interest international bodies such as the World Bank and other United Nation's institutions in the economic development of Uganda. The invitation of economic experts to come and assist us in our economic development is one of the aims of the Party's economic programme.

### EDUCATION POLICY.

#### Introduction.

The provision of education is the most constructive means through which the people of Uganda can solve their own problems. The Democratic Party and indeed all the people of Uganda are deeply indebted to the Voluntary Agencies for the pioneering work they have done among other things in the field of education. We are indebted to the Government and the people of India and the United States of America for the goodwill they have shown in offering higher education facilities to our people. The Democratic Party Government will continue to cultivate and, indeed, improve on these good relations.



As soon as the Democratic Party is in power, it will launch a 10 years education programme to be completed in two stages of five years each to achieve the following.

#### *AIMS AND OBJECTS:*

In addition to the generally accepted aim of education namely: to teach the individual how to live and how to make a living, we will endeavour:—

- (i) to restore among our people some understanding of the dignity of man irrespective of race, colour, national origin or tribe, and respect for themselves, which has been undermined through several years of indoctrination by and contact with the cultural arrogance of Europe. We will, therefore, place more emphasis on indigenous cultures through music, art, language and other forms of spontaneous expression.
- (ii) Restore and inculcate in the minds of our young generation, the **dignity of labour**, which pseudo-European education has killed.

#### *MAJOR CONSIDERATIONS:*

(I) A Democratic Party Government will continue to support financially those schools which have been built and owned by voluntary agencies. The Democratic Party is of the opinion that the character and identity of these schools should not be destroyed.

(II) The Democratic Party will at the same time expand a system of common state schools to which children of all sections of the community may go. The aim will be, not to compete with the existing schools, but to provide parents with the alternatives of non-racial and non-denominational education.

#### *PRIORITIES: WHAT TASKS SHALL WE TACKLE FIRST?*

I. We shall as a matter of extreme urgency make provision for the rapid training both in East Africa and abroad of a cadre of men and women whom Uganda badly needs to occupy executive and administrative positions both in Government and private enterprise. In this connection your Democratic Party Government will press for the establishment at an early date of a school of Public and Business Administration at Makerere University College.

II. We shall make every endeavour to provide free education at first to all children up to the VIth. grade and ultimately free and compulsory education to every child of Uganda to the 8th. year. This means more schools and more teachers. At the moment more than 1,000,000 (1 million) children of school age have no schools where to go and so they remain uneducated. A considerable sum of money will therefore be required to carry

out this programme. Accordingly, to make the plan a success we intend to raise loans from friendly countries abroad.

III. Your Democratic Party Government will allow funds for the expansion of Extra-Mural work to all parts of Uganda, which is now limited by the Imperial power to the Eastern and Buganda Provinces only.

IV. Makerere University College will be expanded and transformed into the University of Uganda.

V. The backbone of Uganda consists of the producers and the workers. We are therefore pledged to place greater emphasis on Agricultural, technical and commercial education than the Imperial government has hitherto done.

VI. Before we shall have succeeded to expand Makerere College to be big enough to take all our Uganda students who can benefit from a University education we shall set aside a sum of money sufficient to take abroad and maintain there all those other students who will not have gone to Makerere because of lack of facilities.

VII. Women's education and the training of women for all forms of employment will receive the greatest attention. There will be equality of opportunity for education for everybody in the country.

VIII. *TEACHER TRAINING.* The answer to educational advance lies in provision of trained teachers. We shall therefore

(a) Revise the conditions of service of teachers to make the teaching profession more dignified and more attractive to capable young men, than the colonial power has been able to. (b) Teacher training centres will be improved and expanded. (c) We will make provision for the recruitment of highly qualified teachers from a wider field abroad, including other African countries. Our information is that highly trained fellow African teachers in South Africa are being debased by the Bantu Education Act introduced by the Apartheid regime there. We shall look into the possibility of offering them teaching jobs in Uganda.

Your Democratic Party Government knows that you want education more education and more education still!!! Therefore, in addition to the ordinary revenues available for education your Democratic Party Government proposes to raise money thus:

- (a) Now that the shackles of colonialism are being loosened from our hands, the Democratic Party appeals to every man and woman, every national of this blessed land of ours, to work harder, to produce more and better crops



as a means of raising the gross national income. Our imaginative economic policy makes provision for increased production, and higher levels of living.

