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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOWNS IN UGANDA 1970 - 1980:
POLITICAL CHANGE, THE DECLINE OF A NATION'S CAPITAL AND
THE SPREAD OF SMALL TOWNS**

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The weaknesses and ambiguities in the analysis that follows remain mine.

GLOSSARY

Mafuta mingiis a Swahili expression for people so rich that they literally are having "too much fat" or are "dripping in oil". As used in the text it refers to the dominant social group that emerged under the military regime in the 1970s.

Magendois a loose Ugandan word for the illegal or black-market trade that dominated the economy in the 1970s.

Bayayecrudely refers to participants in the 'informal sector'. It includes hawkers on (or 'abalebesi' in vernacular) and street urchins. As first used in the 1970s bayaye referred to the 'guys' who made 'connections' or enforced deals in magendo. The singular form of bayaye is muyaye.

INTRODUCTION¹

Can political change affect the rates of growth of different towns in a country ? This is what this paper is about. Between 1970 and 1980 there was widespread growth of small urban centres in Uganda. In contrast to the widespread growth of small urban centres, the major towns of Kampala and Jinja stagnated.

The concepts of dependency, modes of production and structure of social domination - are introduced to understand why the large towns should not have stagnated at the rates they did compared to the small and medium centres. Dependency formulations help us understand the dependent nature of social formation in the developing world while a mode of production approach assists us in identifying the major actors in the development process. Dominant class interests, both directly and through the control of the state apparatus "should" accumulate surpluses in the interests of the international system of which they are part - which are recirculated within the largest urban areas. And so the major metropolitan areas of Uganda should have grown faster than they did as dominant classes which command economic and political support are closely linked to them. The uniqueness of Uganda's situation leads us to suggest that the emergence of the military must have contributed to the pattern noted in the 1970s.

In the first independent government of Obote the dominant incipient petty bourgeoisie allied with the European - Asian commercial petty bourgeoisie. A concentrated and polarized pattern, with the major towns of Kampala and Jinja dominating, was consolidated. The emergence of the opportunistic mafuta mingi under the military regime coincided with the slow growth of the large towns and the spectacular rise of some small and medium sized towns. The economic and turbulent political conditions which the military fostered led to the emergence of the mafuta mingi. These very conditions contributed to the slow growth of the national capital and the emerging industrial towns and the spread of several small and medium towns.

Throughout the text I rely greatly on the shadow of demographic statistics to argue that some towns fared better than others in the decade under review. The assumption is that in those towns where populations were growing there were more economic opportunities available. Hence migrants were attracted into employment in those areas. In Uganda economic opportunity dominates over urban opportunity as an attraction to migrants-1.

Note should be made of the fact that statistics in developing countries such as Uganda

¹ This Working Paper is based on an MSc thesis

are not entirely reliable and are not usually available in categories that favour analyses like this one. The fact that the statistics used span over a period of ten years makes them even more questionable as a reliable indicator. Some towns like Mbarara, Masaka and Arua were plundered and lost a significant proportion of their population during the liberation war of 1979. Perhaps, if the statistics had been collected annually, a more reliable picture would have emerged. Nevertheless, rough as they are, the population statistics are our 'best' indicator that some towns provided more economic opportunities, hence attracted more population and consequently grew faster in the 1970s. New buildings completed - for which no reliable figures are available - still indicate that it is the smaller centres rather than the larger ones which expanded rapidly-2.

The use of population statistics is not to accept plainly the concentration of people in towns, or demographic terms, as the basic conceptualization of urbanization. Though the demographic aspect of urbanization is undoubtedly important, criticisms of the Chicago-3 school's work have convincingly demolished claims that social aspects of urbanization can be understood in demographic and ecological terms. Urbanization is not simply a demographic process nor is it the growth of specifically 'urban' institution in the Wirthian sense of an urban way of life-4. Rather, urbanization is the spatial organization of territory emerging as a result of the interaction between the social, economic and political systems. The 'urban' then is a spatial unit for the working of social, economic and political institutions.

This paper is presented in five chapters. I am interested in explaining the urban system as it generally behaved through the 1970s. This overview of urban growth is presented in chapter 1. The large and several small towns, as the extremes, performed in unexpected ways. The concepts of dependency, modes of production and structure of social domination are introduced in chapter 2 and modified in chapter 3 to understand why the large towns should not have stagnated as they did and why the small and medium towns should not have grown as they did. Chapter 4 presents the economic, social and political conditions promoted by the military and how they affected the urban pattern. A conclusion is then drawn in chapter 5.

CHAPTER ONE

THE VARYING RATES OF GROWTH 1970 - 1980

"I will (tell) the story as I go along of small cities no less than of great. Most of those which were great once are small today; and those which in my own lifetime have grown to greatness, were small enough in the old days". Herodotus.

Our major concern, in discussing the story of towns in Uganda in the 1970s, is with the varying rates of growth occurring in the different sizes of towns. The growth rates of most of the smaller towns were far higher than those of the larger towns. The share of small urban centres in the overall urban hierarchy increased as the share of the large urban centres declined from 61.5 % in 1969 to 56.4 % in 1980-5.

In East Africa it has been customary to consider the inhabitants of all gazetted municipalities whose populations equal or exceed 2,000 as 'urban'-6. Some of the fastest growing centres in the 1970s had not reached the 2,000 population threshold - they were mere trading centres at the start of the decade. Most remarkable was the growth of Bombo at an average annual rate of 24.2 %, Buikwe at 23.3 %, Busia at 21.3 %, Luwero at 18.6 %, Kiboga at 15.6 %, Bugiri at 14 % and Kisoro at 13.8 %. On the other hand, the major centre of Kampala stagnated at 3.2 % while Jinja declined at a rate of - 0.7 %. See table 1. I have classified as small those centres with populations between 2,000 to 9,999; as medium those centres with populations between 10,000 and 49,999 and as large those centres with populations over 50,000. Our case clearly challenges the view that the larger the size of towns, the higher the growth rates of population-7.

TABLE 1: POPULATION AND AVERAGE ANNUAL POPULATION GROWTH RATES OF SELECTED TOWNS IN UGANDA 1959 - 1969 AND 1969 - 1980

Town Size	Population 1959	Population 1969	Population 1980	Growth rate 1959 - 1969	Growth rate 1969 - 1980
LARGE Kampala Jinja	157,800 32,392	330,700 47,872	458,503 45,060	7.7 5.8	3.2 - 0.7
MEDIUM Mbale Entebbe Gulu	13,569 10,941 4,770	23,544 21,096 18,170	28,039 21,289 17,958	5.7 6.8 15.3	1.7 0 - 1.8
Mbarara Tororo Masaka	3,884 6,365 4,782	16,078 15,977 12,987	23,255 16,707 29,123	15.4 9.6 10.5	3.4 0.5 8.1
Soroti Arua	6,645 4,645	12,398 10,837	15,048 9,663	6.4 8.8	1.9 - 1.1
SMALL Lugazi Kabale	8,105? 7,919	- 8,234	10,439 21,469	- 0.3	- 9.6
Fort Portal Lira Kasese	7,317 2,340 1,564	7,947 7,340 7,213	26,808 9,122 9,917	1.0 9.6 16.5	12.5 2.1 3.0

