

ON THE MOVE-TO-THE-LEFT IN UGANDA 1969-1971

Research Report No. 26

Tertit Aasland

ON THE MOVE-TO-THE-LEFT IN UGANDA 1969-1971

The Common Man's Charter
- dissemination and attitude

"You all have been lucky and fortunate to be here tonight. You have witnessed the beginning of the discovery of the souls of blackmen of the continent of Africa."

President A.M. Obote in his closing speech at the UPC Annual Delegates' Conference, December 1969.

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ISBN 91-7106-083-9

Tertit Aasland and Nordiska afrikainstitutet 1974

Printed in Sweden by
Uppsala Offset Center AB
Uppsala 1974

FOREWORD

This report is the first publication resulting from a broader research project, the Role of UPC in Uganda. The author lived in Uganda from January 1969 until June 1971 and was attached to Makerere Institute of Social Research, Makerere University, Kampala, as Research Associate. Research permission was granted by the President's Office in June 1970 and renewed permission to complete the UPC constituency chairmen interviews was granted in March 1971 after the military coup had taken place. The work was supported by grants from the Norwegian Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences.

The examination of the press was done by political science students of Makerere University. The collection of other data as well as the constituency chairmen interviews and the coding of these have been done by the author.

The constituency chairmen interviews were scheduled to start in September 1970, but were postponed, firstly due to UPC elections in October-November 1970, secondly because of the military coup in January 1971. They were finally conducted during April-May 1971 under difficult circumstances, a period which, however, when looking back, represents a relative cessation of the persecutions by the military regime. Some constituency chairmen had already been killed or had fled the country at the time of my interviewing. Those I did interview, showed a willingness to cooperate and a frankness for which I am most respectful and most grateful.

It is with the deepest sorrow I have later learned about the murder by the Amin regime of many of those I approached in connection with my research. I can only hope by this report and future publications indirectly to show my gratitude and my yearning for peace and progress in Uganda.

Finally I extend my gratitude for recent working facilities to the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, and the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.

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Introductory remarks

The Move-to-the-Left in Uganda was an effort on the part of UPC at ideological rearmament and policy changes of a radical content. Concomitant with these efforts structural changes in the political system were also introduced. The most important of these were the introduction of a unitary, republican form of government by the constitution of 1967, the preliminary steps toward party reorganization during 1968 and 1969 and the more decisive steps in 1970,¹⁾ and finally the decision to introduce a one-party state and the proposals for new methods of election of members of Parliament and the President of the Republic in 1970.²⁾ These structural changes aimed at broadening the political mobilization and making an opening for changes in the recruitment of the political leadership, as well as building the framework for a two-way communication between people and leadership.

A reasonable hypothesis would be that these structural changes and the ideological rearmament and policy changes are inter-related, and that the successive timing of these efforts condition the chances of the strategy to succeed. The ideological document, the Common Man's Charter, was presented in October 1969, i.e. before the party reorganization had gained ground and before the electoral reforms had been introduced. It appeared a year and a half ahead of the parliamentary elections scheduled for May 1971. This article focuses on the Common Man's Charter, and a short description is first given of how the Charter was prepared and passed, followed by a brief analysis of the content of the Charter.

The emphasis is on an investigation into the methods used for spreading information about the Charter and of the attitudes toward the Charter, examined through a press analysis and through interviews with the UPC constituency chairmen.

The salient questions to be raised are: To what extent did the party participate in the preparation of the Charter and in the spreading of information about it? What other means

were utilized for the spreading of information and with what effect? To what extent was the Charter in accordance with the political attitudes of the party's intermediate leadership?

The question of implementation of the Charter is not taken up directly. It could be studied through the subsequent documents in the Move-to-the-Left strategy and their initial realization, cut short by the military coup of January 1971.

The question whether the Charter should be accepted as a blueprint of political development in Uganda does not arise in this context.³⁾ Nor is it necessary to ponder whether the Charter reveals what the author actually believed.⁴⁾ As to its purpose,⁵⁾ it is reasonable to assume that it was meant to mobilize popular support and serve as a guide in the selection of leaders. Such popular support would be an essential counterforce to the political opposition which could be expected to rise against the Charter and even more to the subsequent efforts at implementation. Assuming a rational calculation behind the launching of the Charter, the strength of popular support being mobilized must have been assessed as growing larger than the political opposition by the vested interests affected.⁶⁾

On the basis of this assumption, the task of spreading information about and explaining the Charter becomes vital. The examination of leadership attitudes toward the Charter could indicate the need for leadership renewal and the extent of such renewal.

This perception of the purpose of the Charter does not imply regarding ideology as a substitute for material benefit.⁷⁾ Rather, the opinion is that ideology might contribute toward the political and economic mobilization of the people, which again could be regarded as one precondition for radical changes. This seems to be the working hypothesis of some political leaders of poor countries, and also, if elaborated deserves to be regarded as an academic hypothesis.

The Move-to-the-Left in Uganda was first announced in November 1968 by the President, Apollo Milton Obote in a speech addressed to students from his old school, Busoga College, Mwiri.⁸⁾ It was later referred to by Obote when speaking at the TANU Congress early 1969. The Move-to-the-Left in Uganda could be studied in the context of the Mulungushi Club and the Common Man's Charter compared to the Arusha Declaration passed by TANU a few years earlier.⁹⁾

Taking into consideration the policy announcements and the beginning of implementation, but without going into details, Move-to-the-Left seems to be an appropriate designation of the strategy envisaged.¹⁰⁾

Presentation and passing of the Charter

The Common Man's Charter is the first of the documents in the Move-to-the-Left strategy. Actually it was published after Document No. 2, The Proposals for National Service, which was presented to the UPC National Council at its meeting on October 3rd, 1969.

In his opening remarks at this meeting, however, President Obote announced a document spelling out the political, social and economic ideals of the Party.¹¹⁾ And at a meeting of ministers, party officials, civil servants, journalists, and diplomats on October 8th, the Common Man's Charter was presented and Obote urged: "read it, understand it and present your views".¹²⁾

It was presented as a UPC document, but the Charter seems to have been written by Obote himself and it is not known whom he consulted while writing it.¹³⁾ The invitation to discussion was strongly repeated and the meetings of the national bodies of the party were postponed to allow for more debate.¹⁴⁾ A month in advance new dates were announced for the meetings, which were to take place 16-19 December.¹⁵⁾ The amount of information and the extent of discussion before the passing of the Charter will be treated below as part of a broad sur-

vey on the dissemination of the Charter.

The Central Executive Committee discussed the Charter and the Proposals for National Service in the morning of 16th December and the National Council took these matters up on the same afternoon. This could not allow for any extensive debate. The People, however, reports "a very lively and sometimes heated debate" in the National Council on parts of the Charter, especially art. 39, on the issue of nationalization, and art. 22, stating an aim to bridge the gap between the well-to-do on the one hand and the mass of the people on the other. At the end of the meetings, resolutions were passed recommending the two documents to the Annual Delegates' Conference.¹⁶⁾

The Delegates' Conference adopted the Common Man's Charter (and noted the Governments Proposals for National Service) following a long speech by Obote and a debate in which ministers as well as less prominent delegates took part.¹⁷⁾

In between praise and general support of the Charter itself, many delegates gave air to critical remarks, on ministers owning buses and other businesses; on feudalism in the Cabinet, in companies and parastatal bodies; on nepotism in district administration; on nepotism and corruption in cooperative societies; i.e. all aspects of actual behavior in glaring contrast to the principles of the Charter.¹⁸⁾

In Obote's speeches at the Conference, there were worried passages about some UPC members not being true members, some party members who opposed the Charter and would not like to see it implemented, some leaders who did not support the principles of the Party, some leaders who owned big houses and other property and thought socialism should apply to others and wanted themselves to remain capitalists. After having called on all UPC members of parliament, he concluded that some were absent because they felt that "what others were doing in the Conference was childish." In his concluding remarks, Obote assumed that "there would be divisions within

UPC".¹⁹⁾

Content

Before passing on to an examination of the attitudes to the Charter and of the efforts at disseminating it, a short analysis is required of the Charter's content. The Common Man's Charter will not be the object of a systematic content analysis. For the purpose of this study a survey of its main ideas should suffice together with a short reference to the type of problems considered in the Charter.

The Charter is a national document; as concerns the political system, it advances a unitary, republican and democratic form of government; in the economic field it is socialist with strong welfare-state recommendations.²⁰⁾

The Charter is national in the sense of being anti-foreign and wanting to shed the cloak of colonialism, the alien way of life and the admiration for foreign ways and ideas:

"What was planted in Uganda during the era of British protectorate appeared in the eyes and minds of our people as the final word in perfection regarding the development of our material resources and human relationship. Consequently both before and after Independence, our people have been living in a society in which an alien way of life has been embedded. The result has been that most of our people do not look in to the country for ideas to make life better in Uganda, but always look elsewhere to import ideas which may be perfectly suitable in some other society but certainly unfitting in a society like ours".²¹⁾

On the other side, it is explicitly stated that not all aspects of African traditional life are considered acceptable as socialistic.²²⁾ (For the attitude toward foreign capital, see below.)

The Charter is national in the sense of being antitribal.

Condemnation of factionalism on tribal, religious or other grounds, is a recurrent theme of the Charter, not surprising on the background of Baganda hegemony and reciprocal tribal distrust as well as Catholic/Protestant rivalry. The Charter stresses:

"---the fact that the struggle for Independence was not a one-tribe struggle, nor was it a struggle confined to people professing one religion. The colonial power heard voices from all corners of Uganda. The struggle, however, was not that different parts of Uganda should return to the days of tribal quarrels, disunity and wars, but to move to the new era wherein all people of Uganda are one and the country is one, and to regain our dignity as human beings."²³⁾

This leads directly to the underlying attitude toward government: pro a unitary form of government, anti a federal form of government. The motto: "one People, one Parliament and one Government" is quoted, and affirms the wish to consolidate the results of the revolution of 1966: the abolition of kingdoms and the quasi-federal constitution.²⁴⁾ There is also an underlying importance of a unitary form of government to avoid regional economic inequalities.²⁵⁾

The preservation of the Republican constitution, the fruit of the 1966 revolution, is another recurrent theme.²⁶⁾ Concomitant is the strong condemnation of monarchical and feudal tendencies.²⁷⁾

"We hold it as the inalienable right of the people that they must be masters of their own destiny and not servants of this or that man."²⁸⁾

The 1966 revolution as a pre-condition for the radicalization of policy is maintained:

"---in a society in which feudalism is an important and major political and economic factor, that society

cannot escape being Rightist in its internal and external policies."²⁹⁾

Closely related to the anti-monarchical and anti-feudal attitudes is the insistence on democratic ideals:

"political power must be vested in the majority of the people and not in the minority."³⁰⁾

There is also a commitment to secure human rights, reject discrimination and special privileges.³¹⁾

As far as political institutions are concerned, the references are limited to these ideas and to defence of the established institutions. Introduction of a one-party system is not touched.

The Move-to-the-Left is stated as being both political and economic.³²⁾ The Charter does, however, deal more extensively with economic questions. Judging from its description and analysis of Ugandan economic development and from the recommendations presented, it should be labelled socialist.