- (b) We shall as already said, raise loans from friendly countries abroad for this sole purpose.

*BLESSED ARE THEY WHO STRUGGLE AND TOIL FOR THE SAKE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THEY WILL HAVE EVERLASTING SELF SATISFACTION IN A SELF-GOVERNING UGANDA.*

### SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY.

The Democratic Party has devoted time to the study of the social conditions and welfare of every man and woman in Uganda. The study has shown that there is an enormous amount of work to be done in this respect in order to enable every man in Uganda attain a fair enjoyment of good life. The Democratic Party is resolved to meet the challenge. It is resolved to get you and your children improved standards of living, comfort, assurance and opportunity.

**HOUSING.** The Democratic Party regards with special importance the necessity of good housing for the bulk of the nation. The Democratic Party if returned to power will encourage the building of good homes by providing easier and more generous building loans. Expert advice in the matter will be made available. The Democratic Party will regard it as a primary duty to see that every family has its own home in modern hygienic surroundings. In township and suburban areas, special effort will be made to deal with slum clearance. The Democratic Party is determined to create the best planned and administered towns and country-side for the people of this country.

**WATER.** It is public knowledge that water is one of Uganda's worst problems. While the Colonial administration provides water in the towns, the countryside and suburban districts are neglected, to the great detriment of the people, in comfort, health and efficiency. The Democratic Party is out to take the bull by its horns. Our plan is to universalize piped water for domestic purposes beginning with suburban areas and gradually extending the same to the countryside. In areas where piping is impracticable the Party's Programme is to improve on the borehole scheme now in use and clean up existing local wells and water holes to be healthy resevoirs of drinking water.

**LIGHT AND POWER.** The Democratic Party will encourage the supply of electricity to every household, and at a price as cheap as possible. This will not only mean a reliable source of light in the home but will ease the lot of the housewife in her domestic chores. Electric gadgets of every description such as irons, washing machines, kitchen implements, and other labour-saving appliances will have room in her household. This will give her more time to spend looking after the welfare of the household and will give the family as a whole greater opportunity to live together in the bonds of a happy family life.

**GENERAL HEALTH.** The strength of our Nation depends on the health of our people. The Democratic Party therefore plans to expand the health services by expanding the existing as well as creating new health centres and hospitals to cater for the health of the community. Medicines will be supplied free or at nominal prices. Visiting health workers and advisers will be available to you wherever you live. Legislation on the advice of health experts will be enacted to ensure that all possible sources of disease and infection are exterminated. The Democratic Party is determined in particular to wage a relentless war against the Malaria Mosquito and other vermin wherever they occur.

**PUBLIC CATERING.** The Democratic Party will endeavour to ensure that public catering places are run on hygienic and pleasant standards. We intend to afford expert advice to public caterers from both a health and pleasure point of view. Opportunities will be created for easy and generous loans in this respect to deserving cases. The Democratic Party will also ensure that all food stuffs offered for sale to the public conform to health standards.

**CHILD WELFARE.** The Democratic Party believes in healthy children as the foundation of a healthy nation. The Democratic Party if returned to power will do its utmost to promote child welfare. More antenatal clinics and maternity centres will be built and equipped with the necessary staff. Children's after-care centres will be planned and established at reasonable distances. Child welfare services will be extended to the schools. In this connection the party will expand the school meal scheme to adequate standards.

**ROADS.** The Democratic Party will ensure that proper streets, roads and lanes are constructed and well maintained in all inhabited areas, not only for the ends of commerce, but for the very comfort of the people living in those areas. No longer will you have to wade to your house through muddy puddles. No longer need you travel along bumpy roads or dewy lanes.



**PUBLIC TRANSPORT SERVICES.** The Democratic Party will encourage the creation of public transport services, to serve all inhabited areas. If the Democratic Party is returned to power you shall not have to walk long distances in order to avail yourself of a taxi or bus. We plan to have these in your village and township.

**RECREATION.** The Democratic Party believes in recreation as a powerful contributor to the health of the nation. If returned to power, our Party will co-operate with the existing sporting organisations to advance public recreation. Funds will specially be provided for this purpose. Open spaces and Parks where you can take your family for leisure or a day's rest will be created and maintained. Youth holiday camps will be specially encouraged.