Mubende Iganga	1,887 3,146	6,004 5,958	6,629 9,899	12.3 6.6	0.9 5.0
Moroto Masindi Magamaga	2,082 1,571 -	5,488 5,226 4,818	8,129 4,958 3,417	10.2 12.8 -	3.8 - 0.5 - 3.6
Njeru Mukono	- 450	4,637 3,532	3,880 5,783	- 22.5	- 1.8 4.7
Mbiko Mpigi	- 577	3,458 3,401	3,435 4,577	- 19.4	- 0.1 2.9
Kitgum Bundibugyo Kamuli	3,224 1,615 1,867	3,242 2,931 2,916	4,961 2,331 3,903	0.6 6.1 4.6	4.2 - 2.3 2.8
Moyo Hoima Mityana	2,009 1,056 803	2,656 2,339 2,263	3,236 6,923 2,457	2.8 8.3 10.9	1.9 10.9 1.2
Kotido Hiima Wobulenzi	- - -	1,681 1,609 1,519	3,200 2,730 2,782	- - -	6.4 5.3 6.0
Bwera Kalongo Busia	- - -	1,222 1,168 1,146	3,219 2,717 8,663	- - -	7.0 8.5 21.3
Kisoro Bushenyi Kangulumira	- - -	1,068 1,049 989	4,122 2,116 2,059	- - -	13.8 7.0 7.3
Bugiri Katwe Kayunga	- - -	820 806 745	3,201 2,603 2,813	- - -	14.0 11.9 13.6
Buikwe Luwero	- -	737 715	6,547 4,190	- -	23.3 18.6

Kiboga	-	641	2,889	-	15.6
Bombo	-	583	5,573	-	24.2
Katakwi	-	434	2,242	-	17.1
Kilembe	-	-	5,686	-	-
Nebbi	-	-	3,576	-	-
Kiigoro	-	-	3,079	-	-
Seeta	-	-	2,768	-	-
Rwenshama	-	-	2,674	-	-
Masajja	-	-	2,629	-	-
Bukoloto	-	-	2,444	-	-
Nansana	-	-	2,390	-	-
Maganjo	-	-	2,040	-	-
TOTAL URBAN	306,124*	615,490*	892,222*	7.4	3.3

-Indicates that the centres were not enumerated separately as urban centres in the censuses.

*Totals are for only those towns which were separately enumerated in the censuses as 'urban'.

Sources:

1Uganda, 1961, "Uganda Population Census, 1959", in Background to Uganda, N1 206, Department of Information, Kampala.

2Uganda, 1971, Report on the 1969 Population Census, Volume I, Entebbe.

3Uganda, 1982, Report on the 1980 Population Census, Volume I, Kampala.

The classification of centres as large, medium and small in Table I is based on 1969 date. Except for Lugazi, Kabarole and Kabale which 'graduated' from small to medium in 1980, the majority of towns remained in the categories identified with the 1969 census date. So whilst some change in the rates of growth of different towns is observed, it would be imprecise to suggest that the fastest growing centres of the 1970s have challenged the dominance of Kampala and Jinja in the urban hierarchy.

Kampala and Jinja are clearly still the largest centres of population concentration and even economic activities. Together they accounted for more than 50 % of the total urban population in 1980 (the actual figures have already been cited). Also see maps 1 and 2. The phenomenon of 'primate' growth is well demonstrated here. Note the higher number of small towns on map 1.

Writing about the towns and cities of East Africa in the late 1960s O'Connor has this to say :

"Urban development is now taking place almost entirely in the existing centres rather than through the creation of new ones and tends to the most heavily concentrated in those that are already largest-8". (emphasis added)

There was every reason to suggest that this observation is correct. The largest centres of Kampala and Jinja should not have stagnated or declined at the rates that they did - both centres grew at a rate below the average annual growth rate of 3.3 %.

To appreciate why I think the larger centres should not have declined at the rates that they did and why the smaller cities should not perhaps have grown as fast as they did in the 1970s, I introduce the concepts of dependency, modes of production and structure of social domination. The framework helps us understand how the interaction of internal and external relationships is important in explaining the political, social, economic and cultural factors which influence urban development.

CHAPTER 2

DEPENDENCY MODES OF PRODUCTION AND STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL DOMINATION

I am stressing that we use a combined framework of dependency modes of production and structure of social domination because certain dependency frameworks treat only part of the issue of development by stressing external and exchange relations. A mode of production approach relates to production, examines the internal framework of capitalist society and articulates different modes of production, structures of social domination, class formations and relationships, and the role of the state.

2.1 Dependency

There is no such thing as a single 'theory of dependency'.⁹ There are several different approaches so it is best to speak of a 'school of dependency'. At the risk of being simplistic, the critical argument of the dependency approach is that urban development in developing countries has been conditioned by their incorporation into the capitalist mode of production. Urbanization is the expression of this social dynamic of the penetration of one social structure by another.

The relationships between the dependent developing countries and the industrial capitalist societies is asymmetrical. A core - periphery relationship emerges. This relationship is arranged in a simple hierarchical ordering. A chain of cores and peripheries stretching from the world metropolitan centres to national, regional and local peripheries, down to the lowest level of the structure involving the most isolated peasant farmer or agricultural worker is envisaged.

The main purposes of dependency are to extract a sizeable surplus from the dependent economy through principally a process of unequal exchange, and to expand the market for goods and services produced in the home countries of advanced capitalism.

In chapter 3 we demonstrate how the pressure to organize the extraction of surpluses from the rural economy meant that the large centres should continue to grow fast in the 1970s.

The notion of core-periphery assumes that changes in the development and organization of peripheries are largely dependent on forces emanating from the core (often a former colonial master). This view of seeing the periphery as dependent on the core espouses an essentially static view of development and underestimates the part played by internal forces in contributing towards the maintenance of inequalities between sectors of the economy and society or in promoting economic and social change. It also fails when it sees the resulting unequal exchange mainly from the point of view of commodity exchange rather than production relations. But not all the works of the dependency school have limited themselves in this way. Indeed later writers have strengthened their arguments by enquiring into internal structures and relationships. To make myself clear, this is why I have stressed that we combine dependency with modes of production. In using theories and adding new ones we are enriching our starting points. The fact that the dependency approach is problematical in its details and that it espouses a static view of development should not deter us from using dependency as an analytical tool.

2.2 Mode of production

The mode of production constitutes an abstract formal object which does not exist in the strong sense that reality holds for us. The only thing which really exists is a historically defined social formation. By social formation we are concerned with the national units within which distinct modes of production, of unequal influence and dynamism, coexist and interact in relationships of domination or dependence, in our case, Uganda.

Recent discussion of modes of production in the contemporary world system have concerned themselves with the way in which capitalism, the dominant mode of production, has penetrated into most social formations imposing itself in a variety of hegemonic relationships with non-capitalist modes in developing countries-10. It is recognised that each society is a unique part of global capitalism with its own particular mix of production and exchange. Through the mode of production it is hoped to gain insights into the mechanisms by which particular types of production relations are maintained and how they are connected with other modes existing within the same macro social economic framework.

Essentially a mode of production is a theoretical model of social structure constituted by three interrelated instances; the economic, political and ideological. The economic instance is a complex alliance of the forces of production (namely technical ruses, resources, instruments of labour power) and the social relations of production.

Production is the process by which men, with their labour power and instruments, transform the object of labour -say land- in order to reap some material or economic return. The object of labour and the instruments used constitute what we call the means of production. The process of production requires the participation of men who are brought together in terms of a specific set of social relations. These social relations are principally defined in terms of the ownership and control of the means of production. It is these relations of production that allocate the agents and means of production and the

division of the product which follows that allocation. The relations of production in the capitalist system are such that the non-labourer controls the means of production and the surplus, while the labourer has to sell his labour power as a commodity to the capitalist.