It is socialist in the sense of taking a stand against paternalism, i.e.:

"where the lot of the masses will be not only to serve the well-to-do, but to be thankful on their knees when opportunity arises to eat the crumbs from the high table."³³⁾

The Charter is as also socialist in the sense of being anti-imperialist.³⁴⁾ It reacts to:

"---The desire of foreign powers and institutions to choose leaders for us, to influence the policies of the Government of Uganda to the benefit of foreign interests, to use the sons and daughters of Uganda to advance these interests."³⁵⁾

These is also a general anti-capitalist attitude:

"We ---reject exploitation of material and human resources for the benefit of the few."³⁶⁾

The strongest emphasis is on the curbing of capitalist tendencies within the country itself. The Charter visualizes a widening gap between the well-to-do on the one hand and the mass of the people on the other.

"The Move-to-the-Left Strategy of this Charter aims at bridging the gap and arresting this development."³⁷⁾

It is explicitly socialist from its first paragraph:

"---that the resources of the country, material and human, be exploited for the benefit of all the people in Uganda in accordance with the principles of Socialism."³⁸⁾

Of course, the verbal homage to "socialism" is no guarantee of intentions, let alone real policy.³⁹⁾ At least the intentions are expressed in some detail in the Charter; e.g.

"In our Move-to-the-Left Strategy, we affirm that the guiding economic principle will be that the means of production and distribution must be in the hands of the people as a whole."⁴⁰⁾

Different forms of collective ownership are envisaged, and it is explicitly declared that the fulfilment of the principle above may involve nationalization of enterprises which are privately owned.⁴¹⁾ It is maintained, with reference to the 1962 and the 1967 constitutions, that "the issue of nationalization has already been determined and therefore it is a settled matter", which implies that the Government could nationalize everything.⁴²⁾ No doubt there already existed legal measures that could pave the way for nationalization, but the wording of the Charter seems to cut short also any discussion on the extent and expediency of nationa-

lization. The paragraph includes one of the very few directives found in the Charter, that the Government should work along these lines.

A description of the Ugandan economy is given, followed by recommendations concerning agricultural diversification, internal savings, self-reliance and bank reforms.⁴³⁾ Considerable space is devoted to the problems of distribution of the fruits of economic development and warnings are issued against unequal distribution between regions and classes, and against the consumption habits of a small minority affecting the whole economy.⁴⁴⁾

"The crucial point here is that inequitable distribution of income leads directly to non-development of resources which could cater for the consumption needs of the poor, since the masses cannot afford to pay for the goods which would be produced, and instead the economy becomes dependant on exports of primary commodities in order to pay for the imports of luxurious goods for the rich."⁴⁵⁾

The fear of the widening gap is expressed in several passages in the Charter, e.g. in these words:

"We cannot afford to build two nations within the territorial boundaries of Uganda: one rich, educated, African in appearance but mentally foreign, and the other, which constitutes the majority of the population, poor and illiterate."⁴⁶⁾

Several references are given to the question of public participation, both in government and economic life, but they seem to fall short of an instigation to broad mobilization.⁴⁷⁾

In his analysis of the Common Man's Charter, Okello Oculi of Makerere stresses specifically the relation between nationalism and socialism. As nationalism was opposed to colonialism, it also had to oppose the mode of production and dis-

tribution on which colonialism rested: the exploitation and the unequal distribution of wealth in society - which again are the central concern of socialism.⁴⁸⁾

The Charter may also be analysed according to the type of problems it deals with. Utilizing a list of five problems facing any political system and the corresponding capabilities which new political systems must develop, it appears that the Charter paid specific attention to some of them.⁴⁹⁾

First, the problem of national identity is perceived as salient and urgent, and the 1967 constitution, with its unitary system of one government and one parliament, is regarded as an increase in the assimilative capability.⁵⁰⁾

Second, the problem of legitimacy is an underlying theme. The people as a source of legitimacy is stressed as opposed to hereditary kings and feudal chiefs. There is, however, no concern for increasing the concomitant regulative capacity.

The problems of participation is also mainly treated on this normative level, as the right of the people to decide their own destiny, but without attention to the question of how to achieve political mobilization.⁵¹⁾

The problems of allocation are given much attention. The intentions of fair allocation and the dangers of uneven distribution are recurrent themes and there is awareness of the absence of distributive capability.⁵²⁾

The Charter quotes from the resolution passed by the UPC Delegates' Conference in 1968, that the "entire human and material resources be committed in that task of nation-building", and "the active involvement of all institutions, State and private" is envisaged. There are also passages devoted to more specific proposals concerning the problem of extraction. The Charter warns against depending on foreign capital for development purposes, and recommends more effec-

tive tapping of internal savings.⁵³⁾ And of course hard work by all is stressed.⁵⁴⁾

Translation

Obote presented the Common Man's Charter in English, but soon made provisions for translation into the vernaculars. This was a pre-condition for reaching beyond the educated elite, and especially for approaching middle-aged or elderly people in the periphery.

The Charter was translated into the following vernaculars: Luganda, Ateso, Luo, Lugbara, Runyankore/Rukiga and Runyoro/Rutooro. The first translation were ready and available less than a fortnight after the presentation of the Charter on October 8th, 1969; the last appeared only a fortnight before the Annual Delegates' Conference in December. There was also a Swahili translation, which was, however, only available in 1970, sometime after the passing of the Charter.⁵⁵⁾

Groups of translators were constituted for each of the vernaculars, including language specialists as well as people with economic and political knowledge. Special efforts were made to find words and phrases to convey the correct meaning of political words like 'socialism' and economic terms like 'investment'. As these terms did not have words in the vernaculars, it was sometimes necessary to invent new ones.⁵⁶⁾ Plenary meetings of all translator groups together with the President were hold for this purpose. The groups also had separate meetings with Obote.

At least the Luganda version was read to and commented upon by a group of local UPC politicians before being published. After the first impression, amendments were made in the subsequent impression.⁵⁷⁾ Even so, the translation does not seem to have been satisfactory.⁵⁸⁾

It appears that the President attached great importance to the work of the translators, but not all escaped criticism.⁵⁹⁾

Booklet

While the radio, when broadcasting in the vernaculars, has a very large potential audience, any printed matter has a much smaller number of potential readers - defined by the literacy rate. Generally it is also assumed that the radio profit from being in the oral tradition of the non-educated. In printed form, the Common Man's Charter was disseminated through the press, which will be reviewed later, and in the form of a booklet or pamphlet. Concerning the booklet, questions are raised about the number of copies printed and their distribution. The most interesting question, to what extent it was actually read, cannot be answered.

The Common Man's Charter was printed in more than 100,000 copies; about half of them were in English, the other half in the six vernaculars into which it had been officially translated, and in Swahili.⁶⁰⁾

All vernacular and the first English editions were out before the Annual Delegates' Conference in December; a Swahili edition and additional English impressions appeared during 1970. The copies were sold at a shilling apiece, and the first sales were intended to finance the succeeding impressions.⁶¹⁾ In the first instance the booklet was distributed via the Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs (the General Service department) and via the President's Office, which provided MPs with copies for their constituencies.⁶²⁾ The Charter was not distributed through the UPC headquarters in spite of it being a party document.⁶³⁾

The Ministry of Public Service utilized the following channels for further distribution: distric commissioners, book-shops, and hotels.

Approximately 17,500 copies of the Common Man's Charter were sent to the District Commissioners, about half of them in English.⁶⁴⁾ Originally they received about 200 English copies each and then a number varying from 100 to more than 4,000

in the local vernacular. On the average they distributed nearly a thousand copies, but with great variations from one district to another. All districts except one, received copies in 1969, but a few districts only got their copies in the vernacular early in 1970. In some districts all copies were sold directly from the DC's office; in some, the rest were distributed to the ssaza and sometimes to the gombolola chiefs. In a few cases local UPC politicians were also mobilized for distribution e.g. in Teso and Kigezi, where all schools received copies.⁶⁵⁾

According to the Ministry of Public Service, copies were also distributed to the hotels. Actually this was done only in a few cases in Kampala and Entebbe.⁶⁶⁾

Finally, the Charter was distributed through at least 36 different book-shops, newspaper agents and general stores in Ugandan towns.⁶⁷⁾ These shops sold around 7,500 copies of the English version and some 2,000 in the vernaculars.⁶⁸⁾ It seems that only limited numbers of copies in the vernacular versions reached the up-country stores.

Visits to 21 book-shops and other stores from six months to a year after the publication of the Charter, showed that the Charter was not displayed in any of them, and only available on demand in two.⁶⁹⁾ Comments from store managers bring out different categories of attitudes. Some managers had not sold the Charter and did not seem interested in doing so; a few managers had sold some copies but were unwilling to order more as they were given a very low or no discount.⁷⁰⁾ A book-shop manager in a small place in Buganda commented that "Nobody wanted the Charter here". But most managers interviewed had quite the opposite experience; the Charter had been in great demand and they told of repeated efforts at getting additional supplies - mostly without succeeding. A store-keeper in Lira said: "I wrote three or four times to the Government Printer in Entebbe, but I never received any copies. Many people were asking for it - all the time." In Uganda Bookshop in Kable they complained of insufficient supply. "Every time we order,

we get less. If we order twenty, we get four." At Makerere University Bookshop, where they had sold some 2,600 copies, they complained about running from Consolidated Printers to UPC to the President's Office, all without success. Up-country stores would be at an even greater disadvantage.

Behind these problems lay the fact that the Charter was printed at three different printers in Uganda and two abroad. It was not distributed through any ordinary commercial channel, nor through the UPC headquarters, but through two government offices which for the purpose were not easily detectable or approachable.

In June 1970 the English and the Luganda versions seemed to be sold out, but the Charter was still available in the other vernaculars.⁷¹⁾ It was asked "why is it possible to find quotations of chairman Mao on Kampala streets but not the things like the Common Man's Charter".⁷²⁾ Certainly, the Charter was not easily available, even after new impressions were made of the English version. One of the ministers maintained in September 1970 that a lot of copies were lying unsold; this could not have been in the shops nor to any large extent in the DC's offices.⁷³⁾

Radio and Television

Radio is without comparison the most important of the mass media in Uganda, the only one deserving the name. Radio broadcasting started in Uganda in 1954, and from 1962 there have been two channels with a total broadcasting of thirty-six hours a day.⁷⁴⁾ The number of radio receivers is probably around 600,000. Calculated on an average of five listeners per set, about 1/3 of the population is reached by radio broadcasting.

Only the central area around Kampala was reached by medium wave transmitters at that time, while the rest of the country was dependent on less reliable transmission.⁷⁶⁾ Also, the central, better-off parts of the country probably had rela-

tively more receivers.⁷⁷⁾ In 1969 Radio Uganda was broadcasting in 19 languages, i.e. most of Ugandan vernaculars as well as in English and one Indian language, Hindustani.

The radio was almost completely Africanized, and Radio and Television are owned and operated by the Government of Uganda, under the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism.⁷⁸⁾ The radio should thus lend itself as an important medium in the dissemination of policy documents, like the Common Man's Charter. Examinations show that the radio was extensively used for making the Charter known through different types of programmes.

First, there were series of 15-minute recitals of the Charter in English and in the following six vernaculars: Ateso, Luganda, Luo, Lugbara, Runyakore/Rukiga and Runyoro/Rutooro. These recitals were broadcast on specific weekdays at the same time, commencing in February 1970. (As there was no official version on Lusoga, only a resumé was given in that language during the same period.)