**PUBLIC ASSISTANCE.** The Democratic Party, when in power, will do its utmost to assist and aid voluntary organisations devoted to the assistance of the needy and afflicted. In this direction, the Party will set up a special commission to study and report to government upon the best means of solving the problem.

**FAIR LABOUR STANDARDS.** The Democratic Party is of the opinion that the minimum wage standard for the ordinary unskilled labourer in Uganda is very low at the present moment. If returned to power, therefore, the Democratic Party pledges itself to raise it to a reasonable standard.

**MIGRATORY WORKERS.** The Democratic Party shall support legislation providing for the protection and improvement of the general welfare of migratory workers.

**JOBS FOR DEPRESSED AREAS.** The Democratic Party pledges itself to support legislation providing for an effective programme to promote industry and create jobs in depressed rural areas so that such areas may be brought up to economic stability.

**KARAMOJA.** Special efforts will be made to persuade the people of this area to allow their children to go to school. Like everywhere else in Uganda a sufficient number of schools will be built immediately in this area to enable all children there to get education. There cannot be any progress, be it social, economic or political, among any community of people if those people are denied education. Accordingly this Party feels that the present Government policy of non-entanglement with regard to this area is utterly bad and must be discontinued.

The Democratic Party stands for your health. The Democratic Party stands for your comfort. The Democratic Party stands for your prosperity.

## EXTERNAL RELATIONS.

The Democratic Party will not align itself with any of the Big Powers in their international power tensions but will steer along the path of peace, common understanding and brotherhood of man. The Democratic Party will aim at establishing friendly relations with all peace loving notions of the world for trade, education, and social welfare and for the promotion of the nation of the oneness of man.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY ATTITUDE AND VIEWS IN BRIEF ON VARIOUS AFFAIRS.

#### NON- AFRICANS.

1. The Democratic Party notes the value of the part played by Non-Africans in the development of this country and the importance of their being represented in the Legislature of Uganda at the present time and the Party accordingly endorses the recommendations laid down in the Wild Report concerning this point as a temporary measure. The Democratic Party further considers that a Citizenship law should immediately be made once the country has attained self-Government in order to embrace non-Africans eligible to become Uganda Citizens. Those who are not eligible or who do not wish to take Uganda Citizenship will be allowed to stay and carry on their business just like any other individual. Their interests will be looked after by our Government in the same way as are the interests of those other aliens living in foreign civilised countries all over the world.

#### FOREIGN CAPITAL.

2. All foreign capital brought into the country on purely commercial or humanitarian terms and which brings mutual benefit to the investors as well as to the people of Uganda is welcome and will be safeguarded.

#### HEAD OF STATE.

3. For the sake of stability and democracy the Democratic Party upholds the principle that the Head of State must be supported by the citizens of that country themselves and cannot be imposed upon them. As the public knows (See Appendix A) the Democratic Party has already considered certain arrangements for the institution of Head of State of Uganda according as the people of Uganda may decide when framing the Constitution. These considerations, intended to enlighten public opinion, are that the country may be headed by:—

- (a) an elected monarchy from among the present hereditary rulers;



- (b) a four-man council of state comprising one representative from each of the present provinces;
- (c) an elected President;
- (d) A Governor General.

The Democratic Party will support any such arrangement so long as it is the indisputable choice of the Uganda people.

#### *HEREDITARY RULERS AND OUR TRADITIONS.*

4. The customs and traditions of the people are the life blood and backbone of every nation. The Democratic Party will uphold and at all times maintain the dignity of our customs, traditions, and the identity of every tribal group. Your Democratic Party has led the way in trying to harmonize the position of the traditional rulers to fit properly into a self-governing Uganda. We pledge ourselves to continue to do this and therefore do repeat our earlier Statement on this subject:—

"Hereditary Rulers will continue to be the heads of their respective Kingdoms with all their rights, liberties, privileges and immunities as heretofore enjoyed."

And to secure this we have suggested in another statement that "An entrenched Clause safeguarding the present status of the existing Hereditary Rulers within their respective domains, should be embodied in the Constitution." To this we add that provision should also be made in the Constitution preventing change or amendment of such a Clause without the consent of the Eishyengero, Rukurato or Lukiiko as the case may be.