The object of the ideological element is to ensure that concrete subjects represent to themselves in ideology their conditions of existence. The non-labourers are able to legitimise their control of the surplus by using ideological means - like the church, trade union and school. Its function in any social formation is thus to constitute individuals as subjects.

The political instance, on the other hand, is constituted by the formal institutions that exist or are formed in order to formally define the relationship between labourers and non-labourers. This particular instance has as its objective, the occupation of state power, in order to establish or perpetuate the dominance of a particular in the state apparatus. Though perpetuating the dominance of a particular alliance, the state also constitutes the factor of cohesion between the levels of a social formation-11. This is made more important by the fact that social formations are characterised by an overlapping of several modes of production.

The type of unity which characterizes a mode of production is that of a complex whole dominated in the last instance by the economic. The fact that the structure of the whole is determined in the last instance by the economic does not mean that the economic always holds the dominant role in the structure. Rather, the unity constituted by the structure in dominance implies that every mode of production has a dominant level or instance; but the economic is in fact determinant only in so far as it attributes the dominant role to one instance or another. Under the capitalist mode of production the economic instance is the structure in dominance.

2.3 The structure of social domination

An analysis of all the different aspects defined by the concept of mode of production gives us the structure of social domination. The structure of social domination is a system of dominant and dominated classes and fractions and their relationships-12. It is the immediate level of analysis that is easily discernible in the reality around us, for a social formation is not easily observed and analyzed. In our analysis we shall be stressing this conceptual level as regards modes of production.

It is in the structure of social domination that the relationships between relations of production and productive forces is particularly useful as an analytical tool. The power of social classes, understood as their relative capacity to impose on each other, and on the social system as a whole, their particular models of domination, is defined within the complex structures of the social formation. The material basis of power originates in the control over the means of production and rests upon the capacity of the dominant class to organise the productive system. A class is dominant when, on that basis, it is able to define a viable social model, to organise the state, to create effective political alliance by imposing acceptable targets on other classes, etc-13. it also enforces dominance by

reserving all this, using education, religion, ideology, ultimately by using force.

The major objective of domination is the production and control of economic surpluses, in order for them to be reallocated for the reproduction and expansion of the dominant structure. The surplus may be extracted from wage, labour, rent, interest and through unequal exchange. As far as urbanization is concerned, dominant social groups constitute the central power and mechanism which generates a surplus over consumption and concentrates it in the urban areas - it is then that cities grow. Normally, dominant class interests, both directly and through their control of the state apparatus, accumulate surpluses which are recirculated within the largest urban areas at the expense of the periphery. Given this mechanism the large centres should not have performed as poorly as they did and the smaller centres should not have performed as well as they did in Uganda !

In the next chapter, I integrate the concepts identified above in the situation before the coup, albeit with some modifications. A point of clarification - I am not saying that the large centres were the fastest growing before the coup (for they were not) but they were too large and well established, to have shown such a mediocre performance in the space of ten years. At the other extreme, the fastest growing small centres were too small and with limited functions to have performed so well.

CHAPTER THREE

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY AND TOWNS OF UGANDA BEFORE THE MILITARY

This chapter begins by examining the continued dependent nature of Uganda's economy and identifies the dominant internal social relationships. These relations are integrated later to understand the growth, distribution and functions of towns.

3.1 A dependent peasant economy

The mode of Uganda's incorporation into the world economy has been through traditional peasant agriculture. Within the traditional peasant mode of production the unit of production is generally the family or a combination of several families. There is a constant tendency to reproduce the conditions necessary for family consumption - such is the object of production. The peasant producers are theoretically in possession of their own means of subsistence and means of production.

With the advent of British colonialism, this mode of production was increasingly supplemented by the production of agricultural commodities for foreign exchange. This resulted in the development of small scale commercial agriculture, plantation systems, a little mining, limited industrialization and a dynamic process of urbanization, intended to serve the purpose of helping to maintain expanding levels of production in the home

countries of advanced capitalism. Despite these apparent changes, some rural areas of Uganda continue to be primarily concerned with satisfying subsistence and keeping intact their traditional modes of production. The pastoral areas of north eastern Uganda, in particular, are least integrated.

Uganda's continued dependent nature is well demonstrated by the fact that the growth of the economy throughout the 1960s was conditioned by the demands of the external world market. Agricultural commodities such as coffee, cotton and tea accounted for 80 % of the exports. Economic growth as measured by changes in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was more closely linked to external commodity prices and the vagaries of weather. Agriculture accounted for 25 % of GDP and the subsistence or non-monetary sector a further 30 %, making a total of 55 %-14. Generally, Uganda continued in a steady though relatively simple economic expansion through most of the 1960s. Mining, manufacturing, construction and electricity was however little developed and contributed only 10 % to the GDP. Key sectors of the economy lacked interdependence and were under aliens. The Asian Community dominated the commercial sector - it controlled over 80 % of the wholesale trade in 1960-15. Europeans were particularly important in the organization of international businesses-16. This general structural dependency of the economy is principally a colonial legacy. For the most part the first independent government maintained this relationship. Later we discuss the implications of this in relation to urban growth patterns.

3.2 The structure of social domination and the role of the state

In this kind of analysis there is always a serious danger of committing a theological fallacy of simply identifying a combination of pre-existing theoretical elements and adopting them. Social classes in Uganda are not easy to identify because there is no indigenous economically dominant class. Class factions in contemporary Africa are based on diverse grounds, such as intense beliefs concerning ethnicity and religion - it is not the divisions firmly rooted in the production process which are the most prominent in determining class structure. At most any identified social classes are fluid and uneasy amalgams of traditional and modern groups.

Given the complexity of mix of traditional and capitalist modes of production, and the multiple factors influencing class formation it would be incorrect to simply see a structure of social domination - a structure which can organise the state because it has power and controls the means production ; a structure which can enter into strategic alliances with international capital and which can impose acceptable targets on other classes. This is not to suggest that we abandon the structure of social domination and social classes. In the analysis that follows, I adapt a structure of social domination to refer to those classes or groups holding or benefiting most from political power and/or playing a major part (sometimes controlling) local economic production.

As noted earlier, the vast majority of Ugandans are peasants growing food for their own consumption but have supplemented this with growing cash crops. The peasant has not completely become an economic actor in the means of production. Theoretically he still

has his labour power and so it is through the pricing of agricultural commodities and paying taxes that the surplus is extracted from him. The peasants therefore are a subaltern part of the capitalist mode of production.

The class which has been identified as the most 'political' in Uganda is the petty bourgeoisie. By petty bourgeoisie I am not referring to petty capitalists of the retailing sector in the strict Marxian sense. This class is not fully crystallized. What links its members socially and economically is the ownership of small property, or the possession of goods that give them comparable social status. Within this class we find the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie in trade in the towns (African traders), rich agricultural peasant ('Kulaks') and in the administration (bureaucratic salariat like teachers, civil servants and technicians whose passports to rank and privilege have been their educational qualifications - this fraction is sometimes seen as the ruling elite)-17. It is generally dangerous to fix too schematically the nature of the African petty bourgeoisie as he tends to swing around in African politics depending on ethnic, religious, institutional and ideological grounds. For example, in the first Obote government the 'Kulaks' from the rich south were generally ignored on ethnic grounds. All the different groups of the petty bourgeoisie ie thus share a politically unstable nature. This is why it is very difficult for them to organise a specific part of their own. Also because of their unstable nature they may swing to the side of the working class which is very small and has been slow in forming in Uganda.