Second, there was "A message for the day", consisting of a recital of one paragraph at the time from the Charter. It was presented at the same time each day following the news bulletins. This programme was broadcast in all the vernaculars used by Radio Uganda, and thus not limited to the six languages for which there existed official versions. These series started in February 1970 and were repeated until June. (The Charter has 44 paragraphs.)

Third, a series of school programmes in English were broadcast every Friday during the term February - April 1970, and repeated again from June. It was intended for all grades, primary, secondary and colleges, and was part of the current affairs programme. The programmes included an interpretation of the meaning of the Charter.

Additional attention was also given to the Charter when reporting speeches, lectures etc. in the news bulletins, which

were identical in all languages. Radio, however, did not produce any special discussion programmes, panels, or the like.⁷⁹⁾

Summing up Radio Uganda's efforts concerning the Common Man's Charter, the following points should be noted: It was a late starter.⁸⁰⁾ Except for mentions in the news bulletins, radio programmes only commenced in February, i.e. four months after the presentation of the Charter. This implies that radio listeners could not use the radio as a means of gaining information during the debate stage. The absence of panels and discussions also tend to underline the non-participatory role of the listeners. The two series of recital programmes characterize radio as an information transmitter or even indoctrinator. As an informant it was probably quite inadequate, if the purpose was to make listeners grasp the content and understand its underlying ideas.⁸¹⁾ The outline of the Charter is not very clear; it contains few, if any, pictorial allusions or concrete examples; the language - at least of the English version - is not easily understandable for those with limited education. One example may suffice:

"----the exponents of tribal Herrenvolk principles, religious bigotry and fanaticism and feudalistic selfishness, and capitalistic rapacities---"⁸²⁾.

Properly produced programmes would have been required to attain any intended purpose, giving the meaning through everyday comments, sketches, conversations, questions and answers, or songs. As the programmes went by, the reaction was probably indifference at best, ridicule or perhaps hostility.

While radio might have been an important medium, television had very limited range. TV transmission started in Uganda in 1963 and around 1970 it was limited to 3-4 hours a day. It was only broadcast in English and Luganda, with a short programme a week in Hindustani. UTV had very limited possibilities for producing programmes owing to shortcomings on the technical as well as on the editing side. It relied

also, to a large extent, on expatriates.⁸³⁾ On an estimate of 10,000 television sets, the audience amounts to only 50,000 - 100,000, i.e. less than one per cent of the Ugandan population.⁸⁴⁾ TV coverage was not limited to the Kampala area, but the whole of the country was not covered.⁸⁵⁾ A sophisticated utilization of TV might, however, have been of some importance if the intention was to reach the elite.

The first TV programme about the Common Man's Charter was presented already on 10 October 1969 and was followed by a panel discussion chaired by Akena Adoko only a few days later.⁸⁶⁾ Systematic data on TV programmes are unfortunately lacking, so it is not possible to know whether there was a follow up to this heavy start.⁸⁷⁾

Courses, meetings, and seminars

While the radio has a mass audience, seminars and courses can not under any circumstances reach more than a very small group of people. However, they offer a possibility for participation on the part of the audience and thus open the way for a two-way channel of communication. Seminars and courses aiming at a selected personnel may reach those in positions of leadership and policy implementation. Even open meetings attracting active people in general may be of value, especially if counting on the two-step flow of information.

Several institutions engaged themselves in this type of activity to make the Common Man's Charter known and understood - and accepted?

First, the Centre for Continuing Education⁸⁸⁾ organized meetings and seminars through their six resident tutors. There seem to have been considerable variations from one region to another concerning both the form and extent of activity.⁸⁹⁾ In the Western region activity was limited, but a few well-attended public meetings were held with prominent speakers from Makerere.⁹⁰⁾ In the South West, activity was diverse and quite extensive. Soon after the presentation of the Charter, a series of weekend courses were held

in different parts of the region for extra-mural students. Later, there was at least one public lecture and the resident tutor himself lectured to selected groups. such as secondary school students and community development workers. Finally, two seminars were given for Ankole chiefs and district councillors respectively.⁹¹⁾

In the area including West Mengo, Masaka and Mubende, the resident tutor was also active. Some public lectures were given as well as a weekend course and a seminar for district councillors.⁹²⁾

At least two seminars were held in the North, but as late as June 1970 in Arua and August 1970 in Lira; in East Mengo and Busoga districts a series of lectures and a seminar were held. There is no information on activity in the Eastern part of the country.⁹³⁾

Second, the Institute of Public Administration⁹⁴⁾ ran six courses from May to August 1970 in which the Common Man's Charter and "the new political culture" were the main themes. These courses were all given for groups of public officers, either from the ministries, the field service or parastatal bodies.⁹⁵⁾

Third, the Milton Obote Foundation⁹⁶⁾ ran two-day seminars for ssaza, gombolola and muluka chiefs for one district at a time.⁹⁷⁾ In cooperation with UPC, the Milton Obote Foundation also ran seven-day seminars for UPC parliamentary executive members - one in each of the four regions from April to September 1970.

No central activity on the part of UPC is known outside these seminars. In the period following the presentation of the Charter and before the meetings in the UPC national bodies, the Ministers toured the districts, holding large meetings and rallies.⁹⁸⁾

There was also activity which has not been recorded in any

systematic way, e.g. a large public meeting in Kampala City Hall in November 1969.⁹⁹⁾

Keeping these rallies apart, audiences varied from some 200 people at the public lectures to around 30-50 in most seminars and courses. For a total population of some nine millions, the number touched by this type of activity was of course very small.

There are many reports of active audiences with numerous questions and lively debates. Referring to a course for district councillors, one resident tutor writes:

"---these participants were almost at times uncontrollably active. They had so much to say and so many questions. But by the end of four intensive days they were tired."

When summing up it should be noted that most speakers were Makerere teachers, civil servants and politicians. Only few of the lectures and seminars were given in the vernacular. The great majority were in English, addressed to selected groups of educated people. These could be divided into three groups: appointed public officers, elected public officers, local party officers. In charge of this type of activity were a university department as well as another governmental teaching institution. The only non-governmental political body was the Milton Obote Foundation. It should be noted that the party's activity was very low and limited to cooperation with the Milton Obote Foundation.

Press

Finally, the Ugandan press has been examined for its contribution to the dissemination of the Common Man's Charter. The impact of the press depends in the first place on the literacy level and secondly on the press circulation in the different languages.

The literacy level was assumed to be the highest in East

Africa, approximately 40-50 per cent for the country as a whole. The ability to read, however, was very unevenly distributed, with a much higher literacy level in Buganda than in the rest of the country.¹⁰⁰⁾

Roughly one third of the Ugandan population, living in the North and the North-West, speak a Nilotic or Sudanic language but they have less than 8 per cent of the vernacular newspaper circulation (or 3.5 per cent of the total circulation). Another third of the population speak Western Bantu languages, and their part of the vernacular newspaper circulation is 3.6 per cent. The last third of the population - the Eastern Bantu speaking - have 89 per cent of the vernacular press. Actually, all of it is in Luganda, while the Baganda constitute only 16 per cent of the population. Luganda is, however, also understood by the Basoga, constituting another 8 per cent of the population.¹⁰¹⁾

In order to evaluate the press's contribution to the dissemination of the Common Man's Charter, a complete examination was made of the Ugandan press during the three months following the publication of the Charter on October 9th, 1969.¹⁰²⁾

The following newspapers were included in the analysis:

| Name | Frequency | Circulation | Language | Ownership |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <u>The People</u> | daily | 6,900 | English | Party |
| <u>Uganda Argus</u> | daily | 21,500 | English | Private comm |
| <u>Taifa Empya</u> | daily | 10,000 | Luganda | Private comm |
| <u>Munno</u> | daily | 7,750 | Luganda | Private Catholic |
| <u>Omukulembeze</u> | daily | 6,000 | Luganda | Government |
| <u>Taifa Uganda Empya</u> | weekly | 22,000 | Luganda | Private comm |
| <u>Mwembezi</u> | weekly | 5,000 | Runyoro/Rutooro | Government |
| <u>Dwon Lwak</u> | weekly | 7,000 | Lwo | Government |
| <u>Ageteraine</u> | fort-nightly | 5,900 | Runyankore/Rukiga | Private Catholic |
| <u>Apupeta</u> | monthly | 10,000 | Ateso | Government |

Two papers had considerably wider circulation than the rest, i.e. Uganda Argus, the English daily owned by the Lonrho corporation and Taifa Uganda Empya, a Luganda weekly owned by the Aga Khan group.¹⁰³⁾ These, together with the Luganda daily, Taifa Empya, also owned by the Aga Khan group, constituted the private commercial papers and stood for more than half of the total circulation.

Ownership

| Circulation | Government | Party | Private Commercial | Private Catholic |
|---------------|------------|-------|--------------------|------------------|
| 5,000-10,000 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 20,000-25,000 | | | 2 | |

Together with the two Catholic papers they constitute two thirds of the total newspaper circulation.¹⁰⁴⁾

The second largest group is the government owned papers, published by the Ministry of Information, in different vernaculars and varying in circulation and frequency.¹⁰⁵⁾

The last group consist only of one daily, the UPC paper, The People.¹⁰⁶⁾

Of the ten papers included in this analysis, two were in English, both dailies; four in Luganda (three dailies and a weekly); one in Runyoro/Rutooro (a weekly) and one in Runyan-kore/Rukiga (a fortnightly), both catering for people in the Western part of Uganda, and finally one in Lwo (a monthly) for some of the people in Northern Uganda.

A calculation of press 'product' gives 48 per cent in English, 47 per cent in Luganda, and 5 per cent in other vernaculars taken together.¹⁰⁷⁾ Disregarding the English press, 90 per cent of the vernacular press copies were in Luganda catering for the 16 per cent Luganda speaking, or at the utmost 24 per cent when including both the Baganda and the Basoga. Those other language groups who have newspapers, constitute 40 per

cent of the population, but the press 'product' in their languages only amounted to 10 per cent. The remaining 36 per cent of the population had no press if they were not able to read English papers, and the chances were that they were not.

The ability to read English was probably most widespread among the Baganda, who had the lion's share of the vernacular press. It should be noted that the unequal linguistic distribution of the press to some extent probably reflected the differences in literacy levels.

Also, there were variations as to the ownership of papers in the different languages. The English press consisted of one party and one private commercial daily, the circulation of the latter being three times the larger.

The Luganda press consisted of one government and three privately owned papers, the latter group being three times the stronger, when calculating frequency by circulation.

Finally, the other vernacular papers were three governmental and one private Catholic paper, the former three times larger than the latter.

At the outset, therefore, opportunities of the UPC and the government for carrying their message seemed very limited. They had only small shares in the large English and Luganda press; they dominated only the very insignificant up-country press.

The questions raised in this section of the paper are: How much did the newspapers write about the Common Man's Charter? To what extent did the press contribute to the discussion on the Charter? Who transmitted information about the Charter? Who could receive information about the Charter? And finally, to the extent this was reported: Who spoke and wrote about the Charter? Who organized meetings etc. about the Charter?

The total number of entries in the papers surveyed during the three months' period is 639. In all, 410 copies were examined, which gives 1.6 entries per copy on an average. Calculating with the different circulation of each paper, the total press "output" was more than 6 1/2 million.