#### *FEDERAL OR UNITARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT.*

5. In September, 1958, this party issued a statement to the effect that it will be up to the Uganda people as a whole to decide on the form of government Uganda will ultimately have; and that this should be done at the time of framing the Constitution. In order that when such time comes for them to decide on this very important question they can do so wisely, the Democratic Party has, in the meantime (See appendix A), undertaken to enlighten the people of Uganda as to what implications a Unitary or Federal form of Government will mean in an independent Uganda and to its people.

#### *EXPATRIATE STAFF.*

6. The Democratic Party realizes the usefulness and importance of the services of the expatriate staff now and in future. The Democratic Party will not displace anybody for local staff without proper compensation provided he or she qualifies for it.

#### *COMMONWEALTH.*

The Democratic Party recognises our country's ties with the commonwealth now and in the future. As long as the commonwealth continues to be for mutual benefit to all parties concerned the Democratic Party intends to make Uganda a member of the commonwealth and the Democratic Party will continue to support that relationship.

#### *RELATIONS WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES.*

8. The Democratic Party will support and work in co-operation with other African states so as to fight for and preserve our common interests. The Democratic Party Government will assist and do all in its power to enable African countries where the African is still under foreign domination or oppression to be free.

#### *EAST AFRICAN HIGH COMMISSION.*

9. While appreciating the desirability for economic co-operation between Uganda and her neighbours, the Democratic Party is, as a matter of principle, opposed to any imposed type of association be it political, economic or otherwise; and is further opposed to any association in which Uganda will not participate as an equal partner, and whereby other parties or interests are enriched at our expense.

The Democratic Party recognizes that the East African High Commission is an imposed colonial creation which has never had the support of the Uganda people and whose benefits are not equitably shared in East Africa.

In view of the above the Democratic Party, when returned to power, will thoroughly revise the present economic partnership as governed by the East African High Commission.

#### *CIVIL RIGHTS.*

10. The Democratic Party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Ugandans. We subscribe to the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy all political rights. They should have equal opportunities for education, for economic advancement, and for decent living conditions.

We shall not countenance discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. We know this task requires action, not just in one section of the Nation, but in all sections. It requires the co-operative efforts of individual citizens as well as action by local governments. The Democratic Party pledges itself



to continue its efforts to eliminate illegal discriminations of all kinds, in relation to (i) full rights to vote, (ii) full rights to encourage in gainful occupations, (iii) full rights to enjoy security of the person, and property and (iv) full rights to education in all public institutions.

We emphatically affirm our support of the principle that Government ought to be of laws and not of men.

#### THE JUDICIARY.

11. The Democratic Party is pledged to see that the Judiciary is and remains completely independent. Our Government will never interfere in the affairs of, or exert pressure on, judges or magistrates in their judicial function.

#### REPEAL OF BAD OR OUTMODED LAWS.

There are at the present moment many outmoded laws on the statute-book of Uganda. There shall be a thorough investigation in this respect and all oppressive laws which are now in force shall be repealed immediately. There should be, for example, an end to the deporting of people. A man should be convicted, where he has committed an offence, and sentenced; otherwise he is entitled to freedom. Illegal arrest by the police which is rife in Uganda now should be checked; the law relating to Co-operative Societies needs overhauling and some of the powers withdrawn; the law relating to what is now known as Crown Land should be repealed and new provision which will be in line with modern thinking made in respect thereto. This Party feels that this land belongs to the people of Uganda and not to the Crown of England, etc.

#### APPENDIX A.

#### VIEWS ON FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND HEAD OF STATE.

At the present time Uganda's political progress is stagnated by the questions of what form of government Independent Uganda will adopt and who will be Head of State.

Today the Head of State here is Her Majesty the Queen represented by the Governor.

The Wild Committee in its Report recommended that Uganda should have a measure of self-government not later than early 1961 by having a majority of representative members on the Legislative Council and a Chief Minister, who should be the leader of the majority in the Assembly. On Hereditary Rulers the Report said that the existing Agreements made between the

Rulers and the Queen should continue to govern the relations between the Central Government and the Kingdom governments as hithertofore until a conference is convened after the recommended elections. The Kingdom states, however, prefer to deal with the questions of Form of Government and Head of State before we go to the elections.