It should be noted that given the fluid nature of African social classes multiple class identities are possible from the individual point of view. A complex variation is found in the urban wage worker who maintains his family in his rural village to grow food. He holds at least two potential class identities simultaneously - peasant and worker.

The fact that the economy is dominated by peasants and that much of the commerce and trade was dominated by European - Asian commercial - petty bourgeoisie meant that the incipient African petty bourgeoisie was not legitimately able to occupy a large place in the economy. The state played a crucial role to assist some sections of the petty bourgeoisie to dominate or constitute the structure of social domination. The obote government in terms of its own political base owed more to the urban trade union movement, the bureaucratic salariat and sentiments against the Baganda ethnic group-18. Thus the regime was supported by groups whose orientation was more urban than rural.

The Obote government was also able to strike an 'unholy' alliance with the European - Asian petty bourgeoisie. The alliance was 'unholy' in the sense that it contradicted the dominant ideology of 'African socialism'. Later the state constituted some reforms which were to concentrate economic and political power in its hands-19. Export sales, crucial for foreign revenues and domestic surpluses, were to be conducted by centralised crop marketing boards and essential services were to be controlled by state agencies. A National Trading Corporation and Produce Marketing Board were added to the previously established Lind and Coffee Marketing Boards. Paradoxically, the European - Asian petty bourgeoisie was a partner in these institutions. Indeed the partial nationalization announced by the regime did not constitute much of a break with past

policy. These institutions remained essential mechanisms for extracting agricultural surpluses from the rural areas to the larger centres. So in the 1960s the structure of social domination was one largely comprising the bureaucratic salariat and African traders using an increasingly centralist state to concentrate surpluses in the large urban areas in alliance with the European - Asian commercial petty bourgeoisie.

3.3 The distribution, growth and functions of towns

Whatever their differences, the dominant classes are often united to maintain the capitalist system which benefits them all. The essential element in the system is accumulating capital and so they cooperate to mobilize surpluses. In the interests of mobilizing surpluses many of today's large towns developed as locations from which surpluses could be diverted in the colonial period. The role of large cities as accumulation centres had been well established and continued. The export orientation nature of the economy and fairly stable nature of Uganda's settlement pattern clearly demonstrates this.

The urban pattern of Uganda is a concentrated and polarized one - a typical example of a core - periphery relationship. In chapter one, I briefly referred to 'primacy'. The zone in which the greatest degree of urban development has taken place is the Lake Victoria basin in the south and south east. It is this core that has been most integrated with the capitalist mode of production and the world economy. This area was privileged during the colonial period and during the Obote government. Cash crop production and processing are concentrated here.

From the Lake Victoria basin comes the greater part of Uganda's agriculture export products. In the early 1960s the entire sugar output, about 9/10 of the coffee and roughly 1/2 of the tea and nearly 2/3 of the cotton were produced here (see table 2). Without any exact data being available it can be concluded, with a high degree of certainty, that in the lake zone there is a concentration of income that is far above average. Crudely, Uganda can be divided into a rich south and a poor north.

This 'north - south' division is also evident in industry. Manufacturing in Uganda is a modest consumer goods industry. Almost all the establishments are based on domestic raw materials and agricultural products : sugar industry, tobacco processing, textiles, oil mills processing cotton seed, beverages and food processing. These establishments are concentrated in the south and south east.

TABLE 2: THE LAKE ZONE OF UGANDA (a)

1	Population (1959) Percentage of Total Population	3,180,000 49 %
2	Land Area Percentage of Total Area	50,400 km ² 25 %
3	Population Density (1959)	63 persons per Km ²
4	Share of Lake Zone in Total Output of	
	a) Sugar	100 %
	b) Coffee (estimated (b)) (1964)	90 %
	c) Cotton (Average for period 1956 - 1961)	63 %
	d) Tea (1963)	50 %
5	Share of Lake Zone in	
	a) Railway Network (estimated)(1965)	45 %
	b) Asphalt Roads (estimated)(1964)	75 %
6	Share of Lake Zone in Uganda's Urban Population	75 %
	a) Administrative Districts of Masaka, Mengo Busoga, Buked and Bugisu (see map B)	
	b) Based on Cultivated area	
	c) Based on Output	
	d) Towns with more than 3,000 inhabitants	

Source

Oursin, T, 1970 "Development and Structure of Industry in Uganda", in Zajadacz, P (ed) Studies in Production and Trade in East Africa, Weltforum Verlag, Munchen (p219)

Mining and quarrying, and establishments for the processing of agricultural products are limited in their choice of location to a great extent by natural location factors. It is these branches of industry that constitute the major part of the enterprises established in other parts of the country. In Western Uganda alone there are more than 100 mines in operation. With a few exceptions, these mines are minor or very small enterprises, based on small quantities of tin, tungsten, beryllium and lead. Mining in Uganda is concentrated on copper at Kilembe. Strictly speaking Kilembe is the only town in Uganda which has taken on a specialized function. Also outside the lake zone there are a certain number of saw mills and structural clay establishments. The saw mills distribution corresponds to the location of forest reserves, and most of these are in western Uganda. On the other hand, the majority of the coffee establishments, cotton grinders and factories are in the lake zone, though they are far more evenly distributed over the entire area than the enterprises of manufacturing.

What the above discussion points to is the fact that the large towns are deeply anchored in the economic base, as they are in the lake zone. The dominant classes and representatives of foreign capitalists are based in these large centres. The process of extraction by the incipient petty bourgeoisie and the European - Asian commercial petty bourgeoisie, led to the expansion of these centres particularly the national capital. Throughout the colonial period and the Obote government, Kampala played a crucial role in accumulation by providing both the institutional framework and the locus operandi for transnational local oligopoly capital and the state. Increasingly Kampala came to act as a central place. It is directly linked by road and rail to extractive zones of agriculture and mineral production. Today it stands out as the largest in terms of population and economic activities. Its commercial life depends as much on wholesale trade and on the head offices of banks, insurance companies and international trading firms, as on retail trade. Manufacturing in the city is fairly diverse. There is a large hospital, a university and offices of many of the government ministries to which are added the national parliament, the headquarters of political parties and numerous foreign embassies.

The particular importance of Kampala arose partly from a political pattern. Though originally the site of the palace of the king of Buganda, it grew more as a commanding centre during the colonial period through which the development of natural resources could be directed. Most of the towns of Uganda were established as administrative centres to help in channelling the flow of commodities and surpluses towards the capital and other world ports. The significance of the towns as localities for assisting in exports worked equally well in reverse - regarding imports. A hierarchy of urban places can hence be identified, with the large centres - particularly the national capital - acting as the central collecting places for exports and distributing centres for imports. These roles were duplicated in varying degrees, in what I have termed the medium and small centres. The medium centres took on an 'intermediary' servicing role while the small centres were 'trading centres' for the mass of the peasantry.

Jinja is the other town I have cited as large. The Jinja site was important for transport at

first. The establishment of a lake steamer from Kisumu in Kenya preceded the opening of the British administrative headquarters at Jinja in 1901. A direct rail connection was completed in 1928. With the transport advantage, Jinja was, for many years, the administrative centre for Eastern Uganda.

Through the 1950s and early 1960s it grew more as an industrial centre. The argument often advanced is that industries grew in Jinja as a result of the stimulus provided by the production of hydroelectricity. There is some evidence however, to show that in certain cases, notably that of the steel rolling mill, the decisive locational factors are much more a matter of government policy, administrative convenience and financial circumstances than geography-20. Other policies adopted by the incipient petty bourgeoisie, in particular import substitution helped consolidate further the importance of these large centres, as it is in the south that the largest proportion of the domestic market and incomes are found. In fact most of the industrial establishments that developed in Jinja in the 1960s were promoted and largely financed by the state through its parastatal, the Uganda Development Corporation (UDC).