The entries as to their length; relatively few, however, were only short notices. A good third of the entries were of more than 500 words. The entries appeared more heavily in the period before the Charter was adopted by the Annual Delegates' Conference in December 1969 than in the following period, which also included meetings in the Central Executive Committee and the National Council and the Delegates' Conference: 7.5 entries per copy in the early period as against 5.4 in the last period. The newspapers could thus be said to have contributed during the 'debating stage'.

As distinguished from the radio, the newspapers contained few reprints and quotations, and the large majority of entries (nearly 80 per cent) were reports of speeches and also of resolutions and demonstrations. Less than 6 per cent were editorials, leaving room for less than 15 per cent articles and letters to the editor. These last types appeared, however, relatively more frequently in the first period, the 'debating stage'.

A rough classification of the content of the entries into five categories: entirely unfavourable, mainly unfavourable, neutral, mainly favourable, entirely favourable, demonstrates the dominance of positive information on the Charter. About 90 per cent of the entries were favourable, even as much as 83 per cent entirely favourable, thus not leaving much room for adverse opinions. However, some opposition was voiced. In addition to the 4 per cent neutral, there were 5 per cent unfavourable entries, most of these entirely unfavourable. Practically all the unfavourable entries appeared before the Charter was adopted.

The unfavourable entries were mainly articles and letters to the editor as well as some reports of speeches and resolutions by opposition politicians, and a few editorials. In all, 90 articles and letters to the editor appeared in the newspapers during these three months. 60 of these were favourable, 12 neutral and 18 unfavourable.

Of the 35 editorials on the Charter, 24 expressed themselves favourably, nine could be classified as neutral, and only two as unfavourable. The reports of speeches, resolutions and demonstrations were overwhelmingly favourable.

Who disseminated this information about the Common Man's Charter? There were substantial differences among the papers as to the number of entries, varying from 123 in Uganda Argus to 13 in Ageteraine. These differences were partly a reflection of the frequency of the papers; actually the dailies had from 1.1 to 1.6 entries per copy, while the three weeklies, the fortnightly and the monthly varied from 1.9 to 6.7 per copy. (The average was 1.4 in the dailies, 2.7 in the weeklies and 3.3 in the bi-monthly and monthly taken together.)

However, there were also differences according to the papers' ownership, irrespective of frequency, so that the party and government-owned papers as a group had more entries per copy on an average than the privately owned papers.

Entries per copy

| | Party or government owned papers | Privately owned papers |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Dailies | 1.45 | 1.3 |
| Weeklies | 3.6 | 1.3 |
| Fortnightlies and monthlies | 6.7 | 1.9 |

The privately owned Catholic daily, Munno, had the lowest score, with 1.1 entry per copy about the Common Man's Charter. This implies, however, that all papers had at least one entry

per copy on an average during three months; one could not say that the Charter was ignored in any of these ten papers.

As a total, the entries on the Common Man's Charter were fairly evenly divided among the government and party press on the one hand (53 per cent) and the privately owned press on the other (58 per cent). However, if taking the circulation into consideration, the total 'output' of the privately owned press was more than twice as large (4,5 mill.) as the government and party press 'output' (2.1 mill.).

Concerning length, no clear pattern emerges; there is a tendency, however, of relatively many short entries in the government press.

In the government papers 75 to 90 per cent of the entries were reports of speeches, resolutions and demonstrations. None of the government papers had more than one editorial on the Charter. They also had comparatively few articles, and letters to the editor were nearly non-existent in these papers.

The UPC paper - The People - differed from the government papers in this respect with a relatively high number of editorials (1/10 of the entries) and of letters to the editor and articles (1/4 of the entries). In this way it was also more 'open' than the other English daily, Uganda Argus. Three other privately owned papers were, however, the most open to articles and letters to the editor (1/4 to 1/2 of the entries in these papers). But even in the privately owned papers 46 to 82 per cent of the entries were reports.

As stated above, the press entries were overwhelmingly favourable, but there were differences among the papers. The Catholic daily, Munno, being most negative with 23 per cent of its entries unfavourable, while the Catholic fortnightly, Ageterraine, had the highest percentage of neutral entries. There was very little difference between the UPC paper and the government papers in this respect. There was, however, a

marked difference between the private Catholic papers and the private commercial. The latter group's less critical posture, however, was mainly due to Uganda Argus, which only printed two unfavourable and 7 neutral entries out of a total of 123.

| Content | Party or government owned papers | Private comm. owned papers | Private Catholic papers |
|--------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Unfavourable | 0.3% | 4.2% | 21.5% |
| Neutral | 2.4% | 3.8% | 8.2% |
| Favourable | 92.1% | 91.4% | 61.9% |

(The totals do not add up to 100 as some entries could not be classified according to their content.)

When taking circulation into account, Munno had the largest unfavourable 'output' followed by the three privately owned commercial papers. These three contained only 9 unfavourable entries altogether, but had a large total circulation. The majority of the favourable 'output' thus appeared in the private commercial papers.

As noted above, the first limiting factor for press information is the literacy level and secondly the language distribution of the press. In this context relevant questions would therefore be: In which languages did the press disseminate its information? Were there any variations in the information offered in different languages?

As shown above there were large variations as to the press 'product' in the different languages. While disseminating information about the Common Man's Charter, the poor position of the 'other vernaculars' was somewhat compensated. Less than 10 per cent of the newspaper issues but just below 20 per cent of the entries were aimed at this group.

| Language | No of issues (%) | No of entries (%) |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| English | 35.4 | 37.7 |
| Luganda | 56.1 | 43.7 |
| Other vernaculars | 8.5 | 18.6 |

Or, taking circulation into consideration, the English press did slightly better on the Charter than indicated by their share of the press market, while the Luganda papers were somewhat weaker on the Charter.

| Language | Press 'product' issues x circulation | Press 'output' entries x circulation |
|-------------------|---|---|
| English | 48.1 | 52.3 |
| Luganda | 46.7 | 36.0 |
| Other vernaculars | 5.1 | 11.6 |

The dominant position of the English and Luganda entries was further strengthened by the fact that it contained relatively more long entries. As many as 23 per cent of the entries in both these groups were of more than 1000 words. (These two language groups also had relatively more entries above 500 words.)

There were some variations in the type of information about the Common Man's Charter given to the different language groups. Editorials mostly appeared in the English papers, and articles and letters to the editor were also slightly more frequent in these papers, while reports of speeches appeared somewhat more frequently in the vernacular press.

There were also some variations as to the content. Nearly 10 per cent of the entries in Luganda were unfavourable, while only a few unfavourable entries appeared in English and in Runyankore/Rukiga, and none in the other vernaculars. Most favourable were the English and the Lwo and Ateso papers.

In the analysis of the press entries the authors of articles and the speakers reported were noted as well as organizers of meetings, demonstrations etc. The distribution of speakers and organizers reported in the press cannot, however, pretend to give the distribution gained by systematic collection of such data. However, a summary of the findings is presented here, with notes to its limitations due to biased and non-

complete reporting.

In 419 of 639 entries (i.e. 66 per cent) a speaker or author has been recorded. Half of these were UPC ministers; when adding the President, this group increases to more than two thirds. When adding other UPC public and party officials, this group constituted 80 per cent of all speakers/authors. 5 per cent were columnists and other authors closely connected with the papers, and another 5 per cent were officers of the army, the general service, the President's Office, the ministries and the parastatal bodies; the Makerere teachers were represented by a modest 2 per cent.

UPC activity

Among the UPC public and party officers, there were only a few UPC constituency or branch chairmen reported as speakers. This low figure, only 2.4 per cent of all authors/speakers, may not justly reflect their effort, because the press probably reported their speeches less extensively than those by the President and the ministers.

More extensive party activity is revealed by the data on organizers. The organizer is reported in 471 entries, i.e. three fourths of all. 13 per cent of all speeches, discussions, resolutions and demonstrations were organized by UPC district, constituency or branch organizations, and another 13 per cent by the party's national organs, the Central Executive Committee, the National Council or the Delegates Conference. In 15 per cent of the cases, a student, school or youth organization was active, while other organizations like trade unions, women's, traders' and cooperative societies played a smaller part, 7 per cent altogether. Opposition parties were the organizer in a meagre 2 per cent of the cases reported. Activity by the radio, the Milton Obote Foundation and the Institute of Public Administration, belong to a later period than that covered by the press analysis, so that this type of activity was scarcely reflected in the material.

Reports of demonstrations indicate this as an expression mainly to be used by student and youth organizations and some trade unions. Resolutions were mainly passed by UPC local and national organs and by other political parties.

Through interviews with a number of UPC constituency chairmen another effort was made to measure party activity in the constituencies.¹⁰⁸⁾ Approximately half the chairmen interviewed (23 out of 45) were asked whether there was any activity aimed at spreading information on the Common Man's Charter in their own constituency, and less than 1/5 of these answered in the negative. However, only another 1/5 reported much and/or varied activity, more chairmen said there had been some activity, and the last 1/5 declared little activity. In the majority of cases (65 per cent) a party organ or officer (constituency or branch chairman or executive) had organized the activity, but those in politically recruited public offices were also mentioned as organizers in a number of cases (20 per cent); activity by civil servants (District Commissioners) and by NUSU was only sporadically mentioned. A few chairmen offered spontaneous information that UPC branches had been selling copies of the booklet.

Problems of information

Concern about the problems of information and about who shall inform the masses on the Common Man's Charter was expressed in different quarters. Nobody seems to have held the view that this was a task for UPC alone. Especially NUSU stressed that the main responsibility lay with UPC and in this connection "asked for a drastic increase in personnell in the National Secretariat".¹⁰⁹⁾

Either because they were aware of the inadequacy of the party or for other reasons, some held the opinion that this was also a job for civil servants and chiefs.¹¹⁰⁾

Among those constituency chairmen who considered that greater efforts should have been made to disseminate the Charter, more

chairmen indicated politically recruited public officers (like MPs and secretary generals) for the job (40 per cent), and slightly fewer indicated party organs (36 per cent). A few thought this should also be a task for civil servants or they suggested other agents.

Some of the more committed chairmen asserted that such activity should have been the responsibility of the party, "but as it was not organized, it was very difficult". One chairman stressed that the use of party officers to explain the Charter would be adequate provided these were firm believers in what they were saying. Ideally the party should, according to another chairman, have "an ideologically committed group, a vanguard to go out and explain".

Clearly the chairmen held different attitudes to this problem: some were not concerned, some did not mind leaving the task to public agents (civil servants or politicians), and some regretted that the party was not capable of assuming this task.

There were complaints in the press about the radio, the TV and the press not doing enough, and especially criticism of weak information in the vernaculars.¹¹¹⁾ It was also emphasized by some that there was a need for interpretation and explanation. There were dangers of misunderstanding and ridicule when e.g. expressions like 'Mover-to-the-Left' were literally translated without any explanations.¹¹²⁾

Obote himself seemed to have been aware of the dangers of misleading interpretations when advising people to study the Charter and express their views freely, but warning "about what others will tell you regarding that book".¹¹³⁾

The UPC chairmen were also asked what method of disseminating information about the Common Man's Charter they considered most efficient. Of the 36 chairmen asked, five did not indicate any means. Of the remaining 31, 19 indicated meetings and seminars as the most efficient methods, followed by eight indicating radio and six the booklet.