Realising that the two matters are of the greatest importance to us all and that most people do not understand exactly what is involved I have decided to write at some length, for the guidance of the general public, concerning the main difference between a Federal and a Unitary government showing the advantages and disadvantages of each and to give some considered views on the question of Head of State.

#### A. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

##### FEDERAL OR UNITARY.

The difference between the two:

##### (a) FEDERAL.

The essential characteristics of federalism are the division of powers between the nation (Federal Government) on the one hand and the individual states on the other, and the supremacy of the constitution. The Constitution must be a written one and so tightened in its provisions that extraordinary measures must be adopted for its amendment and the Federal Courts act as the interpreters of that Constitution.

##### (b) UNITARY.

In a nation with a Unitary Government there are no separate states with similar powers as in a Federal state. Here, the supreme authority is concentrated in the hands of one sovereign power, i.e. Parliament or King (King-in-Parliament) or President.

##### (c) GENERAL.

In a Federal state the tendency is to limit on every side the action of Government and to split up the strength of the state among co-ordinate and independent authorities. This means that there must be within the bigger whole small self-governing states with defined powers and in whose internal affairs the Federal Government is, under the Constitution, not allowed to interfere. There must, therefore, be two prerequisites before a Federal state can come into existence: Firstly, there must be some self-governing states or provinces; and secondly, these small states or provinces must have a desire for union but not unity. That is to say, the people



in the separate states must have a sentiment to form, for many purposes, a single nation, but yet, not wish to surrender the individual existence of each state or province. There must be a determination to maintain the independence of each separate state under the Common Government.

If, therefore, Uganda were to adopt a Federal Form of Government one of two things must take place first, namely: -

- (i) Provinces must be raised to statehood with legislative assemblies and have Ministers appointed on the lines of Buganda or something of the kind with an African head called Administrator or Governor or some other appropriate name; or, if this be found to be too difficult owing to language factor and/or tribal characteristics, then,
- (ii) Each District should become a state in which case Provinces will have to be abolished. But this means that each of these Districts will have to raise money to pay its Governor, its Ministers and all the administrative staff, as well as for all its social services like education, hospitals, roads, prisons, police, courts, etc.

In a country with limited resources such as Uganda at the present moment it is difficult to foresee universal progress in social life in all states if, in order to have a federal form of government, districts will have to be formed into states following their existing boundaries. It would be different if the other three provinces were to be induced to agree to form themselves into single states each, as is suggested above in (i), so that Uganda would have four, instead of 13 or 14 states. I say the other three Provinces because Buganda at the moment is herself a state and needs no adjustment in any particular. Unless this were done the prospect of having ten (10) Governors (i.e. one each for West Nile, Bugisu, Bukedi, Teso, Karamoja, Kigezi, Busoga, Acholi, Lango, and Mbale Township) in addition to the four Hereditary Rulers (Buganda, Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro), with probably six (6) Ministers in each state, following Buganda, which shall mean something in the region of 84 Ministers in all, is very bewildering to say the least. And when you consider that all these Ministers shall wish to receive salaries commensurate to the position of Minister and to have a big car (again following Buganda) for their private use the situation becomes very difficult to comprehend. Only one thing can be foreseen with any degree of certainty and that is that for some considerable time the ordinary man will be called upon to pay more than four times the amount of tax which he pays at present and the money will be used on nothing else but salaries

of officers of state and in building their offices and accommodation. It is impossible to foresee any improvement in social conditions in most states unless in those particular states taxes will have gone up about ten times. But there is an appropriate question here: Where will the people get the money from to pay these taxes?

There are people who have said that those who, like myself, think that Federal Government would need more people and more money are wrong. I fail to see how this can be so. It is not enough in a federal Government to put the power to change the Constitution in the hands of local Governments. The essence of federalism is the division of powers and the supremacy of the Constitution. The powers referred to here are not merely those of changing the Constitution but those enabling the states to function as completely independent Nations in their domestic affairs. If the Constitution does not restrict the Central Government in its activities regarding things such as education, health services, roads, police, etc., then the form is Unitary and not Federal. If it does and those items are the sole concern of the states the form is Federal and not Unitary and I cannot see how you can escape to have 14 Ministers of education, 14 Finance Ministers, etc. in the 14 states which make up the Federal State, and if you are to have them can you say that Federalism does not need more people and more money to maintain?