Any discussion of Jinja as an entity must include Njeru, although in the census they are separate. The municipal boundary of Jinja follows the River Nile, but Owen Falls Dam spans it, and the power station is on the opposite bank, along with a textile mill, a brewery and extensive housing area. The area incorporating these developments is what is known as Njeru. Jinja and Njeru have generally encountered social problems as a result of the intermixture of traditional African societies and the new urban culture - in association with the essentially migratory character of industrial labour. Under the changing political climate of the 1970s we shall note the significance of these social problems.

The medium sized centres of Mbale, Entebbe, Gulu, Mbarara, Tororo, Masaka, Soroti and Arua grew more as 'intermediaries'. They were not intermediary in the sense that they were capable of raising the attraction threshold of other regions which could support considerable local activity and generate investable surpluses-21, but were intermediary collecting centres of agricultural crops and distributing centres of imported manufactured goods. Indeed in these towns the transport service is a generally more important function than industry. Some of these medium towns have rail stations but most have bus stations and garages. It is interesting to note further that it is this category of towns that is more evenly distributed, reflecting their particular importance as administrative and service centres.

Few of the medium centres offer any major source of non-agricultural employment - apart from trade - besides Tororo. Tororo, founded as a district administration centre in 1928, later put on an industrial coating with the discovery of phosphates for making fertilizers and limestone for cement production. We talk of Jinja and Tororo as industrial towns in the sense that a substantial proportion of their working population and area is related to factories.

Most of the jobs in the medium centres are connected with government activities and it is in such centres that the bureaucratic salariat is concentrated outside the larger towns. Entebbe was the seat of the colonial administration and it still depends for its existence

on government ministries and departments which remain there together with Uganda's international airport. Mbale, for much of the 1960s, was the regional headquarters of Eastern Uganda. Gulu, established in 1910, was, in the 1960s, the administrative headquarters of Northern Uganda. Soroti was the administrative headquarters of Teso district, Arua of West Nile district, Masaka of Masaka district and Mbarara of Ankole district (the district divisions are shown on map 2). The few activities which are not directly related to government like retail and wholesale shops were filled by the Asian petty - bourgeoisie, particularly in the south and south east.

It is in the smaller centres, particularly in the south, that much of the African enterprise developed. Many of the smaller centres are not documented and a massive amount of detailed research is necessary if their role is to be properly evaluated. The large centres have been well documented as they are the foci of the nation's political and economic organizations. Anyhow, it is in the small centres that town and countryside meet. The bureaucratic salariat, comprising in this case of clerks, teachers and local administrator, are less removed from the peasants in the smaller towns.

Most of the small centres are found in the more affluent south (see map 2 again). Elsewhere in the country they have developed more as district administration centres or as administration centres for counties and sub-counties. These centres act as local markets or collecting points for the produce of local farms destined for consumption within the region in which they are situated. They also act as collection centres for exported produce; the beginning of a chain of movement from the farm to an overseas consumer, and provide consumer goods for the locals.

A little bit on policy towards urbanization... The Obote government in its Second Five Year Development Plan 1966 - 1971 recognized the need to reduce the disproportion between a developed centre, and a less fully developed North, West and East. But in practice it did little, if anything. The large urban areas were seen as rapidly expanding and imposing a severe strain on amenities such as housing, water and sanitation. And so plans were made to provide more amenities to the rapidly increasing population in the large urban areas.

Summing up the 1960s, we have a dependent social formation dominated by the salariat and African traders in alliance with foreign interests represented by the European - Asian commercial - petty bourgeoisie. This combination consolidated the concentrated and polarized urban pattern which was imposed under colonial rule. This urban pattern predetermined the role of the large, medium and small centres. The large centres were too well established to be challenged in the urban hierarchy. This kind of pattern thus has as its counterpart, a relative failure of growth in the smaller urban centres-22. Over large areas of the country small towns can provide only limited local stimulus and outlets for the mobilization of local manpower and resources outside subsistence pursuits. By and large, there was little room for manoeuvre in the towns of Uganda as they were established essentially as structure for administration or political control rather than as structures for articulating the traditional peasant economy into the capitalist world system. How come then that the large centres dragged, the medium centres 'stumbled' and the small centres shot up in the 1970s? It is this concern that is

dealt with in chapter 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MILITARY STATE, THE ECONOMY AND 'CHANGING' URBAN COMPOSITION

Conceptualizations of the military have suggested that the military are a revolutionary, stabilizing and modernizing force championing popular demands for social change-23. The military are judged to be the most national, closely welded, disciplined, modern and effective structure which through its possession of the means of coercion has every chance of accomplishing national integration. The establishment of a military regime thus eliminates political opposition and the economy is increasingly organised to maximise the income and material wealth of the ruling elites who manage the economy (at the 'core') in the interests of the international system of which they are part-24. Such a concentration of economic and political power should consolidate further the urban pattern identified in chapter 3. As far as the military regime in Uganda in the 1970s is concerned, the above notions are questionable. To put it lightly, the military were radical. They effected profound economic and political changes which led to the dragging of the larger centres, the 'stumbling' of some medium centres and the shooting up of several smaller centres.

4.1 The military state and the structure of social domination

The precise reasons for the emergence of the military are not easy to establish. Some analysts have seen it as representing a crisis of petty bourgeoisie politics, some as a personal estrangement between President Obote and his army commander Idi Amin, while others have seen it as an inevitable outcome of colonial policy-25. Whatever the reasons for the emergence of the military it is important to recognize that the state was almost overwhelmingly military. There was little room for manoeuvre for the petty bourgeoisie as soldiers took key instruments of state power.

The capitalist system requires a strong state, both to subsidize the process of surplus accumulation in the private sector - through the development of communications and the provision of education and health services etc - and to maintain the system, thereby ensuring both the states and the systems reproduction.

In the interests of 'Ugandanizing' the economy an 'economic war' was declared in 1972. This set the ideology for the regime - self reliance and Ugandanization. The regime considered dependence as incompatible with the consolidation of political sovereignty. Asian commercialists, and later Europeans, were expelled. The main recipients of Asian spoils were the soldiers and Nubians of Amin's ethnic group. An ethnic (largely Nubians and Kakwa) and religious (muslims) group whose place in the economic and political development of Uganda had been marginal came to temporarily dominate. The Nubians and Kakwa are from Amin's home region of North Western Uganda. Their domination

was short lived because the wealth available to the military state soon declined and the GDP shrank.

Under the Amin regime productive sectors of the economy were neglected, foreign involvement declined and the state was less valuable in supporting business ventures. The declining capacity of the state to assist the accumulation of wealth and the general insecurity of life and property generally raises questions about what sort of class formation occurred under the military.

Anyhow, though the wealth available deteriorated, fortunes were still made. The mafuta mingi did create concentrations of wealth unprecedented for indigenous Ugandan entrepreneurs. Actually the military created wealthy individuals. In line with our adopted definition of structure of social domination, the mafuta mingi are the dominant social group who benefited most from military political power and who played the major part in local economic production. To appreciate the relative dominance of the mafuta mingi let us understand how the economy came to be organised under the military.

4.2 The Magendo economy

To Ugandans the economy in the 1970s is summed up in one word - magendo which was born out of scarcity. Official statistics indicate that real GDP growth declined to 2.87 % per annum between 1971 and 1980-26. GDP had grown at an average of 4.5 % between 1966 to 1971. These figures may not however capture magendo economic activity, since conventional economic techniques tend to ignore illegal additions to GDP.