Constituency chairmen indicating most efficient method of disseminating information about the Common Man's Charter:

| Meetings, small groups, seminars | Radio | Booklet | The good example | TV | Other |
|--|-------|---------|------------------------|----|-------|
| 61% | 26% | 19% | 10% | 3% | 3% |

The percentage adds to more than 100 because some chairmen indicated two methods.

In their comments the chairmen were almost unanimous in rejecting TV as a mass medium, and not many were convinced of the impact of radio for this purpose. "Nobody in the rural area has TV; the majority have no radio". "Not everybody has a radio, nobody has TV", and "The common man does not have a radio; or if he has, it is for music", were typical comments.

Objections to radio were not only due to its relative inaccessibility, but according to several chairmen the "quotations were ridiculous", and they considered the organized meeting to be more efficient.

"On the radio it was just one sentence; people could not follow. In meetings people could ask questions". One chairman, however, saw the potentialities of the radio: "If it had been well done, it should have been the radio. However, it was not well done; only giving quotations. There should have been discussions and explanations".

Especially among those genuinely concerned, the preference was for small meetings: "There should be meetings at the muluka level. To go into the villages and meet the people face to face". Other recommended: "meetings in the local languages", "village groups", "branch level meetings", and "to get a caucus of active people in every muluka and have hours with them".

To some chairmen the choice of medium was not the main problem; the Charter "should not have been explained by people who did not believe it, and who did not practise it", as one of them put it. As also mentioned above, this attitude was brought out in different connections. One chairman elaborated when asked about the most efficient method:

"No need for translating; not needed to do it on the radio, not so many words needed if you live it. Not necessary to say much if you arrive in a minor, but if you arrive in a Mercedes it does not help what you say. Methods can only be supplementary. The people behind must live it".

It was also pointed out that irrespective of medium, there was a problem of interpretation. One chairman commented:

"Interpretation was not constant; each one interpreted it his own way. This led to confusion".

Several chairmen expressed themselves similarly, and one chairman suggested:

"The President should have explained each section, what was meant. As it was, ministers were left to interpret it as they wanted".

In this connection the question of implementation was also raised: "People were waiting for implementation. Only then would they know".

The constituency chairmen were also asked whether they thought enough had been made to make the Charter known. More than half of them answered in the affirmative, but their evaluations clearly had different bases. One extreme attitude may be presented by this answer:

"Oh yes, even to make it repugnant. All the paraphernalia of the communist regimes were adopted. It was all indoctrination".

Some of the chairmen who considered the efforts at dissemination inadequate, brought out positive proposals. Some had additional or only negative comments of the type referred to

above: the variations in interpretations and the distance between preaching and practising. One chairman stated bluntly:

"The day the Common Man's Charter was announced, the President should have reduced the salaries of the President and the ministers".

This type of shortcoming was regretted by those devoted to the Move-to-the-Left strategy, e.g. in these words:

"There were nobody who could go out and explain it properly. There was no cadre of dedicated, socialist members. Those who did go on tours explaining, did not believe in it themselves".

And another:

"The leaders did not believe in it, and they were the main exponents of the Charter. The meaning of the Charter should have been translated less by explanation, more by practical examples".

To those chairmen in ideological disaccord with the Charter's socialist ideas, these discrepancies demonstrated the hypocrisy of the leadership, and their comments ran accordingly:

"Those who made it, did not live it. They had buses and companies themselves. They could not explain it because they did not believe it, did not live it".

Attitudes

In the survey of the whole press coverage during the first three months, only a very simple assessment was made of the content of the press entries. Judging from this distribution and from a more thorough examination of a limited number of papers - the two English dailies - over a longer period, not much seems to be gained from a more extensive study of the content of the press entries. A few tendencies should, however, be noted.

Many resolutions from district councils, city councils, and secretary generals "on behalf of the people" appeared during

the first months. These expressed support, but did not elaborate.

As reported by the press, the ministers' speeches during their tour of the districts around November 1969, were only simple interpretations of the Charter.

The most elaborate reaction came from the National Union of Students of Uganda (NUSU), first, in a statement of October 1969, and later, in a letter to the President in January 1970.¹¹⁴⁾ Two points were specifically emphasized: nationalization and leader commitment. The students recommended full nationalization of privately owned companies and financial institutions and the abolition of mailo land.¹¹⁵⁾ Several politicians and some others also expressed themselves in favour of nationalization without making quite as sweeping demands as the students.¹¹⁶⁾ But the absence of demands of nationalization in the speeches of most ministers should also be noted. And there was not much socialism in Felix Onama's suggestion, at the Annual Delegates' Conference, of turning the private bus companies into public companies "with shares at 2/- shillings each so that the Common Man could own them."¹¹⁷⁾

In their January letter the students advised the President as to the "first step at implementation: search and research his own house."¹¹⁸⁾

Outside NUSU and the President himself, few seemed to worry publicly about leader commitment and behaviour. An exception was Bidandi-Ssali, who

"cautioned the people that those who were misinterpreting the Charter and the National Service were mostly UPC members and some Ministers who had selfishly accumulated almost uncountable wealth in this short spell of time".¹¹⁹⁾

Okello Oculi raised the question of implementation especially concerning participation and mobilization. He did not put

forward any concrete proposals, but expressed scepticism of implementation of the Common Man's Charter through inherited institutions and asked for imagination on the issue of political institution-building.¹²⁰⁾ Gengyera-Pinyowa, also of Makerere, took up the problems of implementation, and pointed to the necessity of a political leadership committed to the Charter's ideals, to the importance of public acceptance and finally to the phenomenon of "grassroots bossism", which might prove an obstacle to having the common man benefit.¹²¹⁾

As mentioned above the President expressed concern - at the time of the passing of the Charter - about the lack of commitment on the part of many UPC politicians. He returned repeatedly to this theme, and when launching Doc. No. 5 on the method of election of members of Parliament, he pointed out that:

"the greatest and most important factor in the implementation of the provisions of the Common Man's Charter was the degree to which members of the Party, Party officials and all leaders of the Party were committed to the Move-to-the-Left strategy contained in the Charter".¹²²⁾

When first announcing the issue of an ideological document to the National Council on 3 October 1969, Obote strongly attacked those who were scared of words like 'left' and 'socialism'.

"Refusal to have these principles of the Party openly spelt out and enunciated for fear either of some forces in the Country or outside or for any other reason is not compatible with membership of the Party".¹²³⁾

After the publication of the Charter some speakers still seemed to be of the opinion that the word 'socialism' scared people; either they rejected the labels like 'socialism' or they took pains to explain it.¹²⁴⁾ Others, including Obote, gave assurances that the Common Man's Charter was neither communist nor marxist.¹²⁵⁾

That foreign ideas should not be uncritically adopted - a theme from the Charter itself - was taken up by Obote on several occasions:

"Socialism in Peking was different from socialism in Moscow. The type of socialism Uganda wanted did not have a "head office" in Africa or outside it. The head office of Uganda socialism was in the UPC headquarters".¹²⁶⁾

At the Delegates' Conference when the Charter was adopted, Obote stressed that there were foreigners and vested interest who did not want to see the Charter implemented.¹²⁷⁾ In several speeches he paid special attention to the dangers of foreign influence¹²⁸⁾ and maintained that:

"the only decisions which can be taken by say people in London about Uganda is to make people here slaves".¹²⁹⁾

A limited, but systematic survey of the attitudes toward the Common Man's Charter is offered by the constituency chairmen interviews. As heads of the important intermediate level of the party organization, their attitude may be considered to be crucial. Quite a number of constituency chairmen were also holding high public offices, and the ministers especially might be of importance concerning implementation.¹³⁰⁾

The constituency chairmen interviewed were asked about their opinion about the Common Man's Charter as well as their attitudes towards the four subsequent policy documents. As many as 12 of 41 respondents did not express any clear attitude to the Charter. Of the remainder, 12 said that they agreed, 13 that they partly agreed and partly disagreed, and four that they disagreed.¹³¹⁾

One reason for introducing the ideological document ahead of the constituency elections in the party and the parliamentary elections, would be that the candidates' attitudes towards the Charter could act as criteria guiding the voters. A

possible effect on the parliamentary elections can never be measured due to the intervening military coup. Concerning the UPC constituency chairmen, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions, because the number of chairmen in each category of old and new elected chairmen is small.

Of those chairmen who were interviewed, 29 were chairmen during the year following the publication of the Charter, and two of these expressed disagreement. They were both re-elected in 1970 and were joined by two first time elected chairmen who completely disagreed with the Charter. On the other side, those agreeing with the Charter were also somewhat more numerous among those elected in 1970; the number of chairmen who partly agreed and partly disagreed or who gave no answer, declined relatively.

Constituency chairmen:

| Attitude | Former not re-elected 1970 | Former re-elected 1970 | New 1970 | Total |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|----------|-------|
| Agree | 1 | 4 | 7 | 12 |
| Partly agree, partly disagree | 2 | 7 | 4 | 13 |
| Disagree | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| NA | 3 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| Total | 6 | 17 | 18 | 41 |

When commenting on their attitude towards the Common Man's Charter, the constituency chairmen most often brought out the question of implementation. Some chairmen who were in favour of the Charter expressed scepticism towards the possibilities or implementation because of lack of devoted leadership (often with reference to ministers owning bus companies etc.).

In the case of quite a few others, who also pointed at the difference between preaching and practicing accordingly, the emphasis on the problems of implementation served more as an

excuse for their vague or even negative attitude toward the Charter. Even though there were good reasons for complaining about the lack of explanation and interpretation of the Charter, again this criticism was voiced by those chairmen who said that they did not quite understand the Charter or did not want to form an opinion. A few complained of lack of debate and a few others asserted that their opinion would not have been heard or should not be voiced.

Some perceived the Charter as clearly socialist and approved it on that basis. There were, however, more chairmen who disagreed with the Charter on that ground, and who did it frankly with reference to their own position as capitalists. A few others were willing to accept the distributive policy expressed in the Charter, but favoured a capitalistic form of economic development.

Concluding remarks

Summing up the efforts at dissemination of the Common Man's Charter, the overview is not very impressive. The translations which were a prerequisite for wider distribution, were fairly soon completed, but do not seem to have been quite satisfactory. A fair number of copies of the booklet were ready at an early stage, but the distribution does not seem to have been well planned and proved very inefficient. The distribution was not coordinated and relied mainly on agents who were not motivated for the task. Even if the party was judged as incapable of carrying the whole burden of distribution, it seems surprising that it was not even partly entrusted with this task. If not given commissions an organization could tend to disintegrate.

The radio - if properly used - might have acted as an efficient channel of dissemination. However, the radio was a late starter, and because quotations formed the bulk of the programmes, it probably had an adverse effect. The school programmes might have represented a better vehicle, but to reach their audience they were dependent on technical faci-

lities and motivation among the teaching staff. It is not unlikely that either or both were lacking in most cases.¹³²⁾

The courses and seminars reached only very few people. This type of activity may have been the most efficient means - as far as it went - but it should be noted that more civil servants and chiefs appear to have been reached by this type of activity than were party officials.

The press - more of a mass medium - can still not reach more than parts of the Ugandan population owing to the level of illiteracy and the lack of correspondence between language distribution of the press and of the population. The press reaches mainly the English-speaking elite and the centrally located and relatively prosperous Ganda tribe. Neither group could be expected to take a favourable view of a radicalization of UPC policy. Two thirds of the newspaper circulation - including three out of five dailies - were privately owned and mostly foreign.