In a Unitary State, however, there is a saving in manpower and money. Here in Uganda there would be very little change in the set up existing to-day if we were to adopt a Unitary form of Government. Were it to be found necessary to establish new ministries, these could not be more than 7 or 8. This is quite a saving in manpower and money when compared to the 84 new ministries plus 10 Governorships which would spring up if we were to adopt a federal form of government on a tribal basis. The country would, with a Unitary form of government, lessen its expenses by abolishing Provincial Administrations and retaining only District Councils to deal with local affairs. At the present time Provincial Administration is an unnecessary drain on the country's revenue. What useful purpose, for example, does it serve to have a Provincial Police Headquarters with a staff of about five senior Police Officers when all they do is to pass on orders from the Police Headquarters in Kampala to other subordinate officers stationed (in many cases) in the same building? I maintain that these orders from Kampala could get to the District unit direct without first passing through the hands of these other officers.

Social services could be improved throughout the country by the Central Government from the Central fund of the Government



in a unitary state, but this would be impossible in a federal state because such services are the sole concern of each state and each one must look to its own treasury for such improvement.

What, then, is the answer?

It is this:

Let us embrace federalism if the majority prefer it. It will definitely keep the identities of our tribes, but it will also keep the language factor perpetually unsolved, keep many areas perpetually backward and cost every one of us an excessively big amount of money to run. I should add here that if we are having a federal form of government we should agree to have it on a provincial rather than on a district basis because then we stand to gain, as we have already seen, a considerable reduction in the number of state ministers and state governors. Money saved there could be utilised to build schools or other things of more value to the people.

If this be found to be too complicated and expensive let us then go in for the only remaining alternative which is Unitarism. It is good, simple and cheap to run.

Sir Andrew Cohen and his Highness the Kabaka of Buganda had this to say in 1953 in a joint statement made by them regarding reforms in Uganda at that time: "Uganda has been developed as a unitary state all along and we feel it should continue to be so developed". But there is some widespread fear here. It is feared that in a Unitary state it will not be easy to safeguard securely enough the positions of our Hereditary Rulers. Writing in *New Day*, 25 3 60, on this very subject ARTHUR FRENCH of Makerere University College said "So we should support the wish of a nation (or tribe) to keep their traditions and their rulers. If there is a good way of doing this without a federal constitution the opponents of federalism should describe it."

Earlier on in the same article Mr. FRENCH had said:

"If there are to be any 'basic rights' in the constitution of Uganda, then those parts of the constitution must be difficult to change. There is no safety in saying 'The Government of Uganda may not pass laws about the position of the hereditary rulers' if that basic law can be changed by a vote of the central government. It is safer to put the power to change (or the power to prevent change) in the hands of local governments, who must all—or nearly all—agree before changes are made. If power to change the constitution is divided in this way, then the constitution is probably a federal one, but in the day-to-day running of the country there need not be much difference from the work of a Unitary state."

In this passage Mr. FRENCH has answered himself. The procedure he describes is a good way of keeping the traditions and the Hereditary Rulers without a federal constitution. Mr. French failed to see this himself because he failed to grasp the essence of federalism in the first place. It is not the power, as we have already seen, to change the constitution which marks federalism; it is rather the division of power concerning certain services and the nature of the restrictions imposed upon the central as well as the state governments regarding the right to legislate on them. It is meaningless to say that the country will have a federal constitution but will be run as a unitary state. The proper thing to say is that the state will be unitary but with a written constitution containing provisions which will adequately protect the positions of Hereditary Rulers.

At the present moment the country is run on a unitary basis as both Sir Andrew and the Kabaka observed in 1953 and yet the positions of our Hereditary Rulers are protected under the device of the Agreements now in force. What, therefore, we need in the new set up is a provision in the constitution, to safeguard these positions and make that provision so secure that all fears will be dispelled. This provision shall serve the purpose now served by these Agreements.

Kingdom states should have no fears about their identity. The Constitution could make the different Nkurato, the Eishyengero and the Lukiko inviolable and provide that those institutions are sacrosanct and may not be abolished or interfered with in any way by the Central parliament except with their consent.