Commerce contracted as a direct consequence of the expulsion of Asians and European capitalists. Their expulsion destroyed the trading network that had emerged from the colonial period while providing Amin with enormous, but short-lived, patronage opportunities. Many of the businessmen allocated businesses lacked business expertise or adequate capital.

Managerial incompetence combined with the disappearance of imported spare parts and inputs made the experience of the industrial sector, worse, if anything. The production of textiles fell by half; that of cement fell by more than half in 1979 and later stopped; soap production fell from 12,000 tons to less than 1,000 tons; the production of matches dropped to 1/62 of the previous level; copper output dropped to 1/8 of the previous level and later stopped entirely (see table 3).

TABLE 3: PRODUCTION OF SELECTED INDUSTRIAL COMMODITIES 1969 - 1979 (SELECTED YEARS)

COMMODITY	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979
Sugar (1000 tonnes)	139.9	141.3	68.6	23.7	11.4	15.4
Beer (million lites)	21	35	45.6	38.8	22.1	6.5
Waragi (1000 litres)	396	598	910	859	526	69
Cigarettes (million sticks)	1,332	1,583	1,862	1,784	1,867	537
Textiles (milling metres)	47	46	38	36	36.6	15.1
Matches (cartons of 10)	40.9	64	50	37	10.0	4.4
Super phosphates (1000 tonnes)	22.8	23.9	18.6	14.1	1.2	-
Steel Ingots (1000 tonnes)	20.6	16.3	11.7	6.3	5.6	3.4
Cement (1000 tonnes)	172.9	205.1	143	98	73	13.0
Blister Copper (1000 tonnes)	17	10	10	8	2.3	0.4
Soap (1000 tonnes)	12.0	13.6	6.3	3.6	1.1	0.8

Source: Uganda, 1981, A Ten Year Reconstruction and Development Plan, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, Kampala

The only type of industrial production which did not decline significantly was that of cigarettes, beer and waragi - commodities which were used in rewarding the ranks of the army and its supporters.

From 1973, most general indicators tell stories of decline. The major cash crops of coffee and cotton were neglected - recorded production and exports of these crops dropped. Tea exports also declined though the acreage remained uniform as tea is a plantation crop in Uganda. Coffee and cotton are small holder crops.

GRAPH: ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION OF COFFEE IN SELECTED YEARS 1969 - 1979

Source: Uganda, 1981, A Ten Year Reconstruction Development Plan, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, Kampala

See appendix 1 for performance of other major cash crops.

A note about the statistics. Their accuracy is questionable. The official figures record an increase in actual arabica coffee acreage, which is misleading as numerous people abandoned or neglected coffee. It is clear however that enormous amounts of coffee were deployed in smuggling activities. The main reason for the neglect of the cash crops like coffee and cotton was the low returns it brought to the majority of peasants under the repressive conditions of the regime. A pull back to subsistence was apparently crucial to the survival of the rural population and to returning urban migrants. It however contributed to the decline of foreign exchange reserves, the bankruptcy of marketing cooperatives and processing industries the state of the marketing cooperatives was further worsened by corruption and managerial inefficiency.

Virtually everything went wrong in the 1970s. Consumer goods became scarce, partly as a result of the decline in domestic manufacturing and the break down of the East African Community. Within the community Kenya had been developed as the supplier of domestic consumer goods. Infrastructure such as roads, railways, schools and medical facilities collapsed. Electricity production in the industrial sector fell by 40 %-27. Inflation accelerated in the ensuing scarcity and undercut the income peasants obtained from selling cash crops officially. Food prices rose in large part as a consequence of deteriorating transport system especially after the break up of the East African Community in 1977-28. All this meant that food crops were more lucrative and partly accelerated the shift to food crop production. Inflation was made worse by increased military expenditure. While inflation soared the military state pursued expansionary monetary and fiscal policies - it printed more and more money. It was in this kind of atmosphere that magendo prospered in the late 1970s.

Magendo was so ubiquitous and open that it literally became everyone business - it was so dominant that Green (1981) has suggested that it became a dominant sub - mode of production. The heart of magendo was coffee smuggling and scarce consumer goods. Coffee producer prices were more favourable in neighbouring Kenya and Tanzania-29. Magendoists were also involved in transport for they could provide even vehicles and spare parts.

Green (1981) insists that magendo could finance its own reproduction and so may have created its own class structure comprising the mafuta mingi at the top, the magendoists in the middle and bayaye at the bottom. it is doubtful given the brutality of the military regime whether such a well organised structure did really emerge, with all the interconnections suggested. Also, Magendo was correctly organized. What is clear, is

that what the Ugandans call the mafuta mingi started as the beneficiaries of the Ugandanization programmes of the regime. These individuals became the social backbone of the regime. Individuals prospered by the possession of 'gentry' status, some by holding offices or official favours and the greater part through magendo trading in the late 1970s.

4.3 The 'changing' urban composition

It is interesting to note that in a situation of political insecurity, economic stagnation, a weakening military state (in the sense that its source of wealth was declining) opposed to dependence, and an individualistic dominant mafuta mingi, some small and medium towns destined to play a relatively small role in the economy performed remarkably well compared to the large centres. A consideration of the fastest growing towns in Uganda in the 1970s presents an interesting pattern. Generally, the fastest growing towns were in the rich agricultural 'core' region of the south and close to the borders (see map 3 - note that the figures in parenthesis represent the average annual growth rate). It is these towns which were innovative and thus adapted most efficiently to the realities of economic life - in other words, the magendo economy.

The magendo economy was epitomized at the urban level by the thriving of the 'informal sector' - what we have referred to as the bayaye. At a lower level and in contrast to the mafuta mingi, the bayaye were involved in almost everything - coffee smuggling, making connections with army men to provide escort to magendo vehicles, forging travel documents and papers, vehicles, and spare parts, supplying consumer goods and sanctioning those who refuse to cooperate in deals. In fact the term bayaye is misleading. Depending on an individual's point of view a local trader forced to get goods through magendo would or would not be a bayaye (singular). On the whole magendo was an issue of moral - either you survive or live up to your morals.

Bayaye were not restricted to the urban areas. Magendo created opportunists but some individuals were progressive. In Uganda the greatest prestige and power comes largely from the control of agricultural resources. While staking out deals on rural agricultural land, the bayaye also took stakes in the local town, as did some mafuta mingi. They constructed houses and commercial buildings. Throughout Uganda of the 1970s it is possible to identify local 'big men' who created local capital in the magendo system. Thus in Mukono they talk of Kasozi, in Kabale of Batuma, and in Kamuli of Kapiriri. These are actual names of individuals who put up buildings in the towns indicated.

In as much as it was insecure in the large urban areas, it was safer to operate close to the rural areas. Kayunga, Kalongo, Kiboga, Wobulenzi, Kangulumira, Buikwe, Luwero, Bugiri, Iganga and Mukono hence became safer heavens for local investments. The good situation in food production also helped. These towns however benefited more from coffee smuggling. Their incomes increased and they supported a number of urban services. Coffee was often not taken to central processing centres but was processed locally, sometimes with the most inefficient means, like the pestle and mortar. Within the magendo system it has been suggested too that Buikwe was a backyard for the laundering of vehicles and distributing them to garages and mechanics in certain parts

of the country.