This appears to be a weak basis from which to sell a new ideological document to the people at large. However, the press did, to a considerable extent, disseminate information on the Common Man's Charter, especially during the debating stage. The information was overwhelmingly favourable, the unfavourable entries mainly appearing in the Luganda press. The bulk of this information was reports of speeches, and a more thorough analysis of the press entries may reveal that the information was fairly superficial and repetitive. It may be assumed that it scarcely contributed to the formation of readers' opinion of the Charter.

In relation to their number of issues, the government and party papers wrote more about the Charter than did the private press, but even so, nearly half the entries appeared in the private press and, thanks to wider circulation, reached farther.

The three quarters of the population who were neither Baganda nor Basoga was fobbed off with one fifth of the total number

of entries on the Charter. Taking circulation into account, the share of these 'other vernaculars' in press information about the Charter was even smaller.

This implies that the parts of the country where Obote and UPC might find fertile ground to sow the seeds of a more radical policy, were scarcely reached by press information. And what there was, was probably rather uninspired platitudes.¹³³⁾

The bulk of press information - including the more unfavourable part - reached the elite and the Baganda, groups who could be expected to react adversely to the ideology of the Common Man's Charter.

No effort has been made to study grass-root attitudes to the Common Man's Charter.¹³⁴⁾ Only attitudes at an intermediate, but crucial level, that of the constituency chairmen, have been systematically studied. The most important finding is the lack of unanimous support of the Charter among this group, and their uneven, but generally limited, activity in disseminating information about the Charter. Many of them seem to perceive the leaders as insincere; the task of the party in relation to the task of dissemination was only in the forefront of some chairmen's minds; there was nearest agreement on the question of the most efficient method of information, i.e. face to face contact in meetings at the local level.

The Common Man's Charter was probably not intended as a first draft, later to be the object of extensive revision in the Party's national organs. An ideological document like the Charter, did scarcely lend itself to such handling. Ali Mazrui's observation of July 1970 may be correct: "The 1967 Constitution was discussed with greater candour and openness than the Common Man's Charter". His general statement "that frank debate in Uganda has declined" may not, however, have been valid.¹³⁵⁾

Debate was encouraged. Such debate could, however, scarcely be expected to question the basic principles, but rather to concentrate on implementation and necessary follow-up. And the subsequent extensive debate on Document No. 5, in which Mazrui himself took part, suggests no general decline in "candid discourse".

Returning to the Charter, Obote's intention was obviously to inform the masses of the people about the principles of the Charter, to gain acceptance and to build new support for the UPC. There are indications in the above investigation that he did not succeed in this respect.

First it should be noted that the Charter did not lend itself easily to general understanding and acceptance. Akena Adoko for instance, felt that the Common Man's Charter, was too complicated for the mass of the people to understand, but Obote expressed the belief that the people understood some of it.¹³⁶⁾

In order to convey its message effectively, the Charter would have to be explained, interpreted and acted out by institutions which were motivated and by people who accepted it. However, for dissemination of the Charter governmental and private commercial structures were mainly employed. One could not expect these to have the motivation required to do such a job effectively.

In the UPC neither the national secretariat nor the local organizations and their officers were entrusted with the task. This may have been due to a realistic appraisal of the party's limited capacity and of the strength of the commitment of party workers.¹³⁷⁾

The seminars given by the Milton Obote Foundation in cooperation with the UPC were on far too limited a scale, and the National Union of Students was only brought in more than a year later to help explain Document No. 5. In a report on its experience, NUSU comments on the prevailing ignorance and

distortion of the Move-to-the-Left strategy:

"This is partly because there has never been enough copies of any of the documents at any one time to circulate through the masses and there has been a general lack of information in several places. In many places for example we were perhaps the first to hold public meetings for the purpose of explaining the new political culture".¹³⁸⁾

To convey the message of the Charter orally, Obote relied mainly on his ministers speaking at public rallies and on official functions. As many of these and other UPC leaders were not committed to the ideology of the Charter, they did not contribute effectively toward making the Charter known and accepted.

As many leaders did not practice as they preached, the credibility gap grew wider between the leaders and the common man.

While relying also on insincere politicians to disseminate the Charter, Obote may have lost the support of the committed adherents to the Move-to-the-Left strategy.¹³⁹⁾

Could, then, the Charter's message have been conveyed through a revitalized party and by a new, committed leadership? A few of the constituency chairmen interviewed also seem to have harboured the idea of reversed sequence.¹⁴⁰⁾ Efforts toward these aims belong, however, to a later period. In any case, which force should have taken the initiative to revitalise the party at an earlier stage? And through which channels and on what criteria should a committed leadership have been recruited?

A tentative conclusion would be that the Common Man's Charter did not arouse the popular support required to counterbalance the opposition to the radicalization of the UPC policy; an opposition which was to be found mainly in parts of the elite

- including UPC - and among the Baganda. Neither did the constituency chairmen elected in 1970 represent a guarantee for future implementation of the principles of the Charter.

NOTES

1. This aspect is treated by the author in a forthcoming article: "Renewing leadership and building grass-root organization. The Reorganization of the Uganda People's Congress and the Party election in 1970."
2. These proposals, spelt out in Document No. 5, will be dealt with in a forthcoming article by the author.
3. Christopher Clapham: "The Context of African Political Thought", in Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8, No. 1, April 1970, pp. 1-13. Clapham maintains that ideologies regarded as blueprints for political development are not useful in political analysis.
4. Clapham, see note 3 above, also warns that ideologies as a set of political attitudes should not be relied upon to reveal what the authors actually believe.

It should be noted, however, that even such a severe critic of Obote as Ali Mazrui admits: "His ideas about national unity were not empty... His socialism was not insincere". Kalibala of Munno interviews Mazrui in East Africa Journal, Vol. 8, No. 6, June 1971, pp. 4-5.

5. Clapham, see note 3 above, as an alternative approach to the study of African political thought, suggests examining political utterances through their purpose, language and audience. As to purpose of African leaders after independence, appeals for support predominate. To illustrate his point he writes: "...in order to understand the Arusha Declaration... it is not very helpful to seek out Nyerere's political thought, to elicit his views of the nature of man, or to compare him to Rosseau; it is helpful to look at his attempts to arrest incipient class formation, to retain the support of the peasantry, or to contain rival views within TANU", p. 10.

6. The problem of potential support groups which were not mobilized, is touched by D.L. Cohen: "Ryan on Obote", in Mawazo, Vol. 3, No. 2, December 1971, p. 47, cf. pp. 48-49, in his critical comments to Selwyn Ryan's article: "A Balance Sheet of the Revolution", in Mawazo, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 1971.
7. According to John R. Nellis: A Theory of Ideology. The Tanzanian Example, Nairobi 1972, p. 41, political ideology is only "an organized set of justifications for the policies and activities of the ruling regime", acting as a time-limited substitute for material benefits. For various reasons I do not find his model very rewarding, see the author's review in Internasjonal Politikk, Oslo, No. 2, April/June 1973, pp. 489-91.
8. A.G.G. Gingyera-Pinycwa: "On the Proposed Move-to-the-Left in Uganda", in East Africa Journal, Vol. 7, No. 2, February 1970, p. 22 and Africa Report, February 1969, p. 26.
9. When singing at the opening of the UPC national council meeting on 12 August 1970, Obote mentioned Nkrumah together with the names of the members of the Mulungushi Club (UNIP (Kaunda) in Zambia and TANU (Nyerere) in Tanzania as well as KANU in Kenya and MPR in Congo, now Zaire.) The Mulungushi Club dates from the Annual Convention of the United National Independence Party of Zambia held at Mulungushi in 1967. According to Obote in a speech at the opening of the Annual Delegates' Conference of UPC in Kampala 1968 it was: "...a club that has no set of rules, but a club which unites these great Parties in East and Central Africa." Stencilled copy in the author's possession.
10. Immanuel Wallerstein: "Left and Right in Africa", in Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 9, No. 1, May 1971, pp. 1-10, does not deny the existence of the dis-

inction, but discusses possible criteria for making it. He suggests the construction of an index based on a combination of policy stands within four areas: foreign policy, pan-African politics, the official ideology of the State, and the economic policies of the State.

11. Remarks by the President of UPC at the National Council meeting 3 October 1969. Stencilled copy in the author's possession.
12. The People (hereafter TP) 9 October 1973. He wanted people to find what was missing, so as to strengthen the Charter, but maintained that it would be a pity to abstract anything. Cf. also TP (ed.) 21 November 1969.
13. Secretary General of UPC, Felix Onama, on Uganda Television (hereafter UTV), reported in TP 21 October 1969. In the foreword to the Common Man's Charter (hereafter CMC) Obote, as President of the Party, assumed the responsibility for codifying the principles of the Party, but added that officials and members of the Party and other persons had been of great assistance in interpreting party resolutions. See also Abdala-Anyuru, chairman of the Public Service Commission speaking at a seminar reported in Uganda Argus (hereafter UA) 6 August 1970, who adds that the Charter is the result of the initiative and the leadership of the Party as a whole.
14. It is also stated in CMC, art. 42. The meetings of the Central Executive Committee, the National Council and the Delegates' Conference were originally scheduled to take place on 22-24 October 1969, i.e. only a fortnight after the presentation of the CMC. TP 15 and 21 October 1969.
15. Central Executive Committee and National Council meetings on 16 December 1969, Delegates' Conference 17-19 December, TP 21 November 1969.

16. Obote was not present at the meetings which were chaired by the Vice-President of UPC, John Babiha (the Central Executive Committee) and the National Chairman of UPC, Shaban Nkutu (the National Council). Report and editorial in TP 17 December 1969, also in UA 17 December 1969.
17. At the Annual Delegates' Conference only one amendment was made, a reference was included to Uganda's responsibility toward the East African Community and the Organization of African Unity. UA 20 and 22 December 1969. Uganda News (hereafter UN) 20 December 1969.
18. Reported debate, Annual Delegates' Conference, in TP 20 December 1968.
19. Obote at Annual Delegates' Conference, reported in UA and TP 19 December 1969.
20. In an article in East Africa Journal, Vol. 8, No. 2, February 1971, pp. 16-25: "The implications of the Common Man's Charter for existing land tenure institutions in Uganda", James Obol-Ochola extracts the following twelve basic principles from the Charter: Republicanism, Centralism, Nationalism, Stability, Modernization, Egalitarianism, Economic Justice, Economic Independence, Social Justice, Political Justice, Positive International Cooperation, Self-reliance. He finds the twelve principles to be "inimical and antagonistic to feudalism, capitalism and tribalism."

A.G.G. Gingyera-Pinyewa, for the purpose of his analysis in East Africa Journal, Vol. 7, No. 2, February 1970, "On the proposed Move-to-the-Left in Uganda, divides the Charter in three parts, (1) a set of principles for which the UPC stands (including republicanism and human liberties), (2) a diagnosis of the ills of our society as presently constituted (among which are feudalism, sectionalism, factionalism, capitalism and foreign influence), (3) a set of prescriptions or proposals for the cure of

these ills (economic growth and fair distribution).