Buganda stands in a special position today. There are many causes for this. In size she is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times as big as Lango, Toro or West Nile, and 10 times as Bukedi or Bugisu. In population Buganda has  $5\frac{1}{2}$  times as many people as each of those Districts. In wealth she is on a plane just of her own. She is by this very reason in a position to do many things which other Districts cannot do. Emulation of her, therefore, by other Districts should be restricted to essentials only. She should keep her present government set up and so should Toro, Bunyoro and Ankole. The powers which they have should be retained following Sir Winston Churchill's dictum that "what we have we hold". Everything seems to be running very smoothly when these states have these powers and one can foresee no danger in their being retained by these kingdoms even in a unitary state. District Councils should be modernised, given perhaps some additional powers over local matters than they have now and put directly under a Minister of the Central Government concerned with local administration.



I have talked about the safeguards that should be contained in our Constitution regarding our Hereditary Rulers and their Parliaments. It should be clearly understood that it is quite possible to achieve this without having a federal government. This is how it could be done. At the present time the relationship between the British Administration in Uganda and the Kabaka's Government is governed by the provisions of the Uganda Agreement, 1900, and Buganda Agreement, 1955. That of Ankole, of Bunyoro and of Toro by their respective Agreements. After Independence these Agreements will become obsolete because Her Majesty the Queen with whom (or in whose name) they were made will no longer have any say in the affairs of Uganda. But before these Agreements will come to an end, that is to say, before Independence, some new provision will be made in a section or a number of sections in our Constitution. Just as today those agreements constitute the basic law of the land where they apply e.g. Accession to the Throne, private ownership of land, etc. in Buganda, the Constitution of Uganda will form the basic law of Uganda and nothing done in contravention thereof will be valid or of any effect whatsoever. This is what is called the supremacy of the Constitution. It should not be imagined that there cannot be "supremacy of the Constitution" in a Unitary state. In England today where the government is of a unitary nature it is constitutionally provided that no Judge of the High Court may be dismissed except by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. Yet no one can say or believe that if the Queen sent a letter today to the Lord Chief Justice of England dismissing him from the office of Chief Justice the latter could collect his belongings and go away. The measure would be unconstitutional and no one could obey it. Yet that is not a federal government. It is therefore possible for a similar thing to be done here.

This constitution—the basic law of the land—could provide as I have said before that the person of the Kabaka that of the Omugabe and of the Abakama, their powers and privileges which they at present enjoy and which they have always enjoyed shall be preserved and left within the sole jurisdiction of the Parliaments of their respective kingdoms; that the Central Government shall have no power to make laws concerning those matters whatsoever; and that no amendment to this provision, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this Constitution or any other law made hereafter by the Central Government unless such amendment is made with the consent of the native Parliament of the area concerned. This would, in my view, be adequate provision to protect the traditions and the rulers of these ancient kingdoms and I think this is what ARTHUR FRENCH of Makerere University College wanted. But the Government would still be unitary just as it is today because apart from making secure the positions of

our Hereditary Rulers of those states and making provision to preserve the existing parliaments therein, the responsibility of the Central Government over roads, education, medical services etc, would remain. If another example is required I shall quote the provisions of the Act of Union of South Africa. There, four self-governing Republics came together under the Act of Union in 1910. The merger did not destroy the identity of the four Republics although the name Republic was changed to that of Province. The Act of Union provided that each Province should have an Administrator and a Council of elected members to deal with certain matters concerning the province. This Act of Union also contained an entrenched clause concerning the Coloured Voters of the Cape Province, which provision, the Act said, could not be amended without certain conditions being first fulfilled. Those former states of Natal, Transvaal, Cape of Good Hope and the Orange River, have kept their identity although the latter two have changed their names to Cape Province and Orange Free State respectively. The country has a unitary government. The United Kingdom may be cited again as an example. The Government is unitary but Northern Ireland which is part of the United Kingdom has a Parliament of her own and a Prime Minister, and Scotland has a separate Judicial system from that which applies in England and Wales. I think this is conclusive evidence that it is possible to make special arrangements to protect permanently certain interests in a unitary state.

As I said in the beginning these views are given not as a commendation in favour of this or that form of government but merely as a guide to the public to enable them to make a good choice when the time comes.