It is the border towns which benefited most from magendo. The Kenyan connection was particularly important as the coffee was smuggled into Kenya and most consumer goods came from Kenya. Busia benefited most. Given the crude nature of magendo Kabale, Kisoro, Bwera and Katwe on the other side of the border also benefited. Bayaye could smuggle coffee into Rwanda (more significant) or Zaire, for example, in large lorries before returning it 'legally' as 'transit traffic' for shipment to Mombasa port in Kenya.

Insecurity and general neglect of production had significant effects for the large and some of the medium centres. Bearing in mind the structure of social domination that emerged the little surplus that was created was in the main not appropriated in the large centres of Kampala and Jinja. The mafuta mingi literally 'choked' the extraction of surpluses to the large urban areas. yet a city's growth is spurred by capital investment from savings extracted and transferred from rural areas, other towns and from net capital transfers from abroad. So Kampala lost some of its crucial functions of important export work. When a city is losing its import and export work and can't afford its current fund of important exports it deteriorates economically-30. Therefore, and because of insecurity and declining functions Kampala lost a substantial proportion of its labour force who sought security in the rural areas by growing food or participating in magendo.

Jinja too lost population. We mentioned in chapter 3 that it developed significant social problems when it took on an industrial character.

The workers were not permanent urban dwellers. With the decline of industries largely due to managerial incompetence, lack of spare parts and declining raw material resources, the workers were made redundant in Jinja, Njeru and nearby Mbiko. Jinja somehow had never been fully integrated into local economic production - a factor characteristic of most Ugandan towns. All in all, there was a vast out-migration in the large centres from the 'formal sector' to the burgeoning 'informal sector' activities.

Tororo though well placed to participate in magendo did not perform well. Though located in what we termed the rich south, its immediate locality grows little coffee. It is also one of those regions where ethnic rivalries are greatest-31. For the most part, Tororo has depended on industry which declined due to neglect and incompetence.

There is a striking fall in population in Magamaga in 1980. In fact at - 3.6 % it is the biggest decline. Magamaga is a barracks town. With the fall of Amin in 1979 many soldiers loyal to him fled with their families. As much as the internal functioning of most towns depends on administration, it is important to recognize the consequences of changing the pattern of administrative organization. Administrative centres obtain much of their income from the central government to the extent that when the emphasis is shifted some towns decline markedly-32. Ten provinces were established in the 1970s. Most of the provincial headquarters were former district or regional headquarters except one - Bombo. Bombo became the administrative headquarters of North Buganda province. Patronage of the ethnic Nubi and Kakwa made Bombo an important centre.

Ever since the Sudanese mutiny of 1897 Bombo had been settled by Nubi. Throughout the military rule Nubi and Kakwa achieved special status. West Nile was often considered for development projects. Amin even proposed a university and international airport for Arua in North West Uganda.

Other fast growing towns which benefited from the changing pattern of administrative organization include Katakwi which became the headquarters of North Teso district; Kalongo, Agago sub-district; Kotido, North Karamoja district; Luwero, Bulemezi district; Kiboga, Kiboga sub-district; Kayunga, Bugerere sub-district; Bwera, Bukonjo sub-district; Busia, Samia-Bugwe sub-district; Bushenyi, West Ankole district and Kisoro, Bufumbira sub-district (see appendix 2). Kalongo, being a missionary centre, also attracted and gave sanctuary to refugees from Azholi and Largo in Northern Uganda-33.

Military policy towards settlements recognised the uneven nature of the distribution of wealth and incomes. The government stated as its policy, the need to promote a more equitable distribution of incomes and wealth among all sections of the nation's population. Little was however done to achieve this. The government recognized that industries should continue to be located primarily in cities and towns-34. At the same time it noticed the importance of providing social amenities like housing, water and sewerage to the urban population. In effect there was no conscious policy to decentralize population from the large centres and promote the growth of small and medium centres.

Summing up this complex situation, the military created an economy of magendo under which the mafuta mingi rose as the dominant social group. At the national level, the mafuta mingi 'choked' the little surpluses available diverting them from the large centres to the local small towns. Insecurity, a declining economic base, and the mafuta mingi could not on the whole work favourably in the large towns.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The task of this paper, set at the beginning, has been to demonstrate that there is a relationship between urbanization and political change in Uganda in the 1970s. Much of the argument for advancing this relationship has remote origins in what is loosely termed the 'dependency' theory. The most critical argument of this approach is that urban development in developing countries has been conditioned by their incorporation into the capitalist mode of production. The social and economic structures that have emerged represent the outcome of a historical process of interaction with colonialists.

I set out to demonstrate the nature of the urban pattern imposed on Uganda - a concentrated and polarised one. This pattern predetermined the role different towns would play in the social and economic development of the country. Almost all major commercial, financial industrial and cultural agencies were attracted to the national capital, Kampala. Thus the large towns, in particular the capital Kampala, were

destined to be dominant; the medium centres to play 'intermediary' roles and the smaller centres to be 'rural trading centres'.

The structure of social domination that emerged in the 1960s largely comprised the bureaucratic salariat and the African traders sections of the incipient African petty bourgeoisie. They tactfully allied with foreign interests represented by European - Asian commercial petty - bourgeoisie. This alliance helped consolidate, in important respects, the pattern inherited from the colonial period.

The change in the urban pattern in the 1970s that interested us most was the spread of several small centres, destined to be small as they were to play a small role in social and economic development, and the comparative stagnation of the large centres which were destined to dominate. The emergence of the military created profound economic, social and political changes. Dependence relations were curtailed to a great extent, economic production declined and the economy continued or reverted to the subsistence traditional mode, life and property were insecure, shortages of essential consumer goods were common and magendo became the rule.

In magendo the mafuta mingi rose as the dominant social structure. I have suggested that, on the national level, the mafuta mingi 'choked' the flow of the little surplus that was available. At the local level capital was created for many of the small and medium centres as they were relatively safer havens. The large centres were not helped by insecurity. It is the small centres which were safer for investment and also benefited most from magendo - in particular the lucrative coffee smuggling. The border towns adjusted most efficiently in this system as they became significant distribution points of consumer goods and 'transit' coffee being smuggled. Some towns were to benefit more from military patronage and the creation of new administrative divisions.

Did political change contribute to the changes noted? Certainly the conditions created by the military regime strongly influenced the urban pattern that emerged in the 1970s.

FOOTNOTES

- 1.A study by Taber (1969) draws the same conclusion. Ugandans are generally intimately connected with the land that there must be a job in the urban area to pull them.
- 2.It is mostly lodges and hotels which were constructed, often with go-downs to store goods, especially in towns along the highways and at the borders. Lodges and hotels were a lucrative business as they provided accommodation for 'magendoists' in transit. For much of this information and about the small towns, I am grateful to participants on the Diploma in Local Government Administration course, 1986/87, at the Uganda Institute of Public Administration. I was also fortunate to participate as a geography student in a one week field trip of Eastern Uganda and its environs in April, 1985.

