## Sowing the Mustard Seed

# THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN UGANDA

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

Edited by Elizabeth Kanyogonya and Kevin Shillington



## **CONTENTS**

	PREFACE	xii
	EARLY YEARS [1944–58]	1
,	Background and Early Childhood	1
	The Importance of Cows	3
	Christianity	6
	Primary Schooling	9
Chapter 2	YOUTH AND POLITICS [1958–66]	12
	Secondary Education	12
	Political Awakening	15
	Community Work in Ankole	19
Chapter 3	DAR ES SALAAM UNIVERSITY [1967–70]	23
4 -	University Students' African Revolutionary Front	26
	Contacts with Frelimo	28
	Contacts with Other Groups	31
	The President's Office, 1970	32
Chapter 4	A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW	34
	The African Background	34
	UPC and KY – Marriage of Convenience	35
	The 1966 Crisis	37
	The Army under Obote	38
	Religion and Politics	41
	Monarchies, Feudalism and Imperialism	42

Chapter 5	FIGHTING AMIN (1) [1971–2]	46
	Amin's Coup	46
	Into Tanzania	48
	Early Clandestine Contacts in Uganda	49
	Matters of Policy	52
	The Front for National Salvation	54
	Early Preparations for the Struggle	54
Chapter 6	FIGHTING AMIN (2) [SEPTEMBER 1972]	59
	The Decision to Invade	59
	The Invasion Plan	62
	16 and 17 September 1972	63
	Counting the Cost	69
Chapter 7	FIGHTING AMIN (3) [1972–6]	72
	After Mogadishu	72
	The Struggle inside Uganda	74
	Setbacks on the Eastern Front	76
	Tragedy in Mbale	78
	Further Setbacks and Betrayals	82
	Life in Exile	86
Chapter 8	FIGHTING AMIN (4) [1976–9]	89
	Fighting Sectarianism and Tribalism	90
	Tactics and Infiltration	91
	Amin's Attack on Tanzania	92
	Preparations for War	93
	The Beginning of the End for Amin	97
Chapter 9	THE UGANDA NATIONAL LIBERATION	
	FRONT [1979–80]	102
	The Search for a Political Front	102
	The Moshi Conference 1979	104
	The Uganda National Liberation Front	107
	Back to the Front Line after Moshi	108
	The Lule Government	109
	The Binaisa Government	113
	The Demise of the UNLF	115
	The Uganda Patriotic Movement	117
	The Rigged Elections of December 1980	118

### **CONTENTS**

Chapter 10	FIGHTING OBOTE (1) [1981]	121
	Planning for the Struggle	121
	The War Commences: Kabamba I, 6 February 1981	125
	Early Stages of the War	128
	Building Administrative and Political Structures	133
	An Important Victory	134
	Consolidating our Forces	136
Chapter 11	FIGHTING OBOTE (2) [1981–3]	138
	Making Contacts Abroad	138
	The PRA becomes the NRA	140
	The Libyan Connection	141
	Return to Uganda	143
	Structures and Principles	145
•	Problems with the UFM	149
	Evacuating the Luwero Triangle	151
	Attacks, Counter-Attacks and Problems of Food	
	Supply	153
	Extending the Operational Zone	155
Chapter 12	FIGHTING OBOTE (3) [1984–6]	158
	Masindi and its Aftermath	158
	Kabamba III, January 1985	161
	Opening the Second Front	163
	The Fall of the Obote Regime	164
	Fighting the Okello Regime	166
	The Nairobi Peace Talks	168
	The Final Assault	169
	Swearing-in and After	171
Chapter 13	THE RECONSTRUCTION OF UGANDA	
	[1986–96]	174
	Building a new National Army	174
	Problems in 1986	176
	Insecurity in Northern Uganda	176
	Economic Problems	180
	Regional Integration	185
Chapter 14	BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE	187
	The Causes of Uganda's Political Crisis	187
	Local Government through Resistance Councils	180

### SOWING THE MUSTARD SEED

	Women	190
	Extension of the Interim Period of Government, 1989	192
	Devising a New Constitution	193
	Modernising Uganda	196
	Education	199
	Presidential Elections	200
	Using Imagery to Communicate	205
	Mobilising through Kakuyege	209
	The Problem of Northern Uganda	211
	Looking Ahead	214
Appendix	THE TEN-POINT PROGRAMME OF THE	
	NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT	217
GLOSSARY		218
INDEX		219