21. CMC, art. 20, cf. art. 4.
22. CMC, art. 21.
23. CMC, art. 19, cf. art. 8, 14, and 17.
24. CMC, art. 6, cf. art. 8 and 9.
25. CMC, art. 26.
26. CMC, art. 3, 6, and 7.
27. CMC, art. 11 and 17.
28. CMC, art. 9.
29. CMC, art. 10.
30. CMC, art. 29, cf. art. 3.
31. CMC, art. 2, cf. art. 6.
32. CMC, art. 29.
33. CMC, art. 26.
34. CMC, art. 6 and 4.
35. CMC, art. 25.
36. CMC, art. 4, which also states: "We reject, both in theory and practice, that Uganda ... should be the domain ... of Capitalism."
37. CMC, art. 22.
38. CMC, art. 1.

39. See e.g. Ahmed Mohiddin's critique of Kenya's Sessional paper No. 1 on African Socialism in East Africa Journal, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 7-16 and Tom Mboya's answer in East African Journal, Vol. 6, No. 5, pp. 9-14, Sessional Paper No. 10 - It is African and it is Socialism.
40. CMC, art. 38, cf. art. 30.
41. In CMC, art. 30, parastatal bodies, cooperatives and state enterprises are all envisaged in the future economy. Cf. also art. 6 and 38.
42. CMC, art. 39, cf. art. 25.
43. CMC, art. 31, 32, and 33.
44. CMC, art. 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28.
45. CMC, art. 27.
46. CMC, art. 21. Cf. also art. 26: "...two nations - one fabulously rich and living on the sweat of the other and the other living in abject poverty - both living in one country."
47. E.g. CMC, art. 41 and 6. In art. 9 the feudalists were considered "a barrier to the full and effective participation of the common man in the Government."
48. Okello Oculi: "The Issue of Participation and the Common Man's Charter", in Mawazo, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1970, pp. 25-38.
49. Göran Hydén: "Political Development in Rural Tanzania", in TANU yajenga nchi. Nairobi 1969, pp. 20-30, lists five problems which are common to all political systems, but are in the nature of basic crisis which must be surmounted in new, national political systems. With the problems, he lists five corresponding capabilities which the system must develop.

1. The problem of national identity - the assimilative capability.
2. The problem of the legitimacy of the regime - the regulative capability.
3. The problem of providing participation in the system - the responsive capability.
4. The problem of allocating resources - the distributive capability.
5. The problem of organization for the purpose of resource extraction (penetration) - the extractive capability.

Hydén utilizes, with some adaptations, the concepts of Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell Jr.: Comparative Politics: a developmental approach, Boston 1966.

50. CMC, art. 6, 8, 9, 12, and 17.
51. CMC, art. 41. This point is also stressed by Okello Oculi, Mawazo, Vol. 2, No. 2.
52. CMC, e.g. art. 1, 4, 7, 21, 24, 25, 26, and 27.
53. CMC, art. 31, 32, and 35.
54. CMC, art. 43.
55. The translation and printing of the Swahili version were done in Dar es Salaam.
56. These words were listed in a glossary at the back of the booklets.
57. The main informant on the translator groups is the Librarian of Makerere University Library, T.K. Lwanga, who headed the Luganda translators' group. There may have been differences as to the solidity of the work in the different groups.

The Chief General Service Officer, Akena Adoko, assisted in selecting translators and forming the groups, but information rendered by him is very limited. The Luo and Ateso groups were headed by ministers, while the chairman of the National Trading Corporation, S. Mukombe-Mpambara was in charge of the Runyooro/Rutooro version.

58. Two Ganda UPC constituency chairmen - differing in their attitude toward the Charter - both expressed criticism of the Luganda version when interviewed. (For chairmen interviews see below and note 108.) The chairman holding a favourable view of the Charter, gave an example: "In Luganda there is a proverb that says that if a man has little food and gives of what little he has to others, nobody has anything. This was used to mean socialism. Another proverb about everybody getting something, should rather have been used.
59. Criticisms of the translations were publicly expressed by Isaac Ojok, Resident Tutor of the Centre for Continuing Education for the Northern Region, in a seminar reported in TP 15 June 1970. The editor of UA, Ateker Ejalu, informs that the first version of the Ateso translation was discarded, and he did not find the second version satisfactory either. Also a chairman from Ankole was very critical of the translations. The administrative secretary of the UPC, Otim Oryem, agreed that the translations were not very accurate and that they had been criticized. Interview 20 June 1970.
60. Information is gathered from the printers, Uganda Press Trust and Consolidated Printers in Kampala, the Government Printer in Entebbe, and for the Swahili version, from a Dar es Salaam printer. The distribution over printers:

| | | |
|----------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Uganda Press Trust | 16,600 | copies |
| Consolidated Printer | 53,000 | " |
| Government Printer | 29,000 | " |
| Total | <u>102,500</u> | <u>copies</u> |

The distribution over languages:

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| English | 49,900 copies |
| Ateso | 12,000 " |
| Luo | 10,000 " |
| Luganda | 9,500 " |
| Lugbara | 5,000 " |
| Runyoro/Rutooro | 7,100 " |
| Runyankore/Rukiga | 5,000 " |
| Swahili | <u>4,000 "</u> |
| Total | <u>102,500 copies</u> |

Information is lacking concerning the number of copies of a pocket edition printed by Uganda Press Trust and about an edition printed in Great Britain. The pocket edition was out only a few days before the military coup in January 1971, and could not have been widely distributed.

61. Mr. Nyapidi of the General Service Department, Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs, stressed that the printing had not been paid for by the government, and that the income from the sale of the first impressions was banked in a special account to pay for subsequent impressions. Interview with the Chief General Service Officer, Akena Adoko, later, confirmed the information on channels of distribution.
62. This part was handled by the two personal secretaries to the President, from whom further information has not been obtainable.
63. According to Otim Oryem, the administrative secretary of UPC, people would have expected the copies to be free if distributed at the UPC headquarters, while actually they had to be sold. According to Oryem all ordering of printing, financing and distribution were arranged from the President's Office. (Interview 20 June 1970.)

64. The District Commissioners were the representatives of the Central government in the districts. The office dated from the colonial period. In 1964 the office of Secretary General was also introduced in the districts; they were appointed by the government but politically recruited. Problems about distribution of functions and authority between the two were common and gave rise to a debate on the merging of the two, or other changes.
65. All District Commissioners were asked to complete a questionnaire concerning the distribution of the Common Man's Charter, 16 of 18 rendered the information requested.
66. Forms were distributed to all hotels. Out of four privately owned hotels in Kampala, three had sold copies of the Common Man's Charter. Out of four privately owned hotels up-country, two did not return the form, two did not sell the Charter. Out of the nine Uganda Hotels, the Common Man's Charter had only been sold by the one in Entebbe and the one in Masindi (5 copies). For UDC's Apolo Hotel in Kampala is no information.
67. Nineteen shops were registered as members of the Uganda Booksellers' Association, of which 16 were interviewed. An additional 21 stores were listed on the criteria of advertising Akena Adoko's book, Uganda Crisis, which was published in 1970; 14 of these were interviewed. Finally six more stores were selected and interviewed on the basis of additional information.
68. The figure is based on detailed information from all stores interviewed, but as some of these furnished other stores with copies, an approximate discount is made of the sum.
69. Of the 36 stores interviewed, 21 were visited between May and October 1970, i.e. before the military coup, some of them several times.

70. The Charter was sold at 1 shilling. Some stores were given 5% discount while demanding some 25%.
71. Interview with Otim Oryem, who checked with the President's Office.
72. Erissa Kironde, a governor of the Milton Obote Foundation, reported in TP 18 July 1970, "Usually street vendors sell magazines etc. on the pavements of the main streets of Kampala."
73. TP 21 September 1970, Kalema speaking at UPC branch meeting, Koome.
74. Dhuru B. Patel: The Evolution of Mass Media in Uganda, stencilled paper for the East African Academy Conference, Makerere University College, 1969, pp. 9-11.
75. According to import figures recorded by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 647,422 radio sets were imported between 1953 and the end of 1969. Adding Uganda-produced sets, only from 1967, brings the figure to around 700,000. Subtracting deficient sets, but adding irregular import, a figure in the neighbourhood of 600,000 seems probable. D.B. Patel, op.cit., p. 14, puts the number of receivers at 300,000 and calculating on ten listeners per set, arrives at the same conclusion as far as proportion of population reached.
76. Interview with H.F. Humphreys, Chief Engineer, Radio Uganda. Up till the end of 1971 the peripheral parts of the country only had short wave transmission, but by then four medium wave transmissions should be ready. These would serve the Midland, the Western, the Northern and the Eastern regions and provide facilities for the production of regional programmes.
77. There are no figures available for the geographical distribution of radio sets.

78. According to D.B. Patel, op.cit., p. 17, a committee of inquiry recommended the transformation of TV and Radio into a semi-independent corporation, but the proposals were not taken up by the Government.
79. Information from P.W. Ekodeu, Controller of Programmes, Radio Uganda.
80. In an article in TP 22 October 1969, Radio Uganda was criticized for not broadcasting translations and discussions in the vernaculars, which could have been expected.
81. Without proper knowledge of the content of the school broadcasting programmes it is not possible to say if they distinguished themselves from the recitals.
82. CMC, art. 17.
83. D.B. Patel, op.cit., pp. 12-17. The financial situation of UTV was also difficult as actual costs had run up to an amount nearly ten times the original estimates, and the yearly revenue from advertising amounted to less than 1/3 of the estimates. D.B. Patel, op.cit., p. 14, 17 and note 35.
84. D.B. Patel, op.cit., p. 14.
85. D.B. Patel, op.cit., p. 13. Relay stations were working in Masaka and Mbarara in the West, Lira in the North and Soroti and Mbale in the East.
86. The programme "Topic for discussion" had the following participants: Semyano Kiingi, Chairman, Produce Marketing Board; George Lomoro, Uganda Development Corporation; Yash Tandon, Lecturer, Makerere University College; Ateker Ejalu, editor Uganda Argus; reported in TP 15 October 1969.

87. Director of television, A. Awori, was approached for information on several occasions in the pre-coup period. He did not, however, part with any information due, it seems, more to lack of proper recording than to unwillingness. The acting director of the first post-coup period was also approached, but disappeared under unknown circumstances.
88. The Centre for Continuing Education is under Makerere University (then Makerere University College) and includes the former Department of Extra Mural Studies. The Centre had at the time six resident tutors based in Kampala, Jinja, Mbale, Gulu, Fort Portal and Kabale.
89. All the six resident tutors were requested to complete forms for each seminar or meeting they had arranged. Regrettably only three were willing to give information.
90. Information from M.T.H. Mushanga, resident tutor in Fort Portal for the Western part of the country.
91. Information from C. Kabuga, resident tutor in Kabale for the South West and gathered from newspaper reports. The activity may have been more extensive, as the tutor's information does not appear to be exhaustive.
92. Information from T. Awori, resident tutor in Kampala for West Mengo, Masaka and Mubende.
93. The three tutors in Gulu, Mbale and Jinja did not complete the forms. Apart from those seminars etc. mentioned, there were no reports in the newspapers, which might be taken as a sign of little or no activity.
94. The Institute of Public Administration is under the Ministry of Public Service and Cabinet Affairs.
95. Information from the Institute of Public Administration. The Common Man's Charter also seems to have been a theme

in other seminars at the Institute, both before and after this period, e.g. course for secretary generals in December, TP 10 December 1969, UA 11 December 1969.