## B. HEAD OF STATE

In September, 1958, the Democratic Party issued a Statement in which it was said that the person who will be Head of an Independent Uganda would be chosen by the people of Uganda when the time arrived. This is still the opinion of the Party.

When we said in January this year in another statement that as for Head of State the people of Uganda might consider having a Council of State of 4 people, one person coming from each of our four Provinces, the intention was simply to suggest to the public that was one of several possibilities open to them. The present intention is to add to what was said then and make further suggestions.

What should be understood quite clearly at the outset by everyone is that the time has not yet come for an African Head of State to be appointed. What is going to happen after the next



general elections is that the Legislative Council will be controlled by the leader of the majority and that leader will head the next government under the Governor. A few years later that Government will set a date for complete Independence. When this Independence has been achieved the question will then arise whether we remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations or go out completely. That would have been the proper time to talk about who should be Head of State and not now, but since many people wish to be Head of State and not now many people wish to hear the views of political parties at this moment on the matter we will give them.

So far we all seem to be agreed that after Independence we shall remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations. At least we of the Democratic Party have categorically stated that that is the course we shall take if all things are going well. But even in this case, the question still arises of who will represent the Queen in Uganda. Should we have a Governor-General appointed by the Queen on the advice of the Government of Uganda like the one in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, or Pakistan, elected by the people of Uganda? If we choose to have a Governor-General appointed by the Queen on the advice of the Uganda Government the question of who will become Head of State might stand solved for as long as the people of this country shall wish. I say this because, to take Canada as an example, that country first became a self-governing Dominion 93 years ago, that is to say in 1867 and yet up till this day the country still has a Governor-General. Like the Queen whom he represents, he does not have the power to act on his own on any matter like, for instance, the President of the United States. Rather he is completely constitutional and acts only on the advice of the Cabinet of the country. In such a case the Queen remains the Head of State.

Should, however, the idea of Governor-General not be accepted by our people then we shall have to choose between having a Monarch or a President or council of state of several people. Of these three only the Council of State proposition presents any difficulty. To elect a King for Uganda requires, as things stand today, a plebiscite and when the required majority is obtained in favour of a particular individual he becomes King of Uganda immediately. It is the view of this Party that if the people were to wish to elect a King for Uganda this election should be confined to the four Royal Houses of Uganda, as it would be out of keeping if commoners were also to stand. As for a President there are usually two methods of electing him.

- (a) By the general electorate of the country as in the United States, or

- (b) By the National Assembly as in Switzerland. In this case it is open to anybody to stand for election.

With the Council of State the whole thing becomes very complicated. Our suggestion that we might have a 4-man Council of State was seen as an easy way out of an awkward situation but certainly it is not the most ideal one. This plan was that the Kabaka of Buganda would always represent Buganda. The 3 Rulers from the Western Province would take it in turns, so that only one of them would sit on this council at any given time, and one person chosen from each of the two remaining Provinces. Some people have objected to this plan on the grounds that it belittles the 3 Hereditary Rulers of the Western Province. They suggest, therefore, that this Council of State should consist of 13 people, that is to say, that each District in the Protectorate should bring one representative which means 12 people and the Kabaka of Buganda should bring the number up to 13. (Mbale Township seems to be forgotten by these people).

The question which presents itself immediately is: What are their duties? Or to put it more clearly, What is this Council of State going to do? If it is intended to have the members of this Council act together in matters which a Governor-General or a President does the process is bound to be a very complicated one and it will require an expert to prepare their constitution. The only country which came near this situation is the Federation of Malaya. But here also it was found impracticable for the nine Sultans to work jointly as Head of State and the solution arrived at was to have them elect among their number a Head of State for five years. H.H. Thanku Abdul Rahman ibni Almarhum Tuanku Muhammad, K.C.M.G., was elected in 1957 to head the State until 1962. Perhaps we could do that also. Get the 13 members of this Council to elect the Head of State. But here Buganda with one vote will be grossly underrepresented. Also the 4 Kingdom states as a whole will be underrepresented since between them they have about half the population of the country but will only have 4 votes as against nine or ten (10) depending on whether Mbale Township is given a vote or not.

This should be noted very carefully by those concerned.

BENEDICTO K. M. KIWANUKA,  
PRESIDENT-GENERAL,  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Kampala.  
11.4.60.