- 3.Castells (1976) is the best known critique. Also Castells (1977), Ramirez (1983a), Armstrong and McGee (1985), among others.
- 4.Wirth's (1957) notion of the urban is partly based on the thesis of modernization. He suggests that cities produce certain behavioral patterns and economic processes which define the urban and implicitly distinguish it from the rural or traditional society.
- 5.These percentages have been calculated against the total of those towns enumerated as urban in the censuses of 1969 and 1980.
- 6.This is not consistently applied. The Urban Authorities Act, 1964, Chapter 27, Part X, Paragraph 3, empowers the Minister of Local Government to designate any settlement he/she deems fit a town; assign a name to a town; define the boundaries of a town and declare that any area shall cease to be a town.
- 7.There are good discussions of this theme in Mathur (1982). In particular see chapters 6 and 7.
- 8.Quoted from O'Connor (1968), pp51-52. He adds that the framework established by the colonial government appears to be closely guiding the course of development.
- 9.See Palma (1978). Also Ramirez (1975), Castells (1977), Roxborough (1979), Gilbert and Gugler (1981) and Armstrong and McGee (1985).
- 10.Taylor (1979) is particularly valuable. Also Oxaal, et al.,(1975), Castells (1977), Roxborough (1979), Gilbert and Gugler (1981) and Armstrong and McGee(1985).
- 11.The state appears as a neutral social agency whose role is to bring about a balance - Ponlantzias (1978). Its intervention is however limited by the stage reached by the capitalist mode of production. The state is not a simple instrument that the politically hegemonic class or class alliance can use at will thus - Taylor (1979).
- 12.Ramirez (1983b).
- 13.Ibid.
- 14.See Jorgensen (1979). He offers a good discussion on the economy of Uganda in the 1960s.
- 15.Funnel (1976). He cites a 1966 Census of Distribution in Uganda.
- 16.Foreign trade was controlled largely by British companies such as Mitchell Cotts, MacKenzie, Dalgetty, A Baumann, Chillington Tools, British American Tobacco Co., Dunlop, and Gailey and Roberts. See Laumer (1970), Oursin (1970), Jorgensen (1979) and Mamdani (1983).

17. This is dangerous ground. Different authors have seen different social classes. The best systematic analysis of Uganda is perhaps that of Mamdani (1976). There are several others to be treated cautiously - Zwanenberg with King (1975), Jorgensen (1979) and (1981), and Sathyamurthy (1986).
18. Jorgensen (1979 and 1981). Jorgensen (1979) gives comparisons of urban and rural incomes in the 1960s. It is a fact that the income gap between the urban elite and rural masses widened.
19. Obote passed a nationalization policy, popularly known as the Nakivubo Pronouncement of May, 1970. See Mamdani (1976) and Jorgensen (1979 and 1981).
20. Hoyle (1974).
21. See Safier (1969).
22. Ibid.
23. Johnson (1962). He also suggests that the military have contributed to the disintegration of the political order and have kept some countries from falling prey to communist rule. Also see Hansen's (1977) discussion of military models.
24. Friedman and Wulff (1975).
25. Saul (1979) suggests a crisis of petty bourgeoisie politics, Decalo (1976) and Kasfir (1984) personal estrangement while Mazrui (1986) and Mamdani (1983), among others, see it as an inevitable outcome of colonial policy.
26. Uganda (1981)
27. Ibid.
28. Most of the rolling stock of the former East Africa Railways Corporation was left in Kenya. Political tensions were strong between Uganda and Kenya and this increased difficulties of access to the port of Mombasa in Kenya.
29. At the height of magendo in 1977 coffee producer prices for green bean equivalent in Uganda were 30.2 US cents per pound, while in Kenya they were 200 US cents per pound and 89.7 cents per pound in Tanzania - Bunker (1987).
30. See Jacobs (1969 and 1984). Basically Jacobs argues that economies which do not add new goods and services do not expand or develop. A 'multiplier effect' results with new goods and services - exports encourage imports which help increase production.

- 31.Pressed on the ethnic factor, the then town clerk of Toroso admitted during our field trip in 1985 that there are individuals who sabotage development efforts. In the diversity of ethnic groupings antipathy is common.
- 32.Bombo has declined very fast since the fall of Amin. It had been elevated to a municipality in the 1970s. In Statutory Instrument No.4 of 1989, Bombo is demoted to a town council.
- 33.The Acholis and Langis were greatly persecuted during the Amin regime.
- 34.Uganda (1971, 1976 and 1977).

APPENDICES

**APPENDIX 1: ACREAGE AND PRODUCTION OF MAJOR CASH CROPS
- SELECTED YEARS BETWEEN 1969 - 1979**

	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979
<u>Robusta Coffee</u>						
Acreage	258.2	228.9	205.7	190.6	190.9	191.2
Production	232.5	159.5	196.2	182.0	151.6	100.0
<u>Arabica Coffee</u>						
Acreage	23.0	28.2	28.3	32.6	33.0	33.0
Production	18.4	16.2	16.4	17.0	4.3	3.0
<u>Cotton</u>						
Acreage	884.3	1,023.2	714.0	571.1	477.5	312.4
Production	442.9	412.7	429.1	172.5	74.4	32.5
<u>Tea</u>						
Acreage	15.8	18.7	20.4	20.9	20.9	-
Production	17.6	18.0	22.0	18.4	15.2	1.8

Source :Uganda, 1981, A Ten Year Reconstruction and Development Plan, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, Kampala.

**APPENDIX 2: ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AND HEADQUARTERS IN UGANDA
DURING THE MILITARY REGIME**

PROVINCE	HEAD- QUARTER	DISTRICT	HEAD- QUARTER	SUB- DISTRICT	HEAD- QUARTER
NILE	ARUA	North Nile	Koboko	Aringa	Yumbe
		Central Nile	Arua	Madi	Rhino Camp
		South Nile	Nebbi	Jonam	Parkwach
		Madi	Moyo	Obongi	Obongi
				East Madi	Adjumani
NORTHERN	GULU	East Acholi	Kitgum	Lamwo	Madi Opei
				Agago	Kalogo
		West Acholi	Gulu	Kilak	Atiak
		East Lango	Lira	Kyoga	Amolatar
				Moroto	Aloi
		West Lango	Apac	Oyam	Anyeke
		North Karamoja	Kotido		

KARAMOJA	MOROTO				
		South Karamoja	Nakapi-ripit		
		Central Karamoja	Moroto		
EASTERN	MBALE	Bukedi	Tororo	Pallisa	Pallisa
				Samia/bugwe	Busia
		Bugisu	Mbale		
		North Teso	Katakwi		
		South Teso	Kumi		
		Central Teso	Soroti	Kabera-aido	Kabera-aido
CENTRAL	KAMPALA	Mengo	Mpigi	Mawokota	Buwama
		Kampala	Kampala		
		Entebbe	Entebbe		
BUSOGA	JINJA	Jinja	Jinja		
		South Busoga	Iganga	Bugweri	Bugiri
		North Busoga	Kamuli	Bulamogi	Kaliro
				Budiope	Kidera

NORTH BUGANDA	BOMBO	Kyagwe	Lugazi	Bugerere	Kayunga
				Buvuma	Magyo
		Bulemezi	Luwero	Buruli	Nakason- gola
		Mubende	Mubende	Mityana	Mityana
				Kiboga	Kiboga
SOUTH BUGANDA	MASAKA	Sese	Kalangala		
		Buddu	Masaka	Mawogola	Sembabule
		Kyotera	Rakai	Kabula	Lyantonde
WESTERN	FORT PORTAL	Rwenzori	Kasese	Bukonjo	Bwera
		Toro	Fortportal	Kyaka	Kyegegwa
		Semliki	Bundibugyo		
		South Bunyoro	Hoima	Bugangazi	Kibale/ Kakumiro
				Buyaga	Kagadi
		North Bunyoro	Masindi	Bujenje	Bugungu
		South Kigezi	Kabale	Bufumbira	Kisoro

SOUTHERN	MBARARA				
		North Kigezi	Rukungiri	Kinkizi	Kihihi
		East Ankole	Mbarara	Isingiro	Kikagati
				Mitoma	Ibanda
		West Ankole	Bushenyi	Kajara	Rubare

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