96. The Milton Obote Foundation ran an Adult Education Centre and had the following subsidiaries: The People, Uganda Press Trust, Uganda Publishing House, Uganda School Supply, and Graphic Art.
97. Information rendered by the Milton Obote Foundation. Three seminars were held between August and November 1970 and they were probably intended to continue.
98. Report of eleven ministers touring one district each is given in Voice of UPC, supplement to TP 10 December 1969. Even when omitting the President, Obote, and the Vice-President, John Babiha, there were enough minister to go around the eighteen districts. Probably all districts were covered this way. According to a deputy minister, interviewed as constituency chairman, each minister was given a district by ballot.
99. TP 21 and 22 November 1969. There are also indications of activity by NUYO, UA 13 January 1970, but no systematic survey of the organization's efforts.
100. Patel, op.cit., p. 6, with reference to Pierre Galay: "The English Missionary Press in East and Central Africa", in Gazette, Vol. XIV, No. 2, June 1968. Area Handbook for Uganda, Washington 1969, p. 114, has a somewhat lower estimation of the literacy level.
101. Clive Crippen: "Linguistic complexity in Uganda", in W.H. Whiteley (ed.): Language Use and Social Change, Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 145-159. Crippen's table does not indicate how circulation was calculated nor to which year it refers. Another review of the language situation and language policy is given by Livingstone Walusimbi:

"The Language Problems in Uganda", in Mawazo, Vol. 4, No. 1, June 1973, pp. 26-29.

102. First, the survey only covers newspapers published in Uganda, i.e. excluding Taifa Leo, a Swahili daily edited and printed in Nairobi with a 2,000-copy circulation, as well as the English dailies, East Africa Standard and Daily Nation, also Nairobi based. Secondly, only papers appearing at least monthly are included. However, four monthlies were disregarded as they were not public newspapers, but internal papers for organizations and companies. Neither was Uganda News, a daily stencilled information paper published by the Ministry of Information and intended for embassies etc., considered public. Copies of one Protestant fortnightly were not obtainable. This was also the case concerning Uganda Students Newsletter, intended for Uganda students abroad, and Uganda Schools Newsletter, both monthly and published by the Ministry of Information. One weekly and one fortnightly Catholic paper, with circulations of 500 and 5,000 respectively, did not contain any entry on the Common Man's Charter during the period examined. With reference to the catalogue in Makerere University Library, this leaves ten papers for analysis.
103. During this period Uganda Argus still had a British editor. Only in July 1970 did a Ugandan, Ateker Ejalu, the editor of the UPC daily, The People, become editor of Uganda Argus.
104. The importance of the Catholic press is stressed by D.B. Patel, op.cit., p. 2, also with reference to Pierre Galay.
105. An evaluation of the government press as well as a general overview is given by Daniel Nelson: "Newspapers in Uganda", in Transition, No. 35, February-March 1968, pp. 29-35.

106. The People was owned by the Milton Obote Foundation. It started as a weekly in September 1964 and was turned into a daily by January 1969.
107. A measure for press 'product' in each language group is calculated this way: the number of issues of each paper during a period - here three months - is multiplied with the circulation of that paper, thus giving the total number of copies produced by each paper. For the three-month period the basis is 75 for dailies, 13 for weeklies, 7 for fortnightlies and 3 for monthlies. Any period, a month or a year, could be chosen.
108. By September 1970 there were 79 incumbent UPC constituency chairmen. About half of these were re-elected in the 1970 October-November party elections, while the other half either did not contest the election or were not re-elected. With 55 new elected chairmen the number of incumbent chairmen following the elections rose to 95, as the number of constituencies had been increased in connection with the election reform and the soon forthcoming general elections. A sample of half of the population of 134 had been drawn, but due to the difficult circumstances under which the interviews were conducted (see foreword), only a more limited number could be interviewed, not all of them included in the original sample. Some chairmen had already been killed and other had fled the country. Only a few of those approached declined.

The representativity on three criteria of those actually interviewed is shown below:

| | Total | Sample |
|--|-------|--------|
| All | 134 | 45 |
| <u>Former and new:</u> | | |
| - former, not standing or not re-elected | 39 | 8 |
| - former, re-elected | 40 | 17 |
| - new elected | 55 | 20 |

| <u>Geographically:</u> | Total | Sample |
|------------------------|-------|--------|
| - east | 37 | 15 |
| - north | 29 | 4 |
| - west | 31 | 14 |
| - south | 37 | 12 |

Public office:

| | | |
|----------------------------------|----|----|
| - ministers and deputy ministers | 25 | 6 |
| - MP backbenchers | 21 | 9 |
| - non MPs | 88 | 30 |

The questionnaire was divided in three parts, one concerning the chairmen's own background and career, another focusing on their perceptions, attitudes and opinions toward the political process and UPC policy, and finally one eliciting information about party organization and activity. In some cases a reduced questionnaire was presented, partly due to language difficulties, partly to other difficult circumstances.

109. Letter to the President from NUSU, TP 1 January 1970. Cf. also West Menago District Council's call on party leaders as well as district councillors and chiefs to bring information on the CMC, reported in TP 8 November 1969, and the editorial in TP 22 June 1970, while praising the efforts by other institutions, demanded more activity by the party at lower levels.
110. See e.g. NUSU letter and West Menago District Council resolution in note 109 above and letter to the editor in TP 29 November 1969.
111. Editorial in TP 18 October 1969; letter to the editor in TP 20 October 1969; article by Rak Morak in TP 22 October 1969; letter to the editor in TP 29 November 1969. In a long letter to the editor in UA 6 November 1969 the limited reach of TV, radio and the press was also stressed.

112. E.g. editorial in TP 18 October 1969; letter to the editor in TP 20 October 1969.
113. Obote speaking at a rally in Bugisu, reported in TP 10 November 1969.
114. TP 17 October 1969; TP 1 January 1970.
115. UA 29 October 1969: "there should be no room for private ownership of the means of production and therefore privately controlled companies and financial institutions, whether foreign or locally incorporated should be nationalized."

In an article in East Africa Journal, Vol. 8, No. 2, February 1971, pp. 16-25: "The implication of the Common Man's Charter for existing land tenure institutions in Uganda," James Obol-Ochola recommends the abolishment of mailo land.

In his comments in the post-coup debate on Obote's relationship to the Baganda, Cohen, *op.cit.*, p. 47, mentions the lack of reform in land ownership. "The real mistake it would seem to me, was attacking Baganda at the level of its symbols, thus alienating the sentiments of the mass of the Baganda, while leaving the major part of its structure, that is land ownership and the power of its wealthy and educated elite, untouched, so that no new basis for support could be built amongst the Baganda."

116. E.g. Picho Ali of the President's Office at the UPC seminar, reported in TP 27 April 1970.

A Makerere economist, Y. Kyesimira, did not find local incorporation adequate and recommended nationalization of banks. TP 15 December 1969.

Bidandi-Ssali, touring a Mengo constituency, expected big enterprises like the Kilembe mines to come under

nationalization. TP 20 November 1969.

The Uganda Students in Britain were less explicit in their resolution than NUSU, reported in TP 3 November 1969.

117. UA 20 December 1969.
118. TP 1 January 1970.
119. TP 20 November 1969.
120. Okello Oculi: "The Issue of Participation and the Common Man's Charter", in Mawazo, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 25-38.
121. Gingyera-Pinycwa, op.cit.
122. UN 17 July 1970.
123. Stencilled copy of the speech in author's possession.
124. E.g. Makerere economist, Y. Kyesimira, TP 15 December 1969, and Makerere political scientist, Ahmed Mohiddin, at a lecture in Jinja, reported in TP 5 February 1970.
125. Ben Olila of the President's Office at a seminar for secretary generals, UA 11 December 1969 and TP 10 December 1969. Also Obote in a public speech in Kampala. TP 12 November 1969.
126. Speech at the Annual Delegates' Conference, reported in UA 19 December 1969, cf. also speech in Bugisu, reported in TP 10 November 1969: "We do not bring badges from outside Africa and start wearing them in the heart of Africa. We believe in the African image. We believe in the dignity of the African. We want to rule our country and we do not want another imperial power to come after we have already obtained our Independence."

127. UA 19 December 1969.
128. Obote speaking at a rally in Atatur, reported in TP 1 December 1969. Cf. also note 124 above.
129. TP 1 December 1969.
130. Of a total of 134 chairmen, 25 were ministers or deputy ministers, 21 were backbenchers.
- Of the 79 chairmen in the 1969-70 period, 40 were re-elected in 1970 and joined by 55 newly elected.
131. The constituency chairmen were asked about their opinion of the five policy documents and shown a form where they could tick off one of the following alternatives for each document: completely agree; mainly agree; partly agree - partly disagree; mainly disagree; completely disagree. The question was not put to 4 of the 45 chairmen.
132. A very limited check on these problems reveals: Nine Norwegian volunteers teaching mostly in primary and some in secondary schools in different parts of Uganda during that period, report that as far as they know neither their own class nor other classes at their school had used the school programmes on the Charter. Five schools had no radio, in the case of the remaining four, the radio was of little use as it was mostly out of repair or the receiving conditions were bad. Many of the teachers in these schools, however, had radios and could, if motivated, have used these. One volunteer tells that the Indian headmaster of an urban primary school deliberately avoided the current affairs programmes, including those on the Common Man's Charter. Judging from conversations among pupils and teachers, some volunteers observed very negative attitudes and ironical remarks, especially at schools in Buganda. Some heard mainly mocking comments, but some also noted positive reactions

in other parts of the country.

133. Nelson, op.cit., judged the government press generally as dull and unimaginative.
134. As part of the election study under preparation by a group of Makerere political scientists for the April-May 1971 general election, the attitudes toward the Move-to-the-Left strategy should also have been included. As the elections were cut short by the military coup, we shall not have any systematic information on grass-root attitudes.
135. Ali Mazrui interviewed by Peter Kawesa in TP 10 July 1970.
136. Stencilled report of 27 August 1970 by G. Glentworth on Obote's second meeting with Makerere teachers on Document No. 5, pp. 1-2.

One constituency chairman, a deputy minister, gave this comment when interviewed: "The Charter is not an easy document to understand; people are learning slowly; they would have known when it was put into practice." Another chairman, also deputy minister, called the Charter "a very vague academic document, which the translation did not make any better."

137. The following sweeping but undocumented statement may, however, contain more than a grain of truth: "...before his fall, Dr. A. Milton Obote was consciously attempting to formulate Oboteism by literally drawing up a sophisticated document. 'The Common Man's Charter', a piece of political philosophy which I referred to in an article as a cry in the wilderness. For how could one unilaterally just draw up a document and then present it to the party's congress, a party moreover which had become so moribund that it was reputed to possess only one Land

Rover, and that being the personal property of Mr. Felix Onama!" Christopher Mulei: "The Predicament of the Left in Tanzania", in East Africa Journal Vol. 9, No. 8, August 1972, p. 34.

138. Extract from Report to the President in NUSU News Bulletin, No. 4, January 1971, p. 6.
139. This possibility is inherent in the following quotation from Mulei, op.cit., p. 34: "The claims by Obote's ministers that they were socialists and common men were probably the most irritating joke of the century as far as the revolutionaries were concerned."
140. One chairman would have preferred the general election to come first, then the Charter and the implementation by the new Parliament. Another chairman, with view to the dissemination of the Charter, wanted "the elections at grass root level" of UPC to have come first. The new branch executives "should have been used as the vanguard to explain the Common Man's Charter, instead of ministers."